

# AUGUSTINE'S CITATIONS AND TEXT OF THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO JOHN

by

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## Abstract

This study assesses Augustine's worth as a witness to the text of the Bible and evaluates his evidence for the Gospel according to John. The full collection of citations is presented in the Appendix. In the analysis a distinction is proposed between *primary citations*, which Augustine makes with reference to a scriptural codex, for example when preaching, and *secondary citations*, for which this cannot be demonstrated. The latter constitute the majority and often correspond to his *mental text*, a consistent form of a verse showing characteristic alterations attributable to memory. In polemical works, Augustine displays a different form of text which he has normally adopted from his opponents. Such variations in the biblical text suggest that the citations have been transmitted accurately, without interference by copyists. Augustine's text of John demonstrates the continuity in the Latin Bible between Old Latin versions and Jerome's Vulgate. Most of the non-Vulgate renderings in Augustine's citations are paralleled in one or more Old Latin witnesses, which suggests that the Old Latin texts known today are a representative selection. Nonetheless, his primary affiliation is with the Vulgate, which even comes to permeate citations made from memory in later works.

*To the Diocese of Birmingham*

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# Chapter One

## *The collection of biblical citations*

### 1.1 Opening

diuinae lectiones omnes ita sibi connectuntur tamquam una sit lectio, quia omnes ex uno ore procedunt. multa sunt ora ministerium sermonis gerentium, sed unum est os ministros implentis. (Augustine, *Sermones* 170.1.1).

Is there really only one reading of the Bible? What happens when, in the words of Augustine's favourite biblical book, the word becomes flesh on either the lips of preachers or the parchment of manuscripts? How is the biblical text treated? Does a consistent form emerge? What is the effect of translation? How closely do the citations of ancient writers correspond to the surviving manuscripts?

In this study of Augustine's citations and text of the Gospel according to John, I shall investigate all these questions at a critical period in the history of the Latin Bible. During the lifetime of Augustine (354-430), the most significant and prolific Latin Church Father, an event took place which determined the subsequent shape of the Bible in the West for over a millennium.<sup>1</sup> The papal commission of a version which would become a standard, the Vulgate,

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<sup>1</sup> There are numerous biographies of Augustine, starting with that of his disciple Possidius of Calama. Among modern contributions, Peter Brown's classic survey of 1967 has recently been issued in a new edition (Brown 2000), while an English version of Serge Lancel's 1999 French biography has also appeared (Lancel 2002). Shorter studies include Clark 1994 and Wills 1999.

led to the text which continues to constitute the Latin Bible today.<sup>2</sup> Prior to this, several translations had been made from copies of the Scriptures in Greek by Latin-speaking communities: the only remaining evidence for these is preserved in a handful of surviving manuscripts and the citations of the Church Fathers. This "Old Latin" tradition, or *Vetus Latina*, is an important witness to the early history of the biblical text as well as the development of theological language and concepts in the West. The scriptural citations and comments made by Augustine, who saw the rôle of biblical exegete as one of the principal callings of pastors and theologians, offer an unrivalled body of evidence for the state of the Old Latin text and the early reception of the Vulgate.<sup>3</sup>

The Gospel according to John has a central place in Augustine's writings, and is probably the book of the New Testament which he cites most frequently. It serves as a useful test case to address both theoretical and practical issues in the collection of patristic citations and their application to the textual criticism of the Latin Bible. How are citations identified or defined? Is the text of each verse consistent, or is there variation over time or in different

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<sup>2</sup> On the history of the term "Vulgate", see Sutcliffe 1948; it does not appear to have been used of Jerome's version until the Council of Trent. In the time of Augustine, *uulgata editio* was used for the Septuagint and its Old Latin translation (exemplified at *De ciuitate dei* 16.10.2).

<sup>3</sup> One of the weaknesses of the term *Vetus Latina* is that it has been defined to include all readings which do not correspond to the Vulgate: "Im Neuen Testament bedeutet der Name heute nur eine Abgrenzung gegenüber der Vulgata" (Fischer 1972:4). This runs the risk of treating them as two separate entities, as well as obscuring the variety within the Vulgate tradition: although I shall continue to use these terms for convenience, taking the editorial text of Weber-Gryson as representative of the "Vulgate", in reality both traditions should be located on a continuum of the Latin Bible. Hort observes that "for some purposes the distinction is convenient and almost necessary: but it disguises the fact that there is a wider difference between the earlier and later stages of the 'Old Latin' (in this comprehensive sense of the term) than between the later stages and the Vulgate" (Westcott-Hort 1882:78). Petzer claims that "most probably not one single 'pure' Latin MS of the first millennium has survived" (1995:119), noting contamination in both directions between Vulgate and Old Latin traditions. Fredouille 1985:28 suggests that *Veteres Latinae* would be a better description of the diverse earlier tradition (thus also García de la Fuente 1994:126).

works? Did Augustine quote from memory or use a biblical codex? How accurate is the manuscript tradition of his works? Once the information has been gathered, the evidence of Augustine can be set in the context of the surviving Old Latin manuscripts and also used to shed light on his use of the Bible in his own theological development.

## **1.2 Patristic citations and the Old Latin Bible: review of previous work**

The importance of scriptural citations in the early Church Fathers has long been appreciated by textual scholars.<sup>4</sup> The provenance of biblical manuscripts is often unknown and, in the absence of other indications, their dating relies on palaeographical evidence. The location and dates of Christian authors, however, can be established from both internal and external evidence with a greater degree of certainty. This means that patristic citations have often been used to classify or identify biblical text-types. Furthermore, Church Fathers who predate surviving biblical manuscripts provide the earliest attestation of a particular verse. Some authors, too, may supply readings which are not attested in any other witnesses. In the Old Latin tradition, the textual importance of citations is much greater because of the very small number of surviving manuscripts which preserve a genuine Old Latin text.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> The first edition of the New Testament to include Greek patristic citations was the Editio Complutensis of 1514, which led Erasmus on to more systematic research (Prigent 1972:436). For more on the history of the use of citations, see also Duplacy & Suggs 1971. Parker 1997:16 gives a concise summary of the problems of recovering a biblical text from patristic citations.

<sup>5</sup> Hort observes that "Latin Fathers ... constitute a not less important province of Old Latin evidence than the extant MSS. ... Even in the Gospels their aid is always welcome, often of the highest value" (Westcott-Hort 1882:83). A comprehensive introduction to Old Latin manuscripts of the Gospels is found in Burton 2000, which may be supplemented for other books of the Bible and the Vulgate tradition by Elliott 1992.

The first scholar to begin a systematic assembly of Old Latin manuscripts and citations was Petrus Sabatier with his *Bibliorum sacrorum Latinae uersiones* published in 1743.<sup>6</sup> At the end of the nineteenth century, Paul de Lagarde in Göttingen and J.W. Burgon in London independently made collections of Augustine's citations, although in his survey of Latin patristic citations Frede comments that, unfortunately, neither is suitable for further study.<sup>7</sup> A more significant development was the inauguration of the Oxford Old Latin Biblical Texts series, which featured critical editions of individual codices, comparisons of different manuscripts and one volume of citations.<sup>8</sup> These studies were pursued in tandem with a critical edition of the Vulgate New Testament by Wordsworth and White: the four Gospels appeared between 1889 and 1898. While this was in progress, Augustine's citations were the subject of independent work by Francis Crawford Burkitt. In the second half of *The Old Latin and the Itala* (1896) he contended that Augustine was the first Latin Father to adopt Jerome's Vulgate text of the Gospels and went so far as to claim that the *Itala* praised by Augustine in *De doctrina christiana* 2.15.22 was identical with Jerome's Vulgate. As *Itala* had already become a generic term to describe Old Latin versions, this suggestion met with some

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<sup>6</sup> I have encountered references to two earlier works specifically on Augustine's citations: the *Biblia augustiniana* of David Lenfant in Paris 1661 (La Bonnardière 1986:445 describes it as "un index des citations bibliques de saint Augustin ... l'ouvrage est complètement périmé, mais toujours utile et réimprimé") and a collection of Psalm citations by Lefèvre d'Étaples in 1508 (De Bruyne 1931:522).

<sup>7</sup> "Leider wurde dieses Material nicht für die weitere Forschung fruchtbar gemacht." (Frede 1972:476). Duplacy describes Burgon's collection of 86,439 New Testament citations, collected between 1872 and 1888 as "difficiles à utiliser et à mettre à jour" (Duplacy & Suggs 1971:196). De Lagarde's collection comprised 13,276 Old Testament and 29,540 New Testament citations (De Bruyne 1931:522); Knauer (1955:26) states that he was not able to use de Lagarde's work for his study of Augustine's psalm citations.

<sup>8</sup> The first volume to appear was Wordsworth *The Gospel according to St Matthew from the St. Germain MS* (OOLBT 1) Oxford 1883, followed by Wordsworth, Sanday and White *Portions of the Gospels according to St. Mark and St. Matthew* (OOLBT 2) Oxford 1886. The citations were from Irenaeus of Lyon, collected in Sanday and Turner *Nouum Testamentum Sancti Irenaei Lugdunensis* (OOLBT 7) Oxford 1923. Sanday pioneered the concept of *Übersetzungsfarbe* to characterise different Latin traditions: see Fischer 1972:7-9 and Frede 1971:86-87.

resistance. Burkitt re-stated his thesis in 1910, assembling more evidence and stating the need for "a study of the character and affinities of the pre-Vulgate gospel quotations in Augustine's earlier works" (1910:458).<sup>9</sup>

This request was taken up by C.H. Milne, in *A Reconstruction of the Old-Latin Text or Texts of the Gospels used by Saint Augustine with a Study of their Character* (Cambridge 1926). Milne assembled gospel citations from fifty works of Augustine which he dated prior to 401, in an attempt to prove Burkitt's hypothesis that the Vulgate Gospels were adopted at Hippo around 398. The work, however, is deeply flawed, as Burkitt demonstrated in his review.<sup>10</sup> Milne assumed that Augustine's text would have been African in character, and used the term "Old-Latin" to describe agreements between Augustine and the text of Codex Bobiensis and Codex Palatinus, also referring to the citations of Cyprian.<sup>11</sup> With the exception of Codex Brixianus, he ignored the other surviving Old Latin manuscripts and the question of Augustine's accuracy in citations, noting "some 2400 instances in which the phraseology of Augustine coincides neither with that of the Old-Latin, nor with that of the Vulgate" (1926:xiii). His identification of Augustine's textual affiliation relied on much smaller figures,

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<sup>9</sup> Burkitt sought to counter the position that "in the present day S. Augustine is almost invariably considered as an 'Old Latin' authority for all parts of the Bible and in all his writings, and the cautions issued by Sabatier himself are generally unheeded" (1896:1-2). Vogels and Denk argued that the Vulgate nature of Augustine's citations in certain writings was due to later corruption in the manuscript tradition (see Burkitt 1910:259). Although Burkitt's claims are now generally accepted, it is still possible to find some, who, like García de la Fuente, treat Augustine solely as an Old Latin source: "en las obras de San Agustín ... se encuentran más de 50.000 citas bíblicas, casi todas ellas de la VL, pues el Santo Doctor prestó poca atención a la versión de su amigo Jerónimo." (1994:146-147). Although *Itala* was initially used to designate the Latin Bible in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, from 1990 this has been changed to *Vetus Latina* (García de la Fuente 1994:126).

<sup>10</sup> See Burkitt 1927, drawn on by Metzger who describes it as "an incompleted and ill-digested collection of data, some of which are irrelevant to the subject" (1977:361 note 1).

<sup>11</sup> Of the 1941 Gospel citations collected by Milne, 802 agree with these manuscripts against the Vulgate, 53 agree with Cyprian against the Vulgate, 1138 agree with the Vulgate against the manuscripts and 25 agree with the Vulgate against Cyprian (Milne 1926:xii).

and the 5% shift towards "Vulgate" readings which he observes in works written between 397 and 401 seems insignificant.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore six of the seven latest works, including *De Baptismo* from 400, have a clear majority of forms identified as "Old-Latin".<sup>13</sup> Although this work is often cited, its value for Augustine's text is also limited: seventeen of the works Milne consulted were not available in a critical edition.

Another suggestion was advanced shortly afterwards by Donatien De Bruyne. Having observed that, in the Pauline epistles, the text of Augustine's later citations corresponded exactly with the Old Latin Freising fragments, he contended that Augustine had revised the biblical text while writing his commentaries on Romans and Galatians.<sup>14</sup> In his article "Saint Augustin Reviseur de la Bible" (1931) he expanded the scope of this revision to include the text of the Heptateuch, the Psalter, the Gospels and the other Pauline letters. For the most part, however, De Bruyne relied on internal criteria, and attributed to Augustine a far greater level of competence in Greek than is generally accepted. In the absence of any incontrovertible evidence that Augustine is responsible for the renderings which he prefers, it seems more likely that he relied on existing translations.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Before 398, Milne reckons that "Vulgate" citations show a 3% majority, while works between 398 and 401 (excluding *De consensu euangelistarum*) only display an 8% majority over "Old-Latin" forms (1926:xiii). In order to confirm this shift, information should have been gathered from later works: as it is, Milne blithely asserts that "it is generally agreed that during the remaining thirty years of his life the Bishop of Hippo regularly used the revision of the Latin Gospels made by S. Jerome" (1926:ix). Given the opposition to Burkitt's hypothesis, it would have been worthwhile demonstrating this: De Bruyne laments Milne's early cut-off date (1931:595).

<sup>13</sup> See the table in Milne 1926:xii.

<sup>14</sup> *Collectanea biblica latina* 5: 1921. This is accepted by Frede 1972:459, who traces the hypothesis further back still to L. Ziegler, *Die lateinischen Bibelübersetzungen vor Hieronymus und die Itala des Augustinus*; Munich 1879.

<sup>15</sup> De Bruyne's position is no longer supported by textual scholars: Frede describes it as "verblaßt und widerlegt" (1972:466; see also the articles cited in Fischer 1972:20). Nonetheless, it initially found acceptance and is occasionally revived: for a general appraisal of the thesis and an investigation of its applicability to John, see Sections 2.3.4 and 5.3.7 respectively.



An edition of selected *Vetus Latina* manuscripts of the Gospels produced by Adolf Jülicher began to appear a few years later. He divided the traditions into "Italian" and "African" strands, offering a reconstruction of the "Italian" text found in the majority of witnesses, while the "African" side was represented by two manuscripts: Codex Bezae Cantabrigiae and Codex Palatinus. The latter, however, like many "African" sources, was contaminated with readings from European traditions at an early stage. Furthermore, Jülicher's reconstruction of the "Italian" text, for which he never fully articulated his editorial principles, has also been criticised.<sup>16</sup> He died in the same year that the first volume appeared: the rest of the series was seen through the press by Walter Matzkow and Kurt Aland, who later produced revised editions of the Synoptic Gospels. Commonly referred to as Matzkow-Jülicher-Aland, these remain the principal critical editions for multiple Old Latin gospel manuscripts.

In the late nineteenth century, Joseph Denzler began a collection of Old Latin patristic citations with the intention of creating a "new Sabatier". From 1920, these were housed at the abbey of Beuron. Here the Institut Vetus Latina was created to oversee the publication of new critical editions of the Old Latin versions of each biblical book using all available manuscripts

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<sup>16</sup> The differences between Italian and African translations were initially thought to be dialectal, but there is no evidence to support this: they rather represent different strands of a tradition of Latin translations (see Fischer 1972:9). Monceaux reminds us that, despite the paucity of surviving witnesses, there was a multiplicity of African versions, of which Cyprian's text is the best known (1901:168). Most scholars now believe that the Bible was first translated into Latin in North Africa (see the summary at Elliott 1992:200-202) although it is possible that parallel developments happened independently in different places: for an account of technical Latin terms appearing in Christian documents from Rome in the second century, see Mohrmann 1965:67-126. At any rate, convergence between different traditions soon set in: Fischer (1972:34) lists contamination in African manuscripts, while Monceaux (1901:142) suggests that Jerome's Gospel revision introduced African readings into Italian manuscripts and Frede (1972:464) observes that "African" renderings can also be found in European Fathers through their use of earlier African works. Aland articulated the confusion surrounding Jülicher's principles in his introduction to the 1954 volume of Luke: for critiques of these editions, see Fischer 1972:35, Birdsall 1992:120 and Burton 2000:9.

and patristic material up to the ninth century. The first volume to be published was, appropriately, Genesis, edited by Bonifatius Fischer between 1951 and 1954. Many have followed, and most remaining books are now in preparation.<sup>17</sup> Denk's card index of citations has been maintained and enlarged, and was recently made available electronically as the Vetus Latina Database (VLD Online), with each card reproduced as a digital image.<sup>18</sup> The Institut also keeps the register of Old Latin manuscripts and produces an index to the most recent critical editions of Church Fathers. The editions are supplemented by the monographs on related topics in the series *Aus der Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel*. These include Fischer's ground-breaking computer collations of test passages from more than four hundred and fifty gospel manuscripts from the first millennium.<sup>19</sup> Scholars associated with the Institut continue to publish numerous important articles on the Latin Bible, and the annual *Arbeitsbericht* details the current state of the edition.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> A fuller account of Denk's work is given in Frede 1972:477. There are several summaries of the history and work of the Institut Vetus Latina: the most recent is Petzer 1995:113-114. For a description of the Vetus Latina editions, see, amongst others, Metzger 1977:320-321. The Gospel according to John is currently being undertaken by Dr Philip Burton, while Dr Ulrich Schmid has taken on the task of editing the Synoptic Gospels (Institut Vetus Latina 2004:42).

<sup>18</sup> Denk's original index contained around 400,000 index cards: this has since doubled in size (Institut Vetus Latina 2004:9,45). For further information on the online edition, published by Brepols, see Institut Vetus Latina (2002:44) and <http://www.brepolis.net>. The patristic material is the key to the Vetus Latina editions: see Elliott 1992:215 and North 1995:214. Frede notes that many Old Latin readings may never have appeared in manuscripts: "certes, bien des formes du texte vieux latin de la Bible, ainsi entendu au sens large, n'ont jamais figuré dans un manuscrit biblique latin ... elles n'en ont pas moins exercé une influence sur le développement du texte latin de la Bible, d'une manière indirecte, à raison de l'influence de l'auteur qui a coulé sa citations dans une telle forme" (1995:26).

<sup>19</sup> *Die lateinischen Evangelien bis zum 10. Jahrhundert*. 1. Varianten zu Matthäus (1988); 2. Varianten zu Markus (1989); 3. Varianten zu Lukas (1990); 4. Varianten zu Johannes (1991).

<sup>20</sup> For good summaries of the scholarly consensus on Latin biblical manuscripts and Latin Church Fathers as established by the Institut, see Fischer 1972 and Frede 1972 respectively. The *Arbeitsbericht* has a list of all published editions and the volumes of *Aus der Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel* (see Institut Vetus Latina 2004:62ff.).

The *Biblia Augustiniana* was an independent project based on a collection of Augustine's scriptural citations, edited by Anne-Marie La Bonnardière at the Institute des Études Augustiniennes in Paris. Seven volumes were produced, comprising Kings and Chronicles (1960), The Minor Prophets (1963), 1 and 2 Thessalonians, Titus and Philemon (1964), Deuteronomy (1967), Wisdom (1970), Jeremiah (1972) and Proverbs (1975). The format consists of an individual verse, followed by a list of references to the works in which it is cited by Augustine. These are arranged in chronological order, each with an "*orchestration scripturaire*", a list of the other biblical passages found in the vicinity of the citation. The primary concern of this project was to assist commentators on Augustine, rather than textual critics.<sup>21</sup> La Bonnardière realised that Augustine's use of particular groups of scriptural verses reflected his current theological concerns. This "*orchestration scripturaire*" could therefore be used to assist in the difficult task of dating Augustine's works, especially

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<sup>21</sup> Although allusions are indicated, all references are listed under one form of words for each verse, so the *Biblia Augustiniana* cannot be used for text-critical purposes (see also North 1995:216). According to La Bonnardière 1965:15, the initial aim of the project was to collect all the Psalm quotations of Augustine, a volume which never appeared: the publications ceased due to lack of funding. An update on the project is reproduced in the *Chronique* of the *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 9 (1963) 404, in which La Bonnardière states that 32 of the 61 biblical books have been completed, along with 130 Psalms and half the work on the Gospels; she also characterises the project as predominantly patristic: "Vu l'état présent des éditions critiques de l'œuvre augustinienne, la *Biblia Augustiniana* ne peut prétendre à donner, pour toute citation biblique de s. Augustin, le texte définitivement sûr. Elle vise essentiellement à fournir aux chercheurs une liste des références bibliques et la notation des variantes rencontrées pour un même verset. Le but de la *Biblia Augustiniana* est essentiellement d'ordre patristique ... la *Biblia Augustiniana* essaie de se présenter comme une histoire de la réflexion de s. Augustin sur la Bible." Despite off-handed references to "toutes les citations de versets johanniques" (e.g. La Bonnardière 1965:75) there is no record of an unpublished systematic file for the remaining books of the Bible (see Bogaert 1998:33).

shorter pieces such as sermons.<sup>22</sup> The recent work of Pierre-Marie Hombert is based on the same principles, in which he proposes a re-dating of a group of works based on *noeuds scripturaires*.<sup>23</sup> La Bonnardière also edited the third volume in the series *Bible de tous les temps, Augustin et la Bible* (1986). This is concerned primarily with questions of exegesis, a preoccupation amplified in an American version produced in 1999.<sup>24</sup>

The use of patristic citations in reconstructing the text of the Greek New Testament has been a growing preoccupation of textual critics in America over the last fifty years. The work of Gordon Fee stands out for his theoretical and practical contributions to the discipline. One principle on which which Fee insists is the need for a complete presentation of all the

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<sup>22</sup> She describes the *orchestration scripturaire* as "deux ou trois versets, parfois davantage, pris comme appuis d'un enseignement doctrinal, constituent un schème dont Augustin fait usage un certain nombre de fois, dans les cas qui présentent entre eux une analogie réelle" (La Bonnardière 1965:16). Augustine would work on several writings simultaneously, so "il est donc normal qu'une préoccupation grave d'un moment donné apparaisse dans plusieurs œuvres différentes, qui ont entre elles le lien de la même date" (La Bonnardière 1965:180). For example, Augustine uses one group of citations in anti-Donatist works which are not found at all in writings against the Pelagians (La Bonnardière 1965:16). Frede 1971:93 observes that the *orchestration scripturaire* can also be used as an indication of authenticity.

<sup>23</sup> The majority of Hombert's conclusions are adopted in Gryson 2004 and are mentioned in Chapter Three below. Hombert's work is described by Dolbeau as "l'un des plus importants [ouvrages] qui aient été récemment publiés sur Augustin", although he observes that this method of internal criticism cannot always support the precise dating which Hombert claims (Dolbeau 2001:9-10). Hombert has collected his citations from three sources: the *Corpus Litterarum Christianorum Latinum* (CLCLT 3), the *Augustinus Lexikon* and the *Thesaurus Augustinianum*. This strongly suggests that La Bonnardière's unpublished files are no longer extant. Hombert also notes the difficulty of using current electronic search facilities to locate unexpected biblical texts and allusions (2000:vii).

<sup>24</sup> *Augustine and the Bible* ed. Pamela Bright (1999): among the sixteen essays, she only includes seven of the twenty-one in the original volume.

available citational evidence before the value of a particular author can be assessed.<sup>25</sup> Fee subsequently acted as founding editor for the Society of Biblical Literature's series *The New Testament in the Greek Fathers*. Several volumes have appeared and set a benchmark with their comprehensiveness, transparency, use of critical editions, and inclusion of variations in the manuscript tradition.<sup>26</sup> These combine the presentation of the data, often with a reconstructed text, and a quantitative comparison of similarity with representative surviving New Testament manuscripts. Although this method offers a general picture of textual relationships, it does not always seem to be best suited to the random and fragmentary nature of citations.<sup>27</sup> Each survey also includes "a minimal evaluation of the Father's citations, as to his citing habits, the reliability of his data, and the degree of certainty with which one may use the data" (Fee as editor in Ehrman 1986:xi-xii). This places the textual evidence into the wider context necessary for determining its significance for the history of

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<sup>25</sup> Fee 1993:304; he claims that most studies of citations in Greek Fathers prior to 1970 are "quite inaccurate and misleading" (1995:197). Initially, Fee supported "critical reconstructions", arguing that "ambiguity will often be eliminated when a Father's biblical text has been critically reconstructed" (1993:303). However, he recognised the danger of trying to reconstruct a single biblical text from works which draw on different archetypes (1993:305), and eventually admitted that "where a Father (a) cites freely, and/or (b) cites infrequently, and/or (c) cites texts in two or more forms, the safest procedure is to list all the various forms in which a text is cited" (1995:199). This is clearly the case with Augustine.

<sup>26</sup> For a description of the series, see Fee 1995:198-199. Authors so far covered are Didymus the Blind (Gospels: Ehrman 1986), Gregory of Nyssa (NT: Brooks 1991), Origen (John's Gospel: Ehrman, Fee & Holmes 1992; 1 Corinthians: Hannah 1997), Cyril of Jerusalem (NT: Mullen 1997), Epiphanius of Salamis (Paul: Osburn 2004) and Basil of Caesarea (Matthew's Gospel: Racine 2004).

For a list of other collections of patristic citations undertaken in the second half of the twentieth century, see Epp 1993:30; this can be supplemented for Latin texts by Fee 1993:302 (which requires some correction: Coleman's work on Lucifer of Cagliari does not seem to have included the Gospels) and North 1995:216, which includes newer works and supplies some useful critical comments.

<sup>27</sup> A discussion of the problems of this approach is offered by Ehrman, who notes that "errors of reconstruction and systematic caution ... will tend to 'even out' the differences among textual witnesses" (1986:256). Fee describes some earlier attempts to establish percentage relationships between citations and manuscripts as "almost valueless" (1993:306). See also Geer's description of Colwell's quantitative method and its subsequent refinement (Geer 1995:255-257).

the New Testament text. New articles and studies continue to appear, using and refining these principles.<sup>28</sup>

Mention of recent work should also include the *Biblia Patristica* of the Centre d'Analyse et de Documentation Patristique (CADP) in Strasbourg. This was one of the first projects to use computers to create a collection of scriptural citations in both Greek and Latin. Seven volumes and a supplement have so far appeared, although Augustine has not yet been reached.<sup>29</sup> In the first volume, the editors insisted that their database was compiled from a completely new reading of each text, although they have collaborated with similar undertakings including the Institut Vetus Latina.<sup>30</sup> The *Corpus Christianorum* series of editions of the Latin Church Fathers was to have included a separate scriptural index to the

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<sup>28</sup> In particular, Osburn (2005) takes up Fee's challenge to provide criteria to distinguish between the text-critical value of different types of patristic citation, while Ernest (2004) applies some of these ideas to Athanasius' biblical citations.

<sup>29</sup> The volumes are as follows: 1. Des origines à Clément d'Alexandrie et Tertullien (1975), 2. Le troisième siècle, Origène excepté (1977), 3. Origène (1980), 4. Eusèbe de Césarée, Cyrille de Jérusalem, Epiphane de Salamine (1987), 5. Basile de Césarée, Grégoire de Nazianze, Grégoire de Nysse, Amphiloque d'Iconium (1991), 6. Hilaire de Poitiers, Ambroise de Milan, Ambrosiaster (1995), 7. Didyme d'Alexandrie (2000) and a supplement on Philo of Alexandria (1982).

<sup>30</sup> See *Biblia Patristica* 1975:1-2. The database is published in print form as an index, although the description of the main database as "des fiches micrographiques qui ... permettent ... une reproduction aisée de la citation et de son contexte" (1975:2) implies that the full text of citations is available in Strasbourg. The claim to have revisited the original texts is only explicitly made in the first volume, although the principles of the collection were laid out in a document published by the CADP in 1967 entitled "Etapas, moyens et méthode d'analyse". Each volume lists the editions consulted during its preparation: the printed indexes will become dated as new editions appear. Other drawbacks of these indexes have been noted by textual critics: see Fee 1995:196, Mullen 1997:61 and Ehrman, Fee & Holmes 1992:31.

whole of Augustine's works, Volume 69, to which several editors refer. However, work on this project came to an end by the early 1980s and there is no likelihood of its publication.<sup>31</sup>

With the publication of Philip Burton's *The Old Latin Gospels* (2000), a reassessment of the text and the language of the Old Latin translations, and current work towards the *Vetus Latina* edition of the Gospel according to John, the need arises for a study of Augustine's text of the Gospel conforming to critical standards comparable to those of the *New Testament in the Greek Fathers*. Although its format is different, it will, I hope, also be of use for scholars in the tradition of the *Biblia Augustiniana*, continuing to explore the importance of Augustine's biblical text for matters of theology, chronology, influence and exegesis.

### 1.3 Methodology and principles of this collection

It should be stated at the outset that this work is not an attempt to reconstruct a single edition of St John's Gospel which belonged to Augustine. For a start, it would be unusual if such a prolific author's citations were sufficiently consistent as to indicate one unambiguous

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<sup>31</sup> The most recent reference to this volume appears in Mutzenbecher's 1980 edition of *Quaestionum euangeliorum* (CC 44B). Luc Jocqué of Brepols informs me that the volume was initially advertised as a collaboration between Eligius Dekkers and Prof. J.H. Baxter of St. Andrew's University, and that the publishers have no material surviving from this work (private communication, 3.2.2003). The Italian Augustine website advertises a scriptural index "Bibbia agostiniana: la Sacra Scrittura come è letta da Agostino" (on <http://www.augustinus.it/sussidi/index.htm>), but this is still in preparation. The "Indici scritturistici" on the same pages only has the scriptural index for *De ciuitate dei*, as of May 2006. In 1913, De Bruyne stated that "D'Amérique et d'Allemagne on annonce des éditions de la Bible de S. Augustin" (1913:314), but no other traces of these have come to light.

source, particularly in the context of a highly diverse Latin tradition.<sup>32</sup> Secondly, the accuracy of a Father's habits of citation and the transmission of the biblical text in his works need to be assessed before it is appropriate to make editorial decisions about the "original" text.<sup>33</sup> Augustine's citational practice is considered in Chapter Two, while Chapters Three and Four analyse the textual affiliation of his citations. It is only in Chapter Five that it becomes possible to evaluate Augustine's contributions to the history of the text of John and distinguish different traditions within his work. The citations have therefore been recorded in the Appendix with minimal editorial intervention in order to present all the information preserved for the text of this Gospel in the works of Augustine. This means that each citation can be assessed in terms of its relation to the whole, and allows for the possibility of authorial inaccuracy in certain works or corruption in part of the manuscript tradition.<sup>34</sup>

For the purpose of this study, I have used only those writings of Augustine which are listed as authentic in the *Vetus Latina* index (Frede 1995). I have also adopted the same system of abbreviations for each work. Thus AUdo indicates Augustine's *De doctrina christiana* (not to be confused with AUdo which refers to his *Epistula ad catholicos de secta Donatistarum*, or

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<sup>32</sup> Fee observes that "It is perhaps presumptuous to assume that any Father, writing over a thirty- to forty-year period, had only one Bible; and perhaps it is folly even to assume he only had one Bible at any given time" (Fee 1995:193; Fee 1993:345). Decret says that the *Biblia Augustiniana* "montrent assez qu'il serait vain de prétendre reconstituer toute la Bible avec des citations scripturaires littérales de l'œuvre d'Augustin" (1970:164), which Monceaux recognised earlier: "Sa Bible latine n'a cessé de se transformer, tantôt par des changements brusques, tantôt par une continue et lente évolution – D'après cela, on comprend qu'il soit chimérique d'essayer de ramener à l'unité le texte sacré de saint Augustin" (1901:150).

<sup>33</sup> Compare Robert M. Grant's dictum that "Patristic citations are not citations unless they have been adequately analyzed" (in Parvis & Wikgren 1950:124, quoted in Osburn 2005:318 and Fee 1993:340).

<sup>34</sup> These factors also underlie the minimal use of quantitative analysis in this work. Not only does this method rely on a reconstructed text, but it also requires clearly defined text-types, which have not been identified for the Old Latin John. There is also a wider question as to whether quantitative analysis can meaningfully be applied to a translated tradition: see Frede 1972:463.



AUDon which is the abbreviation for his *Contra partem Donati post gesta*). A full list of these abbreviations and the editions used will be found before the complete list of citations in the Appendix.<sup>35</sup> Although pseudonymous works have been excluded, I have included scriptural citations from other authors contained within the corpus of Augustine's authentic writings, for example replies from his correspondents or sections of polemical works in which opponents are quoted at length. These are grouped at the end of Augustine's citations for each verse and the source is indicated in square brackets.

In assembling the citations, my normal practice was to begin with the scriptural index provided in each modern edition. As an indication of accuracy, I also regularly checked a selection of Johannine citations in the text to ensure that they were listed in the index.<sup>36</sup> Needless to say, this process revealed some inaccuracies. Typographical errors such as transposed or incorrect numerals in the chapter and verse references were usually remediable, while incorrect paragraph and page references could only sometimes be corrected. Citations from the Gospel according to John can occasionally be difficult to identify, given the Evangelist's use of common vocabulary which he invests with additional

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<sup>35</sup> This list also gives an indication of the numbering system for each citation. For example, under the Confessions, "book.chap.line" indicates that the first number refers to the book, the second to the chapter (or paragraph division) and the third to the line number in the edition: AUcf 5.3.24 therefore indicates a citation in book five of the Confessions, chapter three, line twenty-four. The significance of including the line number is to distinguish between multiple citations of the same verse within the same paragraph. This is not possible in certain editions: for CSEL works, the line numbers start afresh at the beginning of each page, so each citation is given with the page number and line number, which is often the reference used in the scriptural index for the edition but would not identify the citations in another edition. In many editions, paragraph and chapter or section numbers overlap: reference to the edition cited should clear up any ambiguity.

<sup>36</sup> Reading all Augustine's writings afresh would have made the project unfeasibly long, with no automatic improvement in the quality of the collection, although this was necessary for certain works listed below. Although the Vetus Latina card index is regularly updated, this needs to be checked in the preparation of each edition; furthermore, I have been able to include introductory material and more information on the manuscript tradition.

meaning through repetition: sometimes editors have identified with one verse a citation which more closely resembles another verse of the Gospel or even the Johannine Epistles.<sup>37</sup> One common practice is to list only the first citation in each paragraph and ignore subsequent repetitions (even though these may still be italicised). This is understandable but inadequate for textual purposes, so when checking references from an index I also read through the rest of the paragraph and, if this revealed other citations, neighbouring paragraphs as well until the next reference was reached. Nonetheless, I must record that the scriptural indexes of St John's Gospel in editions of Augustine are for the most part highly accurate: a tribute to the editors who cannot have imagined that they would be used for such a purpose.<sup>38</sup>

In the case of works for which a scriptural index is not provided I had to compile my own index of Johannine citations by reading through the entire work: a time-consuming task,

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<sup>37</sup> This is even the case in Migne's edition of the *Tractatus in Epistulam Iohannis ad Parthos*, e.g. AU1Jo 7.2 and 9.10. On this Johannine technique, see Burton 2000:92.

<sup>38</sup> Some indexes are more useful than others. In a class of its own, however, is the minutely-detailed index of *De trinitate* by Mountain and Glorie (CC50/50a) which, in its attempt to be exhaustive, is almost unusable because of the compilers' over-sensitivity to biblical allusions. For example, every occurrence of the phrase "*uerbum dei*" is referred to John 1:1, while the word "*unigenitus*" or phrase "*de patre*" is linked to John 1:14. In Verheijen's edition of the *Confessiones* (CC27), there are similar examples of *ueritas* and *lux* (used as synonyms for Christ) being referred to John 14:6 (AUcf 8.1.34) and John 1:9 (AUcf 11.23.44) respectively.

It is worth recording that some editors even indicate whether citations follow a Vulgate or non-Vulgate text. For example, Mountain and Glorie note at AUtri 5.11.13 that *quoniam deus spiritus est* appears in some Old Latin codices at John 3:6 as well as John 4:24. However, their indication "John 14:10 (uet.lat.)" for the phrase *inseparabilis operatio* does not correspond to any reading in Jülicher's edition of the Gospel.

For the *Sermones*, I used the scriptural index from a complete edition in the Spanish *Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos*, referring to Migne for the text of the first 396 sermons and the web-based edition at <http://www.augustinus.it/latino/discorsi/index2.htm> for the supplementary sermons indicated by letters. The scriptural index is in *Obras completas de San Augustin 26: Sermones* 6 ed. Pio de Luis, BAC 461 (1985). I have also included scriptural information from the lectionary indications recorded in Migne although not from the individual headings for each paragraph: examples of variation between the lemma and the body text of the sermon may be seen at AUs 129 (John 5:39), AUs 132 (John 6:56).

which also had a greater potential for omission.<sup>39</sup> In most cases I was later able to check my lists against the footnotes listing scriptural citations in the internet-based edition of Augustine's works, at <http://www.augustinus.it/latino/index.htm>, a very important resource which also allows electronic search facilities.<sup>40</sup> I also read the whole of Augustine's sermon-commentary on John, the *Tractatus CXXIV in Iohannis euangelium*. Every citation of John in this work would be too numerous to list, so I have given the initial form of each verse in each commentary sermon as the "continuous text" (marked by [CT]), and ignored identical repetitions.<sup>41</sup>

The original editorial identification of the source of the citations has not always been kept: not only have corrections been made to misprints, but I have, on occasion, reallocated certain citations. When editors have indicated similarity with more than one verse, I have assigned each citation to a single verse of John but noted possible parallels at the beginning

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<sup>39</sup> These works are AUdia, AUJul im 1-3, and the works still available only in Migne – AU1Jo, AUgr, AUJud, AUJul, AUJul im 4-6, AUMax, AUMax co, AUmus, AUpers, AUprae. There is also a problem with the numbering system for AUMax co in Migne: there are forty paragraphs, numbered 1-14 and then 1-26, so the column number must also be used to avoid ambiguity. (The [augustinus.it](http://www.augustinus.it) webtext marks the second set 15.1-15.26.)

<sup>40</sup> This website has the complete Latin text of Augustine's works from Migne's *Patrologia Latina*. It appears that the works were initially scanned by optical character recognition, hence mistakes such as *uerbum caro iactum est* at AUs 23A.3 on the website. However, silent corrections have been made to the text, over the last three years, such as the citations of John 16:20-21 at AUs 210.5.7, where *tristes* has been replaced by *tristi* and *illi* by *illa*. The site is run by the Nuova Biblioteca Agostiniana, whose Italian translations are available elsewhere on the site. The site is also useful for its summary tables of dates for Augustine's sermons, and I have already mentioned the section on the scriptural text which has yet to appear.

<sup>41</sup> I have, however, included every variant reading and all gospel citations outside the commentary sequence. See further Section 3.2 below.

of each entry to enable cross-reference.<sup>42</sup> It should also be observed that Augustine sometimes makes "composite citations", combining different biblical verses: within John, these have been separated into their constituent parts. Some editors have marked citations with a verbal correspondence to the text as allusions (and vice versa): the final classification is mine, based on the definitions set out in Section 1.5.1 below, although this is only intended as a rough guide in order to give a context for certain changes or inaccuracies. I have, for the most part, kept the spelling conventions from each edition (such as assimilation of compound verbs), but not marked such variants as alterations to the biblical text. Most punctuation and capitalisation has been removed.<sup>43</sup> The final collection, listed in full in the Appendix, enables an independent comparison to be made with the Vetus Latina Database.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> For example, John 13:10 (*et uos mundi estis sed non omnes*) is linked to John 15:3 (*iam uos mundi estis*); John 6:57 (*in me manet et ego in illo*) is similar to John 15:5 (*qui manet in me et ego in eo*); John 1:29 has textual parallels with all three Synoptic Gospels, whose influence can be seen in Augustine's narration of the baptism of Jesus. The practice of the volumes of the *New Testament in the Greek Fathers* is to have an appendix with citations whose source is ambiguous, although the same citation is occasionally printed twice under different verses. The *Biblia Patristica* series used a marking 'E' to refer to a gospel parallel whose referent could not be determined, allocating all such citations to Matthew (1977:10).

<sup>43</sup> This was initially a device to aid with computer collation of the text, but as punctuation would not have been recorded in Augustine's original manuscripts, its absence is justifiable. The *New Testament in the Greek Fathers* series has minimal punctuation and omits accents.

<sup>44</sup> When my collection was complete, I compared the results with the Vetus Latina Database for selected chapters (John 7, 16 and 20). The accuracy of each collection is similar, given slight differences in criteria: the Vetus Latina Database includes all identical repetitions (and titles) in the *Tractatus in Iohannem* and permits multiple identifications of the same citation. In the 111 verses compared, my collection totalled 801, as opposed to 1100 in the Vetus Latina Database; 302 of these are repetitions in the *Tractatus*. There were 11 verbatim citations and 55 other references in my collection not found in the Vetus Latina Database, and 12 verbatim citations and 42 other references in this database not identified in my initial survey. These additional entries have subsequently been incorporated into the Appendix. Overall, this demonstrates that the Vetus Latina Database is comprehensive and renders independent work largely superfluous, although there are, as might be expected, a handful of minor errors. For example, only two citations are listed for John 7:3 and Augustine is ignored; some pseudonymous material is still included under Augustine (e.g. AUs Mor 9 in John 16:8-10) and there are a number of duplicate cards. It is hardly necessary to say that inaccuracies and oversights are bound also to occur in my own list in the Appendix.

## 1.4 Presentation of citations

There are a number of different ways in which the citations may be presented, each with its own advantages and disadvantages. I have chosen to set out the citations verse by verse, which allows for easy reference and textual comparison but unfortunately splits up citations of more than one verse. I have indicated these longer citations by a reference in square brackets with details of the preceding verse. Thus for a citation of John 7:35-37, the citation of verse 36 would begin with [*Jn 7:35*] and the citation of verse 37 with [*Jn 7:36*]. In the case of a citation of this passage in which Augustine had omitted verse 36, running the outside verses together, the citation of verse 37 would begin [*Jn 7:35*]. Other scriptural references are also indicated in this way. Cases in which there are two citations of the same verse in the same paragraph, once by itself and once as part of a longer citation, may lead to difficulty in identifying the antecedent of the longer citation. This can often be resolved by comparing line numbers, although reference can always be made to the original edition.

I have arranged the citations for each verse according to the alphabetical order of Augustine's works. Although a case could be made for a chronological sequence, which might display a change over time, there is no universally-agreed scheme for dating Augustine's works, and dates are frequently reassessed.<sup>45</sup> This sequence would also involve the separate placing of each sermon (several of which are not assigned dates) and the division of works composed over a period of time, which would raise more problems in locating a particular citation than it is likely to provide illumination of any textual development. Chronological

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<sup>45</sup> For the purposes of this study, I follow the dating of the Institut Vetus Latina publications unless specified otherwise (Frede 1995, Gryson 1999a, Gryson 2004). It is worth noting that Gryson 2004 has a number of changes in the dating of Augustine's works, incorporating some of the conclusions of Hombert 2000. Not even Milne presents the citations according to his chronological order. On the dating of Augustine's works, see La Bonnardière (1965) and Hombert (2000).

order, however, features in the analysis of Augustine's text of John in Chapter Three, in order to complement the listing of citations.

At the head of each verse is given its text from the current critical edition of the Vulgate, the Stuttgart Vulgate (Weber-Gryson 1994). Where the citations differ from this text (including omissions), this is marked in bold type, partly for ease of recognising differences and partly as a double-check when transcribing in order to ensure careful comparison between both texts.<sup>46</sup> I considered using the continuous text from Augustine's *Tractatus in Iohannis euangelium* as a base text. Although this would have the merit of presenting solely Augustinian material and not giving undue weight to the Vulgate tradition, there are too many arguments against this: different *tractatus* follow different biblical texts, there are some groups of verses and numerous half-lines which do not feature at all in the *tractatus*, and the only modern edition falls short of critical standards in many ways. The Old Latin manuscripts are too divergent to provide an obvious base text.

#### 1.4.1 Additional material: manuscript readings

One of the principal concerns with the use of patristic evidence is whether a Father's biblical text has been faithfully transmitted. It was observed by F.J.A. Hort that manuscripts of

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<sup>46</sup> Milne 1926 uses a complicated system of bold and/or italic type to indicate agreement with different text-types. See also Fee's suggestion of a typographic system for indicating confidence in the text of citations (1993:351-354). Note that the Vulgate has a slightly different numeration from most editions at the end of John 6, splitting John 6:51 into two separate verses: this means that the list of citations does not coincide with Matzkow-Jülicher-Aland or Nestle-Aland in these verses.

Church Fathers were especially prone to corruption in scriptural citations.<sup>47</sup> This potential problem is especially pertinent in Old Latin studies, given the widespread acceptance of the Vulgate. Such harmonisation may be either conscious or unconscious, but once introduced it is unlikely to be corrected. The only way to approach the issue is to include all the evidence of manuscript variation within Augustine's own textual tradition, to see if any "Vulgatising" tendencies can be detected. I have therefore included all variants in the gospel citations which are listed in the critical apparatus of the editions of Augustine's works. The majority of Augustine manuscripts date from the ninth and tenth centuries, over five hundred years after his death, so it is often not possible to trace the whole transmission history of a work, and corruption may have crept in at an early stage.

There is also the possibility that genuine Old Latin variants are present in the manuscript tradition but do not feature in the editorial text. Older editors, too, have been accused of harmonising biblical citations to later versions.<sup>48</sup> In the Appendix, manuscript variants have

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<sup>47</sup> Westcott-Hort 1882:202-203. Similar observations are made by Fee (1993:335), Burton (2000:4) and Frede, who observes "Nicht selten wurden die Bibelzitate in den patristischen Hss von Lesern und Korrektoren nach der ihnen geläufigen Fassung abgeändert" (1972:469) and offers examples on the following page. The extent of the problem is difficult to assess: Ehrman's claim that corrections are present in "virtually all the church Fathers" (1986:6) contrasts with Mullen's more sober account of "Byzantinizing modifications" in only one manuscript of Cyril of Jerusalem (1997:338), Suggs' observation that "there is little evidence of systematic revision of New Testament citations except in translated works" (1958:140) and Monceaux's statement that "ces substitutions sont relativement rares dans les ouvrages des premiers Pères, surtout quand il s'agit de citations courtes." (1901:100).

<sup>48</sup> Erroneous readings in the editorial text of citations in Augustine's works edited by Zycha, Cyprian by Hartel and Pelagius by Souter are noted by Frede 1972:470. On Zycha's text, see also the comments of Solignac, who emphasises "la nécessité de respecter la tradition manuscrite quand il s'agit d'un texte biblique. Sans doute même vaut-il mieux dans ce cas pécher par excès plutôt que par défaut" (1987:552). Fahey (1971:23) lists the errors in Hartel's Cyprian and provides a completely new scriptural index. On the Greek side, Ehrman claims that Migne's *Patrologia Graeca* is "of practically no value for establishing the original wording of the NT" (1986:6), while in contrast Suggs reckons that the overall picture of variants in Migne offers "a fairly accurate picture" (1958:141). This corresponds to my experience of using the *Patrologia Latina* for Augustine's sermons, which feature a number of non-Vulgate readings.

been indicated following the citation, identified by the editorial sigla from each edition.<sup>49</sup> There are comparatively few significant variants for Augustine's text of John in the manuscript tradition of his works: those of interest, I have considered in the discussion of individual works in Chapter Three.

#### 1.4.2 Additional material: introductions

When transcribing citations, it soon became apparent that the context of each citation, especially its introduction, was of importance in assessing its textual significance and forming a picture of Augustine's citing habits.<sup>50</sup> Some verses might be explicitly introduced as gospel citations, while others might be more loosely indicated. On occasion, the citation is prompted by the occurrence of a particular word in Augustine's argument or another citation, which is then glossed by the words from John: key words from the citation may also be anticipated in Augustine's introduction or recur afterwards. I have therefore included in italics such extra material as seemed relevant from before the citation and also any interjections in the biblical text, for example the addition of *dixit* after direct speech or *quid hoc?* preceding the evangelist's explanation, using the sign "..." to indicate words omitted.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> I have also included some manuscript readings from other editions. These are:

1) AUs: in certain sermons, following the edition of Poque 1966. (If the editorial text differs in this edition from Migne, I have preserved both in my list, as at John 13:37.)

2) AUdo: the CSEL edition (Green, CSEL 80: 1963) includes a number of manuscripts not recorded in Martin (CC 32: 1962): I have added any variants in brackets after the CC apparatus: there are no differences in the editorial text of the citations of John between the two editions. It should be noted that some editors include earlier editions or the Vulgate among their textual witnesses, marking Vulgate forms with a 'v' in the critical apparatus.

<sup>50</sup> Compare Prigent: "le contexte patristique est capital pour l'appréciation de la réalité du texte allégué" (1972:441).

<sup>51</sup> Brooks 1991 uses "..." to indicate both omission of non-scriptural text and identity of citation with his base text, which is confusing. I have recorded all scriptural text in full.



Other scriptural citations in the neighbourhood of each example are represented by a reference in square brackets, as already seen in the method of indicating citations which span a number of verses. For example, Augustine follows a citation of John 11:44 with Matthew 18:18 in *Sermo* 139A.2:

Christus dicit: Soluite eum, et sinite illum. Soluite, soluite: quae solueritis in terra, soluta erunt in caelo. (AUs 139A.2)

In the listing in the Appendix, the text of non-Johannine citations is not normally included, but only the reference. Intervening words are marked in italics. Thus the entry for this citation reads:

*christus dicit* soluite eum et sinite **illum**. *soluite soluite* [Matt 18:18] AUs 139A.2

The inclusion of this information follows the principle of the *orchestration scripturaire* in the *Biblia Augustiniana* and is useful for purposes of exegesis as well as this method of dating. I have not been able to find any explanation of the criteria for the *orchestration scripturaire* as featured in the *Biblia Augustiniana*, so I have only included references directly adjoining the citation, and have made no attempt to be exhaustive. In commentaries such as *De sermone domini* and the *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, I have also endeavoured to include the reference to the text under consideration.

## 1.5 Identification of citations and questions of accuracy

A number of ways of identifying citations have been proposed, together with different categories for classification. A scriptural citation may be defined as **the deliberate employment of a sequence of words corresponding to one found in the Bible**.<sup>52</sup> As all Christian discourse, and particularly the Latin of the Church Fathers, is

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<sup>52</sup> I will use the term "citation" to indicate biblical references in this broadest sense throughout my study, unless I specifically indicate that the more narrow definition of "citation" in Section 1.5.1 is intended.

developed from and heavily influenced by the biblical register, it is necessary to demonstrate that reference to Scripture is intended rather than coincidental. For example, to categorise every occurrence of *agnus dei* as a citation of John 1:29 is excessive: this image is widespread elsewhere in the New Testament and in Christian liturgy. Length is therefore also a factor in identifying citations: unless there is compelling evidence that a citation is intended, I have ignored references of only two or three words.<sup>53</sup> It should be possible to show pragmatically that the reference is intentional, either by means of an introductory formula or some other functional signification, such as reference to the scriptural context of the verse. Citation formulae can vary from the general *scriptum est* ("it is written") or *dominus dixit* ("the Lord said") to explicit indications of book and passage. These are clear indications that a Church Father is making a deliberate reference to Scripture, although they do not in themselves guarantee the accuracy of the biblical text which follows.<sup>54</sup>

An alternative and complementary approach is to identify citations on the basis of their correspondence to known forms of the biblical text. This is necessary for citations which are not introduced as such, but a degree of latitude must be allowed: if only those texts are admitted which are identical to surviving biblical manuscripts, then no new variant readings

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<sup>53</sup> A minimum length of "at least three words" is approved by Osburn 2005:319. In the Appendix, I have sometimes marked these shorter phrases as allusions. An exception may occur when words or phrases are repeated from a passage already cited in full, for example a word by word commentary on a verse. If the words correspond to the Vulgate text, I have ignored repetitions, but if they feature non-Vulgate terms or phrasing, I have included them (for example, the reading *latenter* in John 7:10).

<sup>54</sup> For indications of intentionality in a citation, see the examples quoted in Osburn 2005:319-323. Frede constructs a system of classification based on the introductory material: "Fehlt eine Einführungsformel die das Zitat kenntlich macht, ist die Wahrscheinlichkeit gering, daß er wörtlich zitiert; wird ausdrücklich das Buch namhaft gemacht, dem die Stelle entnommen ist, oder handelt es sich um eine längere Anführung, kann man gewöhnlich damit rechnen daß ein wörtliches Zitat vorliegt." (Frede 1972:460). Ehrman, however, is pessimistic, warning that (for Didymus the Blind, at any rate): "citation formulae can just as easily precede paraphrases as citations" (1986:12).

or alternative material will be found in the Church Fathers! It is therefore appropriate to invoke a "corresponding sequence of words" rather than exact repetition: if a Father was using a biblical exemplar, it may no longer be extant. In an extreme case, there may be no verbal correspondence with known forms of the biblical text. This is especially likely among the variety of Old Latin versions, where the same Greek text may be rendered in a number of ways. For example, in *De Baptismo*, Augustine cites John 20:23 in the following form:

si cui dimiseritis dimittentur si cui tenueritis tenebuntur. (AUba 5.21.29)

Although this broadly translates the Greek, the form of text is completely different in the Vulgate:

quorum remiseritis peccata remittuntur eis quorum retinueritis detenta sunt.<sup>55</sup>

It is therefore important to be alert to the variety of renderings which may be found in Latin works.<sup>56</sup>

It is commonly agreed that citation from memory was the norm in the early Church, and in the majority of cases it is impossible to prove that an author relied on a codex for his biblical text.<sup>57</sup> Even so, citations made from memory are not without value: the importance of

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<sup>55</sup> There is limited support for Augustine's reading in the surviving Old Latin tradition. The closest parallel is in Codex Palatinus: *si cui remiseritis peccata remittentur illi si cuius detinueritis detenta erunt*.

<sup>56</sup> Frede notes a further complicating factor: as well as deriving from Latin translations of the Bible which were already in circulation, there is always the possibility that an author may have gone back to a Greek Bible to produce his own form of text (as may be the case with Tertullian) or translated a citation found in the writing of a Greek Father on which he was relying (1972:462, 467). Neither of these seem likely for Augustine, whose knowledge of Greek appears to have been limited (see Section 2.2.2 below).

<sup>57</sup> Compare the preference of Papias for oral rather than written tradition (Parker 1992:280; Gamble 1995:30). Ehrman claims that "with the exception of lengthy citations, quotations were normally drawn from memory without consulting a biblical manuscript" (1986:5), although the practice is likely to have been different for certain genres of writing. Monceaux 1901:109 claims that Tertullian was more likely to cite from memory in apologetic works, while Hoek (1996:224-225) and Mullen (1997:19) give examples of Clement of Alexandria and Cyprian respectively relying on notes.

memorisation in ancient education resulted in a correspondingly greater level of accurate recall, and the textual form of citations made from memory reflects versions which were in circulation.<sup>58</sup> There remain errors associated with memory lapse, such as the substitution of words or the conflation of different text forms. Nonetheless, it can be difficult to distinguish these from other variations in the biblical text or even deliberate alteration. Given that scriptural quotation is frequently used to support a particular argument, this rhetorical concern could easily lead to distortion of the original.<sup>59</sup>

There is no guarantee that Church Fathers intended every citation to be a verbatim reproduction of Scripture. Indeed, once a phrase has been introduced with a citation formula, the actual form of text may become less important because the audience has been made aware that a scriptural reference is intended. There were traditionally six ways in which quoted material could be varied in antiquity: addition or omission, substitution, changes in word order, a combination of the preceding, transposition of sections and major rewriting.<sup>60</sup> In the first Christian centuries, it was considered a mark of style to incorporate citations

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<sup>58</sup> Augustine's ability would have been honed by his rhetorical training, as Knauer observes: "seine Ausbildung als Rhetor, durch die er sicher mit mnemotechnischen Hilfsmitteln vertraut war" (1955:192). Burkitt notes that "there is no doubt that in the kind of quotation where it is least likely that a writer would look the passage up in his Codex he used the type of text current in his younger days." (1896:57; see also Comeau 1930:56). Nonetheless, Gryson warns that "la mémoire des anciens était plus exercée que la nôtre, mais elle ne leur évitait pas de prendre ce genre de liberté avec la lettre du texte biblique" (1978:64). In spite of this, Frede remarks on the similarity observable in some authors between verbatim citations and those made from memory (1972:460).

<sup>59</sup> Compare Osburn's examples of different types of adaptation, where he notes that "at times a word or phrase more in line with the author's intended point replaces the reading in the text" and that "changes in word order appear to be intended to emphasise a particular word or phrase that is crucial to the writer's use of the text" (2005:331). Alterations associated with memory are examined at Section 2.6 below.

<sup>60</sup> Thus Fee 1993:195. A similar list can be found in Müller 2003:22. Suggs enumerates four areas in which motivated variants may occur, based on the study of Leon E. Wright: Ethical and practical, Explanatory, Stylistic and Dogmatic (1958:142).

grammatically into the flow of an argument.<sup>61</sup> On the other hand, the development of a canon of Scripture and the growing emphasis on the authority of the text meant that later authors were often more concerned to preserve the integrity of the original. Furthermore, increasing familiarity with the Bible in the wider Church meant that authors and preachers were able to allude to pericopae or scriptural images without needing to quote directly from a text.

### 1.5.1 Classification of citations

In order to distinguish between different types of biblical references, a number of schemes of varying complexity have been proposed for the classification of citations. A balance must be struck between too few categories, which fail to differentiate the material adequately, and excessively detailed criteria, which introduce anachronistic distinctions and rely overly on subjective editorial allocation. The most basic division, used by the *Biblia Patristica* and many editorial indices, is between verbatim **citation** and non-verbatim **allusion**. For text-critical purposes, however, at least one intermediate stage is desirable, to indicate citations which have undergone some form of alteration but are still sufficiently close to biblical witnesses to be of textual value. This is embodied in the scheme developed by Gordon Fee for the *New Testament in the Greek Fathers*, which involves a tripartite division between **citations**, **adaptations** and **allusions**. Although this seems to be broadly adequate, the reliance on

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<sup>61</sup> See, for example, the observations of Clement of Alexandria and Rufinus mentioned in Osburn 2005:330. Frede terms this "die Einheitlichkeit Stilprinzip" and notes "Er arbeitet nicht mit dem wörtlichen Zitat, sondern mit Anklang und Anspielung, mit Worten und Wendungen, die in den eigenen Sprachstil in freier Weise umgesetzt werden" (1972:457). Gryson too notes in Latin Church Fathers a tendency "qui les porte, suivant les canons de la prose classique, à conformer leurs citations au discours dans lequel elles s'insèrent" (1978:49). We should also bear in mind Van den Hoek's observation that "in ancient rhetorical traditions, citing by name was not customary or even polite, because the educated audience was supposed to know their classics" (1996:229).

textual correspondence to define these three categories is also a drawback to their wider use. Two broader types of reference have therefore been added from patristic studies, **reminiscences** and **locutions**, which gives a five-fold classification.<sup>62</sup>

**Citations** normally comprise the majority of scriptural references in any collection and criteria for further differentiation would be an advantage. This is demonstrated by Osburn's lengthy treatment of different types of "Accurate Explicit Citations", including no fewer than nine different sub-groups (2005:319-330). Although some of these are defined by the presence of introductory formulae or the length of the citation, the key distinction is that of the certainty with which a Father's text may be treated as representative of a biblical manuscript known to him. Fee gives four instances of "absolute certainty":

1. When in his subsequent discussion the Father makes a point of the very words used by the biblical author.
2. When in a commentary or homily the subsequent discussion confirms the wording of a citation.
3. When the Father actually cites a known variation to his own text.
4. When in a commentary, homily, or controversial treatise, the Father repeats the text in the same way again and again. (Fee 1993:351-352).<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Thus Osburn 2005:318. This is similar to the five classes used in Ernest 2004, although Ernest replaces **adaptations** by **quotations**, which he defines as a correspondence with the biblical text which is not identified as a scriptural reference (2004:39-40). *Quotations* and *reminiscences* are thus the unmarked equivalents of formally introduced *citations* and *allusions*. This loses the precision of the text-critical categories and may rely on a distinction not felt in antiquity: context and length may have acted as "citation markers" in the absence of a formulaic introduction. More elaborate systems have also been proposed in conjunction with particular authors. Frede 1971:88-89 has a three-fold categorisation which appears to correspond to citation, allusion and locution.

<sup>63</sup> Fee suggests that citations which meet these criteria should be indicated with bold type, while those conforming to his subsequent six indications of "a high degree of probability" should be presented in capital letters, and everything else in lower case (Fee 1993:352-354; see also Fee 1995:201-202). This does not appear to have been widely adopted.

I suggest that references which are most likely to reflect a biblical text should be described as **primary citations**. The exact nature of these will vary from author to author, and they can only be identified by careful comparison of the entire collection of a Father's citations and extant manuscript witnesses. Sometimes, it is a question of genre. For certain Fathers, the initial citations (or *lemmata*) of a biblical commentary will qualify.<sup>64</sup> In the case of Augustine's *Tractatus in Iohannis euangelium* (AUJo), the discussion below in Chapter Three suggests that the first citation of each verse has been more or less accurately reproduced from a biblical manuscript. Sermons which are based on a lectionary reading of John also have a claim to accuracy for the passage of text under discussion, given Augustine's use of a codex when preaching.<sup>65</sup> Two other works qualify as primary sources by the nature of their composition: *De consensu euangelistarum* (AUEv), a detailed comparison of the four Gospels, relies heavily on the exact wording of Scripture, while the *Speculum quis ignorat* (AUspe) is a compendium of biblical verses.<sup>66</sup> Other primary citations will be dispersed throughout a Father's works. In addition to explicit references to manuscripts and discussions of alternative readings, as mentioned above, some citations will qualify by virtue of their length, which implies consultation of a codex, or other distinguishing features.

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<sup>64</sup> Commentary *lemmata* are the subject of considerable debate. Fee describes them as "notoriously poor risks", due to the possibility that they were either added later or altered during transmission, unless, like the *lemmata* in Origen's Commentary on John, it can be demonstrated that they have been accurately preserved (Fee 1993:355 (and 1995:203); see further Ehrman, Fee & Holmes 1992, where **lemma** is added as a separate category). Osburn 2005:342 notes Gignac's suggestion that the initial citations in Chrysostom's Commentary on Acts derive from a written text.

<sup>65</sup> See further Section 2.4.1.

<sup>66</sup> Citations in chronological sequence in *De consensu euangelistarum* are more accurate than references out of context (see Section 3.3.1), while the authenticity of the *Speculum* has been questioned and the current form of its biblical text seems to be the work of a later editor (Section 3.3.2).

As with all schemes of classification dependent on likelihood, the category of primary citations is permeable and relies on an editorial decision based on familiarity with the material.<sup>67</sup> Nonetheless, a few examples will demonstrate the effectiveness of this differentiation within Augustine. In John 6:44, eight citations read *nemo potest uenire*, with all biblical manuscripts, while fifteen citations have *nemo uenit*. The longer text appears in the initial citation of the commentary sermon (AUJo 26.2.4) and in the only other work which also cites the previous verse (AUprae 8.13). There is no primary citation which reads *nemo uenit*. Along with the lack of manuscript attestation, this suggests that the shorter form, despite its greater frequency, is Augustine's own abbreviation and therefore less textually significant. Similarly, in John 13:34, although Augustine reads *ut uos inuicem diligatis* thirty-one times, eight citations have *ut diligatis inuicem*. The latter is the sole reading of Latin biblical manuscripts and, tellingly, the only one found in primary citations, which make up five of these eight references (AUEv 3.2.5, AUEv 3.2.6, AUJo 64.4.26, AUJo 65.1.2, AUSpe 28). By contrast, lectionary sermons offer a more limited degree of certainty, as is shown in John 20:29. Eight citations have the perfect tense, *beati qui non uiderunt et crediderunt*, the reading of all Old Latin manuscripts: three of these seven works are primary sources, including one lectionary sermon (AUEv 3.25.75, AUJo 121.5.17, AUs 143.3.3). The alternative, present tense form, *beati qui non uident et credunt*, is unique to Augustine and appears sixteen times, including two lectionary sermons (AUs 259.1 and AUs 375C.4). This indicates either that the present tense appeared in manuscripts which are no longer preserved, or that Augustine's rewriting of the verse found its way into two sermons in which he did not pay close attention to the text in front of him.

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<sup>67</sup> Mullen describes his re-evaluation of the initial allocation of category once he had become more familiar with an author's citing habits (1997:62).



Other citations, for which it is less likely that the author referred to a biblical manuscript even though he may still use an introductory formula and correspond to a known text-type, may be described as **secondary citations**. Most, if not all, of these will have been made from memory.<sup>68</sup> One feature of such citations, as we have already seen in the previous paragraph, is that they are often abbreviated. Fee notes how "the short form ... became the popular form of citation in a kind of oral tradition".<sup>69</sup> If both primary and secondary citations are included in a single category without differentiation, this can impede attempts to identify an author's textual affiliation, and may also affect the results of quantitative analysis. On the other hand, if secondary citations have an identical form of text to primary citations, their value as textual evidence is correspondingly greater, as well as indicating that a Father was accurate in his citation of memorised forms.<sup>70</sup> I have not attempted to distinguish between primary and secondary citations in the list in the Appendix, although the terms will feature in my discussion in later chapters.

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<sup>68</sup> The distinction between primary and secondary citations is inherent in Fee's definition of citations as: "those places where a Father is consciously trying to cite, *either from memory or by copying*, the very words of the biblical text" (Fee 1993:340, repeated in 1993:304; my italics). As it is possible that a citation classed as secondary may have been taken from a codex, an element of doubt reflects the gap between an author's original practice and a modern editor's judgment of the surviving evidence.

<sup>69</sup> Fee 1993:343. Suggs also observes that oral citations of the Gospels tend to a harmonised form (1958:141). This is one of the drawbacks of the *lectio breuior, potior* approach of Boismard and Blass (see Fee 1993:336). The fact that a shorter form of text is found in a number of Church Fathers does not imply that they were working from a more primitive text.

<sup>70</sup> Brooks (1991:25-26) and Mullen (1997:23) use the proportion of citations which are preceded by formulae as an indication of a Father's consciousness of the citation process and level of accuracy, although the latter observes that the relationship between a Father's citations and surviving biblical manuscripts may be obscured by too narrow or too wide a definition of citation (1997:62 note 5).

The next category is that of **adaptation**, defined by Fee as:

"Reference to a biblical passage, which has clear verbal correspondence to the Greek New Testament, but which has been adapted to fit the Father's discussion and/or syntax".<sup>71</sup>

The degree of adaptation can vary significantly. Osburn observes that "perhaps the most common type of adaptation is simply the omission of words, phrases, or even entire clauses that are irrelevant for a writer's purpose" (2005:330). Such omissive references are normally treated as partial verbatim citations, however, and it seems preferable to reserve the term "adaptation" for more intentional changes. At the most basic level, this may involve the addition or alteration of an initial connective whilst preserving the rest of the verse verbatim. More far-reaching types of alteration may be seen in changes to word order, the person, tense or mood of verbs or the number and case of nouns. For example, Augustine turns one citation of John 1:14 into an apostrophe:

uerbum caro factum **es** ut **habitares** in nobis. (AUPs 109.6.26).<sup>72</sup>

It is more difficult to decide whether other types of variation, such as those involving proper nouns and pronouns (e.g. reading *eum* for *iesum*), are adaptations or readings from a manuscript: these are just the sort of variants which may originate as glosses or marginalia and later become part of the text. In John 8:20, Augustine may have inserted *iesus* in his commentary for clarification:

haec uerba locutus est **iesus** in gazophylacio docens in templo. (AUJo 37.8.1)

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<sup>71</sup> Fee 1993:340, repeated in 1993:304. Suggs observes that " 'stylistic' alterations constitute the largest class of intentional changes in a patristic source", referring to considerations of syntax, removal of particles, substitution of finite verb forms for participles and infinitives and changes in case (1958:142). Although I initially preferred the term *redaction* as a more specific indication of grammatical alteration, I have used *adaptation* for consistency with other studies.

<sup>72</sup> The purpose clause in this verse is a frequently-found adaptation of Augustine, with no support in biblical manuscripts. In such instances it can be difficult to decide whether to mark the variants in bold type, since it is improbable that they represent the reading of any manuscript known to Augustine. In most adaptations, therefore, I have not typographically highlighted the adapted element as a variant.

On the other hand, although this is missing from the majority of Latin witnesses, its presence in a handful of Old Latin and Vulgate manuscripts suggests that Augustine probably took it from his exemplar. In such cases of doubt, these readings are not marked in the index as adaptations, where the term is only intended as a general indication.<sup>73</sup>

Adaptations may sometimes have preserved a Father's text more accurately than citations because of their resistance to change.<sup>74</sup> If a biblical verse or word has been grammatically incorporated into the text, it is less liable to be altered by a copyist to a more familiar version. For example, although both *terrena* and *terrestria* are found in Augustine's commentary on John 3:12 (AUJo 12.7, discussed in Section 3.2.1 below), the former appears to have been the reading of Augustine's manuscript because it occurs eight times in the course of his argument. Similarly, the comment:

fores autem clausae erant cum ad eos intrauit, quod solus Iohannes commemorat.  
(AUEv 3.25.75)

confirms that Augustine used a Vulgate text for John 20:19 in this work, reading *cum ... fores essent clausae* rather than the Old Latin *ostiis clusis*. Conversely, adaptations may be looser in their adherence to the original, as they are not normally preceded by citation formulae. This has been observed by Folliet in his recent edition of Augustine's *De correptione et gratia*. He notes that on the seventeen occasions when 1 Timothy 2:4 is introduced by the words *dixit*, *dixerat*, *dictum est* or *scriptum est* it follows the standard biblical text, but in the seven other examples when there is no explicit introduction a variant

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<sup>73</sup> Compare Ehrman, Fee & Holmes 1992:22; "the labels are merely designed to enable a reader to gauge the approximate accuracy of a given reference." Hulley 1944:100 gives an example of a marginal note by Jerome which was incorporated into a biblical manuscript.

<sup>74</sup> Frede, too, observes that "la conformité des citations libres constitue une preuve beaucoup plus forte que celle des citations littérales" (1995:27).

form appears.<sup>75</sup> This suggests that there may be some correlation between the presence of a citation formula and the accuracy of the following text.

A number of definitions have been proposed for the category of **allusion**. The most satisfactory is that of Osburn:

"A reference to the content of a certain biblical passage in which some verbal or motif correspondence is present, but reflecting intent to give only the gist of the text rather than to cite" (2005:318).

The inclusion of a criterion of intention is significant: allusions are indicated by an explicit reference to their scriptural source, even though verbal overlap is minimal.<sup>76</sup> Allusions may still be significant for the biblical text, but to a lesser extent than adaptations. This is especially true in the Old Latin tradition, where certain renderings are diagnostic of particular text-types. One example is Augustine's use of *puteum* in most of his allusions to John 4:6, which is characteristic of a small group of manuscripts. Allusions are even less likely than adaptations to have been harmonised to a different biblical text.<sup>77</sup> On the other hand, it can sometimes be difficult to determine the exact extent and reference of allusions, and to assign them to an individual verse. I have usually listed them under the first verse of the passage, although where possible I have divided them between different verses on the basis of verbal correspondence. It is often the case that direct speech from a later part of the story is quoted in full even if the narrative is abbreviated. Despite their limited value for

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<sup>75</sup> The standard form is *qui omnes homines uult saluos fieri*; in the other citations, "Augustin est plus libre et insère la citation dans son discours où le mot *uult* apparaît sous diverses formes *uelle, uelit, uoluerit*." (Folliet 2000:207).

<sup>76</sup> Ernest 2004:39 also classes allusions as a type of "marked" biblical reference. Fee's description, "reference to the content of a biblical passage in which verbal correspondence to the NT Greek text is so remote as to offer no value for the reconstruction of that text" (Fee 1993:340, repeated in 1993:304) is unduly narrow and fails to refer to intention. In fact, Fee himself uses the marking "ADAPT." to indicate both allusions and adaptations in his work on Origen and Cyril (Fee 1993:305).

<sup>77</sup> This observation is also made by Prigent 1972:441.

textual reconstruction, allusions are still of theological and exegetical interest and constitute a key element of a Father's use of Scripture.

The category of **reminiscence** is distinguished from that of allusions by the absence of formal markers and the lack of intent to cite. The scriptural source of a reminiscence is identified on the basis of verbal correspondence, which is overlooked by definitions which minimise this element, although it is true that the similarity rarely extends beyond a few words. Instead, a reminiscence may be defined as *a verbal resemblance to a biblical phrase with no reference to its context or discernible intention to cite*.<sup>78</sup> Although these have hardly any value for textual reconstruction (Osburn 2005:340 suggests that they could be used to indicate the inclusion of a disputed passage in a Father's text), it is useful to have an unmarked counterpart to the category of allusion. Despite the breadth of this category, there are few meaningful examples which can be identified. For instance, I mentioned above that *agnus dei* is too widespread always to be related to John 1:29, and the same may be said of *unigenitus filius* unless there is more to connect it with either John 1:14, 1:18 or 3:16. However, *princeps mundi* often appears in Augustine alongside other elements of John 12:31 or 14:30, and La Bonnardière (1986:224) has shown that his references to *praepositus mortis* also feature in the context of the latter verse. Longer references which coincide with a key scriptural word are easier to class as reminiscences, such as:

deus igitur spiritus sanctus qui procedit ex deo. (AUtri 15.17.128)

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<sup>78</sup> Fee was aware of this category although he did not adopt it in his own scheme: earlier users include Householder (see Hagendahl 1947:119) and Duplacy (see Fee 1993:340). It is employed by Van den Hoek 1996, who describes a *reminiscence* as having "no literal correspondences but merely resemblances in theme or thought" (1996:229). Osburn defines a *reminiscence* as "a clear reference to a particular biblical text, but lacking significant verbal content and reflecting no intent to cite; an echo of a biblical text that has little or no sustained verbal correspondence to the text" (2005:318).

This corresponds to John 15:26, *spiritum ueritatis qui a patre procedit*, although there is no indication that scriptural reference is intended.<sup>79</sup>

Given the definition of a **locution** as "The use of biblical language in a more general way that cannot be identified with a specific text" (Osburn 2005:318), it is difficult to see any function for this category in a collection of biblical citations. For scriptural reference to be demonstrated, some correspondence with one or more verses must be invoked, which places the reference into the category of *reminiscence*. As with reminiscences, the breadth of this category is such that very few locutions are ever identified in practice.<sup>80</sup> Osburn, in fact, rebrands locutions as "common patristic terminology" and seems to treat them as a negative category, stating that they "should not be included in assessments of a Father's text" (2005:341).

## 1.6 Conclusion

In this Chapter, I have laid out the terms of reference for this study and situated it within the different strands of scholarship to which it relates. Practical and theoretical issues concerning the collection of patristic evidence have been addressed, along with an overview of different types of citation and classification schemes. This is intended to provide an introduction to the complete listing of citations, which is supplied in full in the Appendix. In Chapters Three to Five, I will analyse this information in terms of the character of Augustine's citations in individual works and his relationship to different strands of the

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<sup>79</sup> Contrast the following allusion to the same verse, when scriptural reference is explicit although there is even less verbal correspondence: *spiritus sanctus cum et ipse a patre exeat sicut in euangelio legitur*. (AUtri 5.14.8).

<sup>80</sup> These are all but abandoned in Ernest's study of Athanasius, on the grounds that "marking every stray instance of biblical language ... not plausibly connected to a particular verse or chapter would have been a large and pointless job" (Ernest 2004:113).

biblical tradition. Before this, there is a further preliminary stage, in which I will assess the evidence for Augustine's attitude to the biblical text and his citation habits, along with the use of scriptural codices by him and his contemporaries. This will assist in determining the reliability of his writings as a witness to the text of the New Testament and provide important evidence concerning its transmission in this period.

# Chapter Two

## *Augustine and the Bible*

### 2.1 Introduction

Augustinus: tamen cum ea de his codicibus proferretis quos dicitis infalsatos... quid facitis, dicite mihi, nisi clamaretis nullo modo uos potuisse falsare codices, qui iam in manibus essent omnium christianorum? quia mox ut facere coepissetis, uetustiorum exemplarium ueritate conuinceremini. qua igitur causa a uobis corrumpi non possent, hac causa a nemine potuerunt. quisquis enim hoc primitus ausus esset, multorum codicum uetustiorum conlatione confutaretur, maxime quia non una lingua, sed multis eadem scriptura containeretur. nam etiam nunc nonnullae codicum mendositates uel de antiquioribus uel de lingua praecedente emendantur. (AUFau 32.16).

Augustine is not normally thought of as a textual critic: his contemporary Jerome is held to be the patron of this discipline. Nonetheless, Augustine's above response to the allegation by Faustus the Manichee of falsification in the biblical text offers a succinct description of text-critical activity in the Western Church at the beginning of the fifth century and indicates the Bishop of Hippo's own familiarity with matters of textual transmission and emendation.<sup>81</sup> References to the comparison of Latin biblical manuscripts with each other and, indeed, with Greek exemplars, questions of translational variants, scribal inaccuracy, and the use (and misuse) of codices are found surprisingly frequently among Augustine's writings. He provides

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<sup>81</sup> Gamble's observation is pertinent: "What is too little recognized is that in antiquity the conscientious reader was always interested in the correction of textual corruptions since given the conditions of the production and transmission of texts, the accuracy of a text was necessarily an open question." (1995:126). See also the account of the four elements of literary study, *lectio*, *emendatio*, *enarratio* and *iudicium* in Marrou 1938:20-25 and 424ff.



much of the surviving evidence for contemporary attitudes towards the different versions of the *Vetus Latina* and the use of the Bible in the Church.

The analysis of these observations is an important step prior to evaluating Augustine's biblical text itself, in order to illuminate the context within which he worked and by which his attitude to Scripture was shaped. Augustine's education, linguistic sensitivity and familiarity with the Bible all have a bearing on his reliability as a witness to the Gospel text. Material on the public use of scriptural codices in Christian liturgy, councils and debates also offers illustrations of their function and treatment within the early Church. After considering Augustine's methods of composition and the way in which he introduces and uses biblical citations, this Chapter will identify types of alterations characteristic of reliance on memory.

## 2.2 Augustine's biblical education

Augustine's initial reaction to the Christian scriptures was profoundly negative, as he tells us in *Confessiones* 3.5.9.<sup>82</sup> In comparison with the texts of the classical canon which he had learnt at school and which provided the models for his career as a rhetorician, these predominantly literal translations, retaining many Greek and Hebraic words and constructions to the detriment of Latin usage, struck the young teacher as bizarre and uncouth. He encountered the Bible again when he became a Manichaean *auditor*, although Scripture was mediated through the works of Mani and exegesis was jealously guarded by the higher class

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<sup>82</sup> *non enim sicut modo loquor, ita sensi, cum attendi ad illam scripturam, sed uisa est mihi indigna, quam Tullianae dignitati compararem. tumor enim meus refugiebat modum eius et acies mea non penetrabat interiora eius.* See further the comments in Brown 2000:31 and O'Donnell 1992 *ad loc.*, who quotes similar passages at *De utilitate credendi* 6.13 and *Sermo* 51.5.6.

of initiates, the *electi*.<sup>83</sup> It was only when he discovered the allegorical approach of Ambrose in Milan that Augustine felt he had found a satisfactory hermeneutic with which he was able to identify spiritual truths behind the problems of the contradictory façade. The predominantly literary nature of his conversion is reinforced by the famous scene in *Confessiones* 8.12.29, in which he hears the command "*tolle, lege*", "take and read".<sup>84</sup>

Bonner notes of Augustine that "as a biblical scholar, he was essentially self-taught." (1970:550). This seems to have begun after his conversion, when he applied his secular rhetorical training to the Christian scriptures.<sup>85</sup> Before his baptism, Augustine spent a period of retreat at Cassiciacum, exploring the doctrines of his new-found faith from a predominantly neo-Platonist stance. It has often been noted how few scriptural citations are found in his works from this period.<sup>86</sup> A programme of biblical study formed part of his catechumenate.<sup>87</sup> Despite his subsequent apologetic works, Augustine's engagement with

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<sup>83</sup> On the Manichaean Bible, see further Section 4.3. Stock 1996:46 and Lancel 2002:53-54 note that only the higher ranks of Manichees knew the canonical Scriptures.

<sup>84</sup> For a rebuttal of those who question the historicity of this scene in Milan, see Mohrmann 1961a:371-381; Lancel 2002:97 also reads it as a genuine account. La Bonnardière observes that "Il est curieux de remarquer qu'en 384, les connaissances bibliques qu'avait jusqu'alors acquies Augustin – soit chez les manichéens, soit en écoutant Ambroise – lui étaient parvenus à l'audition beaucoup plus qu'à la lecture" (1986:40): the association between conversion and reading for himself was easily made by Augustine.

<sup>85</sup> Fleteren observes of Augustine that "his encounters with Scripture were primarily with the written text" (2001:2) and that "much of his sign theory stems from ancient grammarians and rhetors, not the Bible" (2001:4, also 13). His dependency on secular sources is seen in his early didactic treatises, such as the first five books of *De musica*. On his references to classical authors, see further Hagendahl 1983:61 and the thorough survey of Müller 2003.

<sup>86</sup> e.g. Bonner 1970:543 and Brown 2000:104 (who notes that Augustine's early use of "Seek and ye shall find" may have derived from the Manichees). La Bonnardière suggests a slightly greater scriptural awareness: "même encore incomplètes, les connaissances scripturaires d'Augustin en 388 sont solides, approfondies ... pendant l'année studieuse romaine de 387-388" (1986:46). However, this does not seem to be borne out by Augustine's citations. Mohrmann claims that Augustine's Cassiciacum writings are in a different idiom to his later works, seeing evidence of his gradual acclimatisation to "Christian language" (1958:44-45).

<sup>87</sup> Lancel speaks of "his deep immersion in the Bible during his baptismal catechesis" (2002:118). See also Duval 1986:270-277 and La Bonnardière 1975:151-153.

Scripture seems to have become a more pressing concern when faced with the pastoral and homiletic task of Christian ministry. Following his ordination as priest in 391, Augustine asked his bishop, Valerius, for time to study the Bible. This request appears to have been granted, and Augustine's gradual familiarisation with the text of Scripture can be seen in the increasing proportion of citations in his works and his series of biblical commentaries.<sup>88</sup> Augustine himself, in the *Retractationes*, acknowledges his early lack of familiarity with the scriptures when correcting a citation made in *De moribus* (387-8):

mendositas nostri codicis me fefellit minus memorem scripturarum in quibus nondum assuetus eram. (AUre 1.7.2).

He continued to devote considerable time to biblical study: in *Epistula* 73, he complains to Jerome that his ecclesiastical duties hindered his research.<sup>89</sup> In a sermon, when commenting on a passage of Isaiah from a codex, he laments his failure to recall the Bible as well as classical poetry:

ecce lego uobis, ne forte aliquid memoriam meam fugiat. ego enim, fratres, ab adolescentia litteras istas non didici et alia, quod peius est, superflua possum memoriter recitari. ista uero quibus non a pueritia studui, nisi codices inspiciam, pronuntiare non possum. aut forte magis utile est quod non ex ore meo, sed ex diuino libro, auditis quod salubriter noueritis. (AUs 374.19).

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<sup>88</sup> Augustine's request, in *Epistula* 21, is as follows: *debeo scripturarum eius medicamenta omnia perscrutari et orando ac legendo agere ut idonea ualeatudo animae meae, ad tam periculosa negotia tribuatur; quod ante non feci, quia et tempus non habui. tunc enim ordinatus sum cum de ipso uacationis tempore ad cognoscendas diuinas scripturas cogitarem, et sic nos disponere uellemus ut nobis otium ad hoc negotium posset esse. et quod uerum est, nondum sciebam quid mihi deesset ad tale opus quale me nunc torquet et conterit.* (AUep 21.3) Comeau takes the words *quod ante non feci* rather too literally, and suggests that this was the first occasion on which Augustine read the Bible (1930:48). Fleteren describes this sabbatical as a "decisive" time in Augustine's scriptural education (2001:5), while Bastiaensen calls it "a self-taught course in exegesis" (2001:33). Mohrmann connects it specifically with Augustine's earliest surviving sermon (AUs 214): "on sait qu'Augustin s'était préparé à la prédication par une retraite dans laquelle il avait étudié la Bible" (1958:58).

<sup>89</sup> *Nam neque in me tantum scientiae scripturarum diuinarum est, aut esse iam poterit, quantum inesse tibi uideo. et si quid in hac re habeo facultatis, utcumque impendo populo dei. uacare autem studiis diligentius quam quae populi audiunt instruendis, propter ecclesiasticas occupationes omnino non possum.* (AUep 73.2.5).

Towards the end of Augustine's ministry the appointment of Eraclius as his assistant was intended to give the bishop more time to devote to the study of Scripture. Possidius, however, tells us that even on his death-bed, Augustine asked for certain Psalms to be copied out so that he could meditate on them.<sup>90</sup>

It should not be forgotten that Augustine was regularly exposed to the Bible as he attended Christian worship, where the repetition of key verses, especially the Psalms, would have assisted memorisation. La Bonnardière claims that:

"la Bible liturgique ... représente plus de la moitié de la documentation scripturaire des écrits d'Augustin" (1986:56).<sup>91</sup>

Augustine's study of other Church Fathers also provided an armoury of key biblical illustrations and proof-texts, which he may have found in collections of *testimonia* such as Cyprian's *Testimonia ad Quirinum* or Ambrose's *De spiritu sancto*.<sup>92</sup> As might be expected, composing his own exegetical works increased Augustine's familiarity with the biblical text. This is not to say that he always relied on the same biblical codex or had memorised a particular translation: as we will see later in this Chapter, Augustine's citations from memory incorporate a number of different Old Latin elements, while Chapter Three shows how Vulgate forms gradually came to replace Augustine's "mental text" of the Gospel.

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<sup>90</sup> *Nam sibi iusserat psalmos dauidicos, qui sunt paucissimi de poenitentia, scribi, ipsosque quaterniones iacens in lecto contra parietem positos diebus suae infirmitatis intuebatur, et legebat.* (Possidius *Vita* 31.2).

<sup>91</sup> By "liturgical Bible", La Bonnardière means the use of the Scriptures in Christian worship: it is a question of situation rather than version (see La Bonnardière 1975). La Bonnardière's subsequent claim that "Augustin et son peuple de baptisés connaissent par coeur les leçons liturgiques et les Psaumes qui leur étaient liés" (1986:57) contrasts with the request for written Psalms which has just been quoted, as well as Augustine's own indications of congregational Bible reading, such as AUJo 12.11.7 (*deinde audiant uel qui non legerunt, uel qui forte lectum siue auditum obliti sunt*) and others mentioned in Section 2.4.4 below.

<sup>92</sup> See La Bonnardière 1965:85-87 and Saxer 1985b: 350-351. Pelagius also compiled a set of *testimonia*, after the example of Cyprian: Plinval says that "les dossiers de *Testimonia* ... correspondaient à une nécessité actuelle de l'apologétique" (1943:106; see also 76).

The originality of Augustine's biblical exegesis has long been a source of debate. Despite the initial attraction of Ambrose's allegorical approach, Augustine's interpretation came to be defined by the direct application of his rhetorical skills to the scriptural text before him.<sup>93</sup> There is no doubt that he drew on earlier Christian writers, including glossaries such as Jerome's *Onomasticon* for the interpretation of biblical names.<sup>94</sup> His dependence on Greek sources, probably in Latin versions, is more difficult to assess: works such as Origen's *Commentary on John* have not been preserved in full and the availability of translations is unclear.<sup>95</sup> Nonetheless, although Augustine may occasionally reproduce ideas or observations from other writers, the majority of his biblical expositions focus primarily on the text before him. His aim appears to be to provide instructive material to meet gaps in clerical education, from the lists of unusual vocabulary and constructions in the *Locutiones in Heptateuchum* to the course of study prescribed in *De doctrina christiana*.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> See Marrou 1938:424ff. and 533. As La Bonnardière summarises, "ce fut un excellent rhéteur latin et il le demeura, mettant sa culture romaine au service de la Parole de Dieu." (1986:20). Kannengiesser observes that "It is in the *delivery* of his personal understanding of scripture that the bishop of Hippo had, over several years of laborious apprenticeship, forged his own hermeneutic. By *preaching* the Word of God to common believers, not in a confined circle of scholars, he had invested the sum of his cultural and theological gifts in a hermeneutical framework of his own" (1999:174-175). Lawless offers illuminating comparisons of Augustine's exposition of John 9 in AUJo 44, the construction of AUJo 124 and the techniques of the Roman *grammaticus* (Lawless 1996 and 1992 respectively). On Augustine's use of rhetorical figures, see also Marrou 1938:79-83.

<sup>94</sup> See Altaner 1952:209; Comeau 1930:124-6; Fleteren 2001:13 and 21. Jerome's books on Hebrew names and places were all composed between 389 and 392 (Sutcliffe 1969:100).

<sup>95</sup> See Comeau 1930:29-39; she believes it "à peu près certain qu'il [Augustin] n'a pas lu le commentaire johannique du grand Alexandrin" (1930:38), but notes Augustine's dependence on numerous explanations which go back to Origen. Pontet 1946:212 agrees that Augustine had not read Origen, even in Rufinus' translation. However, Augustine does refer to Origen by name at *De ciuitate dei* 15.27.3.

<sup>96</sup> Bardy notes that works such as AUloc and AUqEv "reflètent davantage ses besoins personnels" (1954:24), while Marrou observes that "il semble bien que cette brusque prolifération de manuels réponde à un besoin nouveau" (1938:413).

As bishop, Augustine took part in a number of conciliar meetings, including the Synod of Carthage in 397 which set out a list of canonical books of Scripture.<sup>97</sup> His episcopal rank, together with his rhetorical gifts, also involved him in numerous debates with schismatics, culminating in the condemnation of the Donatists at the Conference of Carthage in 411. Both sides had recourse to Scripture as the ultimate authority: Augustine assembled his own dossier of biblical verses to counter his opponents' collection of proof-texts. In such debates, it was his emphasis on the unity of Scripture which secured the ascendancy for his exegesis. As well as these confrontations, his visits to different Christian centres in North Africa made him aware of the variety among the Latin translations of Scripture in both the Catholic and schismatic churches. An illustration of this is provided by a comment in *Retractationes* 1.21.43, where Augustine takes back his claim in an early work that Donatus had altered the text of Scripture: he had later discovered the reading to be common to a number of African codices.<sup>98</sup>

Augustine's increasing familiarity with the Bible inspired an interest in the history of its text and linguistic issues, which features in a number of his writings. The Bible was at the centre of his episcopal ministry, both as pastor and theologian, and his surviving sermons and treatises bear witness to his continual study of and meditation on the text. Peter Brown describes how the *Confessiones* were a turning point, at which Augustine "had come to believe that the understanding and exposition of the Scriptures was the heart of a bishop's life." (2000:155). This is also recognised by Gerald Bonner, who states that "The most

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<sup>97</sup> La Bonnardière suggests that an African scriptural canon may have already been established at the Council of Hippo in 393, at which Augustine was present as a priest (1986:292-293). On the use of the Bible in ecclesiastical councils, see Gaudemet 1985.

<sup>98</sup> *nos autem, et antequam esset pars Donati, sic habuisse codices plurimos uerumtamen Afros, ut non esset in medio: "et iterum tangit illum", postea didicimus* (Aure 1.21.43). The original work, *Contra epistulam Donati heretici liber unus*, is no longer preserved.

important feature of Augustine's biblical exegesis is its ecclesial quality" (1970:561): for Augustine, the Bible had to be read within the context of the Church which produced and transmitted it.<sup>99</sup>

### 2.2.1 Augustine's library and scriptorium

Augustine appears to have amassed a considerable number of books in his personal library. Despite the relatively high cost of book production in antiquity, his collection is by no means unusual. Books were generally copied to order at the expense of the borrower, who would often send his own scribes to transcribe the original *in situ*. There is also some evidence that Augustine circulated copies of his own writings.<sup>100</sup> A number of ancient centres of scholarship and manuscript production are known, pre-eminent among which was the library in Alexandria. Specifically Christian scriptoria had precedents in Origen's team of scribes:

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<sup>99</sup> On this theme, see Stock 1996:209; "for Augustine the priest and later bishop, the reading of scripture was part of the daily routine of liturgy and pastoral care". Hombert states that "Augustin, comme tous les Pères, n'a jamais voulu être qu'un commentateur des Écritures" (2000:vi), while Pontet suggests that "On pourrait dire que l'exégèse de saint Augustin est *liturgique*, plus que scientifique." (1946:157). Albaric observes that "sa théologie est avant tout scripturaire" (1986:92).

<sup>100</sup> Jerome requests Florentinus to copy books before their owners demand them back, and offers other copies in return: *ex hoc quaeso, ut eos libros, quos non habere me brevis subditus edocebit, librarii manu in charta scribi iubeas. ... et quoniam tribuente domino multis sacrae bibliothecae codicibus abundamus, impera uicissim: quodcumque uis, mittam. nec putes mihi graue esse, si iubeas: habeo alumnos, qui antiquariae arti seruiant.* (Jerome *Epistula* 5.2). Nonetheless, when Augustine asked Jerome for a copy of his translation of the Septuagint in *Epistula* 82.5.34, Jerome replied *grandem latini sermonis in ista prouincia notariorum patimur penuriam, et idcirco praeceptis tuis parere non possumus* (*Epistula* 134.2 = AUep 172.2), indicating that in this case it was he who had responsibility for organising the copying. Gamble notes of Augustine and Jerome that "their procedure of publication was consistently to deposit an exemplar with a sympathetic person (or persons) who was strategically placed to advertise the availability of the work and furnish it for private transcription" although the authors also kept their own copies (1995:138). Although Augustine seems to have used Romanianus and Alypius as his "literary agents", he also sent out copies "on approval": see AUep 101 and AUep 231.7, in addition to Lancel 2002:138.

Jerome presided over another such group in Bethlehem and the literary activity of Augustine indicates the existence of a dedicated ecclesiastical scriptorium at Hippo.<sup>101</sup>

The principal function of Augustine's library was to serve as the repository for copies of his own works. The extensive lists in Augustine's *Retractationes* and Possidius's later edition of the *Indiculum* bear witness to the careful cataloguing of these manuscripts.<sup>102</sup> It is much more difficult to determine which works of other authors were present in Augustine's collection. The evidence must be gleaned from requests for copies made in surviving letters and the range of works from which Augustine quotes verbatim. Scholars such as Altaner, Hagendahl and, more recently, Gerhard Anselm Müller have devoted extensive research to this question. It seems certain that some of the texts would be Latin translations of Greek patristic authors made by Jerome and Rufinus.<sup>103</sup>

Few scholars have noted the range of biblical manuscripts at Augustine's disposal. While the variety of his citations is well known, this is normally attributed either to imperfect memory or the use of versions belonging to different local churches. On several occasions, however, Augustine mentions the variety in his Latin copies of Scripture, sometimes referring to Greek manuscripts as in his observation on one of the petitions of the Lord's Prayer:

quod itaque dicimus deo, *ne nos inferas in tentationem*; quid dicimus nisi ne nos inferri sinas? unde sic orant nonnulli et legitur in codicibus pluribus et hoc sic posuit

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<sup>101</sup> For more on scribes and stenographers, see Section 2.4.2 below. Lancel 2002:214 observes that Augustine's scribes were employed by the church (cf. AUep 213.2). Gamble discusses the *scriptoria* of both Origen and Augustine (1995:120 and 168 respectively), while Sutcliffe 1969:98 refers to that of Jerome.

<sup>102</sup> For the *Indiculum*, which Wilmart believes formed the basis of the *Retractationes*, see Wilmart 1931:158. Gamble observes that Augustine's personal library formed the "nucleus" of the church library in Hippo (Gamble 1995:174); Possidius observes that *ecclesiae bibliothecam, omnesque codices diligenter posteris custodiendos semper iubebat* (*Vita* 31.6).

<sup>103</sup> See Altaner 1951. Brown (2000:267) suggests that Augustine's library might have included translations of Syriac authors as well.



beatissimus Cyprianus: *ne patiaris nos induci in tentationem*. in euangelio tamen graeco nusquam inueni nisi *ne nos inferas in tentationem*. (AUpers 6.12)

Another reference to Greek manuscripts is found in a comment on John 20:2, where Augustine specifically states that he has numerous manuscripts to hand:

nonnulli codices etiam graeci habent *tulerunt dominum meum* quod uideri dictum potest propensiore caritatis uel famulatus affectu, sed hoc in pluribus codicibus quos in promptu habuimus non inuenimus. (AUJo 120.6.10-13).

This is not to suggest that variety in Augustine's citations arises from the indiscriminate use of different codices. Instead, it shows that he had a number of biblical manuscripts at his disposal and frequently checked their readings when there was doubt as to the wording of the text. This comparative method is one he explicitly advocates for exegetes in *De doctrina christiana*.<sup>104</sup>

## 2.2.2 Augustine's knowledge of languages

References to Greek manuscripts raise the vexed question of Augustine's proficiency in Greek. Several commentators, perhaps relying too heavily on the dislike of Greek expressed in *Confessiones* 1.13.20 and 1.14.23, have denied Augustine anything but the most rudimentary familiarity with the language.<sup>105</sup> Others, such as Milne and De Bruyne, indicate a

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<sup>104</sup> AUdo 2.14.21. See further Section 2.3 below. Monceaux reminds us that "dans les collections plus ou moins complètes des Églises, ou dans la bibliothèque des écrivains, pouvaient se rencontrer et se suivre des manuscrits d'origine très diverse" (1901:101).

<sup>105</sup> Peter Brown calls Augustine "the only Latin philosopher in antiquity to be virtually ignorant of Greek" (2000:24), although he acknowledges that by 420 he was later able to make "a shrewd if essentially superficial comparison of a few texts in the original Greek with their translation" (2000:268). Grandgeorge states baldly that "Saint Augustin ignorait la langue grecque" (quoted in Comeau 1930:46), while Harrison 2001:159 refers to Augustine's "delightful ignorance of the Greek" in his discussion at AUEv 2.25.58. At AUtri 3.1, Augustine admits that he didn't use Greek easily, while at AUPet 2.38.91 he says *et ego quidem graece linguae perparum assecutus sum et prope nihil*. It seems unlikely that this latter, in the context of a debate, should be taken literally (see Marrou 1938:29).

considerable ability.<sup>106</sup> Comeau believes that Augustine included Greek words in order to impress his audience:

"Augustin prenait volontiers plaisir à émailler ses discours de quelques mots grecs."  
(1930:58).

The majority of such observations are commonplaces which easily reproduced from another source, such as the etymology of *hydria*, *encaenia* or *parasceue*.<sup>107</sup> There are occasional blunders, such as his failure at AUJo 50.6.10 to recognise *pisticus* in John 12:3 as a direct borrowing from Greek. However, Augustine's first-person comments on biblical variants imply that he had checked Greek manuscripts for himself, as in the following correction to an earlier work:

item quod posui de libro Salomonis, *Vanitas uanitantium dixit Ecclesiastes*, in multis quidem codicibus legi; sed hoc Grecus non habet; habet autem *uanitas uanitatum*, quod postea uidi, et inueni eos Latinos esse ueriores qui habent uanitatum non uanitantium. (AUre 1.7.3).<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> Milne says that "he had an ample knowledge of Greek" (1926:xv) and Zarb says "*sufficienter callebat linguam graecam*" (1938:299) while De Bruyne is slightly more circumspect: "sa connaissance de grec, bien que plus étendue qu'on ne dit généralement ... n'était pas parfaite" (De Bruyne 1931:577). Ries 1963:203 reports the bizarre claim of J. Ritchie Smith (1904) that Augustine knew all Latin literature and had read all Greek literature! The middle ground is taken by scholars such as Bonner (1970:546, 550), Bogaert (1998:42) and Bastiaensen, who says "his command of Greek was a limited one, not sufficient for an easy assimilation of the contents of theological treatises" (2001:33-34).

<sup>107</sup> Found in AUJo 15.30, AUJo 48.2.1 and AUJo 117.2.4 respectively. Comeau says that "toutes les explications de ce genre ne supposent nullement un recours au texte grec des évangiles" (1930:58-61). On the four types of Greek words used by Augustine, see Marrou 1938:32-33.

<sup>108</sup> For more comments on Greek readings, see AUre 1.19.4 on the well-known variant *sine causa* in Matthew 5:22; AUre 2.24.2 on Galatians 3:19 (*ueriores codices inspexi, maxime Grecos*); AUdo 3.3.7 on Psalm 138:20 (where the Greek clarifies the Latin *os*); AUdo 3.4.8 on 1 Thess. 3:7 (to determine the case of *fratres*); AUep 265.3 on Acts 1:5 (using the Greek to confirm the correct rendering). Other references to comparison of manuscripts are found in AUpers 6.12 and AUJo 120.6.10 quoted in Section 2.2.1 above, as well as AUep 71.4, reproduced in 2.3.2, where Augustine says that he has compared Jerome's Vulgate against the Greek.

On occasion, Augustine makes a more advanced linguistic point which suggests greater facility with the language, for example his discussion of the word *principium* in John 8:25:

in graeco namque eloquio discernitur, quod non potest in latino. apud graecos enim feminini generis est principium... (AUJo 38.11.12)

In AUJo 115.4.7, Augustine elucidates the ambiguous *ego in hoc natus sum* (John 18:37) by noting that the Greek (εἰς τοῦτο) indicates that the Latin demonstrative is accusative, rather than ablative. A similar distinction between *hoc malum* and *hunc malum* (1 Cor 5:13) is resolved by the Greek:

satis Greca lingua indicat, ubi sine ambiguitate scriptum est. (AUre 2.17.1).<sup>109</sup>

He also discusses the semantics of the word ἐρωτήσετε in John 16:23, without actually quoting the Greek:

hoc uerbum quod est rogare, non solum petere, uerum etiam interrogare significat, et graecum euangelium, unde hoc translatus est, tale habet uerbum quod utrumque possit intellegi, ut haec ambiguitas nec inde soluat; quamquam etsi solueretur, non ideo nulla quaestio remaneret. (AUJo 101.4.4).

There are a few instances when he discusses possible translations from a personal standpoint, such as his failure to find a suitable Latin rendering for φαντασίαι (Aumus 6.11.32), or his playful etymology of *Manichaeus* as *insanifusorem* (AUFau 19.22).<sup>110</sup>

It seems that, despite the failure of his early attempts at the language, Augustine continued his studies of Greek in later life. This meant that he could not only follow a Greek biblical codex, but also produce a working translation of certain patristic works which were not available in Latin, most notably in the *De Haeresibus*. The increasing number of references to

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<sup>109</sup> Compare also the appeals at AUJo 41.1.37 (*hoc in uerbo graeco planius est*) and AUJo 41.2.7 (*patet in graeco*).

<sup>110</sup> Numerous examples of more detailed comments about the relationship of Latin and Greek are found in the *Locutiones in Heptateuchum*. For example, in AUloc 4.127 Augustine observes that a particular *locutio* is *rariore in lingua latina quam in graeca*, while at AUloc 7.33 he says: *nam litus si uellent Septuaginta interpretes dicere, non deesset linguae graecae quid diceret*.

the Greek biblical text, particularly in written works, is also consistent with this position.<sup>111</sup> Augustine's limited ability in Greek in the early stages in his career does not support De Bruyne's assertion that he translated entire biblical books: the question of biblical revisions will be handled below.

It is widely accepted that Augustine knew no Hebrew.<sup>112</sup> Again, stock etymologies appear for Hebrew words such as *samaritanus*, *hosanna*, *Pascha* and even *Malchus*.<sup>113</sup> The following observation on the word *mulier* in his discussion of Galatians 4:4, *factum ex muliere*, is also likely to have been borrowed:

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<sup>111</sup> Based on Courcelle's research, Marrou revised his initial position (1938:35) to accept that "il faut bien admettre qu'entre 400 et 415, saint Augustin avait réussi à perfectionner sa connaissance du grec" (1949:633). This is now the scholarly consensus (see also Lancel 2002:116). For Augustine's knowledge of Greek authors, see the studies listed in Altaner 1952, where he observes "dass Augustinus das griechisch-kirchliche Schrifttum grundsätzlich nur dann zu Rate zog und für seine Zwecke verwendete, wenn ihm lateinische Übersetzungen zur Verfügung standen" (1952:206): he identifies references to four Greek works which Augustine appears to have translated himself in AUJl (422-3), and notes also that the *Anacephalaeosis* of Pseudo-Epiphanius on which Augustine relies heavily in AUhae (428-9) was not available in Latin. A much greater number of references to the Greek Bible and to textual variants are found in the latter half of AUJo or AUPs 118 (Berrouard 1993:43, La Bonnardière 1965:121-122). Fleteren summarises: "Augustine consulted the Greek text frequently. In his maturity he knew enough Greek to judge the competence of a Latin translation or to interpret ambiguous terms" (2001:13).

<sup>112</sup> "Augustinus bekanntlich kein Hebräisch gekonnt hat" (Knauer 1955:25). See also Marrou 1938:416 and Harrison 2001:158. Augustine's references to Hebrew etymologies are preceded by phrases such as *quantum dicunt qui illam linguam noverunt* (AUPs 136.18), implying that he does not count himself among their number. Fürst 1994:113 refers to Augustine's own comments at AUep 101.4, AUFau 12.37, AUGn li 11.2 and AUci 20.23.

<sup>113</sup> These are found at AUJo 43.2.9, AUJo 51.2.10, AUJo 55.1.6 and AUJo 112.5.4 respectively. See also *tob*, rendered by the Greek ἀγαθόν and Latin *optimum* at AUJdc 49.1228, and the discussion of Hebrew names at AUdo 2.16.7ff. Augustine's comment on the true meaning of *Pascha* as *transitus* is also found in Jerome's Commentary on Matthew 4.26.2 (Berrouard 1993:401). It has also been shown that Augustine's *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum* 1 (AUGn q) was based on Jerome's *Hebraica quaestiones in Genesim*, which Jerome had sent to Aurelius, Bishop of Carthage, in 393 (see La Bonnardière 1986:306-307; Zarb 1938:367).

secundum hebraeam linguam non uirgineum decus negatur sed femineus sexus ostenditur. (AUs 186.3.3).<sup>114</sup>

Despite his explanation of why *amen* is not normally translated, *ut honorem haberet uelamento secreti* (AUJo 41.3.16), he glosses it in *Sermo* 229:

amen dicere, subscribere est. amen latine interpretatur uerum. (AUs 229.3)

When Augustine refers explicitly to biblical readings from the Hebrew, these often indicate that he is using Jerome's new Latin translation of the Old Testament: see Section 2.3.2 below.

Even though Brown claims that Augustine knew some Punic, "to which he would often refer as some substitute for his ignorance of Hebrew" (2000:254), there are only a handful of African words which Augustine actually quotes.<sup>115</sup> In the recently-discovered *Sermones Dolbeau*, he mentions the Punic word for god, *ylim*:

quod autem latine 'deus' dicitur, quod dicitur graece 'theos', quod dicitur punice 'ylim'; tres linguas dixi, quod corde concepi nihil illarum linguarum erat; sed cum uellem proferre quod corde conceperam de deo, si punicum inueni, 'ilim' dixi; si latinum inueni, 'deus' dixi, si graecum inueni, 'theos' dixi; antequam inuenirem aliquem illorum, illud quod erat in corde meo nec graecum nec punicum nec latinum erat. (AUs 293A.8 [AUs Dol 3])

Bonner too asserts that Augustine "had some notions of Punic" (1970:550), which Augustine appears to endorse when he tells his congregation:

prouerbum notum est punicum, quod quidem latine uobis dicam quia punice non omnes nostis. (AUs 167.3.4)

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<sup>114</sup> Compare also his comment on Numbers 31:18: "*nusquam certius adparet hebraea locutione mulieres etiam uirgines dici solere*" (AUloc 4.104).

<sup>115</sup> I have found only six words of Punic quoted by Augustine: *tria* (AURom in 13), *iar* (AUPs 123.8), *edom* (AUPs 136.18), *mamon* (AUs 359A.11 and AUs dni 2.14.47), *messe* (AUJo 15.27) and *yilm* (AUs 293A.8). Brown may be relying too heavily on Augustine's comment following the word *iar*: *saepe enim et uerba non latina dico ut uos intellegatis* (AUPs 123.8). Augustine also makes a comment about the similarity between Punic and Hebrew which suggests some familiarity with the language: *locutio est quam propterea hebraeam puto, quia et punicae linguae familiarissima est, in qua multum inuenimus hebraeis uerbis consonantia* (AUloc 1.109).

Even so, Augustine's discussion of *iar* (AUPs 123.8) is the only occasion on which he displays any knowledge of the language beyond a simple gloss, and even then it is to suggest that *iar* is a better rendering of Greek ἄρα than *forsitan*. There is therefore no firm evidence that Augustine was able to speak Punic, which was in decline at the time.<sup>116</sup> Lecerf, however, observes that two of Augustine's Punic words transmit grammatical or morphological information which would not be known to a non-speaker. He attributes this not to Augustine himself but "un informateur parlant selon toute vraisemblance un dialecte punique" (1954:33). There has been considerable debate over whether Augustine's references to *Punica lingua* indicate Punic itself or any other African language, such as Libyan or Berber. It seems unlikely that the question will be resolved on the basis of such slender evidence.<sup>117</sup>

## 2.3 Augustine, Jerome and the Latin Bible

Augustine's initial contact with the Bible was in translation, the *Vetus Latina* versions which had been produced for Latin-speaking congregations over the previous two hundred years. In *De doctrina christiana*, he gives an account of their origin:

qui enim scripturas ex hebraea in graecam uerterunt numerari possunt, latini autem interpretes nullo modo. ut enim cuique primis fidei temporibus in manus uenit codex graecus et aliquantulum facultatis sibi utriusque linguae habere uidebatur, ausus est interpretari. (AUdo 2.11.16)

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<sup>116</sup> Compare Augustine's observations *punice non omnes nostis* (AUs 167.3.4) and *adtendis autem ad quem procedat, cum quo loquaris ... si punicus est, attendis si nosti linguam punicam* (AUJo 14.7). Zarb claims "*in Numidia natus primam linguam edoctus fuisse uidetur punicam*" (1938:297), but this seems to rely primarily on the reference at AUs 167.3.4 which cannot support such a statement; Lancel notes that his youth in Thagaste "was strictly a Latin culture" (2002:3). In his epilogue, Brown refers to AUep Div 20 which tells how "Augustine found himself stranded for weeks on end in the middle of a countryside where everyone spoke only Punic" (2000:469).

<sup>117</sup> See Lecerf 1954:31 on "l'étonnante imprécision de l'adjectif *punicus* chez les auteurs latins". Frend insists, on geographical considerations, that the language is actually Berber, whereas Dolbeau notes of *ylim* that "en dépit de sa finale in -im, ce mot est du singulier et authentiquement punique ... cela confirme que, chez Augustin, le terme *punicus* renvoie au punique, et non au libyque (ou au berbère)" (Dolbeau 1996:375).

The diminutive *aliquantulum*, the subjectiveness indicated by *uidebatur* and the critical *ausus est* all suggest a derogatory tone. A fact often overlooked is that this passage refers to translations of the Old Testament (*ex hebraea*). In these, the Hebrew idiom, coupled with grammatical Semitisms transmitted through Greek, often resulted in a confusing literalism which frequently contravened normal Latin usage. Blame for this was laid on the translators, as Augustine observes:

talía quidem non obscura sed falsa sunt. quorum alia conditio est non enim intellegendos sed emendandos tales codices potius praecipendum est. (AUdo 2.12.18)

Although translation of the New Testament probably began in the same piecemeal fashion, Augustine only ever mentions it as an afterthought: all indications suggest that by his time the textual tradition of the Latin Gospels had converged to such an extent that there were few versions in need of major revision.<sup>118</sup>

Augustine's principal concern regarding the Old Testament was to establish the Greek Septuagint as a standard for reference and emendation. This underlies his much-debated comment about the *Itala*:

in ipsis autem interpretationibus, Itala ceteris praeferatur; nam est uerborum tenacior cum perspicuitate sententiae. et latinis quibuslibet emendandis graeci adhibeantur, in quibus Septuaginta interpretum, quod ad Vetus Testamentum attinet, excellit auctoritas. (AUdo 2.15.22).

Although numerous suggestions have been advanced regarding this word, the most satisfactory suggest that it indicates translations of Italian origin, perhaps specifically North

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<sup>118</sup> All Augustine's examples of poor translations in AUdo 2.12.17-18 come from the Old Testament; on the early "Europeanising" of African gospel traditions, see Fischer 1972:34 and Frede 1972:464. Nonetheless, we may also note Augustine's claim that his early commentary on the Epistle of James, now lost, was vitiated by a poor translation: *adiuuant ergo aliquid, nisi quod ipsam epistolam quam legebamus quando ista dictaui non diligenter ex Graeco habebamus interpretatam* (AUre 2.32.1).

Italy, such as Augustine would have encountered during his time in Milan.<sup>119</sup> Certainly, it does not appear to refer to the New Testament, which only makes a brief appearance in the recapitulation at the end of the paragraph:

latini ergo, ut dicere coeperam, codices Veteris Testamenti, si necesse fuerit, graecorum auctoritate emendandi sunt, et eorum potissimum qui, cum septuaginta essent, ore uno interpretati esse perhibentur. libros autem Noui Testamenti, si quid in latinis uarietatibus titubat, graecis cedere oportere non dubium est, et maxime qui apud ecclesias doctiores et diligentiores repperiuntur. (AUdo 2.15.22)

This suggestion that certain churches had more reliable versions of the Greek New Testament is most intriguing, although it would be anachronistic to use this in support of the later theory of biblical text-types.<sup>120</sup>

### 2.3.1 Jerome and the Vulgate

The variety of Latin translations of Scripture led Pope Damasus (who also replaced the Greek liturgy in Rome with Latin) to commission a revised version from Jerome in 382. The textual history of this work is complicated, and only the outline can be given here. By 384, Jerome had completed the Gospels, revising an existing Old Latin version:

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<sup>119</sup> For summaries of interpretations, see Schildenberger 1952:84-102 and Metzger 1977:291-293. Those who, noting the Old Testament context, emend it to read *Aquila* fail to take into account Augustine's criticism in AUep 28.2.2 of all post-Septuagint translators of the Old Testament (e.g. Quentin 1927, although his suggestion of a larger lacuna allows him to avoid this problem by adding *Iudaeis*, and the parallel with AUci 15.23 is interesting). On *Itala* as "Italian", and Augustine's only other use of this term at AUord 2.45, see Burkitt 1896:64-65; Monceaux (1901:139) and Berger (1893:6) claim that in the fourth century, *Italia* referred especially to the diocese of North Italy, of which Milan was the capital, although Schildenberger (1952:101-102) denies this. This term is discussed again below, in Section 2.3.3.

<sup>120</sup> Zarb's attempt to develop a theory of local text forms based on Augustine's reference to African manuscripts at AUre 1.21.3, AUFau 11.2 and AUep 149.2.12 is rather far-fetched (Zarb 1938:396-399, 472). The *locus classicus* for geographical text-types is Jerome's reference to the *trifaria uarietas* of Greek Old Testament texts from Alexandria, Constantinople and Palestine in his *Prologus in Libro Paralipomenon* (Weber-Gryson 1994:546).



quae ne multum a lectionis latinae consuetudine discreparent, ita calamo imperauimus ut, his tantum quae sensum uidebantur mutare correctis, reliqua manere pateremur ut fuerant.<sup>121</sup>

The revision is more thoroughgoing in Matthew and Mark than Luke or John, suggesting that Jerome lost interest half-way through.<sup>122</sup> His principal change was in putting the Gospels in this order, in keeping with the Greek tradition, which also enabled him to add the Eusebian canon tables: most Old Latin manuscripts have the order Matthew, John, Luke, Mark.<sup>123</sup> After the Gospels, Jerome revised some of the Old Testament books, including the Psalms and Job, based on the text of the Greek Septuagint found in the Hexapla.<sup>124</sup> Following his move to Bethlehem, however, he began a new translation of the entire canonical Hebrew Scriptures,

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<sup>121</sup> *Epistula ad Damasum*, in Weber-Gryson 1515-1516. Note that a number of witnesses read *temperauimus* rather than *imperauimus*.

<sup>122</sup> See Metzger 1977:354, Sparks 1970:524 and Tkacz 1996:48. There is a particularly notable shift in the middle of St John's Gospel, revealed by a change in preferred renderings. For example, the word δόξα is translated by *gloria* in John 1-12, but *claritas* is used almost universally in later chapters: compare Burkitt's reference to "the curious shifting of the vocabulary in S. John's Gospel, particularly towards the end" (1920:38). Burton shows that Jerome's translation technique was more literal than that of the Old Latin versions, which accords well with the idea of a close revision of an existing version according to a Greek exemplar (Burton 2000:192). It has occasionally been suggested that there are traces of translators other than Jerome in the Vulgate Gospels (e.g. Argyle 1976), but this is more likely to be evidence of fossilized Old Latin elements than Jerome's assistants (see Bell 1977, Burkitt 1908:290).

<sup>123</sup> Thus Codices Palatinus, Vercellensis, Veronensis, Bezae, Colbertinus, Brixianus, Monacensis, Usserianus and Sangallensis: the remaining part of Codex Bobiensis uniquely has Mark preceding Matthew, while Codex Corbeiensis has the order Matthew, Luke, John, Mark (thus Metzger 1977:297 and Elliott 1992:207). Tkacz is incorrect in claiming that "Jerome ... kept the sequence of Gospels found in the Old Latin" (1996:48), in contradiction to Jerome's preface which she also cites. Another change for which Jerome is held responsible is the ordering of the Scriptural text in sense-lines, *per cola et commata*. He mentions this only in regard to his translations of Isaiah and Ezekiel: it was later extended throughout the whole Bible. McGurk, however, says that "this method of dividing the text according to sense lines is ancient and was known to Demosthenes and Cicero" (1994:13-14). Petitmengin 1985:103-4 gives further information on the layout of early Vulgate manuscripts.

<sup>124</sup> Although Jerome claimed to have completed his Hexaplaric translation (cf. Hlep 134, also preserved as AUep 172), he is only known to have translated the Psalms, Job, Chronicles, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs, of which only Job and a couple of Prefaces are now extant. These versions included a system of diacritical marks to distinguish the contents of different Greek translations of the Old Testament. (See further Sutcliffe 1969:89; White 1990:9; Elliott 1992:240.)

starting in 390 with the prophetic books and completing his work around 405.<sup>125</sup> In spite of its novelty and resistance to some of the changes, this version gradually achieved recognition as the *interpretatio ex hebraica*. The *Vetus Latina* Old Testament based on the Septuagint was referred to as the *Vulgata*, as Augustine himself indicates:

fiunt itaque anni a diluuiio usque ad Abraham mille septuaginta et duo secundum uulgatam editionem, hoc est interpretum Septuaginta. in hebraeis autem codicibus longe pauciores annos perhibent inueniri. (AUCi 16.10.2).

The revision of the other New Testament books appears not to have been the work of Jerome, as his own citations do not correspond to the Vulgate text: Rufinus the Syrian, another translator working in Rome at the time, has been proposed as a likely candidate for at least some of the work.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> The following rough chronology for Jerome's revisions based on the Hebrew is presented by Elliott 1992:240-241 (comparable examples are found at Tkacz 1996:50-51, White 1990:36 and Zarb 1938:412):

390-4	Samuel, Kings; then Job, Prophets and Psalter
394-6	Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles; then Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs
398-404	Pentateuch (Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy)
after 404	Joshua, Judges, Ruth

<sup>126</sup> Sparks notes that although Jerome writes as if he had translated the entire New Testament in *De uiris illustribus* 135 and *Epistula* 71.5, this may be "one of Jerome's all-too-common exaggerations" (1970:519; see also Tkacz 1996:44). Nonetheless, Elliott takes this at face value and suggests that "his reforming zeal diminished as he worked through it, hence the evident lack of revision in the later books of the Vulgate New Testament" (1992:221; thus also Sutcliffe 1969:84). The name of Rufinus was suggested by the *Vetus Latina* editors (e.g. Fischer 1972:49, 73; Thiele 1972:117), although De Bruyne in 1915 put forward Pelagius, the earliest witness to the Vulgate text of the Pauline Epistles, as their likely translator (Metzger 1977:357). Plinval (1943:133) argues that Pelagius knew no Greek. Other scholars simply note that the translator is unknown, although Metzger claims that the same person was responsible for all the Epistles "and perhaps the whole of the New Testament apart from the Gospels." (1977:359), and Gribomont says that in these books, "le travail de révision, fait selon ses principes et d'une manière plus systématique qu'il ne l'eût fait lui-même, révèle la main d'un disciple" (1987:18).

### 2.3.2 The correspondence of Augustine and Jerome and the Latin Old Testament

Augustine's earliest letter to Jerome, *Epistula* 28, written between 394 and 395, shows that he was already aware of Jerome's translation project from the Hebrew. Augustine urged Jerome to return to a revision of the Latin translation of the Septuagint, on the model of his translation of Job (AUep 28.2.2). This became a constant theme of their correspondence, with Augustine also arguing for the authority of the Septuagint in *Epistula* 71, dated to around 403. In this letter he relates the story of the congregation of Oea which was scandalised by the rendering *hedera* rather than *cucurbita* when Jerome's new version of Jonah was used for the liturgical lection.<sup>127</sup> Augustine also points out that reliance on the Hebrew text would divide the Greek and Latin churches and mean that Christians could be forced to rely on Jewish scholars to arbitrate in disagreements (AUep 71.2.4). This letter indicates that not only does Augustine have a copy of Jerome's Hexaplaric revision of Job, but he is also familiar with his translation of Job from the Hebrew although he does not have a manuscript of it to hand.<sup>128</sup> In *Epistula* 82, from 404-5, Augustine acknowledges the utility of Jerome's Hebrew research, but asks Jerome to send him a copy of his full Septuagint translation of which Augustine has only recently become aware:

deinde nobis mittas, obsecro, interpretationem tuam de Septuaginta, quam te edidisse nesciebam. (AUep 82.5.34).

In reply, Jerome claims that he is unable to comply with this request and scholars have wondered if this complete version ever existed, given the absence of other references.<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> AUep 71.3.5; Jonah was among Jerome's first translations, made in 390-4. On this controversy, see also Jerome's response at AUep 75.7.22 and further AUep 82.5.35.

<sup>128</sup> *Mihi ad horam codex defuit qui ex hebraeo est* (AUep 71.2.3); see White 1990:38 and 91 and De Bruyne 1931:591.

<sup>129</sup> See Hlep 134/AUep 172. White is not convinced by Jerome's "enigmatic" excuses of a lack of copyists and "someone's dishonesty" (1990:9). Similarly, De Bruyne concludes that "cette traduction complète des LXX n'a sans doute jamais existé" (quoted in Zarb 1938:125). On the dating and presentation of this correspondence, see Hennings 1993.

Augustine's continued adherence to the authority of the Septuagint has been interpreted as a rejection of Jerome's Hebrew translations. According to Anne-Marie La Bonnardière, however, the *Biblia Augustiniana* indicates:

"les œuvres d'Augustin qui révèlent, plus ou moins ouvertement, une influence hiéronymienne, une connaissance des traductions bibliques réalisées par Jérôme. Ce sont des œuvres généralement tardives, dans lesquelles Augustin se manifeste en exégète muni d'instruments de travail" (1986:304).<sup>130</sup>

Among these later works are the *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum* (419-20), in which she notes eighteen comparisons of the Latin of the Septuagint with a rendering of the Hebrew which could only have come from Jerome.<sup>131</sup> In the second half of *De doctrina christiana* (written around 427), Augustine explicitly attributes a Hebrew form to Jerome:

sicut ex hebraeo in latinum eloquium presbytero Hieronymo utriusque linguae perito interpretante translata sunt (AUdo 4.7.15).<sup>132</sup>

References to Hebrew are more scarce in Augustine's earlier writings, although *Epistula 71* (from 403) shows that Augustine had seen Jerome's version of Job from the Hebrew within a decade of its publication. Zarb observes that the lengthy citations from 1 Kings 16 in *Ad Simplicianum* 2.1.6 correspond exactly to Jerome's text. This work is generally dated between 396 and 398 and in context it seems highly likely that these verses were taken directly from a codex. Furthermore, the citations are preceded by a reference to the Hebrew

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<sup>130</sup> Not all scholars accept that Augustine used Jerome's Hebrew version: Gryson suggests that Augustine acquired and used Jerome's revision based on the Greek of the Hexapla some time in the 420s (reported in Bogaert 1998:45). However, this did not include the prophetic books, and there remains the problem of the correspondence between the text of Augustine's citations and the Vulgate (see below).

<sup>131</sup> La Bonnardière 1986:305, with more details on subsequent pages, including five similar examples in AUci. A reference to an *interpretatio ex hebraeo* is also found at AUloc 7.37. De Bruyne notes how the references to the Vulgate increase in later books of the *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*, but that Augustine seems not to have had his own copy of Jerome's version (1913:306-307).

<sup>132</sup> See also the references to Jerome by name at AUdo 4.20.41 and AUpec 3.6.12.

version.<sup>133</sup> In the account of Jesus' Triumphal Entry in *De consensu euangelistarum* 2.66.128 (dated 403/4), Augustine observes that while John 12:15 quotes the Septuagint form of Zechariah 9:9 with *pullum asinae*, Matthew 21:7 has *asinam* as found in the Hebrew. This observation could well have been drawn from a commentary, however, since the Old Testament citations in the work do not conform to Jerome's translations.<sup>134</sup>

There is no mention of Hebrew in the discussion of good and bad translations in *De doctrina christiana* 2.12, which occurs in the earlier half of the work, written in 397. Nonetheless, there is a curious phenomenon in these two paragraphs: in the three verses for which pairs of translations are directly compared (Isaiah 58:7, Isaiah 7:9 and Psalm 13:3), the first version which Augustine quotes is the Latin Septuagint, while the second corresponds to Jerome's Vulgate.<sup>135</sup> Although it is not impossible that Augustine used the version of Isaiah from the Hebrew three years after its completion, it would be very surprising to find him quoting this translation so early, particularly given his continued championing of the Septuagint elsewhere in this work and six years later in *Epistula* 71: it is only in *Epistula* 82

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<sup>133</sup> "*in nonnullis exemplaribus et eis maxime quae de lingua hebraea ad uerbum uidentur expressa*" (AUq Si 2.1.6). Note that 1 Kings is 1 Samuel in Weber-Gryson 1994: the text is almost identical to Augustine.

<sup>134</sup> Vessey 1999:53 observes that "Aurelius of Carthage took steps to secure copies of Jerome's biblical writings for the African church" in 392. La Bonnardière, however, suggests that Augustine did not acquire Jerome's commentaries on the prophets until 420, although these underlie some of his references to Hebrew in AUci (1986:310), and she concludes: "l'introduction de la traduction *ex hebraico* due à Jérôme n'est que le fait de quelques remarques ponctuelles qui ont leur source dans la lecture d'œuvres du prêtre de Bethléem ... jusqu'à la fin, Augustin a conservé sa fidélité à la version biblique des Septante de l'Ancien Testament" (1986:312).

<sup>135</sup> The *Vetus Latina Esaias* (ed. Gryson) shows that only Jerome's translation reads *carnem tuam* rather than *domesticos seminis tui* in Isaiah 58:7 and *permanebitis* rather than *intellegetis* in Isaiah 7:8, confirming the identification of these citations as Vulgate.

from 405 that Augustine shows his appreciation of the *hebraica ueritas*.<sup>136</sup> The best explanation seems to be that these paragraphs were added later, although this is not entirely satisfactory.<sup>137</sup> At any rate, the new version never displaced Augustine's affection for the Septuagint. As with variant renderings of the Greek, he places different readings side by side, allowing readers to make their own choice on contextual rather than text-critical grounds.

### 2.3.3 Augustine, the Vulgate Gospels and the Itala

Augustine's adoption of Jerome's Gospels is easier to demonstrate. In the final paragraph of *Epistula* 71, Augustine praises Jerome's revision and notes that he has compared it with the Greek himself:

proinde non paruas deo gratias agimus de opere tuo quod euangelium ex graeco interpretatus es, quia et paene in omnibus nulla offensio est cum scripturam graecam contulerimus. unde, si quisquam ueteri falsitati contentiosus fauerit, prolatis collatisque codicibus uel docetur facillime uel refellitur. et si quaedam rarissima merito movent, quis tam durus est qui labori tam utili non facile ignoscat, cui uicem laudis referre non sufficit? (AUep 71.4.6).

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<sup>136</sup> Furthermore, Augustine went on using Old Latin codices of Isaiah, such as his citation of Isaiah 43:18-26 in AUs 374 (AUs Dol 23, preached in 406-412), whose text Gryson identifies as Old Latin, "étonnement proche de celui des témoins européens" (Institut Vetus Latina *Arbeitsbericht* 27 (1994), quoted in Bogaert 1998:44). Jerome's Commentary on Isaiah was written in 378-381 (Sutcliffe 1969:83), so Augustine could have used it in 399; he certainly drew on it later, in AUci 20.7.1 (Dulaey 1986:372). Even so, this may well not have corresponded to the text of Jerome's later translation.

<sup>137</sup> Several scholars have suggested that Augustine revised the earlier part of AUdo when he came to complete the work in 426, most notably De Bruyne who attempted to identify interpolations in AUdo 2 (1913:308ff.). Although this is attractive in explaining the forms of text in Isaiah (Augustine also quotes the Vulgate text for Amos 6:1-6 in AUdo 4.16), it does not fit with the rest of his argument, including the continued emphasis on the Septuagint. Suggestions that these correspondences with the Vulgate are coincidental (e.g. Zarb 1938:424) are far-fetched. The most serious objections to the theory of revision are the corrections which Augustine makes to the earlier part of AUdo in the *Retractationes* (which should have been included in the putative contemporary revision), and Green's claim that the earliest surviving manuscript of AUdo 1-2, with other works from the late fourth century, is actually the first edition (which De Bruyne 1913:308 was unable to find). If he is correct, and "there was no further revising of the first part when the whole was completed" (1959:194), theories of a later revision fall down. For more discussion, see Bochet 1997:519-521.

Several scholars have suggested that Augustine's analysis of Jerome's text provided the foundation for his contemporary study *De consensu euangelistarum*.<sup>138</sup> Burkitt was the first to observe the consistent similarity between the gospel citations in this work and the Vulgate, including readings not present in Old Latin manuscripts, and suggested that the use of the Vulgate was authorial. Objectors suggested that the text had been corrupted by copyists, but Burkitt showed that the distinctively Vulgate readings are found as far back as the manuscript tradition can be traced. These forms appear only in the gospel citations: other books are cited in Old Latin versions. Furthermore, they extend to reminiscences of the Gospels which have been grammatically incorporated into Augustine's argument: this would have necessitated a revision of "extraordinary thoroughness" if the Vulgate text were not authorial.<sup>139</sup> The textual evidence from St John's Gospel discussed in Chapter Three confirms Burkitt's thesis as the best interpretation of the available data for this work. It should be noted, however, that reliance on the Vulgate in this work does not automatically entail its use by Augustine in all subsequent books.

The second half of Burkitt's hypothesis, in which he identifies the *Itala* of *De doctrina christiana* 2.15.22 with Jerome's Vulgate Gospels, is less attractive.<sup>140</sup> The papal commission could perhaps have led to the description of the text as Italian, but there was already an Old Latin tradition of gospel manuscripts from Italy and when referring to Jerome's versions

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<sup>138</sup> e.g. De Bruyne 1931:594, Zarb 1938:313. Lancel 2002:306 dates AUEv to 400, slightly earlier than is generally proposed, and in advance of AUep 71.

<sup>139</sup> For Burkitt's observations, see Burkitt 1896:72-78 and Burkitt 1910, in which he responds directly to the objections levelled at his thesis. His conclusions have become the broad consensus, often through the mediation of Milne 1926. For example, Bonner states that "From about 400 onwards, Augustine used Jerome's Vulgate revision of the text of the gospels in his church in Hippo and long passages from the Vulgate appear in his works after that date." (1970:545), and Comeau says: "On admet à peu près unanimement que dès l'an 400, Augustin a lu le texte des évangiles dans la version hiéronymienne" (1930:51).

<sup>140</sup> On the various identifications of the *Itala*, see Zarb 1938:429-464, Schildenberger 1952:84-86 and Metzger 1977:291-293, who also lists responses to Burkitt's theory.

elsewhere Augustine normally mentions him by name. The main problem is Burkitt's apparent failure to notice that the passage recommending the *Itala* version refers to the Old Testament, as noted above. Augustine's reference here to the pre-eminence of the Septuagint rules out both the Gospels and Jerome's version from the Hebrew.<sup>141</sup> Furthermore, there is evidence elsewhere of Augustine's dissatisfaction with versions of the Old Testament which he explicitly describes as "African", such as the omissive translation of Sirach 34.30 for which he reproached Donatus but later discovered to be the reading of *codices plurimos uerumtamen Afros* (AUre 1.21.43). His preference for manuscripts which, in contradistinction, he designated "Italian" may indicate the versions which he had encountered in Milan, scene of his first positive encounter with the Old Testament.<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>141</sup> Burkitt expressly states that his argument only concerns Jerome's Gospel revision (Burkitt 1910:262, 267). Monceaux, however, soon spotted this weakness in Burkitt's argument: "dans le passage où est proclamé le mérite de l'*Itala*, il n'est question que de l'Ancien Testament" (1901:139), and De Bruyne 1913:296 also noted Burkitt's imprecision, although he accepted the arguments which identified the *Itala* with Jerome's Hebrew Old Testament (on the basis of which he redated this part of *De doctrina christiana*). We may compare Augustine's request for Jerome's version of the entire Septuagint, using language strongly reminiscent of this passage of *De doctrina christiana*: *ideo autem desidero interpretationem tuam de Septuaginta, ut et tanta latinorum interpretum, qui qualescumque hoc ausi sunt, quantum possumus imperitia careamus*. (AUep 82.5.35). It is, in fact, problematic to conceive of any single, unified translation of all biblical books at this period, as Burton (2000:5) notes, and Loewe observes that even pandects would be made up of "sub-units of heterogeneous provenance" (1969:109). Bochet (1997:516) goes so far as to claim that AUdo 2.15.22 is an indirect polemic against Jerome himself.

<sup>142</sup> Bogaert is confident that Augustine brought Italian versions back to Africa: "Augustin sait que des textes révisés de la vieille version latine sont disponibles en Italie du Nord et il les préfère. Sans doute a-t-il rapporté de tels *codices* en Afrique." (1998:43). This is also suggested by Zarb 1938:453, Marrou 1938:431 (who suggests that Augustine brought manuscripts from both Milan and Rome) and, for the psalter, Lancel 2002:176. Pontet takes a similar position: "De son côté, saint Augustin, qui se trouvait en Italie quand il commença de goûter la Sainte Écriture, l'avait lue alors dans des versions italiennes. Elles lui parurent plus tard meilleures que la médiocre version africaine, et voilà pourquoi, dans le *De doctrina christiana* il les recommande" (1946:226). Augustine's correspondence demonstrates the exchange of books between Italy and Africa (e.g. AUep 28.4.6), and Brown reminds us that "Hippo was the one seaport that linked the hinterland of Numidia to Rome" (2000:465).



A further enigma remains in this part of *De doctrina christiana*. In his list of canonical books, Augustine lists the Gospels in the Vulgate rather than the Old Latin order:

noui autem quattuor libris euangelii: secundum Matthaeum, secundum Marcum, secundum Lucam, secundum Iohannem. (AUdo 2.8.13)

It may be wrong to read significance into this, as individual gospels often circulated separately. Augustine does not refer to Jerome's Gospel revisions until at least five years after writing this passage, so it is unlikely that he originally took this order from the Vulgate. It is possible that he later revised the text of this chapter incorporating material from Jerome, as suggested above regarding certain citations from the Hebrew Old Testament. More probably, however, the entire list was taken from the enumeration of the canonical books of Scripture at the Council of Carthage two years earlier, in 397.<sup>143</sup> Augustine himself refers to the two ways of ordering the Gospels according to either the sequence of composition or the apostolic credentials of the authors, so there is no evidence that he is dependent on Jerome:

isti igitur quattuor euangelistae ... hoc ordine scripsisse perhibentur: primus Matthaeus, deinde Marcus, tertio Lucas, ultimo Iohannes. unde alius eis fuit ordo cognoscendi atque praedicandi, alius autem scribendi. ... sed in conscribendo euangelio, quod diuinitus ordinatum esse credendum est, ex numero eorum, quos ante passionem dominus elegit, primum atque ultimum locum duo tenuerunt, primum

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<sup>143</sup> The Carthaginian list differed from the Council of Hippo in 393 at which Augustine was also present, by including Hebrews among the fourteen letters of Paul (Zarb 1938:133-134). As Augustine no longer ascribed Hebrews to Paul after 411, this further suggests that his list in AUdo 2.8.13 dates to the first draft of this work. La Bonnardière, however, prefers the Council of Hippo as a source, noting that the Carthage list does not name the evangelists and has Acts in its usual place, after the Gospels, rather than immediately before Revelation as in AUdo 2.8.13 (1986:292-293). (Acts is found before Revelation in a number of Vulgate manuscripts, especially from Spain: see Berger 1893:26 and 340.) Zarb 1938:145 maintains that, despite the order of the Gospels, the list is Old Latin because it refers to Kings as *Regnorum* rather than *Regum*. On this passage, see also Bochet 1997:506ff.

Matthaeus, ultimum Iohannes, ut reliqui duo, qui ex illo numero non erant, sed tamen Christum in illis loquentem secuti erant. (AUEv 1.2.3).<sup>144</sup>

### 2.3.4 Augustine as biblical reviser?

Based on the correspondence between Augustine and Jerome, De Bruyne developed an alternative hypothesis. He suggested that, after Jerome's refusal to revise the Latin translation based on the Septuagint (or supply his revision), Augustine himself undertook this task.<sup>145</sup> De Bruyne had already noted the similarity of the Old Latin text of the Pauline epistles in the Freising fragments and Augustine's citations: starting from this, he expanded the scope of a supposed revision by Augustine to include much of the Bible. In the case of the Gospels, he even claims that Augustine revised Jerome's revision.<sup>146</sup> This counter-intuitive theory has found little support: readings unique to Augustine, which De Bruyne interprets as evidence of a systematic revision, are more likely to be either a memorised form of text or reliance on a manuscript now lost than evidence of a revision to which neither

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<sup>144</sup> Note, however, that as this is the work in which he first used Jerome's revised (and re-ordered) Gospels, it may be that Augustine is here explaining the change to the traditional Old Latin sequence. Zarb applies this explanation to the list at AUdo 2.8.13: "*euangelia inter se ordinantur secundum tempus conscriptionis ipsorum*" (1938:148). The same sequence of Gospels is supported by the Muratorian fragment which lists Luke as the third Gospel and John as the fourth (see Saxer 1985b:341 and Grant 1970:300). There are several indications of fluidity in Augustine's lists of evangelists: in AUs 239.1, he has the sequence Matthew, John, Mark, Luke, while in AUs 247.1 we find Matthew, Luke, Mark, John. On the variety of orders for the Easter Gospels, Willis suggests that at Hippo the order changed from Matthew, Luke, Mark, John to Matthew, Mark, Luke, John around 400 (conveniently similar to the adoption of the Vulgate), although Lambot dates this to 417/418 (Willis 1962:66-67).

<sup>145</sup> De Bruyne 1931:521 and *passim*. Zarb proposes this for the same reason: "*hinc admodum probabile uidetur Augustinum manum misisse ad textum corrigendum*" (1938:486).

<sup>146</sup> He sought justification for this in an overly-literal reading of Augustine's praise of these revisions, *paene in omnibus nulla offensio est* (AUep 71.4.6): without referring to the context of this remark, given above, De Bruyne interpreted this to mean that some corrections were still desirable (1931:597).

Augustine nor his biographer Possidius refer.<sup>147</sup> Furthermore, the proficiency in Greek assumed for Augustine and the connection of biblical revisions with scriptural commentaries lead to inconsistencies: most of Augustine's direct quotation of Greek occurs later in his output, often after the time when De Bruyne suggests the revision was carried out.<sup>148</sup> Monceaux's observation that Augustine never argues in favour of a particular Latin reading appears to confirm that he was not responsible for any of the versions he cites:

"À aucun des textes latins il ne reconnaît une valeur intrinsèque ... il ne s'incline que devant les textes grecs." (1901:147).

Nonetheless, suggestions of a systematic revision of the biblical text by Augustine have sometimes been more sympathetically received in respect of the Old Testament. La Bonnardière is tempted to see evidence in *De gratia et libero arbitrio* (426) that Augustine was gradually working through the Bible and wonders whether he may be responsible for the text of Ecclesiasticus in this work.<sup>149</sup> Such ideas accord with the mysterious *cura*

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<sup>147</sup> The textual data for John are considered in Section 5.3.7 below, where many of the examples adduced by De Bruyne are shown to derive from early intra-Vulgate variation. On the alterations found in memorised citations, see Section 2.6. In his conclusion, De Bruyne makes the interesting observation that "la revision d'Augustin a les deux qualités qui distinguent l'*Itala*", although he is forced by his hypothesis to add immediately "mais elle n'est pas l'*Itala*" (1931:604). Similarly, De Bruyne invokes Augustine's supposed modesty ("Augustin n'était pas homme à vanter publiquement son œuvre" (1931:604, also 606)), which does not fit easily with comments in the letters, self-quotation in other works and the self-appraisal in the *Retractationes*. Although generally sympathetic to De Bruyne, Zarb 1938:410 rejects the idea of a gospel revision, while Gribomont observes that many of De Bruyne's readings have been traced to Italian recensions (1985a:57). De Bruyne's theory is, however, taken up in Green 1962:229 to suggest an authorial addition to a biblical citation in a manuscript of *De doctrina christiana*.

<sup>148</sup> For example, De Bruyne dates a revision of the Heptateuch by Augustine between 394 and 400 (De Bruyne 1931:585-591), but Augustine's *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum* was composed over twenty years later. See further Section 2.2.2 above.

<sup>149</sup> La Bonnardière 1963:84-85. On Ecclesiasticus, see also De Bruyne 1931:578-581, who notes that Augustine's text has a different Greek base from that of the Vulgate. Pontet agrees that "Augustin a lentement révisé sa Bible, laissant une leçon qui devient alors en quelque sort paléontologique, pour une leçon plus fidèle au grec, ou plus lumineuse en latin." (1946:18-19).

*scripturarum* which Augustine says was placed on him by two Councils: Numidia (probably Milevis in 416) and Carthage (419).<sup>150</sup> Zarb's suggestion that the first result of this may be seen in the *Locutiones in Heptateuchum* (419) is entirely plausible (1938:488-492). In an undated letter to Audax, probably from 420, Augustine declares that he has been correcting the Psalter:

Psalterium a sancto Hieronymo translatum ex hebraeo non habeo. nos autem non interpretati sumus, sed codicum latinorum nonnullas mendositates ex graecis exemplaribus emendauimus. (AUep 261.5)

In this instance, Augustine makes it clear that he is not responsible for the translation: neither letter implies anything beyond emending manuscripts, as described in the response to Faustus which opened this Chapter, or composing aids for reading Scripture. The biggest drawback for theories of systematic biblical revision is that Augustine never mentions this work in the *Retractationes*, when putting his writings into context.<sup>151</sup>

Written in 427, the *Retractationes* further demonstrate Augustine's concern for accuracy in his biblical text. On a number of occasions, he makes corrections to citations in his earlier works, blaming the inadequacy of codices or adducing evidence from the Greek.<sup>152</sup> This includes the only reference to a codex which read "two" rather than "twelve" apostles in Matthew 20:17:

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<sup>150</sup> *Placuit mihi et uobis propter curam scripturarum, quam mihi fratres et patres mei, coepiscopi mei, duobus conciliis Numidiae et Carthaginensi inponere dignati sunt, ut per quinque dies nemo mihi molestus esset.* (AUep 213.5, a set of *Acta Ecclesiastica* from the basilica at Hippo).

<sup>151</sup> e.g. AUre 2.54 and 2.55 on the *Locutiones* and *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*. Nonetheless Burkitt reminds us that "the silence of Ecclesiastical writers is not a sufficient ground for assuming that revisions of the Bible of which they tell us nothing were never made" (1896:8).

<sup>152</sup> e.g. AUre 1.7.2 (Psalm 43:33), AUre 1.7.3 (Ecclesiastes 1:2), AUre 1.19.4 (Matthew 5:22), AUre 1.21.3 (Sirach 34:30), AUre 2.24.2 (Galatians 3:19).

in eo quod positum est *dominus seorsum duobus discipulis suam retulisse passionem*, mendositas codicis nos fefellit; nam duodecim scriptum est non duobus. (AUre 2.12.1 on AUq Ev 1.27).

Augustine also corrects his own errors of memory:

et alio loco illud quae dixi "sicut ait apostolus: *omnis ordo a deo est*" non eisdem uerbis hoc dixit apostolus, quamuis eadem uideatur esse sententia. ait quippe ille: *quae autem sunt a deo ordinata sunt*. (AUre 1.13.8 on AUrel 41).

There are also several comments on manuscript readings which should be emended, e.g. AUre 1.10.3, where although Augustine is the only surviving witness for *pabulum* in Genesis 2:5 he says that this should be changed to read *faenum*. It is possible that comments such as this reflect a broader plan to revise the scriptural text, but this work could not have been completed for all the biblical books to which Augustine refers. The majority of changes appear to derive from Augustine's increasing familiarity with Scripture during his ministry, and in the absence of any direct evidence we cannot hold him responsible for any systematic revision of the biblical text. This does not, however, exclude one-off emendations or the practice of rephrasing a scriptural passage while preaching, as we will see in some of the sermons analysed in Chapter Five. Bogaert summarises modern scholarship:

"Augustin n'a vraisemblablement hésité à retoucher le latin de ses livres bibliques les plus chers, mais tous les travaux actuels montrent que le nom de «réviseur de la Bible» ne lui convient pas." (Bogaert 1998:42).

## 2.4 Use of the Bible in public and private

The examination of public use of the Bible is vital to the analysis of scriptural citations in sermons and debates. The primary rôle of the Bible in the early Church was in liturgy. Christian worship, like its Jewish antecedents, began with readings from Scripture. These

were the responsibility of the *lector*, one of many ministries in the early Church.<sup>153</sup> Court records show that it was the custom for the *lector* to keep the codices at home, as illustrated in the minutes of a confiscation of church property cited in the *Gesta apud Zenophilum*. After handing over the single manuscript from the church, *codicem unum pernimum maiorem*, Catullinus says:

plus non habemus quia subdiacones sumus; sed lectores habent codices.  
(Ziwsa 1893:187).

A search around six of the lectors' houses results in the confiscation of a further thirty-two *codices* and four *quiniones*.<sup>154</sup> These would have contained individual books of the Bible, possibly including works not accepted in the official canon, or collections such as the Gospels or Paul's letters: single-volume editions of the Latin Bible were unknown at this stage.

## 2.4.1 The Bible in liturgy

The *lector* would have read a portion of the Old Testament, a psalm and an extract from one of the New Testament epistles. Although there is some evidence by the end of the fourth century for the development of lectionaries which fixed the appointed readings, especially for

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<sup>153</sup> It is unclear whether *lector* was a minor or a major order. The traditional criterion is whether the commissioning involved the laying-on of hands, and the evidence is conflicting. See Gamble 1995:218-223 for a survey. Paoli-Lafaye notes that lectors are well-established in Africa but says "il nous est impossible de dire s'il y avait un rite d'ordination" (1986:73). She also confirms that they did not deliver sermons and draws attention to the number of child lectors (1986:61-62, 67-68).

<sup>154</sup> See the account in Ziwsa 1893:187-188, paraphrased in Gamble 1995:145-147. As the codices from each house are enumerated separately, some mathematics is required in order to reach a total figure, on which commentators vary: Gamble has thirty-two (including three *pergrandia nimia*, whereas only one is listed in the text), McGurk (1994:1) has thirty-four, Burns (2000) has "twenty-nine codices and four fascicles", Gribomont (1985a:50) has twenty-nine: only Monceaux (1901:131) has the total thirty-seven books.

major feasts, the selection was often left to the bishop's discretion.<sup>155</sup> Augustine remarks in one sermon that the *lector* read a different psalm from that for which he had asked (AUPs 138.1), while on several occasions he says that the readings will be repeated at the next service so that he can finish his exposition of the day's gospel, as at the end of AUJo 46:

omnia quae hic adhuc discutienda arbitror hodie non discuto; sed iterum nobis in nomine domini diebus paucis reddendi sermonis eadem lectio recitabitur et diligentius, illo adiuuante, tractabitur. (AUJo 46.8.30).<sup>156</sup>

The gospel was not read by the *lector* but by a priest or deacon.<sup>157</sup> In most churches, the readings would take place from the *ambo*, a pulpit with steps on either side situated in the middle of the congregation. There would be a solemn procession of the gospel book during the singing of an appropriate *gradual*: after the reading, the deacon would take the book back to the sanctuary where the other ordained ministers were seated. It has been suggested that the earliest Latin versions of Scripture probably originated as vernacular summaries of the gospel after its recitation, similar to the Jewish targums.<sup>158</sup> The gospel was followed immediately by the sermon, delivered from the apse by the presiding bishop.

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<sup>155</sup> According to Augustine, the *lector* also led the confession (AUs 67.1.1). The Old Testament reading was in the process of disappearance around the time of Augustine: see Willis 1962:5 and 21, Lamb 1970:569, and Saxer 1985a:171 who notes that Augustine has three readings only on major feasts. On Augustine's own choice of readings, see TeSelle 2001:317-318 and Willis 1962:6-10; AUs 93.1.1, AUs 362.1.1, AUPs 31.s2.2 and AUPs 138.1 all exemplify this. An indication of lectionary provision appears in AUs 136: *audiuimus lectionem sancti euangelii quam solemus: sed bonum est commoneri; bonum est ab obliuionis ueterno memoriam renouare. denique uetustissima lectio quasi noua nos delectauit* (AUs 136.1.1)

<sup>156</sup> The promise is kept in AUJo 47. Other examples of this may be seen in AUs 68.1 and AUPs 90.s2.1.

<sup>157</sup> This custom was established in both Eastern and Western churches by the fourth century (Gamble 1995:223; Lamb 1970:572). On several occasions in the *Itinerarium Egeriae*, however, the bishop is recorded as reading the Gospel, most notably on Easter morning (*Itinerarium* 24.10; see also 27.2), as well as other occasions (*Itinerarium* 33.2, 43.1, 44.2), although elsewhere this role is taken by monks, priests or deacons (*Itinerarium* 29.4, 29.5, 31.2, 34.1).

<sup>158</sup> See Metzger 1977:284; Gamble 1995:130; Lamb 1970:564, 574 (who suggests that some lectors may have acted as translators). There are examples of this in the *Itinerarium Egeriae* 47.3-4, when readings and sermons in Greek are translated into Syriac and Latin: Parker 1992:265 has other references to the use of different languages within the liturgy.

Augustine's custom was to preach on the readings of the day, especially the gospel, as he explicitly says in AUJo 12:

lectioni euangelicae ex ordine sermonem debitum reddamus. (AUJo 12.1.3)

He frequently alludes to the reading directly with phrases such as:

modo cum euangelium legeretur audistis. (AUs 251.3.3)

non audistis quid dixerit cum eadem lectio hodie legeretur? (AUs 294.13.14).<sup>159</sup>

On some occasions, he repeats part of the passage at the beginning of the sermon. In *Sermo* 129, the first paragraph is devoted to a summary of the day's lection (John 5:39-47):

ad euangelicam lectionem, quae recens sonuit in auribus nostris, aduertat caritas uestra dum pauca loquimur quae dominus donat. ad iudaeos dominus loquebatur iesus, et dicebat eis: *scrutamini scripturas, in quibus putatis uos uitam aeternam habere; ipsae testimonium perhibent de me*. deinde post paululum: *ego, inquit, ueni in nomine patris mei et non accepistis me; si alius uenerit in nomine suo, illum accipietis*. deinde post paululum: *quomodo potestis mihi credere, gloriam ab inuicem expectantes, et gloriam quae a deo solo est, non quaerentes?* ad extremum ait: *non ego uos accuso apud patrem; est qui uos accusat Moyses, in quem uos speratis. si enim crederetis Moysi, crederetis forsitan et mihi; de me enim ille scripsit. cum autem uerbis illius non creditis, quomodo potestis mihi credere?* ad haec proposita nobis diuinitus, ex ore lectoris, sed ministerio saluatoris, audite pauca non numeranda, sed appendenda. (AUs 129.1)

Augustine frequently works through the text, giving a verse by verse exposition (such as the extended analysis of John 5 in AUs 127). It is generally agreed that he preached *ex tempore*, given the number of impromptu comments concerning the congregation recorded in his sermons. This is corroborated by his own advice to preachers to respond to their audiences

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<sup>159</sup> More examples of this may be seen before citations of John at 1:1 (AU1 Jo 1.1, AUPs 73.19.22), 8:48 (AUPs 35), 10:2 (AUs 137), 10:7 (AUPs90.s1), 10:30 (AUPs 62), 12:26 (AUs 315), 21:11 (AUs 251), 21:15 (AUs 147), 21:19 (AUs 299B). These enable the reconstruction of parts of Augustine's lectionary, as most comprehensively attempted in Willis 1962.



rather than delivering a prepared sermon committed to memory.<sup>160</sup> In fact, when the *lector* reads the wrong psalm, Augustine responds by preaching on the reading rather than what he expected:

maluimus nos in errore lectoris sequi uoluntatem dei quam nostram in nostro proposito. (AUPs 138.1)

He often prepared by meditating on the readings in advance. AUs 225 offers an insight into this process, which confirms that Augustine did not prepare notes:

ecce ego qui uobiscum loquor, antequam ad uos uenirem, cogitavi quod uobis dicerem. quando cogitavi quod uobis dicerem, iam in corde meo uerbum erat. non enim uobis dicerem nisi ante cogitarem. inueni te latinum, latinum tibi proferendum est uerbum. si autem graecus esses, graece tibi loqui deberem, et proferre ad te uerbum graecum. illud uerbum in corde nec latinum est, nec graecum: prorsus antecedit linguas istas quod est in corde meo ... sicut uerbum meum assumpsit sonum, per quem audiretur, sic uerbum dei assumpsit carnem, per quam uideretur. (AUs 225.3.3; see also AUs 187.3.3 and AUJo 14.7.24)

Brian Stock suggests that Augustine's meditation occasionally took the form of extended pauses during the sermon itself, but the evidence he adduces is not compelling.<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>160</sup> *uersandum est quod agitur multimoda uarietate dicendi, quod in potestate non habent qui praeparata et ad uerbum memoriter retenta pronuntiant* (AUdo 4.10.25). The evidence for Augustine's practice is assembled and discussed at length by Deferrari, who also offers definitions of "extempore" and "strictly extempore" (1922:97). He includes a reference to the cold weather at the opening of AUJo 6 and Augustine's comments about talking in the congregation during his sermon (AUs 23.8). These can be supplemented from the more recently discovered sermons. AUs 319.8.7 alludes to the excessive heat of the day, while in AUs 114B (AUs Dol 5) Augustine asks the congregation if he can postpone his commentary on the Psalm.

<sup>161</sup> See Stock 1996:5. He relies on two passages: AUJo 69.4.4 reads "*si taceo, apud meipsum sum; si autem loquor uobis quod intellegatis, quodammodo ad uos procedo nec me relinquo, sed et ad uos accedo et non recedo unde procedo.*" This obscure utterance owes more to the opening verses of John 14, its lectionary text, than liturgical practice, and it should be remembered that this sermon was probably not preached in public. The other reference is a letter to Jerome, which has no connection with a liturgical context: *nunc uero tanto locorum interuallo absumus a sensibus nostris, ut de illis uerbis apostoli ad Galatas, iuuenem me ad tuam sanctitatem scripsisse meminerim et ecce iam senex, necdum rescripta meruerim* (AUep 73.2.5).

Augustine's close attention to the text when preaching suggests that he had the gospel book open in front of him. Pontet includes this feature in his description of the bishop giving his sermon:

"Assis dans sa chaire, il a sur les genoux les *codices* de l'Écriture qui lui permettent de citer sans faute le texte sacré" (1946:2).<sup>162</sup>

Evidence for the use of a codex during preaching has rarely been discussed, but there is a surprising wealth of such details in Augustine. These begin with his advice to students of the Bible:

ire in ecclesias aut codicem legere aut legentem praedicantemque hominem audire.  
(AUdo proem.5)

The singular *hominem* and co-ordinated participles suggest that the preacher was himself reading. There are two incontrovertible examples of this, when Augustine reads the gospel passage himself. In the middle of AUs 362, he takes a codex and begins to read:

sed ex ipso codice audite. propterea enim non tantum disputatoris sed etiam lectoris fungor officio, ut sermo iste noster sanctorum scripturarum auctoritate fulciatur, non humanis suspicionibus super arenam aedificetur, si forte aliquid non memoriter occurrerit. audite ergo euangelium secundum Iohannem. (AUs 362.22.25).<sup>163</sup>

At the beginning of AUs 356, it is explicitly recorded that the deacon handed the codex to Augustine, who repeats the passage:

cumque Lazarus diaconus recitans episcopo codicem tradidisset, Augustinus episcopus dixit: et ego legere uolo. plus enim me delectat huius uerbi esse lectorem quam uerbi mei disputatorem. (AUs 356.1).

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<sup>162</sup> Comeau had earlier pictured a similar scene, speaking of: "l'évêque ayant devant lui un manuscrit ouvert, dont il lit et développe certains passages, laissant sans explication et même sans lecture à voix haute ceux qui lui semble moins intéressants." (1930:51). We may also quote Peter Brown: "As he sat as bishop on his *cathedra* with a book open across his knees ... he was once again a teacher, expounding a venerated text." (2000:256). Unlike Comeau or Brown, Pontet includes a few references to Augustine's preaching which support his reconstruction, although these feature much later in the work (1946:218-219).

<sup>163</sup> Augustine's statement that he is performing the duty of a *lector* should, perhaps, be taken loosely given that lectors are not believed to have read the Gospel during the liturgy. There is a similar comment at AUs 374.21 (*iam non disputator, sed lector factus sum*), although this refers to an Old Testament reading. I suspect that Paoli-Lafaye, who claims that AUJo 22 "montre clairement que des lecteurs peuvent lire l'Évangile" (1986:66) has been misled by a similarly loose reference to *uox lectoris et tractatoris* at AUJo 22.2.12.

Other passages, in addition to the special use of a codex for Isaiah in AUs 374 quoted in Section 2.2 above, indicate that Augustine is holding a codex. He begins AUs 37.1 with a reference to the liturgical reading:

et hoc quod gestamus in manibus, scriptura scilicet quam uidetis, commendat nobis inquirendam et laudandam mulierem quamdam de qua paulo ante cum legeretur audistis. (AUs 37.1).

The phrase *gestare in manibus* is found at the opening of two other sermons:

hoc lectum est, et hanc lectionem tractandam gestamus in manibus. (AUJo 15.1.9)  
de sancto euangelio secundum Iohannem, quod gestare nos uidetis in manibus, iam multa audiuit caritas uestra. (AUJo 40.1.1).<sup>164</sup>

In AUJo 36, Augustine quails before the exegetical task ahead of him and imagines an objector suggesting he lay down the codex and finish his sermon:

et tamen etiam nos humi repentes, infirmi et uix ullius momenti inter homines, audemus tractare ista et ista exponere; et putamus nos aut capere posse cum cogitamus aut capi dum dicimus. quare ista dixi? forte enim post haec uerba quisquam mihi iuste dicat: pone ergo codicem. quod excedit mensuram tuam, quid sumis in manum tuam? quid ei committis linguam tuam? (AUJo 36.5.36; see also AUs 133.6).

Another clear indication comes at the close of the previous *tractatus*, where Augustine anticipates the departure of the congregation when he puts the codex away and finishes preaching:

depositurus sum et ego codicem istum, discessuri estis et uos quisque ad sua. bene nobis fuit in luce communi, bene gauisi sumus, bene exsultauimus; sed cum ab inuicem recedimus, ab illo non recedamus. (AUJo 35.9.29).

In AUPs 96.13, Augustine continues his exposition beyond the passage read by the lector:

non quidem huc usque peruenit lector, sed tamen aliqui recordantur; et qui non recordantur, audiant a me breuiter. (AUPs 96.13)

The number of quotations which follow suggest that Augustine is reading from a codex. Recapitulations of the biblical text at the beginning of sermons, such as the opening of AUs 129 quoted above, may plausibly be explained as Augustine re-reading the passage for

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<sup>164</sup> Note that Willems' edition unfortunately reads *quod gestare non uidetis*; the error is noted in Alexanderson 1999 (but not Verheijen 1976).

himself before preaching.<sup>165</sup> Augustine's insistence on the text of the Gospel recently heard by the congregation would make sense if he is demonstrably relying on the same codex used for the liturgical proclamation: any textual discrepancies would undermine his argument. This consideration makes it highly likely that Augustine's biblical citations in his sermons, especially longer passages, are made with reference to a codex.<sup>166</sup> It is, of course, possible that variant readings in the sermon are the result of a reliance on memory, particularly later on in the argument: each case must be considered individually.

#### 2.4.2 Stenographers in the early Church

The gospel text in Augustine's sermons is of limited value, however, unless its direct relation to the bishop's words can be verified. The key factor in this is the method of recording and transcribing preaching in antiquity. The impromptu observations to which I have already alluded, and which Deferrari lists in abundance, indicate that Augustine's *Sermones* are

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<sup>165</sup> Compare Willis: "sometimes he might before preaching read again to the people a passage forming part of a lesson just read to them, on which he particularly desired to comment in his sermon" (1962:3). As well as AUs 356.1 quoted above, Augustine also repeats the lection in AUep 29.3.

<sup>166</sup> The clear-cut use of a codex in AUs 374 suggests that when Augustine precedes biblical text with *audi quod sequitur* (e.g. AUs 374.21, 23) he is referring to a manuscript. Deferrari makes no reference to biblical codices in his otherwise excellent article, and his dictum that "Augustine delivered his sermons without any written assistance" (1922:118, see also 217) must be taken as referring solely to prepared notes. Hombert, by contrast, notes that "les citations des textes bibliques lus au cours de l'office livrent généralement peu d'indices pour la datation des sermons, car elles ne sont pas spontanées" (2000:235). Only Zarb uses evidence to demonstrate that Augustine used a codex while preaching, concluding that "*citationes igitur scripturarum, quae passim in Sermonibus leguntur, non fiebant ex memoria, sed super ipsum textum legebantur*" (1938:392 note 1). This must be restricted to the lectionary passages.

unrevised, verbatim records of his preaching.<sup>167</sup> Not all works in sermon form were delivered in public: Augustine describes his *Sermones ad populum* as *alios dictatos, alios a me dictos* (AUre 2.epilogus), and the discovery of *Epistula Divjak* 23A appears to confirm that the final seventy *Tractatus in Iohannem* were dictated rather than preached.<sup>168</sup> This dictation presupposes the availability of trained scribes, or stenographers, who would take down Augustine's words and produce a rough draft.

There is considerable evidence for the verbatim transcription of sermons in the early Church. It is reported that Origen, in old age, allowed his sermons to be recorded officially, while John Chrysostom relied on reports of his sermons for publicity. Deferrari comments that:

"it was by no means the unusual but rather the regular custom for *notarii* to be present in the important churches to take down unwritten sermons as they were being delivered." (1922:110).<sup>169</sup>

Augustine tells how his Donatist opponents would procure transcripts of his sermons to study his theology, and refers to such records at the opening of the *Retractationes*:

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<sup>167</sup> Mohrmann also notes that the language of the *Sermones* is colloquial and, she believes, unrevised: "Die wahrscheinlich aus dem Munde Augustins von Notarii aufgezeichneten, und nicht später von ihm revidierten Predigten, sind in einer Sprache gehalten, die sich mit der seiner Zuhörer nahe berührte" (1961a:300, see also 324). Lawless (1997) has a detailed analysis of the oral element of Augustine's style in AUJo 44 and the different oratorical devices employed. Nonetheless, Milewski notes that "Augustine is known to have delivered sermons precisely with a written version in mind" (2002:73), noting the observation in AUPs 51.1: *non auditorem tantum sed et lectorem etiam cogitare debemus*.

<sup>168</sup> *Et ut faciam de Iohannis quoque euangelio ea quae restant, dictare iam coepi populares tractatus non prolixos mittendos Carthaginem*. (AUep Div 23A.3.6). In his introduction to AUPs 118, Augustine says "*psalmos ceteros ... partim sermocinando in populis, partim dictando exposui*" (AUPs 118.pro, quoted in Knauer 1955:27). The alternation *dictatos ... dictos* in the epilogue of AUre 2 has given rise to some controversy: some scholars prefer the reading *dictatas* and argue that it refers only to the *Epistulae* (e.g. Deferrari 1922:99, Burns 2000 by implication). I follow the editorial text of Mutzenbecher, for which a strong case is also made by Pontet 1946:3.

<sup>169</sup> For Origen and Chrysostom, see Deferrari 1922:104-105 (quoting Eusebius) and van den Hoek 1996:226. On Augustine's *notarii*, see Lambot 1947:100-102 and Marrou 1938:404; compare also Possidius *Vita* 7.3: *et quisquis ut uoluit et potuit notarios adhibens etiam ea quae dicebantur conscripsit*, discussed at Deferrari 1922:119 and Pontet 1946:3.

quia multa scripsi uel quia multa etiam dictata non sunt tamen a me dicta conscripta sunt. (Aure 1.prol.2; see also Possidius *Vita* 9.1)

There was a ready supply of trained stenographers thanks to the Roman legal system, where court proceedings were recorded verbatim. Their service to the Church was manifold: as well as transcribing sermons, stenographers were used to record debates between bishops of rival factions (*acta* or *gesta*) and produce minutes for ecclesiastical Councils. Evidence of their involvement is preserved in the Acts of the Conference of Carthage in 411: the opposing Donatist and Catholic sides each brought a team of six *notarii*, supervised by four bishops.<sup>170</sup> After the day's proceedings, the debate was adjourned for a day while the shorthand was transcribed and the copies compared. To ensure authenticity, each speaker then signed his acceptance in the official copy next to each of his utterances with the word *recognoui*. Other details of the transcription process also emerge from these Acts, such as the interruptions when the scribes need more paper, or when the current *notarii* are relieved.<sup>171</sup> The procedures surrounding the recording of the Council were carefully agreed in advance, although Augustine produced his own summary of the voluminous minutes for popular consumption, the *Breuiulus collationis cum Donatistis*.

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<sup>170</sup> Lancel observes that a distinction is made between an *exceptor* ("greffier", "stenographe") in Conf. Carth. 1.3 and 1.16 and *notarius* ("secrétaire") at 1.132 (Lancel 1972:562). He also notes that "the ecclesiastical organisation ... had either trained its secretariat itself, or recruited it from the imperial administration" (2002:214). Deferrari distinguishes between *notarii*, shorthand scribes employed by churches, *exceptores*, shorthand scribes employed by magistrates, and *librarii*, transcribers of shorthand into longhand (1922:106-7); the same scheme is attributed to M.E. Keenan by Pontet 1946:3.

<sup>171</sup> e.g. Conf. Carth. 1.132; 3.279. On the intervening day, see Conf. Carth. 1.10.101: *omne igitur spatium conferendi uicissim diei unius intercapedo distinguet, quo possint in medio gesta subinde subscribenda describi, memoratorum praestante custodia, qui hoc fine suum metiantur officium, non ut aliquid dicant sed ut dicta custodiant*. In fact, one day was not sufficient for this transcription, hence Petilian's angry outburst early on the second day, describing his inability to read the stenographic *notas*: "*notas non nouimus, neque ea natura rerum est atque ipsarum ut ita dixerim, litterarum, ut quisquam notas legat alienas. in codicibus legere non possumus. nisi edita fuerint gesta in paginis, non habeo quod tractem, non habeo quod legam*." (Conf. Carth. 2.43). The longhand version is described as a *uolumen schedae membranaceum* at 2.53, as opposed to the shorthand *codices tabularum*.

On some occasions, notes made by the stenographers are transmitted in Augustine's sermons. Lambot says of the line *post sermonem* in all manuscripts at AUs 20.167 "cette indication provient du tachygraphe".<sup>172</sup> The record of a commotion during one sermon at the appearance of a miraculously-healed girl can be seen in AUs 323.3.4, while at the end of AUs 163B.6, there is an additional section headed: *et post sermonem quia plebs postulavit ut ante diem natalis beati Cypriani non proficisceremur*. There are also a few details in the sermons themselves which suggest that the biblical citations have been recorded as they were spoken. AUs 129, which has John 5:39-47 as its lectionary text, features a double form of John 5:44:

quae fuit doctrina Pharisaeorum nisi quam modo audistis? gloriam ab inuicem quaerentes, gloriam ab inuicem expectantes, et gloria quae a solo deo est non quaerentes. (AUs 129.2)

The initial use of *quaerentes* appears to be a mistake, anticipating *quaerentes* later in the verse, which Augustine immediately corrects to *expectantes*, the form of text he uses throughout this sermon. The scribe, however, has recorded both forms and they have remained unaltered. Augustine notes at the end of his *Retractationes* that the works therein were revised before he began to revise his sermons and letters, and it is not clear how far he managed to get: Possidius notes that he died before completing this.<sup>173</sup> Deferrari, relying on

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<sup>172</sup> Lambot in CC 41, ad loc.. Paoli-Lafaye suggests that the greater number of references to the *lector* preserved in Augustine's sermons delivered in Carthage may be "une particulière application des tachygraphes de Carthage, qui notaient scrupuleusement tous les paroles d'Augustin" (1986:63; see also Wills 1962:19).

<sup>173</sup> AUre 2.epilogus; Possidius *Vita* 28.1-2. On the other hand, Possidius's comment *tanta autem ad eodem dictata et edita sunt, tantaque in ecclesia disputata, excepta atque emendata* (*Vita* 18.9) has been taken by some to refer to the editing of some sermons. See further Deferrari (1922:217-219) and Milewski (2002:74). Lancel (2002:461) observes that Augustine may not have been able to revise sermons delivered outside Hippo if they circulated separately. Another argument often adduced in favour of revision is the quotation from AUJo 99 in AUtri 15.27.48, preceded by the words: *in sermone quodam proferendo ad aures populi christiani diximus, dictumque conscripsimus*. As AUJo 99 appears in the later part of this work, which Augustine dictated (AUep Div 23\*), the reference to preaching is unexpected; see the discussion of Milewski (2002:74) and the solution proposed by La Bonnardière (1965:123-124). Perhaps *conscripsi* refers to the transliteration of shorthand.

AUep 41.2, suggests that the shorthand notes were not transcribed until they were required, but this would have made it difficult for those who, like Augustine himself, were unable to read shorthand.<sup>174</sup> It therefore seems that what we have in the sermons is the record of the biblical citations direct from the lips of the preacher. This also suggests that their scriptural text may include variants which reflect different local versions of the Bible according to where Augustine was preaching.<sup>175</sup>

### 2.4.3 Use of the Bible in public debates

Evidence of the stenographers can also be found in records of Augustine's debates. He notes of his debate with Fortunatus that

disputatio nobis altercantibus excepta est a notariis (AUre 1.16.5).

When Augustine queries the exact words of his opponent in his *Collatio cum Maximino*, the repeated text is preceded by the words *Antonius notarius ad locum recitavit* (AUMax co 10/713). At the end of this work, we find the subscriptions of both Augustine and Maximinus (in another hand from the the body of text: the detail *alia manu* is carefully

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<sup>174</sup> See Deferrari 1922:119-120; the key word seems to be *conscriptos* in AUep 41.2, although this could mean "copied" as much as "rendered into longhand". Note that Augustine himself recommends the study of shorthand at AUdo 2.26.40.

<sup>175</sup> Hombert notes that "les différentes versions d'un texte biblique sont souvent des indications précieuses pour la chronologie et la localisation des prédications" (2000:329). For the differences between Augustine's sermons in Hippo and Carthage, see Frede 1972:473 and my analysis in Chapter Three. Dolbeau advances an intriguing hypothesis to explain the differences between the two collections of Mayence-Grande-Chartreuse and Mayence-Lorsch in the treatment of the conclusion of sermons. He attributes this to the habits of the original stenographers: "une telle répartition remonte à une époque où les deux séries étaient encore séparées, voire à des habitudes différentes de sténographes" (Dolbeau 1996:172); compare also Van den Hout's comment that some readings in the Vallicelliana A 14 manuscript of the *Tractatus in Iohannem* "ne sauraient s'expliquer que par des erreurs des divers sténographes" (1955:297). The *Sermones Dolbeau* also show how many of Augustine's sermons were abbreviated for later use as liturgical sermons: "dès la fin de l'Antiquité, certains sermons augustiniens – notamment pour le temporal – furent tronqués, afin d'être exploités plus commodément dans la liturgie" ... "la mutilation du texte primitif fut accomplie très tôt, puisqu'elle est attestée dès le VIIe siècle" (Dolbeau 1993:526, 525); as Dolbeau notes, this raises concerns about the integrity of the texts.



added), together with the note *contuli* (AUMax co 26/742), possibly indicating a comparison with a second transcription.<sup>176</sup>

Some of these works include lengthy citations. In his debate with Felix, Augustine reads a long passage of Luke from a gospel codex, followed by the first chapter of Acts (AUFel 1.3). Similarly, Augustine quotes a thirty-verse passage from Ezekiel to Julian of Eclanum, for which reliance on a codex is more than likely (AUJul im 3.38). Although it is possible that the stenographer did not copy down the whole citation but left a reference to be completed later, this seems improbable given the process of taking minutes: the scribe had no idea where the quotation would begin or end, and the most efficient way of working would simply be automatically to record every word spoken rather than leave gaps in the shorthand record which might be later contested. This is supported by the text-types of the two citations in AUFel 1.3: the Luke citation accords with the Vulgate, but the Acts citation is completely Old Latin in character. As Burkitt says:

"Unless this is mere literary fraud, the text of *Contra Felicem* must rest on mechanical reporting; if so, the probability is all the stronger that the words of the Biblical text of Lc xxiv, and of Ac i and ii, were taken down as they were read out of the codices." (Burkitt 1896:70).

There may be one occasion on which a biblical citation is not quoted in full:

quales dominus arguit cum dicit *uos ex patre diabolo estis et cetera*.  
(AUAd 6/125.25)

It seems likely in context, however, that the abbreviation is due to Augustine himself, who has already quoted John 8:44 on several occasions in the previous paragraph.

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<sup>176</sup> Possidius refers to the role of the *notarii* in Augustine's debates: see *Vita* 6.6, 16.4, 17.2. On the detail *alia manu*, see Dekkers 1952:128-131.

It is possible that the text of biblical citations was checked against an exemplar when the shorthand was transcribed into a legible form, although it again seems unlikely that the stenographic account would be challenged in this way. Given that the verbal minutes of debates were checked by each party, it seems that, like the sermons, the text of their scriptural citations was not verified from another source but recorded directly in the stenographic record.

#### 2.4.4 The readership of the Bible

Recent studies have challenged the common opinion that books were rare in the ancient world as a result of both the cost of production and low levels of literacy.<sup>177</sup> This revisionist view is borne out by the evidence of Augustine, who on a number of occasions suggests a wider readership for the Bible than a small group of educated Christians. In one sermon he reveals that the scriptures could be easily purchased:

cottidie codices dominici uenales sunt, legit lector; eme tibi et tu lege quando uacat, immo age ut uacet: melius enim ad hoc uacat quam ad nugas. (AUs 114B.15 [AUs Dol 12]).<sup>178</sup>

Some familiarity with the Bible is demonstrated by opponents of Christianity, and there does not seem to have been any restriction on its circulation. Augustine comments that reading does not necessarily lead to understanding or acceptance:

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<sup>177</sup> Sawyer claims that "a maximum of 20-30 per cent literacy was achieved in the Roman Empire" and "books at moderate prices became widely available" (1999:44; see also 50 and 73). Gamble gives a figure of 15-20% for literacy in the early Church (1995:23). Optatus' description of church libraries in fourth-century Africa seems to involve some exaggeration, but is still remarkable: *bibliothecae refertae sunt libris; nihil deest ecclesiae; per loca singula diuinum sonat ubique praeconium; non silent ora lectorum; manus omnium codicibus plenae sunt; nihil deest populis doceri cupientibus*. (Optatus 7.1; Ziwsa 1893:165).

<sup>178</sup> AUPs 36.s1.2 also shows that there were plenty of Bibles for sale: *arguat quisque, murmure, si non per totum orbem haec scriptura recitatur atque cantatur; si cessat etiam uenalis ferri per publicum*. (AUPs 36.s1.2).

nonnulla quidem homines infideles in scripturis sanctis et non intellegunt cum legunt, uel audiunt et lecta uel audita ferre non possunt. (AUJo 96.3.24).<sup>179</sup>

In the same sermon, he provides evidence that catechumens, not just baptised Christians, read the scriptures:

quis fidelis uel etiam catechumenus, antequam spiritum sanctum baptizatus accipiat, non aequo animo legit atque audit etiamsi nondum sicut oportet intellegit? (AUJo 96.3.24).<sup>180</sup>

Although some secrecy surrounded the rites of baptism and communion, the early Church soon realised that openness regarding the scriptures was an important apologetic tool. Sawyer notes that this attitude to the translation and dissemination of the Bible is quite unusual in its lack of conservatism towards the sacred text.<sup>181</sup> This is embodied by Augustine, who even encourages the worshippers of Juno to read the Christian scriptures:

litterae nostrae prodant eis quod colimus sed non timemus. codices nostri publice uenales feruntur: lux non erubescit. Emant, legant, credant; aut emant, legant, irrideant. nouit scriptura illa reos tenere qui legunt et non credunt. circumfertur uenalis codex sed ille qui praedicatur in codice non est uenalis. ... eme tu codicem et lege, nos non erubescimus. (AUs 198.20 [AUs Dol 26]).

Although there is no assumption that members of Augustine's congregation possess their own copies of Scripture, the ready availability of codices is an important detail for the study of the Latin Bible. Gamble notes that "the only major barrier to the private acquisition and

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<sup>179</sup> This contrasts with Tertullian's earlier claim "*nostris litteris ... nemo uenit nisi iam christianus*" (*De test. an.* 1.4), although it is debated whether this refers to the Bible or other writings (see O'Malley 1967:35-36).

<sup>180</sup> Stock 1996:186ff. suggests that all catechumens were literate, which seems unlikely: he claims that in AUdo "the entire Christian community is envisaged, potentially at least, as a body of readers" (1996:190). Duval 1985:270 observes that Augustine refers to three categories of catechumen in AUcat: one group consists of those who are already familiar with the Bible. There are references to the private reading of Scripture by the congregation at AUJo 10.4.17 (*nostis quia legistis*) and AUJo 12.11.7 (*qui legerunt nouerunt*).

<sup>181</sup> Sawyer 1999:78-9, 165. Compare also Gamble's observation that "the attitude of early Christianity toward religious texts was more practical than sacral" (1995:197). Fontaine & Pietri claim that "l'expansion du christianisme dans le monde latin est en effet étroitement liée à celle de la Bible chrétienne latine" (1985:14). Cyprian studied the Bible before his conversion (Fahey 1971:16), as did Marius Victorinus, according to Simplicianus at AUcf 8.2.4 (Duval 1985:264-265).

use of Christian books was the capacity to read them" and mentions numerous exhortations to reading at home made by early Greek Church Fathers.<sup>182</sup>

#### 2.4.5 Augustine's methods of composition

Stenographers were also involved in the composition of Augustine's theological works, as he himself tells us in his account of the production of three early works at Cassiciacum and the *Quaestiones euangeliorum*.<sup>183</sup> Augustine's method of working was usually to dictate a passage, which the scribe then produced in longhand. This was then either read back to the author, or he went over the draft himself, writing alterations directly onto the copy. Green (1962:229) suggests that the earliest manuscript of *De doctrina christiana* contains annotations in the author's hand. It is worth observing that sermons composed by dictation have a noticeably higher proportion of references to variants in biblical translations and Greek readings, which may suggest that Augustine consulted volumes from his library during the compositional process. Stock suggests that two passages from *Confessiones* 7 on Augustine's study of Platonism indicate that Augustine had the books open before him.<sup>184</sup> Bardy (1954) observes that the majority of Augustine's writing consists of refutations or

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<sup>182</sup> Gamble 1995:231-232; he cites Hippolytus, Clement of Alexandria, Origen and Chrysostom. Pontet 1946:56 describes how congregation members would privately read not only the Bible but also the works of Church Fathers including Cyprian: *multi usquequoque habent magnum corpus librorum eius* (AUs 313C.2). McGurk follows Turner in describing the fifth-century St Gall manuscript of the Vulgate Gospels as "a copy for personal and not public use." (1994:20).

<sup>183</sup> For AUqEv, see AUre 1.26.9; also Bardy 1954:25. On the Cassiciacum works, see Deferrari 1922:121 and Stock 1996:131. Stock notes that "it is difficult to know when Augustine is referring to real stenographers and when the idea is a literary convention ... nonetheless, this was Augustine's normal method of composition." (1996:335). Burns 2000 reinforces this by supplying five instances on which Augustine uses *scribere* and *dictare* as equivalents. On the writing practices of Latin Church Fathers, see Dekkers (1952:127-139), who notes Possidius' mention of *quaternio unus quam propria manu sanctus episcopus Augustinus initiauit* (Indiculus X<sup>3</sup>.n.15) and Jerome's examples of his own copying, but concludes that Ambrose was the only Father physically to write his own works.

<sup>184</sup> AUcf 7.9 and AUcf 7.21; see Stock 1996:66-67.

responses in which he takes particular care to reproduce his opponent's work, citing it verbatim.

In his account of Augustine's working methods, Burns suggests that "one might also suppose that scriptural citations which had been quoted from memory might have been checked" (2000). However, there is no evidence for this, and the actual text-forms of such citations strongly argue against it. The conception of the author carefully conforming his citations to his biblical text is anachronistic and underestimates the reliance on memory in the ancient world. Although Augustine would have referred to manuscripts (or his notes) for his quotations of other Church Fathers, his biblical citations are most likely to have been illustrations drawn from memory, except in the case of detailed exegesis and longer passages.<sup>185</sup> This is borne out in the Gospel of John by the textual character of such citations, where the abbreviated forms and conflation typical of remembered verses predominate. The careful identification of each biblical reference in a Father's work does not occur in Latin manuscripts contemporary with Augustine: it seems to have been pioneered by later editors and copyists such as the scholar-monks of Wearmouth-Jarrow.<sup>186</sup>

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<sup>185</sup> On ancient techniques of note-taking, see Van den Hoek 1996:225ff.

<sup>186</sup> Some Old Latin gospel manuscripts indicate citations from the Old Testament: in Codex Veronensis they are marked by a *diple* (as are some in the Harleian Gospels); Codex Bezae and Codex Corbeiensis have them indented; the scribe of Codex Claromontanus rubricates quotations in the Epistles (McGurk 1994:14-15, Petitmengin 1985:101).

## 2.5 Augustine's attitude to Scripture

Scripture is, for Augustine, the inspired word of God, whose authority is not to be contested.<sup>187</sup> Nonetheless, he also provides the classic statement of the validation of Scripture by the authority of the Church:

ego uero euangelio non crederem nisi me catholicae ecclesiae commoueret auctoritas.  
(AUfu 5.6; see also AUcred 14.31).

The Gospels preserve the words of Christ and the story of his life, but the process of their composition must be taken into account, as Augustine explains in a comment on John 17:20:

quotquot enim postea crediderunt in eum per uerbum apostolorum sine dubio crediderunt, et donec ueniat, credituri sunt; ipsis enim dixerat *et uos testimonium perhibebitis quia ab initio mecum estis*; et per hos euangelium ministratus est et antequam scriberetur; et utique quisquis in christum credit, euangelio credit ... quoniam ipsi qui cum illo tunc fuerunt quod ab illo audierunt ceteris praedicauerunt; atque ita uerbum eorum ut etiam nos crederemus ad nos usque peruenit, ubicumque est eius ecclesia, et peruenturum est ad posteros. (AUJo 109.1.11)

Nonetheless, the divine inspiration of the individual writers unites Scripture into a coherent whole.<sup>188</sup> In comparing 1 John 4:18 (*perfecta caritas foras mittit timorem*) with Psalm 18:10 (*timor domini castus, permanens in saeculum saeculi*), Augustine sets out his theory of the unity of the Old and New Testaments:

spiritus unus est, etsi codices duo, etsi ora duo, etsi linguae duae. hoc enim dictum est per Iohannem, illud dictum est per David; sed nolite putare alium esse spiritum. si unus flatus inflat duas tibias, non potest unus spiritus implere duo corda, agitare duas linguas? sed si spiritu uno, id est uno flatu, impletae duae tibiae consonant; impletae duae linguae spiritu dei, dissonare possunt? est ergo ibi quaedam consonantia, est quaedam concordia, sed auditorem desiderat. ecce inspirauit et impleuit duo corda, duo ora, mouit duas linguas spiritus dei. (AU1Jo 9.5)

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<sup>187</sup> Augustine describes both Old and New Testaments as written by "the fingers of God", after the model of the Law given to Moses (AUPs 8.7), while elsewhere he says: *ita idem ipse [deus] auctor est amborum testamentorum, quia et nouum in uetere est figuratum et uetus in nouo est reuelatum* (AUleg 1.17.35). Stock 1996:11 has further useful examples, although *chirographum* at AUPs 144.17 appears to mean "pledge" rather than "autograph" (the context is one of faithfulness: see Zarb 1938:106).

<sup>188</sup> e.g. Augustine's comment in AUs 82.9: *scriptura sancta in nulla parte discordat*. On the inspiration of the biblical writers, see also AUdo 3.27.38 (*ut ad uoluntatem perueniatur auctoris, per quem scripturam illam sanctus operatus est spiritus*), AUEv 1.35.54 and AUEv 3.7.30.

Even though the Gospels are the only direct account of Christ's teaching, Augustine draws an interesting distinction between the gospel message and individual exemplars in his imaginary discussion with an opponent in *Sermo* 133:

[*Augustinus*] - hoc Christus non dixit? unde conuincis, unde probaturus es? codicem aperturus, lectionem inuenturus, homini demonstraturus, imo cum magna fiducia pectoris resistenti codicem impacturus.

[*Aduersarius*] - tene, attende, lege, euangelium portas. quid ergo, rogo te, quid conturbas paululum? noli urgere, dic planius, tranquillius.

[*Augustinus*] - ecce euangelium porto et quid hinc?

[*Aduersarius*] - euangelium loquitur Christum dixisse quod negas.

[*Augustinus*] - et ideo credes hoc dixisse Christum, quia loquitur euangelium?

[*Aduersarius*] - ideo plane, inquit.

[*Augustinus*] - ego multum miror, quomodo dicas mentiri Christum et non mentiri euangelium. sed ne forte, cum dico euangelium, codicem attendas, membranam et atramentum cogitas euangelium, quid dicat uide graecum nomen: euangelium est bonus nuntius uel bona annuntiatio. (AUs 133.6)

The appeal to etymology in the final sentence is a characteristic touch, although I suspect that Augustine has over-emphasised the dichotomy between the written and spoken forms under the influence of his own rhetoric. Although this scene is fictitious, the line *ecce euangelium porto* supplies further evidence for the use of a scriptural codex during Augustine's sermons, while the suggestion *codicem impacturus* might earn him the title of the first "bible-basher"!

Within a more considered approach to the biblical text, there are two key principles emphasised by Augustine. The first is **context**:

sed quando inquirentes probari nobis aliquid uolumus testimonio sanctorum eloquiorum, non nobis dicatur credendum esse etiam quod in euangelio scriptum esse, si forte euangelista eum hoc dixisse commemorat, cui fides habenda non est. (AUPri 9.316-320)

He illustrates this with the comment of the Jews at John 8:48, *Samaritanus es tu et daemonium habes*. This could supply a literal interpreter with a scriptural mandate indicating that Jesus was possessed by a demon! The word Augustine himself uses for context is *circumstantia*, as can be seen in the introduction to his citation of John 3:1 in *De peccatorum meritis* 1.30.59. The other interpretative key is that of **consensus**:

sic et in ceteris interpretationibus figurarum per uniuersum textum diuinae scripturae licet considerare et conparare sensus eorum, qui Christum ibi intellegunt, et eorum, qui praeter Christum ad alia quaelibet ea detorquere conantur. (AUFau 12.39)

Not only does this situate Augustine and his opponents within an interpretative community, but it also reflects the importance to Augustine of the unity of Scripture. Frequent appeal to this is the mainstay both of his exegetical works and his opposition to the proof-texts supplied by his opponents.

## 2.5.1 Introductions and scriptural references

Augustine often refers to biblical books by name, based on their Greek titles.<sup>189</sup> In *De gratia et libero arbitrio*, he is particularly exact about naming his sources, including the addressee of each of the Pauline epistles cited in *De gratia et libero arbitrio* 2.4. In *Sermo* 1.19, he even borrows the preposition κατά for the gospel writer:

ipsa principia libri Geneseos et euangelii **cata** Iohannem (AUs 1.19).

This also appears in *Contra epistulam fundamenti* 10 before a citation of John 7:39, but is exceedingly rare: Augustine normally uses the standard Latin form *secundum* and the name

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<sup>189</sup> It is worth observing that this differs from his practice with regard to classical Latin sources. In keeping with a trend among Christian writers, pagan authors are rarely cited by name, but deliberately obscured: Augustine refers to Cicero as *nescioquis orator* or Vergil as *poeta*, while Cato's definition of *gloria* is ascribed to *auctores* (AUJo 100.1.32) and *ueteres* (AUJo 105.3.21). See Müller 2003:395 and Hagendahl 1947:115.



of the evangelist.<sup>190</sup> Although there sometimes appears to be a distinction between *Iohannes euangelista* before Gospel citations and *Iohannes apostolus* before citations from the Johannine Epistles, this is not strictly observed and there is no doubt in Augustine's mind that the author is one and the same; furthermore, Augustine also believed that he was responsible for Revelation. Augustine also makes the customary identification of St John the Evangelist with the beloved disciple mentioned in John 13:25 and 21:20.<sup>191</sup>

Augustine's preferred method of citing Scripture is to refer to it impersonally with the phrase *scriptum est*.<sup>192</sup> Occasionally it is personified: *sanctum euangelium dixit* (AUs 225.1.1),<sup>193</sup>

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<sup>190</sup> e.g. in the canonical list at AUdo 2.8.13. The editor of AUfu has rendered κατὰ Ἰωάννην in Greek, despite the evidence of the manuscripts. It should be noted that running titles in Old Latin biblical manuscripts sometimes use *cata*: Burkitt (1896:12) and García de la Fuente (1994:142) identify it as a preference of African versions, and Parker (1992:13) refers to its wider use in the Old Latin witnesses. In the *Itinerarium Egeriae*, it is used both of the evangelists and more generally (Löfstedt 1911:175). Augustine is normally accurate in identifying biblical books: he slips up at the Conference of Carthage, ascribing Matthew 3:12 (or its parallel at Luke 3:17) to John, although this appears not to have been noticed by his peers (Conf. Carth. 3.262). The only other inaccuracy I have noticed is the description of the citation from Isaiah 40:6-8 as *propheticum et euangelicum, quia in euangelio legitur hoc testimonium* (AUs 124.1): in fact, this only occurs in 1 Peter 1:24-25 and James 1:10-11.

<sup>191</sup> The identity of Gospel and Epistle writer is stated at AU1Jo 1.1: *ut cuius euangelium paululum intermisimus, eius epistolam tractando ab eo non recedamus*. A double form of introduction is seen in AUep 214.1: *sicut scriptum est in euangelio Iohannis apostoli* (see also AU2an 9 and AUJul im 3.106.35). By itself, *apostolus* refers to Paul. For references to Revelation, which is rarely quoted by Augustine, see AUJo 13.2.24 (*cum enim quaedam quaedam in Apocalypsi angelus ostenderet Iohanni, qui scripsit hoc euangelium*) and AUJo 36.5.10 (*in Apocalypsi ipsius Iohannis, cuius est hoc euangelium*). The identification of the beloved disciple is explored by Dideberg (1986:189), who claims that this was first found in Origen. Dideberg also notes that Augustine adds *praecipue*, *prae ceteris* or *amplius* to descriptions of John, on the logical basis that Jesus loved all his disciples (1986:192), and that Augustine rejects a number of characterisations of John found in earlier authors (1986:200). Pontet (1946:557-558) believes that this identification is key to Augustine's understanding of this Gospel.

<sup>192</sup> This is similar to Cyprian, several generations earlier. For an illuminating discussion of the manner in which Cyprian introduces biblical citations, see Fahey 1971:29-34, where he observes that "Cyprian hardly ever uses a Scriptural citation without identifying the text as biblical, by means of an introductory formula" although he "takes pains to separate the Scriptural text from his own ... because of his reverence for the Word of God" (1971:29).

<sup>193</sup> These words introduce citations of both John 1:1 and 1:3, but only in this sermon; the use of *sanctum* before *euangelium* is also uncommon in Augustine.

*euangelium respondet* (AUPs 49.1.19 on John 1:1), *docet scriptura* (AUAd 5 on John 1:12) and *euangelium diuina uoce testatur* (AUs 362.13.13 on John 1:14).<sup>194</sup> It is rare that Augustine uses a word other than *scriptura* or *euangelium* to refer to the Gospel, and he seldom qualifies it with an adjective.<sup>195</sup> Individual citations may be introduced by a variety of nouns: *uoces euangelicae* (AU2an 9 on John 8:47), *illum intellectum euangelicum* (AUPs 55 on John 8:34) and *illa euangelica tuba* (AUs 331.1.1 on John 12:25). Augustine enjoys metaphors, usually with biblical overtones, as can be seen from a selection of introductions to the first verse of the Gospel: individual citations are described as *plenitudo mensae* (AUs 194), *solidus cibus* (AUs 335K), and *patriam* (AUs 92), while we also find *per quamdam nubem suam ipse intonuit* (AUPs 29.s2.1.26) and *texuit pretiosissimum illud pallium laudis* (AUs 37.786). Such flights of fancy are restricted to the more exalted sections of the Gospel, especially the Prologue.

Alongside *scriptum est*, Augustine's most common introduction to citations is the phrase *dixit dominus* (also found in the present tense). This normally precedes the words of Jesus reported by the evangelist, although the phrase is used more generally before citations of the Old Testament in keeping with the dominical authority claimed by prophets and the

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<sup>194</sup> See also *scriptura testatur* (AUGn li 5.13 on John 1:1); *praedicat scriptura* (AUs 341 on John 1:14); *euangelium loquitur* (AUs 2 on John 6:5); *non tacuit euangelium* (AUpers 14.35 on John 12:37). Barrett 1970:391 notes that the personification of Scripture was also a Hebrew custom.

<sup>195</sup> The use of *litteris liberalibus* before the citation of John 8:36, together with the unusual verb *legimus* (Augustine hardly ever refers to "reading" the gospel), appears to be a play on words enhanced by alliteration: *quod in litteris uere liberalibus legimus: si uos filius liberauit tunc uere liberi eritis* (AUep 101.2).

Psalmist.<sup>196</sup> Apart from the occasions on which an explicit comment is made (e.g. John 19:35), Augustine rarely portrays the gospel writer as speaking: such an introduction is occasionally found before narrative citations, for example *dicit Iohannes euangelista in euangelio suo* (AUep 265.65) introducing John 3:22.<sup>197</sup> Augustine frequently uses the verbs *bibere* and *ructuare* of John, which he expressly connects with the beloved disciple reclining on Jesus' breast:

quid uidit super pectus domini discumbens? quid **bibit**? quid nisi quod **ructuauit**?  
(AUs 133.6).<sup>198</sup>

Other speakers are normally named, as in the many references to Philip before citations of John 14:8. Although Augustine is normally accurate there are occasional errors, as with Andrew's call to Peter in John 1:41: Augustine claims these words are addressed to Nathaniel by one disciple (AUPs 65.4.26) or several disciples (AUFau 12.44), confusing it with John 1:45.

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<sup>196</sup> Knauer notes that, in AUcf, Augustine rarely identifies the Psalms as his source, preferring second person verbs of speech or the phrase *dominica uox* (1955:183-185). This is also found in other Fathers: Athanasius has a special vocabulary to introduce psalm citations (Ernest 2004:121), while "Cyprian assumes that the 'Ego' of the Psalm citations is Christ Himself speaking" (Fahey 1971:48). In Augustine, Jesus is identified with a number of metaphors, especially "wisdom" (e.g. *dicit ipsa sapientia in euangelio: nemo uenit ad patrem nisi per me* AUmor 1.28.17) and "truth" (e.g. *ipsa ueritas loquitur dicens: ego et pater unum sumus* AUre 1.4.28). See further Comeau 1930:291-298 and Knauer 1955:148. Note also the development of the verb *clamare* in later Latin to signify "prophecy" (García de la Fuente 1994:69).

<sup>197</sup> See also the citations of John 6:65, 7:39, 11:51, 13:1 and 21:11, where Augustine uses the word *euangelista* particularly frequently in the introductions. Julian of Eclanum makes the reflexive pronoun of *in euangelio suo* refer to Christ rather than John, as seen in his citations of John 8:36 and 8:44 at AUJul im 1.94.10 and 2.53.8 respectively: in the former instance he is quoting AUPel 1.2.5, where the phrase *in euangelio suo* is not present in Augustine's text. This use is not found in Augustine: perhaps it is a unique feature of Julian's writing.

<sup>198</sup> On these words, see Dideberg 1986:194-195. Augustine also uses *ructuare* of Cyprian the preacher at AUdo 4.15.32. For the Christian use of *ructuare*, compare Matthew 13:35, Psalms 19:1, 45:2, 118:171 and 144:7, and early references to the prophets (Mohrmann 1961b:67). These verbs are also connected at 4 Esdras 14:37; *et accepi et bibi, et in eo cum bibissem cor meum eructabatur intellectum et in pectus meum incresebat sapientia*.

Biblical codices in the time of Augustine were not equipped with modern chapter or verse divisions. Augustine often refers to a liturgical gospel passage as *capitulum euangelii*, although the length of these varies considerably and does not always correspond to modern chapters. At the opening of the second *Tractatus in Iohannem*, he says:

capitulum primum praeterito die dominico tractatum esse meminimus (AUJo 2.1.4)

before quoting the first five verses of the Gospel.<sup>199</sup> Decret notes that both Augustine and Faustus describe citations as *capitula*: "le terme de *capitulum* désigne toujours une citation scripturaire qui fait l'objet d'une *contentio*".<sup>200</sup> There is one occasion on which Augustine refers to a *capitulum* of his own work:

sed nos iam et de uiro et de uxore et de spadonibus, quantum satis fuit, in tertio capitulo disseruimus. (AUAd 23).

Numbered biblical chapters are not found, although Augustine may have been assisted by the Eusebian apparatus in the Vulgate when composing his comparative works such as *De consensu euangelistarum*. He demonstrates a good grasp of the relative positions of different passages in St John's Gospel, as shown by his identification of John 4:23 as

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<sup>199</sup> Petitmengin believes that Codex Vercellensis contains indications of a system of chapters present in an ancestor and also observes chapter-divisions in Codex Corbeiensis (1985:100; see plate one on page 124 with the indication "XXV" next to John 13:1). He also suggests that this system was transplanted into early Vulgate manuscripts (1985:103). Wright 1979:55 notes that there are lists of *capitula* preceding the gospel text in Codices Aureus and Colbertinus; see also Light 1994:168-171. The modern system of chapters is due to Stephen Langton (see Loewe 1969:147-148; Berger 1893:307-315). Augustine also uses *capitulum euangelii* at AUJo 28.1.1, AUJo 93.1.1, AUJo 96.1.1, AUJo 101.4.1, AUs 133.1. Of these, AUs 133 treats the opening of John 7 and AUJo 93 John 16, but the reading for AUJo 96 comprises only two verses from the middle of John 16. At the end of John 20 in AUJo 122.1.8 Augustine says *hoc capitulum uelut libri huius indicat finem*.

<sup>200</sup> Decret 1970:65-66; in addition he notes an extended meaning, "*capitulum* ... était aussi un terme technique pour les chrétiens de ces temps-là. On désignait ainsi, dans le monde des clercs, une citation de l'Écriture sainte; puis par extension, la doctrine qu'on en tirait" (1970:66). He seems to have drawn this from Monceaux: see the reference at Ries 1964:322. Augustine also refers to *capitula* in *Contra Adimantum*, e.g. AUAd 3.2.

"shortly after" (*paulo post*) a citation of John 4:21 in *Sermo* 198.11.<sup>201</sup> In the *Speculum*, there is even an early reference to biblical "verses": Augustine notes that John 14:23 comes *iii uersus* after John 14:21 (AUspe 28). The exact significance of this is not entirely clear although it corresponds to the divisions found in some Old Latin manuscripts, which suggests that there may have been an ancient system of verses.<sup>202</sup>

## 2.5.2 The canon of Scripture

Zarb (1938:7) notes that Augustine never initiates a discussion of the biblical canon. At *De doctrina christiana* 2.8.13 he gives a list of canonical books without comment, which is probably taken straight from one of the conciliar decrees.<sup>203</sup> In *De baptismo* he states plainly:

quis autem nesciat sanctam scripturam canonicam tam ueteris quam noui testamenti certis suis terminis contineri? (AUba 2.3.4).

There are occasional references to debate about the status of particular books, although the rejection of canonical books by Christian sects was of more concern to him.<sup>204</sup> Liturgical

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<sup>201</sup> The same phrase is found separating John 17:11 and 17:20 in *Epistula* 238.4.28 and *Contra Maximinum* 2.22.1, while *post aliquantulum* is found between these verses in AUMax 1.12 and between John 6:44 and 6:61 in AUprae 8.15.

<sup>202</sup> For example, in Codex Corbeiensis, each of the four verses John 14:21-24 begins with a hanging capital; in Codex Vercellensis, John 14:22 and 23 are marked by hanging lines in Irco's edition, but the other verses are not; in Codex Veronensis, John 14:22 and 23 have hanging capitals and a gold separator, but John 14:21 begins in the middle of a line, and a gold separator appears halfway through the verse at the beginning of the new sentence *qui autem diligit me* (not present in Codex Corbeiensis). Bogaert (1998:36) notes that Jerome tended to quote the Bible in verses, and on the next page remarks that AUspe has been influenced by Jerome. Plinval (1954:191) glosses *uersus* in the *Speculum* as "le nombre exact de lignes qui ... séparait les passages", although this would of course have varied in different manuscripts.

<sup>203</sup> See the discussions at Section 2.3.3 above.

<sup>204</sup> For other comments about the canon, see AUci 11.3 and AUCre 2.31.39. Augustine knew that Maccabees was not canonical for the Jews (e.g. AUci 18.36, AUGau 1.31.38), and that some churches had concerns over Acts, Jude and 2 Peter (La Bonnardière 1986:297, 301; see also Zarb 1938:178-209).

reading was the principal requirement for acceptance in the canon.<sup>205</sup> *Epistula* 237 includes a discussion of heretics and canonicity, since Augustine's correspondent was moved by a hymn *qui ... in scripturis solet apocryphis inueniri* (AUep 237.2). In AUJo 124, Augustine notes that there is no evidence in canonical Scripture for the tradition that St John never married, but appears to draw on the apocryphal Acts of John for details of the Evangelist's death. Other references to non-canonical scriptures have been detected in Augustine's writings.<sup>206</sup>

Within the Gospel according to John, Augustine is rarely troubled by questions of authenticity. He is familiar with the story of the angel moving the waters, although he never cites John 5:4 verbatim. The *Pericope Adulterae* appears in its customary place (John 7:53b-8:11), but in *De coniugiis adulterinis* Augustine records that this passage has been contested:

sed hoc uidelicet infidelium sensus exhorret, ita ut nonnulli modicae fidei uel potius inimici uerae fidei, credo, metuentes peccandi impunitatem dari mulieribus suis, illud quod de adulterae indigentia dominus fecit auferrent de codicibus suis, quasi permissionem peccandi tribuerit qui dixit *iam deinceps noli peccare*. (AUadu 2.7.6)

His assumption that the longer text is original is entirely characteristic of his subjective explanations of textual differences, here betrayed by *credo*, and reference to content rather than a text-critical approach. Similarly, although he recognises that John 20:30-31 reads like a conclusion, he never suggests that John 21 was absent from the original scheme:

ad hoc itaque commendandum ualere arbitror, quod tamquam finis interpositus est libri, quod esset etiam secuturae narrationis quasi proaemium, quod ei quodammodo faceret eminentiorem locum. (AUJo 122.1.13)

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<sup>205</sup> Thus La Bonnardière on Wisdom and Sirach: "c'est donc l'usage liturgique qui garantit la canonicité de ces livres, et ce fait date, semble-t-il bien en Afrique, de Cyprien" (1986:297). See also Gamble 1995:216, Grant 1970:286 and Zarb 1938:62, who refers to AUep 64.3.

<sup>206</sup> See Berrouard 2003:434 for the reference to the Acts of John. On Augustine's other citations of apocryphal works, see Altaner 1952:208, Zarb 1938:280-294.

### 2.5.3 Textual variance

In *De doctrina christiana* Augustine recommends the comparison of different versions of the Old Testament as an aid to understanding the text.<sup>207</sup> Although the Gospels do not present such problems of interpretation, he continues to mention variant readings which he has encountered in manuscripts. The majority of these are simply alternative renderings, which he uses to remind his audience that these works were originally composed in Greek:

graecum quippe euangelium λόγος habet, quod etiam ibi legitur ubi dictum est: *in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum* ... unde et hic poni potuit, et in quibusdam codicibus positum est: *uerbum tuum ueritas est*; sicut in quibusdam codicibus etiam ibi scriptum est: *in principio erat sermo*. in graeco autem sine ulla uarietate et ibi et hic λόγος est. (AUJo 108.3.2).

Although these comments have the status of primary citations for text-critical purposes, it is evident that the variety of readings does not concern Augustine. As Bonner observes,

"Augustine is fully prepared to accept variant readings without any attempt to discriminate between them so long, at least, as they do not raise theological difficulties." (1970:556).<sup>208</sup>

Indeed, Augustine explicitly states to his opponent Petilian that he will not comment on the scriptural text used by the Donatist except where it affects his argument:

ubi forte aliter dicis testimonia scripturarum quam sese habent et ad rem quae inter nos agitur non pertinet non nimis curo; ubi autem impediunt quod tractamus nisi ueraciter proferantur, non te arbitror succensere debere si quemadmodum scriptum sit te commemoro. (AUPet 2.61.138)

In his own work, Augustine even runs different readings together, as in the two forms of John 16:13, *docebit uos omnem ueritatem* and *deducet uos in omni ueritate*:

quid est quod dominus ait de spiritu sancto cum eum uenturum esse promitteret et docturum discipulos eius omnem ueritatem uel eos deducturum in omni ueritate. (AUJo 99.1.1; see also AUJo 96.4.32 and AUJo 100.1.2).

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<sup>207</sup> e.g. AUdo 2.12.17. Augustine exemplifies this in his comment on Joshua 8:18, comparing Symmachus' use of *scutum* with the Septuagint's *gaeson* (AUloc 6.10). See further Monceaux 1901:148.

<sup>208</sup> Compare Comeau's comment on Augustine's approach to multiple exegeses of a single text: "Si un texte est assez riche pour prêter à de multiples exégèses, qu'on cite et commente toutes celles qui ne contredisent point la foi." (1930:99).

This easy, unquestioning acceptance of alternatives demonstrates Augustine's limits as a textual scholar, although it confirms the fact that he had access to several different versions and that he transmits readings from more than one form of text.

The reconciliation of inconsistencies in the Bible, especially between the Gospels, is a much more pressing concern for Augustine. Despite his awareness that a number of biblical manuscripts require correction, he rarely proposes textual emendation. Instead, he often resorts to a long and contrived explanation to keep open the possibility that all accounts are accurate. In the case of the timing of the crucifixion, where John has *hora quasi sexta* (John 19:14) and Mark *hora tertia* (Mark 15:25), Augustine offers two solutions, first invoking a metaphorical sense of *crucifixus*:

hora tertia crucifixus est dominus linguis iudaeorum, hora sexta manibus militum.  
(AUJo 117.1.5)

Alternatively, he suggests different starting points for the two evangelists:

hora tertia secundum Marcum, non praeparationis, sed diei; eademque sexta non diei, sed praeparationis, sex utique horis a noctis nona usque ad diei tertiam computatis.  
(AUJo 117.2.25)

Of these explanations, he says simply *eligat quisque quam uolet*, encouraging his audience to read the fuller treatment in *De consensu euangelistarum* where numerous similar reconciliations are proposed.<sup>209</sup> This anxiety manifests itself even at the level of phrasing, as the following discussion of Matthew 3:11 and John 1:27 shows:

itaque si ad rem pertinet aliquid aliud intellegere ex eo quod dictum est *calciamenta portare* et aliquid aliud ex eo quod dictum est *corrigiam calciamenta soluere* quid aliud accipiendum recte existimaueris nisi Iohannem utrumque dixisse, siue aliud alio

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<sup>209</sup> Several of these are reproduced in the later sermons of AUJo, for example Augustine's observation in AUJo 112.5.4 that only John records the name of the High Priest's servant, while only Luke mentions that Jesus healed his ear. In AUJo 113.1.11, he offers an explanation as to why Matthew has omitted the trial before Annas and gone straight to the scene with Caiaphas. This discussion of the silence of Jesus at his trial includes the wonderful ablative absolute *collatis omnium euangelistarum narrationibus* (AUJo 116.4.4), as if Augustine has created his own synopsis!



tempore sine contextim? potuit enim sic dicere "cuius non sum dignus corrigiam calciamenti soluere nec calciamenta portare" ut unus euangelistarum hinc aliud alii uero aliud omnes tamen uerum narrauerint. (AUEv 2.12.29)

Again, Augustine prefers an uncritical textual solution in order to preserve the integrity of the accounts as they have been transmitted to him.<sup>210</sup>

Augustine also addresses apparent inconsistencies within John itself. In *Epistula* 147, he notes a possible discrepancy between John 14:9 and 1:18:

quamquam et ipsum euangelium potest putari sibi esse contrarium. quo modo enim uerum est quod in eo dicitur *qui me uidit uidit et patrem si deum nemo uidit umquam?* (AUep 147.5.13)

In most cases, the problem is resolved by careful attention to the exact form of the text before him. In response to the contradiction inherent in John 14:24 (*qui non diligit me, sermones meos non seruat. et sermonem quem audistis non est meus, sed eius qui misit me patris*) Augustine suggests :

ecce suos dixit esse sermones; numquid sibi est contrarius, ubi rursus dicit: *et sermo quem audistis non est meus?* et fortasse propter aliquam distinctionem, ubi suos dixit dixit pluraliter, hoc est sermones; ubi autem sermonem, hoc est uerbum, non suum dixit esse sed patris, seipsum intellegi uoluit. (AUJo 76.5.6)

Augustine is also exercised by Jesus' apparent inconsistency in attending the festival of John 7:8 after originally denying that it was his intention. A solution is to be found in a minor detail of the original statement, *ego non ascendo ad diem festum istum*. By suggesting in *Sermo* 133.7 that the festival lasted a number of days, Augustine clears Jesus of mendacity. Forced though such explanations may seem to modern readers, they indicate that Augustine is faithful to the biblical text before him. Furthermore, his praise of John as *ueracissima et*

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<sup>210</sup> Harrison 2001:160 notes that Augustine always explains such double accounts by referring to two separate events. We may compare Fee's assessment of Origen: "He was an acute observer of textual phenomena but was quite uncritical in his evaluation of their significance" (Fee 1993:257). On Origen's similar attitude to variant readings, see Wiles 1970:456, 476.

*concordissima euangelistarum narratio* (AUCr 1.45) suggest that the principle of consistency dear to Augustine is something he finds paralleled in this Gospel.

#### 2.5.4 Citation context and exposition

The presentation of scriptural citations has a considerable bearing on their significance. In commentaries and expository sermons, Augustine normally treats the text in a linear fashion, quoting a verse or a phrase at a time and analysing each clause and its constituent elements. There is occasionally a resumptive citation of a longer passage, which may also have assisted the preacher in keeping his place in the biblical text before him.<sup>211</sup> Augustine uses a variety of rhetorical devices to expound the text under discussion. An example of "straight" glossing can be seen in his treatment of John 5:25 in *Sermo* 127:

*amen dico uobis quia ueniet hora et nunc est quando mortui, id est infideles, audient uocem filii dei, id est euangelium, et qui audierint, id est qui obedierint, uiuent.* (AUs 127.6.9).<sup>212</sup>

This has clear parallels with an allegorical approach, although a series of glosses appears instead of the sustained scheme required by this method of exegesis. Another favourite approach is to dissect the scriptural text to show its logical consistency, as in the following analysis of John 6:45:

*quid est omnis qui audiuit a patre et didicit uenit ad me, nisi nullus est qui audiat a patre et discat et non ueniat ad me? si enim omnis qui audiuit a patre et didicit uenit, profecto omnis qui non uenit non audiuit a patre nec didicit: nam si audisset et didicisset, ueniret. neque enim ullus audiuit et didicit et non uenit sed omnis, ut ait ueritas, qui audiuit a patre et didicit uenit.* (AUprae 8.13/970).

Augustine also finds significance in the precise word order of a passage or the tense of verbs.<sup>213</sup>

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<sup>211</sup> For an interesting parallel to this idea, compare Van den Hoek's observation that Clement of Alexandria often follows a reminiscence with several sequential verbatim citations, which she believes reflects his use of scroll for his citations (1996:235).

<sup>212</sup> For a more extended example, see AUtri 1.10.54 on John 16:28.

<sup>213</sup> See the examples in Berrouard 1988:94.

Closely related to this concentration on the literal text is the negative approach, where Augustine contrasts the true text with a possible alternative which is not found in Scripture. The importance of the preposition in John 6:29 is shown by the change of meaning which would result from its absence:

*hoc est enim opus dei ut credatis in eum quem ille misit. non dixit credatis ei aut credatis eum sed credatis in eum.* (AUs 130A.3 [AUs Dol 19]).

This is often found repeatedly for the same verse: in no fewer than six different works Augustine observes *non ait ueniet sed manet* in John 3:36.<sup>214</sup> A fuller form of this is the "imaginary citation", in which Augustine alters the text in one crucial respect in order to amplify the correct reading.<sup>215</sup> Two versions of John 5:19 will suffice to illustrate the numerous examples of this:

*non enim ait quaecumque pater iubet haec filius facit sed ait quaecumque pater facit haec et filius facit similiter.* (AUAr 22.23)

*non ergo ait quaecumque pater facit talia filius facit, tamquam alia facit pater et alia filius.* (AUs 126.7.9)

Despite the substitution of the critical term, the rest of the phrase is still textually significant: indeed, under the classification scheme used in the Appendix, the whole "citation" could be counted as an adaptation, although without explanation of the context this would be misleading. Augustine's sensitivity to language and fondness for word play means that he frequently chooses to substitute words of a similar sound or shape to the

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<sup>214</sup> See also Augustine's comment on John 17:11, *Christus autem non ait ut ipsi et nos unum simus, sed ait ut sint unum sicut et nos unum sumus* (AUMax 1.12 and other citations), and AU1Jo 2.5 and AUs 121.2 on John 8:58, or AUord 1.11.47 on John 18:36.

<sup>215</sup> On the creation of these citations, see also Berrouard 1988:92: "L'un des moyens qu'il emploie très fréquemment pour attirer l'attention de ses auditeurs sur les mots précis de Jésus consiste à opposer la parole qu'il vient de citer à une formulation très proche dont il modifie un ou plusieurs mots."

true biblical term, such as *iubet* and *facit* in the first example.<sup>216</sup> The rhetorical power of this comes across in his clever use of the device against Pelagius:

dominus autem, ut responderet futuro Pelagio, non ait sine me difficile potestis aliquid facere, sed ait *sine me nihil potestis facere*, et ut responderet futuris etiam istis in eadem ipsa euangelica sententia non ait *sine me nihil potestis perficere sed facere*. (AUPel 2.8.18/480.7).

This leads us from commentaries to the instructional and controversial use of citations. The appeal to Scripture is often the final, triumphant step after a long line of reasoning. In claiming biblical justification for his position, Augustine moves from inference and argument to offer a shared point of reference for recognition and acclamation by the wider body of Christians, the sure touch of the popular orator.<sup>217</sup> These concluding citations are often introduced by a causal connective. Knauer has a particularly interesting discussion of this feature in the psalm citations of the *Confessiones*. He observes that while some of these "justificatory" citations already have a causal conjunction in the original, others do not and the causal element has been introduced by Augustine. This spreads to other biblical books, and in the *Confessiones* the self-standing *argumentum ex scriptura* becomes a standard

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<sup>216</sup> For Augustine's word play in the *Sermones*, especially this category of similar-sounding words, see Mohrmann 1961a:323-349, especially 332ff.: "Besondere Vorliebe zeigt Augustin für Wörter, die sich nur durch einen einzigen Laut unterscheiden" (1961a:344). Augustine's use of "figures of sound" is also treated in Lawless's analysis of AUJo 44 (1997:55-60).

<sup>217</sup> Compare the observation of Knauer: "Wenn Augustin in seinen Schriften die Bibel, d.h. Gottes Wort, "zitiert", so sollen seine eigenen Aussagen dadurch an Wahrheit gewinnen, daß er sich auf die höchste Autorität ("auctoritas") beruft, die er kennt." (1955:29). Marrou, too, notes that Augustine's biblical references are not merely stylistic: "les citations ... interviennent à titre d'autorité, d'arguments et non pas simplement comme ornements du style" (1938:501). Hagendahl (1947:123) makes an illuminating comparison between the use of verse citations in Latin philosophy and the "popular diatribe" and Augustine's practice, although Marrou (1938:529) limits the influence of the diatribe on Christian practice.

feature at the end of paragraphs.<sup>218</sup> A clearer example of Augustine's reliance of the authority of Scripture could not be offered, as Knauer says:

Andererseits ist die "auctoritas" der Schrift so beweiskräftig, daß Bibelzitate in den verschiedensten Zusammenhängen als vollgütige Argumente eintreten und sich selbstverständlich auch gegenseitig erklären und begründen können. (1955:110).

Another common ploy is to use scriptural citations as the answer to questions:

quid est lex christi nisi *mandatum nouum do uobis ut uos inuicem diligatis?* quid est lex christi nisi *pacem meam do uobis pacem meam relinquo uobis?* (AUPar 3.2.5)

This is employed in support of the notorious term *homousios*:

quid est, inquam, homousion nisi *ego et pater unum sumus?* (AUMax 2.14.3/772).

Christine Mohrmann calls this question-and-answer style *dialektikon*, observing that "le *dialektikon* se prête excellemment à une interprétation claire et simple de l'Écriture", and that "la grande majorité des cas de *dialektikon* se trouve dans les sermons exégétiques" (1958:60).<sup>219</sup> The pedagogical application of this is seen in the use of questions to reconstruct the train of thought which inspired the evangelist:

ideo Iohannes euangelista de domino ipso ait *erat lumen uerum*, et quasi quaereretur "quid est lumen uerum?" *quod illuminat omnem hominem* inquit, non ergo quod illuminatur sed quod illuminat. (AUs 341.18 [AUs Dol 22]).

This is also seen in the majority of citations of John 2:21, where Augustine seeks to explain what prompted the evangelist to speak *in propria uoce*.

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<sup>218</sup> Knauer 1955:89ff. He also suggests that the psalm citations of the *Confessiones* resemble rhetorical *clausulae*: "Zitate ... scheinen manchmal eine ähnliche Rolle zu spielen wie die antiken Klauseln" (1955:138).

<sup>219</sup> See also Mohrmann 1961a:364, and compare Berrouard's description of Augustine's use of questions in his commentary on John: "Quant au sermon lui-même, on dirait qu'il se construit parfois comme une suite de réponses à une suite d'interrogations: c'est par une question très souvent que le prédicateur introduit ses développements; il lui arrive de couper en deux la citation qu'il est en train de faire pour demander quelle est la suite du texte; achevant de lire le verset qu'il va commenter, il n'est pas rare qu'il le répète pour demander ce qu'il signifie" (1969:12). Lawless describes one sermon as "a series of questions and answers somewhat reminiscent of the Cynic diatribe" (1997:63).

### 2.5.5 Internal parallels and biblical "chains"

In addition to the rhetorical employment and analysis of citations, the use of other biblical parallels to illuminate and emphasise a biblical text is a central feature of Augustine's practice. Augustine subscribed to the rule of Scripture as its own interpreter, *scriptura sui interpres*. This was a development of the grammarians' approach to Homer, based on the assumption that the best way of clarifying obscurity or ambiguity was to compare similar expressions elsewhere in the same work.<sup>220</sup> Because Augustine believed that the whole Bible was the product of divine inspiration, parallels could legitimately be drawn from any canonical book. The relationship is summarised in a pithy tag in *Sermo* 125:

sic est expositio diuinarum scripturarum sicut sunt ipsae diuinae scripturae.  
(AUs 125.1)

Marie Comeau describes the process as follows:

"le rapprochement verbal explique souvent la manière, un peu déconcertant à première vue, dont Augustin compose ... les textes se succèdent non parce qu'ils traitent le même sujet, mais parce qu'ils renferment les mêmes mots." (1930:20).<sup>221</sup>

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<sup>220</sup> Pontet describes how "le retour d'un même mot, d'un même thème doit donc s'interpréter comme une intention de l'auteur divin. Peu à peu, à travers l'Écriture entière, ont été disposés les éléments d'une sémantique sacrée, que l'exégète a pour rôle de découvrir." (1946:153). See also La Bonnardière 1986:55-56 ("Augustin professait que l'Écriture s'explique par l'Écriture"), Fleteren 2001:8-9 and Saxer 1985b:355-356. Fredouille (1985:41) and Marrou (1938:481, 495ff.) discuss allegorical readings of Vergil and Homer. Van den Hoek has an interesting account of quotations in Clement of Alexandria, where "one word ... evokes another without the support of a logical connection" (1996:236), while Ernest 2004:177 refers to a similar practice of "canon-wide word study" in Athanasius. A similar technique was also practised in rabbinic exegesis, known as *gezerah shawah* or "inference by analogy". See Young 1997:92 and Barrett 1970:393.

<sup>221</sup> She suggests that this is another device which Augustine owes to Origen, who had already connected the light of the world in John 8:12 with Psalm 35 (1930:38, 309). On Origen's application of the principle *scriptura sui interpres*, see further Wiles 1970:485. Berrouard describes Augustine's practice thus: "l'un des principes qu'il applique constamment, sans jamais le formuler, consiste à éclairer, illustrer et confirmer ce qu'il explique par tel ou tel autre passage de la sainte Écriture" (1988:100-101). Albaric (1986:92) demonstrates how a single word provokes a sequence of biblical references in AUs 227.

This reliance on verbal correspondence is modelled in the Gospel by Jesus himself, who uses the verb *exaltare* to bring together two separate events:

sicut Moyses exaltauit serpentem in deserto, ita exaltari oportet filium hominis.  
(John 3:14)

Augustine's illustrative citations are often chosen on the basis of a key word shared with the verse under discussion. A good example of this verbal approach can be seen in his explanation of the Beatitudes in *De sancta uirginitate*:

*Beati pauperes spiritu*: imitamina eum qui *propter uos pauper factus est cum diues esset* [2 Cor 8:9]. *Beati mites*: imitamina eum qui dixit: *discite a me, quoniam mitis sum et humilis corde* [Matt. 11:29]. *Beati lugentes*: imitamina eum qui fleuit super Ierusalem [cf. Luke 19:41]. *Beati qui esuriunt et sitiunt iustitiam*: imitamina eum qui dixit: *meus cibus est ut faciam uoluntatem eius qui misit me* [John 4:34]. *Beati misericordes*: imitamina eum qui uulnerato a latronibus et in uia iacenti semiuiuo desperatoque subuenit [cf. Luke 10:30]. *Beati mundicordes*: imitamina eum qui *peccatum non fecit nec inuentus est dolus in ore eius* [1 Peter 2:22]. *Beati pacifici*: imitamina eum qui pro suis persecutoribus dixit: *pater, ignosce illis, quia nesciunt quid faciunt* [Luke 23:34]. *Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter iustitiam*: imitamina eum qui *pro uobis passus est relinquens uobis exemplum ut sequamini uestigia eius* [1 Peter 2:22]. (AUVg 28.28)

The word *transire* in John 13:1 means that it is frequently used to comment on other verses which include the noun *transitus* (AUs 104.6, AUs 155.5.5, AUs 179.6.6), while John 19:34 is connected with Genesis 2:22 on the basis of the shared word *latus*:

fit uiro dormienti coniux de latere: fit Christo morienti ecclesia de sacramento sanguinis, qui de latere mortui profluxit. (AUFau 12.8)

Sometimes the pairing of citations is of textual interest, where the common term is not normally read in one or other of the verses. In John 1:9, where only four surviving Old Latin witnesses read *lumen* rather than *lux*, the illustration of this verse in *Sermo* 299D.5 (and AUtri 7.3.33) by Psalm 35:10, *quoniam apud te fons uitae et in lumine tuo uidebimus lumen*, and in *Sermo* 341.18 by Matthew 5:14 in the form *uos estis lumen mundi*, confirms

that Augustine read *lumen* in this verse.<sup>222</sup> There are only two citations of John 1:26; although AUJo 4.9.2 reads *medius autem uestrum*, AUPs 81.2.30 cites the verse with *in medio uestrum* as a parallel to the verse *in medio autem deos discernere* (Psalm 81:1). Although it is possible that Augustine was misled by the similarity between the texts, *in medio* is found in a number of Old Latin sources, so it is likely that he was familiar with this reading.

An emphasis on key words and phrases is also characteristic of St John's Gospel. Augustine uses John 9:5 to explain the significance of the Hebrew name of the Pool of Siloam ("*missus*") two verses later:

quid est ipse missus, nisi qui dixit in ipsa lectione *ego*, inquit, *ueni ut faciam opera eius qui me misit?* (AUs 135.1.1)

In AUJo 31.9, Augustine draws on the evangelist's own repetition to elucidate each half of John 7:34, which has parallels with both John 13:34 and John 17:28, before relating the whole verse to John 13:36:

ideo ait: *ubi ego sum, uos non potestis uenire* [7:34]. nec dixit non poteritis sed non potestis; tales enim tunc erant qui non possent. nam ut sciatis non hoc ad desperationem dictum, et discipulis suis dixit tale aliquid: *quo ego uado, uos non potestis uenire* [13:33]; cum pro illis orans dixerit: *pater, uolo ut ubi ego sum et ipsi sint mecum* [17:28]. denique hoc Petro exposuit et ait illi: *quo ego uado, non potes me sequi modo. sequeris autem postea* [13:36]. (AUJo 31.9.44)

This is a brilliant example of Augustine's assembly of Scripture to illuminate Scripture, relying strongly on the verbal form of each verse. As these correspondences are often found in multiple verses, Augustine assembles "chains" of citations which share the same key word,

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<sup>222</sup> Knauer, however, notes that *lux* and *lumen* can appear in the same "associative group", as in AUcf 8.10.22 (1955:113).



thereby creating an "argument from concordance".<sup>223</sup> In *De continentia*, he expands John 1:14, *uerbum caro factum est*, with four other verses in which the word *caro* appears:

legimus *uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* [John 1:14]. quid hic caro intellegenda est nisi homo? *et uidebit omnis caro salutare dei* [Luke 3:6], quid potest intellegi nisi omnis homo? *ad te omnis caro ueniet* [Psalm 64:3], quid est nisi omnis homo? *dedisti ei potestatem carnis* [John 17:2], quid est nisi omnis hominis? *ex operibus legis non iustificabitur omnis caro* [Romans 3:20], quid est nisi nullus iustificabitur homo? (AUcont 4.11/153.1).

A similar "chain" is found based on the word *spiritus* in John 4:24 (AUep 238.2.14) and many others can be seen in the full list of citations.

As well as clusters based on verbal similiarity, citations may be related by theological topic or polemical concern.<sup>224</sup> Although some of these groups probably pre-date Augustine, deriving from earlier thematically-arranged collections of biblical *testimonia* similar to his own *Speculum*, he was also responsible for assembling others:

omnia haec quae uelut catenatim conexui habent uoces suas in scripturis sanctis.  
(AUsp 30.52)

*Catenatim* here seems to function as a technical term, similar to the use of "chains" to describe citation groups above. In these cases, the "chains" are held together not by a keyword but by a similar structure. For example, Augustine lists nine different verses which the Pelagians do not heed, all preceded by *non audiant*:

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<sup>223</sup> Fleteren observes that "Augustine was a veritable living concordance of the Bible" and claims him as the inspiration for monastic *lectio diuina* (2001:7). This latter is rather exaggerated: Fredouille (1985:37) points to an earlier origin for the practice.

<sup>224</sup> Knauer identifies three categories of "associations" among Augustine's citations: word associations, content associations and exegetical associations (Knauer 1955:111ff.) and observes: "in solchen Beispielen ergeben sich die Zitate assoziativ aus ihren Beziehungen zu Worten aus Augustins eigenem Wortschatz; natürlich können Zitate aber auch untereinander durch assoziative Wortverbindungen verknüpft sein." (1955:113). In the following pages, he describes citation groups in the *Confessiones* as "Zitatnester", with an account of the manner in which such associations are formed. On earlier groups of citations by Novatian and Cyprian, see Saxer 1985b:350-4.

ita namque illis tumor ipse aures cordis obstruxit, ut non audiant *quid enim habes quod non accepisti?* [1 Cor. 4:7] non audiant *sine me nihil potestistis facere* [John 15:5], non audiant *caritas ex deo est* [1 John 4:7], non audiant *deus partitus est mensuram fidei* [Romans 12:3], non audiant *spiritus ubi uult spirat* [John 3:8], et *qui spiritu dei aguntur, hi filii sunt dei* [Romans 8:14], non audiant *nemo potest uenire ad me nisi fuerit ei datum a patre meo* [John 6:66], non audiant quod Esdras scribit, *benedictus est dominus patrum nostrum qui haec dedit in cor regis clarificare domum suam quae est in Hierusalem* [1 Esdras 8:25], non audiant quod per Ieremiam dominus dicit, *et timorem meum dabo in cor eorum ut a me non recedant et uisitabo eos ut bonos eos faciam* [Jer. 32.40]. (AUPel 4.6.14/534.25).

Anne-Marie La Bonnardière observed that a number of these doctrinally-organised clusters, or *noeuds scripturaires*, were developed in response to a particular issue.<sup>225</sup> Not only can their genesis be traced, as Augustine gradually adds references to his armoury, but the presence of similar lists in multiple works indicates that Augustine was working on them simultaneously.<sup>226</sup> For example, almost all Augustine's citations of the figure of the dove from John 1:32-33 come from early works, where it is found in combination with Song of Songs 6:8, Matthew 3:14, Matthew 3:16 and Genesis 8:8-11.<sup>227</sup> Two later works, AUJo 61 and AUtri 5, both treat John 13:24 in the same way and, uniquely, connect it with Wisdom 2:1.<sup>228</sup> Citations of the first half of John 5:19 are mostly in anti-Arian texts, while the second half of this verse is cited in later texts to support a trinitarian doctrine.<sup>229</sup> These ingenious observations enabled La Bonnardière to redate the *Tractatus in Iohannis euangelium* and some of the *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, and have been more recently applied by Pierre-Marie Hombert to review the dating of works written between 397 and 407. Although some

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<sup>225</sup> The first exposition of this is La Bonnardière 1965:16, where she terms them *groupes scripturaires*. A more recent full account, in which they are described as *noeuds* or *chaînes*, is given by Hombert 2000:vi. Wolinski calls them "«constellations» de citations scripturaires" (1986:99).

<sup>226</sup> "Il est donc normal qu'une préoccupation grave d'un moment donné apparaisse dans plusieurs œuvres différentes, qui ont entre elles le lien de la même date" (La Bonnardière 1965:180 and *passim*). This point is also made with regard to theological similarities by Bardy 1954:21.

<sup>227</sup> La Bonnardière 1965:29ff.

<sup>228</sup> La Bonnardière 1965:79-80.

<sup>229</sup> La Bonnardière 1965:110ff.

concerns have been raised about the exactness of this technique, it offers a way forward where external chronological indications are lacking and the conclusions have been widely accepted.

## 2.6 Augustine's "mental text" of the Bible

In attempting to assess the value of Augustine's evidence for the biblical text, it is necessary to isolate features of his "mental text", the customary form of the citations which he made from memory rather than referring to a codex.<sup>230</sup> Memorising the scriptures was not unknown: this is a feature of Augustine's description of the hermit Antony:

sine ulla scientia litterarum scripturas diuinas et memoriter audiendo tenuisse et prudenter cogitando intellexisse praedicatur (AUdo proem.4).

On the other hand, neither did it offer infallibility, even for the gospel writers themselves, as Jerome points out:

euangelistis non ex libro carpentibus testimonia sed memoriae credentibus, quae nonnumquam fallitur (In Mich. 2).<sup>231</sup>

Although I have suggested in Section 2.4 that Augustine relied on biblical codices for his liturgical preaching and sometimes in public debates, the majority of his scriptural citations would have been drawn from memory. There are a few instances when Augustine refers to the use of a manuscript even for comparatively familiar parts of Scripture, but in the absence of an explicit indication or close correspondence with a surviving biblical codex, memory is his most likely source.<sup>232</sup> As has already been indicated in Section 1.5, the biblical text of

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<sup>230</sup> The phrase "mental text" was suggested to me by Philip Burton.

<sup>231</sup> Quoted from Hulley 1944:93; see the discussion there.

<sup>232</sup> Compare the use of a biblical codex for the text of Isaiah in AUs 374.19 (AUs DoI 23, quoted in Section 2.2 above) and Evodius' recourse to a psalter in order to chant the customary psalm on the death of Monica (AUcf 9.31).

adaptations and citations from memory is not without value, but these must be carefully analysed in order to establish which readings are significant.

### 2.6.1 "Flattening"

When scriptural citations appear in theological arguments, as we have seen in Section 2.5.4, they are frequently taken out of context and used to support a single point. Such references are therefore often abbreviated, in order to concentrate on relevant material and perhaps ignore complicating features. Other contextual elements may also be altered, such as the substitution of nouns for pronouns or the omission of connectives. These twin processes of abbreviation and regularisation constitute the process of "flattening" a citation in order to arrive at a universally-applicable form, which is easily committed to memory.<sup>233</sup>

There are numerous examples of this among Augustine's citations of John. For example, all Latin biblical manuscripts of John 5:22 have a text identical or very similar to the following:

neque enim pater iudicat quemquam sed iudicium omne dedit filio.

The vast majority of Augustine's citations read:

pater non iudicat quemquam sed omne iudicium dedit filio.

The alterations are all indicative of flattening. The connective element of *neque* and also *enim* have been omitted, as there is no prior reference. The subject, *pater*, has been fronted for emphasis, as the verse is used to demonstrate the different rôles of the Father and the Son. Similarly, the change in word order to *omne iudicium* also appears to have been made

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<sup>233</sup> Gryson's observation is to the point: "la mémoire s'attache de préférence aux mots significatifs et accorde une moindre attention aux outils grammaticaux, auxquels se substituent plus facilement des équivalents" (1978:48). Rhetorical considerations sometimes also lead to the re-casting of citations: Knauer shows that anaphora, parallelism and tricolon are among the many devices employed to shape biblical text in the *Confessiones* (1955:177ff.).

for emphasis although it is paralleled in other Church Fathers. The fact that none of these variants is preserved in a biblical manuscript further supports the conclusion that this form of text is entirely due to Augustine's memory. Likewise, numerous citations of John 12:24, *amen, amen dico uobis, nisi granum frumenti cadens in terram mortuum fuerit, ipsum solum manet; si autem mortuum fuerit, multum fructum adfert*, feature the omission of one or more clauses, and the insertion or repetition of the subject, *granum*, as necessary.<sup>234</sup>

The flattening process sometimes even affects the sequence of biblical verses. In John 10:1, Jesus says that the one who does not enter the sheepfold by the gate is a robber, contrasting him with the shepherd in the next verse. A number of Augustine's citations begin with the positive example from John 10:2, taking the robber second:

qui intrat per ianuam pastor ouium est, ait dominus, qui autem per aliam partem adscendit ille fur et latro est. (AUPs 95.3.38)

The addition of the connective *autem* into John 10:1 shows Augustine's train of thought; needless to say, this "revised version" appears in no biblical manuscripts. Again, the canonical text of John 10:17-18 is:

propterea me pater diligit, quia ego pono animam meam ut iterum sumam eam. nemo tollit eam a me sed ego pono eam a me ipso. potestatem habeo ponendi eam et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam. hoc mandatum accepi a patre meo.

Augustine has a shorter form, incorporating elements of both verses:

potestatem habeo ponendi animam meam et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam. nemo tollit eam a me sed ego eam pono a me et iterum sumo eam.

The replacement of *eam* by *animam meam*, and the loss of the purpose clause, so that *sumo* is co-ordinated with *pono*, are both hallmarks of flattening. The result is a clearly-defined

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<sup>234</sup> Note that the same processes of flattening may be applied independently by different authors. This means that some of Augustine's alterations are seen elsewhere, as in John 6:44 where Evodius and Petilian have the same form of text as Augustine, or John 15:15 where Cyprian (CYep 63.14, CYun 2) also has a shortened form.

saying of general application, which stands by itself out of context, although there remain several variants among Augustine's citations of this verse.

The identification of alterations due to flattening is not always clear-cut. In the second half of John 5:19, most Old Latin manuscripts read:

quaecumque enim ille fecerit, haec et filius facit similiter.

Augustine customarily has:

quaecumque pater facit, haec eadem et filius facit similiter.

Changes such as the omission of the connective, *enim*, and the replacement of the pronoun *ille* by the subject noun *pater* seem to be straightforward flattening. However, as two surviving manuscripts also have *pater* rather than *ille*, this may not, in fact, be due to memory. Similarly, although the change of tense in the verb *fecerit* might have been made by Augustine, in order to regularise the time-reference of both clauses, *facit* appears in five Old Latin codices, which suggests that he may already have been familiar with this reading. Finally, while most manuscripts have *haec*, four of the five witnesses with *facit* read *eadem* instead. Augustine's form uniquely conflates both these readings, to produce a double form. This interplay between Augustine and the surviving manuscripts shows the difficulty of using these citations from memory for textual reconstruction. It is possible that a version now lost had both *haec* and *eadem*, but we cannot posit this securely on the basis of Augustine's text, as his propensity for amalgamating variant readings has already been seen in Section 2.5.3.<sup>235</sup>

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<sup>235</sup> The single word reading ταῦτα in all witnesses cited in Nestle-Aland suggests that a double translation in Latin would be unlikely, unless perhaps the Greek was interpreted as *crasis* for τὰ αὐτά. Even so, the independent attestation of both *haec* and *eadem* favours the explanation of amalgamation.

Paradoxically, the more consistent Augustine's secondary citations are with each other, the more likely they are to be flattened forms made from memory. Alterations characteristic of flattening mean that this can also be conjectured when Augustine's form of text differs from surviving manuscripts in verses cited less frequently. Furthermore, this process also offers an explanation as to why there is often not a direct correspondence between Augustine and any single branch of the surviving Old Latin tradition even within a single verse: the different versions which he encountered had all left an imprint on his memory, resulting in the eclectic nature of his memorised text.

## 2.6.2 Conflations

We have already encountered conflated forms of different manuscript readings in Augustine's memorised citations, such as both *haec* and *eadem* in John 5:19. On a wider scale, "composite citations" or "conflations" indicate occasions when Augustine has fused elements from two or more verses.<sup>236</sup> Augustine's "citation", *ego sum uitis, uos estis sarmenta, pater meus agricola*, despite being introduced as the words of Jesus on most occasions, is clearly an amalgam of two verses:

John 15:1    ego sum uitis uera et pater meus agricola est

John 15:5    ego sum uitis, uos palmites [*or sarmenta*]; qui manet in me et ego in eo hic fert fructum multum.

In *Contra Adimantum*, Augustine completes John 17:5 with John 12:28, misled by the appearance of *clarificare* in both verses:

cum ipse dominus dixisset pater clarifica me ea claritate qua fui apud te priusquam mundus fieret [John 17:5] sonuit uox de caelo et clarificaui et clarificabo [John 12:28]. (AUAd 9/133.18)

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<sup>236</sup> Frede describes these as "die Verwandtes aus verschiedenen Stellen miteinander verbinden" (1972:460). Knauer uses the term "Pasticciozitate" to indicate quasi-citations of the psalms by Augustine, created by fusing together biblical elements (1955:84).

This type of mistake seems to be a clear indication of a citation made from memory: in this second example, it is supported by the divergences in text from other forms of John 17:5.<sup>237</sup>

While the verbal parallelism of much of John facilitates such confusions, there are also conflations with the other Gospels, especially Matthew. This can even be seen in AUJo 20, where Augustine twice replaces *ambula* in John 5:8 (*surge tolle grabatum tuum et ambula*) with *uade in domum tuam* from the parallel pericope in Mark 2:11.<sup>238</sup> On one occasion, Augustine doubly interweaves Jesus' words from John 2:16 (underlined) and Luke 19:46:

auferte ista hinc. scriptum est domus mea domus orationis uocabitur. uos autem fecistis eam domum negotiationis uel speluncam latronum. (AUqEv 2.48B.6).

A more common sort of conflation can be seen in the combination of John 13:16 (*non est seruus maior domino suo neque apostolus maior eo qui misit illum*) and Matthew 10:24 (*non est discipulus super magistrum nec seruus super dominum suum*) in AUPs 36.s1:

non est seruus maior domino suo et non est discipulus super magistrum.  
(AUPs 36.s1.9.34).

As with several composite citations, the plausibility of the compound means that the two separate elements were not identified even by a modern editor.<sup>239</sup> Furthermore, certain

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<sup>237</sup> Gryson notes that "quand la citation est faite de mémoire, les phénomènes d'harmonisation sont très fréquents et pratiquement inévitables" (1978:64). Similarly, Fee observes of Synoptic parallels that "most Fathers have a strong tendency for memoriter citations to become intricately, but probably not purposefully, harmonized" (1995:203). More conflations of Johannine verses may be seen at AUcorr 21.1 (John 3:15 and 6:39), AUleg 2.5.587 (John 5:39 and 8:19), AUpec 1.23.33 (John 6:54 and 3:36), AUs 12.21 (John 10:9 and 14:6).

<sup>238</sup> In fact, Augustine's citations here reproduce the Marcan text, but the context and reference to the *quinque porticus* show that the intended reference is to the Johannine passage (see AUJo 20.2.4 and AUJo 20.2.51).

<sup>239</sup> Compare the conflation of John 17:2 and John 3:15 in AUq 80.51. Other composite citations involving more than one Gospel occur in AUmor 1.28.7 (John 1:18 and Matt. 11:27), AUep 26.5 (John 7:37 and Matt. 11:28), AUPs 102.3.20, AUs 313C.1 and AUs 313D.1 (John 12:25 and Mark 8:34-5/Matt. 16:25), AUPs 40.8.4 (John 15:20 and Matt. 10:24).



harmonisations are even present in biblical manuscripts. At John 13:38, Codex Palatinus reads:

respondit Iesus: animam tuam pro me ponis? amen dico tibi, priusquam gallus cantet, ter me negabis.

The underlined section is taken from Matthew 26:34, as the traditional Johannine reading is *non cantabit gallus donec me ter neges*. As the same form is found in five of Augustine's sermons, this presents a problem in determining his source: did he rely on Codex Palatinus, or is this an independent, identical conflation? Although four of these sources are lectionary sermons, none covers this gospel passage, which suggests that this is an error of Augustine's memory.

## 2.7 Conclusion

The findings of this chapter challenge a number of the traditional scholarly assumptions about the use of the Bible by Augustine and his contemporaries. The availability and use of biblical manuscripts appears to have been much more widespread than is often claimed. Indications in Augustine's sermons demonstrate that he preached from a codex, and he also had one to hand in his public debates. The verbatim transcription of these events by stenographers suggests that they may provide some of the most accurate evidence for the text of Scripture in manuscripts known to Augustine.

Augustine's evidence concerning translations of the Bible into Latin has also been reviewed. Although in his later years he seems to have developed sufficient ability in Greek to make basic translations into Latin, there is no direct evidence that he is responsible for any surviving versions of biblical books. In the Old Testament, his preference was for the *Itala*, based on the Septuagint, although there are several indications that he also drew on Jerome's translation from the Hebrew. He adopted Jerome's revision of the Gospels, starting

with the composition of *De consensu euangelistarum* in around 403. Augustine's own text-critical activity appears to have consisted predominantly of correcting manuscripts against other exemplars, in keeping with the ancient practice of *emendatio* practised by the secular *grammaticus*.

Nonetheless, as a highly-trained rhetorician who applied his grammatical learning to the study of Scripture, Augustine is an informed and intelligent witness. His sensitivity to the nuances of texts and his concern for the exact verbal form of the passage under consideration is of considerable importance in assuring the accuracy of the citations in his commentaries. The details he records about alternative readings are also significant. His citations made from memory can often be identified on the basis of characteristic types of alteration, most notably "flattening" and conflation. It is against this background that we now turn to study the text of his citations of the Gospel according to John.

## Chapter Three

### *Characteristics of the text of St John's Gospel in each work*

#### 3.1 Introduction

Before investigating each verse of John in Augustine's citations (a textual commentary on selected readings is presented in Chapter Five), it is important to determine the overall shape of Augustine's text of the Gospel by comparing his citations in each work with the text of the surviving Old Latin manuscripts. There are several advantages in treating each work separately. Firstly, when the same verse more appears than once we can establish the internal consistency of Augustine's citations: does he stick to one form of text or are there variations even within a single work? Secondly, grouping together all the Johannine citations in each work enables us to plot the correspondence of their gospel text with the surviving manuscripts. By assessing the works in chronological order, we can gain a sense of changes over time in Augustine's textual affiliation. This approach also allows for the possibility of anomaly: the presence of an unexpected text form in a particular work may indicate that Augustine relied on a different source or biblical codex, or was more careful (or loose) in his citations. It could also suggest that the biblical text of a work has undergone alteration

during the course of transmission; the practice of modern editors is also known to vary.<sup>240</sup> Finally, treating all the citations in each work together provides a counterbalance to the list of citations in verse order in the Appendix.

I have treated Augustine's writings in two sections, based on the division in Chapter One between **primary** and **secondary** citations. Works in which primary citations are likely to be found are examined first: Augustine's commentary on John, the *Tractatus in Iohannis euangelium*, and other sermons which are based on a Johannine lection, including some of the *Enarrationes in Psalmos*. In this category are also found *De consensu euangelistarum*, and the *Speculum*. Augustine's other theological works, in which his citations are more likely to be secondary in character, are treated in chronological order in the second part of this chapter. Although in many cases this division is justified, there are a few occasions in this second group when it seems highly likely that Augustine has taken his biblical text from a codex. These passages are analysed in the same detail as the primary sources. The collections of letters and other sermons, which span Augustine's ministry, are left to the end. The chronology of Augustine's works is often contested: except where indicated, all dates given are from the index published by the Institut Vetus Latina. For the sermons and letters which are not individually dated in the Beuron index, chronological tables have been consulted on the [www.augustinus.it](http://www.augustinus.it) website.<sup>241</sup>

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<sup>240</sup> For example, Frede 1972:470 notes that Zycha's editions of Augustine's works often err in their choice of readings for the biblical citations; see his discussion of editorial intervention (1972:470-472), and the emendations suggested for Augustine's works on Genesis in Solignac 1987.

<sup>241</sup> The Vetus Latina *Kirchenschriftsteller* indexes are listed as Frede 1995, Gryson 1999a and Gryson 2004. The [www.augustinus.it](http://www.augustinus.it) website tables list suggestions made by various scholars over the last century, and include sermons, letters and the *Enarrationes in Psalmos*: [http://www.augustinus.it/latino/discorsi/tavola\\_discorsi.htm](http://www.augustinus.it/latino/discorsi/tavola_discorsi.htm), [http://www.augustinus.it/latino/lettere/tavola\\_lettere.htm](http://www.augustinus.it/latino/lettere/tavola_lettere.htm), [http://www.augustinus.it/latino/esposizioni\\_salmi/tavola\\_cronologica.htm](http://www.augustinus.it/latino/esposizioni_salmi/tavola_cronologica.htm).

All of Augustine's polemical writings, composed in response to one of the sectarian groups opposed by Augustine (Arians, Manichees, Donatists and Pelagians) will be examined in Chapter Four. There are good reasons to treat these apart from his other works. The minutes of debates, recorded by stenographers, and writings in which the text of Augustine's adversaries is presented alongside his own include substantial portions of other authors. Not only are these interesting in themselves, but they need to be assessed in order to determine whether they had an effect on Augustine's biblical citations in the same work.

### **3.1.1 Old Latin manuscripts of John**

The current list of manuscripts published by the Institut Vetus Latina lists thirty-four witnesses to the Old Latin text of John.<sup>242</sup> Many of these are fragmentary and not easily accessible. I have therefore used the Matzkow-Jülicher-Aland edition of the principal extant manuscripts of John. This, along with editions of the biblical text such as Nestle-Aland, uses a system of lower-case letters to indicate Old Latin manuscripts, although this is being superseded by a numerical classification developed by the Institut Vetus Latina. I shall normally refer to manuscripts by their traditional name, but in this section will include their alternative designations in brackets. The most recent classification of the manuscripts, based on their choice of word to translate key Greek terms, is found in Burton's recent monograph.<sup>243</sup> Although the Old Latin witnesses fall into two main groups for St John's Gospel, "African" and "European"/"Italian", it is important to remember that their text-types

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<sup>242</sup> Vetus Latina 1/2 (Gryson 1999); the descriptions of the manuscripts which follow are found on pages 21-45.

<sup>243</sup> Burton 2000:16-28, on which I also rely in the following paragraphs; see too the descriptions and bibliographies in Metzger 1977:295-308 and Elliott 1992:203-212.

may change not only between gospels, but sometimes even within the same book, as copyists may have relied on more than one manuscript for different portions of text.<sup>244</sup>

Only one of the two principal witnesses to the "African" Old Latin tradition is extant for John, **Codex Palatinus** (e, 2). This is dated to the fifth century, and contains most of the Gospel. Although it has many renderings characteristic of African translations, it also features a European element which means that it is not as "pure" an African witness as **Codex Bobiense**, its counterpart in Matthew and Mark.<sup>245</sup> Several of the "European" witnesses also include African elements. Among these are two of the earliest witnesses, **Codex Vercellensis** (a, 3), an Italian manuscript from the second half of the fourth century, and **Codex Bezae** (d, 5), the oldest surviving bilingual gospel manuscript, with Greek on the left-hand page and Latin in the privileged position on the right. Although the text-type of **Codex Bezae** is predominantly European, it seems likely that it was produced in Africa and it betrays some African influence. The Latin and the Greek sides of **Codex Bezae** are independent in origin, although there has been some cross-contamination.<sup>246</sup> One of the finest "European" witnesses for the Gospels is **Codex Veronensis** (b, 4), a fine fifth-century Italian codex with silver and gold ink on purple vellum, although John was probably copied from two exemplars given the change in text type around chapter eleven. **Codex**

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<sup>244</sup> e.g. **Codex Veronensis** where there is a change of text type around John 11 (Burton 2000:72), or **Codex Colbertinus**, which is Vulgate for John 1-6 but Old Latin for the rest (Burton 2000:27). Burkitt notes that the Old Latin Gospels may frequently have undergone "more or less partial revisions", resulting in variations in rendering (1908:290); he later suggests that the "European" Old Latin was a revision of the "African" versions which, he claims, originated as bilingual manuscripts (1920:40).

<sup>245</sup> On the difficulty of classifying **Codex Palatinus** in John, see Burton 2000:17. Fischer 1972:32 maintains that this manuscript was not written in Africa but North Italy.

<sup>246</sup> On the production of **Codex Bezae**, see Parker 1992:269ff.. Burton notes **Codex Palatinus** as "the basis of the African element in **Codex Bezae**" (2000:17). For the relationship of the two columns, see Parker 1992:198ff. and 250ff.. Burton 2000:22 includes an example of the Latin side influencing the Greek.

**Sarzanensis** (j, 22), despite its poor preservation, is also classed as European. Two more European manuscripts from the sixth or early seventh century appear to form a distinct subgroup in John: **Codex Monacensis** (q, 13), from Illyria or North Italy, and **Codex Usserianus** (r<sup>1</sup>, 14), the principal "Gallo-Irish" witness. In fact, Burton describes all seven of the manuscripts in this paragraph as "specially related" to each other in John.<sup>247</sup>

The other Old Latin manuscripts which include John have a text which is closely linked with the Vulgate. **Codex Corbeiensis** (ff<sup>2</sup>, 8) is a fifth-century witness, which in John "forms the basis of the Vulgate text" (Burton 2000:20). Two manuscripts are related to this, **Codex Rehdigeranus** (l, 11) from the first half of the eighth century, and **Codex Colbertinus** (c, 6), the most recent Old Latin text, dating from the twelfth century. There are numerous Vulgate elements in these later manuscripts, although distinguishing these from the stratum of the earlier text-type can be difficult. Some witnesses fall into the category of "mixed texts" and are occasionally classified as Vulgate, such as the sixth-century **Codex Brixianus** (f, 10) and the eighth-century **Codex Aureus** (aur, 15). In addition to these manuscripts, there are three fragmentary witnesses included in the Matzkow-Jülicher-Aland edition which occasionally correspond to readings found in Augustine: the **Fragmentum Sangallense** (p, 20), the **Fragmenta Mediolanensia** (ρ, 24) and the **Folium Vindobonense** (v, 25).

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<sup>247</sup> Burton 2000:21; see also 23-24 and 62-73, where all the manuscripts discussed in this paragraph fall into "Group 1", with the exception of the second half of Codex Veronensis after the change in text-type. The over-reliance on Codex Veronensis in the latter half of the Gospel is a drawback in Jülicher's reconstructed text. As the table in the Appendix to Chapter Three shows, there are nine distinctive readings between John 15 and 21 shared by the Vulgate and Codex Veronensis alone which Jülicher uses for his reconstructed European text ("Itala"). Gryson 1978:74 notes that Codex Monacensis in John represents "un véritable texte mixte" which has been revised on a Greek text close to that used for the Vulgate. This is significant, given its rôle in the discussion below.

A brief glance at the Gospel according to John in the Matzkow-Jülicher-Aland edition shows two lines of tradition: the first line, described as *Itala*, is based largely on Codex Veronensis and Codex Vercellensis, with numerous variant readings in smaller print. These often correspond to a Vulgate-related group of Codex Brixianus, Codex Aureus, Codex Corbeiensis and Codex Colbertinus, and a more diverse Old Latin group of Codex Monacensis, Codex Usserianus and Codex Bezae. The second line of text is the *Afra* reading, consisting solely of Codex Palatinus. Given that the principal criterion for Old Latin readings is their difference from the Vulgate, I shall therefore pay particular attention in the following discussion to Augustine's citations which have a form of text which differs from the Vulgate, although in certain works, correspondences with the Vulgate may be equally significant.<sup>248</sup>

### 3.2 Primary sources (1): *Tractatus in Iohannis euangelium* (AUJo) 406-7, 418-422

The majority of Augustine's citations of John are found in his commentary on the Gospel in the form of one hundred and twenty-four sermons, the *Tractatus in Iohannis euangelium* (AUJo). The only modern edition is that of Willems, *Corpus Christianorum series latina* 36

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<sup>248</sup> As a guide to uniquely Vulgate readings, I have compiled a list of all readings in the Matzkow-Jülicher-Aland edition of John which are indicated as found only in the Vulgate, or found in the Vulgate and **one** Old Latin manuscript. There are 85 readings attributed to the Vulgate alone, and 221 also found in one other manuscript (of which Codex Aureus supplies 80 agreements, Codex Brixianus 38 agreements and Codex Colbertinus 36 agreements). These are listed in the Appendix to Chapter Three found at the end of this chapter. Of course, this should not be viewed as a complete list of all distinctive Vulgate readings in the Gospel: readings found only in certain groups of manuscripts, such as Codex Aureus, Codex Brixianus and the Vulgate are also probably Vulgate in origin (both these manuscripts are classed as Vulgate in Fischer 1991). The purpose of the list is to provide a manageable set of readings which can be used to plot the Vulgate element in Augustine's gospel text.



(1954).<sup>249</sup> Until recently, two questions have occupied commentators: the date of composition of the sermons and the nature of their delivery.<sup>250</sup> The first fifty-four tractates are lengthy and bear many of the marks of extempore preaching. Although a few traces of oral style can also be found in the second group, AUJo 55 to 124, these pieces are much shorter, more regular in their division of the Gospel text, and at times rather repetitive. It was initially believed that all the sermons were delivered in church and transcribed by stenographers, but the disparity in style led Huyben to suggest that the later sermons were dictated in order to complete the series, in a similar fashion to Augustine's sermons on Psalm 118 which completed the *Enarrationes in Psalmos*. This hypothesis also challenged the assumption that the sermons had all been preached in the same year.<sup>251</sup> The discovery of AUep Div 23A in 1975 confirmed the growing consensus. In this letter to Possidius of Calama, his biographer, Augustine enumerates his current projects, including the completion of his commentary on John in the form of dictated sermons based on the lectionary passages which were sent to Carthage for publication:

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<sup>249</sup> There are many drawbacks to this edition. A critical apparatus is almost entirely lacking: for the most part, Willems has reproduced the Maurist edition of 1680 with limited reference to the manuscript tradition, although he claims that the text is stable: "*ualde stabili modo traditur. Rarissimi sunt enim loci diuersi, in quibus quae Augustinus scripserit, aliquid dubitationis adferre possint.*" (1954:xi). This contrasts markedly with Wright's observation that "the manuscript tradition of the *Tractatus* embodies a diversity which none of the editions has disclosed" (1972:57); Van den Hout (1955:298) lists Willems' collations, which only comprise a couple of tractates in each of thirty-seven manuscripts. The book is riddled with misprints: a list of almost 200 can be found in Verheijen 1976:4-5 and more are identified in Alexanderson 1999. The precise date assigned to each sermon is now untenable (see La Bonnardière 1965:64). Further criticisms of Willems can be found at Berrouard 1977:65 and van den Hout 1955:299ff.. A new edition for the *Corpus Christianorum* by D.F. Wright proposed in the 1970s never came to fruition although his two articles on the textual tradition of the work are invaluable (Wright 1972, 1981). More recently, the inception of a new edition for the CSEL with Hildegund Müller as editor was announced in 2001 on the Edenda website, <http://www.oeaw.ac.at/kvk/edenda/cl278.htm>.

<sup>250</sup> Another issue is the sequence of AUJo 20-22 and the relationship of AUs 125 to this series, which is the object of detailed study in Wright 1964 and 1972:80ff.: he believes that AUJo 20-22 was not part of the original sequence (Wright 1964:328, Wright 1981:64). On the current critical interest in the *Tractatus*, see Milewski 2002.

<sup>251</sup> See Berrouard 1993:9-13. The discussion is also summarised at La Bonnardière 1965:64.

et ut faciam de Iohannis quoque euangelio ea quae restant, dictare iam coepi populares tractatus non prolixos mittendos Carthaginem ea conditione ut, si uult idem senex noster sibi ceteros mitti, <dicat> neque cum dixerit edere differat. iam sex dictaui; noctes enim sabbati et dominici ipsis proprie deputaui. (AUep Div 23A.3.6)

The work therefore falls into two halves, AUJo 1-54, normally dated to 406-7, and AUJo 55-124, assigned to 418-422 on the basis of the other works in progress mentioned in the same letter. The two principal commentators, Berrouard and La Bonnardière, make a further distinction between AUJo 1-16 and AUJo 17-54, dating the latter group to 414 or post 418 respectively.<sup>252</sup>

The one hundred and twenty-four tractates cover the whole of St John's Gospel, citing almost every verse in full, with some overlap and repetition.<sup>253</sup> It is helpful to distinguish between three types of citation in this work. Within the body of the sermons, the majority of citations form part of the "**continuous text**" (CT), the verses of the Gospel as they are treated in order. Apart from the omissions already noted, this is cited in full by Augustine in the body of the sermon. The definitive form of the continuous text has been taken as the

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<sup>252</sup> Berrouard (1969:30-34), Wright (1972:56) and Milewski (2002:65-68) have full accounts of earlier proposals for dating these sermons. Like Wright, Berrouard also separates AUJo 20-22, which he dates between 421 and 422 (Berrouard 2003:7-8); he dates AUep Div 23A to 419 (1993:17). La Bonnardière dates AUJo 1-16 to 406-7, 17-23 to after 418 and 24-54 to 419 at the earliest (1965:19-118).

<sup>253</sup> Five pericopae are missing or partial, namely John 2:5-11, 4:49-5:10, 5:31-38, 5:47-6:8, 7:40-45, but these are usually paraphrased or referred to in the course of the tractate even though they are not cited verbatim. There are also fourteen single verses which are not cited at all: John 2:22, 3:11, 3:16, 3:20, 4:36, 4:45, 5:45, 6:12, 6:41, 6:60, 6:72, 8:53, 10:14, 11:18. As all these omissions are from the first twelve chapters of John, covered in AUJo 1-54, it is reasonable to attribute their omission to the nature of extempore preaching. Numerous half-verses are also omitted, usually those which convey narrative information or introduce direct speech.

first occurrence of each verse in the Gospel sequence.<sup>254</sup> The overlap between sermons means that some verses appear as continuous text in more than one sermon: in such cases, a continuous text has been presented for each sermon, in case Augustine changed exemplar. There are a handful of "**non-sequential citations**", scriptural verses which are not part of the continuous text and do not preserve the sequence of the commentary. These should be classed as secondary rather than primary citations of St John's Gospel, as there is no guarantee that they were made with reference to a codex. Finally, there are the Gospel references in the **title** of each sermon, which includes an indication of the extent of its lection. Although these are probably not authorial and have therefore not been included in the list of citations in the Appendix, they are still of textual interest as they do not always reproduce the form of text commented on in the sermon.<sup>255</sup>

In the earlier sermons, there is often considerable repetition of the continuous text: as well as working through the passage phrase by phrase, Augustine often cites several verses in full at the beginning or end of a section. Text discussed in the previous tractate is sometimes repeated in the subsequent sermon before beginning the next passage. In the second set of sermons, the initial biblical quotation is longer and phrases are repeated less frequently during the commentary. Despite the likelihood that Augustine was relying on a gospel codex, there is sometimes considerable variation between repetitions of the commentary passage,

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<sup>254</sup> In their edition of Calvin's commentary on Romans, Parker & Parker distinguish between the first citation of the biblical text (in the form of a group of verses) as the *lemma*, and subsequent repetitions of this text during its exposition as the *running text* (1999:xxxii). Such a distinction will not work for Augustine, because the Gospel is usually cited in short phrases rather than extended extracts. The term "continuous text" covers the first citation and all subsequent repetition within that sermon.

<sup>255</sup> Although Willems notes no variants to the text of the titles, a cursory study I have made of some of the manuscripts reveals a number of different traditions and readings. It seems unlikely that this text should be attributed to Augustine: Wright notes that "we cannot say to what extent editorial or redactionist activity unified the collection into a consistent whole" (1972:68).

especially in the first group of sermons. Some of this is probably due to Augustine's homiletic style: he may alter the text of a citation to incorporate it into the logical flow of his argument (usually by adding or changing a connective), or change the word order for added emphasis.<sup>256</sup> Nonetheless, the initial citation of the commentary text is also the most vulnerable to later alteration or correction, in order to make it accord with the current biblical version. Variants to this in the course of the commentary, which I term **sequential variants**, are perhaps more likely to have escaped the eye of a reviser and reproduce Augustine's original text.<sup>257</sup> On the other hand, it is possible that his earlier citations may follow the text of the codex before him, while later citations may revert to a memorised text comparable to that found in the non-sequential citations. The only way to resolve this question is to look at the readings involved.

My analysis of the text of John in this work will therefore look at the **continuous text** and **sequential variants** separately from the **non-sequential citations** and the **titles**. Although the work is often treated as a unity since Augustine is known to have produced it in sequence, each sermon should be treated separately as the time and place of composition, not to mention the codex used for the commentary text, may vary within the collection. To put these various ideas into context, I shall conclude by examining the text of John in eight selected sermons.

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<sup>256</sup> For example, at AUJo 44.5.26, Augustine changes the third-person text of John 14:12, *maiora horum faciet*, into a second-person apostrophe, *maiora horum facietis*. See Fischer 1972:13 on the possibility of biblical texts being adapted when read aloud.

<sup>257</sup> Sequential variants in AUJo are comparable to Parker & Parker's identification of the "running text" in Calvin's Commentary on Romans, which is more thoroughly incorporated into the grammar of the commentary: its biblical text is frequently abbreviated or subject to variation in word order (1999:xxxiii). Burkitt observes that smaller citations, integrated into the commentary text, are more likely to preserve an author's original reading (1910:456).

### 3.2.1 AUJo: the text of the commentary (continuous text and sequential variants)

There has been surprisingly little discussion of the biblical text in AUJo. The fullest description is that of Frede:

"So benutzt Augustinus in seinen Johannes-Kommentar ohne Zweifel die Vulgata, bei gelegentlichen Zitaten innerhalb der Erörterung dagegen abweichende Fassungen des Evangelientextes; hier verläßt er sich auf sein Gedächtnis, dem andere, ältere Formen vertraut und geläufig sind." (Frede 1971:460)

Most other commentators who mention it affirm the similarity between AUJo and the Vulgate.<sup>258</sup> A comparison of the continuous text with readings in the Matzkow-Jülicher-Aland edition of John found in either the Vulgate alone or the Vulgate and one Old Latin manuscript maps this clearly:<sup>259</sup>

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<sup>258</sup> e.g. Burkitt 1896:59 and Comeau 1930:52, who says "Toutefois l'ensemble des citations recueillies permet d'affirmer avec une certitude suffisante que la version officiellement adoptée était bien celle de Jérôme". Willems, perhaps relying on De Bruyne 1931, describes the text as "uersionem Vulgatam ab ipso aliquantulum emendatum" (1954:xi). Berrouard 2003 observes certain similarities with the Vulgate in the later sermons, but appears to think that the text was changed later, for example when he asks of AUJo 104.1 "Faut-il penser que ces versets ont été corrigés pour rendre leur texte identique à celui de la Vulgate?" (2003:45).

<sup>259</sup> For a list of the readings summarised in this table and an explanation of its compilation, see the Appendix to Chapter Three.

Manuscript	Total "distinctive readings"	Not cited in AUJo	CT identical to editorial Vulgate	CT identical to other Vulgate mss	CT does not agree with any Vulgate mss
Vulgate only	85	3	56 (68%)	19	7
Vulgate + Vercellensis	2	-	-	2	-
Vulgate + Aureus	80	1	64 (81%)	5	10
Vulgate + Veronensis	20	1	11 (58%)	4	4
Vulgate + Colbertinus	36	13	14 (61%)	4	5
Vulgate + Bezae	18	-	13 (72%)	4	1
Vulgate + Palatinus	1	-	-	1	-
Vulgate + Brixianus	38	2	33 (92%)	1	2
Vulgate + Corbeiensis	5	-	2 (40%)	3	-
Vulgate + Sarzanensis	4	-	4 (100%)	-	-
Vulgate + Rehdigeranus	4	1	1 (33%)	1	1
Vulgate + Frg. Sangallense	1	-	1 (100%)	-	-
Vulgate + Monacensis	3	1	1 (50%)	-	1
Vulgate + Usserianus	6	-	3 (50%)	3	-
Vulgate + Fol. Vindobonense	3	-	1 (33%)	-	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>204 (72%)</b>	<b>47 (16%)</b>	<b>33 (12%)</b>

On this analysis, the Vulgate character of the continuous text is incontrovertible: the CT reading accords with the editorial Vulgate text in fifty-six of the eighty-two places in the Gospel where the Vulgate is distinct from all surviving Old Latin manuscripts (68%), while in nineteen of the remaining twenty-six instances, Augustine's reading is present elsewhere in the Vulgate tradition (even though this may overlap with Old Latin witnesses). As for the readings shared by the Vulgate and one surviving Old Latin manuscript only, Augustine's continuous text agrees with the editorial text on 148 of the total possible 202 occasions (73%), with twenty-eight more examples of readings found in other Vulgate manuscripts. In total, of the 284 places in AUJo when Augustine's citations can be compared with these "distinctive readings", 204 (72%) have the editorial Vulgate text and a further 47 (16%) are paralleled in other Vulgate manuscripts. It is hardly surprising that Augustine's citations do

not correspond exactly to a composite modern editorial text, but the percentage of agreement indicates that this work is based on a Vulgate text-type. It is also worth observing the high proportion of overlap with readings shared by the Vulgate and either Codex Aureus or Codex Brixianus, some of which may represent an earlier form of the Vulgate text.<sup>260</sup>

The table does not, however, present the entire picture. For a start, different types of variant are of different value. Minor variations in word order (e.g. *uobis dabit* or *dabit uobis* in John 6:27 and *misit me* or *me misit* in John 9:4), alternative forms of connectives or pronouns (e.g. *quia* or *quod* at John 8:25, and the appearance of *eis* in John 11:4) and changes in verb voice or tense (e.g. *stetit* or *stat* in John 1:26) could easily have arisen independently. The possibility of a "distinctive reading" appearing in an Old Latin witness now lost can never be entirely discounted. Even so, there is a sufficient number of major agreements involving a distinctive form of text or particular word to confirm the very close relationship between the continuous text of AUJo and the Vulgate. Among some notable readings only found in the Vulgate, we may note *gratias agente domino* in John 6:23 (where the Old Latin tradition has *quem benedixerat dominus*), *qui maneat uobiscum* in John 14:16 (rather than *qui uobiscum sit in aeternum*), the addition of *et eduxerunt* in John 19:16 and the phrase *cum ... fores essent clausae* in John 20:19, where the majority of Old Latin witnesses have an ablative absolute of the form *ostiis clusis*. Distinctive renderings include

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<sup>260</sup> Fischer 1991 classes both these manuscripts as Vulgate witnesses. As for differences between modern editions, if the Wordsworth-White Vulgate is used, the percentages are slightly higher (70% agreement with unique Vulgate readings; 76% when these are combined with one Old Latin witness), and there are also occasions when the continuous text agrees with the Clementine Vulgate alone (e.g. John 11:11, 18:37, 19:35, 19:38). As indicated in the Appendix to Chapter Three, these figures only offer a rough indication of Augustine's similarity to the Vulgate, as there are readings shared by more than one "Old Latin" manuscript which are most probably Vulgate in origin. For more on Augustine as a witness to the early Vulgate text, see Section 5.3.2 below.

*ligatum* in John 18:24 (Old Latin *uinctum*) and *partiti sunt* in John 19:24 rather than *diuiserunt*: these can easily be supplemented from the agreements between Augustine with the Vulgate and one surviving Old Latin witness. For example, Codex Aureus reads *mactet* rather than *occidat* in John 10:10, *languens* rather than *infirmus* in John 11:1, *egenis* for Old Latin *pauperibus* in John 12:5 and 12:6 and *confidite* rather than *gaudete* in John 16:33, all of which appear in the continuous text. It is also worth observing consistencies in rendering, such as *pontifex* for ἀρχιερεύς in John 11:57, 18:10, 18:35 and 19:21, and the non-inclusion of *hic* before *mundus*, a characteristic Vulgate reading which is found in the continuous text on thirteen occasions.<sup>261</sup>

Defining the level of agreement between the continuous text and the Vulgate on the basis of "distinctive readings" found in the latter also risks overlooking the occasions on which the continuous text differs from the Vulgate. There are over one hundred and sixty verses (more than one in six) in which the continuous text does not agree with the editorial text of John in the Weber-Gryson Vulgate. The majority of these are minor variations in word order, verb tense or connective, for example *nescitis* in John 1:26 (the Vulgate has *non scitis*), *sorum* rather than *sororis* in John 11:1 and the absence of *iam* in John 19:28. These are all paralleled in surviving Old Latin witnesses, as are some of the more significant differences in rendering, such as *lumen* at John 1:8 and 8:12, *resticulis* at John 2:15, *occidere* at John 7:20 and *commemorabit* at John 14:26. There are a couple of longer variants with parallels in the Old Latin tradition, such as *non est ei cura de ouibus* in John 10:13 (also found in

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<sup>261</sup> For further examples, see John 7:4, 8:26, 9:5, 10:36, 11:27, 13:1, 14:22, 16:28, 16:33, 17:11, 17:16, 17:18 (twice). A distinctive rendering which divides Vulgate and Old Latin traditions concerns οἱ Ἕλληνες in John 7:35 and John 12:20; all of the almost 400 Vulgate manuscripts in Fischer's collation have *gentes* and only the eight Old Latin witnesses have *graeci*. Augustine's citations at AUJo 31.10.1 and AUJo 51.8.1 have *gentes*, which is also incorporated into the commentary. On the rendering of ἀρχιερεύς, see Burkitt 1908.



Codices Rehdigeranus and Usserianus) or the strange division between John 6:32 and 6:33 in AUJo 25, which has some correspondence with Codex Aureus.<sup>262</sup>

Other readings appear to be unique to Augustine, not being found in any surviving Gospel manuscript.<sup>263</sup> These include *respondit et dixit* rather than *respondit dicens* in John 1:26, *demonstrabit* in John 4:24 and the reversal of the order of John 4:36 and 4:37 in AUJo 15. There is also no support for forms like *exiens* in John 9:1 (Vulgate *praeteriens*, some Old Latin *transiens*), *remouete* in John 11:39 (all biblical manuscripts read *tollite*), *uero* in John 12:3, *adimpleatur* in John 15:25 (all witnesses have *impleatur*) and *confixerunt* in John 19:37. Both the Old Latin readings and these unique variants, found throughout the continuous text, tell against suggestions that the biblical citations in this work have been changed by later copyists to accord with the text known to them.

The **sequential variants** to the continuous text also cast doubt on the likelihood of later revision. These are found in over fifty verses between John 1 and 12, but fewer than twenty verses in John 13-21, which is consistent with the explanation that these variations are due to slips in memory or impromptu alteration of the biblical text during the course of preaching. Many are not textually significant, involving minor changes to word order or the alteration of connectives, although some appear on numerous occasions: for example, the

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<sup>262</sup> Where the Vulgate has *sed pater meus dat uobis panem de caelo uerum. panis enim dei est qui descendit de caelo*, AUJo 25 CT reads *sed pater meus dedit uobis panem de caelo. uerus enim panis est qui de caelo descendit*. Codex Aureus also has a nominative *uerus* describing *panis*: *sed pater meus dat uobis panem de caelo. uerus panis enim est qui descendit de caelo*. Interestingly, although it is not recorded in the apparatus in Weber-Gryson 1994, *uerus* is found as the Vulgate reading in John 6:33 in British Library Royal 1.E.V (illustrated at Gibson 1993:82).

<sup>263</sup> For a discussion of whether Augustine was himself responsible for these alterations and whether they represent a deliberate revision of the text of the Gospel, see Sections 5.3.6 and 5.3.7.

continuous text of John 8:12 reads *qui sequitur me* but seven subsequent citations in AUJo 34 have *qui me sequitur*.<sup>264</sup> The majority of readings introduced in sequential variants can also be found in surviving Old Latin manuscripts, such as *terrestria* in John 3:12, *quia* rather than *quod* in John 4:44, the rendering *escam* in John 6:27 or the omission of *enim* in John 16:7.<sup>265</sup> These could be claimed as relics of an Old Latin archetype used by Augustine which escaped the notice of a later reviser of the biblical text. The most compelling instances are those on which the Vulgate reading is only found in the continuous text and an Old Latin reading appears in several sequential variants, as in AUJo 42 where the first citation of John 8:37 reads *quaeritis me interficere*, but all three subsequent citations have *quaeritis me occidere*.<sup>266</sup>

In most contexts, however, the evidence does not bear the weight of such a hypothesis. For example, all the citations of John 3:12 in AUJo 12 appear in the seventh paragraph: in line 1, the continuous text reads:

si terrena dixi uobis et non creditis quomodo si dixero uobis caelestia credetis?

The Vulgate reading *terrena* is also found in a citation in line 8, and the word is repeated in Augustine's argument in lines 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, 13, 19 and 22. However, in line 23 a final citation has the form *terrestria*, found in six extant Old Latin manuscripts. If a copyist had deliberately changed an original Old Latin text to the Vulgate in the two earlier citations, he would also have altered the various reflexes of this word eight times in Augustine's argument but overlooked the distinctive word in the citation in the next line. This hardly seems

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<sup>264</sup> AUJo 34.5.5, 34.6.2, 34.7.1, 34.8.1, 34.9.2, 34.10.33, 34.10.39.

<sup>265</sup> See also the variant readings in John 1:48, 2:20, 3:4, 3:8, 4:22, 5:27, 5:30, 6:64, 7:1, 7:10, 7:28, 8:12, 8:19, 8:37, 8:39, 8:40, 8:59, 10:4, 10:28, 10:31, 11:25, 11:46, 13:34, 15:3, 15:12, 15:21, 16:13, 16:15, 17:17, 20:9, 20:13 and 21:22.

<sup>266</sup> AUJo 42.1.13, 42.2.6. See also the variants to John 1:48 in AUJo 7, John 15:3 in AUJo 80, John 15:12 in AUJo 83 and John 16:13 in AUJo 96 and AUJo 100.

plausible. It is more likely that Augustine himself reverted to *terrestria* at the end of his exposition, perhaps influenced by its similarity to *caelestia* later in the verse. Similarly, the sole appearance of *escam* in John 6:27 at AUJo 25.12.2 amidst thirteen occurrences of *cibum* in the same sermon is probably original to Augustine rather than overlooked by a reviser.<sup>267</sup>

On the other hand, a number of sequential variants, usually of word order, correspond to the reading of the Vulgate where the first instance of the continuous text does not. A typical example is reading *accipere quidquam* rather *quidquam accipere* in two sequential variants to John 3:27 in AUJo 13.<sup>268</sup> Sometimes these involve lexical changes: although *lumen* is woven into Augustine's discussion of John 1:8 in AUJo 2, on one occasion he reads *lux*, probably under the influence of *lux* in John 1:9. In John 4:25, the unparalleled continuous text *ille omnia nobis demonstrabit* is followed by the Vulgate reading, *ille nobis annuntiabit omnia*.<sup>269</sup> It seems unlikely that a scribe deliberately changed a later repetition to a Vulgate form but left the continuous text untouched: such variation is better explained as Augustine's own inconsistency.

Several sequential variants supply forms of text not paralleled in any surviving biblical manuscripts. While some of these could be attributed to the influence on Augustine of

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<sup>267</sup> There is, in fact, evidence in the later manuscript tradition of AUJo that this discrepancy was noted: in the Vatican manuscript Palatinus 207 from the end of the eighth century, a corrector has underlined *escam* on folio 7r and written *cibum* above the line. There are few other instances of such corrections in the manuscripts I have checked. An analogy with Augustine's introduction of text with which he is more familiar in sequential variants is found in Calvin's Commentary on Romans (where lemma corresponds to continuous text and running text to sequential variant): "there is thus a clear tendency of the lemma to follow the modern versions, and the running text the Vulgate." (Parker & Parker 1999:xxxv).

<sup>268</sup> See also John 3:32, 13:14, 13:15, 15:25, 19:11 and 20:17.

<sup>269</sup> See also John 14:13.

translations now lost, such as the form *de propriis* in John 8:44 at AUJo 42.12.5 (all surviving witnesses read *ex suis propriis* or *de suo*), others bear the hallmarks of memory lapse, not least because they bear little resemblance to the known Greek manuscripts.<sup>270</sup>

For example, the continuous text of John 4:38 in AUJo 15 reads:

ego misi uos metere quod uos non laborastis. alii laborauerunt et uos in laborem eorum introistis.

The sequential variant at AUJo 15.32.20 has:

misi uos metere quod non seminastis. alii seminauerunt et uos in labores eorum introistis.

The replacement of *laborare* by *seminare* has surely been made under the influence of *seminare* in both the preceding verses. Again, in AUJo 25, John 6:38, *quia descendī de caelo non ut faciam uoluntatem meam* appears in three sequential variants as *quia **non ueni facere** uoluntatem meam*, an abbreviation which exemplifies the flattening process described in Section 2.6.1. This can also be seen at work in John 8:24, where AUJo 38 initially reads *si enim non credideritis*, as found in the Vulgate and all surviving Old Latin witnesses. In the next three citations Augustine reads ***si non** credideritis*, while on the fourteen occasions following, this has developed further to ***nisi** credideritis*. The same pattern is found for John 8:51 in AUJo 43, where the continuous text *si quis sermonem meum seruauerit* has become ***qui** sermonem meum seruauerit* in the three subsequent citations.<sup>271</sup> The fact that these altered forms are repeated so many times diminishes the importance of re-iterated sequential variants with Old Latin readings.

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<sup>270</sup> As well as the the examples discussed below, see the variants in John 1:33, 3:3, 3:5, 4:42, 4:50, 5:24, 10:28, 10:29, 12:25 and 17:21.

<sup>271</sup> See also John 12:32, where *ego si exaltatus fuero* later appears as *cum ego exaltatus fuero*.

Before looking at the non-sequential citations and the titles, there are three other issues which should be mentioned concerning the continuous text and sequential variants. On a number of occasions in AUJo, Augustine makes an explicit comment about different readings known to him in gospel manuscripts. We have already encountered his explanation that λόγος can be translated by either *sermo* or *uerbum*.<sup>272</sup> On three occasions, Augustine observes that *clarificare* and *glorificare* are both renderings of the Greek δοξάζειν:

uerbum quippe graecum quod est δοξάσει, alius *clarificabit*, alius *glorificabit*, latini interpretes in sua quisque translatione posuerunt; quoniam ipsa quae graece dicitur δόξα, unde dictum est uerbum δοξάσει, et *claritas* interpretatur et *gloria*. (AUJo 100.1.25; see also AUJo 82.1.4 and AUJo 104.3.17).

Augustine also notes that *praeceptum* and *mandatum* render the same Greek word in a comment on John 15:12:

*hoc est, inquit, praeceptum meum ut diligatis inuicem sicut dilexi uos. siue dicatur praeceptum, siue mandatum, ex uno uerbo graeco utrumque interpretatur, quod est ἐντολή.* (AUJo 83.2.2)

These word-pairs are already known from the surviving Old Latin witnesses and suggest that the manuscripts which have been preserved may be a comparatively representative selection of the variety known to Augustine. His explicit mention of manuscript readings contributes primary evidence for the history of the biblical text.

Comments about different renderings often appear to indicate that Augustine has encountered a rendering which does not accord with his preferred form of the verse. In the example above from AUJo 83, the continuous text has *praeceptum*, which seems to have provoked Augustine's observation on the Greek: in both subsequent citations of this verse he reverts to *mandatum*, the reading of Codices Vercellensis, Bezae, Palatinus, Monacensis

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<sup>272</sup> AUJo 108.3.2, quoted in Section 2.5.3, which refers to John 17:17 and John 1:1. Augustine's observation about the reading *tulerunt dominum meum* at John 20:2 in certain codices was also quoted in Section 2.2.1 above (AUJo 120.6.10).

and Usserianus, which is also used in the continuous text of AUJo 84. The best explanation for this is that *praeceptum* was the reading of Augustine's manuscript, but he was more accustomed to *mandatum*, which he substitutes from then on. Similarly, in AUJo 96 Augustine reads a Vulgate form of John 16:13 in the continuous text, *docebit uos omnem ueritatem*, but when he comes to discuss this phrase he notes that a different reading is also known:

*docebit uos omnem ueritatem*, uel sicut alii codices habent, *deducet uos in omni ueritate*. (AUJo 96.4.13)

The alternative reading is also found in Codices Vercellensis, Veronensis and Corbeiensis and may have been more familiar to Augustine, but he does not display a preference: in AUJo 99.1.1 he has a doublet form, and quotes both versions again at AUJo 100.1.2.<sup>273</sup> On other occasions, Augustine introduces his preferred text under the guise of a gloss:

in propria uenit, *id est in sua uenit*, et sui eum non receperunt. (AUJo 3.6.1)

In fact, AUJo 2 CT reads *in sua propria uenit*, which is the form of John 1:11 in the majority of Augustine's works. In AUJo 3, however, he may be working from a Vulgate exemplar which only reads *in propria*, hence the gloss above, paralleled in two Old Latin witnesses which read *in sua uenit*, Codex Vercellensis and Codex Monacensis. These examples reinforce the idea that Augustine was accustomed to particular readings in the Gospel, his "mental text", but in these tractates was using a Vulgate manuscript which occasionally included an unfamiliar reading. This hypothesis is further strengthened when AUJo is compared with Augustine's citations from other works: on many occasions, it contains the only example of a citation

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<sup>273</sup> The doublet form has already been cited in Section 2.5.4: *quid est quod dominus ait de spiritu sancto cum eum uenturum esse promitteret et docturum discipulos eius omnem ueritatem uel eos deducturum in omni ueritate* (AUJo 99.1.1). Pontet appears to attribute the alternative form to Augustine himself, with the words "la correction était excellente" (1946:39); the evidence of the Old Latin witnesses tells against such a judgment.

which agrees with the Vulgate: for example, AUJo 43 is the only one of eleven works which reads *gausisus est* rather than *concupiuit* in John 8:56.

I mentioned earlier the need to treat each tractate as a separate textual source. This is confirmed by differences in the continuous text of portions of the Gospel discussed in more than one sermon. For example, AUJo 17 CT reads *sed et patrem suum dicebat deum* for John 5:19, while AUJo 18 CT has *sed **etiam** patrem suum dicebat deum*, although it reverts to the Vulgate form in a sequential variant. AUJo 37 CT differs from the preceding sermon in John 8:16-17 and the sermon following in John 8:20. AUJo 44 CT reads *uero* in John 9:41, while AUJo 45 CT has *autem*. Comparable differences in overlapping texts are found in a number of tractates in the later series.<sup>274</sup> Again, if the biblical text had been deliberately changed by a later copier of the entire work, we would not expect to find these discrepancies between sermons.

### 3.2.2 AUJo; non-sequential citations and titles

As stated above, because there is no evidence that they were made from a codex, the non-sequential citations only have the status of **secondary citations**. It is therefore not surprising that they are further than the continuous text from the Vulgate. For example, in John 15:13 both AUJo 55.2.23 and AUJo 61.5.3 read *maiozem hac **caritatem*** (as found in Codices Vercellensis, Palatinus, Monacensis and Usanianus) while AUJo 84 CT and AUJo 85 CT have *maiozem hac **dilectionem***. Similarly, AUJo 43.9.20 cites John 17:5 in the form

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<sup>274</sup> Compare the forms of the continuous text in John 12:25-6, 13:10, 14:6, 14:12-3, 15:12, 15:16, 15:18, 16:4, 16:9, 16:11, 17:1, 18:31 and 21:11. Nonetheless, there is elsewhere a remarkable degree of consistency between sermons.

*glorifica me ea gloria*, the reading of Codex Brixianus, although AUJo 105 CT, 106 CT and 107 CT all have *clarifica me ... claritate*.<sup>275</sup>

Despite their similarities to existing Old Latin witnesses, it is likely that many of the non-sequential citations were made from memory. For example, the continuous text of John 1:27 reads:

ipse est qui post me uenit qui ante me factus est, cuius ego non sum dignus ut soluam corrigiam calciamenti eius. (AUJo 4.9.6 CT)

A non-sequential citation has a much-abbreviated paraphrase not supported by any surviving manuscripts:

qui autem uenit fortior me est, cuius non sum dignus calceamentum soluere. (AUJo 35.2.10)

Likewise, three citations of John 3:17 replace *non enim misit deus filium suum in mundum* with *non uenit filius hominis* (AUJo 87.2.12, AUJo 95.4.13, AUJo 110.2.23). When *tolle grabatum tuum et ambula* in John 5:8 twice becomes *tolle grabatum tuum et uade in domum tuam* (AUJo 20.2.4, AUJo 20.2.51) this seems strong evidence of a Marcan harmonisation despite the context of a commentary on John (cf. Mark 2:11).<sup>276</sup> Other citations do not display such obvious alteration but nevertheless conform to a text-form reproduced across a range of Augustine's works. Although this often incorporates some Old Latin elements, it does not correspond to any surviving manuscript. This can be seen in two frequently-quoted verses:

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<sup>275</sup> Other Old Latin readings found in non-sequential citations can be seen in John 1:18, 1:23, 1:34, 2:19, 4:13, 5:35, 5:46, 6:64, 6:68, 10:7, 10:11, 10:16, 11:48, 12:27, 14:10, 14:21, 15:15, 16:12, 16:15, 17:3, 19:23, 19:30, 19:37 and 21:18. Two non-sequential citations of John 21:19 (AUJo 51.10.24 and AUJo 52.3.35) use *glorificare* to translate δοξάζειν, although all surviving Old Latin witnesses have either *honorificare* or *clarificare*.

<sup>276</sup> Further examples of readings which are not supported by any surviving manuscripts can be seen in Augustine's citations of John 1:6, 2:21, 3:29, 4:10, 5:43, 9:39, 12:35, 12:42, 16:32, 17:16, 19:24, 20:29 and 21:19 in AUJo.



John 12:31	nunc princeps mundi huius missus est foras. (AUJo 95.4.21)
John 14:30	ecce uenit princeps mundi et in me nihil inueniet. (AUJo 95.4.3; see also AUJo 3.13.3; 41.7.4; 41.9.12)

In John 12:31 no Latin or Greek witness has the past tense, and yet it features in more than half of Augustine's citations of this verse. In John 14:30 the initial *ecce* is unique to Augustine and no surviving manuscript reads *nihil inueniet* or *nihil inuenit*, which are found in no fewer than thirty-five of Augustine's citations. The most likely explanation is that Augustine is reproducing a memorised form of text, incorporating some Old Latin elements. I shall describe such citations as his **customary form**: this indicates that the reading is not supported by any extant manuscript despite several identical or near-identical citations across different writings. These are often found among the secondary citations.

The text from the **title** of each sermon was not included in the complete index of citations because, like the date of preaching assigned to each sermon, this indication of the extent of John covered by the tractate appeared to have been added by the editor. The first few sermons supported this, because their titles agree with the Vulgate against the reading of the continuous text: the title of AUJo 2 has *plenum gratiae et ueritatis* (John 1:14), while AUJo 2 CT has *plenum gratia et ueritate*. The title of AUJo 4 begins John 1:19 with *et*, which appears in all biblical manuscripts but is missing from the continuous text, and continues by reading *hic est* in John 1:33 rather than *ipse est*, as found in the commentary. Later sermons, however, present a different situation: sometimes the title agrees with the continuous text against the modern Vulgate, whilst at other times it corresponds to neither. These are summarised in the following table, split into the two groups of sermons for comparison:

Tractates	Title agrees with Vg against CT	Title agrees with CT against Vg	Title differs from both Vg and CT	Title supplies text not in CT	Supplied text differs from Vg
AUJo 1-54	15	10	13	20	8
AUJo 55-124	7	14	7	2	1

The fact that the title supplies text missing from the sermon on more than twenty occasions demonstrates its independence from the continuous text. (The fewer occurrences of this in the second set of sermons reflect the more methodical treatment of the biblical passages.) On the other hand, the number of agreements between the title and the continuous text suggests a degree of mutual influence. The clearest example of this is in John 5:19, where the title of each sermon corresponds to the continuous text:

**AUJo 18** *quaecumque enim ille fecerit haec et filius similiter facit.*

**AUJo 20** *quaecumque enim pater facit haec eadem et filius facit similiter.*

Furthermore, the number of differences from the Vulgate renders it unlikely that the text has been supplied by a modern editor. Some readings have Old Latin parallels: in John 6:60, AUJo 27 reads *haec dixit in synagoga docens sabbato in Capharnaum*. Only three manuscripts include *sabbato* in this position, Codices Aureus, Corbeiensis and Usserianus; it is completely absent from the Vulgate. However, the title continues with John 6:72, reading *ille enim traditurus erat eum*. Both Codex Aureus and Codex Corbeiensis read *hic enim incipiebat tradere eum*, and no extant manuscript has *ille*. There is no pattern of correspondence between the other variants and any extant Old Latin manuscript; several are not found in the Old Latin tradition. The conclusion which must be drawn is that the titles constitute part of

the textual tradition of AUJo, which should be studied in the construction of a new critical text.<sup>277</sup>

### 3.2.3 Readings of individual tractates: AUJo 7, 30, 42, 49, 61, 112-114.

The picture which has emerged from the study so far is of a predominantly Vulgate text-form in the continuous text of AUJo, with a handful of Old Latin and unique readings. The sequential variants provide some more Old Latin readings, probably from memory, while the text of the non-sequential citations is mostly due to memory, despite some coincidences with Old Latin manuscripts such as Codex Palatinus and Codex Sarzanensis. The majority of Augustine's Old Latin variants correspond to readings shared by Codices Monacensis, Usserianus and Vercellensis; some overlap with Codex Brixianus and Codex Aureus may be an indication of early Vulgate readings rather than Old Latin. Although this offers a reasonable summary of the work as a whole, the study would not be complete without an individual analysis of the text of some sermons: treating every tractate would be lengthy and repetitive, so I have selected four examples from each set for detailed study.

**AUJo 7** covers John 1:35-51 in its commentary.<sup>278</sup> The continuous text runs as follows (differences from the Weber-Gryson Vulgate are in bold type, with absent words indicated by []):

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<sup>277</sup> It should also be noted that the titles in Willem's edition do not always correspond to the actual extent of the sermons: for instance, the title of AUJo 39 includes John 8:27, which is not quoted until AUJo 40 CT.

<sup>278</sup> It firstly recapitulates the two preceding verses, with a form of text in John 1:33 unique among Augustine's citations: *uelut columbam* is introduced from John 1:32, and there is no parallel for *uelut* as a rendering of  $\omega\varsigma$ . As the phrase has been interpolated, this variant should be ascribed to Augustine's memory. In John 1:34, *ipse* rather than *hic* is found only in Codices Veronensis and Usserianus, although it is also the text which appears in the title of AUJo 4.

<1:35> altera die iterum stabat iohannes et ex discipulis eius duo <1:36> et respiciens iesum ambulantiem dicit ecce agnus dei <1:37> et audierunt eum duo discipuli loquentem et secuti sunt iesum <1:38> conuersus autem iesus et uidens eos sequentes **se** dicit eis quid quaeritis qui dixerunt [] rabbi quod dicitur interpretatum magister ubi habitas <1:39> dicit eis uenite et uidete **et** uenerunt et uiderunt ubi maneret et apud eum manserunt die illo hora autem erat quasi decima <1:40> erat [] andreas frater simonis petri unus ex duobus qui audierant ab iohanne et secuti fuerant eum <1:41> inuenit hic [] **simonem** fratrem suum et dicit ei inuenimus messiam quod est interpretatum christus <1:42> et **duxit** eum ad iesum intuitus autem eum iesus dixit tu es simon filius **iohannis** tu uocaberis cephas quod interpretatur petrus <1:43> **et** in crastinum uoluit exire in galilaeam et inuenit philippum [] dicit ei [] sequere me <1:44> erat autem [] **de** [] ciuitate andreae et petri <1:45> **et** inuenit philippus nathanaelem et **dixit** ei quem scripsit moyses in lege et prophetae inuenimus iesum filium ioseph a nazareth <1:46> et dixit ei nathanael a nazareth potest aliquid boni esse dicit ei philippus ueni et uide <1:47> **et** uidit iesus nathanaelem uenientem ad se et dicit de eo ecce uere israelita in quo dolus non est <1:48> dicit ei nathanael unde me nosti respondit iesus et dixit [] priusquam te philippus uocaret cum esses sub ficu uidi te <1:49> respondit ei nathanael et ait rabbi tu es filius dei tu es rex israel <1:50> [] quia dixi tibi uidi te sub **arbore fici** credis maius his uidebis <1:51> et dicit ei amen amen dico uobis uidebitis caelum apertum et angelos [] adscendentes et descendentes **super** filium hominis.

The first three verses accord with the Vulgate, although the majority of Old Latin witnesses have at least one significant variant. In John 1:38, the addition of *se* is found in some Vulgate manuscripts as well as the Old Latin tradition. Although it is present in all witnesses, the omission of *ei* after *dixerunt* is not surprising: such pronouns are often omitted. This is also the case in John 1:48. It is, however, interesting to note that *ei* is restored in the sequential variant for John 1:38 at AUJo 7.10.1, a recapitulation before the commentary on the next verse. In John 1:39, only Codex Rehdigeranus also reads *et* before *uenerunt*. Most manuscripts read *autem* after *erat* in John 1:40; it is absent from Codices Veronensis, Monacensis and some Vulgate witnesses. The change in word order in the next verse has no parallels; all read *fratrem suum Simonem*, and most include *primum* after *hic*. Codex Vercellensis is the only surviving parallel for *duxit* rather than *adduxit* in John 1:42. This verse also has a reading unique to the Vulgate, *filius Iohanna*; some Old Latin manuscripts

read *filius Iona*, but most, like Augustine, prefer *filius Iohannis*.<sup>279</sup> In John 1:43, Augustine corresponds to the Vulgate and related manuscripts which read *in crastinum*; the other Old Latin witnesses have some form of *postera die* or *sequenti die*. No other witness begins the verse with *et*, although this seems to be part of the citation: a similar situation at John 1:47 is confirmed because the additional *et* immediately follows the previous verse. The abbreviation of John 1:44 appears to be due to Augustine: no manuscript omits *Philippus* (although it can be understood from the previous verse) or *Bethsaida*. Such re-organising also occurs in the sequential variant for 1:45, where Augustine reads:

inuenimus Iesum quem scripsit Moyses in lege et prophetae, a Nazareth, filium Ioseph.  
(AUJo 7.17.28)

There are three sequential variants in quick succession for John 1:48;

cum esses sub **fici arbore** uidi te. (AUJo 7.20.8)  
**antequam** te philippus uocaret cum esses sub **arbore fici** uidi te. (AUJo 7.20.16)  
priusquam te **uocaret philippus** cum esses sub **arbore fici** uidi te. (AUJo 7.22.2)

*Antequam* is found in Codices Veronensis, Monacensis and Usserianus, although we should note that Augustine later returns to *priusquam*. The most obvious change is *arbore fici*, which is an Old Latin reading: in this verse, *ficu* is found in Codex Aureus, Codex Colbertinus and the Vulgate, while in John 1:50 only the latter two read *ficu*. It would therefore hardly be surprising if Augustine reverted to an Old Latin reading when relying on memory.<sup>280</sup> Furthermore, there is a gloss in the middle of the initial citation which corresponds exactly to the type I mentioned earlier as indicative of Augustine's reaction against an unexpected reading:

*cum esses sub ficu, uidi te; id est, sub arbore fici. respondit ei ...* (AUJo 7.20.5)

<sup>279</sup> Augustine does, however, read the Vulgate form *Iohanna* in AUEv 2.53.109 and AUEv 4.3.4.

<sup>280</sup> The genitive complement of *arbore fici* might be described as a Graecism but Löfstedt (1911:151) shows that this phrase can be traced back as far as Horace. Although the manuscripts suggest that *ficu* is a Vulgate reading, it should be observed that it also appears in Tertullian's citation of John 1:50 at TEPra 21 (Roensch 1871:254).

It is possible, then, that in the continuous text of John 1:50 Augustine may automatically have substituted *arbore fici*, even if his exemplar read *ficu*. This is supported by the fact that he continues to read *maius his* which, like *ficu*, is unique to Codex Colbertinus and the Vulgate. (All other Old Latin manuscripts read *maiora horum*.) That *maius his* is original to Augustine is shown by his question five lines later, *quid est hoc maius?*, which echoes the singular in the biblical text.<sup>281</sup> In sum, then, AUJo 7 exemplifies the characteristics of the work as a whole: a mostly Vulgate text-type with a few differences including Old Latin forms in the sequential variants.

**AUJo 30** covers John 7:19-24, with the following text:

<7:19> nonne moyses dedit uobis legem et nemo ex uobis facit legem <7:20> quid me quaeritis interficere respondit **ei** turba [] daemonium habes quis te quaerit **occidere** <7:21> [] unum opus feci et omnes miramini <7:22> propterea moyses dedit uobis circumcisionem non quia ex moyse est sed ex patribus et in sabbato circumciditis hominem <7:23> **mihi irascamini quia saluum feci totum hominem sabbato** si circumcisionem accipit homo in sabbato ut non soluatur lex moysi <7:24> nolite iudicare **personaliter** sed **rectum** iudicium iudicate.

There is a surprising number of Old Latin renderings in this passage. At the end of John 7:20, *occidere* appears in Codices Vercellensis, Bezae, Sarzanensis, Monacensis and Usserianus, the group with which Augustine is often in accord. On the other hand, these manuscripts all read *occidere* for the earlier occurrence of *interficere* in the same verse. After the initial citation of the first half of this verse, Augustine repeats *interficere*, but follows this with *occidere*, which may account for his inconsistency in the continuous text of the second half. He has also reformulated the introduction to the direct speech (all surviving witnesses have *respondit turba et dixit*), which suggests that he has not referred back to the codex.

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<sup>281</sup> It is not surprising that Augustine reverts to the idiomatic Latin ablative of comparison in his own words rather than the genitive borrowed from the Greek; the genitive also does not feature in Augustine's adaptations of John 14:12. On the comparative genitive in Latin, see Plater and White 1926:35.

Furthermore, he omits the indication of the speaker in the next verse. His treatment of John 7:23 is very peculiar. He anticipated the verse at AUJo 30.3.10, which reads:

fecit unam rem, et turbati sunt, quia saluum fecit hominem sabbato.

This confirms the reading *saluum*, as found in Codices Veronensis, Colbertinus, Brixianus and Usserianus, rather than *sanum* (in the Vulgate and all other witnesses). When the continuous text of the verse appears, Augustine introduces it in the middle of a sentence after the words *ergo nec*, and swaps the order of the two halves of the verse. He also reads *irascamini* (in keeping with *irascimini* in four Old Latin manuscripts) rather than the Vulgate *indignamini*.<sup>282</sup> However, in his paraphrase in both the following sentences, Augustine uses *indignamini*. Perhaps this is a reversion to the reading of *indignamini* in the Old Latin tradition rather than an indication of the Vulgate text. *Irascimini* does not appear until the following paragraph, where it is used twice in a clear reminiscence, along with *saluum* again:

modo qui per legem Moysi circumciditis sabbato, non irascimini Moysi; et quia ego die sabbati saluum feci hominem, irascimini mihi. (AUJo 30.6.2)

The final verse of the passage is also unusual. Augustine has the rare, later Latin form *personaliter* for the Greek κατὰ ὄψιν. This is paralleled in both Codex Palatinus and Codex Monacensis; Codices Vercellensis, Bezae and Usserianus have *secundum personam*, while all other witnesses read *secundum faciem*. Nonetheless, *personaliter* is clearly Augustine's reading (despite *secundum faciem* in the title), and it appears seven times over the next three paragraphs in citations and commentary. The other variant in this verse is one of Augustine's unique readings: all witnesses read *iustum*, but he has *rectum* in two citations and a further reminiscence at AUJo 30.7.3. This should confirm the reading beyond doubt,

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<sup>282</sup> It is possible that *irascamini* is a typographical error for *irascimini*, which occurs in all the other citations of this verse AUJo 30. Although Berrouard 1977 reads *irascamini* in his corrected Latin text and it is not listed in Verheijen 1976:4-5, one of the most complete early manuscripts, Vallicelliana A14, has *irascimini* (and *accepit*) at AUJo 30.4.14.

and yet there are signs that Augustine also had *uerum* in mind; he reads *personaliter iudicatis, ueritatem adtendite* straight after the continuous text (AUJo 30.6.4), while three lines later we find: *iudicate inter nos, sed uerum iudicium iudicate* (AUJo 30.6.7). Further on in the same paragraph, he says *si secundum ueritatem iudicetis, neque Moysen, neque me condemnabit* (AUJo 30.6.26). So although *rectum* must be taken in the continuous text as the reading of the biblical codex in front of Augustine, he also appears to have been familiar with translations reading *uerum*. In conclusion, there is a substantial Old Latin element in the text of this sermon. In fact, Augustine's citations are closer to Codex Monacensis than the Vulgate: apart from his omissions and rewritings and the word *rectum*, the only differences from Codex Monacensis in the text of the sermon are *non* for *nonne* and *interficere* rather than *occidere* in the first two verses. We may wonder whether Augustine was relying on his memory to a greater extent than usual or whether he used a different codex from that in the majority of tractates.<sup>283</sup>

**AUJo 42**, by contrast, corresponds closely to the Vulgate in its continuous text, John 8:37-47:

<8:37> scio quia filii abraham estis sed quaeritis me interficere quia sermo meus non capit in uobis <8:38> ego quod uidi apud patrem **meum** loquor et uos quae uidistis apud patrem uestrum facitis <8:39> responderunt et dixerunt ei pater noster abraham est dicit eis iesus si filii abraham estis opera abraham facite <8:40> nunc autem quaeritis me interficere hominem qui ueritatem uobis locutus sum quam audiui a deo hoc abraham non fecit <8:41> uos facitis opera patris uestri dixerunt itaque ei nos ex fornicatione non sumus nati unum patrem habemus deum <8:42> dixit ergo eis iesus si deus pater uester esset diligeretis utique me ego enim ex deo processi et ueni neque enim a meipso ueni sed ille me misit <8:43> quare loquelam meam non cognoscitis quia non potestis audire sermonem meum <8:44> uos **a** patre diabolo estis et desideria patris uestri uultis facere ille homicida erat ab initio et in ueritate

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<sup>283</sup> It should be noted that, if the dating of Berrouard or La Bonnardière is followed for the AUJo 17-54 group, this sermon dates from 414 or post 418, a comparatively late date for Augustine's use of the Vetus Latina. A non-sequential citation of John 5:46 at AUJo 30.6.10 is also worthy of mention: Augustine does not cite this verse in the continuous text and only reads *forsitan* in two citations. On this occasion he has *utique* in the place of *forsitan*, the reading of Codex Bezae alone.



non stetit quia **ueritas non est** in eo cum loquitur mendacium ex propriis loquitur quia mendax est et pater eius <8:45> ego autem quia ueritatem dico non creditis mihi <8:46> quis ex uobis arguit me de peccato si ueritatem dico quare uos non creditis mihi <8:47> qui est ex deo uerba dei audit propterea uos non auditis quia ex deo non estis.

Not only are there very few differences, but in seven of these eleven verses Augustine has a distinctive reading found only in the Vulgate and up to one surviving Old Latin witness. In John 8:37, only the Vulgate and Codex Aureus have *fili*: all other manuscripts read *semen*, which is a more literal translation of σπέρμα. Codex Corbeiensis alone joins the Vulgate in reading *facite* rather than *faceretis* in John 8:39. There are four points of similarity with Codex Brixianus and the Vulgate: the word order *uobis locutus sum* in 8:40, the presence of *itaque* in 8:41, the absence of *suis* before *propriis* in 8:44, and the presence of *autem* in 8:45. The present tense *arguit* in 8:46 is found in the Vulgate alone: all Old Latin witnesses have a future, *arguet*.<sup>284</sup> How much of this remarkable agreement with the Vulgate is authorial? The phrase *fili Abrahæ* occurs twenty-three times during the sermon, both in citations and in commentary: it would have been a considerable task for a copyist to change each one. And yet, in line six of the sermon, even before the first citation of the commentary passage, we have:

ideo autem se liberos dixerunt, quia semen erant Abrahæ. (AUJo 42.1.6).

It is hardly likely that a reviser would have overlooked this first instance. Furthermore, Augustine twice reads *semen Abrahæ* at AUJo 42.5.8, in and following a citation of Galatians 3:29. If all the other occurrences of *semen Abrahæ* had been overwritten, it seems improbable that these would have escaped. Revision seems a less plausible explanation than original inconsistency, and all the other distinctive readings appear to be secure: the uniquely Vulgate present tense in John 8:46 is reinforced by a first-person present tense following:

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<sup>284</sup> The only distinctive reading with which this continuous text does not accord with the editorial Vulgate text is the absence of *meum* from the Vulgate at John 8:38, but this adjective is supplied in several Vulgate manuscripts.

*quis ex uobis arguit me de peccato? quomodo ego arguo et uos et patrem uestrum.*  
(AUJo 42.14.11)

Nonetheless, AUJo 42 is remarkable for the large number of sequential variants. Although Augustine uses *interficere* in the first two citations of John 8:37, *occidere* appears in the third, two lines later, and a fourth in the next paragraph. A similar situation involves *interficere* in John 8:40, which only appears in the continuous text; the three later citations all have *occidere*. The same five Old Latin witnesses read *occidere* in both verses.<sup>285</sup> It seems likely that Augustine has reverted to this by memory: four of these manuscripts read *ergo* after *uos* in John 8:38 and all five have *uerbum* rather than *sermonem* in John 8:43, yet there is no trace of either reading in the tractate. A sequential variant five lines after the continuous text of John 8:38 reads *quae uidi* instead of *quod uidi*. This is probably a change made on the spur of the moment under the influence of *quae uidistis* later in the verse, although it should be noted that at this earlier point both Codices Bezae and Brixianus read *quae*. John 8:39 is only cited twice: the continuous text at AUJo 42.4.3 reads *opera Abrahae*, while in the penultimate paragraph, we find *facta Abrahae* (AUJo 42.15.24). The latter is an Old Latin reading paralleled only in Codex Palatinus. This presents another useful test of whether the Vulgate text in the commentary is the product of a reviser who overlooked the much later citation, or of Augustine himself. A couple of comments after the continuous text include the word *facta*. At AUJo 42.4.14, Augustine says:

*scio quia filii Abrahae estis. non negat eorum originem, sed facta condemnat.*

Two paragraphs later, we have:

*si filii Abrahae estis, factis probate, non uerbis* (AUJo 42.6.3).

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<sup>285</sup> Codices Vercellensis, Veronensis, Bezae, Monacensis and Usserianus. It appears from Matzkow-Jülicher-Aland that Codex Rehdigeranus reads *occidere* in John 8:37, but *interficere* in 8:40. On the distribution of these two terms in later Latin, see Löfstedt 1911:256-259.

Neither of these offers a direct parallel to the use of *opera* in the earlier citation, however: they are more consistent with a remembered form which finally finds its way into the biblical text. Furthermore, there is no variant to *opera* in either citation of John 8:41, although Codex Palatinus also has *facta* here. I suspect that the similarity between *fili Abrahæ* and *facta Abrahæ* in John 8:39 appealed to Augustine, and the alliterative form had a strong pull on his memory: this is the text of all ten citations outside this work, many of which were probably made from memory. Unfortunately there are no other citations of John 8:41 for comparison.

The remaining two variants both involve prepositions: five lines after the continuous text for John 8:42, Augustine recasts it, including the change of *ex deo* to *a deo*. Four later citations of John 8:44 have *de propriis* rather than *ex propriis*, but every extant manuscript with the alternative preposition reads *de suo*. Augustine's reading is, once again, without parallel. In conclusion, the distinctive Vulgate readings of this sermon have withstood the scrutiny demanded by the sequential variants: arguments for later alteration of the biblical text suppose a corrector who was hyper-accurate with regard to certain readings and negligent towards others in the same sermon. Authorial use of a Vulgate text, but with frequent reversion to a mental gospel text influenced by a particular group of Old Latin manuscripts, is the best explanation of the facts.

The final sermon I will consider from the first group is **AUJo 49**. This has the longest scriptural passage of all tractates, comprising fifty-four verses from John 11. Most verses are only cited once, so rather than quote the entire text, I shall concentrate on the variants from the Vulgate text. There are twenty-five points in the text of this sermon where the Vulgate has a distinctive reading:

Source of distinctive readings	Agreements with distinctive Vulgate readings found in AUJo 49	Readings in which AUJo 49 differs from distinctive Vulgate
Vulgate only	5	2
Vulgate & Codex Aureus	8	1
Vulgate & Codex Bezae	3	1
Vulgate & Codex Brixianus	3	-
Vulgate & other	3	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>4</b>

The Vulgate character of Augustine's biblical text is clearly demonstrated. However, there are twenty-eight occasions (including the four noted above) when the continuous text of AUJo 49 differs from the Vulgate. These are listed in the following table, together with the Old Latin manuscripts which share Augustine's reading:<sup>286</sup>

Verse	Vulgate reading] Augustine's text	Old Latin parallels
11:1	soris] sororum	aur (m2), l
11:3	sorores] sorores eius	a, aur, c, d, f, r <sup>1</sup>
11:7	dicit ... iterum] dicit iterum	-
11:10	nocte] in nocte	aur, c, d, (vg)
11:11*	exsuscitem] excitem	c, d, l
11:12	discipuli eius] discipuli	d, ff <sup>2</sup> , l
11:13	quia] quod	a, b, j
11:15	quoniam] quia	c, ff <sup>2</sup>
11:16	ut] et	aur, c, (vg)
11:16	eo] illo	a, b, c, e, ff <sup>2</sup> , j, l, p
11:25	dixit] dicit	d, l, r <sup>1</sup> , (vg)
11:25	et si] etiamsi	aur, b, c, (vg)
11:31	ea] illa	a, (vg)
11:32	ergo] autem	b, d, ff <sup>2</sup> , r <sup>1</sup>
11:32	non esset mortuus frater meus] frater meus non esset mortuus	(p)
11:33	qui uenerant cum ea] qui cum illa erant	-
11:33	se ipsum] semetipsum	aur, b, j, (vg)
11:37	dixerunt ex ipsis] ex ipsis dixerunt	aur

<sup>286</sup> For the sake of brevity, I have resorted to the Matzkow-Jülicher-Aland sigla for the manuscripts. The four readings indicated by \* are distinctive Vulgate readings: in 11:11, *exsuscitem* is shared with Codex Aureus; in 11:48, the addition of *et* is unique to the Vulgate, as is *et ut* in 11:52; in 11:54 only Codex Bezae also omits *suis*. However, the reading of Augustine's text in John 11:48, 11:52 and 11:54 is found in some Vulgate witnesses listed in the apparatus of Weber-Gryson. Incidentally, Codex Monacensis, which has hitherto featured prominently in the analysis of AUJo, is not extant for John 11.

11:39	tollite lapidem] lapidem remouete	-
11:43	uoce magna] magna uoce	-
11:44	pedes et manus] manus et pedes	-
11:44	eum] illum	a, c, e, r <sup>1</sup>
11:45	fecit] fecit iesus	a, d, f, ff <sup>2</sup>
11:47	collegerunt ergo] collegerunt	e (m1)
11:48*	et locum] locum	a, b, c, l, r <sup>1</sup> , (vg)
11:52*	et ut] ut	a, aur, b, c, f, ff <sup>2</sup> , l, (vg)
11:54	in palam] palam	c, d, r <sup>1</sup>
11:54*	discipulis] discipulis suis	a, aur, b, c, e, f, ff <sup>2</sup> , l, r <sup>1</sup> , (vg)

It emerges from this list that there is no special relationship between Augustine's variants and any one of the surviving Old Latin manuscripts: on six occasions, his text is found in other manuscripts within the Vulgate tradition, while there is no support for five of his readings in any extant witness. Of course, by concentrating on variants from the Vulgate there is no scope for mapping Augustine's overall consistency within the Old Latin tradition. The manuscript closest to Augustine's text may appear to be Codex Aureus, which corresponds not only to nine of his non-Vulgate readings, but also to eight distinctively Vulgate forms. Even so, a quick comparison with Matzkow-Jülicher-Aland reveals over thirty occasions on which Codex Aureus differs from Augustine's text of the Gospel in this sermon. Most tellingly, in John 11:39, Augustine includes the phrase *soror eius qui mortuus fuerat*, found in the Vulgate and Codex Brixianus but absent from all other Latin witnesses.<sup>287</sup> Once more, then, the only consistent source for Augustine's text is the Vulgate, despite numerous minor variants in the continuous text.<sup>288</sup>

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<sup>287</sup> The only Greek manuscript to include this phrase is Codex Θ (038), although there is versional evidence to support it.

<sup>288</sup> There are two verses of John 11 with interesting sequential variants in AUJo 49 which have not been mentioned in the above discussion. In John 11:25, after reading *etiamsi mortuus fuerit* in the continuous text, Augustine reads *licet moriatur*. Although this is also found in Codex Corbeiensis, it is the form found in six of Augustine's other citations, which gives it a strong claim to be his "mental text". The other sequential variant is found in John 11:46, where immediately after the continuous text *quidam autem ex ipsis* Augustine has *quidam uero ex eis*. There is Old Latin support for both *uero* and *eis*, although not in the same manuscript!

Like many of the second set of sermons, **AUJo 61** only covers a few verses, in this case

John 13:21-27, for which the continuous text runs as follows:

<13:21> turbatus *itaque* est **iesus** spiritu et protestatus est et dixit amen amen dico uobis quia unus ex uobis tradet me <13:22> adspiciebant ergo ad inuicem discipuli haesitantes de quo diceret <13:23> erat ergo recumbens unus ex discipulis eius in sinu iesu quem diligebat iesus <13:24> innuit ergo [] simon petrus et dicit ei quis est de quo dicit <13:25> itaque cum recubisset ille supra pectus iesu dicit ei domine quis est <13:26> respondit iesus ille est cui ego **tinctum** panem porrexero et cum **tinxisset** panem dedit iudae simonis iscariotae <13:27> et post **panem** tunc introiuit in illum satanas.

There are no sequential variants, as the text is hardly repeated; each verse is treated in a separate paragraph. Augustine has already expounded the first half of John 13:21 in AUJo 60, so it is not surprising that the introduction to the direct speech is recast and *itaque* added to connect the citation with its context. The text-form in this passage is clearly Vulgate: the Old Latin manuscripts to which Augustine is often similar, Codices Vercellensis, Bezae, Monacensis and Usserianus, have a variety of alternative renderings for *protestatus* in John 13:21 and *adspiciebant*, *in inuicem* and *haesitantes* in John 13:22, of which there is no sign in the commentary. Indeed, there is a distinctive reading in John 13:24, where only the Vulgate and Codex Aureus do not have a form of *interrogare* or *dicere* before *quis*. The first non-Vulgate reading is the absence of *huic* before *Simon* in this verse, but most Old Latin manuscripts also have *huic* or a comparable pronoun here. Similarly, in John 13:26, there is no Old Latin parallel for *tinctum* and *tinxisset*, although Augustine is consistent: he also reads *tinxisset* in AUJo 62, and throughout his commentary the verb is only found in this form. This is demonstrated in the sermon's opening line:

hoc euangelii capitulum, fratres, ita nobis exponendum hac lectione propositum est, ut iam etiam de traditore domini per panem tinctum eique porrectum satis euidenter expresso aliquid dicere debeamus. (AUJo 61.1.1)

Furthermore, *tinctum* appears in the title of this sermon and *tinxisset* in the title of AUJo 62.

In both sermons, Augustine also reads *panem* in John 13:26 rather than *buccellam*: despite

the form *panem* in the majority of Old Latin witnesses, the phrasing of the sentence is otherwise identical to the Vulgate. It seems, then, that Augustine is working from a Vulgate codex which may have had readings which have not been preserved elsewhere.<sup>289</sup>

As Augustine composed the second set of tractates in small groups (cf. AUep Div 23A.3 quoted in Section 3.2), I shall conclude this selection by investigating the three sermons which expound John 18:1-32, **AUJo 112-114**. Within these thirty-two verses, there are eighteen distinctive Vulgate readings, of which twelve feature in Augustine's text (with a further three corresponding to other Vulgate manuscripts). In addition to the remaining three variants, there are nine more occasions on which Augustine's text has a different reading from the Vulgate, most of which are paralleled by surviving Old Latin manuscripts. We are therefore dealing again with a characteristically Vulgate biblical text which does not entirely conform to received tradition. There is consistency between the sermons: AUJo 112 and 113 both read *ex eis* in John 18:9 where the Vulgate, Codex Aureus and Codex Brixianus have *ex ipsis*; AUJo 113 and 114 share the unique Vulgate form *ligatum* in John 18:24. On the other hand, AUJo 112 has the rendering *princeps* or *princeps sacerdotum* for ἀρχιερεύς both times (John 18:3, 18:10), while AUJo 113 has *pontifex* on all eight occasions in the continuation of the passage (John 18:13, 18:15 (2), 18:16, 18:19, 18:22, 18:24, 18:26). Before leaping to the conclusion that Augustine changed his exemplar, we should note that, while *pontifex* is only found in the Vulgate and Codex Aureus in John 18:3 and 18:10, for the majority of other verses they are joined by Codex Colbertinus and Codex Corbeiensis: in addition to this inconsistency within individual manuscripts, the various renderings of this

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<sup>289</sup> See further Section 5.3.2, and, for this example, Section 5.3.7. Note that although Matzkow-Jülicher-Aland lists the addition of *cui* before *respondit* in John 13:26 as a unique Vulgate reading, it is not included in the editorial text of Weber-Gryson, so I have not discussed it here.

word have been highlighted by Burkitt.<sup>290</sup> Although Codex Aureus supplies parallels for two of the four non-Vulgate readings in AUJo 112 (the absence of *ipsum* in John 18:2 and the reading *autem* rather than *ergo* in John 18:12), the reading *pontifex* prevents the identification of its text with Augustine's source. In AUJo 114, there are only two non-Vulgate readings, both in John 18:28; *ad Caiphā* and the repetition of *ut* before *manducarent*. These appear in the majority of Old Latin witnesses.

The most interesting aspect of this group is the fact that the two extant leaves of the oldest known manuscript of AUJo, Monte Cassino 523 (seventh/eighth century) cover parts of AUJo 112 and 113. Willems included some variant readings from the first leaf in his edition, but did not know the second.<sup>291</sup> Although the text of these sermons is considerably abbreviated, this manuscript confirms that the distinctive Vulgate readings can be traced back as far as the tradition permits: *ligatum* is present in John 18:24, and *pontifex* in John 18:24 and 18:26. Nonetheless, there are variants between the text of Willem's edition and the biblical citations in this manuscript: in John 18:1, the first leaf reads *Cedri* rather than *Cedron*, an Old Latin reading paralleled in Codices Vercellensis, Veronensis, Bezae and Usserianus. In John 18:2, both leaves have the word order *sciebat autem et locum Iudas qui tradebat eum*, although Willems' edition and all biblical manuscripts postpone *locum* to the end of the phrase.<sup>292</sup> There are five variants to the editorial text of John 18:24-27 in AUJo 113. The continuous text of the passage is as follows:

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<sup>290</sup> See especially Burkitt 1908, as well as Burkitt 1924:60 and Burton 2000:46. I have left Codex Palatinus out of the discussion as it is missing in most of the verses: although it reads *pontifex* in 18:3 and 18:26, it has *principes sacerdotum* in 18:10.

<sup>291</sup> Wright (1964:323) observes that several lines are omitted from Willem's transcription of the first leaf as well.

<sup>292</sup> Willems notes the reading as incorrect on its first occurrence; he was not aware of its repetition on the second leaf, although he is right in noting its similarity to Augustine's re-arranged order of the verse at AUJo 112.2.2. It is hard to imagine, however, that this could have influenced the earlier citation. In the second citation, *autem* and *et* are both omitted.



<18:24> et misit eum annas ligatum ad caipham pontificem <18:25> erat autem simon petrus stans et calefaciens se dixerunt ergo ei numquid et tu ex discipulis eius es negavit ille et dixit non sum <18:26> dicit unus ex seruis pontificis cognatus eius cuius abscidit petrus auriculam nonne ego te uidi in horto cum illo <18:27> iterum ergo negavit petrus et statim gallus cantauit.

In Monte Cassino 523, the first four words of John 18:24 appear as *et misit Annas Iesum*. In John 18:25, *ministri* is added after *dixerunt ergo ei*, while *et* is omitted before *tu*. None of these has any parallels in surviving Old Latin witnesses. However, when this manuscript adds *ei* after *dicit* in John 18:26, the reading is also found in Codex Colbertinus, and it shares *continuo* rather than *statim* in John 18:27 with Codex Palatinus. Clearly, then, there has been some fluidity in the transmission of the biblical text in this work, but not enough to cast doubt on the distinctively Vulgate character of the continuous text.

To summarise, these eight sermons have, in their various ways, confirmed the overall assessment of the form of text Augustine uses in his commentary on John. Distinctive Vulgate readings are not only present throughout the continuous text of most sermons but are also embedded in the commentary, which implies that they are authorial. There are as many non-Vulgate readings in the continuous text as there are distinctive readings: some of these correspond to surviving Old Latin manuscripts while others are without parallel. In part, this may be due to Augustine's use of a version of the Vulgate which precedes all surviving manuscripts, although some variants appear to derive from his reliance on memory. Many of the sequential variants to the continuous text also appear to be made from memory and betray the influence of the earlier Old Latin tradition. Non-sequential citations are even further from this text and often follow the same form as citations in Augustine's other works. The clearest influence on Augustine's "mental text" seems to be Codex Monacensis; there are also parallels with Codices Usserianus, Vercellensis, Bezae, Sarzanensis and Palatinus. The large number of non-Vulgate readings dismisses the suggestion that the

biblical citations were deliberately altered by a later reviser. Nonetheless, although distinctive Vulgate readings reach back as far as the history of this work can be traced, a critical edition of all manuscripts will surely show a greater degree of variation in its biblical text.

### 3.3 Primary sources (2)

#### 3.3.1 *De consensu euangelistarum* (AUEv) 403-4

Augustine composed his work *On the Agreement of the Evangelists* around 403, three years before he began his commentary on John.<sup>293</sup> This work is a detailed investigation in four books of the text of the canonical Gospels which aims to show that their accounts are consistent. It is inconceivable that it could have been written without reference to at least one gospel codex: Augustine quotes extensively from all four evangelists. At times, his analysis reads like one of the earliest gospel synopses. Sabatier was perhaps the first to note that its biblical text corresponds to Jerome's Vulgate, and Burkitt reached the same conclusion.<sup>294</sup> Weihrich, the work's editor, was less certain, remarking on occasional differences between the citations and the commentary:

ut uerba quae auctor libri ad explicanda testimonia addidit cum ipsis testimoniis exponendi uerbis non conuenirent et consentaneum erat quaerere num etiam aliis locis uerba uulgatae editionis S. Hieronymi pro antiquioribus uersionis contextu in archetypum quamuis bona fide inducta esse uiderentur. (Weihrich 1904:xxvii).

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<sup>293</sup> Weihrich in the introduction to his critical edition (CSEL 43, 1904) dates the work to 399 on the grounds of references to it in other works of Augustine and allusions to contemporary events (Weihrich 1904:vi); Lancel 2002:306 argues for a date of 400; Hombert notes that AUEv must precede AUJo, because of the comments on St John's Gospel at AUEv 4.10.19; see the discussion at Hombert 2000:81-87. De Bruyne's attempt (1931:595) to date the composition of AUEv over a period of time, with the completion in 405 or 410 is convincingly refuted by Zarb (1938:312; cf. AUre 2.16).

<sup>294</sup> Sabatier is quoted in Burkitt 1896:59; Burkitt's evidence is assembled at 1896:72-78 and 1910:447-458.

This disparity between editions and commentary has already been noted in AUJo, where Augustine occasionally reverts to Old Latin readings during the course of his exposition, despite using a Vulgate text as the basis of his commentary. A similar phenomenon of subconscious variation may be at work here. AUEv is contemporary with the letter in which Augustine praises Jerome's translation, *quia et paene in omnibus nulla offensio est cum scripturam graecam contulerimus* (AUep 71.4.6). Augustine clearly knew Jerome's Gospels at this point, and some commentators have suggested that his comparison of this version with the Greek provided the foundation for AUEv.<sup>295</sup> It is therefore plausible that Augustine used the Vulgate in AUEv as well, as Milne suggests: "[Jerome's text] became paramount in the *De Consensu Euangelistarum*, where sustained attention to the *ipsissima uerba* of the Gospels was imperative" (1926:xiii).<sup>296</sup>

I shall examine the work in the following manner: firstly, I will confirm the Vulgate character of the text by comparing it with the list of distinctive Vulgate readings used earlier. I shall then look at variations within the work (and its manuscript tradition) to see whether Weihrich's hesitations have any bearing on the Gospel according to St John. Finally, I will look at the non-Vulgate readings in biblical citations and compare these with the surviving Old Latin tradition and Augustine's text elsewhere. The following table shows the agreement of AUEv with distinctive Vulgate readings:

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<sup>295</sup> e.g. De Bruyne (1927:780 and 1931:594), Zarb (1938:313).

<sup>296</sup> In her article on the Stilling of the Storm, La Bonnardière claims of the three citations of Mark 4:38-40 in AUEv that "il ne s'agit évidemment pas de la Vulgate, telle que nous la connaissons aujourd'hui" (1986:145), but all nine verses from this pericope which she cites on the same page correspond exactly to the reading of the Weber-Gryson Vulgate.

Manuscript	Total "distinctive readings"	Read- ings in AUEv	AUEv identical to editorial Vulgate	AUEv identical to other Vulgate mss	AUEv does not agree with any Vulgate
Vulgate only	85	29	25 (86%)	3	1
Vulgate + Vercellensis	2	1	1 (100%)	-	-
Vulgate + Aureus	80	20	14 (70%)	2	4
Vulgate + Veronensis	20	10	8 (80%)	1	1
Vulgate + Colbertinus	36	5	4 (80%)	-	1
Vulgate + Bezae	18	2	-	2	-
Vulgate + Palatinus	1	-	-	-	-
Vulgate + Brixianus	38	7	5 (71%)	2	-
Vulgate + Corbeiensis	5	2	2 (100%)	-	-
Vulgate + Sarzanensis	4	1	1 (100%)	-	-
Vulgate + Rehdigeranus	4	1	1 (100%)	-	-
Vulgate + Frg. Sangall.	1	-	-	-	-
Vulgate + Monacensis	3	-	-	-	-
Vulgate + Usserianus	6	-	-	-	-
Vulgate + Fol. Vindob.	3	1	1 (100%)	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>62 (78%)</b>	<b>10 (13%)</b>	<b>7 (9%)</b>

Although AUEv only has citations of seventy-nine of the instances of distinctive Vulgate readings, in sixty-two (78%) of these it accords with the Vulgate.<sup>297</sup> Furthermore, twenty-five (86%) of these are readings preserved in the Vulgate alone, without parallel in any surviving Old Latin witness. In each case, this is a higher figure than the agreement in AUJo: there are nine occasions when AUEv has a distinctive Vulgate reading which is not found in AUJo, including the name *Iohanna* rather than *Iohannis* in John 1:42 and *sermone* rather than *uerbum* in both citations of John 8:31.<sup>298</sup> AUEv also accords with the Vulgate (and certain Old Latin witnesses) in certain other verses when AUJo has a non-Vulgate reading; in John

<sup>297</sup> As there is not a "continuous text" of John defined for AUEv, there are some verses in which Augustine's text is inconsistent. This will be discussed further below: if Augustine agrees at least once with a distinctive Vulgate reading, it has been included as an agreement in the table above. The majority of citations which include a distinctive reading are from John 18 and John 19, Augustine's comparison of the accounts of the Passion, which are quoted at length in this work.

<sup>298</sup> See also John 2:1, 3:4, 14:1, 17:25, 18:19, 18:36 and 18:37. Conversely, there are nine occasions when the continuous text of AUJo has a Vulgate reading not found in AUEv, although in four of these a Vulgate reading is present in the manuscript tradition of AUEv and two others involve repeated words.

11:1 AUEv 2.79.154 has *sororis* (AUJo reads *sororum*), and in John 13:24 AUEv 3.1.3 has *huic* (missing from AUJo). Nonetheless, there are many agreements between the biblical texts of AUJo and AUEv, the vast majority of which agree with the Vulgate, in contrast with the citations in Augustine's other works.<sup>299</sup>

The critical edition of this work includes far more information about manuscript variation than that of AUJo; even so, most citations with distinctive Vulgate readings are uncontested in the manuscript tradition of AUEv.<sup>300</sup> There are occasionally variants in the critical apparatus which do agree with Old Latin witnesses.<sup>301</sup> In both citations of John 19:3 (AUEv 3.8.35 and 3.9.36), a group of manuscripts reads *palmas* rather than the editorial text *alapas* (found only in Codex Brixianus and the Vulgate). The same manuscripts also have *foras habens* and not *portans* (unique to the Vulgate and Codex Aureus) in the first citation of John 19:5 (AUEv 3.8.35), but not in the later citation of this verse at AUEv 3.13.46. However, not only are these manuscripts inconsistent, but they also belong to Weihrich's fourth and weakest class of witness, a group of ninth-century manuscripts with many

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<sup>299</sup> Examples of these agreements between AUEv, AUJo and the Vulgate may be seen in John 2:24, 2:25, 4:1, 4:2, 4:3, 5:18, 5:19, 6:9, 6:11, 6:15, 6:17, 6:18, 7:6, 8:31, 11:1, 11:2, 13:27, 13:35, 13:36, 13:38, 14:1, 18:6, 18:21, 18:22, 18:23, 18:32, 19:11, 19:12.

<sup>300</sup> For example, no manuscript has *simul* in John 18:15, *ille* in 18:16 or *huius* in 18:17. In John 19:16, there is some variation in the manuscripts, but all include the extra two words *et eduxerunt* found in the Vulgate and Codex Bezae. Similarly in John 19:38 no manuscript differs from the reading *eo quod esset discipulus* even though the Old Latin tradition reads *qui et ipse discipulus erat*.

<sup>301</sup> Weihrich sometimes supplies a list of agreements with Old Latin manuscripts in his apparatus, although these should be treated with caution: Burkitt notes one misreading of the apparatus of Wordsworth-White at Matthew 26:52-54 (1910:456-7) and I have spotted two errors concerning John: in John 6:10 at AUEv 2.46.95, Weihrich offers Codex Vercellensis as a parallel for the omission of *ergo* after *discubuerunt* and Codex Veronensis in support of the alternative *autem*; in fact, these refer to the connective after *dixit* earlier in the verse. Also, at AUEv 3.2.5, Weihrich claims that "*nonnulli codd. euang.*" omit *sicut ... inuicem*. According to the Weber-Gryson apparatus, two Vulgate manuscripts omit this phrase; all Old Latin witnesses in Matzkow-Jülicher-Aland have *sicut ego dilexi uos*, although two witnesses omit *ut ... inuicem*.

interpolations. The Vulgate readings in these verses are present in the earliest and most important manuscript of AUEv from the sixth century.

When Augustine cites the same verse more than once there are sometimes inconsistencies. Two of these affect distinctive readings: in John 6:1 he has the Vulgate form *mare galilaeae quod est tiberiadis* at AUEv 2.45.94, but the Old Latin *galilaeae tiberiadis* at AUEv 3.25.79;<sup>302</sup> in John 19:11 AUEv 3.8.35 has *nisi tibi esset datum*, while AUEv 3.13.46 reads *nisi tibi datum fuisset*. It may be significant that the Vulgate form occurs first each time; on both later occasions, a considerable number of manuscripts repeat the Vulgate text, although the editor has preferred the non-Vulgate reading. A inconsistency similar to the case of non-sequential citations already noted in AUJo is found in the citations of John 5:19; the earlier reference (AUEv 1.4.7) appears to be made from memory, featuring three non-Vulgate readings: the combination of these is unique to Augustine and constitutes his customary text for the verse, *quaecumque pater facit haec eadem et filius facit similiter*. When he cites the verse in sequence, however, he reverts to the reading of the Vulgate (AUEv 4.10.13).

There are two almost identical inconsistencies which hint at Old Latin readings. In John 6:5, the majority of Old Latin manuscripts have an ablative absolute, *eleuatis oculis*, while the Vulgate and related manuscripts have a temporal clause, *cum subleuasset ... oculos* (the compound verb *subleuasset* and word order is unique to the Vulgate and Codex Colbertinus).

In his summary of John 4-6, Augustine reads:

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<sup>302</sup> De Bruyne, in his attempt to claim that the biblical text of AUEv is a **revision** of Jerome's translation by Augustine, uses this non-Vulgate form of John 6:1 as evidence of alteration made on the basis of the Greek (1931:598). Old Latin influence is far more plausible for this and the other two verses he cites, John 10:16 and John 20:17.

tunc leuatis oculis et uisa multitudine maxima pauisse eam. (AUEv 2.45.94)

However, in the verbatim citation of the same verse in the next paragraph, we have an almost exact correspondence with the Vulgate:

cum subleuasset ergo Iesus oculos et uidisset quia multitudo maxima uenit ad eum.  
(AUEv 2.46.95)

There are no other traces of Old Latin readings in the summary paragraph: for the story of the Samaritan woman, Augustine uses *puteum* rather than *fons* (found in some Old Latin witnesses); the healing of the ruler's son describes the father as *reguli cuiusdam* (not *basilicus*, as in Codices Vercellensis and Bezae); the healing of the man at the pool has the term *piscina* rather than *natatoria* or even *probatrica*. In fact, it is this paragraph in which the distinctive Vulgate form *mare galilaeae quod est tiberiadis* occurs (AUEv 2.45.94), and it may even be that the double ablative absolute in the summary of John 6:5 was inspired by the double temporal clause in the Vulgate. In John 20:19, most Old Latin witnesses have an ablative absolute, *ostiis clusis*, while the Vulgate and related manuscripts have a temporal clause, *cum ... fores essent clausae*. In fact, only the Vulgate reads *fores*; the other manuscripts all have *ianuae*. On this occasion, the Vulgate form appears in the first two citations:

fores essent clausae ubi erant discipuli propter metum iudaeorum. (AUEv 3.25.74)

fores autem clausae erant cum ad eos intrauit, quod solus Iohannes commemorat.  
(AUEv 3.25.75)

Ten paragraphs later, however, Augustine reads:

cum illis undecim erant congregati clausis ostiis propter metum iudaeorum.  
(AUEv 3.25.85)

There are no manuscript variants for any of these three readings, but priority must be accorded to the earlier citations where John is mentioned by name, rather than the later summary in a context where Augustine is not citing verbatim. There is therefore minimal

evidence for an original underlying Old Latin text, as the Vulgate is embedded in Augustine's passages of commentary.<sup>303</sup>

Although the overall Vulgate character of the biblical text in this work appears to be secure, there remain numerous variants in Augustine's citations, some of which agree with Old Latin witnesses while others are peculiar to him. This is another argument in favour of the biblical text of the work not having undergone later revision.<sup>304</sup> There are some characteristically Old Latin readings in the citations of the Prologue of St John's Gospel. In John 1:5, we have the word order *lux lucet in tenebris* (only found in Codices Palatinus, Veronensis and Monacensis), and the presence of *hunc* before *mundum* in John 1:9. In both citations of John 1:15, AUEv omits *uobis* (which appears in the Vulgate and Codex Brixianus) and reads *uenit* where the Vulgate and Codex Aureus have *uenturus est*. The Vulgate form of John 6:26 reads as follows:

amen amen dico uobis quaeritis me non quia uidistis signa sed quia manducastis ex panibus et saturati estis.

Augustine's citation at AUEv 4.10.15 has numerous variants:

amen amen dico uobis quaeritis me non quia **signa uidistis** sed quia **edistis de** panibus et **satiati** estis.

Some of these readings are paralleled by surviving Old Latin witnesses: the majority have *de* rather than *ex*, but only Codex Veronensis and Codex Palatinus read *satiati* rather than *saturati*. Although it is not a major change, the word order *signa uidistis* is also present in

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<sup>303</sup> Burkitt offers eleven examples of distinctive Vulgate readings in AUEv (Burkitt 1910:451-454). Of these, only two refer to John: Burkitt observes that in AUEv 2.47.100, Augustine explicitly reads *fugit* in John 6:15 (in common with Codices Vercellensis, Corbeiensis and the Vulgate) and not *secessit* as found in the majority of Old Latin witnesses. The other verse is John 20:19, just discussed, where Burkitt fails to notice the later, Old Latin, form: he finds the second citation compelling, where *fores* appears in the commentary text and suggests that a reviser would be unlikely to have changed such a small unit of text (1910:454).

<sup>304</sup> Burkitt (1896:72 and 1910:449) notes that there is no assimilation of non-Gospel citations in AUEv to the Vulgate text.



Codex Palatinus. All surviving manuscripts, however, render ἐφάγετε by *manducastis*. This passage is cited in a sequence of Johannine lections, for which it is possible that Augustine used a codex: the citation of the following verse, John 6:27, corresponds exactly to the Vulgate, including the reading *cibum* rather than the Old Latin *escam*.<sup>305</sup>

There are also Old Latin readings in the later chapters of John. In John 13:2, AUEv 3.1.4 reads:

et cena facta cum diabolus **inmisset** in **cor** ut traderet eum ludas.

The compound verb *inmisset* is read in Codex Bezae and Codex Aureus, and both these manuscripts have the accusative *in cor* rather than the ablative *in corde* found in the majority of witnesses.<sup>306</sup> Later in the same paragraph, the first phrase of John 13:32 is missing from the editorial text, although one manuscript of AUEv and later editors supply it: it is not present in the majority of Old Latin witnesses and some Vulgate manuscripts. Augustine makes two citations of John 14:21 in AUEv, both of which have *ostendam meipsum illi* rather than the Vulgate *manifestabo ei meipsum*. The variant reading is only attested in Codex Palatinus, although as this is Augustine's customary form of the verse these citations may have been made from memory. As well as the correspondences with Codex Palatinus noted in the previous paragraph, it is worth remarking on the citation of John 18:4 at AUEv 3.5.15, which, like Codex Palatinus, has *quid quaeritis?* rather than *quem quaeritis?* (Both, however, revert to *quem quaeritis?* when the question is repeated at John 18:7). This is part of a six-verse citation of John 18 in sequence, which has a strong claim to

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<sup>305</sup> Only one manuscript of AUEv has a variant in John 6:26, Codex Ns, one of Wehrich's third class of witnesses, which reads *quia manducastis ex panibus meis*. Although *manducastis ex panibus* is to be expected as a Vulgate harmonization, the presence of *meis* is intriguing: it is not found in any surviving manuscripts, but is present in Augustine's only other citation of this verse, at AUJo 25.10.5.

<sup>306</sup> Again, De Bruyne 1931:598 claims this variant as proof of Augustine's revision of Jerome's translation, although Old Latin influence is more plausible.

be taken from a codex. Nonetheless, the rest of the citation corresponds to the Vulgate, reading *ut* and *retrorsum* in John 18:6 and *non quemquam* in John 18:9, against *quomodo*, *retro* and *nemine* in Codex Palatinus. There are numerous other references which correspond to Old Latin witnesses although, as Burkitt says, the likelihood is that these are "reminiscences of the pre-Vulgate Bible" or possibly early Vulgate readings which did not form part of later tradition.<sup>307</sup>

Several citations which conform to Augustine's customary form of words rather than the biblical manuscripts provide further evidence for the probability that he occasionally cited from memory in this work. For example, we have *non noueram* rather than *nesciebam* in the citation of John 1:33 at AUEv 2.15.32; *bene fecerunt* and *male fecerunt* in John 5:29 (AUEv 2.30.71);<sup>308</sup> *concupiuit* for *gausis est* in John 8:56 (AUEv 4.10.16) and the customary forms of John 10:16 (AUEv 3.4.14) and John 21:11 (AUEv 4.9.10), none of which correspond to any surviving witnesses. We have already noted several inconsistencies in verses which are cited more than once: as in AUJo, these "sequential variants" often introduce variants from the Vulgate, which suggest that Augustine reverts to memory after

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<sup>307</sup> Burkitt 1910:455. For other "Old Latin" readings in the text of AUEv, see John 1:27 (*soluere*), 1:29 (*ecce*), 8:35 (*autem*), 12:1 (*in Bethaniam*), 17:22 (*et nos*), 17:26 (*eis feci*), 18:5 (*nazorenium*), 18:7 (*nazoreum*), 18:9 (*eis*), 18:17 (*de*), 18:18 (*calefaciebant se*), 18:28 (*ad Caipham*), 18:31 (omission of *ergo* and *ei*), 18:34 (omission of *et*), 19:4 (*eum uobis*), 19:6 (*eum*), 19:14 (*pascha*), 19:24 (*impleretur*), 19:25 (*stabat*), 19:28 (omission of *iam*, *dixit*), 20:15 (*illum*), 20:29 (omission of *me*), 21:22 (omission of *si*) and 21:25 (*scriberentur*). It is highly likely that most of these appear in Vulgate manuscripts not included in the apparatus of Weber-Gryson: many of the examples originally noted in John 20 correspond to readings presented in Fischer 1991. The agreements between AUEv and AUJo in variation from the Vulgate may offer some indications of readings in Augustine's version of the text: see Section 5.3.2.

<sup>308</sup> Burkitt 1896:75 notes that Augustine's variants in AUEv are rarely readings preserved in the surviving Old Latin manuscripts, although he adduces this instance of John 5:29 as an exception, despite the absence of any witness reading *bene* rather than *bona*, and no manuscript with both *male* and *fecerunt*.

the initial citation. For example, in AUEv 4.10.12 Augustine cites John 2:19 twice: the first corresponds to the Vulgate, reading:

soluite templum hoc et in tribus diebus excitabo illud.

Eight lines later, however, Augustine omits *in* before *tribus diebus* and replaces *excitabo* with his preferred term, *suscitabo*. One manuscript and several editors try to make good the inconsistency, but the variant text appears to be original. This pattern is repeated on several occasions, including the citations of John 19:10-16, which in AUEv 3.8.35 conform to the Vulgate, but have numerous variants introduced in AUEv 3.13.46.<sup>309</sup> There are very few occasions on which AUEv has a unique reading in a citation of St John's Gospel and none are of major textual significance.<sup>310</sup> All three citations of John 13:33 (AUEv 3.2.5-6) do not include *uos* in *quo ego uado uos non potestis uenire*, although it is found in all biblical manuscripts. In John 18:15, AUEv 3.6.19 omits the initial *autem*, but repeats *alius* in *discipulus autem ille alius*. These may have been impromptu adjustments made by Augustine. The addition of *ergo* in John 18:17 (AUEv 3.6.23) and of *ut* in John 18:39 (AUEv 3.8.35) may also fall into this category.

In conclusion, we have found nothing significant in the citations of John in AUEv to disprove Burkitt's claim that Augustine used an early version of the Vulgate. In fact, a detailed study of the evidence from this Gospel supports his analysis. Drawing on the methodology used in the analysis of AUJo above has enabled us to make distinctions between the likelihood of reliance on a codex in different types of citations and investigate the degree to which the form of biblical text is embedded within Augustine's commentary. It is clear that Augustine introduces Old Latin readings in his citations made from memory, some of which agree with

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<sup>309</sup> See also the citations of John 5:19, 13:27, 14:9, 18:31, 20:15, 20:17 and 20:18.

<sup>310</sup> The reading *dixisset* rather than *exisset* in 13:31 seems to be a misprint in the text of AUEv 3.1.4.

an African text-type (although this does not correspond exactly to any surviving witness) while others are composite forms unique to Augustine. The information about the transmission history of AUEv shows that biblical citations, like the rest of Augustine's text, are subject to alteration. Even so, they offer no indication of a systematic revision of the text of the citations in this work and although some variants do correspond to Old Latin readings, the evidence is lacking in both quality and quantity. Instead, the manuscript tradition of AUEv appears to confirm that the biblical text of our modern edition is broadly comparable to that of Augustine, with its various peculiarities and inconsistencies, and there is no justification for doubting his use of a Vulgate text-type.

### 3.3.2 *Speculum quis ignorat* (AUspe) 427/8

There are two works attributed to Augustine with the title of *Speculum*. Both are collections of biblical *testimonia*: the *Speculum quis ignorat*, which is generally believed to be by Augustine, is dated around 427.<sup>311</sup> The fact that the biblical text of the excerpts corresponds more closely to the Vulgate than any other work of Augustine has often been adduced in the debate over its authenticity. Its editor, Weihrich, believes that the prefaces to the selection from each biblical book are preserved in their original form, while the text of the citations (which are quoted in the order they appear in each book) was changed by a

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<sup>311</sup> The late date of this work means that it does not feature in the *Retractationes*: a work with this title is attributed to Augustine by Possidius *Vita* 28.3. The current critical edition by Weihrich, CSEL 12 (1887), also includes the other *Speculum* attributed to Augustine, *De diuinis scripturis siue Speculum quod fertur Augustini*, sometimes treated as an Old Latin witness with the siglum *m*. The principal challenge to Augustine's authorship of the *Speculum quis ignorat* was made by Plinval (1954), but La Bonnardière (1986:401) and Fischer (1972:21) accept subsequent refutations.

later editor.<sup>312</sup> Although Burkitt acknowledges that "the composition of the *Speculum* would lend itself to such a wholesale substitution" (1910:264), he suggests that the Vulgate text-form is again authorial, comparing Augustine to

"an Anglican parish priest who would stoutly resist attempts to have anything but the Old Version read in Church, who nevertheless would be quite willing to prepare a set of suitable passages from the Revised Version to be learnt by heart in Sunday School." (1910:268)

His case here, however, is not as compelling as for AUEv, which only concerned the Gospels. In AUspe, this would entail Augustine's use not only of Jerome's entire revision of the Old Testament based on the Hebrew but also the Vulgate version of Acts, Epistles and Revelation, which Augustine does not cite elsewhere. Furthermore, the collected translations would predate the first Latin pandect by over a century.<sup>313</sup>

The section of citations from the Gospel according to St John comprises fourteen extracts and twenty-nine verses in total. Six of these verses provide the sole occasion on which a

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<sup>312</sup> "Prima iam aetate fuisse censeamus, ut Vulgatae S. Hieronymi uerba pro antiquioris interpretationis contextu in libros Speculi manu scriptos intruderentur." (Wehrich 1887:xviii). The rest of the work is more generally accepted as Augustinian, as Zarb notes: "omnes enim uidentur admittere praefationem notasque, immo etiam electionem locorum biblicorum, qui citantur, esse authenticam Augustini opus." (Zarb 1938:xxvi). Also in favour of later replacement of the text are Monceaux 1901:160, De Bruyne 1931:602 and La Bonnardière: "la texte biblique du *Speculum* n'est pas celui dont usait Augustin; il a été ultérieurement normalisé sur le texte de la Vulgate, d'ailleurs d'une manière plus ou moins différente et plus ou moins maladroite selon les livres bibliques." (1986:404). Nonetheless, although La Bonnardière attempts to contradict Plinval's claims that "l'esprit dans lequel a été composé ce recueil ne correspond en rien à la pensée augustinienne ... on n'y retrouve aucune des citations qui ont nourri la vie spirituelle d'Augustin" (Plinval 1954:188), she is forced to admit that many of the chosen texts do not appear elsewhere: "et cependant la lecture du *Speculum* étonne par la résonance tout à fait neuve qui se dégage de la présence de pages bibliques jamais rencontrées encores dans l'œuvre d'Augustin, pas même dans ses écrits contemporains de la rédaction du *Speculum*." (La Bonnardière 1986:408).

<sup>313</sup> Plinval also claims that "l'existence du *Speculum* démontre que dans le premier quart du V<sup>e</sup> siècle ... il existait une édition complète de la Bible, reproduisant avec la plus exacte fidélité le texte de saint Jérôme et identique au texte qui sera plus tard celui de l'Amiatinus" (1954:191), although on the next page he notes some differences between the order of books in the two sources.

citation of Augustine reproduces the Vulgate text for this verse, while in a further four cases AUspe is joined by AUEv or AUJo as the only witnesses to the Vulgate text form.<sup>314</sup> For example, AUspe 28 has the only one of Augustine's twenty-nine citations of John 15:13 which agrees with the Vulgate:

maiolem hac dilectionem nemo habet ut animam suam quis ponat pro amicis suis.

There are four variations from the Weber-Gryson Vulgate in the chapter on John. Two involve a simple difference in word order: *non uidebit mortem* rather than *mortem non uidebit* in John 8:51 and *dilectione eius* for *eius dilectione* in John 15:10. In John 13:13, AUspe 28 reads *sum enim*, with the majority of Old Latin witnesses, where the Vulgate has *sum etenim*. In each of these cases, one or more of the manuscripts of AUspe supplies the Vulgate reading. For John 14:23, AUspe 28 has:

si quis diligit me, sermonem meum seruabit, et pater meus **diligit** eum et ad eum uenimus et **mansionem** apud eum faciemus.

The editorial text of Weber-Gryson reads *diliget* and *mansiones*, but the readings of AUspe are widespread in the Vulgate tradition.

There are two citations of John outside the chapter dedicated to this Gospel. In the prologue to AUspe, Augustine quotes John 1:1, *in principio erat uerbum*. More significant is the citation of John 15:13 in the preface to the extracts from the Song of Songs, AUspe 9:

maiolem hac caritatem nemo habet quam ut animam suam ponat pro amicis suis.

This differs from the Vulgate form of the verse quoted in AUspe 28, but, more significantly, reproduces the three features of Augustine's customary form of this verse: *caritatem* rather than *dilectionem*, the addition of *quam* and the absence of *quis*. The first and last of these are paralleled in the Old Latin tradition, but no surviving manuscript reads *quam*, even though

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<sup>314</sup> AUspe alone has the Vulgate reading at John 8:11, 12:26, 13:14, 14:21, 15:6 and 15:13. It is joined by one of the other works at John 8:31, 12:43, 13:34 and 13:35.

it appears in twenty-four of Augustine's twenty-nine citations. In short, we are dealing with a citation from memory, but in a form which is unique to Augustine and which therefore can be used to support Augustine as author of the prefaces in AUspe, whatever we make of the text of the other citations.<sup>315</sup>

### 3.3.3 *Sermones* 117 – 147A

In addition to the *Tractatus in Iohannis euangelium*, a number of Augustine's sermons have a lectionary text from St John's Gospel. The account of preaching in Section 2.4.1 has shown that these sermons could be a source of primary citations, drawn directly from a codex. They are split into three groups: a corpus of forty-one sermons on John (AUs 117-147A),<sup>316</sup> thirty-six other sermons from seasons in the Christian year which have a Johannine lection (see 3.3.4), and certain of the *Enarrationes in Psalmos* (see 3.3.5). Each sermon must be treated separately as it was preached at a particular time and place, although the date and location are not always known and are sometimes contested.<sup>317</sup> There are often few verbatim citations in these sermons, despite their gospel lection, and many can be passed over swiftly, while for others a more lengthy investigation is appropriate.

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<sup>315</sup> Burkitt observes the difference between this and the other citation of John 15:13 in AUspe but fails to draw any conclusion, merely saying "S. Augustine was no pedant in such matters." (Burkitt 1910:265). Frede's observation on the importance of manuscript S\* in AUspe should be noted, although it does not affect any of the readings in John (Frede 1971:84).

<sup>316</sup> This figure comprises 31 numbered sermons and 10 supplementary: AUs 125A (Mai 128), 130A (Dolbeau 19), 132A (Mai 129), 136A (Mai 130), 136B (Lambot 10), 136C (Lambot 11), 139A (Mai 125), 140A (Mai post 174), 145A (Casin. II.136) and 147A (Denis 12).

<sup>317</sup> Frede notes that Augustine's biblical text may vary between sermons preached in Hippo and Carthage: "tatsächlich sind selbst solch feine Textdifferenzen in seinen Zitaten erkennbar" (Frede 1970:473). One example of this may be AUs 28A, (AUs Dol 9), which Dolbeau suggests may have been preached outside Hippo on the basis of variants in the biblical text (Hombert 2000:329). Hombert himself makes the important observation that certain biblical references may derive from the liturgy rather than a biblical codex: "les citations des textes bibliques lus au cours de l'office livrent généralement peu d'indices pour la datation des sermons, car elles ne sont pas spontanées." (2000:235).

There are no notable textual features in **AUs 117** or **AUs 118**, preached on John 1:1-3. The advertised lection for **AUs 119** is John 1:1-14, although only certain verses are quoted. The distinctive Old Latin readings, *sua propria* in John 1:11 and *credentibus* in John 1:12 are identical to Augustine's customary form of text. The opening of the sermon includes the line:

recordamini enim et lectum est uobis nuperrime quomodo ipse sanctus Iohannes euangelista in sinu domini discumbibat. (AUs 119.1)

This might imply that the lection comprised John 13:23 and 13:25, citations of which follow, although these are rather loose.<sup>318</sup> It is worth observing that only Codex Usserianus has *discumbere* rather than *recumbere* in these verses. Augustine also refers to these verses in **AUs 120**, but on this occasion reads *recumbere*. The gospel passage of John 1:1-9 is unremarkable. There are some Old Latin readings in the lectionary text of **AUs 121**: it consistently reads *per eum* in John 1:10 (as do Codices Veronensis and Monacensis) and it too has *in sua propria* at John 1:11, although unlike AUs 119, it has *his qui credunt* for John 1:9. In both its citations of John 1:13 it transposes *uoluntate uiri* and *uoluntate carnis*, which is not paralleled by any surviving manuscript. AUs 121 also has Old Latin readings in its non-lection citations of John 8:39-40, which should probably be ascribed to memory.<sup>319</sup>

**AUs 122** is surprisingly inconsistent in its citations, reading both *arbore fici* and *ficu* in John 1:48, *maiora horum* and *maius his* in John 1:50 and *ad* and *super* in John 1:51. Both *arbore fici* and *ficu* are embedded in the first paragraph of the sermon. However, the parallelism of the single words *ficu* and *peccato* in the following line suggests that *ficu* may be original:

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<sup>318</sup> *Nuperrime* may refer to a previous service. Hombert (2000:210-212) notes that Augustine's indications of time are sometimes approximate: in AUun 16.29, *ante paucissimos annos* indicates thirteen years!

<sup>319</sup> There is a critical edition of AUs 121 by Poque in Sources chrétiennes 116, which shows no major manuscript variation in the biblical citations. Hombert (2000:488) has a tentative dating of 414. For the text of John 8:39-40, see the commentary in Chapter Five.



quid est ergo *cum esses sub ficu uidi te?* cum esses sub peccato uidi te. (AUs 122.1)

*Ficu* is only found in the Vulgate and Codices Aureus and Colbertinus and *maius his* is a reading distinctive to the Vulgate and Codex Colbertinus. Nonetheless, the question which follows the first citation of this verse, *quae sunt ista maiora?*, confirms the Old Latin reading *maiora* in Augustine's biblical text. As for *super* in John 1:51, it has been claimed that this replaced the preposition *ad* found in earlier works.<sup>320</sup> No date has been assigned to AUs 122, and these variations suggest strongly that Augustine was quoting from memory. Like AUs 122, **AUs 123** has a citation of John 1:50-51 with both *maius his* and *ad filium hominis*, although this verse is not part of the lection. This supports the claim that such a form of text derives from memory. **AUs 124** has no verbatim citations of its gospel passage.

**AUs 125** is frequently included in the manuscripts of the *Tractatus in Iohannem* as part of the problematic sequence of AUJo 19-23.<sup>321</sup> Although its advertised lection is John 5:2-5, the verbatim citations appear to extend beyond this passage, shown by the introduction to John 5:7:

consideremus uerba ipsius: *hominem*, inquit, *non habeo, ut cum mota fuerit aqua deponat me in piscinam; cum enim uenio, descendit alius*. (AUs 125.3).

There are several variants from the Vulgate, which suggest that this sermon was not originally part of AUJo: the Vulgate has *turbata* rather than *mota*, *mittat* for *deponat* and *dum uenio enim ego alius ante me descendit*. Although several Old Latin manuscripts read *mota*, there is substantial use of the word *turbata* following this citation, such as:

quando turbata est aqua? quando turbatus est populus Iudaeorum. (AUs 125.3)

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<sup>320</sup> Berrouard 1962:489; see Section 5.2.

<sup>321</sup> See Wright 1972:99 and Section 3.2 above. Hombert (2000:367) dates this sermon between 400 and 405.

This does not imply knowledge of the Vulgate text, because *turbata* also features in Codex Palatinus. Later in the paragraph a loose citation of John 5:18 is also introduced as part of the lectionary passage:

ecce ad ipsam perturbationem pertinet quod modo legebatur. *uolebant illi iudaei occidere non solum quia ista faciebat sabbatis sed quia filium dei se dicebat, aequalem se faciens deo.* (AUs 125.3)

Few of these variant readings are paralleled in biblical manuscripts. Many are paraphrases which suggest that, despite the introduction, Augustine has quoted from memory: *ista faciebat sabbatis* is roughly equivalent to *soluebat sabbatum* and *filium dei se dicebat* means the same as *patrem suum dicebat deum*. Nonetheless, a parallel for *uolebant* rather than *quaerebant* is found in Tertullian (TEPra 21), as in AUs 121. **AUs 125A** covers a similar lection, but it barely quotes from this passage.

**AUs 126** is based solely on John 5:19. The main interest here lies in the second half of the verse, introduced in the middle of the sermon:

attende et quod sequitur: *quaecumque enim pater facit, eadem et filius facit.*  
(AUs 126.6.8)

This is repeated twice: on both occasions Augustine reverts to the peculiar double form of his customary text, *haec eadem* (the Old Latin manuscripts have either *haec* or *eadem*). However, all three citations are notable for the absence of *similiter*. The only surviving manuscript not to include *similiter* at the end of the verse is Codex Palatinus. This is one of two witnesses (the other is Codex Sarzanensis) which reads *pater* rather than *ille*. Unfortunately, these both have *quae* rather than *quaecumque* and differences in word order in the first half of the verse which rule them out as exact parallels for Augustine's form of text in this sermon.

There are a number of non-Vulgate forms in **AUs 127** in its lection of John 5:25-29. (The underlined words indicate those for which a different reading is found in a later citation, equivalent to the sequential variants in AUJo.)

<5:25> amen [ ] dico uobis quia **ueniet** hora et nunc est quando mortui audient uocem filii dei et qui audierint uiuent. <5:26> sicut enim pater habet uitam in semetipso, sic dedit [ ] filio habere uitam in semetipso. <5:27> et potestatem dedit ei et iudicium facere **quoniam** filius hominis est. <5:28> nolite mirari hoc quia **ueniet** hora quando hi qui **sunt** in monumentis audient uocem eius <5:29> et **prodient omnes** qui bona **egerunt** in resurrectionem uitae. qui **autem** mala egerunt in resurrectionem iudicii.

Variants in this passage are paralleled in several Old Latin manuscripts: Codices Palatinus, Veronensis, Brixianus and Monacensis all read *ueniet* in John 5:25 and 5:28 (joined in the latter by Codex Usserianus), while Codices Veronensis, Bezae, Brixianus and Usserianus read *quoniam* in John 5:27. *Prodient* in John 5:29 is paralleled in Codices Rehdigeranus, Monacensis and Usserianus, while only Codex Colbertinus reads *egerunt* twice in this verse. No surviving manuscript has *quando* rather than *in qua* in John 5:28, or *omnes* in John 5:29. In short, Augustine's text is not identical to any surviving witness: Codex Usserianus may be the closest match in variants from the Vulgate, but this manuscript includes other readings not found in Augustine's text. Despite Augustine's exhortations *audi quod sequitur* before each citation, we seem again to be dealing with a composite form of text derived from memory. This is not to say that Augustine did not use a codex when preaching this sermon, but rather that he appears to have made little reference to it.<sup>322</sup>

**AUs 128** has a couple of unique readings in its lection: in John 5:33 it has *uos uenistis ad Iohannem* rather than *misistis*, the reading of all Old Latin witnesses. Two verses later, it reads *et uos uoluistis exsultare ad horam in lumine eius*. This is identical to many of

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<sup>322</sup> There is also a variant form of John 5:24 at AUs 127.4.4. On *audi quod sequitur*, compare the comments made on AUs 374 in Section 2.4.1. A comparatively late date of 415-8 has been suggested for this work (Hombert 2000:320).

Augustine's other citations of this verse, but although *lumine* is Old Latin, no surviving manuscript has *et uos* instead of *uos autem*. There are a lot of citations in **AUs 129**, which is also inconsistent within itself, reading both *putatis* and *speratis* in John 5:39 and *accepistis* and *suscepistis* in John 5:43.<sup>323</sup> The second of each pair is not found in any biblical manuscript. In John 5:44, all three citations follow the form:

quomodo potestis **mihi** credere [] gloriam ab inuicem **expectantes** et gloriam quae **a deo solo est** non **quaerentes**.

This is very similar to Augustine's other two citations of this verse: the two participles are paralleled in Codex Palatinus and Codex Rehdigeranus, although instead of *expectantes* these read *accipientes*. This sermon also has unique readings in John 5:45-47, some of which are also found in Old Latin witnesses, especially Codex Palatinus which also parallels the readings of Cyprian at CYte 1.18. It is clear that Augustine was not using a Vulgate text in this sermon, which most commentators date between 393 and 405 although Hombert suggests 405-9.

**AUs 130** has no verbatim citations of its lectionary text. **AUs 130A** (AUs DoI 19) expounds John 6:27-29. The text of John 6:27 in the title, which Dolbeau has restored from Possidius, differs from that in the body of the sermon.<sup>324</sup> The latter reads:

operamini escam quae non perit sed quae permanet in uitam aeternam (AUs 130A.1)

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<sup>323</sup> La Bonnardi re 1965:148 notes that the unusual form of John 5:43 in AUs 129 is paralleled at AUPs 117.21; Hombert dates these works to 405-9 and 403-4 respectively (Hombert 2000:586 and 240). There is a parallel for *speratis* in Tertullian, TEhae 8.

<sup>324</sup> The title reads: *Sermo S. Augustini episcopi de uerbis de uerbis euangelii ego sum panis qui de caelo descendi et operamini escam non quae perit sed quae permanet in aeternum*. In the Mainz manuscript itself, a later hand has altered the first reference (John 6:41) to read *ego sum panis uiuus*, i.e. John 6:51. Many editors assign citations of this phrase with *uiuus* to John 6:41, when they appear more properly to correspond to John 6:51: I have normally re-allocated these in the complete index of citations. On inaccuracies in the titles of Augustine's sermons, see Wright 1979.

*Escam* rather than *cibum* confirms that this is based on an Old Latin form of text: the word order is closest to Codex Usserianus, which also does not repeat *escam* after *sed*. Augustine's customary form of this verse is *escam quae non corrumpitur*: the reading *escam quae non perit* is only found in AUJo 25 and AUs 130A, both of which are lectionary sermons. In the next verse AUs 130A reads *opus dei*, but all biblical codices have *opera dei* which corresponds to the Greek plural. The non-sequential citations in this sermon, for example John 8:58 and 14:1, also have an Old Latin form of text although it is probable that these were made from memory. Even so, scholars assign a surprisingly late date to this work: Dolbeau notes that it is after 404, Hombert suggests 415 and Hill has 419.

**AUs 131** on John 6:53-65 is believed to have been preached in Carthage in 417. In the first verse, John 6:53 (6:54 in the Vulgate) Augustine combines *habebitis*, the majority Old Latin reading, with his customary form *carnem meam ... sanguinem meum*. Although *escam* in the redaction of John 6:55 (6:56) suggests an Old Latin source, in John 6:62 (6:63) AUs 131.1.1 twice has *si ergo uideritis*, a distinctive reading of the Vulgate and Codex Colbertinus. The reading *ubi erat prius* is also not well attested among Old Latin witnesses. It therefore appears that Augustine is quoting from memory, but by this stage Vulgate elements have infiltrated his mental text. **AUs 132** also has *esca* in John 6:56, although its time and place of delivery are unknown. **AUs 132A** has no significant readings in this passage.

**AUs 133** covers the opening of John 7, and is also located in Carthage. Although it used to be assigned to 397, Hombert has instead proposed a date of 405. The passage features two distinctive Vulgate readings, *opera tua* in John 7:3 and *mundo* without *huic* in John 7:4. Each reading, however, appears in one extant Old Latin manuscript, Codex Brixianus and Codex

Bezae respectively. The one uniquely Vulgate reading in this pericope, *quippe* in John 7:4, is not found in this sermon. There are several Old Latin forms, including *ergo* in John 7:3 and *te* instead of *teipsum*. The most interesting parallel is the reading *quasi occulte* in John 7:10, repeated on a number of occasions:

quid *quasi occulte*? ibi facit quasi occulte. quid *quasi occulte*? quia nec hoc erat occulte. (AUs 133.7)

This is only found in Codex Monacensis.<sup>325</sup> Other variants show that Augustine's text is not identical to this manuscript: earlier in the same verse, for example, Codex Monacensis reads *diem sollemnem* rather than *diem festum*. Nevertheless, Augustine's non-sequential citations in this sermon also correspond to Codex Monacensis: *in eo uita est* rather than *in ipso uita erat* in John 1:4, and *tamquam* rather than *quasi* in John 1:14.<sup>326</sup> Old Latin elements can therefore be clearly identified in both Augustine's lectionary text and citations by memory, and in this sermon the text-type of Codex Monacensis features prominently. **AUs 134** was also delivered in Carthage, around 413 or 420. Again, the lection is distinctly Old Latin: the form *si manseritis in uerbo meo uere discipuli mei estis* for John 8:31 has three points of difference from the Vulgate. This form of text is also found in the title. **AUs 135** too has a title matching its text of John 9:4, *ego ueni ut faciam opera eius qui me misit*. This differs from all surviving biblical witnesses, which read *me oportet operari opera eius qui me misit*. This work also features unique readings in John 9:37-38, *uides* rather than the manuscripts' *uidisti*, and *prostratus* rather than *procidens*.

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<sup>325</sup> Codices Veronensis and Usserianus have simply *occulte*, Codices Vercellensis and Bezae read *absconse*, Codex Palatinus has *latenter* and the remaining witnesses read *quasi in occulto*.

<sup>326</sup> The first of these is also found in Codex Veronensis, and the second in Codex Palatinus: only Codex Monacensis has both.

John 9 supplies the lectionary text for **AUs 136, 136A, 136B and 136C**. These reproduce none of the distinctive Vulgate readings in this chapter: for example, all four sermons omit *autem* and read *exaudit* rather than *audit* in John 9:31. There are several Old Latin parallels: AUs 136A, 136B and 136C and Codex Palatinus all refer to the pool as the *piscina Siloa* in John 9:7, whereas the other witnesses have *natatoria*; AUs 136A corresponds to Codex Vercellensis in reading *et ideo* rather than *propterea* in John 9:23; AUs 136 shares two readings with Codices Veronensis and Usserianus in John 9:2. On several occasions, however, the biblical text of these sermons is without parallel: AUs 136 has *ostendantur* in one citation of John 9:3 (all surviving witnesses have some form of *manifestare*), while AUs 136 and 136A testify to *inunxit* in John 9:6 and 9:11, where biblical manuscripts read *superunxit* or *(super)linit*. AUs 136C, like AUs 135, has *prostratus* in John 9:38. In short, these works display the same sort of "mixed" text of Old Latin parallels and unique readings that is found in many other sermons.

More Old Latin forms are found in **AUs 137 and AUs 138**, the sermons on John 10. AUs 137 reads *ianua* in both John 10:1 and 10:9, with the majority of early manuscripts, although it reverses the order of John 10:1 and 10:2, implying that the citation was made from memory. Three different forms of John 10:1 appear in this sermon, *ex alia parte*, *per alteram partem* and *per aliam partem*. Each is preserved somewhere in the Old Latin tradition, although most witnesses have *aliunde*.<sup>327</sup> AUs 138 reads *animam suam ponit* in John 10:11 with several Old Latin manuscripts including Codex Palatinus. Both sermons have Old Latin readings in John 10:13 (*non est ei cura de ouibus*, found in Codex Usserianus and similar to Codex Bezae) and 10:16 (*unus grex*). Although the Old Latin form of text in both

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<sup>327</sup> *Alia parte* is found in Codex Colbertinus and Codex Bezae, *per alteram partem* in Codex Palatinus and *per aliam partem* in Codices Rehdigeranus, Sarzanensis and Usserianus.

sermons is beyond doubt, they have been ascribed to different dates: a number of scholars date AUs 137 to 400-4, although Frede (1995) has 408/411 and Hombert (2000:374) suggests 410-20; AUs 138 is more unanimously located in Carthage in 411-2. There is little of textual interest in **AUs 139, AUs 140, AUs 140A, AUs 141 and AUs 142**, most of which only expound one verse of John.<sup>328</sup> **AUs 139A** is notable only in John 11:39, where the sole parallel for both *putet* and *quadriduanus* is Codex Bezae.

**AUs 143 and AUs 144** were preached at roughly the same time (410-416) and cover John 16:7-11. Both have *crediderunt* in John 16:9, Augustine's favoured form, also found in Codices Vercellensis, Palatinus and several other witnesses. AUs 144 reads *ipse* in all three occurrences of John 16:8, which is unique to Codex Vercellensis. The inconsistencies between the citations of the other verses makes the identification of the biblical text-type more difficult. **AUs 145** on John 16:24 was preached in Carthage: some scholars date it to 397, while others prefer 415.<sup>329</sup> Its text is as follows:

usque nunc nihil petiistis in nomine meo. petite et accipietis ut gaudium uestrum sit plenum.

The only manuscript which corresponds exactly to this is Codex Monacensis: Codices Bezae and Palatinus also have *usque nunc nihil petistis*, but read *repletum* and *impletum* respectively instead of *plenum*. There are some variants in later citations, reading *modo* and *adhuc* in place of *nunc*. Codex Vercellensis alone has *adhuc* and *plenum*. Augustine is therefore again shown to be using an Old Latin source in an early sermon in Carthage. The

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<sup>328</sup> As there are quite detailed citations in AUs 142 of John 14:8-9 and 14:21, I suspect that the lection for this sermon is more than John 14:6 as traditionally indicated: furthermore, these additional citations are found in paragraphs not printed in Migne but in the webtext from [www.augustinus.it](http://www.augustinus.it) deriving from Wilmart's edition.

<sup>329</sup> 397 is the date given by Berrouard and Lambot. La Bonnardière first suggested either 397 or 415, and Hombert 2000:255 positions it between 412 and 415, because of the influence of the Pelagian controversy.



next three sermons were all preached in Hippo: **AUs 145A** and **AUs 146** have no noteworthy textual features. **AUs 147** includes the words *plus his* in John 21:15, only found in the Vulgate and Codex Brixianus, of which Augustine makes a special feature:

non enim simpliciter dominus dixerat *diligis me* sed *plus his diligis me*. (AUs 147.2.2)

This sermon also has *cinget* rather than *praecingat* in John 21:18, also peculiar to these two manuscripts, along with some Old Latin variants: *ibas* for *ambulabas* is only paralleled in Codex Colbertinus, *alter* appears in Codex Vercellensis alone, and *tu* is present despite its absence from the Vulgate. Augustine's customary form of the verse appears to have influenced his reading here. None of these features are found in **AUs 147A**, which glosses over the differences between the three questions and answers in John 21:15-17.

In conclusion, unlike the *Tractatus in Iohannis euangelium*, even the later examples of these sermons on John, delivered long after Augustine is said to have adopted the Vulgate text of the Gospels, have a considerable number of Old Latin readings in their lectionary texts. These are combined with variants unique to Augustine, many of which appear to be paraphrases or slips in memory. As such, it is impossible to identify their biblical text with any surviving manuscript: Augustine has readings in common with all groups of Old Latin witnesses, as shown by his agreements with Codices Vercellensis, Veronensis and Bezae, Codices Monacensis and Usserianus, and Codex Palatinus. The mixture of Old Latin and unique readings, with the occasional element corresponding to the Vulgate, suggests that Augustine's reference to a codex while preaching was comparatively infrequent, despite his introductions which seem to herald verbatim quotations. However, these sermons remain a valuable source of Old Latin readings and information on Augustine's treatment of the biblical text, even though they still lack a modern critical edition which would shed more light on their transmission.

### 3.3.4 Other sermons with Johannine lections

The lectionary index of the most recent bibliographical work on Augustine's sermons lists twenty-six sermons for Church festivals with a lection from St John's Gospel.<sup>330</sup> The majority of these feature readings from John 20 and John 21, either as a Resurrection narrative at Eastertide or the commission of Peter read on his feast day (see La Bonnardière 1975:156). In addition to these, ten other sermons on John can be identified by references to the day's reading, such as AUs 299 which precedes its citation of John 21:18 with:

dominus ipse Iesus in euangelio, quod modo cum legeretur audiui, passionem suam praenuntiavit dicens ... (AUs 299.7).<sup>331</sup>

Given the overlap between these sermons, I shall treat them in groups according to their biblical text.

**AUs 1** contains a single citation of John 1:1-3 as a counterpart to the opening verses of Genesis. There is little variation in the Old Latin manuscripts for these verses, and nothing of note in Augustine's text here. The complete Prologue of John is the lection for **AUs 342** and is also cited at length in **AUs 379**. These combine Old Latin readings, engrained in

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<sup>330</sup> Drobner 2000. The sermons are AUs 1, AUs 170, AUs 217, AUs 229K – AUs 229P, AUs 243-253, AUs 259-60, AUs 342, AUs 369 and AUs 375C. A similar list can be compiled from the chronological table of sermons at [http://www.augustinus.it/latino/discorsi/tavola\\_discorsi.htm](http://www.augustinus.it/latino/discorsi/tavola_discorsi.htm), which also includes AUs 368 as a lectionary sermon on John 12. (It should be noted that this table mistakenly identifies AUs 243 and 245 as Luke rather than John.)

<sup>331</sup> The other sermons which include a reference to the Gospel according to John as the day's reading are AUs 14A, AUs 16A, AUs 178, AUs 294, AUs 299A, AUs 299B, AUs 319, AUs 329, AUs 340A. None of these are identified either in Drobner 2000 or the [augustinus.it](http://www.augustinus.it) website. Berrouard 1977:860 treats AUs 13 as a lectionary sermon on John 7:53-8:11, but there is no explicit mention within the sermon of this passage as the lection in addition to Psalm 2:10. I have already observed that the use of a codex in AUs 374 suggests that when the biblical text is preceded by *audi quod sequitur*, Augustine is referring to a codex.

Augustine's memory, with the occasional Vulgate form.<sup>332</sup> **AUs 294** against the Pelagians on baptism has a lection from John 3:

non audistis quid dixerit cum eadem lectio hodie legeretur?  
(AUs 294.13.14, preceding John 3:18)

The citations of John 3:5 and 3:6 follow Augustine's customary text of the verse, reading *intrabit* rather than *potest intrare* and *nascitur* rather than *natum est*. Although these are not found in any surviving manuscripts, other variants correspond to a variety of Old Latin manuscripts. The most important reading is *eremo*, in all three citations of John 3:14. Despite not being preserved in any Old Latin manuscript, its presence in a lectionary sermon and AUJo 12 confirms that Augustine read it in a codex: it is also found in two Vulgate witnesses and Cyprian.<sup>333</sup>

**AUs 170** includes a reference to a reading of John 6:39-40, but the verses appear to be paraphrased. Despite its advertised lection of Psalm 17:36, **AUs 14A** (AUs Dol 20) also came after a liturgical reading of John 6:40. The verse is cited in whole or part five times:

haec est [] uoluntas patris [...] ut [] qui uiderit filium et crediderit in eum habeat uitam aeternam et **ego suscitabo** eum in nouissimo die.

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<sup>332</sup> Both AUs 342 and AUs 379 read *lumen* rather than *lux* in John 1:8 and 1:9, and prefer the demonstrative *hic* before *mundus*. In their citation of John 1:4, *in eo uita erat*, *eo* appears in Codices Veronensis and Monacensis, but the Vulgate alone has the past tense *erat*. In John 1:10, the reading *mundus per eum factus est* in AUs 342 is again peculiar to Codices Veronensis and Monacensis, but the word order in John 1:13 and 1:16, while corresponding to Augustine's customary form in other citations, has no parallels in the surviving Old Latin manuscripts: it seems most likely that Augustine was working from memory.

<sup>333</sup> For further details, see the commentary in Section 5.2. In AUs 294, there is no trace of the interpolation *quia de carne natum est* in John 3:6, also absent from Codices Aureus, Colbertinus, Brixianus, Monacensis and the Vulgate. Augustine's inclusion of an initial *et* in John 3:13 corresponds to three of these witnesses, Codices Colbertinus and Monacensis and the Vulgate. However, the word order *de caelo descendit* in this verse and the reading *eum* in John 3:15, where the Vulgate has *ipsum* or *ipso*, supports an Old Latin form for the lection. Similarly, the word order *sic oportet exaltari* in John 3:14 is only paralleled in Codex Vercellensis, while in John 3:18, *crediderit* also appears in Codex Sarzanensis and Codex Palatinus. This sermon is located in Carthage and dated to 27<sup>th</sup> June 413 by all commentators, including Hombert 2000:385-386.

The omissions are not found in any Latin biblical manuscripts, but Codex Palatinus also has the forms *uiderit* and *crediderit*. Augustine's consistency in reading *suscitabo* here is noteworthy, given that biblical witnesses have *resuscitabo ego* or *resuscitem ego*. This sermon is closely related to AUs 130A.<sup>334</sup> **AUs 178**, although classed as a sermon on Titus 1:9, shows in its first paragraph that the day's Gospel was from John 7. Only one verse is cited, John 7:24, in the following form:

nolite iudicare **personaliter** sed iustum iudicium iudicare. (AUs 178.1.1)

*Personaliter* has already been discussed in AUJo 30 and, as it is repeated in a three-word citation several paragraphs later, it is very unlikely that the biblical text of this sermon has undergone any alteration. The citation corresponds exactly to Codex Palatinus and Codex Monacensis. It is significant to see a lectionary sermon in complete agreement with two witnesses to which Augustine's text often seems to be related.<sup>335</sup> This sermon has been assigned a date after 396, but no location has been suggested.

**AUs 16A** was probably delivered in Carthage in 405, and features the Pericope Adulterae (John 7:53-8:11). Most of the cited verses appear to be paraphrased, such as John 8:7, where instead of *qui sine peccato est uestrum*, Augustine has *qui **se scit** uestrum sine peccato **esse***.<sup>336</sup> A few readings correspond to Old Latin manuscripts, such as *comprehensa* in John 8:4, *prior* and *mittat* in John 8:7 (both found in Codex Bezae), and *lapidauit* in John 8:10 (only in Codex Corbeiensis). There is therefore no consistency between Augustine's

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<sup>334</sup> Both sermons are on John 6, and AUs 130A (AUs Dol 19) immediately precedes AUs 14A in the Mainz collection of sermons. AUs 130A has a number of Old Latin readings (see above) and both sermons read *quem ille misit* in John 6:29, found in Codices Palatinus, Brixianus and Monacensis.

<sup>335</sup> It was noted above that AUJo 30 CT alone has **rectum** *iudicium*, which makes Augustine's reading *iustum* with the manuscripts here even more remarkable.

<sup>336</sup> Interestingly, this is also found in the citation of this verse at AUPs 50.8.30 (dated by Hombert 2000:163 to 413). See further the discussion of this passage in the commentary in Chapter Five.

form of text for this lection and any single witness. **AUs 340A** followed readings of 1 Timothy 3 and John 10:17, although the latter verse is not cited until the eleventh paragraph and then only in Augustine's customary form.

Three sermons each cite one verse from John 12:24-26. **AUs 329** is based on John 12:24: an Old Latin archetype is indicated by the use of *tritici* rather than *frumenti*. The only exact match for the whole verse is Codex Brixianus, although Codex Veronensis is similar. **AUs 368** has three citations of John 12:25.<sup>337</sup> There are three variants in the second half of the verse:

qui **autem** odit animam suam in hoc **saeculo** in uitam aeternam **inueniet** eam.  
(AUs 368.2)

Codex Aureus also has *autem*, but reads *mundo* and *custodiet* like all other manuscripts. The similarity of this text to Augustine's other citations of this verse may confirm the Augustinian origin of this sermon, but this text is nonetheless a paraphrase. **AUs 319** features John 12:26 as its lectionary text, and this primary citation is coupled with an explicit comment about manuscript variation:

*audistis cum euangelium legeretur ubi ego sum illic et minister meus. graecum codicem legite et diaconum inuenietis. quod enim interpretatus est latinus minister, graecus habet diaconus, quia uere diaconus graece, minister est latine; quomodo martyr graece, testis latine, apostolus graece, missus latine. sed iam consueuimus nominibus graecis uti pro latinis. nam multi codices euangeliorum sic habent: ubi sum ego illic et diaconus meus.* (AUs 319.3.3)

No Latin manuscript survives which has *diaconus* here; the initial word order *ego sum* suggests that Augustine is working from an Old Latin codex, although this is reversed in the second citation. At the end of the verse, this sermon does not include the word *erit*, which is

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<sup>337</sup> Frede (1995:243) notes that AUs 368 is equivalent to CAEs 173, which is based on a lost sermon of Augustine. Although both Drobner and the *augustinus.it* website also indicate a lection of John 12:25 for **AUs 369**, this sermon was delivered on Christmas Day and has no discernible trace of this verse (see also the edition of Lambot 1952b).

also absent from Codices Palatinus, Rehdigeranus and Usserianus, although no direct correspondence can be identified. **AUs 217** is based on John 17:3-24, but it has few citations of this passage and little of textual interest.

Twenty-four sermons cover the last two chapters of St John's Gospel, with the following lections:

<b>John 20:1-18</b>	AUs 229K, AUs 229L, AUs 243 (verse 17 only), AUs 244, AUs 245, AUs 246
<b>John 20:19-29</b>	AUs 247 (verses 19-23), AUs 259, AUs 260, AUs 375C (verses 24-31)
<b>John 21:1-14</b>	AUs 229M, AUs 248, AUs 249, AUs 250, AUs 251, AUs 252, AUs 252A
<b>John 21:15-25</b>	AUs 229N, AUs 229O, AUs 229P, AUs 253, AUs 299, AUs 299A (inc. AUs Dol 4), AUs 229B

The five sermons featuring the whole of John 20:1-18 were all preached around 412/3.<sup>338</sup> Although they have relatively few citations of the passage, their Old Latin character is clear: some of the group read *intrauit* rather than *introiuit* in John 20:6 and 20:8, and none has the distinctive Vulgate reading *dic* in 20:15. Four of the five sermons cite John 20:9, shown with Old Latin manuscripts for comparison:

Vulgate	<i>nondum enim sciebant scripturam quia oportet eum a mortuis resurgere</i>
Codex Palatinus	<i>nondum enim <b>nouerat</b> scribituram quia oportet eum <b>resurgere a mortuis</b></i>
Codex Bezae	<i><b>necdum</b> enim sciebant scripturam quia oportet eum <b>resurgere a mortuis</b></i>
Codex Brixianus	<i>nondum enim sciebant <b>scripturas</b> quia <b>oporteret lesum</b> a mortuis resurgere</i>
Codex Monacensis	<i>nondum enim <b>sciebat</b> scripturam <b>quod</b> oportet <b>illum</b> a mortuis resurgere</i>
Codex Usserianus	<i>nondum enim <b>nouerat</b> scripturam <b>quod oportebat</b> eum a mortuis resurgere</i>
Codex Aureus	<i>nondum enim <b>sciebat</b> <b>scripturas</b> quia <b>oportebat</b> eum a mortuis resurgere</i>
AUs 229L	<i>nondum enim <b>nouerat</b> <b>scripturas</b> quia <b>oportebat lesum resurgere a mortuis</b></i>
AUs 244	<i>nondum enim <b>nouerant</b> <b>scripturas</b> quia <b>oportebat</b> eum a mortuis resurgere</i>
AUs 245	<i>nondum enim <b>sciebat</b> <b>scripturas</b> quia <b>oportebat</b> eum a mortuis resurgere</i>
AUs 246 (Migne)	<i>nondum enim <b>nouerat</b> <b>scripturas</b> quia <b>oportebat</b> eum a mortuis resurgere</i>
AUs 246 (Poque)	<i>nondum enim <b>nouerat</b> <b>scripturas</b> quia <b>oportebat lesum</b> a mortuis resurgere</i>

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<sup>338</sup> AUs 243, which only cites John 20:17, is dated to 409.

The most remarkable feature here is the exact agreement of AUs 245 with Codex Aureus. There are not enough other verses cited to show whether this pattern is repeated throughout the sermon: Codex Aureus does not have *meum* in John 20:2, but its appearance in AUs 245 is probably an anticipation of John 20:13. AUs 244 and AUs 246 correspond to Codex Aureus in all except one reading, although AUs 246 in Migne's edition is also close to Codex Usserianus. AUs 229L is the furthest from any surviving manuscript, but is fairly consistent with Augustine's other citations: the differences between these may be due to either memory or the use of different codices.

There are similarly few citations in the next group of sermons. The only citation of John 20:19 is **AUs 247**, which reads:

cum sero factum esset et essent discipuli in uno loco et ostia clausa erant propter  
timorem iudaeorum apparuit dominus in medio eorum. (AUs 247.1)

Much of this appears to be paraphrased, but Old Latin features are clear, not least the use of *ostia* as found in Codices Vercellensis, Veronensis, Bezae, Monacensis, Usserianus. The only manuscript to include *factum* in the opening phrase is Codex Vercellensis, which also has *timorem* rather than *metum*. Kunzelmann dates this sermon to 400, which the Old Latin readings would support, whereas Poque suggests 410-412. **AUs 259** and **AUs 260** have no citations of the passage at all.<sup>339</sup> **AUs 375C** has the plural *manus meas* in both John 20:25 and 20:27, in common with Codex Vercellensis. Augustine, however, seems to be relying on memory, abbreviating John 20:25 and presenting a present-tense form of John 20:29 which is unique to him, *beati qui non uident et credunt*.<sup>340</sup>

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<sup>339</sup> I wonder whether the attribution of a Johannine lection to AUs 260 is an error: there is no indication of it in this brief sermon to the newly-baptized, but it features in the lists both in Drobner 2000 and on the [www.augustinus.it](http://www.augustinus.it) website.

<sup>340</sup> See Chapter Five below and Berrouard 2003:366-367.

The two key verses in the next lection are John 21:6 and 21:11. In the former, every sermon has *mittite retia in dexteram partem* (AUs 229M, AUs 248, AUs 249, AUs 251, AUs 252 and AUs 252A).<sup>341</sup> Neither *retia* nor *partem* appears in the Vulgate or Codex Aureus: although these forms are found in most Old Latin witnesses, none has this word order. **AUs 249** continues with the rest of the verse, including *poterant* rather than the Vulgate *ualebant*. In the second half of John 21:11, the Vulgate and most Old Latin manuscripts read:

et cum tanti essent, non est scissum rete. (four mss: *scissa retia*)

Four sermons have *non est scissum rete* (AUs 249, AUs 250, AUs 251, AUs 252A), but two prefer Augustine's customary form *retia non sunt disrupta* (AUs 229M, AUs 252). Similarly, although two read *cum tanti essent* (AUs 251, AUs 252), the others all have Augustine's customary form, *cum **tam magni** essent*.<sup>342</sup>

The sermons on the last lection in the Gospel feature the triple question of Peter in John 21:15-17. There are several subtle distinctions present in Greek manuscripts: the verbs ἀγαπᾶν in Jesus' questions and φιλεῖν in Peter's reply; the three commands βόσκει τὰ ἀρνία μου (21:15), ποιμαίνει τὰ πρόβατά μου (21:16) and βόσκει τὰ πρόβατά μου (21:17); the verbs οἶδας and γινώσκεις in Peter's final response. Of these, only the first is regularly observed in Latin, by witnesses which render ἀγαπᾶν by *diligere* and φιλεῖν by *amare*.<sup>343</sup> This is sometimes reproduced in Augustine's sermons: **AUs 229O** and **AUs 299B** have Jesus using *diligis* and Peter *amo* in John 21:15, but their text is not clear in the other verses. However, although **AUs 229P** has this pattern in 21:15 it reverses it in 21:16, while **AUs 253** has *amas*

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<sup>341</sup> AUs 252A is inconsistent and has *rete* rather than *retia* in a later citation.

<sup>342</sup> On this verse, see the commentary in Chapter Five.

<sup>343</sup> The pattern of *agnos* and *oues* in any Old Latin manuscript does not correspond to that of ἀρνία and πρόβατα. Only Codex Corbeiensis makes a distinction in John 21:17, reading *scis* followed by *nostī*: other manuscripts inexplicably introduce *nostī* for οἶδας on this occasion alone and for γινώσκεις read *scis*, which they used to translate οἶδας in John 21:15 and 21:16.



followed by *diligo* in both 21:15 and 21:16.<sup>344</sup> **AUs 299A** uses *amare* for both Jesus and Peter, although in John 21:17 it does make the distinction between *scis* and *nosti*. *Plus his* in John 21:15 is present only in the Vulgate and Codex Bezae. This is also found in AUs 229O, AUs 229P and AUs 299B, but not, apparently, in AUs 299A. However, Augustine's use of *plus his* in AUs 147 suggests that he was familiar with this reading even in an Old Latin context. In John 21:18, Augustine has a number of unique forms, including *feret* rather than *ducet*, and *senex fueris factus* where all witnesses have *senueris*. These are found in **AUs 299** and **AUs 299B**. In the next verse, AUs 299 reads *clarificaturus*, as do the Vulgate and most Old Latin witnesses, but AUs 299B has *glorificaturus*, a rendering which is not preserved in any manuscript at this point. Given the varying forms of these verses and the lack of parallels for Augustine's text, it is impossible to identify a text-type for any of these sermons.

In conclusion, these sermons do not add greatly to our analysis of Augustine's biblical text, not least because of his tendency to paraphrase. This is understandable when his focus was on a particular Christian festival rather than expounding a passage from John for its own sake. Nonetheless, there are still a few interesting variants or Old Latin readings: the readings which correspond to Augustine's customary form of text may have been present in the manuscripts he used, but in most cases it is likely that he cited from memory.

### 3.3.5 *Enarrationes in Psalmos* (AUPs) 394-422

Like the *Tractatus in Iohannis euangelium*, AUPs is also a commentary in sermon form, many of which were delivered in the course of the liturgy. There is often no indication of the other readings at the service, but five *enarrationes* introduce citations from John with references

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<sup>344</sup> *Diligo* in Peter's response is only found in Codex Corbeiensis, and in John 21:16 alone.

to the gospel lection: **AUPs 35** has *audistis cum euangelium legeretur* before John 8:48, **AUPs 62** and **AUPs 65** both introduce John 10:30 with *modo audistis*, **AUPs 83** has *in euangelium lectum habemus* after John 5:3 and **AUPs 90.s1** has *sicut audistis lectionem euangelii* before John 10:7.<sup>345</sup> Some of these sermons may therefore be a source for primary citations of St John's Gospel, although as Augustine's emphasis is on the Psalm text the other citations could have been made from memory. Accordingly, I shall restrict my analysis in this section to those *enarrationes* which may feature a lectionary text of John or are otherwise notable for their readings in the Gospel.

**AUPs 3** is the only work apart from AUJo 47 to cite John 10:17 and 10:18 in their biblical order, which suggests that it draws its gospel text from a manuscript. Its closest parallel is Codex Bezae, which also reads *quoniam* in John 10:17 and omits two portions of text, *pro ouibus (meis)* and *sed ego pono eam a meipso*. Nonetheless, there are some differences, for example *sumam* (**AUPs 3**) rather than *accipiam* (Codex Bezae) in John 10:17. Interestingly, Codex Bezae is also similar to Augustine's rare citation of John 13:27, reading *quod facis citius fac* where **AUPs 3** has *quod facis cito fac*. This sermon is one of the earliest in the collection (392/394), which means that Augustine must have relied on an Old Latin gospel text. **AUPs 33.s1** and **AUPs 33.s2** are also dated comparatively early (395-405) and feature Old Latin readings including *dare manducare* in John 6:52 (6:53 in the Vulgate) and *esca* in John 6:55 (6:56). In addition, **AUPs 33.s2** has *quomodo iste poterit* in John 6:52

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<sup>345</sup> Introductions such as *audite ex euangelio* or *habes in euangelio dictum* (**AUPs 40.12.30** and **AUPs 85.22.12** in John 2:19) are not adequate proof that the following citation is a lectionary text: they are simply an indication of source. Other *enarrationes* which quote John's Gospel at length include **AUPs 44** for John 1:47-51, **AUPs 49.9** which contains a lengthy discussion of John 21:11, **AUPs 50** for John 8:3-11 and **AUPs 54.23** for the end of John 6.

(6:53), which may reflect a manuscript now lost. However, both sermons have Augustine's customary form of John 6:53 (6:54) with a change from the second to the third person:

nisi quis manducauerit carnem meam et biberit sanguinem meum non habebit in se uitam.

Despite its liturgical reading from John, **AUPs 35** only cites two words, *daemonium habes*.

**AUPs 39** and **AUPs 40** share a form of text in John 9:27-28 which is very close to Codex Palatinus:

Vulgate	numquid et uos uultis discipuli eius fieri? maledixerunt ei et dixerunt "tu discipulus illius es."
Codex Palatinus	numquid et uos uultis discipulus eius <b>esse?</b> maledixerunt illi <b>dicentes</b> "tu <b>sis</b> discipulus <b>eius</b> ."
AUPs 39,40	numquid et uos discipuli eius uultis <b>esse?</b> <b>et</b> illi maledixerunt ei <b>dicentes</b> "tu <b>sis</b> discipulus <b>eius</b> ."

It may be significant that both these sermons are located by Zarb in Carthage around 412.

**AUPs 40** also has a selection of unusual readings in John 11:47-51:

*pontifex illius Caiphae uox est: <11:47> uidetis quod turba multa eum sequitur et saeculum post illum abiit. <11:48> si dimiserimus eum uiuere [] uenient Romani et tollent nobis et locum et gentem. [] <11:50> [] expedit [] ut unus moriatur homo [] quam tota gens pereat. euangelista autem uerba nescientis quid diceret exposuit nobis et ait: <11:51> hoc autem non a se dixit sed cum esset pontifex [] prophetauit quia oportebat Iesum mori pro populo et gente.*  
(AUPs 40.1.27)

In fact, only the last two verses are the words of Caiaphas, and John 11:47 has been conflated with John 12:19, *ecce mundus totus post eum abiit*. These errors, along with the omission of John 11:49 and the additions in John 11:51 suggest that Augustine is paraphrasing. Interestingly, however, two distinctive Vulgate readings appear in this passage: *et* before *locum* in John 11:48 and the word order *moriatur homo*, shared with Codex Colbertinus, in John 11:50. Among the thirteen citations of John 11:48 in AUPs, two have *et locum et regnum*, a rendering not found in any surviving manuscript. These are **AUPs 52** and **AUPs 68.s2**, which are both located in Thagaste. Might these indicate a distinctive

reading in a biblical codex which Augustine used in his birthplace? It is an attractive possibility: unfortunately, there are no other citations of John in AUPs 52 and although AUPs 68.s2 corresponds to Codex Palatinus in both John 5:39 (*in quibus putatis uos*) and 8:39 (*facta for opera*), these are also Augustine's preferred texts for each verse.<sup>346</sup>

**AUPs 44** is dated by both Zarb and Hombert to 403, and has Old Latin forms throughout its citation of John 1:47-51. These include *arbore fici* in both John 1:48 and 1:50 and *maiora horum* in John 1:50, although there is no parallel for the perfect tense *credidisti* in this verse.<sup>347</sup> **AUPs 48.s2** has the only citations of John 10:21 outside AUJo 47: it twice reads *non sunt ista uerba*, where most witnesses have *haec uerba non sunt*. **AUPs 50** features the *Pericope Adulterae* (John 7:53-8:11). Its variants have some similarities with Codex Colbertinus: *iaciat* and *primus* in John 8:7, and the addition of *de illa* in John 8:5 (Codex Colbertinus adds *de ea*). This sermon also reads *condemnabo* in John 8:11 unlike the majority of Augustine's other citations.<sup>348</sup> There are also readings unique to Augustine, such as the addition of *se scit* in John 8:7, which hinder any direct identification with a surviving witness. **AUPs 54** may have followed a lection from the end of John 6 but there is nothing distinctive in its text. **AUPs 58.s1** has several non-Vulgate readings in John 7:45-49. Zarb locates this sermon in Carthage around the same time as AUPs 39 and AUPs 40, and there are again similarities with Codex Palatinus, as in John 7:46:

Vulgate	numquam sic locutus est homo sicut hic homo.
Codex Palatinus	<b>nemo umquam</b> sic locutus est <b>quomodo iste</b> homo.
AUPs 58.s1	<b>nemo umquam hominum</b> sic locutus est sicut <b>ille</b> .

<sup>346</sup> The other *Enarrationes* located in Thagaste are AUPs 34.s1, 34.s2, 93 and 139: there are no significant readings in any of the few citations from these works, except the standard Old Latin reading *lumen uerum quod* in John 1:9 (AUPs 93).

<sup>347</sup> AUPs 32.2.s2, also assigned to 403, reads *arbore fici* in John 1:48 as well.

<sup>348</sup> Eleven citations have *damnabo* (with Codex Corbeiensis), while only AUspe, AUJo 33CT and AUPs 50 have *condemnabo* (with all the other European witnesses).

Similarly, most manuscripts read *turba haec* in John 7:49, but Codex Palatinus has *plebs ista* and AUPs 58.s1 *populus iste*. Despite these parallels, many of the other verses are paraphrased, with readings unique to Augustine.

**AUPs 62** and **AUPs 65** both followed a liturgical reading including John 10:30, but the latter is more notable for its longer citations from elsewhere in the Gospel, featuring parallels with different Old Latin manuscripts in John 1:41-47, 2:18-20 and 9:40-41. **AUPs 83** paraphrases its lectionary text of John 5:3 and 5:4. **AUPs 90.s1** (Carthage, 412) has two non-Vulgate readings in its lection. In John 10:7 it reads *ianua* with the majority of Old Latin witnesses, while instead of *quicumque* or *quotquot* in John 10:8, it simply reads *omnes qui uenerunt*, which is also the text of Codex Sarzanensis. **AUPs 92** cites much of John 13:5-14 as a gloss on *praecinctus* in Psalm 92:1, as this word also appears in the Johannine passage. Many of the variants from the Vulgate in this sermon correspond to Old Latin readings: a text-form similar to Codex Vercellensis is clearly indicated even though the sermon is located at Hippo in 412.<sup>349</sup> **AUPs 98** (Carthage 411-3) also has Old Latin forms. All three of its citations of John 6:63 (6:64) have *caro autem nihil prodest*, which corresponds to Codex Sarzanensis although this is also Augustine's customary text for this verse. Its form of John 6:66 (6:67), *et amplius cum eo non ambulauerunt*, is exactly the same as Codex Vercellensis. The parallels between the Carthage sermons and Old Latin witnesses are intriguing and are found in two more delivered in 412: **AUPs 95** features another agreement with Codex Sarzanensis in John 10:2, *per aliam partem* (also preserved in

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<sup>349</sup> The Old Latin parallels include the future *habebis* in John 13:8; *pedes tantum* in John 13:9 (Codex Palatinus); the addition of *et totum* in 13:9 (Codex Vercellensis; see also Sections 5.3.2 and 5.3.3); *habet necessitatem* with the gerund *lauandi* in 13:10 (Codices Vercellensis and Monacensis); *dicitis* rather than *uocatis* in 13:13 (Codices Vercellensis and Palatinus). There are also several readings not found in surviving manuscripts, such as *quomodo oportet uobis inuicem faciatis* in John 13:14, which may be a paraphrase.

Codices Rehdigeranus and Usserianus), while **AUPs 102** concurs with Codex Palatinus in three readings: *non nostis* in John 14:9, *caritatem* in John 15:13 and *saeculum* in John 16:33.

There are a couple of interesting citations from John in **AUPs 138**. In John 16:32, it reads:

**ueniet** hora [] ut me relinquatis solum et **eat** unusquisque in **uiam suam**; **sed** non sum solus quia mecum est pater. (AUPs 138.22.38)

Although the lengthy omission suggests that this is a paraphrase, the addition of *in uiam suam* unique to this citation may parallel the text *in suam regionem* found in Codices Colbertinus and Usserianus. Also in this sermon, John 12:35 is cited as:

ambulate dum **diem** habetis. (AUPs 138.22.2)

The Old Latin manuscripts alternate between *lumen* and *lucem*, but none reads *diem*. However, this citation is used to illustrate the word *dies* in Psalm 138:16 and would be irrelevant if the word did not appear in John. Nonetheless, it is possible that this is a lapse in memory on Augustine's part; *diem* also appears in AUrel 42.1. There are two further examples of such "glosses" in the later *Enarrationes*. In **AUPs 139**, the allusion to John 2:15, *dominus flagellum de resticulis fecit*, as an illustration of the word *restes* in Psalm 139 confirms Augustine's reading *resticulis* in verbatim citations of this verse, also found in Codex Palatinus.<sup>350</sup> Similarly, **AUPs 140** is one of a number of sermons which cite John 13:1, *cum autem uenisset hora ut Iesus transiret de hoc mundo*, in connection with the word *transire*: Psalm 140:10 (LXX) reads *singulariter sum donec transeam*.

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<sup>350</sup> This suggests that Augustine was not aware of the Old Latin reading *restibus* in this verse, which would have been an even closer parallel. He does, in fact, read *restibus* in AUAd 10, although the citation there is conflated with the account of the cleansing of the temple in Matthew 21.

Although few of the citations of John in AUPs can be conclusively identified as lectionary readings, we have still observed the range of Old Latin forms and unique readings present in these sermons, even in comparatively late works. The recurrence of Codices Sarzanensis and Palatinus in support of readings found in sermons preached in Carthage or Thagaste is remarkable, but the evidence is too slight for a conclusive identification. The use of citations from John as a verbal "gloss" on words in a psalm verse is also significant, although it does not preclude the possibility of errors in memory. Overall, then, the *Enarrationes* provide few distinctively Vulgate readings and supply more evidence, particularly in the earlier sermons, for Old Latin readings current at the time or embedded in Augustine's mental form of the Gospel text.

### **3.4 Secondary sources**

Having investigated the sermons and commentaries in which Augustine seems most likely to have relied on a codex for his citations of the Gospel according to St John, we now turn to his other works. Although most of these will only be of secondary value as a witness to Augustine's biblical text since he probably cited from memory, reference to a codex cannot automatically be ruled out: it is always possible that Augustine may have checked a manuscript for longer citations or verses of John central to his discussion. The analysis of primary sources has already identified some of Augustine's customary texts, repeated forms of a verse which correspond to no surviving manuscripts and probably derive from memory. Nonetheless, we have also seen how Augustine's mental text not only incorporates Old Latin readings but also appears to change over time, showing the increasing influence of the Vulgate. This should also be demonstrated in the secondary sources. Unfortunately, many of these writings only have a few citations from John, which means that, while a general picture may emerge, the textual character of individual works may remain elusive.

### 3.4.1 Early works

There are very few citations of St John's Gospel in Augustine's works before his ordination in 391.<sup>351</sup> This corresponds to Augustine's initial emphasis on rationality as the key to Christian faith rather than the Bible and ecclesiastical authority. It is interesting that some of Augustine's earliest citations already feature his customary text. For example, *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae et de moribus Manichaeorum* (AUmor, 387-8) reads *si uos filius liberauerit tunc uere liberi eritis* in John 8:36, with Augustine's characteristic word order and addition of *tunc*. In John 17:3, AUmor 1.47.9 has:

haec est, *inquit*, uita aeterna, ut cognoscant te [] uerum deum et quem misisti Iesum Christum.

The Greek text τὸν μόνον ἀληθινὸν θεόν appears to be invariant, but there is no term corresponding to μόνον in this citation, or in AUlib (387/8). Soon, however, Augustine includes *solum*, the reading of most Old Latin manuscripts, as found in citations in AU2an (391/2) and AUq 35 (388/397). Another early instance of Augustine's preferred form of text is found among the citations in *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* (AUGn Ma, 388-390), which has *escam quae non corrumpitur* for John 6:27. AUGn Ma 1.11.15, however, does not have the customary text of John 16:12, *non potestis illa portare modo*, but omits *illa* in keeping with several biblical witnesses. The citations in this work correspond to readings in

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<sup>351</sup> The following works have no citations of John: AUAc, AUdia, AUim, AUqua, AUmag, AUmus. AUso1 has four allusions but no citations. Three citations or fewer are found in AUord, AUvit, AUlib and AUcred. These figures cast doubt on La Bonnardière's assertion that "même encore incomplètes, les connaissances scripturaires d'Augustin en 388 sont solides, approfondies ... pendant l'année studieuse romaine de 387-388." (1986:46). More to the point is Fleteren's assessment of the importance of Augustine's sabbatical in 391: "This short period in Augustine's life was decisive. After it, his works take on a more clearly scriptural bent." (2001:5).



Codices Palatinus, Vercellensis, Monacensis, Usserianus and Bezae.<sup>352</sup> It is worth observing that while Augustine makes corrections to the Old Testament citations of these early works in the *Retractationes*, he rarely alters his gospel text.<sup>353</sup>

### 3.4.1.1 *De diuersis quaestionibus* (AUq) 388/397

The eighty-three *Quaestiones* constitute Augustine's earliest major theological work with numerous citations of John. Some are on topics from this Gospel, such as AUq 57 on the one hundred and fifty-three fish (John 21:11), AUq 62 on John 4:1 or AUq 63, *De Verbo*. In most citations, we see a mixture of Old Latin readings and Augustine's customary forms, such as the versions of John 6:44 and 16:13 in **AUq 38**.<sup>354</sup> **AUq 80** has two features of Augustine's customary version of John 15:13 (the absence of *quis* and insertion of *quam*), although on this occasion he reads *dilectionem* with the majority of Old Latin witnesses. The citation of John 17:2 in the same work is conflated with John 3:15, showing that Augustine was already relying on incorrect memory for his gospel citations:

sicut dedisti ei potestatem omnis carnis ut omne quod dedisti ei non pereat sed habeat uitam aeternam. (AUq 80.51)

Mutzenbecher's critical edition includes a number of variants in the manuscript tradition of this work which affect biblical citations. This gives an indication as to how far later copyists have altered the gospel text. What is remarkable is that the Vulgate readings, often concerning word order, are comparatively few and confined to a handful of manuscripts, and

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<sup>352</sup> For example, John 5:17 (*usque nunc*; Codex Vercellensis); John 8:25 (*principium quod*); John 8:44 (*de suo loquitur*; Codices Palatinus, Vercellensis and Bezae), John 15:15 (*quae audiui, nota uobis feci*; Codices Vercellensis and Monacensis) and John 16:28 (*hunc mundum*).

<sup>353</sup> See AUre 1.7.2-3 for AUmor and AUre 1.10.3 for AUGn Ma.

<sup>354</sup> Other examples of Augustine's customary form of text can be seen in AUq 68 (John 1:12 and 15:15), AUq 69 (John 8:31, 14:28 and 19:11) and AUq 71 (John 13:35).

there is no evidence for the systematic alteration of Augustine's biblical text: all manuscripts transmit the majority of his Old Latin or peculiar readings without variation.<sup>355</sup>

Three manuscript variants deserve special consideration, all of which appear in one of the two oldest witnesses, manuscript G, which Mutzenbecher usually follows in his editorial text. In the citation of John 10:18 at AUq 80.52, most manuscripts read *iterum sumendi eam*, but G and Z have *iterum **accipiendi** eam*. Although this is not found in Augustine's other citations, it is the form of text used by Fortunatus at AUfo 32, a work dating from the same period. Furthermore, this reading does have one parallel among the Old Latin witnesses, Codex Rehdigeranus, which adds weight to a claim for its originality. In John 16:12, cited at AUq 53.128, manuscript G includes *adhuc* in the second half of the verse, *non potestis **adhuc** portare illa*. Although there is no instance of this among the biblical witnesses, a similar citation in another contemporary work, AUd dni 2.20.67, offers an important parallel. Finally, in John 16:13 most manuscripts of AUq 38.10 read *ipse uos in omnem ueritatem inducet* but manuscript G has *ipse uos inducat in omnem ueritatem*, the word order found in all four of Augustine's other verbatim citations which include *inducet*, dating from a similar time, and comparable to Codex Palatinus, the only biblical witness with *inducet*.<sup>356</sup>

Three of the *Quaestiones* have significant Old Latin readings in their biblical text of John. In its discussion of John 4:1-2, **AUq 62** has the imperfect indicative, *baptizabat*, in both

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<sup>355</sup> Vulgate readings are listed in the critical apparatus, but not adopted for the editorial text, in manuscripts E (thirteen occasions), H (eight occasions), I (seven occasions): these are all late witnesses, from the thirteenth century onwards.

<sup>356</sup> The reading *inducet* is in a minority in Augustine's citations of John 16:13, and it is interesting to see that manuscript C has a variant reading with a gloss, *ipse uos in omnem ueritatem inducet, **id est docebit***. This may be original to Augustine, given his use of similar glosses in AUJo, but as he also cites this verse with *deducet*, a later reader may have noted the Vulgate term in the margin which was then incorporated by a copyist.

verses: Codex Corbeiensis supplies a parallel for this in John 4:1.<sup>357</sup> In the next verse, no surviving witness has *quamuis* rather than *quamquam*, or omits *Iesus* before *ipse*. John 7:39 is cited in Augustine's customary form in AUq 62, but this differs from the form of text he uses in AUq 64: he himself tells us that these *Quaestiones* were composed individually (Aure 1.26).

**AUq 64**, *De muliere Samaritana*, cites much of John 4 sequentially, with a distinct form of text: the detail of the citations and length of passage cited suggest strongly that Augustine was working from a codex, even if there are a few paraphrases and omissions of half-verses. Augustine reads *puteus iacob* rather than *fons iacob* in John 4:6, in keeping with Codices Sarzanensis, Rehdigeranus and Usserianus. The reading *cibos* in John 4:8 suggests that the text of this work does not match Augustine's frequent correspondence with Codices Palatinus, Vercellensis, Bezae and Monacensis, which all have *escas*; he also includes an additional sentence at the end of John 4:9 which is absent from Codices Palatinus, Vercellensis, Veronensis, Bezae and Sarzanensis. Augustine is unique in reading *perrexerant* instead of *abierant* in John 4:8, but he corresponds exactly to Jülicher's preferred *Itala* text in the next two verses. The reading *magis* in John 4:10 is again peculiar to Codices Sarzanensis, Rehdigeranus and Usserianus. Of these, Augustine's text most closely resembles Codex Rehdigeranus: this manuscript alone also reads *ab eo* later in John 4:10, it adds the words *mihi* and *dare* in 4:11, and there are further coincidences over the next few verses.<sup>358</sup> Even so, Augustine does not have the phrase *et pueri eius* in John 4:12, unique to Codex Rehdigeranus, and the sole parallel for *de aqua ista* in John 4:13 is Codex Monacensis. Two

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<sup>357</sup> Manuscript C of AUq 62 reads *baptizauit* on both occasions; there is no biblical parallel for this.

<sup>358</sup> It is worth observing that AUq 64 shares the readings *biberit*, *ista* and *dedero* in John 4:13 with Codex Palatinus and Cyprian, although there are other readings in CYep 63.8 which do not correspond to Augustine's text (e.g. *sempiternum* rather than *aeternum*).

key readings later in the chapter are also paralleled in Codex Rehdigeranus, *escam* in John 4:32 (also in Codices Vercellensis, Veronensis, Bezae and Usserianus) and *alterutrum* in John 4:33 (also in Codices Veronensis and Usserianus). In John 4:34, however, Augustine changes to *cibus* although the five manuscripts which read *escam* in John 4:32 do so again. In conclusion, we have in AUq 64 one of the longest continuous citations of a passage of John in Augustine, which is closer than any other work to surviving Old Latin witnesses. Despite minor variants and occasional unique readings, the overall text-type is similar to that of Codex Rehdigeranus. There are also several agreements with manuscripts which his biblical text resembles elsewhere, Codex Usserianus and Codex Monacensis as well as the older witnesses Vercellensis, Veronensis and Palatinus.<sup>359</sup>

In AUq 65, *De resurrectione Lazari*, there are two variants which are characteristic of Augustine's later citations of John 11:39. The first is *auferte*, where all Old Latin manuscripts have *tollite*; secondly, two witnesses, Codex Bezae and the Fragmentum Sangallense, read *putet* with Augustine where most others have *fetet*. At the end of this verse, where Augustine elsewhere has *quadriduanus* or *quadriduum*, AUq 65.29 has *quarta dies*, paralleled only by Codex Palatinus.<sup>360</sup> The two quotations of John 11:44 in AUq 65 include the Old Latin forms *exiit* and *ire* (which several manuscripts of the work replace with the Vulgate *abire*), along with two words not found in the surviving manuscripts, *inuolutis* and *tecta*. The value of these *Quaestiones* as a source of Old Latin readings is therefore beyond doubt.

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<sup>359</sup> Among the variants affecting biblical readings in the critical apparatus of AUq 64, the only one worthy of discussion is *quoniam* rather than *quia* in John 4:25. *Quoniam* is the reading of Codices Monacensis and Usserianus and is found in seven of the fifteen principal manuscripts of AUq 64. Although Mutzenbecher prefers *quia* in his editorial text, the balance of probability appears to give greater weight to *quoniam* even though its use after *scio* is less idiomatic.

<sup>360</sup> Two of the AUq manuscripts with Vulgate tendencies, H and I, do have *quadriduanus* in this citation.

### 3.4.1.2 *De uera religione* (AUrel) 390

There are three noteworthy gospel citations in AUrel. In John 2:4 at AUrel 16.25, Augustine adds the line *recede a me mulier* before *mihi et tibi quid est? nondum uenit hora mea*. There is no support for this in any biblical manuscripts and it is possible that Augustine has confused the situation with *noli me tangere* in John 20:17. AUrel 31.31 already shows Augustine's customary form of John 5:22, *pater non iudicat quemquam sed omne iudicium dedit filio*. Another reading unique to Augustine is *diem* rather than *lucem* in John 12:35:

ambulemus dum diem habemus, *id est dum ratione uti possumus* ... ne nos tenebrae comprehendant. (AUrel 42.1)

It seems most likely that Augustine substituted *diem* under the influence of *tenebrae*, but the recurrence of this form of text twenty years later in AUPs 138 shows its persistence.

### 3.4.1.3 *De sermone domini in monte* (AUs dni) 392/7

This is Augustine's earliest surviving individual work on the New Testament, and has a substantial number of citations from St John's Gospel. Many correspond to Augustine's preferred form of each verse, including John 5:22 and 6:27. Augustine's earliest citation of John 8:11 appears at AUs dni 1.16.43, in the form *uade, uide deinceps ne pecces*. The Old Latin texts all read *amplius* and *noli peccare*, but the citation does exhibit similarities with Ambrose (four of his citations read *uade et amodo uide ne pecces*). Conflation is apparent in John 7:12 at AUs dni 1.5.14, probably with John 7:40. Augustine's citation of John 16:12 at AUs dni 2.20.67 includes his customary addition of *illa* (missing from AUGn Ma 1.11.15), although unlike the rest of his citations, *adhuc* seems to have been repeated from the beginning of the verse and *modo* omitted.<sup>361</sup>

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<sup>361</sup> It is possible that *adhuc* is a translation of ἄρτι in place of *modo* but this seems less likely: note also the appearance of *adhuc* in this phrase in manuscript G at AUq 53.128, discussed above (Section 3.4.1.1).

#### 3.4.1.4 *De mendacio* (AUmen) 395

There are four verbatim citations of St John's Gospel in *De mendacio*. One corresponds to Augustine's preferred group of Old Latin witnesses (John 15:12, which is identical to Codex Vercellensis), while two others are found in the Vulgate-related manuscripts (John 3:22 and John 15:13). AUmen 15.27 has one of only three citations of John 18:23 outside AUEv and AUJo, which all read *exprobra de malo* rather than *testimonium perhibe de malo*. This reading is not found among the surviving manuscripts, but its singularity and breadth of attestation suggest that Augustine knew it from a codex. Confirmation is provided by its appearance in three letters of Cyprian.<sup>362</sup> It is possible that Augustine adopted the reading from another source rather than a biblical manuscript, which might also explain the changes in text-type in the other citations of John in this work: further study of Augustine's sources is needed.

#### 3.4.1.5 *Confessiones* (AUcf) 397-403

In the *Confessiones*, Augustine's gospel references are predominantly allusions or reminiscences, which is typical of the allusive quality of his writing in this work.<sup>363</sup> Most of the verbatim citations come from John 1, with the Old Latin readings which he normally has elsewhere: *in eo uita est* in John 1:4, *lumen uerum quod* and *hunc mundum* in John 1:9, *mundum per eum factus est* in John 1:10, *sua propria* in John 1:11 and *credentibus* in John

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<sup>362</sup> CYep 3.2, 59.4 and 66.3 (Fahey 1971:401). Several of Jerome's citations in this verse have *argue*, a reading not attested in the the manuscripts either. The citation in AUep 188, dated to 418 at Hombert 2000:227 and in the [www.augustinus.it](http://www.augustinus.it) table, makes Augustine's citations with *exprobra de malo* span twenty years.

<sup>363</sup> For example, the citations of John 3:29 and 4:14. Augustine cites John 7:39 in his customary form, while the citation of John 14:30, reading *princeps huius mundi non inuenit quidquam morte dignum*, appears to be an enlarged paraphrase. The citations of the Gospels and Pauline epistles are vastly outnumbered in this work by those of the Psalms (Knauer 1955:22).

1:12. Several of these are only present in Codices Veronensis and Monacensis, but these manuscripts have other readings not adopted by Augustine, so his text can only be described as generic Old Latin.

#### **3.4.1.6     *De doctrina christiana* (AUdo) 397, 426**

Despite the importance of Augustine's comments about biblical translations in *De doctrina christiana*, discussed at length in Chapter Two, there are few citations of John in this text. The majority of references to the Gospel are allusions to particular stories rather than verbatim quotations. A handful of verses from the Prologue appear in the earlier part of the work, while the citations of John 6:54 at AUdo 3.16.4 and John 7:38 at AUdo 3.25.36 follow Augustine's customary text.<sup>364</sup>

#### **3.4.2         *De trinitate* (AUtri) 400-3, 411-422**

As a work of trinitarian theology, *De trinitate* draws heavily on Jesus' discourses from the Gospel according to John, who is the only evangelist to refer to the Holy Spirit with the term

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<sup>364</sup> Green (1959) has claimed that a manuscript of Augustine currently held in Leningrad dates from before Augustine completed *De doctrina christiana*. This contains four writings all dating from 395-396, AUq Si, AUfu, AUag and AUdo 1-2. If he is correct, this confirms that the earlier part of AUdo was publically circulated before its later completion: even so, its text in this high-quality manuscript is not significantly different from the rest of the textual tradition. Although these works have little to contribute to the text of John, the manuscript provides a useful indication of the treatment of scriptural references in manuscripts contemporary with Augustine (See also the other eleven surviving manuscripts of works by Augustine which date to the fifth or sixth centuries listed in Lowe 1931.) Lowe notes that New Testament citations in this codex are indented by "the space of three letters" (1982:9), although his larger plate of the manuscript shows a citation of St Paul on folio 38 not indicated in this way but beginning a new paragraph, with one initial overhanging (Lowe 1971:plate 3a). Green has also suggested that this manuscript includes corrections by the author: the reading *omnes* in Matthew 22:40 is only found in Augustine's citations, yet the extra word has twice been added by a corrector: "it is difficult to account for the insertion of the word by anyone except Augustine himself" (1962:229); the corrections are at AUdo 1.27 and 1.31. See also Lowe 1982:9, with the note that corrections on folio 127 may be authorial. I am very grateful to Dr Roderic Mullen for alerting me to Green's original article and providing me with extracts from Lowe's *Codices Latini Antiquiores*.

Paraclete. In Frede 1995, the fifteen books of AUtri were listed as a single work, dating from 399 to 422 or 426, but this has been revised in Gryson 2004. AUtri 1 is now assigned to 400-403 and AUtri 2-15 to the period 411-422. The distinct character of AUtri 1 also emerges clearly from its biblical citations, while those in the other books suggest that further differentiation may be possible.<sup>365</sup>

Augustine normally has *paracletus* as a translation of παράκλητος on the four occasions it appears (John 14:16, 14:26, 15:26 and 16:7). In AUtri 1, it is consistently rendered by *aduocatus*. All three citations of John 14:16 in AUtri 1 support the text:

et ego rogabo patrem et alium aduocatum dabit uobis ut uobiscum sit in aeternum.  
(AUtri 1.8.138, 1.8.143, 1.9.47)

The four Old Latin witnesses which also have *aduocatum* here are already familiar: Codices Palatinus, Vercellensis, Colbertinus and Monacensis. They also share the Old Latin form of words at the end of the verse, where the Vulgate has *ut maneat uobiscum*. In John 14:26, AUtri 1.12.61 has:

aduocatus autem ille spiritus sanctus quem mittet pater in nomine meo, ille uobis declarabit omnia. (AUtri 1.12.61)

Here, Codices Vercellensis and Monacensis also have *aduocatus*, but there is no parallel for *declarabit*.<sup>366</sup> Although John 15:26 is not cited in AUtri 1, there is a citation of John 16:7:

sed ego ueritatem dico, expedit uobis ut ego eam. nam si non abiero, aduocatus non ueniet ad uos. (AUtri 1.8.159)

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<sup>365</sup> I had already noted the unique character of AUtri 1 before the publication of Gryson 2004, from the evidence adduced below. Note that Gryson 2004:26 reads 400/3, 411/22, implying that these are alternative dates (400 or 403) rather than periods (400-403). For the correct reading, see the table at Hombert 2000:8. Hombert's summary table (2000:638) dates AUtri 2-3 to 411-413 and AUtri 4 to 414-415. However, at 2000:535-537, he dates three citations from AUtri 2 and one from AUtri 4 to after 420. Earlier, La Bonnardière noted that these books comprised numerous layers which were difficult to distinguish (1965:169). She prefers a date for AUtri 2 of 417-419 (1965: 74-5, 100, 174). As for the later books, Hombert dates AUtri 5-7 to after 416, AUtri 13 to after 420 and AUtri 15 to around 422.

<sup>366</sup> All manuscripts have *docebit*, apart from Codex Palatinus with *docet*.



Only Codices Monacensis and Palatinus read *aduocatus* on this occasion, yet neither of these provides an exact match for the rest of the verse: Codex Palatinus reads *utile est* for *expedit*, and *nisi ego abiero*, while Codex Monacensis has *si autem ego non abiero*. The rendering *aduocatus* is, however, unique to AUtri 1. In the citation of John 15:26 at AUtri 2.3.18 Augustine reads *paracletus* for παράκλητος and there is no hint of *aduocatus* in the citations from later books.<sup>367</sup>

There are numerous other occasions on which the reading of AUtri 1 is significantly variant from the Vulgate, often over a group of verses, such as the citations of John 5:19-29 in AUtri 1.6 and 1.13. Some of these correspond to Augustine's preferred form of the verse (e.g. John 5:19), but others have Old Latin parallels. The only two citations of John 5:26 to read *ita* rather than *sic* are both in AUtri 1.<sup>368</sup> This verse also demonstrates the difference between AUtri 1 and later books: citations of John 5:26 in AUtri 2, 7 and 15 all have *sic*, along with the word order *uitam habere* rather than the Old Latin *habere uitam* found in AUtri 1. There are parallels between AUtri 1 and Codices Veronensis, Bezae, Brixianus and Usserianus in John 5:27, with *quoniam*, and 5:28 (*quoniam* and *ueniet*). In John 5:29, AUtri 1.13.121 is the only one of almost forty citations which reads *gesserunt* twice, while a single other reference has *prodient* (AUs 127.10.14): these readings are supported by Codices Monacensis, Usserianus and Rehdigeranus. Another cluster of Old Latin readings features in

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<sup>367</sup> Hombert 2000:74-75 claims that the phrase *qui a patre procedit* in John 15:26 is first cited by Augustine in 413, beginning with this citation in AUtri 2. The whole verse, however, is rarely cited in Augustine's early writings.

<sup>368</sup> *Ita* is not found in John 5:26 in any surviving manuscript, although it features in Tertullian (TEPra 21) and Ambrose (AMfi 5.36). In John 5:21, *ita* is read instead of *sic* by Codices Vercellensis, Palatinus and Monacensis.

citations of John 12:47-50 in AUtri 1, which correspond to the same manuscripts, especially Codex Usserianus.<sup>369</sup>

The form of John 14:17 found in AUtri 1 is as follows:

quem **hic** mundus **accipere** non potest **quoniam** non uidet **illum** []. **nostis illum uos** quia **uobiscum** **manet** et in uobis **est**. (AUtri 1.9.39)

This is an amalgam of readings preserved in individual manuscripts, including Codex Palatinus, Codex Colbertinus and Codex Vercellensis. Two distinctive word pairs appear in John 14:21, where AUtri 1 reads *custodit* rather than *seruat*, and *ostendam* rather than *manifestabo*.<sup>370</sup> It is significant that Augustine has the alternative rendering from each pair at AUtri 4.19.37, which further proves the distinct character of AUtri 1. This is also seen in both John 14:23, in which AUtri 1 has *mansionem facere* but AUtri 7 has *habitare*, and John 14:28, where AUtri 1 reads *quia* but citations in AUtri 2 and AUtri 6 have *quoniam*. AUtri 1 also has a distinctive Old Latin form of text in John 16:22-28, including the only citation of John 16:25 outside AUJo:

haec **uobis** **locutus** **sum** in **similitudinibus**. **ueniet** hora **quando** iam non in **similitudinibus** loquar uobis sed **manifeste** de patre **nuntiabo** uobis. (AUtri 1.10.45)

Again, this combines readings from several witnesses: Codex Vercellensis alone reads *similitudinibus* rather than *prouerbiis*, while only Codex Palatinus has *quando* instead of *cum*.

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<sup>369</sup> Hombert 2000:515 claims that "la citation de Jn 5, 28-9 est essentiellement le fait de la seconde partie de la vie d'Augustin": its occurrence in AUtri 1 is one of the earliest he identifies. All six citations of John 12:48 in AUtri 1 read *uerbum quod* rather than *sermo quem* (although in John 14:23, AUtri 1 reads *sermonem*); this work also has *saluum faciam* in John 12:47, *ipsum* in John 12:48 and the addition of *ille* in John 12:49, along with *mandatum* rather than *praeceptum*, which are all found in Codex Usserianus. In John 12:50, AUtri 1 has *ita ut* for *sicut*, as in John 5:26, although this is not paralleled by any manuscripts (Tertullian and Ambrose both have *ita et loquor* at the end of the verse, but *sicut* earlier on; see Caragliano 1946:49 and Roensch 1871:277).

<sup>370</sup> *Custodit* is found in Codices Vercellensis and Monacensis, and *ostendam* in Codices Vercellensis, Monacensis, Bezae and Palatinus.

Both these manuscripts and Codex Monacensis have *nuntiabo* for *adhuntiabo*, yet no surviving witness has *manifeste* in this verse, although it is found elsewhere as a rendering of παρρησία.<sup>371</sup>

There are fewer citations of John in the other books of AUtri, although the biblical text still has noteworthy features. Some citations from **AUtri 2** with a different form of text from AUtri 1 have been mentioned already: another example is John 16:15, where AUtri 2 twice has *quaecumque* while AUtri 1 reads *quae*. The occasions where both books agree normally involve Augustine's customary form of text rather than distinctive Old Latin variants.<sup>372</sup> AUtri 2 also demonstrates its independence from Augustine's preferred group of Old Latin witnesses in its renderings of δόξαζειν: in John 16:14 it has *clarificabit*, in John 17:4 *glorificaui* (not found in any surviving manuscript), and in John 17:5 *clarifica*.<sup>373</sup> Nonetheless, there are some correspondences, such as the reading *quoniam* rather than *quia* in John 10:36, paralleled in Codices Veronensis and Usserianus. In **AUtri 3**, both John 3:14 and John 5:46 follow Augustine's customary text of the verse. **AUtri 4** has *clarificatus* twice in John 7:39, with the majority of Augustine's citations, but at AUtri 4.8.6 even though some of the readings in the citation of John 17:20-23 are found in other witnesses, only the Vulgate is consistent over all four verses.<sup>374</sup> It appears that a change in Augustine's biblical text-type has now taken place. The only other books with more than a few citations of John are AUtri 13 and 15, both of which agree with the Vulgate text. Although **AUtri 13** is inconsistent,

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<sup>371</sup> Further characteristic Old Latin features can be identified: AUtri 1 treats *dies* as feminine in John 12:48 and 16:26, and prefers *quae* to *quaecumque* in John 15:15 and 16:15 (the only surviving witnesses which have *quae* in both verses are Codex Bezae and Codex Palatinus).

<sup>372</sup> e.g. John 5:19, 5:22, 5:27, 12:28 and 16:13.

<sup>373</sup> The normal reading of Codices Vercellensis, Bezae, Monacensis and Usserianus in these verses is *honorificare*.

<sup>374</sup> Even the variants *illis* and *et* in John 17:22 appear in some Vulgate manuscripts.

when it varies from earlier citations in the work it almost invariably prefers the Vulgate reading.<sup>375</sup> AUtri 15 has a cluster of citations from John 4:7-13, which include Vulgate readings such as *forsitan* in John 4:10, *in quo haurias* in John 4:11 and the additional explanatory phrase in John 4:9. The citation of John 13:22-24 at AUtri 15.10.87 also corresponds to the Vulgate, including the distinctive omission of *interroga* in John 13:24.<sup>376</sup>

To summarise, there are distinct characteristics in the biblical text of individual books of *De trinitate*. AUtri 1 has significant parallels with the four manuscripts which colour Augustine's citations elsewhere, Codices Monacensis, Usserianus, Palatinus and Vercellensis, as well as earlier Latin Fathers. It also has a demonstrably different form of text from all the later books of *De trinitate*, and most of Augustine's other citations, which confirms an early date for its composition. It is especially remarkable that the biblical citations have been sufficiently accurately transmitted to enable this conclusion to be reached. Several Old Latin readings are found in the intermediate books, although their character is not so marked: the first unequivocal Vulgate citation appears some way into AUtri 4. An almost complete correspondence with the Vulgate is seen in AUtri 13 and 15, whose citations contrast with those in earlier books. The lack of citations of John makes an exact distinction impossible, but further study of the biblical text between AUtri 7 and AUtri 13 may support these

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<sup>375</sup> In John 1:4, AUtri 13 twice has in *ipso* (AUtri 4 reads *in illo* four times); it cites John 1:9 with *lux uera quae* (AUtri 7 reads *lumen uerum quod*); in John 1:11, AUtri 13 has *in propria*, unusually for Augustine, as most of his citations (including AUtri 2) have *in sua propria*; at John 1:12, two early citations in AUtri 13 have *his qui credunt*, although a later version returns to Augustine's customary *credentibus*. Similarly, the non-Vulgate readings in John 14:30-31 correspond to Augustine's customary form. Although a Vulgate text-form is indicated by the distinctive reading *in ipso uita erat* in both citations of John 1:4 in AUtri 13, both instances of John 1:9 retain *hunc* before *mundum*, the omission of which is unique to the Vulgate.

<sup>376</sup> This reading is only shared by the Vulgate and Codex Aureus. An exception to the Vulgate agreements in AUtri 15, *oderunt* rather than *odio habuerunt* in John 15:25, is also paralleled in Codex Aureus.

tentative indications of another stage in the composition of AUtri, in addition to the earlier divisions recently recognised.

### 3.4.3 Middle period theological works and commentaries

Many, if not most, scholars assume that, after Augustine adopted Jerome's revision of the Gospels for *De consensu euangelistarum* and the *Tractatus in Iohannem*, he abandoned the Old Latin versions he used earlier. Milne includes no citations from works written after 401, and although De Bruyne laments this early cut-off date, he blithely asserts:

"Il est certain qu'Augustin, après 403, cite ordinairement les Évangiles d'après le texte hiéronymien. Il est superflu de le démontrer." (1931:596).<sup>377</sup>

The analysis of the primary sources for Augustine's text of John, however, has shown that numerous Old Latin readings remain after this date, both in his variant readings in AUJo and in many of his sermons, including several *Enarrationes in Psalmos* from 412 or later. We have already observed Old Latin features in Augustine's mental text, and it is important to investigate how much these are affected by his use of the Vulgate elsewhere. Furthermore, even though Augustine normally quoted from memory in his theological works, it remains possible that he may still have had recourse to an Old Latin version alongside the Vulgate even in later works.

*De catechizandis rudibus* (AUcat, 403) supplies two of Augustine's three citations of John 3:16 reading *ut unicum filium suum mitteret* rather than *ut filium suum unigenitum daret*. Codex Palatinus is the only surviving manuscript with both variants, although five other Old

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<sup>377</sup> Zarb's comment is almost identical: "Vix est necessarium probare S. Doctorem post a. 400 adhibuisse pro Evangeliiis recensionem hieronymianam" (1938:539). Compare also Burkitt's more nuanced statement that "in these earlier works of S. Augustine the non-Vulgate element in the quotations from the Gospel is very large, while in the works published by him after 398 the non-Vulgate element is very small." (1910:458).

Latin witnesses have *unicum*.<sup>378</sup> Nonetheless, the phrase *unigenitum filium* is also found in the introduction to a reminiscence of John 1:3 at AUcat 26.42, showing that Augustine employed both technical terms.

*De bono conjugali* (AUconj, 403/4) cites two verses from the *Pericope Adulterae* in forms which strongly suggest that Augustine was working from memory. He offers three citations of John 8:7, each of which is different, as well as his customary text of John 8:11 with *deinceps* and *damnabo*.<sup>379</sup>

### 3.4.3.1 *Adnotationes in Iob* (AUJb) 400/5?

Augustine's citations of John in his commentary on Job include several Old Latin renderings which also correspond to Augustine's customary forms.<sup>380</sup> An adaptation of John 3:21 puts it into the plural, but features Old Latin readings at the end of the verse:

ipsi ueniant ad lucem ut manifestentur opera eorum **quoniam** in deo sunt **operata**.  
(AUJb 36)

*Quoniam* and *operata* are paralleled by Codices Veronensis, Palatinus, Bezae and Usserianus. Other citations also correspond to a form of text preserved in Codex Palatinus alone, such as *facta ... facite* in John 8:39 (AUJb 30), *cum exaltatus fuero omnia traham ad me* in John 12:32 (AUJb 39), and John 17:15, which reads:

non **peto** ut tollas eos de **saeculo** sed ut **tollas** eos **a** malo. (AUJb 38)

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<sup>378</sup> The other citation of this form is in AUPs 149.4.28, which is normally dated between 411 and 413, Hombert (2000:368) supplies a revised date of 404 for this work, which would coincide nicely with AUcat. All Ambrose's citations of this verse have *unicum* (Caragliano 1946:41).

<sup>379</sup> For John 8:7, AUconj 7.6 reads *qui sine peccato est uestrum, prior in eam lapidem iaciat*, whose closest parallel is Codex Colbertinus. Five lines later, Augustine reads *prior in **illam** lapidem **mittat***, which resembles the Vulgate or Codex Usserianus. Finally, in AUconj 14.14 we find both forms combined with *prior in illam lapidem iaciat*.

<sup>380</sup> For example *lumen uerum* in John 1:9, *tamquam* in John 1:14, *populum* in John 7:12 and the form of John 14:30.

This is typical of Augustine's citations in AUJb: Codex Palatinus offers the only parallel for *saeculo*, but both *peto* and *tollas* are unique to Augustine and seem to be errors of memory (*peto* has been substituted for the manuscripts' *rogo*, and *tollas* repeated instead of *serues*). In short, although Augustine is citing from memory in this work, his text shows the influence of a text-type similar to Codex Palatinus and no appearance yet of Vulgate forms. It is interesting to note that, in the *Retractationes*, Augustine wished to disclaim authorship of the work and left it unrevised.<sup>381</sup> The fact that its biblical text corresponds with that of contemporary works further serves to dismiss any argument *ex silentio* that Augustine was in the habit of revising the biblical citations in his early writings beyond the corrections he makes in the *Retractationes*.

### 3.4.3.2 *De baptismo* (AUba) 404

In this work Augustine draws heavily on proof texts assembled from Cyprian's *Sententia episcoporum*, which display a different biblical text-type.<sup>382</sup> For example, in John 9:31, Cyprian's source, Lucius of Membressa, reads *deus peccatorem non audit* (AUba 7.26.50). This probably explains Augustine's use of this form of text in AUba 5.20.28 even though he has *peccatores* and *exaudit* in almost all his other citations. Another characteristic of these proof texts is that they are often conflation: six of the seven citations of John 3:5 include *non intrabit in regnum caelorum*, a harmonisation with Matthew (e.g. Matthew 5:20). Other citations display Augustine's customary form of text, featuring Old Latin readings. There is an interesting reading in John 20:22, where AUba 3.18.23 reads *inspiravit* for

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<sup>381</sup> *postremo tam mendosum conperi opus ipsum in codicibus nostris ut emendare non possem nec editum a me dici uellem, nisi quia scio fratres id habere, quorum studio non potuit denegari* (AUre 2.13.1).

<sup>382</sup> Monceaux 1923:101 dates Cyprian's work to 256, almost 150 years before Augustine's use of it.

ἐνεφύσησεν: although all surviving manuscripts have either *insufflauit* or *sufflauit*, *inspirauit* is also found in a letter of Cyprian.<sup>383</sup> On each of the eight occasions when John 20:23 appears in AUba, there are minor differences. The final outcome is:

si cui dimiseritis dimittentur, si cui tenueritis tenebuntur. (AUba 5.21.29)

Although each word of this perfectly-balanced form of text can be found in an Old Latin manuscript, not one corresponds with the standard Vulgate form of this verse, *quorum remiseritis peccata remittuntur eis, quorum retinueritis detenta sunt*. This extreme example is a reminder of the potential effect of rhetorical alteration on biblical citations in order to produce a memorable text.

### 3.4.3.3 *In epistolam Iohannis ad Parthos tractatus decem* (AU1 Jo) 407

In the opening sentence Augustine indicates that he wrote these sermons after beginning AUJo, but their biblical text does not conform to that used in his Gospel commentary. There is often overlap between the text of the Gospel and this Epistle, which may impede the identification of citations (or variants): John 1:18 and 1 John 4:12 both read *deum nemo uidit umquam*. Most verses are cited in Augustine's customary form.<sup>384</sup> There is occasionally inconsistency between different sermons: in John 15:13, AU1Jo 5 and 6 read *maiolem (hac) caritatem nemo habet* while AU1Jo 7 twice reads *maiolem dilectionem nemo potest*

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<sup>383</sup> CYep 73.7, listed in Wordsworth-White (Fahey 1971:403 does not quote the Latin). This may suggest that Augustine was dependent on Cyprian for this reading, as it is the only occurrence in all his citations. Examples of Augustine's customary form of text include *non habet necessitatem iterum lauandi* in John 13:10 (AUba 2.14.19), and *in hoc scient omnes quia discipuli mei estis si uos inuicem dilexeritis* in John 13:35 (AUba 3.19.26). Both these verses have some similarities with Codices Vercellensis and Monacensis, which alone have *necessitatem* and *lauandi* in 13:10 and also read *scient* in 13:35.

<sup>384</sup> See, for example, John 6:54, 7:38-9, 8:31, 8:58, 12:31, 13:34, 20:29. Thiele 1972:101 notes that the text of the Epistle which Augustine uses in this commentary is an older form than that which appears in most of his other citations post 400.



*habere*. As the continuation of each citation corresponds to Augustine's customary form, this variation is probably fluctuation in his memory.

#### 3.4.3.4 *De peccatorum meritis et remissione et de baptismo paruulorum* (AUpec) 411/2

This work is especially noteworthy for an uninterrupted citation of John 3:1-21 at AUpec 1.30.59. This text coincides with the Vulgate in two of the four distinctive readings found in this passage and there are numerous other occasions on which it has the same form of text as the Vulgate and related manuscripts.<sup>385</sup> The presence of Old Latin readings and other variants, however, suggests that this passage has not undergone later alteration, but preserves the "mixed text" used by Augustine. In John 3:4, AUpec has:

numquid potest in **utero** matris suae **iterum** introire et nasci? (AUpec 1.30.59)

*Utero* is the majority Old Latin reading, while *iterum* is only preserved in Codex Vercellensis although it also features in AUJo 11 CT. Another Old Latin form is *testificamur* in John 3:11, but in the next verse the perfect tense *credidistis* is only preserved in Vulgate witnesses. AUpec is unique among Augustine's works in reading *deserto* in two citations of John 3:14 and also, unusually, corresponds to the biblical manuscripts in John 3:17 against Augustine's usual form of the verse. These considerations indicate that at this point Augustine is quoting directly from a codex which has a Vulgate text-type very similar but not identical to that which he used for AUJo.<sup>386</sup>

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<sup>385</sup> Both agreements over distinctive readings involve word order: *senex sit* in 3:4 (shared with Codex Corbeiensis) and *opera eius* in 3:21 (shared with Codex Colbertinus). However, AUpec preserves the Old Latin forms *descendit de caelo* in 3:13 and *in eum* in 3:15.

<sup>386</sup> Augustine's citations of the same verses elsewhere in AUpec do not agree exactly with his text in this extract, which suggests that they have been made from memory. For example, AUpec 1.30.59 has *quomodo possunt haec fieri* for John 3:9 but in the next paragraph all three citations have *quomodo possunt ista fieri*. Codex Palatinus also reads *ista*, so this is a plausible feature of Augustine's mental text.

The other citations of St John's Gospel in AUpec mostly conform to Augustine's customary text, betraying Old Latin influences both in the Prologue and later verses.<sup>387</sup> In John 10:27-28, however, he varies from the Vulgate and his usual form, which begins *quae sunt oues meae*:

Vulgate    oues meae uocem meam audiunt et ego cognosco eas et sequuntur me et ego uitam aeternam do eis et non peribunt in aeternum.

AUpec 1    **qui de ouibus meis sunt** uocem meam audiunt, et ego **noui illas**, et secuntur me; et ego uitam aeternam do **illis** et non peribunt in aeternum. (AUpec 1.27.40)

These variants are paralleled across four Old Latin witnesses, although none provides an exact match for Augustine's text.<sup>388</sup> This citation appears in a sequence of three *testimonia* from John, but it seems unlikely that Augustine relied on a different codex from that used for John 3 three chapters later: the other two verses are in his customary form. Perhaps this citation owes its form to the biblical text of another author which Augustine used as a source for this work. At any rate, although Old Latin forms persist in citations made from memory, when he quotes from a codex, the Vulgate now appears to be Augustine's text of choice.

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<sup>387</sup> See John 1:9, 1:13, 1:14, 3:36, 6:51-52 and 16:9-10. This work also has the only citations of John 12:46 outside AUJo, in the form *ego lux in saeculum ueni ut omnis qui crediderit [credit 1.25.38] in me non maneat in tenebris* (AUpec 1.24.35, AUpec 1.25.38). Some of these variants are "African" and also feature in the citation of John 6:52, which is similar to Cyprian (CYor 18); in John 12:46, however, no surviving manuscript has *saeculum* rather than *mundum*: Codex Palatinus supplies parallels for *crediderit* and the word order *non maneat in tenebris*, but reads *lumen* rather than *lux*.

<sup>388</sup> *Qui de ouibus meis sunt* is identical to Codex Corbeiensis and very similar to Codex Palatinus. These manuscripts also have *illas*, although they read *cognosco*: Codex Usserianus offers a parallel for *noui*. In the next verse, Codex Colbertinus alone has both *illis* and *aeternum*.

### 3.4.3.5 *De Genesi ad litteram* (AUGn li) 404/5, 412/4

Augustine's adoption of a Vulgate text may also feature in a comment on the punctuation of John 1:3-4 in the course of his commentary on Genesis. This closes with the line:

nec praetermittendum est quod emendatiores codices habent *quod factum est in illo uita erat* ut sic intellegatur uita erat. (AUGn li 5.14/157.3).

No surviving Old Latin manuscript has *uita erat* in the first clause of John 1:4; only the Vulgate fits Augustine's text. A description of the Vulgate by Augustine as *emendatior codex* would be very significant. On the other hand, the reading *illo* is Old Latin, which weakens the case for the Vulgate: it is possible that *erat* was found in an Old Latin manuscript no longer preserved. Nonetheless, as we know Augustine was familiar with the Vulgate at the time this work was written, a reasonable case can be made for this as a comment on the Vulgate text, since the tense of the verb is the principal focus of Augustine's observation.<sup>389</sup> Several pages later Augustine cites John 1:10 in its Old Latin form (AUGn li 5.17), but in John 8:25 he reads *quia* (AUGn li 1.5), peculiar to the Vulgate and Codex Veronensis.

### 3.4.4 Later theological works

Augustine's use of the Vulgate text of John during the first decade of the fifth century has been confirmed by the citations made with reference to a codex. In his later theological works, we would expect his growing familiarity with this version to influence his citations

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<sup>389</sup> There are two further observations: firstly, it is noteworthy that Augustine does not refer to the Greek to confirm this reading, although as the majority of comments about Greek come in the second half of AUJo, written in the 420s, perhaps this was still a little early in Augustine's competence. More significantly, in AUJo 1 CT and AUJo 2, Augustine has the Old Latin form with *illo* and *est* on both occasions. However, a non-sequential citation in AUJo 3.4.11 has a full Vulgate text for this verse, with *ipso* and *erat*. This dates Augustine's adoption of this reading to some time between 406 and 414, although Augustine was already familiar with the Vulgate when composing *De consensu euangelistarum*.

made from memory. If Jerome's version even displaces Augustine's customary form of text, then its complete adoption by Augustine is assured.

#### 3.4.4.1 *De ciuitate dei* (AUci) 412-426/7

*De ciuitate dei* was composed over a number of years and, as with *De trinitate*, there seems to be a difference between the textual characteristics of earlier and later books. Most of the citations before AUci 20 feature Augustine's customary forms.<sup>390</sup> At AUci 20.5.110, however, Augustine has a citation of John 5:22-29 which is almost identical to the Vulgate. The length of the citation, and the fact that it follows an eleven-verse citation of Matthew, suggests that it might have been made with reference to a codex. In later citations of the same verses Augustine partly reverts to his customary forms (e.g. John 5:25 at AUci 20.9.115.). Two citations of John 5:29 (AUci 20.23.77 and AUci 21.1.15) have the connective *autem* characteristic of Augustine's mental text, but instead of *bene* and *male*, they feature the Vulgate forms *bona* and *mala*. This suggests that the Vulgate may be influencing his customary forms, although these have not been totally replaced.<sup>391</sup> Only one verse, John 3:5, reveals a difference between books:

AUci 13 **si quis non** renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu, non **intrabit** in regnum  
**caelorum**.

AUci 21 nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu, non **intrabit** in regnum dei.

With the exception of *intrabit*, AUci 21 corresponds exactly to the Vulgate, while the variants in AUci 13 are typical of Augustine's earlier citations of this verse.

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<sup>390</sup> La Bonnardière (1986:362) dates the earlier books as follows: AUci 1-3, 412-3; AUci 4-5, 415; AUci 6-10, 417; AUci 11, 417; Lancel (2002:396) agrees with this and notes that AUci 14 was written in 418, AUci 15-16 in 419-420 and AUci 18 in 424/5. For examples of customary forms, see John 5:44 in AUci 5, John 1:7-9 in AUci 10, John 8:36 in AUci 14 and John 1:47, 6:51 (6:52), 6:70 (6:71) and 13:21 in AUci 17.

<sup>391</sup> For example, there are citations of John 5:17 with *usque nunc operatur* in AUci 22.

#### 3.4.4.2 *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum* (AUGn q, AUEx, AULv, AUNm, AUDt, AUJos, AUJdc) 419

Peculiarities of biblical text and language in the Old Testament occupy Augustine in the *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*. Although there are comparatively few citations of John, this work offers further evidence of a switch to the Vulgate. The three citations in **AULv** correspond to Augustine's customary text for John 6:53 (6:54), 12:31 and 14:30. In **AUDt**, however, Augustine abandons his usual form of John 14:30-31 and instead cites a Vulgate text for the only time outside AUJo 79 CT. The citation of John 4:21-24 at AUDt 10.175 is also identical to the Vulgate. The situation is similar for **AUJdc**: its text of John 7:37-39 is closer to the Vulgate than any of Augustine's other citations. Even so, Augustine reverts to his customary text for the citation of John 9:16 in AUJdc 49.1219.

#### 3.4.4.3 *De gratia et libero arbitrio* (AUgr) 426; *De correptione et gratia* (AUcorr) 426/7

*De gratia et libero arbitrio* has the same mixture of Vulgate citations and Augustine's customary text as other later works. The Vulgate keeps gaining ground: Augustine prefers its reading in John 3:27, 13:34 and 13:35 to his usual form of these verses. Nonetheless, La Bonnardière observes that many of the Old Testament citations in this work are either rare or presented in an unusual form, which she sees as evidence for a revision of the text of certain books, notably Ecclesiasticus, by Augustine himself.<sup>392</sup>

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<sup>392</sup> La Bonnardière 1963:77-85; also La Bonnardière 1986:343.

*De correptione et gratia* also has customary readings alongside Vulgate forms.<sup>393</sup> AUcorr 22 cites John 6:59-66 (6:60-67 in the Vulgate) in full. This includes the distinctive reading *si ergo* in John 6:63, peculiar to the Vulgate and Codex Colbertinus, and readings in the next verse found only in the Vulgate and two other manuscripts. Even so, a couple of Augustine's preferred forms slip in (*autem* in John 6:64 and *uenit* rather than *potest uenire* in John 6:66), and the passage also has *murmurant* in John 6:62, only attested in Codices Bezae and Colbertinus.

#### 3.4.4.4 *Retractationes* (AUre) 427

The *Retractationes* list corrections to earlier works (see Section 2.3.4). In most cases, Augustine reproduces the biblical text of the original work even when it differs from the Vulgate: the distinctive form of John 4:1-2 in AUq 62 is cited, as is the Old Latin *hoc mundo* which appears in John 18:37 at AUord. Given that Augustine does correct some of his scriptural citations in this work, he must have decided to let these readings stand.<sup>394</sup> There is one minor exception: whereas AUs dni has a partial and paraphrased form of John 8:11, AUre cites Augustine's customary reading without comment.

#### 3.4.4.5 *De dono perseuerantiae* (AUpers) and *De praedestinatione sanctorum* (AUprae) post 429

*De dono perseuerantiae* is notable for a citation of John 12:37-40 which has several Old Latin features:

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<sup>393</sup> Customary readings are found in John 8:31 and 8:36, while AUcorr has Vulgate forms of John 6:37 and 15:16. AUcorr 20.8 has a form of John 11:52 with three non-Vulgate readings: *nec tantum pro gente sed etiam ut filios dei dispersos congregaret in unum*. The reading *dispersos* is unique to Augustine, and implies that he may have paraphrased the verse.

<sup>394</sup> For examples of corrections, see AUre 1.7.3, 1.13.8 and 2.12.1, all cited in Chapter Two.

<12:37> cum autem tanta signa fecisset coram eis non **crediderunt** in eum  
 <12:38> ut sermo Isaiae prophetae impleretur quem dixit domine quis credidit auditui  
 nostro et brachium domini cui reuelatum est <12:39> **et ideo** non poterant credere  
 quia iterum dixit Isaias <12:40> excaecauit oculos eorum et indurauit **cor illorum** ut  
 non uideant oculis **nec** intellegant corde et conuertantur et sanem illos.  
 (AUpers 14.35/1014)

Although the minor variations are preserved in some Old Latin witnesses, the most significant readings are only paralleled in a Vulgate manuscript from the ninth century, Würzburg University 67 (**Bw** in Fischer 1991). This is the sole example of *ideo* (rather than *propterea*) and *cor illorum* in approximately four hundred manuscripts collated by Fischer. The correspondence with Augustine's text is not exact, but this text is sufficiently distinctive to merit further study of this manuscript.<sup>395</sup> It is possible that Augustine used an Old Latin exemplar at this point in his career, but it is more plausible to suggest that this is an example of the "mixed text" of early Vulgate manuscripts: these verses are cited in very few works.

There is also a surprising number of non-Vulgate readings in *De praedestinatione sanctorum*, although the overall text-type agrees with the Vulgate. On several occasions there is inconsistency: both *potest uenire* and *uenit* are found in John 6:44 and 6:65 (6:66) in neighbouring paragraphs.<sup>396</sup> A citation of John 6:28-29 has some Old Latin features:

dixerunt **enim** ad eum **iudaei**, "quid faciemus ut operemur **opus** dei?" respondit  
 Iesus et dixit **illis**, "hoc est opus dei ut credatis in eum quem misit ille." (AUprae  
 7.12/969)

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<sup>395</sup> The reading of the manuscript in these verses is as follows (extrapolated from Fischer 1991:373ff.; singular readings are underlined):

<12:37> cum tanta autem signa fecisset coram ipsis non crediderunt in eum <12:38> ut  
 sermo essaiae prophetae uerus esset quem dixit domine quis credidit auditui nostro et  
 brachium domini cui reuelatum est <12:39> ideo non poterant credere quia praedixit esaias  
 <12:40> excaecauit oculos eorum et indurauit cor illorum ut non uideant oculos et ne  
 intellegant corde et conuertantur et sanem illos.

<sup>396</sup> See also the word order for John 15:16: at AUprae 17.34 Augustine corresponds to the Vulgate with *ego elegi uos*, but all subsequent citations have *ego uos elegi*. For other Vulgate readings, compare the distinctive reading *inuicem* rather than *inter uos* in John 6:43, the plural *spiritus et uita sunt* in John 6:63 (6:64) and the absence of *non* in John 6:64 (6:65).

The only parallel for the addition of *Iudaei* is Codex Palatinus, which also has *illis* in the next verse. There is no support among the surviving manuscripts for *enim* or *opus*, although as the latter is also present in the lectionary sermon AUs 130A, these citations suggest that *opus* may have appeared in a manuscript which is now lost.

In conclusion to this section, we may note that Augustine's later works show the increasing influence of the Vulgate in all his citations. He often prefers it to his customary form of text, even when it is likely that he is citing from memory. There are a few exceptions to this pattern, including some unexpected Old Latin forms, but it seems beyond doubt that the use of the Vulgate in these works is authorial and Augustine's biblical citations have been faithfully transmitted.

### **3.4.5 Collections**

The chronology of Augustine's collected sermons and letters is often difficult to determine: even the external events to which they sometimes refer, such as the passing of anti-Donatist legislation, are contested. Nonetheless, although the majority of the citations in letters and sermons not based on a lectionary text of John are likely to be secondary, they can still show evidence of the development in Augustine's biblical text which has been observed above. This may even provide some indication of their relative dates.

#### **3.4.5.1 Sermons**

The illustrative citations of John in Augustine's sermons are mostly restricted to a small number of verses which Augustine cites in his customary form. Sometimes, however, he presents a more unusual form of text. It is possible that some of these sermons, especially



those for Saints' Days such as St John the Baptist, may have followed a lection from John, even though this is not explicitly identified by Augustine.

**AUs 5** has an interesting form of John 19:30:

**perfectum** est, *ait*, et **inclinauit caput et dimisit** spiritum. (AUs 5.93)

Although *perfectum* is Augustine's preferred reading, he normally also reads *inclinato capite* and *tradidit* or *reddidit*. Both *perfectum* and *inclinauit caput* are found in Codex Palatinus, however, while *dimisit* is unique to this sermon.<sup>397</sup> Augustine continues with a paraphrase of John 19:32-34, including his customary form of John 19:34, *percussit latus eius et profluxit sanguis et aqua*. The distinctive Old Latin readings suggest an early date, and although AUs 5 was dated to 408-411 by La Bonnardière and 410-419 by others, Hombert (2000:307) has recently revised this to 394/5.

In his article on the biblical text of the *Sermones Dolbeau*, Bogaert notes that their citations do not appear to have been contaminated by any alteration in favour of the Vulgate.<sup>398</sup> Comparison with Augustine's other references to John reveals that these works also have a number of citations which correspond to his unique form of particular verses. This offers a further indication of authenticity in the case of completely new pieces. **AUs 159B** (AUs Dol 21) features several examples of Augustine's customary text, including the rendering *inter*

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<sup>397</sup> An allusion in Tertullian also seems to support *dimisit* in this verse (TEap 21). A few manuscripts of AUs 5 have *emisit*: this may be comparable to Codex Aureus, where the first hand wrote *emidit*.

<sup>398</sup> Bogaert 1998:34. Lancel also observes that they are "without many intermediaries, from the manuscript preserved at Hippo" (2002:194). For the dating of this collection, however, see Hombert: "nous sommes en présence d'un sermonnaire *liturgique* composé de pièces d'époques très diverses" (2000:IV; see further 203ff. and 545).

se for πρὸς ἀλλήλους in John 19:24, not found in any surviving manuscript.<sup>399</sup> John 14:23 in

**AUs 198 aug.** (AUs Dol 26) resembles the other citations in Augustine's sermons, while

**AUs 293A aug.** (AUs Dol 3) has his preferred forms of John 1:23 and 3:29.

Two citations of John 16:19-22 appear in **AUs 210**:

<16:19> **pusillum** *inquit* et non uidebitis me et iterum **pusillum** et uidebitis me.  
<16:20> [ ] *haec est hora de qua dixit uos* **tristes eritis**, **saeculum** autem  
gaudebit. [ ] <16:22> **sed** iterum *inquit* uidebo uos et gaudebit cor uestrum et  
gaudium uestrum nemo **auferet** a uobis. (AUs 210.5.7/1051)

<16:21> *et mulier cum* **parturit** *ait dominus* **tristitia est illi quoniam** uenit **dies**  
eius **sed** cum pepererit [ ] **fit gaudium magnum quoniam** natus est homo in  
**saeculum**. <16:22> [ ] *hoc erit gaudium quod* nemo **auferet** a uobis.  
(AUs 210.5.7/1051)

The omissions and paraphrases suggest that Augustine is quoting from memory, but we should note his consistency in Old Latin renderings: *saeculum* rather than *mundum* (also found in Codex Palatinus) and *pusillum* rather than *modicum* (as read in Codices Palatinus, Vercellensis, Bezae, Monacensis and Usserianus). Furthermore, many of the other variants have Old Latin parallels: *parturit* (Codices Vercellensis and Monacensis; all other witnesses *parit*); *quoniam* rather than *quia* (Codex Monacensis); *dies* rather than *hora* and *auferet* (most Old Latin manuscripts). Augustine's only other citation of these verses is in AUJo 101,

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<sup>399</sup> Old Latin witnesses read *ad alterutrum* or *ad inuicem* here, although *inter se* is found at John 4:33 and John 6:53 (6:54). In the same verse, Augustine's unique reading *non eam diuidamus sed sortem super eam mittamus* differs from the manuscripts' *non scindamus eam sed sortiamur de illa*. This text-form can be easily explained: Augustine has taken the Psalm citation from the second half of the verse, *diuiserunt sibi uestimenta mea et super uestimentum meum miserunt sortem* and recast the earlier phrase in accordance with this text. It should be noted that, although Dolbeau identifies the citation as Psalm 21:17, it is in fact the form of Psalm 21 quoted in John 19:24 – which further explains Augustine's form of text. This sermon also has Augustine's customary text of John 20:25.

where he prefers the Vulgate alternatives. No information is preserved about the location or date of this sermon, but the citations suggest that, like AUs 5, it is likely to be early.<sup>400</sup>

**AUs 239** has the following form of John 14:2-3:

<14:2> **multae** mansiones sunt **apud patrem meum**, **alioquin dicerem** uobis **ibo** parare uobis locum. <14:3> sed si **iero et parauero**, **iterum ueniens assumam** uos. (AUs 239.2.2/1127)

Several of these readings are unique to Augustine, and although he criticises the text *apud patrem meum* in AUan 3.11.15, it is his customary form elsewhere. Some commentators date this sermon to before 400, which is corroborated by the Old Latin readings in this citation: *alioquin* is only found in Codices Vercellensis, Brixianus, Monacensis and Usserianus. Most witnesses have a longer form of John 14:3, like the Vulgate:

et si abiero et praeparauero uobis locum, iterum uenio et accipiam uos ad me ipsum.

However, Augustine's shorter version has a parallel in Codex Palatinus:

et si abiero et parauero, iterum ueniam et sumam uos.

Among the sermons on John the Baptist, **AUs 293** provides the only citation of the final words of John 3:29 outside AUJo 14 CT, in the form *hoc gaudium meum **completum** est*. Although the sermon is dated to 413, *completum* is the reading of Codices Veronensis and Usserianus.<sup>401</sup> Perhaps the location of this sermon in Carthage explains the Old Latin text. Augustine also has an Old Latin form in three citations of John 6:49 found in **AUs 352**:

patres uestri manducauerunt *inquit* **manna** in **eremo** et mortui sunt. (AUs 352.3)

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<sup>400</sup> Berrouard (1998:480) dates AUs 210 to before 405 on the basis of the non-Vulgate character of its citations and its failure to include *quia uado ad patrem* in John 16:16. If, however, this is not a citation of John 16:16 but John 16:19, because it is immediately followed by John 16:20, the latter is not a consideration as the phrase is also absent from the Vulgate. (The Vetus Latina Database also identifies this citation as John 16:16.)

<sup>401</sup> The date is confirmed by Hombert (2000:385-386); Codex Palatinus reads *adimpletum*.

Codex Usserianus reads *eremo*, while *manna* rather than *panem* occurs in several other witnesses. There are more Old Latin readings at John 8:44, 11:39 and 11:43, which are also in keeping with the early date of 396-400 suggested for this sermon.

It seems likely that in **AUs 362**, a lengthy sermon on the resurrection of the dead, Augustine referred to a codex for a citation of John 5:24-29, although there is no indication that this was the gospel lection. The text is formally introduced in the middle of the sermon:

audite ergo euangelium secundum Iohannem. dominus loquitur: *amen amen dico uobis quia qui uerbum meum audit et credit ei qui misit me habet uitam aeternam et in iudicium non uenit sed **transitum fecit** a morte in uitam.* (AUs 362.22.25)

With the exception of *transitum fecit* (found in Augustine's other citations) and *monumento* in John 5:28, this passage corresponds exactly to the Vulgate, unlike Augustine's customary forms of John 5:26-29. It would not be surprising if, for such a substantial work, Augustine had prepared some notes in advance, or copied out biblical passages. As the sermon is dated to 410-411, it offers comparatively early evidence of Augustine's reliance on a Vulgate text-type.

### 3.4.5.2 Letters

Letters both to and from Augustine are preserved in the corpus of his *Epistulae*. Although citations of John made by Augustine's correspondents have been included in the full collection of citations at the end of each verse, these are comparatively few and of little textual interest. Nonetheless, it is reassuring to see evidence of a Vulgate text in Jerome!<sup>402</sup>

It is probable that Augustine would have produced scriptural texts from memory when

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<sup>402</sup> e.g. Jerome's citations of John 16:33 in AUep 39; John 1:16, 1:17 (with the distinctive Vulgate omission of *autem*) and 5:18 in AUep 75; and John 5:17 in AUep 165. Although it is possible that Augustine may have been influenced by his correspondents' biblical text, there are no obvious examples of this in John. On Augustine's concern for accuracy in the copying of his letters, see Dekkers 1952:131.

dictating his letters. This is confirmed by numerous examples of his customary forms.<sup>403</sup> There are several examples of distinctive Vulgate readings in the later epistles. **AUep 187** has the Vulgate text of John 11:50 and 11:52 alongside Augustine's customary forms of John 15:15 and 16:12. **AUep 193** reads *incredulus est* in both citations of John 3:36, while **AUep 194** contains Augustine's sole example of the Vulgate word order in John 15:22 as well as a Vulgate form of John 6:44. **AUep 238** corresponds to the Vulgate in its citation of John 17:20-23, although the date of this letter is not known.

Many unusual citations of John in the letters are probably paraphrases or slips in memory, such as the citation of John 12:25 in **AUep 243**:

Vulgate      qui odit animam suam in hoc mundo in uitam aeternam custodit eam.

**AUep 243**    qui **perdiderit** **eam** in isto **saeculo** in uitam aeternam **inueniet** eam.

This resembles Augustine's citations in other works, but there are no parallels for *perdiderit* or *inueniet* in the Old Latin tradition. Hombert's date of 394-395 for this letter would make this a possible source of Old Latin readings. **AUep 108**, on the other hand, is dated to 409/410, but has some parallels in its biblical text with Codex Vercellensis, as in John 13:35:

in hoc **scient** omnes quia **discipuli** mei estis si **ueram** dilectionem habueritis in **uobis**. (**AUep 108.6.17/631.12**)

Codex Vercellensis reads *mei discipuli* and *inter uos*, but is otherwise identical, including the addition of *ueram*. It also supplies a parallel for *auferebat* in John 12:6. **AUep 140** contains, in addition to numerous examples of Augustine's customary text, an almost continuous

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<sup>403</sup> e.g. John 15:2 in **AUep 52** and **AUep 93**, John 7:10 in **AUep 82**, John 8:36 in **AUep 101**, **AUep 145** and **AUep 175**, John 2:25, 5:29 and 14:21 in **AUep 147**, John 8:7 and 8:11 in **AUep 153**, John 8:56 in **AUep 177** and John 10:13 in **AUep 228**. Augustine's customary text of John 6:44 occurs both in **AUep 93** and a letter from Euodius (**AUep 160**): perhaps Euodius was influenced by an earlier letter of Augustine, now lost, or one of his other works.

citation of John 1:1-14.<sup>404</sup> This has the distinctive Vulgate reading *in ipso uita erat* in John 1:4, but Old Latin forms in later verses and both versions of John 1:12, *credentibus* and *his qui credunt*. These inconsistencies suggest that Augustine was working from memory. In **AUep 265**, an early letter from Hippo, there is an Old Latin text for a number of verses of John rarely cited by Augustine. In John 3:22, the variants *exiit* and *morabatur* are both found in Codex Vercellensis. The only manuscript which matches Augustine's text of John 4:1 at AUep 265.5 is Codex Sarzanensis. This correspondence continues into John 4:2, although Codex Sarzanensis does not include *terram* in John 4:3. This letter also features one of Augustine's few citations of John 13:10 with Old Latin parallels. The citations of John 3:5 and 20:22, however, are in his customary form. This accords with the pattern we saw in some of Augustine's first theological writings of Old Latin elements alongside early appearances of a memorised text.

### 3.5 Conclusion

This analysis of the text of the Gospel according to St John in most of Augustine's works has resulted in some surprisingly clear conclusions, and both raised and confirmed a number of expectations about the general pattern of Augustine's biblical text. As suggested in Chapter Two, certain works are more likely than others to feature citations made with reference to a scriptural codex. This is confirmed by the close correspondence of the *Tractatus in Iohannem* and the *De consensu euangelistarum* to a Vulgate text-type. There is sufficient variation in the biblical lemmata from the known Vulgate texts and enough consistency within Augustine's commentary to demonstrate that the form of the citations in these works is

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<sup>404</sup> This citation starts at AUep 140.3.6. The customary texts include John 5:28, 19:24, 20:17, 21:18 and 21:19. There is also a citation of John 12:27 with Old Latin readings. Hombert (2000:515) gives the date of this letter as 412.

authorial. The liturgical sermons on John are not as clear in their affiliation with any surviving biblical manuscripts, although there are several interesting overlaps. We have also seen that for longer citations of the Gospel in theological works, Augustine has a text much closer to the biblical witnesses than his other citations, which suggests that he checked these references in manuscripts: AUq 64 has clear parallels with Codex Rehdigeranus in John 4, AUpec 1.30 has a mostly Vulgate text of John 3:1-21 and even short passages like John 5:22-29 in AUci 20 correspond more closely to the Vulgate than citations of individual verses.

Citations made by memory have been comparatively easy to distinguish, partly because of the "flattening" process described in Chapter Two and also through their comparatively stable form of text, an amalgam of Old Latin forms and readings unique to Augustine. The identification of Augustine's customary form of text, not found in any surviving witness, may also be of assistance in confirming the authenticity of disputed works, although later imitators could have used genuine writings as the basis of their text. There is also the possibility that Augustine might occasionally have been influenced by the form of biblical citations in the work of another author on which he drew as a source. The two Old Latin manuscripts which agree most frequently with Augustine's non-Vulgate readings are Codex Monacensis and Codex Usserianus.<sup>405</sup> Nonetheless, there are also many correspondences with the older witnesses, Codices Vercellensis, Veronensis and Bezae. Even though Augustine states his preference for the text of "Italian" biblical translations and only became acquainted with African traditions later in his ministry, he often cites forms of text found

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<sup>405</sup> It is interesting to note Caragliano's observation that Ambrose's biblical text is often very similar to Codex Monacensis (e.g. 1946:33), although he assigns pride of place to Codex Veronensis (1946:237).

only in Codex Palatinus, as well as some characteristically "African" renderings which are not present in this manuscript.

Despite the fact that Augustine is reasonably consistent in his citations of John made from memory, of which some characteristic examples appear in his earliest works, it is nonetheless possible to trace a progression from Old Latin forms to the Vulgate even in his "mental text". Following his use of the Vulgate for *De consensu euangelistarum* at the turn of the fifth century and the *Tractatus in Iohannem* from 406 onwards, his citations attributable to memory over the next decade begin to resemble the Vulgate form of text. In works written in the last fifteen years of his life we find a number of distinctive Vulgate renderings: the Vulgate even takes the place of Augustine's customary text in some verses which appear to have been cited by memory. Although the possibility always remains that Vulgate readings may have been introduced later, during the transmission of a particular work, the pattern is consistent enough to suggest that there has not been any major tampering with the text: given that Old Latin forms have been faithfully transmitted in the earlier works, there is no compelling reason to suspect interference in later writings.

These characteristics of Augustine's biblical text can also be used to support suggestions about the chronology of Augustine's works. In many cases, there are too few citations of John to provide adequate evidence: it is possible that a consideration of all the biblical citations in a work might offer a more solid foundation, but Augustine's customary form of each verse would first have to be identified. Even so, in those works with a larger number of citations from John alone, we have been able to connect the evidence of his scriptural text with the suggested date of that work. Furthermore, in the case of *De trinitate*, the disjunction between the text-type of the citations of John in AUtri 1 and the rest of the



work already indicated a hiatus in their composition even before the latest chronological scheme was proposed: there are grounds for suggesting a further division of both this work and *De ciuitate dei*.

Most remarkable of all, perhaps, is the affirmation that despite the vagaries of manuscript transmission and editorial practices, Augustine's biblical text appears for the most part to have been transmitted faithfully in the form originally used by the author. This is confirmed both by the overall pattern of Augustine's text of John and also by the lack of variants in the surviving manuscript tradition of his works for distinctive biblical citations, whether Old Latin or Vulgate. Augustine's evidence also suggests that the surviving Old Latin manuscripts of John represent a reliable cross-section of the many translations in circulation. On many of the occasions on which Augustine has a reading not preserved among the surviving witnesses, it is more plausible to attribute this to a paraphrase or slip in memory than a lost manuscript. As it is, the majority of his non-Vulgate readings find some parallel in the known Old Latin tradition, which means that this can in turn be used as a yardstick to determine the level of verbal accuracy in his citations. We can be reasonably confident, then, of Augustine as a witness and guarantee both of some of the Old Latin versions of John, but also of the earliest readings in the type of text which superseded them, the Vulgate.

# Appendix to Chapter Three

## Distinctive Vulgate readings in John from Matzkow-Jülicher-Aland

The following table is based on the instances in the Matzkow-Jülicher-Aland edition of John when the editors indicate that the Vulgate either has a different reading from all surviving Old Latin witnesses or shares a reading preserved in only one Old Latin manuscript. This is intended as a very basic indication of "distinctive Vulgate readings" in order to provide a set of criteria against which Augustine's text can be measured. It is more than likely that this understates the innovation of Jerome's revisions: there are many readings shared by a number of manuscripts in the edition, particularly certain groups of witnesses and "mixed texts", which are characteristic of the Vulgate rather than the Old Latin tradition.<sup>406</sup>

Although Matzkow-Jülicher-Aland cite the Wordsworth-White Vulgate, these readings have been adapted to the Weber-Gryson Vulgate to preserve consistency with the rest of this thesis, and readings unique to this edition of the Vulgate have been added. When there is variation in the Vulgate manuscript tradition indicated in the apparatus of the Weber-Gryson Vulgate which affects the distinctive reading, this has been noted: in many cases, this coincides with a text found in Old Latin manuscripts.

Some minor variants (e.g. spelling of proper nouns, division of words) are not included. The "Old Latin form" is intended for guidance only. It represents a loose consensus which is not necessarily Jülicher's reconstructed text or that of the majority of Old Latin manuscripts.

	Verse	Parallel OL ms	Old Latin form] Distinctive Vulgate text
1.	01:04		uita est] uita <b>erat</b>
2.	01:09		hunc mundum] (om. <b>hunc</b> ) <b>mundum</b> ( <i>some vg mss hunc mundum</i> )
3.	01:14	Monacensis	gratia et ueritate] gratiae et ueritatis
4.	01:15	Aureus	dixi] dixi <b>uobis</b> ( <i>some vg mss dixi</i> )
5.	01:15	Brixianus	uenit] <b>uenturus est</b>
6.	01:17	Aureus	gratia autem] gratia (om. <b>autem</b> )
7.	01:21		dixit] <b>dicat</b> ( <i>some vg mss dixit</i> )
8.	01:25	Brixianus	dixerunt] <b>et</b> dixerunt
9.	01:26	Brixianus	stat] <b>stetit</b>
10.	01:26	Corbeiensis	nescitis] <b>non scitis</b> ( <i>some vg mss nescitis</i> )
11.	01:27	Colbertinus	corrigiam calciamenti eius] eius corrigiam calciamenti

<sup>406</sup> Furthermore, certain readings now only preserved in the Vulgate may have circulated before Jerome's revision. For example, *ut maneat uobiscum* in John 14:16 is found in three citations in Ambrose (AMsp 2.26, AMsp 3.10 and AMLc 2.12), although the Old Latin reading *ut uobiscum sit* is also found in the same works (AMsp 1.58, AMsp 1.136, AMLc 2.93; citations from Caragiano 1946:216).

12.	01:38	Colbertinus	sequentes se] sequentes (om. <b>se</b> ) ( <i>some vg mss sequentes se</i> )
13.	01:42		iohannis] <b>iohanna</b> ( <i>some vg mss iona</i> )
14.	01:50	Colbertinus	maiora horum] <b>maius</b> <b>his</b>
15.	01:50	Colbertinus	sub arbore ficulnea] sub <b>ficu</b>
16.	02:01	Rehdigeranus	tertia die] <b>die</b> <b>tertio</b>
17.	02:02		autem] autem <b>ibi</b> ( <i>some vg mss autem</i> )
18.	02:08	Colbertinus	attulerunt] <b>tulerunt</b>
19.	02:09	Colbertinus	factum] <b>factam</b>
20.	02:10	Colbertinus	tu uero] tu (om. <b>uero</b> )
21.	02:17	Colbertinus	rememorati sunt] <b>recordati</b> <b>uero</b> sunt
22.	03:04	Corbeiensis	sit senex] senex sit ( <i>some vg mss sit senex</i> )
23.	03:13	Colbertinus	de caelo descendit] descendit de caelo
24.	03:21	Colbertinus	opera eius] eius opera ( <i>some vg mss opera eius</i> )
25.	03:36	Colbertinus	non credit] <b>incredulus</b> <b>est</b>
26.	04:17		bene dixisti quia uirum non habes] bene dixisti quia <b>non habeo uirum</b>
27.	04:46	Colbertinus	erat autem] <b>et erat</b>
28.	05:12	Colbertinus	interrogauerunt eum] interrogauerunt <b>ergo</b> eum
29.	05:19	Aureus	respondit iesus] respondit <b>itaque</b> iesus
30.	05:24	Colbertinus	transiet] <b>transit</b> ( <i>some vg mss transiet, others transiit</i> )
31.	05:41	Colbertinus	honorem] <b>claritatem</b>
32.	05:44	Colbertinus	honorem eius qui est solus deus] gloriam quae a solo est deo ( <i>some vg mss deo est</i> )
33.	05:45	Colbertinus	accusabo] accusaturus <b>sim</b>
34.	06:01	Colbertinus	in partes tiberiadis] <b>quod est</b> tiberiadis
35.	06:02	Colbertinus	de infirmibus] <b>super</b> his qui infirmabantur
36.	06:02	Monacensis	sequebatur autem] <b>et</b> sequebatur
37.	06:03	Colbertinus	ascendit] <b>subiit</b>
38.	06:05	Colbertinus	eleuatis ergo oculis] cum <b>subleuasset</b> ergo oculos
39.	06:12	Colbertinus	saturati] <b>impleti</b>
40.	06:14		qui in hunc mundum uenit] qui uenturus est in mundum
41.	06:22	Colbertinus	simul ascendit cum discipulis] <b>introisset</b> cum discipulis
42.	06:22	Colbertinus	abierant] <b>abissent</b>
43.	06:23		quem benedixerat dominus] <b>gratias agente domino</b> ( <i>some vg mss agentes</i> )
44.	06:27	Colbertinus	dabit uobis] uobis dabit
45.	06:35	Colbertinus	uenit] <b>ueniet</b> ( <i>some vg mss uenit</i> )
46.	06:37	Colbertinus	apello] <b>eiciam</b>
47.	06:39	Colbertinus	perdam nihil ex eo] perdam (om. <b>nihil</b> ) ex eo
48.	06:50	Colbertinus	panis qui de caelo descendit] panis (om. <b>qui</b> ) de caelo <b>descendens</b>
49.	06:54		habebitis] <b>habetis</b> ( <i>some vg mss habebitis</i> )
50.	06:55	Colbertinus	bibet] <b>bibit</b>
51.	06:58	Colbertinus	uiuus pater] <b>uiuens</b> pater
52.	06:63	Colbertinus	quid si] si ergo
53.	06:68	Aureus	ire] <b>abire</b>
54.	06:71	Brixianus	respondit] respondit <b>eis</b>

55.	06:72	Colbertinus	traditurus erat eum] erat traditurus eum
56.	07:03	Brixianus	opera] opera <b>tua</b>
57.	07:04		huic mundo] (om. <b>huic</b> ) mundo
58.	07:04	Bezae	enim] <b>quippe</b> ( <i>some vg mss enim</i> )
59.	07:12		murmur de illo erat] murmur <b>multus</b> de eo erat
60.	07:16	Aureus	me misit] misit me
61.	07:34	Bezae	quaeritis] <b>quaeretis</b> ( <i>some vg mss quaeritis</i> )
62.	07:35	Aureus	docere] <b>docturus</b>
63.	07:36		quaeritis] <b>quaeretis</b> ( <i>some vg mss quaeritis</i> )
64.	07:36	Palatinus	uos non potestis] (om. <b>uos</b> ) non potestis ( <i>some vg mss uos non potestis</i> )
65.	07:39		nondum] <b>non</b> ( <i>some vg mss nondum</i> )
66.	07:39		erat spiritus datus] erat spiritus (om. <b>datus</b> ) ( <i>some vg mss erat spiritus datus</i> )
67.	07:40	Aureus	de turba autem] ex illa ergo turba
68.	07:42	Veronensis	a Bethleem] (om. <b>a</b> ) Bethleem
69.	07:51	Aureus	primum ab ipso] ab ipso prius
70.	08:01	Usserianus	ascendit] <b>perrexit</b>
71.	08:03	Aureus	et statuantes eam] et <b>statuerunt</b> eam
72.	08:06		eum accusare] accusare eum
73.	08:06	Aureus	haec dicebant] haec <b>autem</b> dicebant
74.	08:13	Brixianus	te] te <b>ipso</b>
75.	08:21	Bezae	quaeritis] <b>quaeretis</b>
76.	08:22	Brixianus	se ipsum] <b>semetipsum</b>
77.	08:23		uos de hoc mundo] uos de mundo <b>hoc</b>
78.	08:25	Veronensis	quod] <b>quia</b> ( <i>some vg mss and Codex Palatinus qui</i> )
79.	08:26	Colbertinus	in hoc mundo] in (om. <b>hoc</b> ) mundo
80.	08:27		dicebat deum] dicebat (om. <b>deum</b> )
81.	08:31		ex iudaeis] (om. <b>ex</b> ) <b>iudeos</b>
82.	08:31	Colbertinus	uerbo] <b>sermone</b>
83.	08:37	Aureus	semen] <b>fili</b>
84.	08:38	Rehdigeranus	patrem meum] patrem (om. <b>meum</b> ) ( <i>some vg mss patrem meum</i> )
85.	08:39	Corbeiensis	faceretis] <b>facite</b>
86.	08:40	Brixianus	locutus sum uobis] uobis locutus sum
87.	08:41	Brixianus	dixerunt ei] dixerunt <b>itaque</b> ei
88.	08:44	Brixianus	ex suis propriis] ex (om. <b>suis</b> ) propriis
89.	08:45	Brixianus	ego quia] ego <b>autem</b> quia
90.	08:46		arguet] arguit
91.	08:48	Brixianus	responderunt iudaei] responderunt <b>igitur</b> iudaei
92.	08:54	Brixianus	honorifico] <b>glorifico</b>
93.	08:58	Brixianus	ante abraham] <b>antequam</b> abraham <b>fieret</b>
94.	09:04	Veronensis	me misit] misit me
95.	09:05		in hoc mundo sum] in (om. <b>hoc</b> ) mundo sum
96.	09:09	Aureus	alii autem dicebant] alii autem <b>nequaquam</b>
97.	09:09	Aureus	est illi] est <b>eius</b>
98.	09:09	Bezae	ille autem] ille (om. <b>autem</b> ) ( <i>some vg mss and Codex Brixianus ille uero</i> )

99.	09:10		tibi oculi] oculi tibi ( <i>some vg mss and Codices Veronensis and Usserianus oculi tui</i> )
100.	09:11	Aureus	in siloam] ad natatoriam siloae
101.	09:12	Sarzanensis	dixerunt ergo] dixerunt (om. <b>ergo</b> )
102.	09:17	Bezae	illi caeco] (om. illi) caeco
103.	09:17	Monacensis	caeco] caeco <b>iterum</b>
104.	09:18	Aureus	caecus fuit et uidet] caecus <b>fuisset et uidisset</b>
105.	09:18	Brixianus	quoniam] <b>quia</b>
106.	09:22	Brixianus	decreuerant] <b>conspirauerant</b> ( <i>some vg mss and Codex Aureus conspirauerunt</i> )
107.	09:25	Veronensis	caecus eram et modo] caecus <b>cum essem</b> (om. <b>et modo</b> )
108.	09:30		oculos meos] meos oculos
109.	09:31	Brixianus	scimus] scimus <b>autem</b>
110.	10:04	Brixianus	oues suas] <b>proprias</b> oues
111.	10:05	Bezae	eius uocem] uocem <b>alienorum</b>
112.	10:05	Brixianus	fugiunt] <b>fugient</b> ( <i>some vg mss fugiunt</i> )
113.	10:10	Aureus	occidat] <b>mactet</b>
114.	10:11	Sarzanensis	pastor bonus pastor bonus] pastor bonus <b>bonus pastor</b>
115.	10:12	Aureus	mercennarius autem] mercennarius (om. <b>autem</b> )
116.	10:12	Sarzanensis	dispargit] dispergit
117.	10:16		unus grex] <b>unum ouile</b>
118.	10:16	Bezae	et unus pastor] (om. <b>et</b> ) unus pastor ( <i>some vg mss et unus pastor</i> )
119.	10:28	Aureus	quisquam rapiet eas] rapiet eas quisquam
120.	10:36		hunc mundum] (om. <b>hunc</b> ) mundum
121.	10:39		adprehendere] <b>prendere</b> ( <i>some vg mss adprehendere</i> )
122.	11:01	Aureus	infirmus] <b>languens</b>
123.	11:03	Brixianus	ad iesum] ad <b>eum</b>
124.	11:04	Aureus	dixit] dixit <b>eis</b>
125.	11:04	Bezae	ipsum] <b>eam</b> ( <i>some vg mss and Codex Brixianus eum</i> )
126.	11:06	Aureus	infirmatur] <b>infirmabatur</b>
127.	11:11	Aureus	post haec] post <b>hoc</b>
128.	11:11	Bezae	suscitem] <b>exsuscitem</b>
129.	11:17		ergo] <b>itaque</b>
130.	11:21	Usserianus	frater meus non esset mortuus] frater meus non <b>fuisset mortuus</b>
131.	11:22	Brixianus	petieris] <b>poposceris</b>
132.	11:27	Bezae	hunc mundum] (om. <b>hunc</b> ) mundum
133.	11:31		autem] <b>igitur</b>
134.	11:33		uenerant cum ea (flentes)] uenerant cum ea <b>plorantes</b>
135.	11:38	Aureus	iesus ergo (iterum)] iesus ergo <b> rursum</b>
136.	11:39	Brixianus	martha] martha soror eius qui mortuus fuerat
137.	11:40	Aureus	non] <b>nonne</b>
138.	11:41	Aureus	leuauit oculos suos sursum] <b>eleuatis sursum oculis</b>
139.	11:42	Fragmentum Sangallense?	et ego] ego <b>autem</b>
140.	11:44		facies eius] facies <b>illius</b>
141.	11:44	Aureus	et exiit] et statim prodiit

142.	11:44	Rehdigeranus	illis iesus] iesus <b>eis</b> ( <i>some vg mss and Codex Brixianus eis iesus</i> )
143.	11:45	Aureus	uidentes] et uiderant
144.	11:48		nobis] <b>nostrum</b>
145.	11:48		locum et] <b>et</b> locum et ( <i>some vg mss locum et</i> )
146.	11:50	Colbertinus	homo moriatur] moriatur homo
147.	11:52		sed ut] sed <b>et</b> ut ( <i>some vg mss sed ut</i> )
148.	11:54	Bezae	discipulis suis] discipulis (om. <b>suis</b> ) ( <i>some vg mss discipulis suis</i> )
149.	11:55	Veronensis	prope] proximum
150.	11:56		non uenit] non <b>ueniat</b> ( <i>some vg mss non uenit</i> )
151.	11:57	Aureus	principes sacerdotum] <b>pontifices</b>
152.	12:01		erat] <b>fuerat</b>
153.	12:01		qui fuit mortuus] <b>mortuus</b>
154.	12:01	Veronensis	in bethaniam] (om. <b>in</b> ) bethaniam
155.	12:01	Corbeiensis	suscitauit (iesus) a mortuis] suscitauit iesus (om. <b>a mortuis</b> )
156.	12:02		ergo] <b>autem</b>
157.	12:02	Aureus	et lazarus] lazarus <b>uero</b>
158.	12:03		et unxit] (om. <b>et</b> ) unxit ( <i>some vg mss et unxit</i> )
159.	12:04		iudas simon scarioth] iudas scariotis (om. <b>simon</b> )
160.	12:04	Bezae	traditurus erat eum] erat eum traditurus
161.	12:05	Aureus	pauperibus] <b>egenis</b>
162.	12:06	Aureus	habebat] <b>habens</b> (om. <b>et</b> )
163.	12:06	Bezae	pauperibus] <b>egenis</b>
164.	12:06	Bezae	exportabat] <b>portabat</b>
165.	12:06	Brixianus	et] om. <b>et</b>
166.	12:18	Brixianus	quia hoc fecit signum] <b>eum fecisse hoc signum</b>
167.	12:22	Aureus	ad iesum] <b>iesu</b>
168.	12:29	Brixianus	audiebat] <b>audierat</b> ( <i>some vg mss audiebat</i> )
169.	12:29	Brixianus	factum est] factum <b>esse</b>
170.	12:31	Brixianus	mittetur] <b>eicietur</b>
171.	12:34	Aureus	quia oportet] oportet (om. <b>quia</b> )
172.	12:35	Aureus	modicum tempus] modicum (om. <b>tempus</b> )
173.	12:42	Aureus	ut non de synagoga] ut de synagoga non
174.	12:45		me misit] misit me
175.	13:01	Bezae	in hoc mundo] in mundo (om. <b>hoc</b> )
176.	13:05		misit] <b>mittit</b>
177.	13:08		respondit iesus] respondit iesus <b>ei</b> ( <i>some vg mss respondit ei iesus</i> )
178.	13:11		qui traditurus erat eum] qui <b>traderet</b> eum
179.	13:12	Aureus	iterum recubisset] recubisset iterum
180.	13:14	Veronensis	pedes uestros] uestros pedes ( <i>some vg mss pedes uestros</i> )
181.	13:16		misit eum] misit <b>illum</b>
182.	13:18	Aureus	super me] <b>contra</b> me
183.	13:24	Aureus	interroga quis] (om. <b>interroga</b> ) quis
184.	13:32		continuo clarificauit] continuo clarificabit

185.	13:32	Aureus	et deus clarificauit] <b>si deus clarificatus est in eo et deus clarificabit</b>
186.	13:33	Bezae	quaeritis] <b>quaeretis</b> ( <i>some vg mss quaeritis</i> )
187.	13:37	Aureus	petrus domine] petrus (om. <b>domine</b> )
188.	14:01	Brixianus	credite in deum] <b>credit</b> in deum
189.	14:03		ubi ego sum] ubi sum ego
190.	14:03	Brixianus	accersio] <b>accipiam</b>
191.	14:07		amodo nostis] amodo <b>cognoscitis</b> ( <i>some vg mss and Codices Brixianus and Monacensis cognoscetis</i> )
192.	14:07	Aureus	cognouistis ... cognouistis] cognouissetis ... cognouissetis
193.	14:16		uobiscum sit in aeternum] <b>mane</b> at uobiscum
194.	14:17	Aureus	nec cognoscit] nec <b>scit</b> ( <i>some vg mss and Codex Usserianus nescit</i> )
195.	14:17	Aureus	manet] <b>manebit</b>
196.	14:22		huic mundo] (om. <b>huic</b> ) mundo
197.	14:23	Rehdigeranus	pater meus diligit] pater meus <b>diliget</b>
198.	14:23	Aureus	mansionem] <b>mansiones</b> ( <i>some vg mss mansionem</i> )
199.	14:30	Aureus	huius mundi princeps] princeps mundi huius ( <i>some vg mss and Codex Brixianus princeps huius mundi</i> )
200.	15:02	Aureus	plurimum] <b>plus</b>
201.	15:05	Aureus	adferet] <b>fert</b> ( <i>some vg mss adfert</i> )
202.	15:06		praecisus est sicut palmes et missus est foras] <b>mittetur</b> foras sicut palmes
203.	15:07		petite] <b>petetis</b>
204.	15:10		patris praecepta] patris <b>mei</b> praecepta
205.	15:21	Aureus	me misit] misit me
206.	15:22	Veronensis (Itala)	eis fuissem] fuissem eis
207.	16:02		interfecerit] <b>interficit</b>
208.	16:02		se obsequium] obsequium se ( <i>some vg mss se obsequium</i> )
209.	16:13		audierit] <b>audiet</b>
210.	16:15	Vercellensis	accipiet] <b>accipit</b> ( <i>some vg mss accipit</i> )
211.	16:20	Aureus	uos tristes eritis] uos <b>autem contristabimini</b>
212.	16:20	Aureus	in gaudium ueniet] <b>uertetur</b> in gaudium
213.	16:22	Veronensis	auferet] <b>tollit</b> ( <i>some vg mss tollet</i> )
214.	16:28	Aureus	in hunc mundum] in (om. <b>hunc</b> ) mundum
215.	16:33	Aureus	gaudete] <b>confidite</b>
216.	16:33	Bezae	in hoc (autem) mundo] in (om. <b>hoc autem</b> ) mundo
217.	16:33	Aureus	pressuram habebitis] pressuram <b>habetis</b> ( <i>some vg mss habebitis</i> )
218.	17:05	Veronensis	claritate] <b>claritatem</b> ( <i>some vg mss claritatem</i> )
219.	17:11	Aureus	in hoc mundo] in (om. <b>hoc</b> ) mundo
220.	17:12		perit] periit ( <i>some vg mss periit</i> )
221.	17:14	Aureus	odio habuit eos] odio eos habuit
222.	17:15		a malo] <b>ex</b> malo
223.	17:16	Aureus	de hoc mundo] de (om. <b>hoc</b> ) mundo
224.	17:18		eos in hunc mundum] eos in (om. <b>hunc</b> ) mundum
225.	17:18	Aureus	misisti in hunc mundum] misisti in (om. <b>hunc</b> ) mundum
226.	17:25	Vercellensis	mundus] <b>et</b> mundus ( <i>some vg mss mundus</i> )

227.	18:04	Aureus	autem] <b>itaque</b>
228.	18:04	Veronensis (Itala)	exiit] processit
229.	18:10	Aureus	seruum principis sacerdotum] <b>pontificis seruum</b>
230.	18:11	Usserianus	in uaginam suam] in uaginam (om. <b>suam</b> )
231.	18:12	Veronensis (Itala)	igitur] <b>ergo</b>
232.	18:14	Usserianus	dedit] <b>dederat</b> ( <i>some vg mss</i> dedit)
233.	18:15	Veronensis	simul introiuit] (om. <b>simul</b> ) introiuit
234.	18:15		notus erat] erat notus
235.	18:16		discipulus ille] discipulus (om. <b>ille</b> )
236.	18:17	Aureus	huius] <b>istius</b>
237.	18:17	Veronensis (Itala)	ait] <b>dicit</b>
238.	18:18		calefaciebant] <b>calefiebant</b> ( <i>some vg mss</i> calefaciebant(ur))
239.	18:19	Aureus	discipulis eius] discipulis <b>suis</b>
240.	18:22		adstans] <b>adsistens</b>
241.	18:22		dedit palmam] dedit <b>alapam</b>
242.	18:22	Aureus	ex ministris] <b>ministorum</b>
243.	18:24		uinctum] <b>ligatum</b>
244.	18:32	Aureus	morte esset moriturus] esset morte moriturus ( <i>some vg mss</i> morte esset moriturus)
245.	18:35	Aureus	principes sacerdotum] <b>pontifices</b>
246.	18:36	Veronensis (Itala)	nunc autem regnum meum] nunc autem <b>meum regnum</b> ( <i>some vg mss</i> regnum meum)
247.	18:36		de hoc mundo] de mundo hoc ( <i>some vg mss</i> de hoc mundo)
248.	18:37	Veronensis (Itala)	uocem meam] meam uocem
249.	18:40		clamauerunt ergo] clamauerunt <b> rursum</b>
250.	19:02	Aureus	ornatam] <b>plectentes</b>
251.	19:02	Brixianus	uestem purpuream] ueste <b>purpurea</b>
252.	19:03	Brixianus	palmas] <b>alapas</b>
253.	19:04		exiuit] <b>exiit</b>
254.	19:04		non inuenio causam in eo] in eo nullam causam inuenio
255.	19:04	Brixianus	illum uobis] uobis <b>eum</b> ( <i>some vg mss</i> eum uobis)
256.	19:05	Aureus	iesus foras habens] iesus (om. <b>foras</b> ) <b>portans</b>
257.	19:09		in praetorium] (om. <b>in</b> ) praetorium
258.	19:11		esset tibi data] tibi esset datum ( <i>some vg mss</i> tibi datum esset)
259.	19:15	Brixianus	ait] <b>dixit</b>
260.	19:16		susceperunt ergo] susceperunt <b>autem</b>
261.	19:16		iesum] iesus <b>et eduxerunt</b> ( <i>some vg mss and Codex Brixianus</i> et duxerunt)
262.	19:17		in locum qui dicitur caluariae locus] in eum (om. <b>locum</b> ) qui dicitur caluariae <b>locum</b>
263.	19:17	Veronensis (Itala)	quod dicitur hebraice] (om. <b>quod dicitur</b> ) hebraice



264.	19:21	Aureus	principes iudaeorum] <b>pontifices</b> iudaeorum
265.	19:24		diuiserunt] <b>partiti sunt</b>
266.	19:24	Veronensis (Itala)	super uestem] <b>in</b> uestem
267.	19:26		cum uidisset autem] cum uidisset <b>ergo</b>
268.	19:28	Aureus	impleretur] consummaretur
269.	19:29	Aureus	spongiam ergo plenam] <b>illi autem</b> spongiam plenam
270.	19:32	Aureus	crucifixus erat] crucifixi <b>est</b>
271.	19:35	Fragmentum Vindobonense	testimonium eius] eius testimonium
272.	19:36		confringetis] <b>comminuetis</b>
273.	19:38	Aureus	qui et ipse discipulus erat] <b>eo quod esset</b> discipulus
274.	19:38	Sarzanensis	occulte] occultus
275.	19:40	Fragmentum Vindobonense	mos est iudaeis] mos iudaeis est
276.	20:04		simul ille] simul <b>et</b> ille
277.	20:04	Fragmentum Vindobonense	prior] <b>primus</b>
278.	20:15	Veronensis	dic] <b>dicito</b>
279.	20:15	Brixianus	hortulanus est] hortulanus <b>esset</b>
280.	20:19		ostiis clausis] <b>fores</b> essent clausae
281.	20:20	Aureus	gauisi sunt] gauisi sunt <b>ergo</b>
282.	20:23	Aureus	et quorum] (om. <b>et</b> ) quorum ( <i>some vg mss et quorum</i> )
283.	21:01	Aureus	iesus discipulis suis] iesus (om. <b>discipulis suis</b> )
284.	21:03		prendiderunt nihil] nihil prendiderunt
285.	21:06		non potuerunt retia trahere prae multitudine piscium] iam non <b>ualebant illud</b> trahere a multitudine piscium ( <i>some vg mss and Codex Aureus iam ... prae multitudine piscium</i> )
286.	21:06	Aureus	dexteram partem] dexteram (om. <b>partem</b> )
287.	21:06	Aureus	retia] <b>rete</b>
288.	21:07	Aureus	simon itaque] simon (om. <b>itaque</b> )
289.	21:08	Brixianus	retia] <b>rete</b>
290.	21:09	Brixianus	carbones incensos] <b>pruinās positas</b>
291.	21:10	Veronensis (Itala)	cepistis] <b>prendidistis</b> ( <i>some vg mss prendistis</i> )
292.	21:11		ad terram plenum] <b>in</b> terram plenum
293.	21:11	Aureus	retiam] <b>rete</b>
294.	21:12		discipulis] <b>discentium</b> ( <i>some vg mss discumbentium</i> )
295.	21:12	Corbeiensis	dominus est] dominus <b>esset</b> ( <i>some vg mss dominus est</i> )
296.	21:13		uenit] <b>et</b> uenit
297.	21:14		resurrexit] <b>surrexisset</b> ( <i>some vg mss resurrexisset</i> )
298.	21:15	Bezae	diligis me] diligis me <b>plus his</b>
299.	21:16	Aureus	oues meas] <b>agnos meos</b>
300.	21:17	Brixianus	omnia tu scis] tu omnia scis
301.	21:18	Brixianus	praecinget] <b>cinget</b>
302.	21:18	Usserianus	quo tu non] quo (om. <b>tu</b> ) non ( <i>some vg mss quo tu non</i> )
303.	21:20	Usserianus	tradet] <b>tradit</b> ( <i>some vg mss tradet</i> )
304.	21:21	Aureus	ad iesum] <b>iesu</b>
305.	21:23		hic sermo] <b>sermo iste</b>
306.	21:23		sic] <b>si sic</b> ( <i>some vg mss sic</i> )

## Chapter Four

### *The text of John in Augustine's polemical works*

#### 4.1 Introduction

In addition to his sermons, commentaries and theological writings, a considerable proportion of Augustine's output consists of direct or indirect confrontations with his opponents. These polemical works take the form either of a transcript of a debate or a response to a book or pamphlet. There are three genuine debates, where the discussion was transcribed by a stenographer, and the accuracy of the record was confirmed by both parties.<sup>407</sup> These are:

*Contra Felicem Manichaeum* (AUFel) 404 – Debate with Felix  
*Contra Fortunatum Manichaeum* (AUFo) 392 – Debate with Fortunatus  
*Collatio cum Maximino* (AUMax co) 428/9 – Debate with Maximinus

Augustine produced a summary of the Conference of Carthage in 411:

*Breivulus collationis cum Donatistis* (AUbre) 411

Some of Augustine's pamphlets were composed in the form of a debate, such his works against Faustus and Petilian, in which Augustine turns his opponent's text into an imaginary interlocutor. In many of his polemical writings, Augustine includes lengthy quotations from

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<sup>407</sup> Augustine's biographer Possidius notes the transcription of all three of these debates, twice referring explicitly to *notarii* ; see *Vita* 6.6, 16.4, 17.7.

his adversaries and, ironically, is sometimes the only surviving source for their text.<sup>408</sup>

Verbatim reproduction of an opponent's text is found in the following works:

*Contra Adimantum* (AUAd) 394 – citations of Adimantus  
*De natura et origine animae* (AUan) 419/420 – citations of pamphlet from Vincentius Victor  
*Contra sermonem Arrianorum* (AUAr) 419 – citations from the *Sermo Arrianorum*  
*Contra Faustum Manichaeum* (AUFau) 400/2 – citations of Faustus  
*Contra epistulam Manichaei, quam uocant fundamenti* (AUfu) 396 – citations of letter  
*Contra Gaudentium Donatistarum episcopum* (AUGau) 418/9 – citations of Gaudentius  
*Contra secundum Iuliani responsionem imperfectum opus* (AUJul im) 428-9 – citations of  
Julian of Eclanum  
*Contra aduersarium legis et prophetarum* (AUleg) 420 – citations of anonymous opponent  
*Contra Maximinum haereticum Arrianorum episcopum* (AUMax) 428/9 – citations of Maximinus  
*Contra epistulam Parmeniani* (AUPar) 403/4 – citations of Parmenian  
*Contra litteras Petiliani* (AUPet) 400-5 – citations of Petilian

There are several other works with polemical titles which do not include direct quotations:

*Contra Cresconium grammaticum et Donatistam* (AUCre) 406/7  
*Epistula ad catholicos de secta Donatistarum* (AUDo) 404  
*Contra partem Donati post gesta* (AUDon) 411  
*Gesta cum Emerito Donatistarum episcopo* (AUEm) 418  
*De gestis Pelagii* (AUGest) 417  
*Contra Iulianum* (AUJul) 421/2  
*De moribus ecclesiae catholicae et de moribus Manichaeorum* (AUMor) 387-8  
*Contra duae epistulas Pelagianorum* (AUPel) 420/1  
*Ad Orosium contra Priscillianistas et Origenistas* (AUPri) 415  
*Psalmus contra partem Donati* (AUPs Do) 393/4  
*Contra Secundinum Manichaeum* (AUSe) 403/5  
*De unico baptismo contra Petilianum* (AUun) 410/1

In addition to these, we should also remember the numerous sermons and letters Augustine composed against different sects (for example the anti-Pelagian AUs 294, or AUep 185 *De correctione Donatistarum*) and his polemical use of even the commentary form (such as AUGn Ma, *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*).<sup>409</sup>

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<sup>408</sup> Monceaux observes that "avec ses citations méthodiques et complètes, on peut reconstituer intégralement des ouvrages donatistes." (1923:126-7; see also La Bonnardière 1986:336). Augustine himself attached the *Sermo Arrianorum* to his refutation (see his comment at AUAr 3.9) and also included the original *Commonitorium* at the head of AUPri. Bardy notes that Augustine often did not receive an accurate copy of his opponent's work, which may explain his practice of reproducing verbatim the text on which he comments (see Bardy 1954:27-28).

<sup>409</sup> On the anti-Donatist element in AUJo, see Berrouard 1969:78ff.

The influence of Augustine's opponents means that the biblical text of these writings should be considered separately from his other works. Firstly, in transcribing portions of his opponents' work which include scriptural citations, Augustine preserves evidence for their biblical text. In these writings, however, Augustine's own citations of John often differ considerably from the text he quotes elsewhere. This appears to be due to the influence of his opponents' version of Scripture. The minutes of debates include scriptural verses as quoted by each speaker, including, on occasion, the use of biblical codices (e.g. AUFel 1.3). The great variety of Old Latin translations is already well-known, but analysing the biblical text of these works allows us to investigate whether there are any distinctive characteristics in the versions used by opponents from the four main sectarian groups encountered by Augustine, the Arians, the Manichees, the Donatists and the Pelagians, as well as shedding light on his own use of the Bible in this context. As Anne-Marie La Bonnardière proclaims,

"Il est impossible, quand on étudie les œuvres polémiques d'Augustin, de faire l'économie de l'étude des citations scripturaires." (1986:331).

#### **4.1.1 Augustine and sectarian translations**

Given the number of translations circulating in North Africa at the time, it would be surprising if Augustine were to identify a particular version as sectarian.<sup>410</sup> Heresy is normally to be found in the interpretation rather than the translation of a text. Nonetheless, even when the wording of a passage is agreed, its punctuation (not indicated in most Old Latin manuscripts)

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<sup>410</sup> Decret, whose two indispensable works on Augustine's encounters with Manichees are frequently cited below, notes that all Gnostic sects used books from the New Testament without acknowledging the overlap with the Catholic tradition: most groups, however, had different canons of Scripture incorporating their own apocryphal literature (Decret 1970:152; see also Zarb 1938:288-9 on Manichaean apocrypha).

may give rise to differing theological positions. This can be seen in Augustine's comment on the correct division of the first two verses of John:

iam nunc exempla considera. illa haeretica distinctio: *in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat*, ut alius sit sensus: *uerbum hoc erat in principio apud deum*, non uult deum uerbum confiteri. (AUdo 3.2.15).

The divinity of Christ was a point of contention for a number of sects, hence the attractiveness of this reading which did not identify the Word and God. Similar discussions about correct punctuation are found in the next two verses and many other parts of the New Testament.<sup>411</sup> Even so, on several occasions in the polemical works Augustine criticises the actual wording of the text used by his opponent. This is frequently signalled by the phrase *non ita scriptum est*, as in the following example, concerning 1 Corinthians 10:18-20:

adhibuit enim apostolum testem eo quod dixerit: *uide Israel carnaliter nonne qui edunt hostias participes sunt altaris? quid ergo? dico quod idolum sit aliquid? sed qui sacrificant daemonibus sacrificant*. quod non ita scriptum est sed ita: *uidete Israel secundum carnem: nonne qui de sacrificiis manducant socii sunt altaris? quid ergo? dico quia idolis immolatum est aliquid aut idolum est aliquid? sed quia quae immolant daemoniis et non deo immolant*. (AUleg 1.19.38)

He also offers an alternative form of Galatians 4:10 to Adimantus:

et quod dicit: *dies obseruatis et sabbata et solemnitates; timeo uos ne frustra laborauerim in uobis*, non sic scriptum est ut Adimantus ponit. non enim nominat ibi sabbatum Apostolus. dicit enim: *dies observatis et annos et tempora; timeo uos ne frustra laborauerim in uobis*. (AUAd 16.3)

The correction of a biblical text in this way may be counted as a primary citation, even though Augustine does not explicitly refer to the reading of a manuscript. Against Julian, he

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<sup>411</sup> John 1:3 was also susceptible to different punctuations, as Augustine notes at AUJo 1.16.20: *non te abducant: pronuntia sic "quod factum est"; hic subdistingue et deinde infer "in illo uita est"*. There is a helpful note on this by Berrouard (1969:843), who observes that the continuous reading criticised by Augustine is also discussed by Ambrose, and may actually be employed by Cyprian at CYte 2.3. See also Decret 1978 vol.2 147 on the Manichaean (and Cathar) interpretation of this verse. Another example is seen in 2 Corinthians 4:4 (Decret 1970:201). Note, however, Simonetti's suspicions about AUdo 3.2.15: "Il n'a pas trouvé trace d'une telle césure chez les écrivains anti-ariens, latins et grecs. Il suppose qu'Augustin a pu en entendre parler durant son séjour à Milan. À moins qu'il ne s'agisse d'un cas hypothétique." (reported in Moreau 1997 ad loc.).

does invoke the authority of a codex in 1 Corinthians 12:23, although a Greek manuscript would hardly have contained the Latin words quoted by Augustine:

lege diligenter et inspice codicem graecum et inuenies apostolum **inhonesta** dixisse quae **uerecundiora** tu dicis. (AUJul im 4.36)

In discussing the citations of John, the evidence of Augustine's other works and the surviving manuscripts enable such variant readings to be set in context. For the time being, the fact that Augustine has been provoked to comment on his opponent's citation is important, as it demonstrates not only his sensitivity to the biblical text but also his conception of a "correct" reading, perhaps equivalent to his mental text discussed in Chapter Three.<sup>412</sup>

Not every variant is noted by Augustine. In his pseudo-dialogue with Petilian, Augustine often states that he is not concerned with textual differences where they are not germane to his argument. When it comes to Matthew 16:25, the distinction between "life" and "livelihood" is one worth making:

Petilianus dixit: ... siquidem dominus dicit: *qui perdiderit substantiam suam, centuplum recipiet eam*.

Augustinus respondit: et hoc ad rem pertinet commonere quemadmodum scriptum est. nam ubi nihil impedit intentionem meam si quid de scripturis fallis aut falleris nihil curo. non ergo ita scriptum est: *qui perdiderit substantiam suam*, sed: *qui perdiderit animam suam propter me*. (AUPet 2.99.227).<sup>413</sup>

There are sometimes readings in his opponents' biblical text on which we might expect Augustine to comment, such as Faustus' reference to the "flying Jesus" at Luke 4:29-30 (AUFau 26.2, see Section 4.4 below) or Petilian's version of John 20:22 with *sibilauit* rather than *insufflauit* (AUPet 2.32.72). It seems more likely that Augustine decided to let these

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<sup>412</sup> We have already seen in Sections 3.1 and 3.2.1 how Augustine responds to an unexpected text by introducing a gloss with the words *id est*.

<sup>413</sup> See also AUPet 2.61.138 quoted in Section 2.5.3 above. For other examples of Augustine correcting Petilian's biblical text, compare AUPet 2.61.138 on Matthew 5:19-20 or AUPet 2.62.140 on 1 Cor. 6:18.

pass according to his stance as declared above, rather than failed to notice them.<sup>414</sup> In fact, Augustine only corrects his opponents' biblical text in exceptional circumstances: it may be that he did not feel sufficiently confident about the exact wording of a verse, especially earlier in his career, or he lacked the opportunity to refer to a biblical manuscript.

Even so, there is a distinction between ignoring an opponent's variants in biblical citations and adopting them for oneself. Although Augustine knew many verses by heart, he would have encountered many different readings in his use of Old Latin manuscripts, and he also allowed himself considerable latitude in the form of his own scriptural citations. It is therefore perhaps not so remarkable if his opponents' biblical text influenced Augustine, particularly if he were quoting from memory. This may even have been a conscious decision on his part: by ignoring variants or adopting biblical readings, he could ensure that the debate rested on issues of doctrine and interpretation rather than textual matters which required specialist knowledge to resolve them.

As for the versions of the Bible used by Augustine's opponents, these reflect the theological and historical background of each sect, as well as providing important information about the circulation and transmission of these texts. Although individual texts, or the writings of a particular sect, have been investigated, this is (so far as I am aware) the first study to consider all Augustine's polemical works together. The pattern of his citations of John has already been established in Chapter Three: the focus in this chapter is primarily on the characteristics of his opponents' scriptural text which Augustine has transmitted: these can then be used to elucidate the form of his own biblical references in these works.

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<sup>414</sup> Decret observes: "habituellement Augustine ne faisait aucune remarque sur l'utilisation des textes scripturaires et parfois même il donnait explicitement son adhésion aux citations formulées par ses adversaires" (1970:154).

## 4.2 The text of John in works against the Arians

Arianism came to Africa during Augustine's lifetime with the arrival of Gothic mercenaries, hired by the Romans to defend their colonies against the Vandal hordes. The almost completely Arian character of Gothic Christianity means that translations of the Bible in Gothic have long been suspected of having Arian tendencies, although they also show similarities with some Old Latin witnesses, notably Codex Brixianus.<sup>415</sup> Given this interplay, it would be significant if there were also a distinct character in the biblical text of Augustine's anti-Arian works. The reason for considering Arianism first is that an authentic Arian source is preserved in both cases: the *Sermo Arrianorum* is transmitted in full alongside Augustine's response to it, while his piece against Maximinus followed a debate, the *Collatio cum Maximino*, of which both bishops approved the transcript. These can therefore be used to verify the accuracy of Augustine's citations of his opponents. Both works date from comparatively late in Augustine's life, at a time when we would expect him to have adopted the Vulgate, so a reversion to Old Latin (and possibly Arian) readings would be worthy of note.

### 4.2.1 *Contra sermonem Arrianorum* (AUAr) 419 and the *Sermo Arrianorum*

There are twelve citations of the Gospel according to St John in the *Sermo Arrianorum* (SA). The majority of these contain non-Vulgate readings, some of which are unique in the Old Latin tradition. For example, the neighbouring citations of John 5:22 and 5:30 read as follows:

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<sup>415</sup> See Burton 2000:15 note 2. Augustine records that he was visited in Hippo by Gothic monks (AUci 18.52.59).



sicut ipse ait *pater iudicat **neminem** sed **omne** iudicium **filio** dedit*; item ***sicuti** audio iudico et iudicium meum **uerum** est quia non quaero uoluntatem meam sed uoluntatem eius qui me **misit***. (SA 64-65)

Whilst most of the variations in word order are found in Old Latin witnesses, there are no parallels for *neminem* (rather than *neque ... quemquam*) or *uerum* (for which all witnesses have *iustum*). The form of John 8:28 in the sermon, however, is identical to Codex Vercellensis:

ut ipse docuit dicens ***sicuti** docuit me pater **sic** loquor*. (SA 150)

Most Old Latin witnesses have *haec loquor*, which corresponds to the Greek, ταῦτα λαλῶ, but the reading of Codex Palatinus, *ita et loquor*, appears to derive from a similar underlying text. There is also a single Old Latin parallel for the citation of John 12:49 at SA 31 with *aut* rather than *et*, namely Codex Bezae. In John 14:16, we see the distinctive rendering *aduocatum*, already noted in AUtri 1:

et ego rogabo patrem **meum** et alium **aduocatum** dabit uobis. (SA 195)

Four manuscripts, Codices Vercellensis, Colbertinus, Palatinus and Monacensis, have *aduocatum*, but only Codex Monacensis adds *meum*. Further parallels with Codex Monacensis emerge from the citations of John 16:13-14:

16:13 non [] inquit a **se** [] loquetur sed quaecumque **audierit** loquetur et [] uentura [] adnuntiabit uobis. (SA 95)

16:14 ille me **honorificabit** quia de meo accipiet et adnuntiabit uobis. (SA 92)

Codex Monacensis is the sole witness with both *se* and *loquetur*, joins the majority of Old Latin manuscripts which have *audierit*, and reads *uentura* rather than *quae uentura sunt* (as does Codex Usserianus). In the next verse, it is the only surviving manuscript with *honorificabit*, although Codex Vercellensis has *honorificauit* and Codex Usserianus is damaged. This rendering is also found in the citation of John 17:4, which reads:

**pater** ego te **honorificaui** super terram opus **quod dedisti mihi** consummaui. (SA 90)

Here, *honorificaui* is paralleled in Codices Vercellensis, Bezae, Monacensis and Usserianus, but the first two witnesses have variants elsewhere in the verse not found in the Sermon. In conclusion, the *Sermo Arrianorum* has a text of John very close to that of Codex Monacensis, but with some unique readings and parallels with a small group of other manuscripts, including Codices Vercellensis and Usserianus, which have already featured prominently in the analysis of Augustine's own citations in Chapter Three.

When citing the *Sermo Arrianorum*, Augustine reproduces its form of text exactly, as in the first two quotations noted above: John 5:22 and 5:30 from SA 64-65 appear at AUAr 11.11 and John 8:28 from SA 150 is cited at AUAr 34.6. On the other hand, when not quoting the Sermon, Augustine reverts to his usual wording of John 5:22, *pater non iudicat quemquam* (AUAr 14.12; also AUAr 11.32). There are numerous other examples of Augustine's customary form of text among his citations of John.<sup>416</sup> However, the biblical text-type of the *Sermo Arrianorum* appears to influence Augustine even outside his direct quotations of the sermon: for example, at AUAr 19.5, he cites John 14:16 with *aduocatum*, a rendering which has not appeared in Augustine's writings for twenty years. This cannot be a direct citation of SA 195, because Augustine omits *meum*. Furthermore, the three citations of John 16:7, a verse not quoted in the Sermon, also display these distinctive readings: at AUAr 30.11 Augustine has *aduocatus* in the first half of the verse, while in the second half he reads *cum ego iero mittam illum ad uos* (AUAr 4.10, cf. AUAr 19.8). Both these forms of text, like *aduocatus* in John 14:16, last occurred in AUtri 1 and are similar to Codex Monacensis. Has Augustine deliberately returned to this text-type, or was a subconscious memory of an earlier form of text prompted by the citations of the *Sermo Arrianorum*? The same may be

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<sup>416</sup> Customary forms of the following verses are seen in AUAr: John 2:19, 5:19 (*haec eadem* is quoted throughout AUAr 15.4), 5:26, 5:27, 6:44, 14:10, 14:23, 15:13, 16:15 and 17:3.

the case with *honorificare*: AUAr 23.8 is the only one of Augustine's citations of John 16:14 which has *honorificabit* rather than *clarificabit*.<sup>417</sup> He also reads *honorificare* in John 17:4 (AUAr 23.7), and extends this to a verse not cited in the Sermon, John 17:5 (AUAr 23.14). It seems unlikely that Augustine referred to a manuscript, because he is inconsistent: a later citation of John 17:4-5 at AUAr 31.1 has *glorificare* on both occasions, a rendering paralleled in some of his other works but poorly attested among the surviving Old Latin witnesses.

In conclusion, *Contra sermonem Arrianorum* exemplifies the different types of biblical citations found in Augustine's polemical works. There is direct quotation of the sermon itself, preserving its unique biblical readings and its overall similarity with Codex Monacensis. Augustine introduces some scriptural references according to his customary form of text, but other verses have the same form of text as citations in the sermon even when these are not quoted verbatim. This text-type even appears to be extended to certain verses which do not feature at all in the sermon. The exact motivation for this is unclear, but it is a phenomenon which recurs on other similar occasions.

#### 4.2.2 *Collatio cum Maximino* (AUMax co) and *Contra Maximinum* (AUMax) 428/9

The biblical text of the Arian bishop Maximinus has been examined in detail by Roger Gryson. As well as his part in the *collatio* with Augustine, which bears all the marks of simultaneous

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<sup>417</sup> Similarly, only AUAr 23.33 reads *a se* and *audierit*: Augustine's other citations have *a semetipso* and *audiet*, but both variants are found in the citation of John 16:13 at SA 95 and some Old Latin witnesses.

transcription by a stenographer, a handful of sermons have been attributed to Maximinus.<sup>418</sup> Gryson's conclusion, qualifying that of earlier commentators, is that Maximinus uses a biblical text of John which is distinctly similar, although not identical, to Codex Monacensis.<sup>419</sup> Not only is this the same text-type recently observed in the *Sermo Arrianorum*, but there are also further parallels. Four verses of John are cited in both works, three of which are identical: SA 64 and AUMax co 18 read *neminem* in John 5:22, which is not found in any surviving manuscript; SA 195 and AUMax co 12 both have *aduocatum* in John 14:16; in John 16:13 SA 95 and AUMax co 5 agree with Codex Monacensis in the three variants *a se*, *audierit* and *uentura*, while Maximinus coincides with this witness in a further variant, *diriget*. However, in John 16:14, where SA 92 and Codex Monacensis both have *honorificabit*, Maximinus reads *clarificabit* at both AUMax co 5 and AUMax co 10.

A complete analysis of Maximinus' text of John in AUMax co would unnecessarily duplicate that of Gryson, which also has the advantage of comparison with Maximinus' other works. The parallels with Codex Monacensis are evident, not least in Maximinus' long citation of John 5:33-37 (AUMax co 13), with four variants paralleled only by this witness, as well as his version of John 17:20 which shares several distinctive features:

non **solum** pro his rogo **sed** et pro **creditoris** per uerbum **illorum** in me.  
(AUMax co 22/737)

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<sup>418</sup> At AUMax co 10, when Augustine queries Maximinus' earlier words, Antonius the *notarius* reads them from his record. At the end of the work, each bishop adds his signature (with the indication *alia manu* confirming the autograph; on this see Dekkers 1952:128-131), and there is a note (*contuli*) to indicate that the scribal records have been compared with each other. For the other extant works of Maximinus, see Gryson 1978:45.

<sup>419</sup> Gryson 1978:69-76 has a detailed analysis of John. Gryson notes that exact correspondence would exceed all expectations: "il est a priori presque incroyable que le texte biblique d'un auteur du V<sup>e</sup> siècle soit celui même qu'on retrouve dans un manuscrit déterminé de la vieille-latine; pareille rencontre tiendrait du miracle." (1978:70).

There are several occasions on which Maximinus is inconsistent, suggesting that he is citing from memory. He also has a number of readings not paralleled in any surviving manuscript; *neminem* in John 5:22 has been mentioned above, and in John 11:42, the phrase *eos qui circumstant* is a loose rendering of τὸν ὄχλον τὸν περιεστώτα.<sup>420</sup>

Maximinus cites John around five times more frequently than Augustine does: this is perhaps not surprising given the Arian preference for this Gospel. Augustine's citations in the *collatio* follow his customary text, e.g. John 5:26 and 16:15, and there are no occasions on which he is obviously influenced by Maximinus.<sup>421</sup> In Augustine's follow-up work promised at the close of the debate, *Contra Maximinum*, the explicit quotations of his interlocutor reproduce Maximinus' biblical text faithfully: for example, at AUMax 2.14.19, Augustine quotes the introduction and citation of John 10:18 from AUMax co 14, and he continues to use *praeceptum* throughout the paragraph instead of his preferred reading *mandatum*. Similarly he begins AUMax 2.26.8 with the introduction and citation of John 8:56 used by Maximinus at AUMax co 26:

ipse unigenitus in sancto affirmavit euangelio sic: *Abraham pater uester exsultavit ut uideret diem meum et uidit et gauisus est.* (AUMax 2.26.8/809)

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<sup>420</sup> Further inconsistencies are found in John 1:3 and 1:14; Gryson also suggests that Maximinus relied on memory (1978:49, 64). While Maximinus has *custodire* for τηρεῖν in John 8:51 and 14:21, in John 14:15, he reads *seruare*. Similarly ἐντολή is rendered by *praeceptum* in John 10:18 but *mandata* in John 14:15. These patterns of variation are also found in some Old Latin manuscripts: the latter features in Codex Brixianus. It is also interesting that in both his citations of John 1:2 (AUMax co 17), Maximinus reads *hic erat in principio* rather than *hoc erat in principio*, taking *filius* and not *uerbum* as the antecedent in John 1:1; it seems unlikely that there was any manuscript basis for this.

<sup>421</sup> Compare the statement of Gryson: "les deux controversistes ne se sont pas laissé dicter le texte de leurs citations par l'adversaire et sont demeurés chacun fidèles à la version qui leur était familière; le procès-verbal des débats ne peut être suspecté d'inexactitude ou d'accommodation sur ce point." (1978:59). On the Arian use of John, see Sumruld (1994:60) and the list of proof texts given by Comeau (1930:250).

On this occasion, however, Augustine immediately reverts in his argument to his customary text, *Abraham concupiuit diem meum uidere*.

Elsewhere, Augustine does not quote Maximinus verbatim, but selects some of his biblical testimonia from the debate without changing their characteristic features. At AUMax 2.14.8, Augustine takes three citations from John found in AUMax co 14:

quid itaque mirum est si ea quae commemoras dicit: *ego quae placita sunt patri, facio semper* [John 8:29]; et ad monumentum Lazari: *pater gratias ago tibi quia audisti me; et ego sciebam quia semper me audis, sed propter eos qui circumstant dixi, ut credant quia tu me misisti* [John 11:41-42]; et iterum: *me oportet operari opera eius qui me misit* [John 9:4]? (AUMax 2.14.8)

Augustine preserves *propter eos qui circumstant* in John 11:42, a reading unique to Maximinus, but there are also a couple of minor changes. In John 8:29, the citation at AUMax co 14 reads *quae placita sunt ei*. Although it is plausible that Augustine has substituted the noun for clarification, it is interesting to note that both Maximinus' other citations of this verse (AUMax co 10 and 22) read *patri*: furthermore, there is no parallel for this in the surviving manuscripts. In John 11:41, the majority of Old Latin witnesses have *sciebam quia*, yet the original citation at AUMax co 14 reads *sciebam quoniam*. This and other small variations in these quotations may suggest that Augustine was working from a slightly different transcript of the debate.<sup>422</sup>

The majority of Augustine's own citations of John in AUMax either correspond to his customary form or are close to the Vulgate, as we would expect at this point in his

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<sup>422</sup> See also John 17:20, for which AUMax co 22 has *illorum* but AUMax 2.22.1 reads *ipsorum*, or the variation in word order in John 6:38 (AUMax 2.20.3/AUMax co 20). The differences are too minor to have been noticed by Gryson, who deliberately excludes alternations of this type from his analysis (1978:48-49).

development.<sup>423</sup> Some of these conflict with the text of his opponent, as in John 5:37, where Maximinus' long citation has:

et qui misit me pater ipse **testificatur** de me. (AUMax co 13/718)

Augustine's allusion to this reverts to the more common *testimonium perhibere*:

dixeras enim quod pater filio perhibuerit testimonium. (AUMax 1.13/754)

There are a handful of non-Vulgate readings, which could have been inspired by Maximinus' biblical text or may simply be errors in memory. AUAr and AUMax are the only works in which Augustine has *quoniam* in John 16:7, but neither Arian source cites this verse. In the same verse, AUMax 2.26.14 also reads *eam* rather than *uadam*, a rendering paralleled by a group of manuscripts including Codex Monacensis. AUMax 2.22.3 is the only occasion on which Augustine reads *ipse* rather than *ille* in John 15:26. The verse is not cited by Maximinus, although *ipse* is found in Codices Palatinus, Vercellensis and Usserianus. Augustine makes several references to John 17:20-24 in this work: there are a number of inconsistencies in word order and pronouns which feature elsewhere in his output, but the Old Latin characteristics of Maximinus' text in these verses are not present.

In conclusion, Augustine's biblical text in AUMax co and AUMax is not as remarkable as that of Maximinus: the Catholic bishop normally cites his customary text or the Vulgate, although he reproduces his opponent's citations of John without comment. The distinct similarity of Maximinus' citations not only with Codex Monacensis, as already recognised, but also with the biblical text of the *Sermo Arrianorum*, leads to the suggestion that there may be

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<sup>423</sup> Augustine's customary form of text can be seen, often on multiple occasions, in John 5:19, 5:21, 5:23, 5:26, 8:50, 8:56, 10:18 and 16:15. He has a text closer to the Vulgate than his earlier citations in John 7:38, 8:25, 17:3 and 19:30.

something about this translation which is distinctively Arian.<sup>424</sup> At the least, it is clear that this Old Latin text-type was used in Arian circles, although it does not appear to have any discernible theological characteristics. Bearing in mind the frequent agreement of Augustine's non-Vulgate readings with this group of manuscripts, it is probably best to describe it as a localised text-type used by a number of Christian communities. On the other hand, it is possible that once Augustine and the Catholic Church had adopted the Vulgate, the Arians may have continued to use and copy manuscripts of this type and could be responsible for the few examples which are still preserved.

### 4.3 The text of John in works against the Manichees

Before his conversion to Catholic Christianity, Augustine had himself been a Manichee.<sup>425</sup> The information he provides about Manichaeism use of the Bible is therefore worthy of serious consideration. In his own additions to the section on Manichees in *De Haeresibus*, he notes:

ipsiusque testamenti noui scripturas tamquam infalsatas ita legunt, ut quod uolunt inde accipiant et quod nolunt reiciant; eisque tamquam totum uerum habentes nonnullas apocryphas anteponunt. (AUhae 46.15).<sup>426</sup>

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<sup>424</sup> Fischer says of Codex Monacensis: "ihr Text ist verwandt mit arianischen Schriftstellern um die Wende des 4. zum 5. Jh. und der unmittelbar folgenden Zeit wie Maximinus." (1972:36). Codex Monacensis has also been linked with Illyria, where Arianism was particularly strong (see Sumruld 1994:38). Hort noticed similar "Antiochian" readings in Codices Brixianus and Monacensis, but these witnesses frequently differ in their renderings of the same Greek variants (Burkitt 1896:55-56). Despite the Arian connection, Caragliano remarks on the close relationship between Ambrose's citations and this manuscript (1946:34).

<sup>425</sup> It is worth remembering that, despite the eastern origin of the sect and their emphasis on the own literature, the Manichees considered themselves Christians: like Augustine's other opponents, they regarded the Catholics as heretical (Decret 1978:176, 349-350; Koenen 1978:163). Frend claims that Augustine "remembered far more about Manichaeism literature and ideas than would be expected in an African Catholic bishop" (1954:863) and goes on to state that "there is evidence to suggest that a certain amount of secret Manichaeism persisted within the Catholic Church" (1954:865).

<sup>426</sup> The majority of AUhae is a translation of Epiphanius' *On Heresies*. Certain sections, especially that on Manichaeism, have been expanded by Augustine; compare also Augustine's observation on the Priscillianists: *hoc uersutiores etiam Manichaeis, quod nihil scripturarum*



He gives a similar description in a letter written at the same time:

qui etiam in scripturis canonicis testamenti noui, hoc est in ueris euangelicis et apostolicis litteris, non accipiunt omnia sed quod uolunt et libros eligunt quos accipiant, aliis improbatis. sed et in singulis quibusque libris loca distinguunt quae putant suis erroribus conuenire: caetera in eis pro falsis habent. (AUep 237.2).

Both these accounts are disappointingly vague as to the exact nature of the New Testament used by the Manichees, although they seem to imply that the difference lay not in the text but the interpretation. Suggestions that they had an abbreviated version of Scripture are hard to substantiate: the most promising indications are found in several of Augustine's comments to Adimantus, such as:

et istorum fraus qui particulas quasdam de scripturis eligunt, quibus decipiant inperitos non conectantes quae supra et infra scripta sunt, ex quibus uoluntas et intentio scriptoris possit intellegi. (AUAd 14.2; see also AUAd 3.3, 12.4 and 28.1).

In context, however, this is much more likely to refer to the Manichaean practice of quoting selected New Testament passages out of context or with certain words omitted, which Augustine criticises elsewhere.<sup>427</sup> Instead, the Manichees appear to have used the same biblical manuscripts as Catholic Christians, but treated the text in many places as suspect, dismissing uncongenial elements as later interpolation. Augustine describes to Jerome their inability to produce uncorrupted originals:

Manichaei plurima diuinarum scripturarum, quibus eorum nefarius error clarissima sententiarum perspicuitate conuincitur, quia in alium sensum detorquere non possunt, falsa esse contendunt; ita tamen, ut eamdem falsitatem non scribentibus apostolis tribuant, sed nescio quibus codicum corruptoribus. quod tamen quia nec pluribus siue antiquioribus exemplaribus, nec praecedentis linguae auctoritate, unde latini libri interpretati sunt, probare aliquando potuerunt, notissima omnibus ueritate superati confusique discedunt. (AUep 82.2.6).

This proved one of the reasons why Augustine began to turn from the sect, as he explains in the *Confessiones*:

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*canonicarum repudiant simul cum apocryphis legentes omnia et in auctoritatem sumentes* (AUhae 70; see Zarb 1938:64).

<sup>427</sup> e.g. AUmor 2.14.31. See further Decret 1978:22.

et inbecilla mihi responsio uidebatur istorum, quam quidem non facile palam promebant sed nobis secretius, cum dicerent scripturas noui testamenti falsatas fuisse a nescio quibus, qui iudaeorum legem inserere christianae fidei uoluerunt, atque ipsi incorrupta exemplaria nulla proferrent. (AUcf 5.11.21).<sup>428</sup>

François Decret, author of two important monographs on Augustine's encounters with the Manichees, finds no evidence of any textual alteration of Scripture:

"Ainsi donc, les codices utilisées dans le secte sont ceux qui sont lus chez les catholiques et chez les donatistes." (1970:153; see also 202).

Indeed, Faustus the Manichee makes a point of using the same biblical text as all other Christians, as shown in Augustine's contribution to a discussion on textual falsification (quoted in full at the beginning of Chapter Two):

Augustinus: quid facitis, dicite mihi, nisi clamaretis nullo modo uos potuisse falsare codices, qui iam in manibus essent omnium christianorum? (AUFau 32.16)

Faustus' reliance on an Old Latin version of the canonical form of text is confirmed below by the analysis of his citations. The extent of the New Testament which the Manichees regarded as genuine has long been the subject of debate.<sup>429</sup>

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<sup>428</sup> See also AUre 1.9.6: *quae disputatio contra Manichaeos habenda est, qui non accipiunt scripturas sanctas ueteris instrumenti, in quibus peccatum originale narratur, et quidquid inde in litteris apostolicis legitur detestabili inpudentia immisum fuisse contendunt a corruptoribus scripturarum, tamquam non fuerit ab apostolis dictum*. This is one of the rare occasions when Augustine uses *instrumentum* rather than *testamentum*, a reading also found in Tertullian (O'Malley 1967:33, Zarb 1938:106, Williams 1969:51) and Jerome (Sutcliffe 1969:88). Zarb (1938:468-469) lists a number of other passages in which Augustine responds to Manichaean claims of falsification.

<sup>429</sup> A historical survey of scholarly positions is presented by Ries (1961); Decret (1970:169-172) has a list of all the New Testament citations made by Faustus, Fortunatus and Felix: all books are represented apart from Revelation and several Epistles (1 and 2 Thessalonians, 2 Timothy, Philemon, 1 and 2 Peter, James and Jude). Faustus even has four citations from Acts, normally rejected by the Manichees. Nonetheless, Decret cautions that "il ne faudrait pas conclure que tous les *loci* cités ou évoqués par les polémistes manichéens aient été admis dans la secte et puissent figurer dans une sorte de «Bible manichéenne» ... les Manichéens utilisent également l'«ivraie» si elle leur est utile." (1970:174). Decret also suggests that the Manichees did not completely reject the Old Testament (1978:21); La Bonnardière (1986:36) says that Augustine as a Manichee read the Pentateuch.

It is often stated that the Manichees used a Diatessaron, or Gospel Harmony, rather than the four canonical accounts.<sup>430</sup> This is consistent with the origins of the sect in Syria, where the Diatessaron was prevalent. Nonetheless, true Diatessaronic readings are notoriously difficult to identify and there are few which feature in these works: the most compelling is Faustus' allusion to the "Flying Jesus" tradition at Luke 4:29-30.<sup>431</sup> Against this, we should place the emphasis made by the Manichees on the identity of their biblical text with that of the Catholics, as well as the fact that Augustine rarely challenges their citations, unlike those of the Donatists:

"Augustin ... ne récusé jamais les citations faites par ses adversaires et déclare que les *codices* en usage dans la secte ne sont pas différents de ceux que lisent les catholiques." (Decret 1970:164).<sup>432</sup>

Alongside references to the four evangelists, these considerations suggest that Augustine's Manichaean opponents used the canonical gospels. This may be a peculiarity of the African

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<sup>430</sup> The first to suggest this was Isaac de Beausobre in 1734 (Petersen 1994:91) and it has been maintained by recent scholars, most notably Quispel: "It is certain that the Manichees of North Africa during the lifetime of Saint Augustine had a Latin Diatessaron at their disposal" (Quispel 1975:58). On problems with the hypothesis of an Old Latin version of the Diatessaron, see Schmid 2003. Although Tardieu does not believe the Manichees used Tatian's Diatessaron but a shorter harmony (Petersen 1994:225), Petersen himself believes that "Manichaean use of a Diatessaron continues to be confirmed by new readings" (1994:338; see also 1995:89). Quispel goes on to claim that "Augustine ... must have known the Gospel in its Manichaean form. ... Even after his conversion the text of this Gospel Harmony lingered on in his unconscious mind, for his memory was excellent. Especially in his sermons, which were extemporised and written down by stenographers, we may expect such 'Freudian slips'." (1975:60). His evidence, however, is weak: so-called Diatessaronic readings in Augustine are discussed in Section 5.3.3 below.

<sup>431</sup> See Baarda (1994:78). Much has been made of this, and Augustine's failure to comment on the allusion, but as he seldom comments on his opponents' biblical text, his silence is not surprising: see Section 4.1.1 above.

<sup>432</sup> See also Augustine's explicit statement *agnosco et amplector testimonia diuinarum scripturarum* (AUFo 22), discussed at Decret 1970:154. There are a couple of exceptions which prove the rule: Augustine does comment on Felix's citations of Matthew 25:41 and Luke 13:27, as well as objecting to Faustus' text at AUFau 21.2. Frend's claim that some African Catholics may also have practised Manichaeism suggests that the use of different versions of the Bible was less likely, although he notes that according to AUep 64.3 a Catholic bishop Quintasius had permitted Manichaean scriptures to be read in his diocese (1954:865).

branch of the sect, or evidence of wider practice: Petersen (1994:441) notes that the question is still open as to whether the Diatessaron was the principal gospel text for the Manichees or merely supplementary. The fact that Faustus cites freely from the Old Testament indicates that he did not solely use the biblical texts approved by the sect. The Manichees had their own *scriptoria* and were famed for the beauty of their manuscripts, but there is no evidence that their interests ever extended to textual criticism.<sup>433</sup>

The lenses through which the Manichees read the Bible were a group of writings attributed to Mani and his disciples, the "five authors" mentioned in the record of Augustine's debate with Felix (AUFel 1.14). These works are not preserved in full, although one of them was the *Epistula Fundamenti* which Augustine cites in this debate, and to which he wrote a full response in 396. Unfortunately, none of the five citations of John in this work comes from the text of the letter.<sup>434</sup> In AUfu 6, we find Augustine's earliest citation of one of the references to the Paraclete, John 14:16, in the form:

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<sup>433</sup> On Manichaean *scriptoria*, see Decret 1970:102; compare Augustine's comment, *tam multi et tam grandes et tam pretiosi codices uestri* (AUFau 13.6); Decret observes that: "les Manichéens ne font jamais la moindre allusion aux manuscrits originaux grecs" (1970:156) and he has found little evidence for a distinctive biblical text in their citations: "les Manichéens ... n'ont jamais eu recours à des versions latines particulières. On remarque certes quelques variantes entre les loci qu'ils citent et les mêmes passages données par Augustin, mais l'ancien Auditeur n'a jamais accusé ses adversaires de falsifier les textes." (1978, vol.2, 147 note 185). For Decret, this proves that the Manichees were using African biblical manuscripts. Nonetheless, he notes two readings from the Tebessa manuscript which appear peculiar to the Manichees: *angustus trames* in Matthew 7:13 and *fructus luminis* in Ephesians 5:9 (1978, vol.2, 147-148). To this, we may tentatively add the reading *omni* in Galatians 3:13, which occurs once in AUFau 20.2 and coincides with Manichaean doctrine (Koenen 1978:179), although elsewhere all Manichees use the canonical form. Berrouard 1988:515 asserts that the Manichaean version of John 8:44 read *sicut pater eius* rather than *et pater eius*, relying on the text of *Acta Archelai* 33.29: the verse is not cited by Augustine's Manichaean opponents, although Julian of Eclanum has *sicut pater tuus* in a reminiscence of this verse at AUJul im 1.67.25.

<sup>434</sup> The citations of John in AUfu have the same Old Latin characteristics as those found in Augustine's other early works, reading *lumen uerum quod* in John 1:9, *tamquam* in 1:14 and *clarificatus* in 7:39. This is the earliest work in which Augustine has *insufflauit in faciem discipulorum* in John 20:22. For more on the history of this work, see Decret 1978:107ff..

ubi dominus ait *et alium paracletum mittam uobis*. (AUfu 6/199.16)

This is significant because the Manichees believed that Mani was the promised Paraclete, distinct from the Holy Spirit. In his other early citations of these verses (e.g. AUtri 1) Augustine has the rendering *aduocatus*, so his use of *paracletus* here may be a concession to the Manichees.<sup>435</sup> The two principles of Light and Darkness, as found in the Johannine Prologue, were also key Manichaean concepts: although there is no variation for *tenebrae*, they seem to have preferred the rendering *lux* rather than *lumen*.<sup>436</sup>

Augustine's writings against the Manichees date from early in his career. As well as debates with Fortunatus (392) and Felix (404) and responses to Manichaean works, including *Contra Adimantum* (394), *Contra Secundinum* (403/5) and the thirty-three books against Faustus (400/2), he also wrote a comparison of the customs of the Catholics and Manichees (AUmor 387-8) and embarked on a lengthy project to expound Genesis in the face of Manichaean

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<sup>435</sup> On the distinction between Mani and the Holy Spirit, see Decret 1970:235 and 294. The identification of Mani and the Paraclete is found throughout these texts (e.g. AUfu 8, AUFel 1.9, AUFau 13.17, 15.4). At AUcf 5.5.8, however, Augustine describes Mani as the *spiritum sanctum, consolatorem et ditatorem fidelium* but does not use the word *paracletum*. Nonetheless, it is clear that this was the preferred text of the Manichees, although Secundinus uses the word *patronus* rather than *paracletus* (Decret 1978:275-276). Koenen claims that in this citation at AUfu 6, "Augustine ... followed the Syriac version of the *Diatessaron* corresponding to John 14,16 which he obviously knew from his Manichaean days." (1978:173): John 14:16 contains the only reference to *alium paracletum*, but in its canonical form has a third-person verb. However, as we shall see in Felix's citation at AUFel 1.2, the Paraclete verses are often conflated: the first person is found in John 15:26 and 16:7. It is much more plausible to ascribe this unique form, aberrant among all Augustine's citations of this verse, to memory (or perhaps even the influence of a form of text found in the *Epistula Fundamenti*) than to claim it as a Diatessaronic citation, which it is far from "obvious" that Augustine knew as an *auditor*; similarly Zarb (1938:298-299) denies that Augustine was able to read Syriac. Compare Petersen's discussion of the misidentification of the Paraclete verses in the Manichaean Kephalaia by Quispel ("Arguing from the wrong lemma", Petersen 1994:361-363).

<sup>436</sup> See the citations of these verses assembled by Decret (1970:221-222); there is one exception, when Faustus uses *lumen*. Augustine also criticises the Manichaean interpretation of John 1:1 in AUbo 25 (Decret 1978:129). Secundinus offers a typically Manichaean exegesis of *nihil* in John 1:3 (see Decret 1978, vol.2, 101).

objections to the Old Testament. Not all these works include verbatim quotation from Augustine's opponents, and some have few citations of John, but they cover the period immediately before and contemporary with Augustine's first encounter with Jerome's version of the Gospels. It is possible that Augustine had become familiar with the New Testament during his time as a Manichaean *auditor*, but if so, this left little impression. The scarcity of biblical citations in his earlier works is entirely consistent with his starting biblical study afresh.<sup>437</sup>

#### 4.3.1 *Contra Fortunatum Manichaeum* (AUFo) 392

Augustine's earliest recorded debate was against the Manichee Fortunatus, whom both he and Possidius describe as a *presbyter*. There are ten citations of John, eight of which are on the lips of Fortunatus. These have some correspondences with surviving Old Latin witnesses: in John 3:6 the Manichee reads *de spiritu* and *de carne*, while in John 14:9 he has the word order *qui me uidit uidit et patrem*. Neither of his citations of John 10:18 include *iterum*, although one reads *accipiendi* (AUFo 32) and the other *sumendi* (AUFo 33).<sup>438</sup> Among the

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<sup>437</sup> Stock (1996:46) states that only the higher ranks of Manichees knew the canonical Scriptures. Brown notes that one of the few Scriptural citations in Augustine's early works, "Seek and you shall find", had been "a common tag among the Manichees" (2000:104), while La Bonnardière claims that through the Manichees, "Augustin commença à connaître certains écrits bibliques qu'il n'avait à peu près – pour ne pas dire jamais – connus auparavant." (1986:34). Some scholars argue for a far deeper acquaintance with Manichaean literature: "quittant la secte, le converti emporta sa bibliothèque gnostique qui lui serait utile dans la controverse avec ses amis d'hier" (Ries 1964:312). Although such a hypothesis may be *a priori* attractive, there is no evidence to support it: Augustine's citations of non-canonical literature appear only in his later works and his earlier output is more reliant on the secular curriculum of the Latin classics. On Augustine's gradual familiarisation with the Bible, see Bardy's comment that Augustine left AUGn unfinished, "comme il était encore novice dans l'explication des Écritures" (1954:22), Decret (1978:21 and 55), and Sections 2.2 and 3.4.1 above.

<sup>438</sup> Decret (1970:167) takes this as evidence that Fortunatus' citations were made from memory. Note that *accipiendi* is also attested in two manuscripts of AUq 80, discussed above at Section 3.4.1.1.

surviving witnesses for John 10:18 *iterum* is missing from Codices Palatinus and Corbeiensis, while only Codex Rehdigeranus has *accipiendi*. Augustine normally includes *iterum*: his citation of this verse at AUFo 34 without this adverb is probably based on Fortunatus' preceding text.

Fortunatus' other citations have variants which are not paralleled in any surviving manuscripts. In John 15:22, most witnesses read:

si non uenisset et locutus fuisset eis peccatum non haberent. nunc autem excusationem non habent de peccato suo.

Fortunatus has a repetitive form:

si non uenisset et locutus **eis** fuisset peccatum non haberent. nunc **uero** quia ueni et locutus sum et noluerunt mihi credere **ueniam** de peccato [] non **habebunt**.  
(AUFo 21)

Although there are two witnesses which read *uero* in this verse, there is no surviving alternative to *excusationem* as a translation of πρόφασις, nor any support for the repetition. Fortunatus is also guilty of conflation, as can be seen in the introduction of a phrase from John 8:52 into John 5:24:

qui in me crediderit **mortem non gustabit in aeternum** sed transitum faciet de morte ad uitam et in iudicium non ueniet. (AUFo 3)

Such conflations are occasionally claimed as evidence for the use of a Gospel harmony, but although surviving harmonies amalgamate small units of text in passages treated by more than one Gospel, the Johannine discourses are normally preserved in full. Decret suggests that the aggregation of numerous scriptural references represents a distinctively Manichaean method of exegesis.<sup>439</sup> A similar example is provided five lines earlier by Fortunatus' form of

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<sup>439</sup> "La méthode manichéenne ... souvent fait appel à une orchestration scripturaire" (Decret 1970:160-161). These words recall La Bonnardière's description of Augustine's exegesis, which perhaps was inspired by this model, although the Manichaean groups tend to be much more tightly fused together.

John 14:6, incorporating John 10:9:

ego sum uia ueritas et **ianua** et nemo **potest** ad patrem **peruenire** nisi per me.  
(AUFo 3).

Here, the combination of two of the "I am" sayings from John could betray deliberate editing: *ianua* suits the second half of the verse, although *ueritas* still sits rather oddly. Nonetheless, the sequence recurs in AUFo four lines later and there are, intriguingly, two examples of Augustine using *ianua* in the context of this verse (AUs 12.21 and AUs 142.5.5). Fortunatus displays interesting characteristics in other biblical books, although this is beyond the scope of the present discussion.<sup>440</sup>

#### 4.3.2 *Contra Adimantum* (AUAd) 394

Augustine rarely cites Adimantus at length and there are no citations of John on the lips of his opponent.<sup>441</sup> The majority of Augustine's citations of John display Old Latin readings paralleled in surviving manuscripts, or correspond to his customary form, e.g. *heremo* rather than *deserto* in John 3:14 (AUAd 21) or the absence of *forsitan* from John 5:46 (AUAd 5). In AUAd 9, however, Augustine cites and repeats five verses from this Gospel in a very unusual form. The introduction to the first of these, John 1:18, suggests that Augustine might be drawing his biblical text from a Manichaean source:

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<sup>440</sup> According to Decret (1970:47-48), Fortunatus cites a Vulgate form of 1 Corinthians 15:50 which angers the audience: *quia uidebant eum non omnia quae in apostoli codice scripta sunt uelle accipere* (AUFo 19). Decret appears to be unaware of the differences in origin of the Vulgate Gospels and Epistles, and if this truly is a citation of the Vulgate version, it would be one of the earliest examples of this translation.

<sup>441</sup> There are two lists of Adimantus' scriptural testimonia, Bardy 1954:23 and Decret 1978:100; the latter comments on "la remarquable connaissance des Écritures juives et chrétiennes dont fait preuve le propagandiste manichéen." Although he states that Augustine does not debate the authenticity of Adimantus' citations, there are a couple of places where the Catholic suggests that his opponent might be using a corrupt codex (see AUAd 28.1 and Decret 1978 vol.2 75-76).



insidiantur ergo Manichaei et dicunt omnia contraria esse nouo testamento, quoniam dominus dicit *deum nemo uidit umquam nisi unicus filius qui est in sinu patris ille adnuntiauit uobis de eo.* (AUAd 9/131.19)

The same form of text is repeated six lines later, with *ipse* rather than *ille*. These are the only citations of this verse in all Augustine's writings with *unicus* rather than *unigenitus*. Although the reading is also preserved in Codex Vercellensis, the avoidance of the technical term *unigenitus* suggests that a theological bias may be present.<sup>442</sup> At the end of the verse, the addition *uobis de eo* on both occasions has no support among the biblical witnesses and does not occur in any of Augustine's other citations. Between these two references Augustine quotes a version of John 5:37-38 which continues the sense of John 1:18, reinforcing the idea that these citations may derive from a secondary source:

**nec** uocem illius aliquando audistis **nec faciem** eius uidistis, **nec** uerbum eius [] habetis in uobis manens quia **ei** quem **ille** misit **non credidistis.** (AUAd 9)

This sentence is not cited anywhere else by Augustine, with the exception of AUleg 2.5.587, which reads *nec uerbum dei habetis in uobis manens*. Furthermore, his form of text here is almost without parallel: in this verse no biblical manuscript has *nec* on any occasion, *illius*, *aliquando* (all read *umquam* for πώποτε), *faciem* (from εἶδος) or *ei*. These unique readings are confirmed by repetitions later in the paragraph, before final citations of John 17:5 and 12:28:

nam cum dominus dixisset *pater clarifica me [] ea claritate qua fui apud te priusquam mundus fieret, sonuit* uox de caelo et clarificaui et [] clarificabo. (AUAd 9)

This is another example of the conflation of two similar verses that we have already seen in Manichaean writings. The occurrence and repetition of all these uncharacteristic readings within the same chapter strongly supports the hypothesis that Augustine has drawn his

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<sup>442</sup> Sumruld (1994:51) notes that the Catholic Church adopted the term *unigenitus* in response to the Arian controversy, so it would not be surprising if the Manichees continued to read the older form, *unicus*, found in Tertullian, Cyprian and Ambrose.

citations from another source, probably Adimantus, although it remains possible that he is himself responsible, as there is little evidence for his text of John 5:37-38 and in Augustine's earlier works the form of his biblical citations is often significantly different from that of later writings.

### 4.3.3 *Contra Faustum Manichaeum* (AUFau) 400/2

Faustus, the Manichaean Bishop of Milevis, is quoted extensively in Augustine's *Contra Faustum*. We have already seen that he claimed to be using the same biblical texts as all other Christians (AUFau 32.16). He is particularly remarkable for his numerous accurate citations from the Old Testament.<sup>443</sup> Many of his readings in John are paralleled by surviving Old Latin witnesses. In John 3:5, the variants *natus* and *non potest uidere* are also present in Codex Aureus. Although most manuscripts have *sed* or *et* in John 8:17, Faustus reads *nam*, as does Codex Brixianus. The most marked characteristic of his biblical text is a preference for "African" renderings. In multiple citations of John 8:13, 8:14 and 8:18 he always translates μαρτυρεῖν by *testificari*: Faustus is more consistent in this than any surviving biblical manuscript.<sup>444</sup> There are also several correspondences with the sole African witness,

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<sup>443</sup> See Decret 1970:129-145. Decret makes the remarkable observation that many of these appear to have been taken from Jerome's translation: "certaines citations concordent parfaitement avec le texte de la *Vulgate* et parfois y ajoutent des précisions de détail qu'on ne peut accuser Faustus d'avoir inventées." (1970:145). If Faustus were using Jerome's Hebrew version even before all books had been completed, this would provide extraordinary evidence about its early circulation and availability. Decret also notes that Augustine never criticises Faustus' Old Testament text except for the suggestion of a *mendosum codicum* in AUFau 6.9 (Decret 1970:145).

<sup>444</sup> Codex Vercellensis alone has *testificare* in John 8:13, Codex Bezae in John 8:14 and Codex Veronensis on the first occasion in John 8:18, although no surviving witness has it for the second occurrence in this verse. These citations are compared with Augustine's text at Decret 1970:164-165, although it is misleading to use Augustine's citations from the same work, given the possibility of influence.

Codex Palatinus: *forsitan* does not appear in either of Faustus' citations of John 5:46, which he rejects as an interpolation at AUFau 16.2, and in John 15:10 he has:

si **feceritis mandata** mea, manebitis in **mea caritate**. (AUFau 5.3)

Both *mandata* and *caritate* are African renderings, found in this verse in Codices Palatinus and Bezae. Although no manuscript has *feceritis* for τηρήσητε, it is an extension of Johannine language which is probably due to memory.

There are several other unique readings in Faustus' citations which may be faults of memory, such as *semper* for *usque modo* in John 5:17. Similarly, he reads *processi* where all witnesses have *exiui* in John 16:28 and the comparative *beatiores* in John 20:29.<sup>445</sup> Occasionally, a parallel for Faustus' form of text is found in citations from Augustine's other works: AUpec 2.9.11 and AUs 294.16.16 also have *nascitur* rather than *natum est* in John 3:6. Faustus quotes John 16:13, one of the Paraclete verses, as:

**ipse** uos **inducet** in omnem ueritatem **et ipse uobis** adnuntiabit **omnia et commemorabit uos**. (AUFau 32.6)

Although the overall shape of the verse is different from that in the biblical manuscripts, *inducet* is found in Codex Palatinus: it is also present in some of Augustine's citations which in addition supply the only parallel for *ipse*. The extra four words at the end of the verse seem to be a conflation with John 14:26, where Codices Vercellensis and Usserianus have *et commemorabit uos omnia*, as does AUJo 77 CT. This is yet another example of the Manichees' characteristic combination of different texts, which is particularly marked in the verses describing the Paraclete: it has already been noted in AUfu 6 and AUFel 1.2 will be

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<sup>445</sup> See also *nempe* in 8:17, *credit* in 10:38, *eritis* in 15:14. *Beatiores* is actually found in one Vulgate manuscript of John 20:29 (**We**, a Spanish lectionary; see Fischer 1991:547).

discussed below.<sup>446</sup> As well as the inclusion of these readings, which may have been made from memory, Faustus' biblical text is noteworthy for the African Old Latin elements in his citations.

As we have come to expect, on the occasions when Augustine quotes Faustus he normally reproduces his opponent's biblical text without alteration. For example, Augustine's citation of John 10:8 at AUFau 16.12 is identical to that of Faustus at AUFau 16.2. Augustine's only citation of John 10:38 with *credit* rather than *uultis credere*, at AUFau 13.5, corresponds to Faustus' form of text at AUFau 12.1. Despite introducing his next citation as a quotation of Faustus, Augustine does not repeat his opponent's text of John 8:18 with *testificor* and *testificatur*, but reverts to his usual rendering *testimonium perhibere*. This seems to be a one-off: Augustine's later citation of this verse at AUFau 16.13 is identical to Faustus' citation in AUFau 16.2, reading *testificari* twice. The influence of Faustus' text can also be detected in the same paragraph in citations of John 8:13 with *testificari* and John 8:17 with the distinctive *nempe*. All these forms of text are quoted without comment.

While the majority of Augustine's own citations of John in *Contra Faustum* follow his customary text, there are several unusual readings.<sup>447</sup> Some of these correspond to a form

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<sup>446</sup> This sort of conflation of the Paraclete verses is not found in any of the surviving Latin witnesses to the Diatessaron, which further suggests that these conflations are peculiar to the Manichees. In his discussion of this citation at AUFau 32.6, Decret suggests that Augustine actually rejects his opponent's wording, offering a shorter form of text and emphasising that the text is thus: *deinde paracletus sic est promissus, ut diceretur: ipse uos inducet in omnem ueritatem* (AUFau 32.16; see Decret 1970:287), but this nuance is difficult to recover. Decret also remarks on the presence of *inducet* in the Paraclete citation at AUFel 1.2 (Decret 1970:161; see further Section 4.3.4).

<sup>447</sup> For examples of Augustine's customary form of text, see the reading of AUFau in John 1:9, 3:14, 5:39, 7:39, 8:36, 8:39, 8:56, 9:31, 13:34, 13:35 and 16:33. Anderson (1939) notes that among Augustine's many Old Latin readings in AUFau, the text of Colossians 2:5 in AUFau 1, *id quod deest*, which is also found in AUJo 98.5.12 and AUep 149, appears to arise from a misreading of the Greek.

found elsewhere in Augustine's citations, but not frequently enough to be classed as a customary reading. For example, in John 10:24, where all biblical witnesses have *usquequo* or *quousque*, both AUFau 12.4 and AUs 293D.4 read *quamdiu*. Similarly in John 11:51, AUFau 16.23 and AUPs 40.1.32 alone read *oportebat mori* rather than *incipiebat mori* or *moriturus est*. Other citations agree with surviving Old Latin witnesses, such as AUFau 12.44 which, like Codex Monacensis, has *interpretatur* in John 1:41, or AUFau 12.30, with the reading *eius* in John 19:36. There is a remarkable number of variants in three verses from John 21 cited at AUFau 17:

- John 21:25      *nonne euangelium suum ita ipse conclusit dicens et alia **quidem** multa [] fecit Iesus quae si **scriberentur** [] singula nec ipsum **existimo** **capere** mundum [] qui **scribuntur** libros.* (AUFau 17.3)
- John 21:20,24   *nam circa finem libri sui etiam ipse sic loquitur conuersus Petrus uidit [] discipulum quem diligebat Iesus [] qui et **recumbebat** in cena super pectus eius et **dixerat domino** quis est qui **te tradet** ... *sed paulo post dicit hic est discipulus qui **testificatur de Iesu** et **qui haec** scripsit et scimus quia uerum est testimonium eius.* (AUFau 17.4)*

In the first of these, several of the non-Vulgate readings are paralleled in Codex Vercellensis and Codex Usserianus: the former is the only witness with *existimo*, while the latter adds *quidem* and has the word order *capere mundum*; both omit *quae* after *multa* and concur with the two forms of *scribere*. These manuscripts also display some correspondence with the second citation: Codex Vercellensis reads *dixerat* in John 21:20 and has *testificatur de Iesum* in John 21:24.<sup>448</sup> Both witnesses omit *illum* before *discipulum*, but there is no parallel for the imperfect *recumbebat* or the sequences *te tradet* and *qui haec*. It seems likely that Augustine is quoting from memory, but with characteristically Old Latin features as would be expected in a work of this period.

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<sup>448</sup> The variant *de Iesu* rather than *de his* is also found in Codex Palatinus: it probably arose through metathesis, in which *his* was misinterpreted as a *nomen sacrum*, although the replacement of the pronoun by a gloss is another possibility.

It is therefore all the more surprising to discover the following text of John 5:25-27 in one of the earlier books of *Contra Faustum*:

uno loco in euangelio secundum Iohannem ita scriptum est: *amen amen dico uobis quia uenit hora et nunc est quando mortui audient uocem filii dei et qui audierint uiuent. sicut enim pater habet uitam in semet ipso sic dedit et filio uitam habere in semet ipso. et potestatem dedit ei et iudicium facere quia filius hominis est.* (AUFau 5.4)

This is the earliest of only three of Augustine's citations of John 5:26-27 which correspond exactly to the Vulgate; the others are AUJo 19 and AUs 362.<sup>449</sup> Even in later works, Augustine normally reverts to his customary form of these verses. Does this citation bear witness to Augustine's first use of the Vulgate, predating AUEv by a couple of years? It is slightly longer than most citations from memory, but there is nothing else about this text which suggests Augustine would have needed to refer to a codex. Furthermore, all his other citations of John in this work are clearly affiliated to the Old Latin. This citation is also unusual in the wording of the introduction: nowhere else in John does Augustine use the imprecise phrase *uno loco*. These considerations cast doubt on the authenticity of this reference: perhaps it was added later by Augustine, or even interpolated during the transmission of the work.

#### 4.3.4 *Contra Felicem Manichaeum* (AUFel) 404<sup>450</sup>

The principal features of Augustine's first *collatio* with Felix are the lengthy readings from Scripture. Augustine declaims passages from the Gospel according to Luke (AUFel 1.3), the

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<sup>449</sup> AUJo 19 dates from after 406, while AUs 362 has been assigned to 410-411.

<sup>450</sup> Monceaux (1923:80) suggests that AUFel should be re-dated to 398; although Frede (1995:208) had 404 or 409, Gryson (2004) accepts Hombert's dating of 404 (Hombert 2000:31).

Acts of the Apostles (AUFel 1.4, 1.5) and the Epistles (AUFel 1.7, 1.11), using a separate codex for each:

et cum reddidisset codicem euangelii, accepit Actus Apostolorum ... et recitauit. (AUFel 1.3).

At AUFel 1.8, Felix takes the codex of Paul and reads the identical passage to Augustine. These biblical readings, together with the quotations from the Manichaean *Epistula Fundamenti* (AUFel 1.1, 16, 19), seem to have been transcribed verbatim by the stenographers. Although the other Scriptural passages have Old Latin characteristics, the long reading from Luke is without doubt a Vulgate text-type: a handful of minor variants from the generally-received text serve to corroborate its authenticity.<sup>451</sup> As Augustine was composing *De consensu euangelistarum* at the same time and had written to congratulate Jerome on the quality of his Gospel revisions, it would not be surprising if he had a copy of these to hand during the debate.

Only one verse from John is quoted on the first day of the conference, Felix's first biblical citation:

et sanctitas tua mihi probet quod in euangelio scriptum est christo dicente ***uado ad patrem et mitto uobis spiritum sanctum paracletum qui uos inducat in omnem ueritatem.*** (AUFel 1.2/802.10)

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<sup>451</sup> See Burkitt's comparison of Augustine and Felix's text (1896:66-71), from which he concludes: "unless this is mere literary fraud, the text of *Contra Felicem* must rest on mechanical reporting; if so, the probability is all the stronger that the words of the Biblical text of Lc xxiv, and of Ac i and ii, were taken down as they were read out of the codices." (1896:70). Berrouard (1977:780) records Willis's suggestion that these were liturgical codices which were not systematically updated as library copies would be, but this is not supported by the Vulgate text in Luke. Decret (1970:110) suggests that although the New Testament citations in this work appear to have been recorded directly, the citations of the Manichaean scriptures may have been abridged: further evidence is needed to confirm this.

This is actually a conflation of a number of verses in John: *uado ad patrem* comes from John 16:10, Jesus promises to send the Paraclete in John 15:26 (*paracletus quem ego mittam uobis*), the only verse which contains both *spiritus sanctus* and *paracletus* is John 14:26, and the final, most substantial clause corresponds to John 16:13. We have already noted the presence of *inducere* in this verse in Faustus' citation at AUFau 32.6, so it is noteworthy to see it re-appearing in another Manichaean citation: Decret observes that although this verb is particularly appropriate for a gnostic sect, it is unlikely to be original to the Manichees given the appearance of ὁδηγήσει in some Greek witnesses.<sup>452</sup> Augustine implicitly accepts the biblical authority assumed by Felix's introduction, and when he repeats the phrase *mitto uobis spiritum sanctum paracletum* at AUFel 1.3 he ascribes it explicitly to *Iohannes euangelista*. Both parties quote *mitto uobis spiritum sanctum* in AUFel 1.9, and Augustine repeats *inducet in omnem ueritatem* in AUFel 1.10. I have already suggested that the conflation of the Paraclete verses is a characteristic feature of Manichaean citations: whether this was done deliberately, to form a memorable credal statement, or unconsciously, remains unclear.

There are a few citations from John 1 on the second day of the conference: Felix has the Old Latin word order in John 1:5, *lux lucet in tenebris*, at AUFel 2.16. Augustine cites John 1:1 and 1:14; these are the same in both Old Latin and Vulgate traditions and therefore offer no

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<sup>452</sup> Decret 1970:161. Decret also compares this text with Augustine's citations (1970:164-165) and notes that the reference to *omnem ueritatem* was used by the Manichees to justify their inclusion of works by Mani himself as Scripture (Decret 1970:190-191). Quispel describes this citation as "a combination of John 14,13 (*uado ad patrem*), John 14,6 ... and John 16,13" (1975:65). He also notes that the Catholic bishop in the *Acta Archelai* uses a similar text: "as so often, the opponent of Manichaeism seems to have quoted Scripture in its Manichaean form" (1975:65). The doublet form, *spiritum sanctum paracletum*, is slightly unexpected given the distinction made by the Manichees between the Holy Spirit and Mani the Paraclete (Decret 1970:235).



indication of his use of Jerome's revision of John, but the clear-cut evidence for Luke confirms that he had this version at his disposal.<sup>453</sup>

#### 4.4 The text of John in works against the Donatists

The Donatist controversy was confined to Africa. Donatus opposed the consecration of Caecilian as Bishop of Carthage in 311 on the grounds that he had been ordained by a *traditor*, a bishop who had surrendered his congregation's Scriptures to the Roman authorities.<sup>454</sup> This movement of protest became a parallel church with an emphasis on purity, insisting on the rebaptism of new members and pressing its claims by inciting violence against churches and clergy who persisted with traditional Catholicism. The Donatists believed that they were the true Church in Africa and considered themselves in communion with non-African Catholics.<sup>455</sup> The power of the sect was largely broken at the Conference of Carthage in 411, thanks to Augustine and a sympathetic proconsul, although it persisted for some years afterwards in its heartland, the Berber-speaking mountain strongholds on the

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<sup>453</sup> It should be noted that AUFel 1.3, quoted above, only refers to *codex euangelii*. Although the use of the singular to denote all four gospels is commonplace, a tetraevangelium normally seems to be referred to as *codex euangeliorum*. There is little, if any, evidence for Jerome's Gospels circulating separately (after all, he put them in their distinctive order), but if Augustine did have each Gospel individually bound it would have facilitated his comparison of the different accounts in AUEv, each of which he cites in the Vulgate text-form.

<sup>454</sup> This was known as "consigning the Scriptures to the flames". It may have been used as a metaphor (Frend 1952:254), but Tilley (1997:10) states that the Roman authorities burned the manuscripts and Frend notes that in the Acts of the Council of Cirta of the four bishops who had handed over codices, "one had actually thrown the Gospels into the fire" (1952:5). A literal meaning is also supported by the *Acta purgationis Felicis* (CSEL 26; Ziwsa 1893:198).

<sup>455</sup> See Frend 1954:859 and Tilley 1997:147-148. Some churches changed hands a number of times, and the Donatists also appointed bishops in competition with Catholic sees (Hombert 2000:567, Tilley 1997:69). The Donatists allied themselves with other resistance groups, including the marauding bands of Circumcellions who were responsible for many of the attacks: for a balanced view, see Tilley 1997:94. Tilley also shows that traditional characterisations of Donatism as simply a "Church of the Pure" fail to do justice to the Old Testament principles on which the community was constructed (1997:179). A concise summary of Donatism is found in Lancel 2002:162-173.

edge of the desert. Both sides relied on the authority of Cyprian, and Donatist works contain scriptural citations with a similar text to that used by the third-century Bishop of Carthage.<sup>456</sup> Nonetheless, Augustine's rhetorical appeal to the Donatists in one sermon asserts that they share the same Bible:

fratres sumus, unum deum inuocamus, in unum Christum credimus, unum euangelium audimus, unum psalmum cantamus, unum amen respondemus, unum alleluia resonamus, unum pascha celebramus: quid tu foris es, et ego intus sum? (AUPs 54.16).

In practice, however, Augustine corrects the biblical text of the Donatists more often than any of his other opponents, as will be seen below.

Between 400 and 411, Augustine composed several works against Donatists: three books each against a letter of Parmenian and a text by Petilian (which he set in the form of a debate), a further work on baptism against Petilian (AUun), four books against Cresconius

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<sup>456</sup> Monceaux says that "Les donatistes ... continuaient à se servir exclusivement d'anciens textes ... ils refusèrent d'accepter les versions nouvelles, et gardèrent leurs vieux textes «africains»." (1901:157; see also 137 and Frend 1952:320). Zarb 1938:66-70 states that there were no differences between Catholic and Donatist canons. Burton 2000:18 notes the relationship suggested by Vogels in 1926 between the "African" Codex Palatinus and the biblical citations in certain Donatist tracts.

The question of whether the Donatists would have used codices belonging to the Catholic Church is more vexed. When they took over Catholic churches, they frequently destroyed the liturgical vessels as an act of purification (see Tilley 1997:107-110; Optatus 6). On the other hand, there is no record of their destruction of biblical codices (which would have been ironic given the initial cause of their grievance against the Catholics). Optatus appears to suggest that the Donatists reclaimed copies of the Scriptures from the authorities, and ridicules their inability to purify them: *per iudicia saecularia et leges publicas diuinae legis instrumenta executione officiorum a plurimis extorquenda esse duxistis ... extorsistis cum codicibus pallas: iudicio superbiae uestrae utraque arbitrati estis polluta. nisi fallor, haec omnia purificare properastis: lauistis procul dubio pallas; indicate quid de codicibus feceritis.* (Optatus 6.5, Ziwsa 1893:152-153).

the grammarian and a number of other polemical writings (AUBre, AUDo and AUDon).<sup>457</sup> In 418-419 he was forced to return to the controversy, debating with the Donatist bishop Emeritus and writing two books against Gaudentius. Although only AUPar, AUPet and AUGau have substantial quotations from Augustine's opponents, there are three verses in which the citations in anti-Donatist works should be considered together.

Firstly, Augustine invokes John 13:10 against the Donatist practice of re-baptism:

qui lotus est **semel** non habet necessitatem **iterum** lauandi.  
(AUDo 22.63; cf. AUCre 1.31.37, AUPet 2.22.49, AUPet 2.24.56)

In all four citations, Augustine includes *semel*, found in two minor Old Latin witnesses (Codex Colbertinus and the Fragmentum Mediolanense), while on two occasions, he reinforces this with *iterum*, for which there is no manuscript support. Nonetheless, both these additions are found in earlier Latin Fathers, including Optatus, on whom Augustine may have drawn.<sup>458</sup>

In John 15:3, relating to concerns about purity, AUCre has the form:

iam uos mundi estis propter **uerbum quod** locutus sum uobis. (AUCre 2.12.15)

This Old Latin reading is also found in Codices Vercellensis, Monacensis and Usserianus, and might therefore have been borrowed from a citation made by Augustine's opponent. When Petilian cites this verse, however, he has:

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<sup>457</sup> We should also note AUep 185, subtitled *De correctione Donatistarum*. A number of Augustine's anti-Donatist works have been lost (see La Bonnardière 1986:333). *Contra Epistulam Donati haeretici*, no longer preserved, has already been noted because of the African form of Ecclesiasticus (Sirach) 34:30, which Augustine comments on at AUre 1.21. AUre 2.45 refers to another work now lost, *Contra quod adtulit Centurius a Donatistis*, the matter in question being a book of Donatist biblical testimonia (Monceaux 1923:98). The *Libellus aduersus Fulgentium donatistam*, also attributed to Augustine, is considered spurious although its biblical citations are not without interest: the Catholic interlocutor uses a Vulgate form of text, while his Donatist opponent offers purely Old Latin citations.

<sup>458</sup> See further the commentary on this verse in Chapter Five; Monceaux observes that Augustine borrowed all the material for the early AUps Don from Optatus, including the text of the biblical citations (Monceaux 1923:190).

iam uos mundi estis propter sermonem quem locutus sum uobis. (AUPet 2.22.49)

This is the text not only of the Vulgate but of most Old Latin manuscripts, and it is closer to Codex Palatinus, as might be expected for Donatists.

The final significant verse is John 16:2, used with reference to the violent attacks by Donatist groups on Catholics.<sup>459</sup> This is cited by Gaudentius in the form:

**ueniet** hora ut omnis qui interficit uos **putet se uictimam dare** deo.  
(AUGau 1.20.22)

Augustine challenges this as an incorrect citation:

*ueniet hora quando qui uos occiderint putent se officium facere deo*, aut sicut tu hoc testimonium posuisti, *putent se uictimam dare deo*. (AUGau 1.23.26)

Neither version is paralleled in the renderings of λατρείαν προσφέρειν in the extant manuscripts: Gaudentius resembles the Old Latin witnesses with *sacrificium offerre*, while Augustine is closer to the Vulgate, which reads *obsequium praestare*. Three citations of Cyprian, however, also have *officium facere*, suggesting that this is an Old Latin reading not preserved in the manuscripts.<sup>460</sup> The only two codices which read *putare* are Palatinus and Bezae, although these display further variation at the end of the sentence, with *culturam adferre* and *hostiam offerre* respectively. This verse is also cited by Petilian:

**ueniet tempus** ut [] qui uos occiderit **putet se deo officium facere**.  
(AUPet 2.92.202)

It is noteworthy that Petilian differs from Gaudentius not just in the final words, but in reading *occiderit* rather than *interficit* and *tempus* for *hora*.<sup>461</sup> These citations suggest that,

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<sup>459</sup> The Donatists put a price on Augustine's head, justified this with scriptural texts, and offered the killer absolution (Monceaux 1923:14); see also the account of the ambush on Augustine narrated by Possidius *Vita* 9.4, 12.1-2.

<sup>460</sup> CYep 58.2, CYFo 11, CYte 3.16; see Fahey 1971:397.

<sup>461</sup> *Tempus* is not found in any surviving biblical manuscripts. Note that Augustine also cites this verse in his letter against the Donatists, AUep 185.5.20, with the text *officium facere*.

although there are some "African" features in Donatist citations, often corresponding to Cyprianic readings, there is no consistency between different representatives of the sect.

#### 4.4.1 *Contra litteras Petiliani* (AUPet) 400-1, 403/5<sup>462</sup>

Augustine set his work against Petilian of Constantine in the form of a debate even though he was actually responding to a written document. Augustine appears to quote Petilian accurately, as there are a number of occasions on which he takes the trouble to correct his opponent's biblical text.<sup>463</sup> John 8:44 provides an example of this:

Petilianus dixit: falsidicos et mendaces sic identidem obiurgat - *fili diabolis estis et ab initio enim ille accusator fuit et in ueritate non stetit.*

Augustinus respondit: non solemus legere ille **accusator** fuit sed ille **homicida** fuit. quaerimus autem unde fuerit diabolus homicida ab initio. (AUPet 2.13.30/35.22)

All the extant biblical witnesses support Augustine, with the obvious rendering of the Greek ἀνθρωποκτόνος. Nonetheless, as *accusator* is the literal translation of διαβόλος, which occurs in the previous verse, it is possible that Petilian's version may have originated in a variant Greek text.

Many other readings in Petilian's text of John are not found in any Old Latin manuscripts: in John 10:37, AUPet 2.12.27 has *facta* rather than *opera*; in John 12:24, AUPet 2.89.196 reads *faciet* rather than *adferet* (along with several Old Latin readings in this verse, such as *tritici* rather than *frumenti*); in John 13:34, AUPet 2.75.167 has *quomodo* where all

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<sup>462</sup> On the dating of AUPet, see Hombert 2000:189-193. Like AUtri above, the form of Gryson's list reads 400/1 where Hombert's original has 400-1. There are no citations of John in Augustine's later work against Petilian, AUun (410/11).

<sup>463</sup> His correction of Matthew 16:25 (AUPet 2.99.227) is quoted at 4.1.1 above, with references to other biblical books. The only occasion when an Augustinian form appears in Petilian's biblical text is in John 6:44, discussed in Section 5.2 below; this is a "flattened" form which may be common to both authors.

manuscripts have *sicut*; in John 20:22 at AUPet 2.32.72, he alone reads *sibilauit in faciem eorum*. Petilian's form of John 17:12 has four peculiar readings:

**pater** quos dedisti mihi **omnes seruauit** et **ex illis nullus periit** nisi filius perditionis ut **impleretur** scriptura. (AUPet 2.8.17)

These are highlighted by comparison with the text of Codex Palatinus:

pater quos dedisti mihi custodiui et nemo ex is perit nisi filius perditionis ut scriptura impleatur.

The majority of Petilian's variants are alternative renderings which could well have been present in biblical manuscripts now lost: parallels exist for several of his other citations, especially in Codices Palatinus and Bezae, whose agreement with the reading *putet* in John 16:2 has already been noted above (cf. AUPet 2.92.202). In John 3:27, Petilian reads:

non potest homo **facere** quicquam nisi **ei** datum **fuerit e** caelo. (AUPet 2.31.70)

Only Codex Palatinus has *facere* rather than *accipere*; it also reads *ei* and has a non-Vulgate word order at the end of the verse. In John 14:27, Petilian has *pacem meam **dimitto** uobis* (AUPet 2.22.49): all other manuscripts have *pacem meam relinquo uobis*, but Codex Palatinus has *remitto* and Codex Bezae reads *dismitto*. It is interesting that Augustine also has *dimitto* in one citation of this verse, at AUje 11.407, while it is found in Cyprian at CYun 24. There are a couple of citations with Old Latin readings not found in Codex Palatinus: in John 13:35, rather than *cognoscent* Petilian has *scient* (present in Codex Bezae and other manuscripts), and in John 19:11 instead of *aduersum me* he reads *in me* (also in Codices Vercellensis and Monacensis), along with the word order *nisi esset tibi desuper data*.

The majority of Augustine's own citations of the biblical text in *Contra litteras Petiliani* conform to his customary text.<sup>464</sup> Several of these include Old Latin readings, such as *auferebat* in John 12:6 (found only in Codices Vercellensis, Palatinus and Colbertinus) and

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<sup>464</sup> For example, John 3:5, 4:2, 10:27, 11:51, 12:6, 15:5 and 20:22.

*sarmenta* rather than *palmites* in John 15:5. When Augustine quotes one of Petilian's citations, he normally reproduces his opponent's form of text (e.g. John 8:44 at AUPet 2.13.30 or John 16:2 at AUPet 2.92.206). For John 20:22, however, following Petilian's unusual version of this verse, *sibilauit in faciem eorum et dixit accipite spiritum sanctum*, Augustine returns to his customary text without commenting on the Donatist's variant:

insufflauit in faciem discipulorum dicens accipite spiritum sanctum.  
(AUPet 2.32.76)

The recent revision of the chronology of this work, assigning the earlier books to 400-1 and book three to 403/5, is not reflected in the biblical citations. The only verse quoted in all three books is John 1:33, where Augustine reads *ipse* at AUPet 1.9.10, but *hic* at AUPet 2.2.5 and 3.49.59.

#### 4.4.2 *Contra epistulam Parmeniani* (AUPar) 403/4

There are only three verses of John cited in the portions of Parmenian's text transmitted by Augustine. All these have Old Latin readings, such as *de* rather than *ex* in John 3:6, and *datum illi fuerit* in John 3:27.<sup>465</sup> Parmenian's citation of John 9:31 provides his most interesting form:

deus **peccatores** non **audiet** sed si quis **dominum coluerit** et uoluntatem eius **fecerit illum audiet**. (AUPar 2.8.15)

Several of these variants are paralleled by Codex Palatinus and also correspond to Cyprian's citation at CYep 65.2. These sources have *si quis deum coluerit* and *fecerit*, where all other surviving manuscripts have *si quis dei cultor est* and *facit/faciat*. Like Codex Bezae, they also

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<sup>465</sup> This Old Latin text is to be expected: Parmenian succeeded Donatus in 362 as Donatist bishop of Carthage and died in 391 (Tilley 1997:96). His citation of John 3:27 varies from that of Petilian, providing yet another example of intra-Donatist variety. Tilley also notes that Parmenian seems to have used John 5:4, which he could have borrowed from Tertullian *De Baptismo* 5-6; Augustine also refers to this verse at AUPar 2.11.23 (Tilley 1997:105).

have *audit* rather than *exaudit*. When Augustine quotes this verse two paragraphs later, his text seems to be influenced by Parmenian's citation, even though it is not identical:

deus **peccatorem** non audit sed si **qui dominum coluerit** et uoluntatem eius **fecerit ipsum exaudiet**. (AUPar 2.8.17)

The singular noun *peccatorem* and compound verb *exaudiet* are features of Augustine's customary text, which appear in his citations in other works.

Although most of Augustine's citations of John in this work follow his customary text, there are several unusual readings which might also have been influenced by one of Parmenian's citations in a passage not reproduced by Augustine.<sup>466</sup> In John 5:21, AUPar 2.14.32 is the only one of Augustine's twenty citations to read *excitat* rather than *suscitat*: all surviving manuscripts have *suscitat* too. At AUPar 2.15.34, the citation of John 16:15 has elements of Augustine's customary form:

omnia **quae** habet pater mea sunt, **ideo** dixi [] de meo **accipiet**. (AUPar 2.15.34)

However, this is the only one of his seven citations of the second half of the verse with *ideo* rather than *propterea*. Two neighbouring citations of John 20:22 in AUPar 2.11.24 vary from Augustine's text elsewhere:

**haec** cum dixisset insufflauit et **ait illis** accipite spiritum sanctum. (AUPar 2.11.24)

The initial *haec* is found in the majority of Old Latin witnesses, although Augustine normally has *hoc*. Similarly, on all other occasions except one, he reads *dixit eis* or *dicens*. It is also worthy of note that Augustine's customary addition *in faciem eorum*, present in Petilian, is absent here. The case for attributing this form of text to the influence of a citation in a section of Parmenian's work not transmitted by Augustine is made plausible by the fact that it is identical to Codex Palatinus, the principal witness to the African text used by the

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<sup>466</sup> For examples of Augustine's customary text, see his citations of John 1:8, 1:9, 1:16, 8:44, 11:51, 13:34 and 14:27 in this work.



Donatists. On the other hand, the subsequent citations of John 20:23 both conform to Augustine's customary form, with elements paralleled by Codices Palatinus, Bezae and Vercellensis.

#### 4.4.3 *Contra Gaudentium donatistarum episcopum* (AUGau) 418/9

The citations of John made by the Donatist bishop Gaudentius also feature several characteristically African renderings, such as *saeculum* rather than *mundus* as a translation of κόσμος. Unlike Petilian, Gaudentius does not read *dimitto* in John 14:27. Nonetheless, he has the only surviving instance of *saeculum*:

pacem meam do uobis pacem [] relinquo uobis; non **sicut saeculum** dat ego do uobis. (AUGau 1.23.26)

The only parallel for *sicut* rather than *quomodo* is Codex Bezae. Another example of *saeculum* can be seen in his citation of John 15:18:

si **saeculum** uos odit, scitote quia me **primum** odio habuit **quam uos**. (AUGau 1.26.29)

These variants are supported by a handful of Old Latin witnesses: Codices Palatinus and Usanianus both read *saeculum* (although they have *quoniam* for *quia*), Codex Bezae alone has *primum* rather than *priorem* and *quam uos* rather than *uobis* appears in Codex Monacensis. There are also Old Latin readings in the other verses cited by Gaudentius. In John 10:11-12, he reads:

pastor **bonus** animam suam **ponit** pro ouibus **suis**. mercenarius **autem** et [] cuius non sunt oues propriae uidet lupum uenientem et [] fugit et lupus rapit **eas** et dispergit. (AUGau 1.16.17)

This text has numerous similarities with Codex Palatinus, which is the only manuscript to read both *ponit* and *suis*, as well as uniquely omitting *qui non est pastor* in John 10:12. Gaudentius' form of John 16:2, quoted above, continues with the next verse:

<16:2> **ueniet** hora ut omnis qui interficit uos **putet se uictimam dare** deo:  
<16:3> **sed** haec facient quia non **cognouerunt** patrem neque me. (AUGau 1.20.22)

Apart from his peculiar reading *uictimam dare*, this is almost an exact match with Codex Palatinus: the sole exception is *interficit uos* rather than *uos occiderit*.<sup>467</sup> Gaudentius' one other citation, John 15:20, has a form of text identical to all surviving manuscripts.

Although there is only instance of Augustine explicitly repeating one of Gaudentius' citations, his criticism of John 16:2 at AUGau 1.23.26, the text of three other verses appears to be influenced by his opponent's citations which have just been discussed: in both John 14:27 and 15:18 Augustine has *saeculum* rather than *mundus* (AUGau 2.12.13 and 1.26.29), and he also reads *sed* and *cognouerunt* in John 16:3 (AUGau 1.23.26). Nonetheless, these citations do not reproduce Gaudentius verbatim: in John 16:3, Augustine adds *uobis*, found in several manuscripts and his other citation of this verse at AUJo 93.3.3, and in John 15:18 he reverts to the better-attested text *priorem uobis* rather than *primum ... quam uos*.<sup>468</sup> Elsewhere in this work, Augustine has a citation of John 15:2 with Old Latin features corresponding to his customary text (AUGau 2.8.9), and the only citation outside AUJo 45 of John 10:10, AUGau 1.16.17, which has *occidat* with the majority of manuscripts, rather than *mactet*, distinctive to the Vulgate and Codex Aureus.

In conclusion, although there are no characteristic readings in John shared by Augustine's Donatist opponents, their biblical text often corresponds to Codex Palatinus. This is in keeping with the "African" form of text contained in this witness and known to be favoured

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<sup>467</sup> *Interficit* in John 16:2 is a reading unique to the Vulgate: however, Gaudentius is hardly likely to have used a Vulgate text for this or any of his citations, and his forms of John 10:11 and 10:12 do not have the distinctive Vulgate features of these verses, namely the omission of *autem* and the reading *pastor bonus*. It is also worth observing the overlap between Gaudentius' text and Cyprian's citations of John 15:18 (CYte 3.29) and John 16:3 (CYFo 11).

<sup>468</sup> This may, in fact, be Augustine's own correction of the ungrammatical positive with *quam*, rendered literally from Greek (see Plater and White 1926:35).

by the Donatists. On several other occasions, Donatist writers, especially Petilian, have African renderings which are not present in this manuscript. It seems likely that some of the numerous unique readings found in these texts represent the text of African manuscripts of John which have since been lost. Given that the Donatists were geographically enclosed and condemned as heretical, it would not be surprising if their biblical traditions died out with the sect. The parallels between Donatist citations of John and Codex Bezae are notable, as this is not normally classed as an African translation. Although Augustine's citations in these works normally follow his customary form of each verse, it is important to note how, even though he explicitly criticises the Donatists' biblical text, at other times he appears to have been influenced by it. While this correlation can be demonstrated for the citations in portions of his opponent's text which he transmits, in other cases (e.g. AUPar) the influence of citations from another part of the work seems highly probable.

#### 4.5 The text of John in works against the Pelagians

The final sect against which Augustine composed polemical works was Pelagianism. He quoted Pelagius in *De nuptiis et concupiscentia*, written between 418 and 421, and at the same time wrote four books against two letters of the Pelagians (AUPel, 420/1).<sup>469</sup> His main Pelagian opponent was Julian of Eclanum, whom he addressed in AUJul (421/2). Augustine then composed another six books as part of an unfinished answer to Julian's response to his earlier work (AUJul im, 428-9). The quotations of Augustine's opponent in this last work are the only surviving source for Julian. Pelagian writings display some of the earliest citations of the revised version of the New Testament epistles which became part of the Vulgate, but

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<sup>469</sup> La Bonnardière (1986:335) notes that *De perfectione iustitiae hominis* (c. 415) relies heavily on the *Definitiones* of the Pelagian Caelestius.

this is no guarantee that Pelagian writers would have used the Vulgate text of the Gospels as well. La Bonnardière notes that Julian's citations are worthy of further study.<sup>470</sup>

#### 4.5.1 *Contra Iulianum* (AUJul) 421/2 *Contra secundum Iuliani responsionem imperfectum* *opus* (AUJul im) 428-9

There are only a handful of individual verses of John in the quotations of Julian transmitted by Augustine, but the Pelagian's work also featured a commentary on John 8:31-41 based on the following text:

<8:31> dicebat *inquit euangelista Iohannes* [] Iesus ad **Iudaeos** eos qui crediderunt ei si uos manseritis in sermone meo uere discipuli mei eritis... <8:33> *tunc responderunt ei Iudaei non intellegentes de qua Iesus libertate dixisset* semen Abrahae sumus et nemini seruimus umquam quomodo tu dicis liberi eritis... <8:34> *denique sequitur euangelista:* respondit eis Iesus amen amen dico uobis **quoniam** omnis qui facit peccatum seruus est peccati. <8:35> seruus autem non manet in domo in aeternum, filius **autem** manet in aeternum. <8:36> si ergo filius uos liberauerit **tunc** uere liberi eritis... <8:37> *denique ut intellegas non eum naturae eorum exprobrare sed uitae sequitur* scio quia filii Abrahae estis ... quaeritis me interficere quia sermo meus non capit in uobis. <8:38> ego quod **audiui** apud patrem **meum** loquor et uos quae uidistis apud patrem uestrum facitis... <8:39> responderunt *inquit* et dixerunt ei **Iudaei** pater noster Abraham est. dicit eis Iesus si filii Abrahae **essetis**, opera Abrahae **faceretis**... <8:40> nunc autem quaeritis me interficere hominem qui ueritatem **locutus** sum uobis quam audiui a deo. hoc Abraham non fecit... <8:41> uos **autem** opera patris uestri. (AUJul im 1.87.2 - 1.90.9)

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<sup>470</sup> "Les citations bibliques de la patristique n'ont pas livrés tous leurs secrets ... " (1986:442). Gribomont (1987:18) claims the the Pelagians were the first to use Jerome's revision of the New Testament. Plinval says of Pelagius himself that "le texte employé serait habituellement pré-hiéronymien, *old latin*, mais pas d'une façon exclusive, puisque quatre leçons (au moins) du Nouveau Testament sont propres à la vulgate" (1943:94); the four readings he lists are all from the epistles. Although he states of Pelagius' commentary on Paul that "en écrivant son commentaire, Pélage ne cessait d'avoir sous les yeux les leçons de la Vulgate" (1943:143), Plinval prefers the description of Pelagius' citations as "un type de texte intermédiaire, à mi-chemin de notre vulgate actuelle" (Durand cited in Plinval 1943:139). Failure to identify the reviser of the Vulgate Epistles hinders further discussion: Rufinus suits Bonner's description of Pelagianism as "the delayed result of a flowering of Latin Pauline exegesis which had taken place at Rome" (1999:229) and Plinval (1943:134) shows that Pelagius knew Rufinus in Rome. He also suggests that there were two editions of Pelagius' Commentary on Paul, in the latter of which Pelagius may himself have added the Vulgate text (1943:413-415); contrast Frede's use of Pelagius to exemplify the correction of a Latin text against Greek manuscripts (1972:475).

Not only does this passage have a Vulgate character overall, but Julian reproduces three distinctive Vulgate readings: in John 8:31, only the Vulgate reads *sermone* rather than *uerbo*, while in John 8:37, the Vulgate and Codex Aureus have *fili Abrahæ* where all other Old Latin witnesses read ***semen*** *Abrahæ*. Despite the change in word order, *Iudæos* rather than *ex Iudæis* in John 8:31 is peculiar to the Vulgate and Codex Colbertinus. However, the three distinctive Vulgate readings in John 8:38-40 (the omission of *meum*, *facite* rather than *faceretis* and the word order *vobis locutus sum*) are not present in Julian's text.

Most of his other non-Vulgate readings are paralleled by Old Latin witnesses: in John 8:34 and 8:35 *quoniam* and *autem* appear in Codices Bezae and Usserianus, while Codex Bezae also reads *autem* in John 8:41, although neither of these manuscripts has *essetis* in John 8:39 and there are many occasions on which Julian prefers the Vulgate to their text. The unusual reading *audiui* rather than *uidi* in John 8:38 is not supported by surviving witnesses, although Codex Brixianus has *audistis* rather than *uidistis* later in the verse and the Arian Maximinus reads *ego quod uidi et audiui* at AUMax co 5. There is one more detail which does not derive from the Vulgate: *tunc* in John 8:36 is not found in any biblical manuscript, but it is Augustine's customary text for the verse, found in twenty-eight of his thirty-two citations including his earlier work against Julian. Furthermore, in five of his other six citations of John 8:36, Julian repeats a form of text from Augustine's anti-Pelagian writings, AUnu 2.8 and AUPel 1.2.5, including *tunc*. Julian's only citation not relying on Augustine, at AUJul im 1.91.1 does not have *tunc*. Therefore, although Julian appears to be using the Vulgate for this passage, we should not discount the influence of Augustine, who at this point was undisputably using Jerome's version.

Some of Julian's other citations have Augustinian readings. At AUJul im 1.94.32 he cites John 1:12 from AUPel 1.2.5, with a Vulgate text. His citation of John 5:43 at AUJul im 1.93.2 is not explicitly taken from Augustine, but contains the word *suscipietis*, not found in any biblical manuscript, but present in four of Augustine's six citations of this verse.<sup>471</sup> Julian also gives a version of John 3:6 which he attributes to Mani:

quod **ergo nascitur de** carne caro est et quod **de** spiritu spiritus est.  
(AUJul im 3.172.9)

Appropriately enough, this is comparable with the text of Faustus the Manichee at AUFau 24.1 which also has *nascitur*. Nonetheless, this present tense verb is used by Augustine at AUpec 2.9.11 and AUs 294.16.16, and Julian introduces the same form of text in the next paragraph with *testimonio ... illo uidelicet quod in uestro ore uersatur* (AUJul im 3.173.4). It seems highly probable that some of Julian's readings may be derived from Augustine. His remaining citations of John are very brief and have the same text as most biblical manuscripts.<sup>472</sup>

In both works against Julian, Augustine cites a text form of John corresponding to that of his other later writings, a mixture of his customary readings and Vulgate forms.<sup>473</sup> The Vulgate has begun to displace Augustine's memorised text, as demonstrated by the forms of John 6:44 and 6:66 at AUJul 4.8.44 and John 15:18-19 at AUJul 6.2.4, but the process is not complete. This is apparent in several inconsistencies: AUJul 2.6.18 has the text of John 3:5 unique to Augustine, *non introibit in regnum caelorum*, while AUJul 3.2.8 and AUJul 6.4.10

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<sup>471</sup> Note, however, that whenever Augustine reads *suscepistis* in the middle of this verse, unlike Julian he also has *suscipietis* at the end. One manuscript of AUJul im 1.93.2 does have *suscipietis* as well, although it has been corrected to *accipietis*.

<sup>472</sup> See John 1:14, 8:44, 10:38 and 19:6.

<sup>473</sup> In AUJul, examples of Augustine's customary text are found for John 1:10, 1:13, 3:36, 6:54, 8:23, 8:36, 9:3, 14:30 and Vulgate readings at John 6:39, 6:44, 6:66, 7:7, 12:31, 15:17, 15:18, 15:19. In AUJul im there are customary forms of John 1:29, 6:54, 8:36, 9:3, 12:31, 20:2, 21:18 and Vulgate readings at John 1:12, 1:13, 3:5.

both offer a reading closer to the Vulgate, *non potest intrare in regnum dei*. Conversely, AUJul 4.8.44 has the Vulgate form of John 6:44, *nemo potest uenire ad me*, while AUJul 5.4.14 reverts to the customary *nemo uenit ad me*. There are also differences between the two works, composed seven years apart. For example, AUJul 6.13.40 has the same text of John 1:13 as AUcf 7.9.20 and AUs 292.7, but AUJul im 3.51.25 reproduces the Vulgate. On the other hand, AUJul 6.2.4 has the only citation of John 12:31 outside AUJo 52 with the Vulgate *eicietur*, while AUJul im 2.181.13 reads *mittitur*.

Few of Augustine's other citations are of textual interest. At AUJul 6.14.42 he has *exsuscitabo* in John 2:19, not found in any biblical manuscript: perhaps this is a combination of the Vulgate *excitabo* with Augustine's preferred term, *suscitabo*. The following form of John 3:20 appears in AUJul im:

omnis enim qui **male** agit odit lucem et non uenit ad **lumen ne manifestentur** opera eius. (AUJul im 3.187.20)

This is one of only two citations Augustine makes of this verse, and it has several Old Latin features.<sup>474</sup> Codex Monacensis is also inconsistent between *lucem* and *lumen*, but in the reverse order. It is also the sole manuscript with *ne manifestentur*, although the singular is found in Codex Palatinus. Agreement with these manuscripts is unexpected at this point in Augustine's career: the scarcity of his references gives no indication of his preferred form of text. There is no observable influence from any of Julian's citations of John. In fact, Augustine responds to Julian's attribution of the "Manichaeian" form of John 3:6 to him with a clearly Vulgate text, featuring both *natum est* and *ex* (AUJul im 3.172.25). In conclusion, we may observe that the Vulgate has continued to gain ground in Augustine's citations of John, although Old Latin features remain in his customary text. Julian appears also to be

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<sup>474</sup> The other citation, at AUpec 1.30.59, is much closer to the Vulgate.

familiar with Jerome's revision of John, although not in such a pure form as Augustine. Furthermore, his citations betray the influence of the biblical text of Augustine's earlier works, so it is difficult to classify his text with any degree of certainty.

## 4.6 The text of John in other authors quoted by Augustine

There are two more polemical works in which Augustine quotes individual adversaries, responding to a pamphlet sent by Vincentius Victor in *De natura et origine animae* (AUan) and an anonymous *Aduersarium legis et prophetarum* (AUleg). Having considered the biblical citations of Augustine's opponents, it is also appropriate briefly to investigate the evidence he provides for the text of John in his quotations from Catholic writers, principally Ambrose and Cyprian. Section 3.4.5.2 above suggested that there was little influence from the text of his correspondents on Augustine's citations of John in his letters.

### 4.6.1 *De natura et origine animae* (AUan) 419/420

Only two verses of John feature in the portions of Vincentius Victor's text quoted by Augustine. All four citations of John 3:5 read:

**qui non** renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu **sancto** non **intrabit** in regnum **caelorum**.

Despite reading *non intrabit in regnum caelorum* himself in no fewer than twenty-two of his earlier citations of this verse, Augustine corrects his opponent's text in keeping with the Vulgate and the majority of Old Latin manuscripts:

ipsum dominum audi, qui non ait: *si quis non renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu non potest intrare in regnum caelorum*, sed *non potest*, inquit, *intrare in regnum dei*.  
(AUan 3.11.17/373.5)

Unusually, Augustine has already removed most of the variants in Vincentius' text (some of which appear in Augustine's own earlier citations) in order to focus on the final word. The other verse is John 14:2, where Augustine once more takes issue with the text:



non enim ait sicut hoc testimonium ipse posuisti: *multae mansiones sunt apud patrem meum* - quod si ita dixisset non alibi essent intellegendae quam in domo patris eius - sed aperte ait: *in domo patris mei mansiones multae sunt*. (AUan 3.11.15/371.28)

Again, there is an irony here, as Augustine himself reads *apud patrem meum* in three of his other six citations of the verse (AUPs 60.6.10, AUs 239.2.2, AUvg 26.26), although there is no manuscript support for this.<sup>475</sup> Vincentius' text is also inconsistent, however, as Augustine quotes it at AUan 4.24.38 with the Vulgate form of this verse.

Augustine's own citations further reveal the impact of the Vulgate on his biblical text by 420. This work has the only instances of John 3:4 (AUan 3.11.17) and John 13:10 (AUan 3.9.12) to accord exactly with the Vulgate among all Augustine's citations of these verses: not even the continuous text of AUJo is identical. This includes the reading *cum senex sit* in John 3:4, which is distinctive to Codex Corbeiensis and the Vulgate. The corrections he makes to his opponent's text further prove that the use of the Vulgate in these late works is authorial.<sup>476</sup>

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<sup>475</sup> Augustine's use of the "Vincentian" form of John 14:2 is also observed by La Bonnardière 1965:66, who notes on the next page that, outside AUan and AUJo 67, this verse is never used by Augustine in a discussion of infant baptism: she therefore dates both these texts to 419 (1965:67-69).

<sup>476</sup> In the citation of John 13:10 at AUan 3.9.12 the critical apparatus indicates two witnesses which read *non indiget nisi ut pedes lauet*. This reading is found in AUJo 80 (not AUJo 56 CT) and is also Jülicher's reconstructed "Itala" text for the verse. However, these witnesses are not manuscripts, but the two earlier editions of the work, Amerbach and the Benedictine edition of 1690. It is difficult to find a convincing explanation for this: perhaps these editors found the reading in manuscripts no longer preserved. Nonetheless, the agreement of these editions with the other Vulgate readings in this work suggests that the text of the other citations is secure.

#### 4.6.2 *Contra aduersarium legis et prophetarum* (AUleg) 420

There are also occasions on which Augustine corrects his opponent's text in *Contra aduersarium legis et prophetarum*, including the following citations of John 1:17 and John 10:8:

*sed lex, inquit, per Moysen data est; ueritas autem ab Iesu Christo est. non ita scriptum est sed ita: lex per Moysen data est, gratia et ueritas per Iesum Christum facta est.* (AUleg 2.3.340)

*illud quoque ait dixisse dominum: ego sum ianua ouium; omnes alii quotquot ante me uenerunt fures sunt et latrones. non autem ita scriptum est sed ita: omnes quotquot uenerunt fures sunt et latrones.* (AUleg 2.4.493)

There is no support for the first form of either verse among the surviving Old Latin witnesses, although Codex Bezae has *ante me* but not *alii* in John 10:8. Augustine's suggested text conforms to the Vulgate both times.<sup>477</sup> The Adversarius also has a unique reading in John 6:49:

**parentes** uestri **manna** manducauerunt [] et mortui sunt. (AUleg 2.5.536)

Although Augustine does not comment on this variation, his own citation a few lines later returns to his usual form, which is also the reading of Codex Brixianus:

patres uestri manducauerunt **manna** in deserto et mortui sunt. (AUleg 2.5.574)

Most of Augustine's other citations of John in this work correspond to his customary text.<sup>478</sup> The form of John 2:25 at AUleg 1.20.1133, *non opus habebat ut ei quisquam testimonium perhiberet de homine*, features three variants peculiar to Augustine: the phrase *opus habebat*, the pronoun *ei*, and *quisquam* rather than *quis* or *aliquis*. AUleg 2.5 has the only citation of John 8:19 outside AUJo 37:

neque me **nostis** neque patrem meum. (AUleg 2.5.587)

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<sup>477</sup> The variant *ante me* in John 10:8 is also found in a reference which Augustine quotes from Faustus the Manichee, AUFau 16.2 (see also AUFau 16.12). Augustine's earlier lack of comment on this reading is a good illustration of his growing certainty regarding the text of Scripture by the time he came to compose this later work.

<sup>478</sup> See the citations of John 1:9, 1:10, 5:39, 5:46, 8:7, 8:9 and 8:39 in AUleg.

This text is also the reading of the final citation of this verse in AUJo 37. *Nostis* is the majority Old Latin reading and may therefore be Augustine's preferred mental text. However, there is also some Vulgate influence observable in the citation of John 6:55 (6:56 in the Vulgate): at AUleg 1.24.1522 Augustine reads *cibus* with the Vulgate and related manuscripts, unlike his other citations with *esca*.

### 4.6.3 Catholic sources

Although Rebillard (2000) has argued that Augustine only cited Catholic sources as authoritative evidence towards the end of his career, several quotations from these writers include a citation of John. The most frequently-quoted source is Ambrose, whose Commentary on Isaiah features in AUPel 4.11 and his Commentary on Luke in AUep 147. The former has abbreviated references to John 1:9, with *lumen* characteristic of an Old Latin source, and John 13:9, where Ambrose reads *non solum pedes sed et caput*: only Codex Usserianus and the Fragmentum Mediolanense have *solum* rather than *tantum*.<sup>479</sup> In AUep 147, Augustine presents a consistent text each time he repeats Ambrose's citations of John 1:18 and 14:9, suggesting that his quotation is accurate. In John 1:18 he reads:

deum nemo uidit umquam ... unigenitus filius qui est in sinu patris ipse **narravit**.  
(AUep 147.6.18; AMLc 1.24)

Codex Palatinus, Codex Brixianus and certain Vulgate manuscripts all have *narravit* rather than *enarravit*, although the critical edition of Ambrose prefers *enarravit*. Furthermore, as this is one of only two works in which Augustine himself reads *narravit* in John 1:18, it seems likely that his own biblical text has been influenced by that of Ambrose. The citations of John 14:9 appear in the same paragraph, and both Augustine and the critical edition read:

tanto tempore uobiscum sum et **adhuc me** non cognouistis. (AUep 147.6.18; AMLc 1.24)

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<sup>479</sup> Unfortunately the Fragmentum Mediolanense has no connection with Milan in the time of Ambrose, but is a palimpsest from a seventh-century Gallican liturgy book (Jülicher 1963:x).

No surviving manuscript adds *adhuc* in this verse, nor does Augustine have it in any of his own citations: either Ambrose was citing from memory, or this is a reading no longer preserved in the biblical tradition.

Augustine quotes Cyprian in several works against the Donatists, since both groups appealed to his authority. There is an adaptation of John 5:14 quoted from *De opere et eleemosynis* (CYop 1) at AUPel 4.8.21, with *ne quid peccanti grauius eueniret*. No manuscript parallels survive for *grauius*, although Codex Sarzanensis has *eueniat*. This verse is also quoted from *De dominica oratione* at AUpers 2.4 in the better-attested form *ne quid ei deterius fiat*. Even so, the only manuscripts with *fiat* are Codices Veronensis, Brixianus and Rehdigeranus. The adaptation of John 13:16 from *Epistula* 54.3 is cited five times, and AUdo 4.21.17 has a brief citation of John 15:1 from *Epistula* 63, but neither verse has a distinctive text.<sup>480</sup> The authorities quoted by Augustine against Julian of Eclanum include a citation of John 3:5 from Gregory the Great (AUJul 1.5.15) and two allusions to John 11:35 from John Chrysostom (AUJul 1.6.24 and 1.7.33), although again both verses correspond to the majority of biblical witnesses.<sup>481</sup>

## 4.7 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that Augustine's quotation of his opponents is significant not just for the transmission of their work but also as evidence for the character of their biblical citations. We have seen that most of Augustine's opponents have a distinctive text in their citations of the Gospel according to St John. Furthermore, similarities in text-type between

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<sup>480</sup> The citations of John 13:16 are at AUCre 2.34.43, AUCre 2.38.48, AUep 108.3.11, AUGau 2.3.3 and AUGau 2.13.14.

<sup>481</sup> The citations of Catholic bishops from Cyprian's *Sententia episcoporum* in Augustine's *De baptismo* have already been discussed at Section 3.4.3.2.

members of the same sect suggest that certain forms of text are characteristic of particular sects. The close agreement of the Arian bishop Maximinus' text with Codex Monacensis has long been known, but this is now complemented by the similarities with the citations of John in the *Sermo Arrianorum*. The Manichees in Africa have readings found in surviving Old Latin manuscripts which confirm the claim of Faustus that they used the same biblical texts as all other Christians. Although there is little evidence in these authors of the Diatessaron used by other branches of the sect, their conflation of short scriptural units within the same citations appears to be distinctively Manichaean, particularly in verses referring to the Paraclete. Donatism was an entirely African sect, and the biblical citations of Augustine's Donatist opponents often correspond closely to Codex Palatinus, the principal witness to the African Old Latin tradition, although there are also agreements with Codex Bezae and a number of African renderings and unique readings which may have been present in translations which have since been lost. Augustine's last opponent, the Pelagian Julian of Eclanum, seems to use a broadly Vulgate text of John, although he is also influenced by some of Augustine's citations.

The surviving evidence indicates that Augustine quotes his opponents accurately, and transmits their scriptural citations verbatim. Later in his career, he sometimes criticises readings with which he is unfamiliar and suggests an alternative, usually from the Vulgate. More frequently, however, he either ignores unusual biblical readings or even adopts his opponent's form of text for his own response. It is not clear whether this is a deliberate ploy or the subconscious influence of the different text-type. Generally speaking, Augustine and the Catholic Church were the first to adopt Jerome's revision of the Gospels while the Arians, Donatists and Manichees persisted with the Old Latin traditions familiar to Augustine from earlier days. Although it has been suggested that Augustine became acquainted with the

Bible while a Manichee, there is little evidence of this in his own citations, which are consistent with his beginning biblical study after his conversion.

Apart from these anomalous citations influenced by the biblical text of his opponent, Augustine's own citations correspond to the pattern we have already identified in Chapter Three. Most of his citations in these works are made from memory, as shown by occasional errors in the debates.<sup>482</sup> The exception is clearly described in the record of his confrontation with Felix, when Augustine uses a codex of the Gospel according to Luke with a Vulgate text-type, confirming that he had access to Jerome's revision in 404, at the same time as he was composing his gospel commentaries based on this version. Although the majority of citations from memory reproduce Augustine's customary text, in the later works more and more of these unique readings are replaced by Vulgate forms. By the late 420s, Augustine quotes a Vulgate text from memory which is closer to modern editions than his earlier commentaries for which he referred to a codex, but there is no reason to suspect later alteration of his scriptural citations. Indeed, Augustine's use of Jerome's version to correct the text of his sectarian opponents is yet another indication of his adoption of this text as a standard by which to judge all others.

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<sup>482</sup> Such as his misattribution to John of the verse *mundabit aream suam, frumenta recondet in horreo* (Matthew 3:12, Luke 3:17) at Conf. Carth. 3.262 (Lancel 1975).

## Chapter Five

### *Augustine's readings in John: contributions to textual criticism*

#### 5.1 Introduction

Earlier chapters have considered the characteristics of Augustine's text of John in individual works and over his entire extant output, based on a comparison with surviving Latin biblical manuscripts. In this chapter I shall offer a commentary on the form in which Augustine cites certain verses and assess the overall importance of his readings in different areas of text-critical study. Augustine is often cited alongside the evidence of other Church Fathers in support of a particular form of biblical text or contested passage of Scripture, although conflicting material is sometimes ignored or discounted. By presenting all the evidence for citations of John in Augustine's works, this survey seeks to be as complete as possible in order to provide a balanced assessment of Augustine as a witness to the text of Scripture.

Despite the pitfalls which attend the use of patristic citations in textual reconstruction, several principles have already emerged from this analysis which assist in determining Augustine's value as a witness to the text of Scripture. These include the distinction of primary and secondary citations according to the likelihood of Augustine's reliance on a codex, which appears to be borne out by their degree of correspondence with surviving manuscripts, and the identification of a "mental text" or customary form for frequently-cited

verses. Treating Augustine's citations in chronological sequence has also shown the changing pattern of his affiliation with different biblical text-types.

After the commentary on a selection of verses in which Augustine's citations are particularly varied or of special interest, I shall assemble Augustine's evidence in different areas: as a source of Old Latin readings not preserved in the biblical manuscripts, as one of the earliest witnesses to the text of Jerome's revision of the Gospels and as tertiary evidence for the Greek tradition. I shall also examine the alleged Diatessaronic readings which some have detected in Augustine and investigate several of his more unusual forms of text. Finally, after looking at types of possible alterations in his biblical citations, I shall address the much-debated question of whether Augustine was himself responsible for revising the text of Scripture.

In evaluating textual evidence, an element of subjectivity is normally unavoidable: opinions often differ on the relative weight to be attached to different readings. Taking into account the probability that many of Augustine's citations were made from memory, my estimate of their importance for text-critical purposes will be cautious. As stressed from the outset, this study is not an attempt to reconstruct a single form of text for each verse of John based on Augustine's citations: his own comments quoted in Chapter Two and the changing patterns of affiliation demonstrated in Chapter Three have shown that Augustine used many biblical codices during his ministry. Nonetheless, his citations appear to have been transmitted accurately and, taken together, are evidence for the text of the Gospel from the time of Augustine. As all citations are provided in full in the Appendix, the analysis which follows can be easily compared with the original data and alternative suggestions proposed.



## 5.2 A textual commentary on selected readings of Augustine in John

It has already been observed that not every citation is of equal weight as evidence for the text of John in biblical codices at the time of Augustine. The following commentary will offer a guide to those verses in which Augustine's form of text requires explanation or comment. The list is selective: minor variations and established Old Latin correspondences are not treated. Although it stands by itself, this commentary should also be read in conjunction with the full list of citations in the Appendix.<sup>483</sup>

### John 1:3

A large number of Augustine's citations of John 1:3 have a word order and relative pronoun, *per quod facta sunt omnia*, which is not paralleled in the surviving manuscripts. These should be treated as adaptations: the pronoun normally refers to *uerbum*, understood as the antecedent from John 1:1, although the subject is sometimes *filium*, in which case *quem* is used (e.g. AUcat 22.28) or *sapientiam* with *quam* (e.g. AUChr 2.35).<sup>484</sup> The latter is an image from the Hebrew Scriptures which Augustine closely associates with this passage about God's creative force, often referring to Jesus as God's wisdom (cf. AU 53A.13).

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<sup>483</sup> Note that, unless other citations are explicitly mentioned, "witness" in the commentary refers to a manuscript of the Gospel according to John. Similarly, unless otherwise indicated, Greek manuscripts are taken from the apparatus of Nestle-Aland, whose editorial text is used to supply a Greek base text, Old Latin manuscripts are taken from Matzkow-Jülicher-Aland, and Vulgate manuscripts from Weber-Gryson. The collations of over 450 Latin manuscripts in Fischer 1991 have been used for the four test passages covered, John 2:18-3:31; John 7:28-8:16; John 12:17-13:6; John 20:1-21:4. As in Chapter Three, [] in the citations indicates a word in the Vulgate text missing in Augustine.

<sup>484</sup> See also the citations of John 1:10 at AUdo 1.12.9 and 1.12.13 with *sapientia* as subject.

## John 1:4

Augustine's observation that *emendatiores codices habent quod factum est in illo uita erat* (AUGn li 5.14) goes against the Old Latin reading *est* in the majority of his citations. *Erat* is only found in the Vulgate, and appears in AUJo 3.4.11 and the lectionary sermons AUs 342 and 379. Nonetheless AUJo 1 and AUJo 2 both read *est* in their commentary on this verse. It is also noteworthy that AUs Dol 22.3, an augmented version of AUs 341, reads *est* where Migne's edition has *erat* at AUs 341.2.2. This suggests that scribal interference may be responsible for the Vulgate reading in some citations. The phrasing of the extract also indicates that Augustine, like many ancient witnesses, understood *quod factum est* as beginning the subsequent phrase rather than punctuating it as the end of John 1:3.<sup>485</sup> The pronouns *illo* and *eo* only appear in four Old Latin manuscripts, Codices Palatinus, Vercellensis, Monacensis and Veronensis, all of which have similar readings to Augustine elsewhere: the last two also have the word order *lux lucet in tenebris* in John 1:5, another favourite of Augustine.<sup>486</sup>

## John 1:12

In fifteen citations of John 1:12, Augustine reads *credentibus*, a literal rendering of τοῖς πιστεύουσιν paralleled only in Codex Veronensis. Six citations have *his qui credunt*, as found in

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<sup>485</sup> His comment at AUGn li 5.14 is on the punctuation of these verses, and reads: non ergo ita pronuntiari oportet *quod factum est in illo uita est* ut subdistinguamus *quod factum est in illo* et deinde inferamus *uita est* ... distinguit de quali uita loquatur cum addit *et uita erat lux hominum*. sic ergo distinguendum est ut cum dixerimus *quod factum est* deinde inferamus *in illo uita est* ... nec praetermittendum est quod emendatiores codices habent *quod factum est in illo uita erat* ut sic intellegatur uita erat (AUGn li 5.14/157.3) See Simonetti 1994:127 and Berrouard 1969:843 for the various punctuations of this verse in the early Church: Cyprian appears to place the full stop after *quod factum est*, and several sources, including Hilary of Poitiers and Ambrose insert a comma before *uita*. This was also a characteristic of Manichaean readings: see further Decret 1978:147. On the similar problems of the punctuation of these verses in Greek, see Metzger 1994:166-167.

<sup>486</sup> The pronoun *illo* in John 1:4 and the word order *lux lucet in tenebris* are also both found in Cyprian, CYte 2.3 (Fahey 1971:370).

all other manuscripts, including the continuous text of AUJo 3. Although the lectionary sermon AUs 119, dated after 409, has *credentibus*, three or four years later AUs 121 has the more common form. This may be an abbreviation for which Augustine is responsible (cf. *uidentes* in John 9:39 or *fratribus* in John 20:17), but the breadth of its attestation and its relation to the Greek suggests that it was the reading of a manuscript known to him.

### John 1:13

In eight citations of John 1:13 Augustine adds a fourth member to the beginning of the phrase:

qui **non ex carne**, non ex sanguine, non ex uoluntate uiri, non ex uoluntate carnis nati sunt.<sup>487</sup>

It seems most likely that this form is due to Augustine's memory: not only does it have two typically rhetorical contrasting pairs, but the antithesis *carne/sanguine* is a commonplace, and Augustine has also reversed the order of *uiri* and *carnis* in the last two units, not paralleled in any manuscript. The singular *sanguine* is only preserved in Codex Monacensis: Augustine himself comments that the more common plural corresponds to the Greek, although he accepts it without emendation in his commentary:

sanguines non est latinum: sed quia graece positum est pluraliter, maluit ille qui interpretabat sic ponere ... si enim diceret sanguinem singulari numero, non explicaret quod uolebat. (AUJo 2.14.6)

Three of these citations appear to support the singular form *natus est*, as found in Tertullian and Codex Veronensis. However, in AUpec 2.24.38, the singular is required by the grammatical context of the redaction and the plural is found earlier in the work: AUcf 7.9.20 and AUSe 5 present stronger cases, although as both have the variant form of the earlier

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<sup>487</sup> AUcf 7.9.20, AUJo 3.6.5, AUJul 6.13.40, AUpec 2.24.38, AUs 292.7, AUs 342.5, AUSe 5 (2). Only AUs 342 is a lectionary sermon on John; the other lectionary sermons AUs 119 and AUs 121 have the regular form.

part of the verse attributed to memory they are not strong evidence for Augustine's knowledge of this reading.<sup>488</sup>

### John 1:16

The word order *nos omnes de plenitudine eius accepimus* is found in all verbatim citations except AUJo 3 CT, and is typical of the flattening process which makes a phrase suitable for use out of context, even though here it is simply the fronting of the subject. There is no hint of the variation in any biblical manuscript, although it is found in two of Ambrose's three citations (AM118Ps 16.21, AMPs 48.23). Also in this verse, the variant *nos **autem** de plenitudine* at AUgr 9.21, AUs 67.9 and AUs 308A.2 seems to indicate a fault in memory, as if Augustine has forgotten the true reading but substituted an alternative disyllabic word to preserve the original rhythm.

### John 1:23

There are two verses in which Augustine reads *eremo* for ἐρήμῳ but all extant Old Latin manuscripts have *deserto*, here and in John 3:14.<sup>489</sup> Augustine's other variants in this Old

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<sup>488</sup> AUpec 2.24.38 reads *nos non solum ex carne et sanguine uerum etiam ex uoluntate uiri et uoluntate carnis; ille autem tantum ex carne et sanguine, non ex uoluntate uiri neque ex uoluntate carnis sed ex deo natus est*. AUcf 7.9.20 and AUSe 5 have *non ex carne non ex sanguine non ex uoluntate uiri neque ex uoluntate carnis sed ex deo natus est*. See also Berrouard 1969:853 on Augustine's exegesis of this verse. All three of Tertullian's citations (TEcar 19, TEcar 19, TEcar 24) have the singular *sanguine*, but only two read *natus est*. According to Roensch (1871:654-655), who takes AUcf 7.9.20 as evidence for the singular *natus est*, the second citation at TEcar 19, which has the plural *nati sunt*, "hielt es für unmöglich". Ambrose has two citations with *sanguinibus* (AMNoe 4.9, AMsp 2.60) and one with *sanguine* (AMPs 61.31); see Caragliano 1946:33.

<sup>489</sup> Contrast John 6:49, where *eremo* is preserved in Codex Usanianus. This reading is one of the six examples of "Graecisms" which Milne 1926:xv adduces as evidence that Augustine revised the Gospel based on the Greek, but the parallels elsewhere make this a very unlikely explanation. Burton (2000:145) notes the "surprising persistence" of the loan-word *eremus* in the Latin Bible, and connects it with early Christian monasticism: this rendering is often peculiar to the African manuscripts (García de la Fuente 1994:142 describes it as an African feature). On Augustine and John the Baptist, see Lienhard 2001:197-213.

Testament citation, *parate* and the dative *domino* are considered in Section 5.2.1. The former is found in the Synoptic parallels for this passage, which also supply the continuation of this quotation (*rectas facite semitas eius*) as found in AUs 308A.2; the dative is unique to Augustine.

### John 1:27

Given the overlap between this verse and the Synoptic tradition, it is not surprising that there is some contamination.<sup>490</sup> Almost all Latin witnesses of John read *qui ante me factus est* in this verse as well as John 1:30. This is found in some Greek manuscripts. Augustine, however, has *qui maior me est* for this phrase in four citations (AUPs 35.9.42, AUs 263D.3, AUs 292.8 and AUs 397.7; cf. AUs 293E.1). It is just about possible to claim this as a translation of ὅς ἐμπροσθέν μου γέγονεν, but a better explanation is that Augustine has been influenced by either the comparative in Luke 3:16 or the phrase *non surrexit inter natos mulierum maior Iohanne Baptista* (Matthew 11:11), although this does not refer to Jesus.

### John 1:33

The introduction of the dove descending from heaven at John 1:32 into the next verse has no parallel in the Latin manuscripts, but is a natural mistake, particularly if the earlier verse has not been cited. What is remarkable is the range of renderings of ὥς: Augustine has *sicut*, *tamquam* and *quasi*, all found in manuscripts at John 1:32, to which he adds *uelut* (AUJo 7.3.10; cf. AUba 5.13.15, AUtri 15.26.51). Five citations also feature the only examples of

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<sup>490</sup> Most Old Latin manuscripts of Luke 3:16 read *ueniet autem fortior me cuius non sum dignus calciamenta portare*. The presence of *fortior* suggests that AUJo 35.2.10 is a citation of Luke, despite Willems' identification of it as John 1:26-27 out of sequence.

*non noueram* as a rendering of οὐκ ᾔδειν (AUEv 2.15.32, AUJo 4.15.28, AUJo 4.16.18, AUJo 5.8.19, AUs 308A.4).<sup>491</sup>

### John 1:34

Augustine's one citation outside AUJo has *electus dei* rather than *filius dei*: the word *electus* appears in four Old Latin witnesses and other versional evidence, but in the Greek tradition is only present in the original reading of Codex Sinaiticus. The other variants in this citation of John 1:33-34 suggest that Augustine has drawn the text from memory, although the Old Latin elements are consistent with the early date of AUs 308A, from 397-400.

### John 1:50

Different renderings in this verse in AUJo 7 have already been discussed in Section 3.2.3: AUs 122 has both *maius his* and *maiora horum*, and it is possible that Augustine may have tacitly corrected the genitive of comparison borrowed from the Greek.<sup>492</sup> This is also one of two sermons which have extra material in this verse:

quia dixi cum esses sub arbore fici **ideo** credis. (AUs 89.5)

quia dixi tibi uidi te cum esses sub arbore fici **inde miraris**. (AUs 122.2.2)

There is no parallel in biblical manuscripts for *miraris*, and *ideo* or *inde* could be dismissed as an addition by Augustine to highlight the explanation, as seen in certain citations of John

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<sup>491</sup> For a complete listing of Augustine's citations of John 1:32-33 and their *orchestration scripturaire*, see La Bonnardière 1965:29-33, where she notes that, apart from AUJo and AUPs, "à partir de 410, saint Augustin ne commente plus Jean 1,32-33" although it appears in numerous anti-Donatist works from his early period. In fact, she dates both AUPs 95 and AUPs 131 to 407, so it is only the allusions at AUJo 94.4.28 and AUtri 15.26.51 which occur after 410.

<sup>492</sup> Compare John 14:12, where the genitive does not appear in any of Augustine's adaptations, and John 6:45. Nonetheless, the genitive in all these verses is unchanged in the continuous text of AUJo; on the construction, see Plater and White 1926:35 and García de la Fuente 1994:270. Coleman (1987:40-41) suggests that the genitive in this phrase may be due to Latin hypercorrection.

4:24. In the current verse, however, there is more support for its presence in a manuscript: Codices Aureus, Corbeiensis and Rehdigeranus all read *propterea*, while Tertullian has *ideo* itself.<sup>493</sup> The lectionary sermon AUs 122 is more likely to reflect a the reading of a codex, but its inconsistency with *maiora horum* and *maius his* later in the verse may cast doubt on Augustine's accuracy.

### John 1:51

Berrouard observes that a change in Augustine's form of text in this verse is significant for his exegesis.<sup>494</sup> His earliest citations (AUs 89.5 and AUs 265B.3, both from 396/7) read ***ad filium hominis*** (as found in Codices Palatinus, Veronensis, Rehdigeranus and Monacensis, as well as AMPs 39.13 and AMLc 10.181), which Augustine uses to prove the presence of Christ in both heaven and earth. From AUFau 12.26, however, he has the reading in all other Latin manuscripts, ***super filium hominis***, which allows him to identify preachers with the angels who ascend and descend. AUs 122 appears to show this change in action, although its date is not known: the initial citation reads *super*, but two later variants have *ad*. That *ad* is Augustine's mental text is suggested by the non-sequential citation in AUJo 57.2.12, although this is surprisingly late: in most other works after 400, *super* is his text of preference, with its accompanying exegesis (e.g. AUci 16.38.50, AUDo 6.14, AUJo 7.22.8 CT, AUPs 44.20.51).

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<sup>493</sup> For other examples of *ideo* as an alternative to *propterea*, see John 9:23, John 12:39 and John 16:15; Tertullian reads *quia dixi uidi te sub ficu ideo credis* at TEpra 21 (Roensch 1871:254)

<sup>494</sup> See Berrouard 1962:489-493, where he notes that *ad* is also Ambrose's text of the verse, found at AMLc 10.181.

## John 2:4

The addition *recede a me mulier* in AUrel 16.25 is a one-off, probably added through confusion with a similar passage, such as John 20:17.<sup>495</sup>

## John 2:15

Augustine exclusively has the Old Latin renderings of σχοινίων in this verse: *restibus* is also found in Codices Vercellensis, Veronensis and Sarzanensis, while Codex Palatinus has *resticulis*, Augustine's preferred reading, and Codex Monacensis *resticula*. As observed in Section 3.3.5, Augustine glosses the word *restes* in Psalm 139 with a reference to this verse involving *resticulis*, which implies that he was not familiar at the time with the reading *restibus* in John 2:15. The transposition of *boues quoque et oues* in the only verbatim citation (AUJo 10.4.5) is probably under the influence of this order in the preceding verse.<sup>496</sup>

## John 2:19-20

Augustine's customary text in John 2:19 is *triduo suscitabo illud*: every word is paralleled in Old Latin manuscripts although none has exactly this reading, which appears in two of Ambrose's citations. Ambrose's other eight citations have *resuscitabo*, found in Codices Vercellensis and Usserianus as well as Augustine and Tertullian, and the influence of the Vulgate is clearly shown in AUEv 4.10.12, AUJo 10.10.2 and AUPs 65, which read

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<sup>495</sup> Neither of the Synoptic parallels with *quid mihi et tibi est* are combined with the word *recede* (Mark 5:7, Luke 8:28). Similarly, the command to Peter *uade retro me* (Matthew 16:23, Mark 8:33) has no verbal correspondence. A discussion of the exegesis of this verse may be seen in Bresolin 1962, who lists six of the seven citations by Augustine, although does not comment on the variant in AUrel 16.25.

<sup>496</sup> On Augustine's interpretation of *boues* and *oues*, connected with Psalm 8:8, see Knauer 1955:163.



*excitabo*.<sup>497</sup> I suggested in Section 4.5.1 that *exsuscitabo* at AUJul 6.14.42 is a combination of Augustine's preferred rendering with the Vulgate prefix. More intriguing is the switch to direct speech in John 2:20 at AUJo 10.10.3, *tu **dicis** in tribus diebus **excitabo** illud*, not found anywhere else. As a citation eight lines later has the customary form, we may consider this a variation introduced by Augustine.<sup>498</sup>

### John 2:21

The reading *hoc autem dicebat* in all citations of this verse has a strong claim to derive from a version which has not been preserved, although there is no variant recorded for *hic* or ἔκεινος in the biblical manuscripts (including the hundreds sampled in this verse by Fischer). Nonetheless, Augustine may have been influenced by verses such as John 6:6, John 7:39 or John 12:33, where the neuter is almost formulaic.

### John 2:25

Although the Old Latin tradition has numerous different renderings of οὐ χρειάν εἶχεν, there is only one surviving parallel for the four of the nine citations of this verse with *non opus habebat*. This is an early sixth century Italian Vulgate manuscript listed in Fischer's collation, although it has the word order *opus non habebat*.<sup>499</sup> Augustine is unique in reading *quisquam*

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<sup>497</sup> AMPs 40.18 and 20 have *in triduo suscitabo illud*, although Caragliano dismisses this as "ex memoriae libertate auctoris" (1946:39). Augustine reads *resuscitabo* on eight occasions, while Tertullian has it twice, at TEpud 16 and TEres 18 (Roensch 1871:255).

<sup>498</sup> See further Section 5.3.6 below. There is a comparable change in person in biblical manuscripts at John 4:17 (*habeo/habes* within the reported speech) and also John 10:36 (*blasphemias/blasphemat* introducing the speech). This may reflect a perceived difficulty with the preservation of the Greek tense of original words following a ὅτι *recitativum*: on this construction in Latin, see further Burton 2000:189. As it happens, four of the Vulgate manuscripts in Fischer 1991:15 read *excitabo* (but not *dicis*): in each case, this reading of the first hand has been altered by a corrector.

<sup>499</sup> Paris BN lat. 10439; siglum Jc in Fischer 1991:28.

for *tis* on every occasion except AUEv 4.4.5 and AUJo 11 CT, which both have *quis* as found in biblical manuscripts.

### John 3:3, 3:5

The replacement of the potential forms *potest uidere* and *potest introire* in both these verses by a future, *uidebit* and *intrabit*, is peculiar to Augustine.<sup>500</sup> The appearance of *uidebit* in John 3:5 is probably under the influence of John 3:3, which has also affected Codex Aureus. Similarly, while all citations of John 3:3 have *regnum dei*, Codex Palatinus, like Augustine, has *regnum caelorum* in John 3:5, reflecting Synoptic parallels such as Matthew 5:20. These also underpin the addition *spiritu sancto*.

### John 3:6

*Quod nascitur* in AUpec 2.9.11 and AUs 294.16.16, along with the Manichaean texts at AUFau 24.1 and AUJul im 3.172.9, has a claim to be a rendering of τὸ γεγεννημένον which has not otherwise been preserved in the Old Latin tradition. Although Augustine normally cites the shorter form of this verse, his earliest citation, AUsy 9.19, has the additional interpolation characteristic of the so-called "Western" text of the Gospel: *quoniam deus spiritus est*. Other citations of these words in this order have been re-allocated to this verse from John 4:24, because all surviving biblical manuscripts there read *spiritus est deus*.<sup>501</sup>

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<sup>500</sup> Coleman (1971:220) notes that *posse* is very rare as a future auxiliary in Latin, so this is unlikely to be an internal Latin variation for the future tense (δύναται appears in both verses in Greek). It seems more likely that Augustine is removing the element of potentiality to make the saying more direct. In fact, the form of John 3:5 in the majority of Augustine's citations, *non intrabit in regnum caelorum*, is paralleled by Tertullian (TEba 13) and Vulgate manuscript **Bw** (Würzburg Univ. 67, c.800; Fischer 1991:53). TEan 39 reads *non introibit in regnum dei* (Roensch 1871:256).

<sup>501</sup> Even La Bonnardière 1986:223 assigns *quoniam deus spiritus est* at AUtri 5.11.12 to John 4:24. The longer text is also seen in the citation of Nemesianus at AUba 6.12.19. For "Western" interpolations, see Burkitt 1896:46-53; these are considered further in Section 5.3.4 below. There are two interpolations in this verse, found in many Old Latin and Vulgate

### John 3:14

Like John 1:23, in this verse Augustine reads *eremo* for ἐρήμω, which is not found in any Old Latin witnesses. Two Vulgate manuscripts do, however, have *heremo* in this verse, as does Cyprian.<sup>502</sup> The addition in *ita exaltari oportet filium hominis **super terram*** is unique to AUGal 22.12, and appears to be Augustine's way of reinforcing the prophetic parallelism.

### John 3:16-17

In John 3:16 six Old Latin manuscripts have *unicum* rather than *unigenitum*, a similar alternation to John 1:18, where it is only preserved in Codex Vercellensis.<sup>503</sup> Augustine consistently reads *unicum* in AUcat and AUPs 149, dated to 403 and 411-3 respectively. These works also have *mitteret* rather than *daret* which appears to be an anticipation of John 3:17, *non enim misit deus filium suum*, although it is found in three Old Latin manuscripts. The strange form of John 3:16 in AUs 265B.4, *sic autem dilexit deus humanum genus ut filium suum unigenitum daret pro saeculi uita*, appears to be a rhetorical expansion drawing on John 6:51 (6:52) in Codices Palatinus and Monacensis (*dare ... pro mundi uita*).<sup>504</sup> Again, the majority reading *non uenit filius hominis* in the majority of citations of the first

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witnesses (see Fischer 1991:53-58; Roensch 1871:655-656). Augustine has no trace of the additional *quia de carne natum est*.

<sup>502</sup> CYte 2.20 (Fahey 1971:376); Vulgate manuscripts **Eh** (Cambridge UL Kk.I.24, 8<sup>th</sup> century) and **Gk** (Kilian-Evangeliar, Würzburg, c.600); see Fischer 1991:83. Although Tertullian reads *deserto* in his verbatim citations of this verse, his allusion at TEid 2 has *eremo* (Roensch 1871:256).

<sup>503</sup> On the shift to the reading *unigenitum* by the Catholic Church during the Arian controversy, see Sumruld 1994:51. Tertullian reads *unicum* in both John 1:14 and John 3:16 at TEpra 21, although TEpra 15 has *unigenitus* in both John 1:14 and 1:18. Cyprian does not cite John 3:16, but reads *unicum* in John 3:18 (CYte 1.7); Ambrose has *unicum* in all citations of John 3:16.

<sup>504</sup> One Vulgate manuscript in Fischer's collation adds *pro mundi salute* in John 3:16 (**Jy**), while two have *pro saeculo* (**Bt Be**): see Fischer 1991:90.

half of John 3:17 is a paraphrase based on the Synoptic Gospels with no support in biblical manuscripts of John.<sup>505</sup>

### John 3:29

Augustine's customary form of this verse removes the second relative pronoun and adds a connective to co-ordinate the three actions of the friend:

amicus autem sponsi [] stat et audit eum **et** gaudio gaudet propter uocem sponsi.

Although there is some variety in the Old Latin witnesses, this form of text is only preserved in one Vulgate manuscript.<sup>506</sup> Despite the numerous citations of the first half of the verse, only AUJo 14.3.1 and AU 293.3 cite the final phrase. The latter has the reading *completum*, as found in Codices Veronensis and Usserianus.

### John 3:31

In all four of his citations, Augustine has the additional phrase **super omnes est**, present in four Old Latin manuscripts and the Vulgate but missing from the earliest Greek witnesses.

### John 3:36

The reading *incredulus est*, peculiar to the Vulgate and Codex Colbertinus, is found in the majority of Augustine's citations, which suggests that it was more widespread: surprisingly, two instances of the Old Latin *non credit* appear in works composed after 420, AUench 10.6 and AUJul 6.24.79. The reading *habet* or *habebit* rather than *uidebit* is clearly influenced by the first half of the verse, and even appears in Codices Palatinus and Aureus. Augustine does

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<sup>505</sup> E.g. Matthew 18:11, 20:28 and parallels, especially Luke 19:10 which adds *saluum facere*. Compare the paraphrase *non ueni facere* in John 6:38. It is noteworthy that at Conf. Carth. 3.272, Augustine also uses *uenit* before a citation of John 3:17.

<sup>506</sup> Fischer's manuscript **Ot** (Codex Martinianus, Tours, 9<sup>th</sup> century); *qui* is also missing from **Ji** and **Gi\***, while a total of fourteen manuscripts add *et* (see Fischer 1991:139-140).

not know the poorly-attested addition at the end of this verse, *et post haec traditus est Iohannis*, for which Codex Palatinus is the only Latin witness.<sup>507</sup>

#### John 4:1-2

The imperfect indicative *baptizabat* is attested in both the reported speech and the concessive clause in Augustine, although most Old Latin manuscripts have the subjunctive in John 4:2. All biblical witnesses render καίτοιγε by *quamquam* (apart from Codex Bezae with *et tamen*) but four of Augustine's ten citations have *quamuis*.<sup>508</sup> Augustine is also unique in having *ipse* without *Iesus* in seven citations: AUep 265.5 has *Iesus ipse*, like most Old Latin manuscripts, while the remaining references in AUJo 15 and AUEv 2 have *Iesus* alone, like the Vulgate.

#### John 4:7

This appears to be another occasion on which Augustine has altered direct speech to make it more vivid (cf. John 2:4). His earliest citation, AUq 64.62 has *mulier, da mihi bibere*. In AUPs 68.s1.14.16, supported by AUs 99.3.3, he reads *sitio, da mihi bibere*, while in AUPs 61.9.22 these additions are combined: *sitio, mulier, da mihi bibere*. Perhaps Augustine has been influenced by *mulier* in John 4:21 or even John 8:10. Furthermore, by putting *sitio* in

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<sup>507</sup> The third instance of *non credit* is in AUpec 3.2.3, which contrasts with *incredulus est* throughout AUpec 1. Berrouard (1969:945-947) observes that Augustine's interpretation of this verse changes after 412, when he uses it with reference to infant baptism, but this does not appear to affect his form of text. Although Muncey (1959:44) cites Ambrose's form of John 3:36 as *incredulus est*, which would further indicate the circulation of this reading before Jerome's revision, Caragliano's text of AMPae 1.12.53 has *non credit*, as does the Vetus Latina Database. Muncey (1959:xliv) also claims that *non ait ueniet sed manet* at AUench 10.6 is a quotation from Ambrose, but this observation is found throughout Augustine's citations of this verse.

<sup>508</sup> This is the only instance of καίτοιγε in the New Testament; the reading *cum* in AUep 44.5.10 appears to be a paraphrase, as *cum* is unlikely to render such a weighty particle.

Jesus' mouth here, Augustine can draw parallels with John 19:28, a connection made explicitly in all four of the *Enarrationes in Psalmos*.<sup>509</sup>

#### John 4:11

AUq 64.99 reads *unde **mihi** habes **dare** aquam uiuam*. Although Augustine may have adapted the direct speech, two manuscripts also add *dare mihi*, Codex Rehdigeranus (which supplies many parallels for this long citation: see Section 3.4.1.1) and Codex Sarzanensis: in these witnesses these words appear after *aquam uiuam*, while there is no support for either in Greek.<sup>510</sup> Augustine's text, however, is identical to that of Ambrose's citation of this half-verse at AMAbr 1.9.88.

#### John 4:17

In its primary citation of this passage, AUq 64 switches to reported speech in John 4:17: *bene dixisti **non habere te** uirum*. All manuscripts have an indicative, although the person varies between *habeo* and *habes*, similar to the variation noted above at John 2:20. The introduction of an accusative and infinitive elsewhere suggests that Augustine may be responsible for this alteration.<sup>511</sup>

#### John 4:18

Most manuscripts and citations of John 4:18 read *nunc quem habes* (νῦν ὃν ἔχεις), but two of the three citations in the commentary at AUJo 15 have ***iste** quem habes*. Augustine elsewhere introduces *iste* in direct speech in place of *hic* (cf. John 9:16, 9:24, 9:29), so this

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<sup>509</sup> AUPs 34.s2.4.6, AUPs 61.9.22, AUPs 68.s1.14.6, AUPs 108.19.10.

<sup>510</sup> García de la Fuente 1994:276 treats *habeo* with the infinitive in this verse as equivalent to a future tense, but there seems to be an element of ability, comparable to the Greek ἔχειν. See also Coleman 1971, and John 16:12.

<sup>511</sup> See John 19:21 and 21:5, and Section 5.3.6.

may have arisen from a misreading of *nunc* as *hunc*, followed by his usual substitution. In fact, the reading *hunc* is found in this verse in Codex Palatinus, confirming the existence of this intermediate stage.

#### John 4:24

In three of the seven citations of the entire verse, we find an additional *ideo*:

spiritus est deus et **ideo** qui adorant deum in spiritu et ueritate oportet adorare.  
(AUep 92.5; see also AUep 238.2.14 and AUs 21.46).

There is no parallel for this in surviving manuscripts, and while Augustine could have added it (cf. John 1:50 above), his consistency suggests that it may have been found in the tradition already. AUs 16A.290 is the only example of *debere* rather than *oportet* and may be a paraphrase. The similarity should be noted between the canonical text of this verse and the "Western" interpolation of *deus spiritus est* at the end of John 3:6. I have re-allocated citations which only quote these words in this order to the earlier verse, because all surviving Old Latin witnesses at John 4:24 read *spiritus est deus*. Nonetheless, this word order does appear in the citation of John 4:24 at AUs 21.46, perhaps through an error of memory.

#### John 4:25

Although *adnuntiabit* (or *nuntiabit*) is the only rendering of ἀναγγελεῖν in the Old Latin manuscripts, in addition to two examples of *adnuntiabit* Augustine's citations also feature *demonstrabit* (AUJo 15.27.4) and *docebit* (AUs 101.2.2). The use of *docebit* may have been influenced by the description of the Paraclete in John 14:26 and John 16:13.<sup>512</sup> Only Codex Palatinus has the future tense *ueniet* in this verse, which appears in all six of Augustine's citations.

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<sup>512</sup> Note, however, that in John 16:13, ἀναγγελεῖν is translated by *adnuntiare*: any influence between these verses would be internal variation in the Latin.

### John 4:28

Each of Augustine's citations includes an element of speed in this verse, where biblical manuscripts simply read *abiit* (ἀπῆλθεν). AUJo 15.30.1 has *cucurrit*, AUq 64.211 has *abiit ... festinans* and AUs 101.2.2 combines both with *festinanter cucurrit*. The lack of attestation suggests that this detail has been added by Augustine, although his consistency is remarkable.<sup>513</sup>

### John 4:34

Although most verbatim citations have *uoluntatem eius qui me misit*, the early work AUs dni 1.2.6.96 has *uoluntatem patris mei*, which is found in the manuscript tradition of AUq 64.68 and AUvg 28.28. Augustine may be responsible for the gloss, although *patris* is also present in Codex Rehdigeranus here and in a number of Old Latin witnesses for the similar verses John 5:30 and John 6:38.

### John 4:36-37

Augustine's reversal of the order of these two verses in AUJo 15 is without parallel: the abbreviation suggests that he may not have referred closely to a codex or it may have been damaged in some way.

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<sup>513</sup> Augustine also uniquely has a faster translation of ἀπῆλθεν in John 12:19 (*pergat* in AUPs 40.13.26) and *currite* rather than *ambulate* for περιπατεῖτε in John 12:35. For a possible Diatessaronic parallel for John 4:28, see Section 5.3.3 below, and Petersen 1994:368. On the other hand, the idea of urgency is characteristic of the Gospel according to Mark: Braun speaks of "le «mimétisme scripturaire» des écrivains chrétiens" (1985:141) which includes the introduction of other biblical traits into citations; Fee (1993:179) observes that this is also the case in gospel manuscripts.



## John 4:46

AUJo 16.3.22, the only citation of this verse, reads *et ecce quidam regulus*, where the Vulgate has *et erat quidam regulus*. It may be that Augustine has added *ecce*, as in John 1:29, although unlike that verse there is no Old Latin manuscript support here. Alternatively it could be a misreading or part of a re-telling of the story: note that the same sermon has *puer* rather than *filius* in John 4:50 (AUJo 16.5.11).

## John 5:2-4

The absence of parts of John 5:3b-4 from Latin and Greek manuscripts has led scholars to treat them as three interpolations (see Burkitt 1896:46-53). Although Augustine's many allusions indicate that he was familiar with their content, his treatment of the text of these verses is unusual. There is no verbatim citation of any part of John 5:2 among Augustine's citations and he neither locates the pool in Bethsaida nor includes the term *probatica* in any of his writings. La Bonnardière observes that "tout se passe comme si ce fragment du chapitre 5 de Jean (*Jo.* 5,2a) ne faisait pas partie du texte de Jean qu'il avait en mains".<sup>514</sup> The only verbatim citation of John 5:3 is in the commentary at AUJo 17.1.12, and this does not include the contested final three words. As for John 5:4, although Augustine refers to the healing of one person following the movement of the water in no fewer than seven works, his three references to the presence of an angel seem to betray a certain lack of ease

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<sup>514</sup> Quoted in Wright 1979:54. The presence of *probatica* in the title of AUs 124 is due to the Maurist editors. Wright 1979:54 notes that Augustine's lack of reference to Bethsaida "is all the more surprising, since he was fond of noticing the Hebrew proper names in the Bible and giving their meaning, probably with the aid of Jerome's *De nominibus hebraicis*." In fact, Wright's article shows that Augustine considered the pool the *piscina Salomonis*, through an initial transfer of the *porticus Salomonis* of John 10:23 to the *quinque porticus* of John 5:2; compare the reference to the *quinque porticus Salomonis* at AUs 272B.4. This identification is also made in a number of lists of *capitula* or pericope titles in the Vulgate and Old Latin tradition (although never in the text of the Gospel), the exact origin of which remains unclear (Wright 1979:55). Three Old Latin witnesses also add the detail *in inferiore parte* early in John 5:2, also lacking from Augustine.

with the supernatural agency, e.g. *benedictione dei turbabatur aqua tamquam angelo descendente* (AUPs 83.10.70).<sup>515</sup> As Augustine refers frequently to angels elsewhere (including John 1:51, 12:29 and 20:12), this reticence is a mystery. Berrouard claims that Augustine did not consider this text as authentic: "s'il connaît ce texte, Augustin ne semble lui reconnaître l'autorité de l'Écriture".<sup>516</sup> Nonetheless, there is sufficient detail in Augustine's allusions to indicate his familiarity with the interpolation in its customary form and, unlike the *Pericope Adulterae*, Augustine makes no explicit reference to its contested status or absence from certain witnesses, including Codex Monacensis and some Vulgate manuscripts.

### John 5:7

Augustine's two verbatim citations of this verse (AUPs 132.6.40 and AUs 125.3), supported by the redaction at AUEv 2.45.94, make it clear that he read *deponat* for βάλῃ rather than *mittat*, found in all Old Latin manuscripts. Only the redaction at AUJo 17.7.8 indicates the usual reading.

### John 5:10

This verse is only cited at AUJo 17.9.10, and the insertion of *facere quod facis* has no parallel outside Augustine. It is possibly an explanatory gloss introduced during the sermon.<sup>517</sup>

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<sup>515</sup> Compare also *credas hoc angelica uirtute fieri solere* (AUJo 17.3.1) and *homines aquam uidebant sed ex motu aquae turbatae intelligebant praesentiam angeli* (AUs 125.3).

<sup>516</sup> Berrouard 1977:717, where he notes that Ambrose was familiar with these verses. Later, Berrouard notes again: "il ne considérait pas ce texte comme faisant partie des Écritures, soit qu'il ait noté son absence dans les manuscrits grecs, soit qu'il l'ait lu comme une glose en marge des exemplaires latins" (1977:719). For a hesitation over the mediation of angels, see also AUcur 19 (Lancel 2002:467), although this is explicitly in the context of the afterlife. On Augustine's attitude to miracles, a "quasi-rationalizing explanation with Origenistic allegory", see Lampe 1969a:180.

<sup>517</sup> See further the discussion of variants in this sermon, including *uidit* rather than *inuenit* in John 5:14, in Section 5.3.7.

### John 5:17-19

Half of Augustine's twenty-six citations of John 5:17 read *usque nunc* instead of *usque modo*: *nunc* is preserved only in Codex Vercellensis. AUs 125.3 continues with a version of John 5:18 which is clearly paraphrased but begins with *uolebant* rather than *quaerebant*, a rendering of ἐζήτουν which is also found in Tertullian and Ambrose.<sup>518</sup> In John 5:19, the Old Latin manuscripts are divided in their rendering of the Greek ταῦτα: most translate it as the demonstrative *haec*, while six interpret it as elision of τὰ αὐτά and have *eadem*. Augustine conflates both forms and has *haec eadem et filius facit similiter* in thirteen citations, which constitutes his customary text for this verse. The majority of his citations also replace *ille* with *pater*, a change typical of verses used out of context although the noun is also found in Codices Palatinus and Sarzanensis. Both these alterations appear in the continuous text of AUJo 20 and AUJo 21, whilst AUJo 18 and AUJo 19 preserve the Vulgate text.<sup>519</sup>

### John 5:22

Flattening can also be seen at the beginning of John 5:22, where most of Augustine's citations read *pater non iudicat* rather than *neque enim pater iudicat*, enabling him to quote the verse out of context. The reading *neminem*, used by Augustine's Arian opponents at AUAr 11.11 and AUMax co 18, is not found in any surviving manuscript.<sup>520</sup>

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<sup>518</sup> TEPra 21, AMfi 2.8.67, although neither citation agrees with the rest of this verse in AUs 125. Tertullian and Augustine also have *uultis* as a rendering of ζητεῖτε in John 8:40 (AUs 121 and TEPra 22, TEcar 15).

<sup>519</sup> On Augustine's exegesis of John 5:19, see La Bonnardière 1965:110-118. In Section 2.6.1 I suggested that the double form of *haec eadem* could have arisen from a desire to render both words of τὰ αὐτά, but a conflation of two existing readings is more plausible.

<sup>520</sup> Ambrose also begins all of his citations of this verse with *pater non*, even though Caragliano reconstructs *neque enim pater* as his biblical text (1946:46). Both Ambrose and Tertullian (TEPra 21) share Augustine's preferred word order of *omne iudicium* later in the verse, even though this too does not appear in any Old Latin manuscript. The Pseudo-Ambrosian *De Paenitentia* by Victor of Cartenna reads *pater neminem iudicat* (PS-AMpae 11).

### John 5:24

Despite the rendering of μεταβέβηκεν in John 5:24 by a form of *transire* in all biblical manuscripts, Augustine has *transitum facere* in ten citations, suggesting that he was familiar with this from a codex: it is also used by Fortunatus the Manichee (AUFo 3). The preference for a noun with an "all-purpose" verb is typical of developments in later Latin. The variations in tense appear to be governed by the context in which the citation is used, but the perfect is the principal reading. AUJo 22 also has the plural *uerba mea* in six sequential variants: this does not feature in biblical manuscripts and is probably a reminiscence of John 12:47.<sup>521</sup>

### John 5:26

AUtri 1 provides a number of Old Latin readings; its rendering of οὕτως in John 5:26 by *ita* on two occasions is not found in surviving manuscripts (in contrast with John 5:21), but is paralleled by Tertullian (TEPra 21) and Ambrose (AMfi 5.36).

### John 5:28

As in John 5:25, Augustine's preference for the future *ueniet* also occurs in a handful of Old Latin manuscripts. In contrast, the reading *quando* in thirteen citations of John 5:28 has no manuscript support, as all prefer the relative *in qua*, parallel to the Greek ἐν ᾧ. It seems most likely that Augustine has imported this reading from John 5:25, where the Greek has ὅτε, into his mental text.

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<sup>521</sup> Both Tertullian's citations of John 5:24 have a plural, *sermones meos* (TEPra 21, TEres 37; see Roensch 1871:262), while conversely Ambrose uniquely has a singular in John 12:47, *si quis audierit sermonem meum* (AMpae 1.12.54).

### John 5:29

Although a number of his later citations follow the Vulgate, *qui bona fecerunt ... qui mala egerunt*, Augustine's customary form of this verse has two adverbs, *bene* and *male*. The latter is attested in five Old Latin witnesses, but the former is unique to Augustine. In keeping with this trend towards parallelism already inherent in the verse, the distinction between the two verbs is also obliterated, reading *fecerunt* or *egerunt* on both occasions.<sup>522</sup> Despite the variation in the Greek (ποιήσαντες ... πράξαντες), the same verb is repeated in a number of Old Latin witnesses. AUtri 1 demonstrates its importance as a source of Old Latin readings with a form of text unique among Augustine's citations, which preserves three verbs found only in Codices Monacensis, Rehdigeranus and Usserianus:

et **prodient** qui bona **gesserunt** in resurrectionem uitae, qui [] mala **gesserunt** in resurrectionem iudicii. (AUtri 1.13.121).

### John 5:30

The reading *uerum* rather than *iustum* (rendering δικαία) is only present in the *Sermo Arrianorum* and Augustine's citation of this AUAr 11.12. This may have been influenced by the presence of *uerum* in the next two verses, or the similar phrase in John 8:16.<sup>523</sup> It is worth observing that Augustine's citations of John 7:24 also have a unique rendering of τὴν δικαίαν κρίσιν, with *rectum iudicium*.

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<sup>522</sup> *Fecerunt* appears in AUEv 2.30.71, AUJo 22.13.18, AUs 154.11.16, AUs 223C.1, *egerunt* in AUop 23.43, AUs 127.11.15, AUs 306.5.5. Ambrose reads a double *fecerunt* at AMPs 40.7.

<sup>523</sup> Some Greek manuscripts of John 8:16 actually read δικαία rather than ἀληθινή, but this is not found in John 5:30. For the Latin variation, we may compare Augustine's reading in Wisdom 2:18, cited in La Bonnardière 1971:169-170. On that occasion, where the Vulgate reads *uerus*, AUci 17.20.1 has *iustus*, which La Bonnardière suggests Augustine may have taken from a Septuagintal manuscript.

### John 5:35

Every Old Latin manuscript reads *uos autem* (except Codex Veronensis, with *uos uero*). Nine of Augustine's citations have *et uos*, including the two lectionary sermons AUs 128 and AUs 342; the only instance of *autem* is AUPs 118.s23.1.11 which has ***nos autem***.<sup>524</sup>

### John 5:37

Augustine's only verbatim citations of this verse outside AUJo 23, ***nec uocem illius aliquando audistis, nec faciem eius uidistis*** (AUAd 9), preserve a number of renderings not found in Old Latin manuscripts. As this corresponds closely to the Greek (οὔτε φωνὴν αὐτοῦ πρόποτε ἀκηκόατε οὔτε εἶδος αὐτοῦ ἑωράκατε), it has a strong claim to represent a lost version.

### John 5:39

All Augustine's citations have the relative clause poorly attested in the Greek but found in five Old Latin witnesses. He does not appear to be familiar with the repetition of the text in certain manuscripts.<sup>525</sup> AUJo 23.2.25 has the singular *scripturam* throughout, which appears to be a one-off. AUs 129, a lectionary sermon, reads *speratis* rather than *putatis* in its sole citation: although this is at best a loose rendering of δοκεῖτε, it is also found in Tertullian, TEhae 8. As it is unlikely that Augustine would be influenced by Tertullian while preaching extempore, it is possible that this was the gospel text in this early sermon.

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<sup>524</sup> AUs 342.2.2 omits *uos*; several of the other sermons with *et uos* have a claim to be lectionary sermons as they were preached on a feast of John the Baptist, e.g. AUs 293D and AUs 308A.

<sup>525</sup> It should be noted that the apparatus of Nestle-Aland is slightly unclear: Matzkow-Jülicher-Aland makes it apparent that Codices Vercellensis and Corbeiensis (partially) repeat the variant reading at the end of the verse, while Codex Veronensis has the canonical text initially but reproduces the alternative later.

### John 5:43-44

In four of Augustine's six citations of John 5:43, he reads *suscepistis ... suscipietis* for λαμβάνετε ... λήμψεσθε: all Latin Bibles have *accipere* or *recipere*.<sup>526</sup> Three of these citations have *alius ueniet* rather than *si alius uenerit*, another unique reading. In the next verse, only the Vulgate-influenced AUspe 28 translates λαμβάνοντες by *accipitis*. All five of Augustine's other citations have *expectantes* which is again without parallel, but because of its consistency deserves to be considered as an Old Latin alternative.<sup>527</sup>

### John 5:46-47

Augustine's customary text of John 5:46 typically omits the initial connective, reading *si crederitis Moysi, crederitis et mihi: de me enim ille scripsit* on twenty-five occasions. *Forsitan* is only found (after the second *crederitis*) in the initial citation in the lectionary sermon AUs 129.1.1, which has the majority Old Latin reading, and the early work AUq 64.128. It is absent from Codices Palatinus, Vercellensis and Monacensis. Of even more interest is the single instance of *utique* in this position, in a non-sequential citation at AUJo 30.6.10: this reading is unique to Codex Bezae.<sup>528</sup> The only citation of John 5:47, following the previous verse at the opening of the lectionary sermon AUs 129, is slightly loose (*quomodo potestis mihi credere* rather than *quomodo uerbis meis credetis*) and may be a paraphrase.

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<sup>526</sup> The exceptions are AUPs 117.21.3 and AUs 129. The latter has *accipere* initially, but *suscipere* later on. Julian of Eclanum is, unusually, inconsistent, reading *suscepistis ... accipietis* at AUJul im 1.93.2.

<sup>527</sup> I have already noted above that the double reading in the lectionary sermon AUs 129.2.2, *gloriam ab inuicem quaerentes, gloriam ab inuicem expectantes et gloriam quae a solo deo est non quaerentes* is most plausibly explained as Augustine's self-correction when referring back to the codex during his sermon, which has been duly recorded verbatim by the stenographer, and therefore provides strong evidence for the accuracy of the reading *expectantes*.

<sup>528</sup> *Utique* is found for *ŭ* in three other Old Latin manuscripts at John 8:19, although at John 4:10, all read *magis* or *forsitan*: in later verses, *utique* is more common (e.g. John 8:42, 11:27, 14:7, 14:28 and 18:36).

### John 6:5

There are two verbatim citations of this verse. AUEv 2 agrees with the Vulgate, reading:

dicit ad Philippum "unde ememus panes ut manducent hi?" (AUEv 2.46.95)

AUs 2.87 precedes an accurate citation of John 6:6 with:

ait *inquit* Philippo "habetis panes, date illis manducare." (AUs 2.87)

There is no support for this reading in any manuscript of John. Lambot, the sermon's editor, says *quam lectionem ob ipsam singularitatem retinui*. It seems, however, a clear example of conflation, as all three Synoptic accounts of the Feeding of the Five Thousand include the response *date illis manducare*. This is one of Augustine's earliest preserved sermons, dated to 391, and is perhaps an indication that the young priest's biblical knowledge required further consolidation.

### John 6:9-11

These three verses are only cited in AUEv 2.46.95, identical to the Vulgate, and AUJo 24.4, which has a number of readings unique to Augustine. In Section 5.3.7 below I suggest that these variants are due to Augustine's impromptu alteration of the text in order to improve the Latin and logical flow, although it remains possible that these readings had already been introduced into his codex by a reviser.

### John 6:26

Weirich notes that one manuscript of AUEv 4.10.15 has *ex panibus meis*, an identical reading to Augustine's other citation of this verse at AUJo 25.10.5, although this is not present in any biblical witness. Only AUEv 4.10.15 includes the final three words, reading, unusually, *et **satiati** estis* with Codices Veronensis and Palatinus, rather than the Vulgate *et saturati estis*.



### John 6:27-28

Augustine has the Old Latin rendering *escam* in nine of his eleven citations of John 6:27 outside AUJo; more significantly, his customary text also reads *quae non corrumpitur* where all manuscripts have *non ... qui perit* for μή ... τὴν ἀπολλυμένην. The passive is arguably a more literal rendering and it seems very likely that this was found in versions which no longer survive. Nonetheless, the lectionary sermon AUs 130A has the regular form of the Old Latin manuscripts, *escam quae non perit*. This sermon and AUprae 7.12 also have the singular, *opus dei*, in John 6:28, although this may just be an anticipation of the singular in the next verse rather than a manuscript reading which has not been preserved.

### John 6:32-33

The unusual division of these verses in AUJo 25.13.1 has already been discussed at Section 3.2.1. Eleven lines later, however, Augustine has the usual Vulgate reading: despite its similarity to Codex Aureus, the variant seems a momentary aberration.

### John 6:38

Augustine's customary form, *non ueni facere*, is a paraphrase of the biblical text *descendi de caelo non ut faciam*: this reading can already be seen in the redaction at AUGal 3.5. Nonetheless, this variant is not peculiar to Augustine as it is also found in Tertullian, Hilary of Poitiers and other sources: this example shows how the same processes of "flattening" may be at work in different authors.<sup>529</sup>

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<sup>529</sup> Tertullian has *ego ueni non ut meam sed ut patris qui me misit faciam uoluntatem* (TEres 34); for Hilary and the other references, see Leloir 1962:162; compare also Augustine's paraphrase at John 3:16 and the Synoptic parallels noted there.

### John 6:40

The lectionary sermon AUs 14A (AUs Dol 20) consistently has the future perfects *uiderit* and *crediderit* in this verse, paralleled only in Codex Palatinus, as well as the unique reading *suscitabo* rather than *resuscitabo*: the regularity of this text in a lectionary sermon supports its authenticity.

### John 6:44

Augustine's mental text of this verse shows numerous indications of flattening: the potential *potest uenire* has become a simple present, *uenit* (cf. John 3:5, 6:65), *nemo* is kept as the subject throughout and the original relative clause is omitted. The resulting text, *nemo uenit ad me nisi quem pater attraxerit*, appears in nine of Augustine's citations: an identical form of text is also used by Euodius (AUep 160.4) and Petilian (AUPet 2.84.185), while two of Ambrose's citations also begin *nemo uenit ad me* (AMfi 5.149, AMLc 8.9). It seems most likely that this is another example of independent alterations due to flattening, although there is the possibility that Euodius may be quoting from earlier correspondence, or that Augustine may have inadvertently reverted to his preferred form when excerpting Petilian's pamphlet.

### John 6:45

Nine of Augustine's sixteen citations have *docibiles deo* (or *dociles deo*) rather than *docibiles dei*, the reading of all Old Latin witnesses and a literal rendering of the Greek διδακτοὶ θεοῦ. It is probable that the dative was present in some Latin versions no longer preserved, even though the genitive is used in the Latin of Isaiah 54:13 as well. Augustine may have made the correction himself, but although the dative appears in two citations from

the early work AUs dni, the genitive is unaltered in the commentary at AUJo 26, implying that he was prepared to allow the Graecism.<sup>530</sup>

#### John 6:49

This is the first occurrence of *eremo* in Augustine which finds a parallel in an Old Latin manuscript, Codex Usserianus, but Augustine does not have the explanatory phrase *quod est manna* peculiar to this witness. The reading *parentes* rather than *patres* in Augustine's citation of his opponent at AUleg 2.5.536 is not present in any Latin biblical manuscript, although it is a possible rendering of the Greek πατέρες.

#### John 6:53 (6:54 in the Vulgate)

Augustine's customary text of this verse is a further instance of flattening: in most cases, the second person plural has been turned into a third person singular, *nisi quis manducauerit*. Furthermore, *carnem filii hominis* has become *carnem meam*, under the influence of John 6:55, 6:57 and similar verses; this is also found in Ambrose.<sup>531</sup>

#### John 6:63 (6:64 in the Vulgate)

In all seven citations of this verse outside AUJo 27, Augustine has a form which reinforces the antithesis, *caro **autem** nihil prodest*.<sup>532</sup> There is no basis for this in the Greek, but Augustine's text coincides with that of Codex Sarzanensis. It is also worth observing that the Old Latin anacoluthon *uerba quae ego locutus sum uobis spiritus **est** et uita*, reproducing the

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<sup>530</sup> Compare the unaltered Greek genitives in John 1:50 and 14:12, and the examples in Plater and White 1926:35. Comeau 1930:56 claims the dative *deo* among "les mots de l'ancienne version qui lui reviennent à l'esprit", although she fails to notice the lack of correspondence with any surviving manuscripts.

<sup>531</sup> Caragliano cites AMPs 43.47, Muncey lists AMpar 9.42.

<sup>532</sup> The form *prode est* (AUEv 4.10.15) is a late Latin development (Löfstedt 1911:184-188).

idiom of the Greek, is left uncorrected in both AUJo 11.5.37 and the continuous text at AUJo 27.6.1.

#### **John 6:65** (6:66 in the Vulgate)

The reading *uenit* for *potest uenire* is a sign of flattening in several of these citations (cf. John 6:44). *Cui* does not appear outside AUprae 20.40 and AUs 131.2.2; although the latter is a lectionary sermon it has other inaccuracies in its biblical text.

#### **John 6:68** (6:69 in the Vulgate)

The two works outside AUJo which cite this verse have the singular, *uerbum uitae aeternae*, although every biblical manuscript has the plural, *uerba* (ῥήματα). However, the singular also appears in Cyprian (CYep 59.7), which suggests that, as with *ire* in the previous verse, these citations preserve an Old Latin reading. Although *quo ibimus* rather than *ad quem ibimus* in AU1Jo 1.12 may seem a simplification for πρὸς τίνα, this is found in Tertullian as well (TEPra 21).

#### **John 7:10**

The five works which cite John 7:10 feature several alternative renderings. The continuous text of AUJo 28 conforms exactly to the Vulgate:

et ipse adscendit ad diem festum non manifeste sed quasi in occulto. (AUJo 28.8.16)

This is also the reading of the first citation in the lectionary sermon AUs 133, except that the verse ends *quasi occulte*. Four sequential variants in AUJo 28, however, read *sed quasi latenter*. This rendering of ἐν κρυπτῷ is only preserved in Codex Palatinus, but it was clearly known to Augustine. Where all Old Latin manuscripts have *manifeste* or some form of *palam* for φανερώς, both AUep 82.2.18 and AUFau 22.36 have *euidenter*. This could have

originated as a parallel to *latenter*, found in both these citations, and may be due to Augustine's preference for antithesis. On the other hand, it also appears in AUs 133.7, where he reads *non euidenter sed quasi occulte*. Dated to 397, this is the earliest of these citations and precedes all the instances of *latenter*. This unusual rendering of φανερώς therefore has a strong claim to be a reading from a biblical manuscript no longer preserved. As AUs 133 was preached in Carthage, where Augustine's sermons often show characteristics similar to Codex Palatinus, this form of adverb might be a distinctive element of an African translation.<sup>533</sup> The variety of renderings for ὡς comparable to John 1:32-33, *quasi*, *tamquam* (AUJo 28.9.49) and *uelut* (AUJo 31.1.3), along with Augustine's explicit comment at AUs 133.7 further confirm the presence of this word in the Greek archetype of these versions.

### John 7:12

The reading *quia propheta est* rather than *quia bonus est* in two early citations of John 7:12 (AUJb 5, AUs dni 1.5.14.296) seems unlikely to be a rendering of ἀγαθός, but is probably inspired by John 7:40 where the words of another crowd are reported, *hic est uere propheta*. Nonetheless, these citations both have the Old Latin reading *populum*, as does AUPs 28.7.4, rather than *turbas*.<sup>534</sup> We should also note that most of these citations have *alii ... alii* rather than *quidam ... alii* found in the biblical manuscripts.

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<sup>533</sup> See Sections 3.3.4 and 3.3.5 above and compare the same suffix in Codex Palatinus' readings *audenter* in John 7:13 and *personaliter* in John 7:24.

<sup>534</sup> At AUloc 1.781, Augustine sets out the following pairs of renderings: *turba* and ὄχλος, *populus* and δῆμος, *plebs* and λαός, which makes it unlikely that he had consulted the Greek of this verse. Another possible source for *propheta* is the confession of the man born blind at John 9:17, *ille autem dixit quia propheta est*; Milne 1926:xxiii also suggests Matthew 16:14. The reading *quia uerax est* in Codex Brixianus may anticipate John 7:18.

### John 7:23-24

The readings *irascamini* and *saluum feci* in AUJo 30.4.14, the only citation of John 7:23 by Augustine, have already been considered in Section 3.2.3. There is some Old Latin support for both words, although Augustine's reversal of the order of the two halves of this verse impairs the accuracy of this citation. All citations of John 7:24 except one have *personaliter* for κατ' ὄψιν, the reading of Codices Palatinus and Monacensis; these include the commentary at AUJo 30 and the lectionary sermon AUs 178. On five occasions, Augustine reads *rectum iudicium* for τὴν δικαίαν κρίσιν. This is not found in the Old Latin manuscripts, which all have *iustum iudicium*, as do citations at AUag 27.29, AUs 178.1 and AUs 178.7.<sup>535</sup>

### John 7:37-39

Although *ad me* may have been omitted from thirteen citations of John 7:37 through flattening, it should be noted that these words are also missing from Codices Palatinus, Veronensis and Bezae. In the next verse, which normally follows this shorter form of John 7:37, the word order *flumina aquae uiuae fluent* along with the omission of *sicut dixit scriptura* probably indicate a memorised form of text featuring abbreviation. Augustine's division of John 7:37 and 7:38 in AUPs 103.s1.10 implies that he was not aware of the earlier tradition of punctuating before *sicut* in John 7:38.<sup>536</sup> All six citations which include the reference to Scripture in John 7:38 have the present tense, only preserved in the Vulgate and Codex Aureus, although AUq 64.86 precedes Augustine's use of Jerome's revision and suggests that this reading may have been more widespread. Most citations of John 7:39 also display abbreviations characteristic of having been taken out of context. Augustine normally

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<sup>535</sup> AUJo 30.6.8 reads *uerum iudicium*. For parallels to the readings in this verse, compare the use of *euidenter* and *latenter* in John 7:10 and the renderings of δικαία at John 5:30.

<sup>536</sup> See Turner 1923:67-70 and Fahey 1971:386. The frequent omission of *sicut dixit scriptura* in Augustine's references to John 7:38 also indicates that he did not understand it as a prophecy about Christ, unlike Cyprian and Ambrose.

has the rendering *clarificatus*, preserved in Codex Palatinus alone for this verse, and *qui credituri erant*: the future participle, found in ten citations, is only present in Codex Usserianus, and is absent from the Greek tradition, which has either πιστεύσαντες or πιστεύοντες.<sup>537</sup> Furthermore, Augustine always reads *nondum erat spiritus **datus***, including the participle found in most Old Latin witnesses but not the addition of *sanctus* (Codices Palatinus Veronensis, Bezae, Brixianus and Monacensis), nor the extra *in eos* (Codices Bezae and Brixianus).

### John 7:53-8:11

Augustine is one of the earliest Church Fathers not to question the authenticity of the *Pericope Adulterae* and to cite it in full, although he is aware that it is missing from some manuscripts.<sup>538</sup> His text in AUJo 33 corresponds to the Vulgate for the most part, but his citations of John 8:6-11 are partial. AUs 16A is a lectionary sermon on this passage, although Augustine seems to paraphrase the biblical text, and there are also substantial citations in AUPs 50 and AUs 13. There is comparatively little overlap between these different accounts, which has led Berrouard to suggest that this is itself an indication of

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<sup>537</sup> However, *credituri* is also read by Ambrose in four citations (AMex 3.1.6, AMPs 1.35, AMPs 36.61, AMsp 1.156), and its attestation in two Fathers and an Old Latin manuscript might suggest an original future participle in the Greek, πιστεύσαντες, combining both surviving forms. None of the Latin manuscripts in Fischer's collation have the future participle except Codex Usserianus (Fischer 1991:197).

<sup>538</sup> See AUadu 2.7.6 quoted in Section 2.5.2. Berrouard 1977:859 notes that although Becker (*Jesus und die Ehebrecherin*, Berlin 1963) includes some evidence from Augustine, he omits citations from AUPs 30.s2, AUs 13, AUs 16A and AUs 272B. On the textual history of this pericope, see Petersen 1997:192-199 and Parker 1997:95-102.

ongoing textual fluidity.<sup>539</sup> The surviving Old Latin manuscripts also display considerable variation, which means that assigning Augustine's citations to particular verses may conceal agreements with other witnesses.

### John 8:5

AUs 16A.101 has the expansion of the phrase τὰς τοιαύτας into a temporal clause, *ut quaecumque fuerit in adulterio comprehensa*. This is similar to Codices Colbertinus and Corbeiensis, which add *ut qui in adulterio deprehenditur*: nonetheless AUs 16A is consistent with its reading *comprehensa* in the previous verse. These two manuscripts also add *quid dicis de ea?* at the end of the verse: this is not found in AUs 16A, but AUPs 50 has *tu de illa quid censes?*, which may derive from the same Greek.

### John 8:6-8

Although both John 8:6 and John 8:8 have (κάτω) κύψας in the Greek, several Latin witnesses read *inclinato capite*, introducing a verbal reference to John 19:30 which is not present in the Greek.<sup>540</sup> Such a reference would naturally appeal to Augustine (cf. John 4:7): he has *inclinato capite* in his citations of John 8:6 at AUFau 22.25 and AUPs 30.2.s1.7.3 and John 8:8 at AUPs 102.11.42 (cf. AUs 272B.5). Two citations of John 8:8 also have *rursum*

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<sup>539</sup> "Ne doit-on pas penser pourtant que la nombre des variantes de la péricope est surtout le reflet d'une tradition textuelle assez flottante?" (Berrouard 1977:860). This assertion seems to rely on the benefit of hindsight: Augustine, who recognised the passage as canonical, would have had a mental text of the verse whatever the manuscript in front of him read. Berrouard also observes that three of the sermons featuring the Pericope Adulterae were preached in different churches (AUJo 33 in Hippo, AUs 13 in Carthage's Basilica Cypriani and AUs 16A in Carthage's Basilica Maior) and so Augustine would have relied on three different codices (Berrouard 1977:860); see also the discussion of AUs 16A at Section 3.3.4 above.

<sup>540</sup> The Greek for John 19:30 is κλίνει τὴν κεφαλὴν: Codex Palatinus has *inclinato capite* in both John 8:6 and 8:8 (and also adds *caput* in John 8:7 and 8:10), while Codices Colbertinus and Corbeiensis and two Vulgate manuscripts (**Be** and **Bt**) have it in John 8:6 only (Fischer 1991:260-261).



rather than *iterum*, a translation of πάλιν for which Augustine here and elsewhere supplies the only evidence.<sup>541</sup> The addition *qui se scit sine peccato esse* in John 8:7, found in both AUPs 50.8.30 and AUs 16A.117, and supported by the introduction at AUep 153.4.11, is peculiar to Augustine. AUPs 50 also has the only one of Augustine's citations of John 8:7 with *primus* rather than *prior*. Old Latin witnesses are equally divided between both forms.

### John 8:9

Augustine also has a number of unusual readings in John 8:9. He includes the detail *omnes* in AUJo 33.5.24 and AUs 16A.124, found in Codices Bezae, Colbertinus and Corbeiensis, and twice has the verb *recesserunt* which appears in the latter two: of Augustine's alternative readings, *discesserunt* is only found in one Vulgate witness, while *regressi sunt* is unparalleled.<sup>542</sup> The Latin witnesses which include εἰς καὶ εἰς normally translate it as *unus post unum*, but three of Augustine's citations uniquely have *unus post alterum* (AUleg 1.20.1259, AUPs 50.8.32 and AUs 13.114). This may be an alternative Latin idiom or a different underlying Greek text. All Old Latin witnesses for this pericope translate the Greek ἀπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων but not the complementary phrase ἕως τῶν ἐσχάτων found in several Greek majuscules and Family 13. Augustine, however, never has the one without the other: at AUs 16A.124 he reads *a senioribus usque ad minores*, while AUs 272B.5 has *a maiore usque ad minorem*. Only two Latin manuscripts include this later phrase, reading *usque ad iuniorem* and *usque in ultimis*.<sup>543</sup> Augustine is therefore the only evidence in the Latin tradition for this rendering of a very poorly-attested reading. Furthermore, what appears to

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<sup>541</sup> Compare John 4:46 and John 13:12, where the reading *russum* for *iterum* in the Old Latin tradition is only found in Augustine. Both renderings are found in biblical manuscripts in John 9:24, 11:38, 12:22 and 18:40.

<sup>542</sup> Vulgate manuscript **Jy** (Codex P, Split, 6-7<sup>th</sup> century) reads *omnes discesserunt* (Fischer 1991:270).

<sup>543</sup> These are **Bw** (Würzburg Univ. 67; c.800) and **Sx** (Complutensis 1, Madrid, 10<sup>th</sup> century) respectively (Fischer 1991:270).

be the introduction to this verse in AUs 272B.5, *illi autem considerantes conscientias suas*, corresponds exactly to a phrase occurring in certain Greek manuscripts, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς συνειδησέως ἐλεγχόμενοι, which is also supported by Bohairic versions. This also seems to underlie the phrase *unusquisque iam interrogans conscientiam suam* at AUPs 102.11.43, with *unusquisque* corresponding to ἕκαστος in some Greek witnesses: there is no example of this in any Latin biblical manuscript.

### John 8:10-11

As with its rendering of κατακύψας in John 8:6 and 8:8, Codex Palatinus also adds *caput* to translate ἀνακύψας in John 8:7 and 8:10. Its reading *cum adleuasset caput Iesus dixit ei* in John 8:10 implies that the phrase *leuauit autem dominus caput et ait ei* in AUs 272B.5 may also derive from a manuscript rather than constitute an authorial introduction to the citation, although the open question **quid est, mulier?** in this citation has no parallel in the biblical witnesses. Augustine shows no knowledge of the phrase *ubi sunt qui te accusabant*, found in some Old Latin and most Vulgate sources, and is unique in reading *damnauit* rather than *condemnauit* or *lapidauit* in this verse, although Codex Corbeiensis too has *damnabo* in John 8:11.<sup>544</sup> The Old Latin witnesses render ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν by either *ex hoc (iam)* or *amplius (iam)*, but ten of Augustine's eleven citations have *deinceps*, normally with *iam*. The exception is AUsp 28 which, as usual, reproduces the Vulgate text.

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<sup>544</sup> Nestle-Aland offers no variant to κατακρίνειν in either John 8:10 or 8:11, but Wordsworth-White observe that some Greek witnesses read κρίνω and Ambrose also has *damnabo* in John 8:11 (not quoted by Caragliano 1946:45). Tischendorf cites a number of manuscripts with either κρίνω or κρίνω. See also Petersen 1997:191. Although *uade uide deinceps ne pecces* at AUs dni 1.16.43.1035 appears to be a paraphrase, a similar form *uade et amodo uide ne pecces* is found in Ambrose (AMAbr 1.4.23; the Vetus Latina Database also cites this text in AMep 50.17, 64.6 and 68.17).

### John 8:23

Augustine's verbatim citation of this verse at AUpat 19.16 reads *uos de deorsum estis, ego de **sursum** sum*. This is a comparatively late example of an Old Latin reading: Codices Palatinus and Usserianus alone have *susum* (sic) rather than *superioribus* or *supernis*. Augustine's exploration of *deorsum* and both *sursum* and *susum* at AU1Jo 8.2 may therefore be a reminiscence of this verse, which he rarely cites.

### John 8:25

The Old Latin reading *principium **quod** et loquor uobis* is attested in five citations; Augustine's other references follow the interpretation of the Greek as ὅτι rather than ὅτι, with the reading *quia* found in Codex Veronensis and the Vulgate.<sup>545</sup> As this appears as early as AUcf 12.28.17 and AUs 1.41, it seems that Augustine was familiar with this in an Old Latin form.

### John 8:28

Augustine's citation at AUFau 6.9 of words attributed to Christ, *ego fallere non didici: quod sentio loquor*, appears to relate to this verse. This bears little resemblance to the biblical manuscripts, which read *sicut docuit me pater, haec loquor*. Until another identification is proposed, however, *docere* and *loquor* provide points of contact with this verse.

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<sup>545</sup> Despite the note to this effect in Nestle-Aland *ad loc.*, there seems no reason why this may not have been an internal Latin change: *quod* could be relative or causal, and followed by the first person verb it is more naturally understood as a causal clause; *quia* (or *quoniam* as in Codex Bezae) would simply vary the Latin according to a reviser's preferred idiom. The alteration of either form to a relative clause with the masculine *qui* is attractive, and this is found in several manuscripts of Augustine's works, as well as Codex Palatinus and some Vulgate witnesses.

### John 8:33

Two citations have *fili Abrahæ* (AUPs 46.11.4 and AUPs 148.17.26), where all manuscripts read *semen Abraham*, following the Greek σπέρμα. This is probably a reminiscence of John 8:39, where all manuscripts have *fili* (τέκνα); in John 8:37, the evidence is mixed. AUs 342.4 twice has the phrase *de seruitute non sumus nati*, which may be a paraphrase of *nemini seruiumus umquam* or originate from another source.

### John 8:36

Augustine's customary form of this verse, appearing in twenty-eight of his thirty-two citations is *si [] uos filius liberauerit, tunc uere liberi eritis*. The omission of *ergo* and fronting of *uos* is typical of a flattened form, but Augustine is so consistent in reading *tunc* that it may have originated in a Latin version which has since been lost.

### John 8:39

Codex Palatinus supplies the only parallel for Augustine's usual form of John 8:39, reading *facta* rather than *opera* for τὰ ἔργα. The alliterative *facta ... faceretis* is a memorable form of text which would appeal to Augustine's rhetorical instincts.

### John 8:44

Most citations of this verse are in an abbreviated form with a broader scope: *qui loquitur mendacium de suo loquitur*. Codices Palatinus, Vercellensis and Bezae have *de suo* rather than *ex suis propriis*. The unique reading of Petilian, *accusator* rather than *homicida*, should also be noted as a possible African form of text.

### John 8:48

Augustine's seven citations outside AUJo 43 all read *nonne uerum dicimus*, a rendering of καλῶς not found in the surviving Old Latin manuscripts, which have *bene* or *recte*. Augustine also reads *uerum dicitis* at John 13:13 in AUPs 92.3.42, where all other witnesses render καλῶς by *bene*, which suggests that this may have been a feature of a text known to him. Alternatively, he could have made a deliberate change in order to remove the juxtaposition of *bene* and *dicere*, which had developed a specialised Christian meaning.<sup>546</sup>

### John 8:56

Augustine's customary text for this verse is *Abraham concupiuit uidere diem meum, et uidit et gausus est*, found in eleven of thirteen citations. The Old Latin witnesses translate ἡγαλλιάσατο ἵνα ἴδῃ by *exultauit* (or *laetabatur*) *ut uideret*, but Augustine's consistency suggests again that his reading may have been more widespread. Nonetheless, there is no similar variation in John 5:35, where ἀγαλλιᾶσθαι is rendered by *exultare* in all manuscripts and citations.

### John 9:3

AUs 136 is a lectionary sermon on John 9:1-14. Its variants in John 9:2 are paralleled in Old Latin manuscripts, but in John 9:3, no surviving witness has *ostendantur* or *ipso*. Both *ostendere* and *manifestare* are found for φανεροῦν at John 7:4, 21:1 and 21:14, although elsewhere the manuscripts prefer *manifestare*.<sup>547</sup> The lectionary context, as Augustine summarises the passage before commencing his exposition, suggests that this was the

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<sup>546</sup> See, for example, Mohrmann 1961a:39 and Mohrmann 1965:63, where she observes that in this "Christian" usage, it takes an accusative rather than a dative direct object.

<sup>547</sup> For examples of *manifestare*, see John 1:31, 2:11, 3:21 and 17:6. In John 14:21 and 14:22 both *manifestare* and *ostendere* appear as translations of ἐμφανίζειν, demonstrating their equivalence.

reading of his codex. However, he reverts to *manifestarentur* later in the paragraph; *ipso* appears throughout. We should also note that here Augustine always has the plural verb following *opera*, despite most Old Latin and Vulgate witnesses reading a singular after the model of the Greek.<sup>548</sup>

#### John 9:4

The reading *ego ueni ut faciam opera eius qui me misit* instead of *me oportet operari opera eius qui me misit* appears to be a paraphrase like that found in John 3:17 and John 6:38, which has no support in the biblical manuscripts.<sup>549</sup> Even so, it is surprising to find this form of text in every citation of this verse (including the title) in AUs 135, which is a lectionary sermon on John 9. Similar paraphrases in other verses indicate that Augustine does not follow the text of the Gospel closely in this sermon but quotes from memory.

#### John 9:6

As *liniuit*, Augustine's reading at AUJo 44 CT, only features in certain Vulgate manuscripts, it is not surprising that all his allusions to this verse have *ungere*, as found in the Old Latin tradition. However, in the biblical manuscripts, this appears as *superunxit*, whereas Augustine has *inunxit*. This is a possible translation of ἐπέχρισεν and may have been present in an Old Latin version now lost.

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<sup>548</sup> Although the plural is found in some Vulgate manuscripts, this is conceivably a change for which Augustine is responsible in AUJo 44 CT. See further Plater and White 1926:34 and contrast the citations of John 6:63 (6:64).

<sup>549</sup> As with John 6:38, however, other patristic citations are similar, e.g. *super caecum illum patris opera dicit se facere oportere* (TEPra 22).

### John 9:7

It is interesting to note that Augustine uses *piscinam Siloam* for τὴν κολυμβήθραν τοῦ Σιλωάμ in every citation except AUJo 44 CT. This rendering is only paralleled by Codex Palatinus: all other witnesses have *natatoria*.

### John 9:16

Augustine has two forms of text for this verse. In AUJo 44 CT, he reads:

non est hic homo a deo qui sabbatum non custodit. (AUJo 44.9.6)

His other five verbatim citations have:

non est **iste** (homo) a deo qui (**sic**) **soluit sabbatum**.  
(AUJdc 49, AUs 122, AUs 136, AUs 258).<sup>550</sup>

*Soluit sabbatum* seems too loose a version of τὸ σάββατον οὐ τηρεῖ to reflect a biblical manuscript: it is more likely that Augustine is remembering John 5:18, ἔλυεν τὸ σάββατον. The rendering *iste* for οὗτος (all Old Latin witnesses have *hic*) appears to be characteristic of Augustine: see further Section 5.3.6 below. In this pericope, *iste* also appears in citations of John 9:2, 9:17, 9:24 and 9:29.

### John 9:27-28

Although Augustine's citations of these two verses at AUPs 39.26.8 and AUPs 40.9.23 do not appear in the context of a gospel lection, they are surprisingly close to Old Latin forms: only Codex Palatinus has *esse* rather than *fieri* in John 9:27, and in the next verse this manuscript and Codex Monacensis have a participle *dicentes*. The latter is an indication of the influence of Greek biblical style on the Latin translators because, unusually, all surviving Greek witnesses here have two co-ordinated finite verbs rather than one finite verb and a

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<sup>550</sup> The initial *nos scimus* in two of these citations is borrowed from John 9:20.

participle of speech: nonetheless, this has been replaced with the scriptural idiom. The subjunctive *sis* in all citations is well-attested in Old Latin versions and some Vulgate manuscripts.

### John 9:31

Augustine does not appear to notice the difference between *audit* and *exaudit* used in certain manuscripts to translate the two instances of ἀκούει in this verse: he follows the Vulgate in AUJo, but has the Old Latin reading *exaudit* elsewhere.<sup>551</sup> Other variants reflect influences on his biblical text: at AUba 5.20.28 he reads the singular *peccatorem*, a text found in Cyprian's *Sententia episcoporum* quoted later in the work (AUba 7.26.50), while in AUPar 2.8.17 he repeats Parmenian's form *si quis dominum coluerit* (comparable to Codex Palatinus) from AUPar 2.8.15.

### John 9:38

This verse is missing from Codex Veronensis and is partial in some other manuscripts: it may therefore be significant that in the lectionary sermon AUs 135.5.6, after the previous two verses have been cited in full, Augustine omits the first half of John 9:38. AUs 136C.5 includes *credo domine*, but like AUs 135 reads *prostratus* rather than the biblical manuscripts' *procidens*. This agreement suggests that this rendering of προσεκύνησεν was the reading of a version which is no longer extant.

### John 9:39

Two minor citations of this verse raise intriguing questions. AUleg 2.11.206 has the addition of *non solum ... sed etiam*, which reads as if it were part of the scriptural citation but seems

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<sup>551</sup> On the theological nuance of these verbs, see Burton 2000:93.



to have been inserted by Augustine. How many of the other alterations which highlight contrasts might Augustine have introduced? Even if they are paralleled in Old Latin witnesses, these may not have been known to him. In a non-sequential citation from AUJo which would not normally rank as important evidence, Augustine has:

ego [] ueni ut **non uidentes** uideant et **uidentes** caeci fiant. (AUJo 33.1.22)

All surviving Old Latin manuscripts have two relative clauses, *qui non uident* and *qui uident*, found in all Augustine's other citations, but the Greek witnesses read οἱ μὴ βλέποντες ... οἱ βλέποντες. Is this coincidence, does Augustine's citation from memory reproduce a version now lost, or is it evidence that he had compared the Latin with the Greek and substituted a more literal version?<sup>552</sup>

### John 10:1

Augustine's seven citations of this verse have various renderings of ἀλλαχόθεν, but all are paralleled by surviving witnesses. AUJo 45 reads *aliunde*, like the Vulgate and majority of Old Latin manuscripts. AUPs 95.3.39 and two citations from AUs 137.5.5 have *per aliam partem*, as found in Codices Rehdigeranus, Sarzanensis and Usserianus. The other citations in the lectionary sermon AUs 137 are more varied: the first is clearly a paraphrase, incorporating elements of John 10:10, and has the rendering *ex alia parte*. Later in AUs 137.4.4 Augustine reads *per alteram partem*, as he does twice at AUs 137.10.12, a reading only preserved in Codex Palatinus. Four of these citations follow John 10:2, which suggests that the text has been re-shaped and owes its form to Augustine's memory rather than the reading of any manuscript.

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<sup>552</sup> Compare also Section 5.3.7 and the discussion of John 11:52 in the commentary below.

### John 10:8

At AUleg 2.4.494, Augustine criticises his opponent's text, *omnes alii quotquot ante me uenerunt fures sunt et latrones*, replacing it with the Vulgate text which omits the extra words. Although there is no parallel among the biblical manuscripts for *alii*, Codex Bezae does read *ante me* and the phrase is found in a number of Greek witnesses. Furthermore, Faustus includes this phrase in his citation at AUFau 16.2, and Augustine repeats it without comment at AUFau 16.12. Nonetheless, Nestle-Aland cites Augustine as a witness to the omission of *ante me*, based on three citations: the Vulgate reading at AUJo 45.9.1, the correction at AUleg 2.4.495 and a brief quotation at AUPs 90.s1.1.37.

### John 10:12-13

Most of Augustine's forms of John 10:12 are paraphrases, although he includes the phrase *et qui non est pastor*, absent from Codex Palatinus. It is therefore noteworthy that these words are missing from Gaudentius' citation at AUGau 1.16.17, as it suggests that this is not an oversight in Codex Palatinus but indicative of a wider African tradition as used by the Donatists. It is not clear whether the absence of *mercennarius autem fugit* from Augustine's citations of the next verse is related to its omission from Codices Palatinus and Bezae or, more likely, is simply the omission of repetitive material. What is remarkable is that every citation of John 10:13 has *non est ei [or illi] cura*, despite the Vulgate and majority of Old Latin witnesses reading *non pertinet ad eum* for οὐ μέλει αὐτῷ: Augustine agrees here with an interesting combination of manuscripts, Codices Bezae, Brixianus, Rehdigeranus and Usserianus, which may preserve an older, slightly less literal, rendering.

### John 10:16, 10:18

These frequently-cited verses both appear in memorised versions, hence the omission of *et uocem meam audiunt* in John 10:16, and the replacement of the pronoun *eam* by *animam meam* in John 10:18.<sup>553</sup> Nonetheless, although most manuscripts prefer an indicative form of *fio* in the final clause of John 10:16, Augustine has ***ut sit unus grex*** in twenty-one citations, and a subjunctive on three other occasions. Codex Colbertinus reads *et erit unus grex*, which appears in six citations, some of them early works (e.g. AURm 57.3), others late (e.g. AUJo 117.5.25, AUs 2290). Augustine's consistency both with *esse* and the subjunctive makes it likely that this version was more widespread: it even features in the continuous text of AUJo 47. Although John 10:18 has undergone considerable alteration in the citations, it is worth noting that in four instances Augustine reads *(iterum) recipiendi* for *πάλιν λαβεῖν*, a rendering not paralleled in the surviving biblical manuscripts.<sup>554</sup>

### John 10:21

The demonstrative *ista* is not found in the surviving manuscripts, but it appears in both Augustine's citations of this verse in AUPs 48.s2.4. This may be another instance of Augustine's preference for this form.<sup>555</sup>

### John 10:24

The Latin manuscripts have either *quousque* or *usque quo* for *ἕως πότε*, but both Augustine's citations outside AUEv and AUJo have *quamdiu* (AUFau 12.44, AUs 293D.4). Although the latter is a reformulation, *quamdiu* also appears in an "imaginary citation" (see Section 2.5.4),

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<sup>553</sup> A similar flattened form of John 10:18 is found in Ambrose (AMfi 2.2.25, AMmort 10.43).

<sup>554</sup> AUep 55.9.16, AUep 140.14.36, AUPs 39.24.18, AUs 111.2; cf. also AUPs 63.3.9. La Bonnardière 1986:131 lists eleven occasions on which John 10:16 is accompanied by Matthew 15:26, on the subject of welcoming Gentiles into the Church.

<sup>555</sup> See Section 5.3.6 and John 9:16.

which supports the suggestion that it was an alternative reading in the Old Latin tradition. There is no parallel elsewhere for the plural, *animas nostras*, in AUs 293D.4.

### John 10:37

We have already noted the rendering *facta* rather than *opera* in Augustine and Codex Palatinus at John 8:39; Petilian the Donatist similarly has *facta* in this verse. Although it does not appear in any surviving manuscript, the likelihood that this represents another lost African version is supported by Cyprian's use of *facta* at CYte 2.6.

### John 11:14

Most of John 11 is only cited in AUJo 49, and has already been discussed in Section 3.2.3 above. There is a citation of John 11:14 in AUs 98.4.4 which appears to be a paraphrase: not only does it add the words *dico uobis* at the beginning of Jesus' speech (cf John 5:19, 8:34), but it includes a description of Lazarus as *amicus noster*. This is probably borrowed from John 11:11, where it is found in all manuscripts, but two Old Latin witnesses also have *amicus noster* in John 11:14, Codex Bezae and the Fragmentum Sangallense.<sup>556</sup>

### John 11:25

Seven of Augustine's nine citations read *licet moriatur* for καὶ ἀποθάνῃ. The exceptions are AUEv 4.10.18 and AUJo 49.15.1, which have *etiamsi mortuus fuerit*, as found in some Vulgate witnesses: this rendering may be an attempt to capture the aorist aspect of the

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<sup>556</sup> In fact, the Fragmentum Sangallense seems to be a lectionary and its version of John 11:14 is a summary of the preceding verses before the pericope beginning John 11:15: *amicus noster* need not, therefore, be ascribed to John 11:14. I am grateful to Professor David Parker for access to his recent transcription of this fragment. These parallels weaken claims that this is a Diatessaronic reading: see further Section 5.3.3.

Greek. Although *licet moriatur* is also found in Cyprian (CYmort 21), among the manuscripts only Codex Corbeiensis has this in full, although *moriatur* also appears in Codex Palatinus.

### John 11:35

It is interesting that in almost all Augustine's allusions to this verse he uses *flere*, although the Old Latin tradition universally translates ἐδάκρυσεν by *lacrimatus est*, a non-classical deponent form: this is the only time the Greek verb appears in the New Testament.<sup>557</sup>

### John 11:39

All surviving Old Latin manuscripts render ἄρατε τὸν λίθον by *tollite lapidem*. Augustine, however, has *lapidem remouete* throughout AUJo 49, supported by *remoueri* at AUtri 8.5.15 and possibly also AUs 139A.2. In AUq 65.24 he reads *auferte lapidem*, which is supported by the earlier part of AUs 139A.2. Furthermore, in nine of his ten citations, Augustine's text has *putet* rather than *fetet* for ὀζει. This does have Old Latin support from Codex Bezae and the Fragmentum Sangallense.<sup>558</sup>

### John 11:42

The reading *eos qui circumstant* rather than *populum qui circumstat* is first given by Maximinus (AUMax co 14) and repeated by Augustine at AUMax 2.14.8. It has no support in

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<sup>557</sup> *Flere* is used to translate λυπεῖν in John 16:20 and κλαίειν in John 20:11. This is the only attestation of *lacrimari* in the Vulgate New Testament; in the Old Testament it is only found in the deuterocanonical books of Tobit and Sirach. Although Tertullian has *lacrimatur super Lazarum* (TEcar 9), he also reads *flens Lazarum* (TEpra 27).

<sup>558</sup> The Fragmentum Sangallense is also one of three manuscripts which read *prodi foras* in John 11:43, as found in four of Augustine's sermons. Nonetheless, Augustine's reading may be an anticipation of *prodiit* in the Vulgate version of the next verse. For another example of *auferre* used to translate ἀίρειν not preserved in Old Latin manuscripts, see Cyprian's versions of John 1:29 and John 10:18 (CYte 2.15, 2.24; Fahey 1971:373, 390).

the biblical manuscripts, and the noun ὄχλον is always present in Greek. On the other hand, it does away with the anacoluthon of the singular *circumstat* followed by the plural *credant*.<sup>559</sup>

### John 11:48

Augustine has fourteen citations of this verse, with several variants. For the Greek ἐὰν ἀφώμεν αὐτὸν οὕτως, he follows the Vulgate in AUJo 49, reading *si dimittimus eum sic*, but this unidiomatic Latin is replaced elsewhere: on three occasions he reads *si dimiserimus eum uiuere* (AUJo 93.3.48, AUPs 40.1.28, AUPs 55.17.43), AUPs 62.18.24 has *si dimiserimus eum uiuum*, and on seven occasions the complement of *eum* is omitted altogether. Like most Old Latin witnesses, Augustine prefers *tollent nobis*, a dative of disadvantage, but in every citation except one he has the double *et* preserved only in the Vulgate, *et locum et gentem*. As this corresponds exactly to the Greek, it is likely that it was found in certain Old Latin versions. The two sermons which read *regnum* rather than *gentem* (AUPs 52.9.21, AUPs 68.s2.10.25) were, as noted in Section 3.3.5, both preached in Thagaste, so this may be a peculiarity of biblical codices in Augustine's birthplace or an error of memory.<sup>560</sup> The equivalence of *tollere* and *auferre* to render ἀρᾶν has already been noted in John 11:39, so *auferent* in AUPs 55.17.43 could preserve another Old Latin reading in this verse.

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<sup>559</sup> Tertullian also has a plural subject, *propter istas turbas circumstantes* (TEPra 23).

<sup>560</sup> Although Nestle-Aland marks no variants for καὶ τὸν τόπον καὶ τὸ ἔθνος, Birdsall (1957:62) notes that these terms are reversed in both Chrysostom and Augustine, although this is only the case in one citation (AUs 10.265). The variant reading πόλιν in Photius cannot be connected with Augustine's *regnum*. However, Birdsall supplies a number of parallels for the omission of *sic* (οὕτως) in this verse, including Photius and Cyril of Alexandria.

### John 11:50

Most of Augustine's citations of this verse appear to be flattened, with the omission of *nobis* and *homo pro populo*: the full form, *expedit nobis ut unus moriatur homo pro populo et non tota gens pereat*, is found in three citations (AUep 187.12.37, AUJo 49.27.2, AUPs 105.37.53). Nonetheless, Birdsall (1957:62) reports that the abbreviated form, preferred by Boismard, is also the reading of Photius: it is not, however, paralleled by any Old Latin manuscripts.

### John 11:51

Augustine's citations show no trace of the literal rendering of ἔμελλεν Ἰησοῦς ἀποθνήσκειν found in seven Old Latin witnesses, *incipiebat Iesus mori*: four of his citations have *Iesus moriturus erat*, with the Vulgate and Codices Palatinus, Vercellensis and Brixianus. Nonetheless, three others read ***oportebat Iesum mori*** (AUFau 16.23, AUPs 40.1.32, AUs 315.1.2 with *Christum*). This is unique to Augustine and may be a replacement for *incipiebat*, influenced by the sentiment of the previous verse but with a similar pattern of syllables (cf. John 1:16).<sup>561</sup>

### John 11:52

It is interesting that the citation in AUcorr 20.8, which has no claim to be a primary source, has the two features noted in John 9:39 as possible characteristics of Augustine's own

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<sup>561</sup> The Greek of John 4:47 is also rendered by *incipiebat mori*, which works better in the context of the sick boy: a similar phrase appears at John 18:32, ἔμελλεν ἀποθνήσκειν, but no surviving Old Latin manuscript reads *incipere* here although there is no noticeable change in context. For other parallels to this construction, see Plater and White 1926:105, Löfstedt 1911:210 (who lists other parallels in Old Latin witnesses at John 7:35 and John 14:22) and Coleman 1971:224. García de la Fuente 1994:56 notes that this future periphrasis did not achieve wide acceptance. It could be that the alteration with *oportebat* exemplifies the overlap between the semantic domains of Obligation or Necessity and Futurity detailed by Coleman (1971:217-221).

alteration of the biblical text. On this occasion, however, both are paralleled by surviving witnesses. The antithesis is brought out by the words *non solum ... sed **etiam***, as found in Codex Usserianus. Furthermore, Augustine preserves the participle rather than replacing it with a relative clause. This is also the reading of Codices Vercellensis and Palatinus, but unlike Augustine both manuscripts include the word *quoque*. These parallels demonstrate the difficulty of determining the extent to which Augustine reproduces an Old Latin text verbatim or makes his own alterations.

### **John 11:55-57**

These verses are only cited in AUJo 50. Although Augustine's text in his commentary on John normally concurs with that of the Vulgate, as in the distinctive rendering *pontifices* in John 11:57, the Old Latin parallels for variants in these verses should be noted. Three manuscripts read *ergo* twice in John 11:55, while Codices Palatinus and Vercellensis both have *inter se* rather than *ad inuicem* in the next verse; it is also possible that *loquebantur* was an Old Latin form.

### **John 12:23**

The rendering of  $\delta\omicron\zeta\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$  in this verse is of considerable importance, as it is the last example of *glorificare* in certain Vulgate manuscripts before a switch to *clarificare* in John 12:28 and almost all subsequent examples.<sup>562</sup> Weber-Gryson prefers *clarificetur* but Augustine's continuous text in both AUJo 51 and AUJo 52 has *glorificetur*. This is the preferred text of Wordsworth-White, and is also found in over fifty Vulgate manuscripts, which suggests that,

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<sup>562</sup> For a table of these renderings in different manuscripts, see Burton 2000:68, although it should be noted that he incorrectly cites the Vulgate as reading *glorificare* in John 12:28.



like several of Augustine's readings in AUJo, it has a strong claim to be an early Vulgate reading.

### John 12:24

Many of Augustine's references to this verse are paraphrases produced by memory: in contrast, the lectionary sermon AUs 329 has a form of text which is much closer to surviving biblical manuscripts. Augustine prefers the Old Latin term *triticum*, but the Vulgate reading *frumentum*, also found in Codices Aureus and Rehdigeranus, appears in AUJo 52 and AUPs 140.25. Two words recur in Augustine's customary text which are not found in the Old Latin tradition, *mortificatum* and *multipliciter*. The former may be a reminiscence of *mortuum fuerit* or an alternative rendering of ἀποθάνη. The latter, however, paraphrases *multum fructum affert* and seems unlikely to be a biblical reading even though its presence is suggested on seven occasions. Augustine may, however, have been inspired by a parallel: both *Didache* 9.4, which also uses the word *triticum*, and the Parable of the Sower (Matthew 13:3 and parallels) rely on the multiplication of the grain.<sup>563</sup>

### John 12:25

It appears that Augustine's favoured form of text in this verse includes errors of memory. All biblical manuscripts have *custodiet* (or *custodit*), rendering φυλάξει, but Augustine's eight citations outside AUJo support *inueniet*. This is an obvious opposite to *perdet* earlier in the verse and seems to be a straightforward mistake, despite Augustine's consistency and its appearance in the lectionary sermon AUs 368. Furthermore, only two works have *odit* or *oderit*; the others all repeat the earlier verb, in the form *perdiderit*. In several citations

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<sup>563</sup> On Augustine's text and use of this saying from the *Didache*, see Albaric 1986:94 and Altaner 1952:208.

*propter me* is added, while *in uitam aeternam* is sometimes omitted.<sup>564</sup> The result is an abbreviated form of the verse in which the sentiment is simplified and the progression easier:

qui amat animam suam perdet eam, et qui **perdiderit eam [] propter me []**  
**inueniet eam.** (AUs 313D.1)

The reading *saeculo* in four works (AUep 243.5, AUs 305.2, AUs 313C.1 and AUs 368) is a common alternative to *mundum* (cf. John 3:17) and may well have been present in a version which is now lost; it is also found in Cyprian (CYte 3.16).

### John 12:26

Augustine's explicit comment at AUs 319.3.3 is the only remaining evidence for the manuscript reading *ubi sum ego illic et **diaconus** meus*. This represents a borrowing of the Greek term, διάκονος, which was used to refer specifically to a Christian minister: here Augustine uses it specifically of the protomartyr Stephen, who was also one of the first deacons.<sup>565</sup> The omission of *erit* at the end of the verse is a feature of several surviving Old Latin manuscripts.

### John 12:28

Several Greek manuscripts have υἱόν rather than ὄνομα, which suggests that Augustine's reading *filium tuum* in two early works, AUs 12.148 and AUtri 2.10.82, may derive from a scriptural codex: all surviving Old Latin witnesses read *nomen tuum*, but a dozen Vulgate

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<sup>564</sup> Mark 8:35 offers a Synoptic parallel for *propter me* in certain citations, reading *qui autem perdiderit animam suam propter me*.

<sup>565</sup> On the technical Christian term *diaconus*, see Mohrmann 1965:79-80, where she uses this citation to show that Augustine was unaware of the technical sense of *minister*. This is not necessarily the case, as Augustine is arguing for the interchangeability of the two words.

manuscripts have *filium tuum*.<sup>566</sup> Alternatively, the parallel with John 17:1 may have led both Augustine and biblical copyists astray.

### John 12:31

Thirteen of Augustine's nineteen citations have *missus est* where Greek manuscripts read ἐκβληθήσεται: most Old Latin witnesses have a future, corresponding to the Greek, although four read *mittitur*. There is no support for the past tense in any Latin or Greek manuscripts.<sup>567</sup> As in John 12:25, *saeculi*, the alternative rendering of κόσμου especially in a negative sense, may represent a reading in this verse which has since been lost. This is all the more likely as it is found in three early works, AUPs 9.8.26 (392/4), AUs 12 (394-5) and AUs dni 1.2.9.124 (392/7).

### John 12:32

The reading *omnia traham post me* in AUJo 52 has no parallel in any surviving biblical manuscript, although Augustine appears to allude to it at AUPs 59.9.36. It may be a further example of faulty memory, as *trahere* is often followed by *post*.

### John 12:35

The reading *diem* rather than *lucem* in AUPs 138.22.2 and AUrel 42.1 has already been discussed at Sections 3.3.5 and 3.4.1.2 above.<sup>568</sup> Although Augustine uses this verse to

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<sup>566</sup> See Fischer 1991:344; the manuscripts are mostly Irish and Breton (Eh Hfosdab Beogy Pw).

<sup>567</sup> Even though the solecism *ieicitur* is found in a handful of Vulgate witnesses, this seems to be a misspelling for the present tense (Fischer 1991:354). In John 15:6, however, both *mittetur* and *missus est* are found in Old Latin manuscripts, corresponding to the Greek βάλλουσιν.

<sup>568</sup> The alternation between *diem* and *lucem* is also found in different translations of Ephrem's text of John 11:9 (Leloir 1962:207), but this is either likely to be internal confusion, as both terms appear within the verse, or possibly influence from John 12:35.

gloss *dies* in AUPs 138, it is likely that he has substituted *diem* in opposition to *tenebrae* four words later. The reading *currite* in AUJo 12.14.1 may be a "speeding up" of the action by Augustine comparable to that observed in John 4:28, inspired by the urgency of this verse. This presumably also underlies the repetition of *ambulent* in AUcf 10.23.22.

### John 12:37-40

Although AUPers is a late work, dated to after 429, its variants in this passage are of an Old Latin character. As I have already remarked in Section 3.4.4.5, however, there is a Vulgate manuscript which uniquely reads *ideo* rather than *propterea* in John 12:39, and *cor illorum* in John 12:40. This is Würzburg University 67 (**Bw**): its character throughout this test-passage is distinctive, which suggests that it would repay further study.<sup>569</sup>

### John 12:46

As in John 12:25 and John 12:31, the rendering *saeculum*, found in AUpec 1.24.35 and AUpec 1.25.38, is likely to represent the reading of a version now lost.<sup>570</sup>

### John 12:47

The future tense *iudicabo*, which appears in the nine citations of this verse in AUtri 1, is not paralleled in any surviving Old Latin manuscripts. Although this work has a clear Old Latin text-type, *iudicabo* is found in seven Vulgate witnesses (including **Bw**): this could be explained as assimilation to *iudicabit* in the next verse, but as the Greek ΚΡΙΝΩ could be read

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<sup>569</sup> The manuscript is not discussed in Berger 1893. It has already been mentioned in connection with Augustine's citations of John 3:5 and John 8:9. There are parallels for *ideo* as an alternative rendering of διὰ τοῦτο: see John 9:23, 13:11, 15:19 and 16:15.

<sup>570</sup> This is also observed by Burkitt 1896:45.

as present (κρίνω) or future (κρινῶ), it is likely that an Old Latin version also had the future in this verse.

### John 13:1

This is a typical example of Augustine's alteration of a verse by memory: *cum* with the pluperfect subjunctive appears later in the sentence as well as John 13:2 and John 13:4, but *cum uenisset hora* is not found in any manuscript of this verse, although it introduces numerous other pericopes (such as the different parts of the Crucifixion in John 19).<sup>571</sup> The flattening of this phrase is further shown by the addition of the subject, *Iesus*, in six of the nine citations with the pluperfect. The pluperfect engrained in Augustine's mind also seems to have inspired the variant reading at AUep 55.1.2, *cum uidisset Iesus quia uenit hora*. Despite the comparatively wide attestation of this reading, it is highly unlikely that Augustine took it from a version of the Bible known to him.

### John 13:9

There are only three citations of this verse. AUJo 56 corresponds to the Vulgate, while AUep 265.5 emphasises the contrast, reading *uerum etiam* rather than *sed et*.<sup>572</sup> AUPs 92, preached in Hippo in 412, has:

domine non **pedes** [] **tantum** sed et **caput** et **totum**. (AUPs 92.3.33)

*Manus* is missing, but *totum* has been added. There is a parallel for the latter: Codex Vercellensis has *et manus et caput et totum corpus*. Petersen (1994:380-384), however, believes this to be a Diatessaronic reading, reflecting Tatianic baptismal practice. It seems

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<sup>571</sup> The Greek Majority text alone has a pluperfect, ἐλάλυσεν, but this is unlikely to have affected Augustine.

<sup>572</sup> Compare John 9:39 and John 11:52. Four Old Latin witnesses read *etiam* in John 13:9.

unlikely that Augustine would have been influenced by a Diatessaron this late in his career and more probable that he was familiar with the text-type of Codex Vercellensis.<sup>573</sup>

### John 13:10

Augustine's citations of this verse feature a number of renderings of ἔχει χρεῖαν. The most common is *habet necessitatem*, the reading of Codices Vercellensis and Monacensis, in five citations. On three occasions, Augustine has the majority (and Vulgate) rendering, *indiget*. The three citations which Petilian attributes to Augustine use *habet causam*, the text of Codex Palatinus. Augustine twice uses *habet opus*, in AUCre 1.31.37 and in the continuous text of AUJo 56: although this is not attested among the surviving Old Latin manuscripts, its appearance in AUJo means that it deserves to be taken seriously as an alternative rendering.<sup>574</sup> The unique reading *eum oportet* at AUep 44.5.10 is less compelling. It should also be observed that only four citations include the reference *nisi ... pedes*, missing from the Vulgate, Codices Aureus and Colbertinus, the Greek Codex Sinaiticus and Augustine's other seven citations. The omission may be due to flattening, as *pedes* has appeared in the previous verse, or it may offer further support for this form of text in the manuscripts.

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<sup>573</sup> It is worth observing that AUPs 92.3.32 continues in John 13:10 with another reading from Codex Vercellensis, *habet necessitatem*. On the other hand, in John 13:12-14, this work features a number of unusual readings which are not paralleled in surviving manuscripts, although they could be alternative Old Latin forms.

<sup>574</sup> De Bruyne 1931:541 in fact identifies the rendering of χρεῖαν ἔχειν by *opus habere* as a characteristic of Augustine's text of the epistles; his analysis of John 13:10 itself (1931:596), suggesting that Augustine deliberately avoided the Vulgate reading in AUJo 56 and made his own translation in AUep 44, seems overly complicated and inconsistent with the preference already claimed for *opus habere*.

As noted in Section 4.5, several of Augustine's works add *semel* to the phrase *qui lotus est*, rendering the participle, ὁ λελουμένος.<sup>575</sup> This is also found in two extant Old Latin manuscripts, Codex Colbertinus and the Fragmenta Mediolanensia. Although the adverb is ideal for Augustine's anti-Donatist polemic arguing against the rebaptism practised by the sect and he could have introduced it himself, both Tertullian and Optatus read *semel* in this verse, which implies that it was already part of the tradition.<sup>576</sup> This is confirmed by the use of *semel* in AUep 44, dated to 396/7. AUep 44 also includes the contrasting adverb *iterum* in the next clause, as do many of Augustine's other citations. There is no support for this in surviving biblical manuscripts, but this adverb is found in earlier Latin Fathers. This suggests that although Augustine may have desired to emphasise the contrast, he was actually following the text of an Old Latin version which has not been preserved.<sup>577</sup>

#### John 13:13-14

On the reading *uerum dicitis* in AUPs 92.3.42, the only one of Augustine's three citations of John 13:13 which does not reproduce a Vulgate text, compare John 8:48. Otherwise, all variants (apart from the omission of *et domine*) are paralleled in Old Latin manuscripts. This

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<sup>575</sup> These are AUCre 1.31.37, AUDo 22.63, AUep 44.5.10, AUJo 58.1.2 and AUPs 92.3.34, as well as all Petilian's citations of Augustine (AUPet 2.22.49 and AUPet 2.24.56). Of these, AUJo 58.1.2 and the citations from AUPet include *nisi ... pedes*, so *semel* cannot be dismissed as flattening. It has been suggested to me that *semel* may sometimes have been introduced by Latin translators to indicate the Greek aorist, but I have not found any evidence of this and in any case it does not apply directly to the perfect participle here.

<sup>576</sup> The evidence of the two Old Latin manuscripts is comparatively weak: Codex Colbertinus is the latest Old Latin witness for John, while the Milan fragments, although dating from the seventh or eighth century are from a Gallican lectionary (Jülicher 1963:x). The patristic evidence is presented at Berrouard 1993:404; Tertullian reads *qui semel lauit non habet necesse rursum* (TEba 12).

<sup>577</sup> Again, see the patristic evidence at Berrouard 1993:404; Tertullian (TEba 12.3) has *qui semel lauit non habet necesse rursum*, Optatus 4.4 and 5.3 have *qui semel lotus est non habet necessitatem iterum lauandi* and even Jerome himself (HIJov 2.3) reads *qui lotus est non necesse habet uti iterum lauet*.

includes the initial *dicitis*, even though there is variation in the Greek between φωνεῖτε and λέγετε. The citation continues into John 13:14:

si ergo ego **magister** et **dominus** **uester** laui **uobis** pedes **quomodo** **oportet** **uobis** **inuicem** **faciatis**. (AUPs 92.3.44).<sup>578</sup>

Although this appears to be a paraphrase (*faciatis* rather than *lauare pedes* is either flattening or anticipation of the next verse), several variants feature in Old Latin witnesses (*laui uobis* in Codex Brixianus, *inuicem* in four manuscripts) and *oportet uobis* corresponds to ὀφείλετε. The addition of *quomodo* may anticipate καθώς in John 13:15, although it is also possible that this reflects ποσῶ μᾶλλον, rendered in six Old Latin witnesses as *quanto magis*.

### John 13:18

Augustine departs from the Vulgate text in all three works which include the citation of Psalm 40:10 in this verse. In AUci 17.18.42, John 13:18 follows a citation of the original psalm verse and it seems that Augustine has repeated the same text rather than switch to the version in the Gospel. In AUJo 59 and AUJo 60, Augustine's form *leuabit super me* is found in the majority of Old Latin manuscripts.<sup>579</sup>

### John 13:26

Although no surviving Old Latin or Vulgate witness has the uncompounded forms *tinctum* and *tinxisset* in this verse, Augustine's consistency in AUJo 61 and AUJo 62 (his only citations of this verse apart from AUEv 3.1.3) suggest that these renderings were known to him. This is interesting given that Greek witnesses are split between βάψας and ἐμβάψας.

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<sup>578</sup> The reading *faciatis* is genuine, despite the expectation of an infinitive after *oportet*.

<sup>579</sup> See further the discussion of Old Testament citations in Section 5.2.1.



### John 13:27

There are four renderings of τᾶχιον in Augustine's five citations; AUEv 3.1.4 and AUJo 62.4.7 both have *citius*, the Vulgate and majority Old Latin reading. The positive *cito* in AUPs 3.1.19 seems to be a fault of memory. Augustine's other two citations both have a positive adverb, *uelociter* at AUPs 103.s3.12.3 and *celeriter* at AUJo 51.12.12. These are not attested in the Old Latin tradition, although the comparatives *uelocius* and *celerius* do appear. Since these comparatives had positive force, it is hardly surprising that the positive (which is less ambivalent in form) is found instead in Augustine's secondary citations.<sup>580</sup>

### John 13:34-35

These verses are often cited in an abbreviated form due to memory. In particular, the end of John 13:35 is either confused with the previous verse or features *dilexeritis* instead of *dilectionem habueritis*. It is indicative of Augustine's familiarity with a particular group of Old Latin manuscripts that his customary text has *mandatum* rather than *praeceptum* in John 13:34 and *scient* rather than *cognoscent* in John 13:35.<sup>581</sup> The specific *ueram dilectionem* found in AUep 108.6.17 is also present in Codices Vercellensis and Colbertinus although it is not attested in Greek. Petilian's rendering of *quomodo* rather than *sicut* is probably indicative of a lost African version of John 13:34.<sup>582</sup>

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<sup>580</sup> On the comparative as positive, see Plater and White 1926:67, and on these particular adverbs, Burton 2000:177. Fischer 1972:88 notes that Latin superlatives can also render positive adjectives in Greek.

<sup>581</sup> *Mandatum* is found in Codices Aureus, Bezae, Brixianus, Monacensis and Usserianus (Codex Vercellensis is lacunose here), and *scient* in Codices Vercellensis, Bezae, Monacensis and Usserianus. By contrast, Codices Monacensis and Usserianus have *caritatem* rather than *dilectionem* later in John 13:35.

<sup>582</sup> Compare *quomodo* in Codex Palatinus rendering καθώς at John 13:15 (it also has *quomodo* for ὥσπερ in John 5:21, 5:26, 5:30, 6:58 (6:59 in the Vulgate), 14:31 and 17:22, where other witnesses render *sicut*).

### John 13:38

Augustine's citations of this verse, many of which include readings from Matthew 26:34, have already been considered in Section 2.6.2 above as examples of conflated forms.

### John 14:2

Augustine himself criticises the reading *apud patrem meum* at AUan 3.11.15; its appearance in three earlier works must be a paraphrase. The changes of tense in the citation at AUs 239.2.2 also have no manuscript support, but *alioquin* rather than *si quo minus* is found in four Old Latin witnesses.<sup>583</sup>

### John 14:6

All manuscripts read *uia et ueritas et uita*; the omission of the first conjunction in the majority of citations seems to be due to Augustine. The appearance of *ianua* in AUs 12.21 and AUs 142.5.5 is a conflation with John 10:9.<sup>584</sup>

### John 14:9

Although *non nostis me* is found in some Old Latin witnesses, *patrem non nostis* (AUPs 58.s1.10.81 and AUPs 102.10.33) or *patrem nescitis* (AUs 264.2) are peculiar to Augustine. This is presumably mistakenly introduced from the previous verse or next clause. Although all Old Latin witnesses have a past tense, *uidit ... uidit*, some Vulgate sources have

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<sup>583</sup> There are also some Old Latin parallels for the form of text in AUs 239.2.2 in the following verse. La Bonnardière 1965:67 notes that John 14:2 is not used of infant baptism outside AUan and AUJo 67; see also Berrouard 1993:436-440. According to Lancel 2002:449, the Council of Carthage in 418 declared anathema anyone who used John 14:2 to supply a place for unbaptized infants. The flattening *apud patrem* is also found in Tertullian (TEres 41, TEsco 6; cf. *penes patrem* TEmon 10 (Roensch 1871:279)).

<sup>584</sup> On the appearance of *ianua* in this verse in Fortunatus, who also reads *nemo potest ad patrem peruenire*, see Section 4.4.1. For the addition found in AUPs 5.3.10, *per me itur ad patrem*, compare the gloss on John 14:6 at AUdo 1.34.38, *hoc est: per me uenitur*.

the present.<sup>585</sup> This is comparatively widespread in Augustine, including AUJo 70 CT and AUs 142 (for which this may have been part of the lection). The earliest occurrence of the present in Augustine is in AUs 359B (AUs Dol 2), dated to 404, which accords with the suggestion that this is a Vulgate reading: on the other hand, given that *uidet* appears in a number of manuscripts at AUtri 1.8.109, it is possible that Augustine had already encountered this simple change in Old Latin sources.

### John 14:10

None of Augustine's citations supports the additional two phrases found in Codices Vercellensis, Bezae, Colbertinus, Corbeiensis and Usserianus. Instead on seven occasions he reads *facit opera sua*; the possessive adjective in Latin is only found in Codex Bezae, which reads αὐτοῦ with a handful of other Greek witnesses. Other manuscripts have αὐτός, which underlies *ipse* in the Old Latin tradition. However, three citations have both, reading *ipse facit opera sua* (AUJo 20.6.17, AUPs 67.23.37 and AUqEv 2.33.77): this seems to be a conflation due to memory.<sup>586</sup>

### John 14:13

Augustine has the plural *quaecumque* in both AUJo 71 and AUJo 72, although AUJo 73 reverts to the singular, which is found in all biblical manuscripts. His consistency in the first two sermons suggests that this reading might have appeared in his codex.<sup>587</sup>

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<sup>585</sup> This sort of change might have been prompted by the similarity in sound between *uidit* and *uidet*: alternatively, it could be argued that the aspect of the Greek perfect is more closely rendered by a present tense in Latin.

<sup>586</sup> Compare Augustine's preference for both *sua* and *propria* in John 1:11.

<sup>587</sup> Comeau 1930:78 notes that Augustine is unusual in punctuating before *ut glorificetur* in John 14:13, although this only occurs when he has the singular *quodcumque*.

### John 14:21

Augustine's customary form of both parts of this verse shows his familiarity with the text-types of Codex Vercellensis and Codex Monacensis: these are the only Old Latin manuscripts which have *custodit* rather than *seruat*. Along with Codices Bezae and Palatinus they also read *ostendam illi meipsum* rather than *manifestabo ei meipsum* at the end of the verse. The few citations which quote the opening words in full read *qui habet mandata mea*: Maximinus has *qui **audit** mandata mea* (AUMax co 22), the reading of three Old Latin witnesses, Codices Aureus, Veronensis and Colbertinus.

### John 14:26

The rendering *declarabit*, apparently for διδάξει, in AUtri 1, which often has Old Latin readings, is not paralleled in any surviving witnesses. It may be that this is an error of memory, or a combination of the two verbs διδάξει ... καὶ ὑπομνήσει. Augustine's three verbatim citations each have a different rendering for this second term: *commemorabit* (AUJo 77CT), as found in Codices Vercellensis and Usserianus, *suggeret* (AUJo 104.1.25), the majority and Vulgate reading, and *commonebit* (AUs 265A.1), similar to *commouebit* in Codex Bezae.<sup>588</sup>

### John 14:27

Augustine's customary form, reversing the traditional order of *pacem relinquo uobis, pacem meam do uobis*, is paralleled in Codices Veronensis and Monacensis and other Church Fathers.

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<sup>588</sup> Berrouard 2003:45 wonders whether AUJo 104.1.25 was corrected (presumably by a copyist) in order to conform with the Vulgate, as it is the only example of the Vulgate form in Augustine's citations. If this were the case, however, we would expect the alteration to have been made in the commentary at AUJo 77: the later citation was probably made from memory and Augustine's mental text in works written after 420 features a number of genuine Vulgate readings.

The alternative *dimitto* in AUje 11.407 and AUPet 2.22.49 (Petilian's citation) is supported by Codex Bezae and Cyprian (CYun 24). Nonetheless, there is no extant manuscript with *saeculum* for ὁ κόσμος as in AUGau 1.23.26 (Gaudentius' citation) and AUGau 2.12.13: this African rendering was probably known to the Donatist (cf. John 12:25, 12:31, 12:46).<sup>589</sup>

### John 14:28

Five citations over three works have *eo* rather than *uado*. This rendering is very poorly attested, only appearing as a correction of *ego* in Codex Vercellensis. Nonetheless, these citations confirm the presence of *eo* in traditions known to Augustine, including an early reference at AUtri 1.9.3, even though the two sermons AUs 229G.4 and AUs 264.4 also have citations with *uado*.

### John 14:30-31

Augustine's customary text of John 14:30 is distinguished by the presence of *ecce* in thirty-one citations, not supported by any biblical manuscripts (cf. John 7:25). Twenty-seven of Augustine's citations have the reading of Codex Brixianus, *nihil inueniet*. The reading οὐκ εὕρησεν οὐδέν is found in one Greek majuscule (K) and much versional evidence: Augustine's citations suggest that it was more widespread in Latin than the surviving manuscripts attest. Eight of Augustine's citations read *nihil inuenit*. This is also found in a quotation from Jerome at AUpec 3.7.13 and three of Ambrose's citations, and so the present tense may also have

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<sup>589</sup> The same order of phrases is found in four citations of Ambrose (AMLc 7.135, AM118Ps 20.53, AMfu 5.25, AMSa 4.3.10), Optatus 1.1 and 2.5 and the *Gesta apud Zenophilum*; Monceaux (1901:35) claims that *dimitto* appears in Cyprian's *Ad Quirinum* (CYte 3.3), but Fahey (1971:394) reads *remitto* here and *dimitto* only at CYun 24.

been in circulation.<sup>590</sup> In John 14:31, fourteen of Augustine's sixteen citations have two paraphrases peculiar to him: *ut sciant omnes* is close to some Old Latin witnesses, although all have *mundus* or *saeculum* rather than *omnes*. By contrast, *uoluntatem patris mei facio* bears little relation to *diligo patrem et sicut mandatum dedit mihi pater sic facio*. Despite his consistency, these forms must be attributed to Augustine's memory.<sup>591</sup>

### John 15:2

In every citation except one, Augustine prefers the phrase *fructum dare* to *fructum ferre* (a more literal translation of καρπὸν φέρειν) on one or both occasions. This is not found in any surviving Latin witness: given the numerous other variations in these citations, it may have been introduced by Augustine. Nonetheless, Codex Monacensis alone also has the reading *fructum maiorem* for καρπὸν πλείονα, found in six of the eight verbatim citations; AUs 162A.7 uniquely reads *maius fructum*.

### John 15:12

This verse is cited in five works, of which only AUmen 6.9 has the addition *sicut et ego dilexi uos*. This is found in Codex Vercellensis and has no Greek parallel, although Codex Bezae reads *sicut et ego dilexi uos* in John 13:34.

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<sup>590</sup> The majority of Greek manuscripts have οὐκ ἔχει οὐδὲν, but Codex Bezae has οὐκ ἔχει οὐδὲν εὐρεῖν, comparable to *nihil habet inuenire* on the Latin side (also found in Codex Vercellensis). Although this might be a conflation of *nihil inueniet* with the majority Old Latin reading, *non habet quicquam*, *habeo* with the infinitive was already established in late Latin as a means of expressing the future: see Coleman 1971, Fruyt 1996:60-68 and Plater and White 1926:38. Caragliano (1946:219) believes that Ambrose used two exemplars, one with *inuenit* and one with *inueniet*.

<sup>591</sup> La Bonnardière 1986:224 considers all references to *praepositus mortis* as allusions to John 14:30, but there is no mention of death in any biblical witness of this verse.

### John 15:13

Augustine's customary form of text includes *quam* before *ut*. Although this is not preserved in any manuscript, it appears in Cyprian (CYte 3.3) which suggests that it was not simply an insertion by Augustine to highlight the contrast between the two halves. Of the twenty-six citations with *quam*, seven also have the word *quis*, found in three Old Latin witnesses and the Vulgate. The variant *potest habere*, found twice in AU1Jo 7, seems an error inspired by the sense of the verse.

### John 15:15

Although *dicam* rather than *dico* is a change in tense similar to others which only feature in Augustine (cf. John 5:34, 12:31, 12:47, 14:2), it is also found in Codex Monacensis, one of the five manuscripts which, like Augustine, read *quae* rather than *quaecumque*.<sup>592</sup>

### John 15:25

Both AUJo 91CT and AUJo 92CT have *adimpleatur* rather than *impleatur*, which suggests that Augustine read this in the codex he used for his commentary, although it does not survive in any manuscript. Unlike the similar instance in John 13:26, no variation is noted in the Greek tradition (πληρωθῇ).

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<sup>592</sup> Berrouard 1998:452 notes that Augustine explains the biblical concept of the "past for the future" found in John 15:15 at AUJo 86.1 and AUs 27.5. This might serve to explain the appearance of the future in this verse when cited from memory, although it should be noted that on all occasions, the single word *dicam* replaces both *dico* and *dixi* in the normal text. Note that Cyprian (CYep 63.14, CYun 2) has an abbreviated form of John 15:15 identical to Augustine.

### John 16:2

The variant *tempus* rather than *hora* (for ὥρα) is peculiar to Petilian and has no support in any surviving manuscripts (although cf. John 16:21). The various renderings of λατρεῖν προσφέρειν have already been discussed at Section 4.4 above: Petilian's phrase *officium facere* is not found in the biblical witnesses, but is used by Augustine at AUep 185.5.20 and AUGau 1.23.26 as well as AUFau 22.70 and AUPet 2.92.206. It also appears three times in Cyprian (CYep 58.2, CYFo 11, CYte 3.16), which seals its claim to be regarded as an Old Latin rendering. Although not so well attested, *uictimam dare*, the text of Gaudentius, another Donatist, which is criticised by Augustine at AUGau 1.23.26, may be an African rendering similar to *hostiam offerre* (Codex Bezae) or *culturam adferre* (Codex Palatinus).

### John 16:8

Among the Old Latin witnesses, *ipse* (rendering ἐκεῖνος) was only read by the earlier editors of Codex Vercellensis. Nonetheless, its presence in four works of Augustine, including the lectionary sermon AUs 144, confirms that Augustine was familiar with this reading.

### John 16:12

Like the majority of Old Latin witnesses, Augustine includes a pronoun in the second half of this verse, *non potestis illa portare modo*.<sup>593</sup> This is lacking from the Greek tradition, and is absent from the Vulgate. The text *sed nunc non potestis illa portare* in AUq 53.128 may

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<sup>593</sup> Other Church Fathers also have a pronoun, e.g. *ea* in TEhae 22, TEvg 1 (Roensch 1871:283), *illa* in AMsp 3.98.



reflect an Old Latin version now lost: this early work often has Old Latin variants, and there are other instances of the interchangeability of *modo* and *nunc*.<sup>594</sup>

### John 16:13

Although Greek manuscripts all read ὁδηγήσει, the Vulgate and three Old Latin witnesses have *docebit*, which suggests an original reading of διδάξει.<sup>595</sup> This is not only found in AUEv 4.10.20 and AUJo 96 CT, but also twice in AUtri 1.8, suggesting that Augustine was familiar with this text before he encountered the Vulgate. Elsewhere he has *inducet*, only preserved in Codex Palatinus (seven citations) or *deducet* (Codices Vercellensis, Veronensis and Corbeiensis; this features in four sequential variants in AUJo 96 and AUJo 100). The third Old Latin rendering, *diriget*, is found on the lips of Maximinus (AUMax co 5), demonstrating further the similarity of his text with Codex Monacensis.

### John 16:20-21

Although the citation of these verses in AUs 210 appears to be a paraphrase, many of the variants are paralleled in the Old Latin manuscripts, as well as other Fathers.<sup>596</sup> The reading *dies* in John 16:21 confirms that Augustine was familiar with the translations based on ἡμέρα rather than ὥρα in the Greek, a reading also supported by Syriac and Coptic.

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<sup>594</sup> e.g. John 5:17, or John 16:24, where *adhuc* is also found as a rendering of ἄρτι. I suspect that *adhuc* in John 16:12 in AUs dni 2.20.67 is a repetition of the earlier example in this verse; even so the appearance of this rendering in a manuscript of AUq 53 (discussed at Section 3.4.1.1) may lend some credence to the suggestion that Augustine knew this in a manuscript.

<sup>595</sup> Nestle-Aland suggests a Greek reading διηγῆσεται underlying the Vulgate text: although διδάξει seems more plausible (cf. John 14:26), διηγῆσεται is found in Cyril of Jerusalem (Mullen 1997:166) and Eusebius (Muncey 1959:xlvi). It is of course possible that *docebit* has been borrowed from John 14:26, but it is sufficiently widely attested in John 16:13 to suggest that this was a manuscript reading rather than a scribal error.

<sup>596</sup> For example, Tertullian (TEspec 28; cf. TEid 13, TEcor 13) and Cyprian (CYFo 11 and CYmort 5; this last also reads *auferet* in John 16:22). Ambrose also reads *parturit* and *dies* in John 16:21 (AMPs 47.10).

### John 16:25

In all four citations of this verse in AUJo, Augustine reads *patre meo*, although the adjective is not found in any biblical manuscripts. This would be a simple addition to make from memory, but Augustine's consistency here, combined with the fact that it does not appear in his citations of John 16:23, suggests that this may be intentional. The reading *similitudinibus* twice in AUtri 1 again parallels a reading only found in Codex Vercellensis (cf. *ipse* in John 16:8 or *ideo* in John 16:15). Furthermore, the translation of παρρησία by *manifeste* in two citations (AUtri 1.10.45, AUtri 1.10.49) supplies an Old Latin rendering which is not present at this verse in the surviving manuscripts (cf. John 10:24).

### John 16:28

Faustus' text of this verse, *a patre meo processi*, is not found in any biblical manuscripts. Nonetheless, *processi* is used for ἐξηλθον in the majority of Old Latin witnesses for John 8:42, a very similar verse (see also John 18:4), which suggests that this rendering may have featured here.

### John 16:32

Four Old Latin witnesses have *in sua(m) regione(m)* as a translation of εἰς τὰ ἴδια. This may be a parallel for Augustine's reading *in uiam suam* at AUPs 138.22.38, although his use here and in AUPs 109.13.40 of the colourless verbs *eat* and *itis* rather than *dispergamini* suggest that he is quoting from memory.

### John 17:3

The only surviving biblical manuscript which has *unum uerum deum* is Codex Vercellensis, but this is found in twenty-seven of Augustine's citations including several early works. Later citations have the more common reading, *solum uerum deum*, although this is also present in the early AUq 35.65. A number of other references have a doublet form, *unus et solus*, which appears ten times in AUtri. This may be indicative of a change in Augustine's mental text: however, *unum uerum deum* is the only form found in AUtri 6.9.10 onwards and also appears in the citation of the whole verse at AUJo 101.5.14. Despite this, the commentary sermons AUJo 105 and AUJo 106 have the Vulgate form.<sup>597</sup>

### John 17:4

Although all three renderings of δοξάζειν, *clarificare*, *honorificare* and *glorificare* are normally preserved in the Old Latin tradition (e.g. John 17:5, John 17:10), only the first two are found for John 17:4, although there is no obvious reason why *glorificare* is missing. The reading *ego te glorificaui* in both AUAr 31.3 and AUtri 2.4.14 therefore supplies a form of text which has not been preserved.<sup>598</sup>

### John 17:5

Augustine's form of the second half of this verse in all three citations outside AUJo, *apud te priusquam mundus fieret*, corresponds to Cyprian's text (CYte 2.1) even though it is not paralleled exactly by any Latin manuscript. Among the Greek witnesses, only the first hands

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<sup>597</sup> For examples of *unus deus*, see Deuteronomy 6:4 (paralleled in Mark 12:29), Matthew 19:17, Mark 10:18, Romans 3:30, 1 Cor. 8:4, 8:6, Galatians 3:20, Ephesians 4:6, 1 Tim. 2:1; there is no collocation of *unum uerum* in the Vulgate.

<sup>598</sup> See also Augustine's text of John 21:19; on the distribution and origin of the renderings of δοξάζειν, see Burton 2000:68 and 134. Jerome states in *Epistula* 106.30 that his retention of *clarificare* in John 17 was deliberate (Sparks 1970:523).

of Codex Bezae and P66 front παρὰ σοί, although its appearance in three Old Latin manuscripts as well suggests that this reading may be ancient.

#### John 17:11

The addition of the repetitive *unum sumus* in AUMax co 14 and AUMax 1.12 appears to be due to Augustine's memory, despite the variation in the Old Latin witnesses for this verse: it may have arisen through confusion with John 17:22. Nonetheless, this is also found in Ambrose.<sup>599</sup>

#### John 17:24

For κακεῖνοι, all Old Latin manuscripts have *et illi*, apart from Codex Palatinus with *et hi*. Augustine only reads *illi* on three occasions, but has *ipsi* fifteen times and *isti* four times. As *ipsi* is found even in the lectionary sermon AUs 217, it seems that Augustine read this in a manuscript; further support is provided by CYte 3.58. (For *ipsi* translating ἐκεῖνος, see John 16:8.) The case is less clear for *isti*, which usually translates οὗτος in Augustine, but as it features in five of Ambrose's citations (AM118Ps 3.28, 12.22; AMfi 5.151; AMsp 2.3, 2.76) this may well derive from a version no longer preserved.

#### John 18:3-4

Augustine's only citation of John 18:3 has *principibus* for τῶν ἀρχιερέων, although all Old Latin manuscripts either read *principibus sacerdotum* or *pontificibus*. Nonetheless, one Vulgate witness, Codex Mediolanensis, agrees with Augustine's reading: as he was using a

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<sup>599</sup> AMfi 4.3.33. Caragliano (1946:225) lists four Greek manuscripts and three Latin witnesses with this addition.

Vulgate text in AUJo, his support for this reading in the Vulgate tradition is significant.<sup>600</sup> Similarly, in the next verse, four Vulgate witnesses (including Codex Mediolanensis) have *quid quaeritis* rather than *quem quaeritis*. The neuter appears in AUEv 3.5.15, another Vulgate-based work, and also Codex Palatinus. All Greek manuscripts have τίνα ζητεῖτε; so the variant may be peculiar to Latin.

### John 18:6

Seven of Augustine's nine citations support *redierunt* rather than *abierunt* as a translation of ἀπῆλθον. Although this is not found among surviving manuscripts, its breadth of attestation suggests that Augustine may have known this from a version no longer extant. Internal Latin considerations could, however, have prompted the change: *redierunt* might be seen as more appropriate than *abierunt*, which could imply departure rather than retreat; the alliteration would also have appealed to Augustine.

### John 18:11

The reading in certain manuscripts of AUEv 3.5.16, *non uis ut bibam illam*, is found in several Vulgate and Old Latin witnesses and may have been part of the text read by Augustine, despite Weihrich's preference for the shorter form.

### John 18:23

Augustine's three citations outside AUEv and AUJo all have *exprobra* for μαρτύρησον (AUep 188.2.13, AUmen 15.27, AUd 1.19.58.1485). The consistency of this unusual rendering suggests that it featured in a version now lost: this is confirmed by its appearance in three

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<sup>600</sup> At John 18:10, Codex Mediolanensis appears to have *pontificis*, but AUJo 112 reads *principis sacerdotum*. On this term, see further Burkitt 1908, especially 294 where he notes that *sacerdotum* may have been omitted from John 19:21 for euphony.

letters of Cyprian.<sup>601</sup> Two of Augustine's citations also have *dixi* rather than *locutus sum*, which may have featured in the same translation.

### John 19:3

The alternative *palmas* is found for *alapas* in certain manuscripts of AUEv 3 on both occasions. This is the majority Old Latin reading and also appears in a number of Vulgate witnesses. Nonetheless, the editorial text of Augustine's citations in both AUEv 3 and AUJo 116 has the Vulgate term *alapas*, in keeping with *alapam* in John 18:22.

### John 19:10

In two citations, AUPs 73.8.36 and AUs 299E.2, *loqueris* is replaced by *respondes*. There is no support for this in biblical manuscripts: it seems that Augustine has supplied it from the context. Similarly, *occidendi*, found in five of his eight citations, may be due to Augustine: it is less precise than *crucifigendi* and so could have been substituted by memory. The gerunds *crucifigendi* and *dimittendi* appear in the Old Latin tradition, although the Vulgate prefers infinitives as in the Greek.<sup>602</sup>

### John 19:14

*Quasi*, *fere* and *circiter* appear as translations of  $\omega\varsigma$  in John 6:10. In John 19:14, only *quasi* and *circiter* are found in the Old Latin manuscripts, but AUEv 3.13.50 supplies the alternative rendering *fere*.

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<sup>601</sup> CYep 3.2, 59.4 and 66.3 (Fahey 1971:401). This suggests that *exprobra* was an African rendering: Codex Palatinus is not extant for this passage. Several of Jerome's citations of this verse have *argue*, a reading not attested in the manuscripts either.

<sup>602</sup> *Occidere* is the preferred late Latin term for killing: see Löfstedt 1911:256-259. Despite usually having two infinitives or two gerunds as complements of *potestatem*, Augustine once has *crucifigere* followed by *dimittendi* (AUEv 3.13.46). This "partial literalism" in the Vulgate is also noted in Revelation 11:6 by Plater and White (1926:31, 39).

### John 19:20-21

The addition of *rex iudaeorum* to John 19:20 in both AUJo 117.4.3 and AUPs 55.2.5 appears to be a repetition from the previous verse. Augustine is probably also responsible for the four instances of reported speech in John 19:21, *ipse dixit se regem esse iudaeorum* (AUPs 55.2.9, AUPs 56.3.42, AUPs 58.s1.1.29, AUPs 80.11.51) rather than *ipse dixit rex sum iudaeorum* (cf. John 4:17).

### John 19:24

The rendering *inter se* for πρὸς ἀλλήλους is frequently found in the Old Latin tradition, so it is plausible that its appearance in AUJo 13.13.26 and AUs 159B.18 reflects a version now lost.<sup>603</sup> *Partiti sunt* is unique to the Vulgate: all Old Latin witnesses read *diuiserunt*. In the two citations which have *diuidamus* rather than *scindamus*, followed by *sortem mittamus* (AUJo 13.13.26 and AUs 159B.18) Augustine has transposed the wording of the Old Testament citation to the context of the Crucifixion.

### John 19:29

The reading *autem* at AUEv 3.17.54 is not paralleled in any Latin biblical manuscripts: those which do have a connective read *ergo*, corresponding to οὖν in some Greek manuscripts. Although the unexpected alternative *autem/ergo* for οὖν is paralleled elsewhere (e.g. John 18:12, 19:13, 19:26), in this verse the connective δέ is also found in Codex Sinaiticus and supported by several Egyptian versions. It may be that the translation used by Augustine was based on this Greek text.

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<sup>603</sup> Compare *inter se* at John 4:33, 6:52 (6:53 in the Vulgate), 11:56 and 16:17. On Augustine's exegesis of John 19:23-24, Aubineau (1971:41-43) observes that most of the citations appear in anti-Donatist works, and only one dates from after 417.

### John 19:30

Augustine's preferred form of Jesus' final words is *perfectum est*, found in eight of his thirteen citations. It is clear, however, that he also knew the majority Old Latin reading *consummatum est*, since he uses this verse as a gloss on *consummauit* at AUGn li 4.11, where he comments: *nam et hoc uerbo usus est quando ait "consummatum est". Perfectum est* is only paralleled by Codex Palatinus, which is one of two witnesses for *reddidit spiritum* later in the verse. This phrase appears four times in Augustine. Although he most frequently reads *tradidit* for παρέδωκεν, he has *dimisit* once (AUs 5.93) and *emisit* twice (AUPs 33.s2.7.17, AUPs 86.5.11). There is no manuscript support for either of these latter two readings, but they could stem from versions which have not survived.<sup>604</sup>

### John 19:34

Although all Old Latin witnesses have *exiuit* for ἐξῆλθεν, Augustine most frequently uses *profluxit* or a semantically similar verb (e.g. *profudit* AUGn Ma 2.37.32 or *manauit* AUs 218.14.14). It is hard to say whether these were suggested to him by the subjects *sanguis et aqua*, or actually featured in a biblical manuscript: in the absence of any external corroboration, the former seems more likely.<sup>605</sup> Earlier in the verse, the word *percussit* is paralleled by a number of Old Latin witnesses even though the Vulgate and three manuscripts have *aperuit*: these stem from the itacistic Greek alternatives, ἔνυξεν and ἤνοιξεν respectively.

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<sup>604</sup> The first hand of Codex Aureus wrote *emidit*, but this was corrected to *tradidit*. Apart from this word, AUs 5.93 agrees completely with the reading of Codex Palatinus, which suggests that it is an accurate citation: in its manuscript tradition *emisit* is also found alongside *dimisit*. Tertullian's allusion reads *spiritum cum uerbo sponte dimisit* (TEap 21).

<sup>605</sup> Tertullian, however, also has *manauit*: *aqua et sanguis, utriusque lauacri paratum, manauit* (TEpud 22). He provides parallels for Augustine's use of *perforatum* later in the verse too.



### John 19:37

La Bonnardière counts seventeen citations featuring the quotation of Zechariah 12:10 at John 19:37, although in several of these it is not clear whether Augustine is citing the Gospel or the Old Testament.<sup>606</sup> As with John 19:30, Augustine prefers a reading preserved only in Codex Palatinus, which La Bonnardière describes as "une tradition africaine ancienne qui appartient à la vieille version latine" (1986:311): *pupugerunt* (for ἐξέκυντησαν) appears on ten occasions, including three citations from AUtri 1. The other three citations, including the continuous text of AUJo 120, read *confixerunt*. On the origin of this term and its connection with Jerome's translation from the Hebrew, see Section 5.2.1 below, although its appearance in Tertullian as well should be noted here.

### John 19:40

The pronoun *illud*, referring to *corpus*, corresponds exactly to the Greek (τὸ σῶμα ... αὐτό). This is Augustine's reading in his only citation of this verse, AUJo 120.4.15, and is paralleled by Codex Usserianus and some Vulgate witnesses, although the main Vulgate and Old Latin tradition prefers *illum* or *eum*.

### John 20:1-2

*Obscurum esset* in AUJdc 46.792 looks like a paraphrase, as all Latin Bibles have *tenebrae essent*, but it is paralleled in AMPs 43.14, and could render σκοτίας οὔσης. The addition of *meum* in the next verse under the influence of John 20:13 is so easily done that it has even crept into Codex Usserianus and twenty-six Vulgate manuscripts. It may be that Augustine's

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<sup>606</sup> La Bonnardière 1986:311; although I do not attribute all seventeen citations to John 19:37, I do include the citation at AU1Jo 4.5, which she appears to have overlooked, and which upsets her theory that the reading *confixerunt* is found only in Augustine's later works.

use of the singular *nescio* also originates from that verse: although it is more grammatically appropriate and appears here in Codex Palatinus, the Greek tradition only has the plural οἶδμεν.

#### John 20:5-8

Augustine's citations with *intrauit* in John 20:5, 20:6 and 20:8 also correspond to the reading of Codex Palatinus. As some of these are lectionary sermons (e.g. AUs 229L, AUs 246), it is reasonable to assume that this was the reading of Augustine's codex: in the case of AUEv 3, where *introiit* always appears in the first citation and *intrauit* in a later reference, it seems that Augustine has reverted to an Old Latin form with which he is more familiar.

#### John 20:9

All the lectionary sermons have the plural *scripturas*, found in Codices Aureus and Brixianus, although this may have been prompted by the similar text at John 5:39. Each of Augustine's variants is paralleled elsewhere, as *nouerat* or *sciebat* in the singular and *oportebat* in the indicative appear in a handful of Old Latin and Vulgate manuscripts.

#### John 20:15

*Sustulisti* and *tulisti* are present in the Old Latin tradition, but *abstulisti* (AUs 246.3, AUs 375C.1) is not. It may be an alternative rendering of ἐβάστασας.

#### John 20:17

In three citations the phrase *uade autem ad fratres meos et dic eis* is abbreviated to *uade et dic fratribus meis* (AUep 140.17.43, AUPs 7.1.25, AUs 265F.2). There may be other examples which have not been recognised by editors: compare also *uade et dic discipulis*

*meis* at AUs 229L.2. This is probably an error of Augustine, who may have been influenced by the parallel at Matthew 28:10, *ite nuntiate fratribus meis*. The future *ascendam*, which only features in these shortened citations, is clearly secondary, as it is a logical improvement.

## John 20:22

In addition to the Old Latin renderings of *sufflauit* and *insufflauit* for ἐνεφύσησεν, Augustine reads *inspirauit* (AUba 3.18.23; cf. CYep 73.7) and Petilian has *sibilauit* (AUPet 2.32.72). Petilian also adds the detail *in faciem eorum*. There is no support for this in Greek manuscripts except for Codex Bezae, which has *insufflauit in eos* (ἐνεφύσησεν αὐτοῖς), supported by several versions. Nonetheless, Augustine too has *in faciem eorum/discipulorum* in five citations, and it appears in certain manuscripts at AUtri 4.20.105. The reading *in eorum faciem* is, however, listed by Tischendorf for the Sahidic and Coptic versions, and it is found in a sole Vulgate manuscript.<sup>607</sup> The Latin support for this reading, which does not seem to have been noticed before, suggests that it might be of particular interest.

## John 20:23

Although the citations of this verse have been shaped to bring out the antithesis, the words used correspond to variants present in the Old Latin tradition, such as *si cui* or *si cuius* where

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<sup>607</sup> Tischendorf lists the Syriac, Armenian and Ethiopic versions in support of αὐτοῖς. Ambrose reads *insufflauit his* (AMLc 10.172) and *insufflauit eis* (AMPs 118.16.4). Two Vulgate manuscripts have *insuflauit in eis*, **Kc\*** and **la**, while *in faciem eorum* appears in **Ce** (Essen, Münsterschatz, c.800; Fischer 1991:521). It is, however, possible that this reading entered the Vulgate tradition through Augustine. Tischendorf also quotes Theodotion (Clem. 958, ἐμφύσων τὸ πνεῦμα τοῖς ἀποστόλοις) and Origen (4.388, ἐνεφύσησε τοῖς μαθηταῖς) in support of an addition, although neither supports the longer form. Comeau (1930:273) notes that Augustine's exegesis in AUtri 4.20 shows that he does not identify the breath with the Spirit itself, but treats it as a sign. It is possible that the longer reading reflects the liturgical practice of breathing on candidates in preparation for baptism (see Yarnold 1992:132).

the Vulgate has *quorum*.<sup>608</sup> The translation of ἀφῆτε ... ἀφέωνται by *dimiseritis ... dimittentur*, Augustine's preferred text, is only paralleled by Codex Bezae. Just as the present *remittuntur* is sometimes found, so three of Augustine's citations provide the only instances of *dimittuntur*.

### John 20:25-27

With the exception of the Vulgate text at AUJo 121.5.3, Augustine's form of John 20:25 includes elements not found in any surviving biblical manuscript. Nine of his fifteen citations feature the word *tetigero*, normally in place of *mittam manum meam*. Furthermore, the text or introduction of five citations (and two allusions) includes the word *cicatrices* rather than a more specific description of Jesus' wounds. Both of these seem to be paraphrases, but they are clearly engrained in Augustine's mental text, giving rise to forms such as:

non credam nisi digitos meos misero in locum clauorum et cicatrices eius tetigero.  
(AU1Jo 1.3)

Similar variation, including *tangere*, *cicatrices* and the plural *digitos*, is also found in John 20:27, again with no support in biblical witnesses. However, Faustus also refers to *cicatrices*:

Christus Thomam apostolum dubitantem ... corporis sui cicatrices ostendit.  
(AUFau 16.8)

It is possible that Augustine may have been influenced by a Manichaean tradition, although if this were a manuscript reading we would expect to see evidence of it elsewhere.

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<sup>608</sup> Compare the discussion of AUba at Section 3.4.3.2, where it was noted that Augustine's final form, the beautifully-balanced *si cui dimiseritis dimittentur, si cui tenueritis tenebuntur* (AUba 5.21.29), has no verbal correspondence with the Vulgate.

## John 20:29

As Berrouard observes, Augustine has two forms of this verse. *Beati qui non uiderunt et crediderunt*, the reading of almost all Latin Bibles, appears in eight citations.<sup>609</sup> Augustine's preferred text, *beati qui non uident et credunt* is unique to him and occurs twice as often. The present indicative may render the aorist participles, μακάριοι οἱ μὴ ἰδόντες καὶ πιστεύσαντες, although the change of tense could be a device to enable Augustine to apply the verse to the present. Despite the possibility that Augustine is responsible for the alteration, its wide attestation, including the lectionary sermons AUs 259.1 and AUs 375C.4, suggests that this reading should be included in the Old Latin tradition.<sup>610</sup>

## John 21:3, 21:10

In these verses, AUJo 122 has *apprehenderunt ... apprehendistis* for ἐπιάσαν ... ἐπιάσατε. Almost all biblical manuscripts have *prendiderunt* or *ceperunt*: only two Vulgate witnesses correspond to Augustine. Although he may have himself corrected the irregular form *prendiderunt*, this could have been the reading of his codex.<sup>611</sup>

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<sup>609</sup> Berrouard 2003:366-367. The citations with the perfect are AUep 147.3.8, AUEv 3.25.75 (not listed by Berrouard), AUJo 121.5.17, AUPs 63.17.20, AUPs 76.4.21, AUs 143.3.3, AUs 158.5.5 and AUs 158.8.8. The only Old Latin manuscript which does not have a double perfect is Codex Palatinus, with *credent*.

<sup>610</sup> There may be some support in a citation from Tertullian, *feliciores enim qui non uiderunt et credunt* (TEres 34), for which two sources read *uident* (Roensch 1871:289-290); Kroymann's 1906 text of this in the Vetus Latina Database reads *feliciores qui non uident et credent*. The comparative is also found in Faustus' citation (AUFau 16.8) and one Vulgate manuscript with *beatiores* (We, a Spanish lectionary from 1073).

<sup>611</sup> Manuscripts Hd and St both read *adpraehenderunt* in John 21:4 (the final verse of Fischer's test passage) and there are also variants involving the simple form of the verb (Fischer 1991:567). On the irregular form of *prendiderunt*, see Plater and White 1926:67.

## John 21:11

As in John 21:6, for τὸ δίκτυον Augustine prefers the plural, *retia*, which appears in several Old Latin manuscripts.<sup>612</sup> His other variants are without parallel. Most witnesses have *scissum/scissa* for ἐσχίσθη, with the exception of *rupta* in Codex Veronensis. Augustine, however, reads *disrupta* on ten occasions, including AUJo 123 and the lectionary sermons AUs 229M and AUs 252. In the second half of the verse, all surviving Old Latin witnesses read *et cum tanti essent*, apart from Codex Palatinus with *et cum multi essent* (καὶ τοσούτων ὄντων). There are only three citations with *tanti*, all of them lectionary sermons: AUJo 122.5.19, AUs 251.3.3 and AUs 252.1.1. In the latter pair, Augustine glosses *tanti* with *id est, tam magni*. This, as we have seen in Chapter Three, is his way of replacing an unfamiliar reading with one he knows better.<sup>613</sup> So it is: eleven of his other twelve citations have *cum tam magni essent*, and the exception, AUJo 123.1.6, reads *cum magni essent*, emphasising that Augustine is concerned with size rather than number. It is possible that *tantus* might have developed a colloquial meaning "so big" rather than "so much", but even if this were the case, *tam magni* would be a surprising rendering of τοσούτων.<sup>614</sup> The origin of

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<sup>612</sup> The neuter word *rete* was re-analysed either as masculine *retis* or feminine *retia* (with a change of declension) in later Latin (García de la Fuente 1994:290, 293). Augustine preserves the classical form, despite putting it into the plural. The Vulgate has only *rete*.

<sup>613</sup> See Sections 3.2.1, 3.2.3, 3.3.4.

<sup>614</sup> In John 6:9, the only exception to *tantos* in rendering τοσούτους is *tam multos* in Codices Vercellensis and Bezae. Augustine's variant *tanta* in the citation of John 10:32 at AUPs 63.3.15 is a paraphrase of the biblical *multa* (πολλά). Furthermore, when commenting on Judges 2:20 he also glosses *tantum* with *tam multum* (AUloc 7.8). Nonetheless, as J.N. Adams notes, "words of quantity and number tended to express size in Vulgar Latin, just as words of size might express quantity" (quoted in Burton 2000:117; see also Löfstedt 1911:148). This is seen in Alexanderson's comment on *quanti* in AUJo 22.9.13, where he adduces Augustine's other uses of this word in the sense *quot* (AUJo 7.14.34, AUJo 9.10.19) but suggests that at AUJo 27.10.35 "*fieri potest de magnis martyribus, non de multis*" (1999); this is possible but by no means obvious from the context. Comeau 1930:80 claims that *tam magnus* is a popular form of *tantus*, although she admits that this would be a particularly early example; see also Berrouard 2003:396 note 58. Although Löfstedt notes the equivalence of *tanta* and *tam multa*, the only comparable confusion of number and size which he gives is the use of *multitudo* in place of *magnitudo* (1911:147-149).

this reading, unique to Augustine, appears instead to be in the emphasis he places on the detail earlier in the verse, *plenum magnis piscibus*. This is found in two early works:

ceperunt pisces qui omnes magni erant, id est iustos significabant quibus dextera promittitur. (AUag 26.28/128.20)

et ideo magnos, id est perfectos et regno caelorum aptos habet. (AUq 57.88)

It appears that these two references, which precede all the citations with *tam magni*, established the link in Augustine's mind between the size of the fish and the breaking of the nets later on. Augustine's principal focus in this verse is the explanation of the number one hundred and fifty-three, to which AUq 57 is devoted.<sup>615</sup>

## John 21:12

Augustine's reading *discumbentium* is found in a number of Vulgate manuscripts as well as Codices Aureus and Colbertinus. It appears to have arisen from a misreading of *discentium*, one of the early Latin alternatives used to render τῶν μαθητῶν, which was later completely replaced by *discipulorum*.<sup>616</sup> *Prandete* earlier in the verse may have inspired the semantic change, and *recumbere* in John 21:20 or *nemo sciuit discumbentium* in John 13:28 could have contributed to the error.

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<sup>615</sup> In his commentary on John 21:11 at AUJo 122.9, Augustine makes a lengthy cross-reference to the word *magnus* in Matthew 5:19, *magnus uocabitur in regno caelorum*. He also cites the parable of the fisherman from Matthew 13:47, where the good fish are selected for the kingdom of heaven. Although it seems unlikely that Augustine was inspired by the Diatessaron (see Section 5.3.3 below) and the reading is only attested in the Venetian Gospel harmony, Quispel (1975:98) suggests that the Diatessaronic form of this parable read *elegit pisces magnos*, and observes that the size of the fish also features in the Gospel of Thomas, log.8 (1975:103), although he makes no reference to Augustine.

<sup>616</sup> On this error, see Fischer 1972:88, who also refers to Luke 19:37; García de la Fuente 1994:138 notes *discentes* as a characteristically African rendering. This example in the penultimate sermon of AUJo tells against the suggestion that Augustine revised his gospel text against the Greek, where τῶν μαθητῶν would have been incontrovertible.

### John 21:15-17

The text of these verses in Augustine's lectionary sermons has been discussed in Section 3.3.4, where it was noted that his citations frequently fail to reproduce the variation in the Greek. This is in keeping with most of the Old Latin witnesses, and since Augustine often abbreviates the episode, he offers little information about the readings of his manuscripts.<sup>617</sup> However, the addition of *plus his* in John 21:15, present only in the Vulgate and Codex Bezae, is found in four lectionary sermons, AUs 147, AUs 229O, AUs 229P and AUs 299B. The other Old Latin elements in these sermons suggest that, rather than being a distinctive Vulgate reading, these two words were originally more widespread in the Old Latin tradition.

### John 21:18

Eight citations have *ibas* rather than *ambulabas* for περιπατήσεις, a reading which is only found in Codex Colbertinus. Codex Vercellensis is the sole manuscript with *alter*, a feature of Augustine's customary text which occurs in twenty-two citations. All Old Latin witnesses render γηράσεως by *senueris*, but *senior factus fueris* appears in four of Augustine's citations, including the lectionary sermon AUs 340A; an alternative form, *senex fueris factus* is found in AUs 299.7, another lectionary sermon, which implies that one or both of these forms were present in manuscripts used by Augustine. Most important, however, is the last variant. Where οἴσει appears in Greek, all Latin manuscripts have some form of *ducere*. Augustine's preferred form, *feret*, is found in eighteen citations, and is supported by other forms of *ferre* on three occasions. This seems to be a much more literal translation of the Greek and its presence in a manuscript is confirmed by four lectionary sermons (AUs 147, AUs 299, AUs 299B, and AUs 340A). The standard Latin form might be explained by Codex Bezae, which

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<sup>617</sup> Hombert 2000:285 notes that Augustine always emphasises *oues meas* in anti-Donatist writings, although there is no example of any Latin witness which lacks this adjective.



reads ἀπάγουσιν and *ducent*. As all the other examples of *ducere* in John in the Vulgate correspond to ἄγειν, this suggests that *ducet* in Latin witnesses may have derived from a Greek reading (ἀπ)ᾷξει alongside οἷσει, which has not been preserved in biblical manuscripts. Some confirmation for this appears to be found in citations from Chrysostom.<sup>618</sup>

### John 21:19

As in John 17:4, the rendering of δοξάσει by *glorificaturus* is unique to Augustine. Two of the six citations with this term are lectionary sermons (AUs 299B.2, AUs 340A.3) which, with the analogies elsewhere (e.g. John 17:5, 17:10), further confirms its presence in the Old Latin tradition. The appearance of *dicebat* rather than *dixit* in three citations, including two other lectionary sermons (AUs 147.3.3 and AUs 299.7) implies that this might also have featured in Latin manuscripts, even though the Greek only has εἶπεν.

### John 21:24

Augustine's reading in AUFau 17.4, *hic est discipulus qui testificatur de Iesu*, bears witness to an internal Latin error. Most manuscripts have *de his*, translating the Greek περὶ τούτων, but by metathesis, *HIS* seems to have been read as a *nomen sacrum*, *IHS*, and subsequently re-interpreted as an ablative: the ungrammatical *de Iesum* is found in Codices Palatinus and Vercellensis, and the latter also reads *testificatur*.<sup>619</sup>

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<sup>618</sup> Tischendorf quotes two citations: Chr. 3.595 reads περὶ πέτρου φησὶν ὅ χς ὅτι οἰσουσί σε καὶ ἄξουσιν ὅπου... , while Chr. 10.85 has ὅταν γὰρ φησι γηράσης τότε ζώσουσί σε καὶ ἄξουσιν ὅπου.... Earlier in the apparatus, Tischendorf also lists Chr. mosc 2 with ἄξουσι. The other examples of *ducere* are found in John 8:3, 9:13, 10:3, 10:16, 18:13, 18:28, 19:4. The assertion in the critical apparatus for John 21:18 in Nestle-Aland that the Latin tradition supports the editorial text can only refer to the omission of the pronoun. For another example of Codex Bezae as the only Greek witness to the Latin tradition, compare the addition of οὕτως in John 21:22. On the equivalence of *ferre* and *ducere* in later Latin (both *efferre* and *educere* alternate with *eicere*) see Löfstedt 1911:264-268.

<sup>619</sup> It is worth observing that in the citation of John 21:25 in the preceding paragraph (AUFau 17.3), Codex Vercellensis offers the only parallel for *existimo*.

## John 21:25

The Old Latin manuscripts vary considerably in their rendering of the final verse of the Gospel, and Augustine's citations are disparate too. Although AUs 98.3.3 has elements of paraphrase (*totum mundum*, omission of *qui scribendi sunt*), both this citation and AUEv 4.8.9 bear witness to the presence of *posse* in this verse, a feature of Codices Vercellensis and Monacensis alone.

### 5.2.1 Old Testament citations in John

Although several of the verses of John which include a quotation from the Old Testament have been discussed individually above, Augustine's variant forms also deserve to be considered together. Most of Augustine's citations have three variants to the Vulgate form of John 1:23, with its citation of Isaiah 40:3, *ego uox clamantis in deserto dirigite uiam domini*. The reading *eremo* rather than *deserto* is unique to Augustine in this verse, although it is paralleled elsewhere (e.g. John 6:49). Synoptic parallels (Matthew 3:3, Mark 1:3 and Luke 3:15) are clearly responsible for the intrusion of *parate* into a number of Old Latin manuscripts and Augustine's citation.<sup>620</sup> Unlike the other Evangelists, who follow the Septuagintal text ἑτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου, John puts εὐθύνατε, normally rendered by *diriget*. The dative *domino*, which occurs in Augustine's nine citations which also have *parate*, is not found in any of the Synoptic parallels or the Septuagint: all other surviving examples have the genitive. Augustine leaves the genitive unchanged in his commentary in AUJo 4, but may

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<sup>620</sup> The Synoptic parallels also explain the addition of *rectas facite semitas eius* in AUs 308A.2, which does not normally feature in John, although it is present in Codex Palatinus. The reference in AUs 308A is clearly a citation of John as it follows references to the two previous verses (see also AUJo 4.7.7).

have read the dative in a manuscript, or perhaps a liturgical form, which is no longer preserved.<sup>621</sup>

In AUci 17.18.42, immediately after citing Psalm 40:10 in the form *qui edebat panes meos ampliavit super me calcaneum*, Augustine draws attention to its use in John 13:18, which he cites using the same form of text. This demonstrates that he was not aware of the differences in the Johannine form of text even in Greek, with the singular *panem meum* (μου τὸν ἄρτον) and the addition *calcaneum suum* (τὴν πτέρναν αὐτοῦ).<sup>622</sup> Furthermore, almost every Old Latin manuscript of John 13:18 has *manducabat* and *leuabit*. Augustine prefers *leuabit super me calcaneum* for this verse in both his commentary sermons, AUJo 59 and 60, rather than the Vulgate form *leuavit contra me calcaneum*. Both *leuavit* and *leuabit* are found in the Old Latin tradition, although *contra* only appears in Codex Aureus and some Vulgate manuscripts.

Forms unique to the Vulgate revision of John also feature in Old Testament citations during the account of the Crucifixion. Augustine adopts this version with *partiti sunt* and *in uestem* for his commentary on John 19:24 at AUJo 119, but elsewhere he prefers the Old Latin

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<sup>621</sup> Old Testament prophecies formed a key part of Christian liturgy. Fischer notes "Die liturgische Lesung, die vielleicht schon vorher in einzelnen Perikopen mündlich oder schriftlich fixiert war" (1972:37; see also Frede 1972:469).

<sup>622</sup> By contrast, he notes of Genesis 42:32 that *euangelium narrationes, quomodo cum ea quae dicta sunt dicta esse narrantur, non omnino eodem modo repetuntur, cum tamen in diuersitate uerborum nihil sententiae depereat ueritatis* (AUloc 1.640). Interestingly, Augustine's text for Psalm 40:10 falls somewhere between that of the Latin Septuagint (*qui edebat panes meos magnificauit super me subplantationem*) and Jerome's Hebrew Psalter (*qui manducabat panem meum leuavit contra me plantam*). De Bruyne 1931:567 asserts that Augustine knew Jerome's Psalter (although he also claims that Augustine made his own revision of the Psalter).

readings *diuiserunt* and **super** *uestem*.<sup>623</sup> In John 19:37, Augustine's preferred form of text for the quotation of Zechariah 12:10, ὁψονται εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν, is *uidebunt in quem pupugerunt*. This appears in ten citations, for which the only surviving parallel is Codex Palatinus. The other three citations, AU1Jo 4.5, AUAr 11.35 and AUJo 120 CT, read *uidebunt in quem confixerunt*. This is also found in two of Tertullian's citations, but does not feature in any surviving manuscript. Despite reading *transfixerunt* in the Gospel, Jerome's version of Zechariah 12:10 from the Hebrew has *aspicient ad me quem confixerunt*. Augustine considers both these readings at AUci 20.20.3; although it is possible that the three citations with *confixerunt* were influenced by this version of the Old Testament, it does not correspond exactly, and the parallels in Tertullian indicate that this reading predates Jerome.<sup>624</sup>

In conclusion, the introduction of new readings in Old Testament citations is one of the features of the Vulgate revision of the Gospels. While these are found in Augustine, he also has unique or rare readings. These do not appear to have arisen through reference back to the Old Testament version; Augustine seems unaware of the differences between the Septuagint and the Evangelist's text. As these verses were widely used in the early Church, it may be that his form of these verses has been influenced by liturgical forms or other parallels.

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<sup>623</sup> Augustine again connects the Psalm text with the Gospel quotation, this time in AUDo 8.21. On this occasion, the Latin Septuagint and Hebrew Psalters are almost identical in Psalm 21:19, and closer to the Old Latin versions of John 19:24 than the Vulgate.

<sup>624</sup> TEres 26 and TEcar 24 both support *uidebunt eum in quem confixerunt*; elsewhere Tertullian has *compugerunt* (TEMarc 3) and *pupugerunt* (TEres 22). The Latin Septuagint has *insultauerunt*, according to La Bonnardière (1986:311), who discusses these readings in Augustine in depth: unfortunately, she fails to include the citation from AU1Jo 4.5, which refutes her claim of "une date tardive" for the reading *confixerunt*, and she seems unaware of the evidence from Tertullian.

### **5.3 Augustine and textual traditions**

The commentary has shown that Augustine's citations often constitute an important witness for the text of the Latin Bible, particularly when considered in context. In the following paragraphs, I shall group some of his readings according to the type of evidence they provide: Old Latin renderings, early Vulgate forms, material said to come from the Diatessaron, and readings which relate to the Greek text. I will also look at some of Augustine's unusual forms of text, try to identify places where he may be responsible for an alteration, and address the question of whether he revised the text of the Gospel.

#### **5.3.1 Old Latin readings unique to Augustine**

On several occasions Augustine's citations feature readings which do not appear in the surviving Old Latin manuscripts. As comparatively few of these versions have been preserved, it is not surprising that evidence from Church Fathers supplements the traditions known to us. Augustine's earlier works, which precede his adoption of the Vulgate, are the best source for Old Latin biblical forms. Nonetheless, the types of variant found in his later writings are sometimes also characteristic of these earlier versions. Even though many of Augustine's non-Vulgate readings may be paralleled in extant biblical witnesses, the combination of these variants within a verse or citation is often unique to him. Given that word order and other features of quotations, such as the use of connectives, are notoriously unstable, the majority of readings which can be isolated as potentially deriving from a manuscript which has since been lost involve renderings of individual terms. It should also be remembered that Old Latin versions underwent continuous revision and improvement, often on the basis of a Greek text. The biblical texts available to Augustine had probably been revised more than once, losing many of their distinctive characteristics in the process. Indeed, it is likely that they were similar to the textual tradition on which Jerome drew when

producing the Vulgate, thereby further decreasing the number of readings in Augustine's citations which can be identified as Old Latin.<sup>625</sup>

Augustine's "unique" Old Latin readings fall into several groups. Firstly, there are examples of renderings of a Greek word which are found elsewhere in surviving manuscripts, but through the vagaries of transmission have not been preserved in the verse in which they feature in Augustine. For example, no known Old Latin manuscript has *glorificare* to render δοξάζειν in John 17:4 or John 21:19, although this is found at John 17:5 and 17:10. Sometimes contextual considerations may have governed the choice of rendering, such as *manifeste* for παρρησίᾳ in John 11:14 when Jesus announces the death of Lazarus: other typical renderings such as *in auctoritate*, *constanter* or *audenter* would not make so much sense on this occasion.<sup>626</sup> Nonetheless, there are at least thirty-five occasions on which Augustine's text bears witness to a rendering which, although paralleled elsewhere, is not preserved at that point in any Old Latin manuscript:

**Old Latin material: "paralleled renderings" unique to Augustine**

John 1:23 (*eremo*), John 1:33 (*non noueram*), John 2:21 (*hoc*),  
 John 4:2 (*quamuis*), John 6:40 (*suscitabo*), John 7:10 (*euidenter*),  
 John 8:8 (*rursum*), John 8:9 (*discesserunt*), John 8:10 (*damnauit*),  
 John 8:11 (*deinceps*), John 9:3 (*ostendantur*), John 9:16 (*iste*),  
 John 9:29 (*istum*), John 9:36 (*ait*), John 10:21 (*ista*), John 10:24 (*quamdiu*),  
 John 10:37 (*facta*), John 11:39 (*remouete, auferte*), John 11:48 (*auferent*),  
 John 12:3 (*ergo*), John 12:31 (*saeculi*), John 12:39 (*et ideo*),  
 John 12:46 (*saeculum*), John 12:47 (*iudicabo*), John 13:34 (*quomodo*),  
 John 14:27 (*saeculum*), John 16:12 (*nunc*), John 16:25 (*manifeste*),  
 John 16:32 (*ad*), John 16:33 (*dixi*), John 17:4 (*glorificaui*), John 19:14 (*fere*),  
 John 20:15 (*abstulisti*), John 21:18 (*feret*), John 21:19 (*glorificaturus*).

<sup>625</sup> We may recall the observation of Hort, quoted in 1.1, that "there is a wider difference between the earlier and later stages of the 'Old Latin' (in this comprehensive sense of the term) than between the later stages and the Vulgate" (Westcott-Hort 1882:78). Monceaux notes that Tertullian and Cyprian agree frequently with Vulgate readings in the Gospels, "comme saint Jérôme s'est contenté, pour le Nouveau Testament, d'une révision très sommaire" (1901:112). See also Burkitt 1908:290 on revisions of the Old Latin versions.

<sup>626</sup> For this example, I am grateful to Philip Burton; similar key renderings are identified and contextual constraints discussed in Burton 2000:29-74.

A second type of Old Latin evidence is a reading which is not found in surviving codices and is not paralleled elsewhere in John, but can still plausibly be derived from the Greek. (For the few occasions when Augustine's text supports a variant to the preferred reading in Greek, see Section 5.3.4 below.) In several cases, this form of text is paralleled in another Church Father, as in John 18:23 where *exprobra* for μαρτύρησον also appears in three of Cyprian's letters. Sometimes the variant form is used by an opponent and then cited by Augustine. Other readings are (so far as is known) unique to him.<sup>627</sup> Although some variants may be paraphrases, those which are attested in a number of citations have a greater claim to have been present in a version now lost. Forty examples merit particular consideration.

**Old Latin material: readings found only in Church Fathers (including Augustine)**

John 1:50 (*ideo* TE), John 2:25 (*opus non habebat* and *quisquam*), John 3:4 (*uiscera*), John 3:14 (*eremo* CY), John 5:7 (*deponat*), John 5:24 (*transitum fecit* FO-M), John 5:26 (*ita* AM TE), John 5:30 (*uerum*), John 5:37 (*aliquando* and *faciem*), John 5:39 (*speratis* TE), John 5:44 (*expectantes*), John 6:27 (*corrumpitur*), John 6:68 (*uerbum* CY), John 7:24 (*rectum*), John 8:48 (*uerum*), John 8:56 (*concupiuit*), John 9:16 (*soluit*), John 9:38 (*prostratus*), John 10:37 (*facta* CY PETI), John 11:48 (*regnum*), John 12:25 (*saeculo* CY), John 12:26 (*diaconus*), John 12:28 (*filium*), John 13:10 (*habet opus* and *oportet*), John 13:26 (*tinctum* and *tinxisset*; this may also be an early Vulgate reading), John 14:27 (*dimitto* PETI), John 15:2 (*dat*), John 15:13 (*quam* CY), John 15:25 (*adimpleatur*), John 16:2 (*officium facere* CY PETI), John 16:28 (*processi* FAU), John 17:24 (*ipsi* CY and *isti* AM), John 18:6 (*redierunt*), John 18:23 (*exprobra* CY), John 19:30 (*emisit*), John 19:34 (*profluxit*), John 19:37 (*confixerunt* TE), John 20:1 (*obscurum* AM), John 20:22 (*inspirauit* CY), John 21:11 (*disrupta*).

A handful of other examples comprise variations which have no support from commonly-cited Greek or Latin manuscripts but are sufficiently well-attested in Augustine to be worthy of

<sup>627</sup> Although I have compared all surviving Old Latin manuscripts, Fischer's collations and the editions of citations in Tertullian (Roensch 1871), Cyprian (Fahey 1971) and Ambrose (Muncey 1959, Caragliano 1946), there may still be parallels which I have not managed to trace. Other sources are listed in the table with their *Vetus Latina* abbreviation.

mention. Many of these are probably due to rhetorical variation which has shaped Augustine's mental text. For example, *tunc* in John 8:36 is found in twenty-eight of Augustine's thirty-two citations, and brings out the antithesis of the verse, although it is not paralleled by any surviving biblical witness: nonetheless, the sheer weight of attestation should be noted.<sup>628</sup> The same may be said of variation in the tense of verbs, which, although sometimes found in other sources, is also a means of adapting citations to different circumstances. This is exemplified by the present tense form *beati qui non uident et credunt* in most of Augustine's citations of John 20:29. Most of Augustine's other unique readings can be explained as secondary in character, such as periphrases, deliberate correction to improve the Latin, or errors influenced by another verse, although the possibility always remains that these could have appeared in a version which has not been preserved.<sup>629</sup>

Generally speaking, Augustine's preference for the Vulgate in the majority of works in which he pays close attention to the text of the Gospel means that his citations are not a rich source of Old Latin readings. Nonetheless, it is important to remember that in several of his earlier citations, he does agree closely with the text of a surviving Old Latin witness (most notably Codex Rehdigeranus in John 4 in AUq 64) and his mental text often includes a number of variants attested by Codices Monacensis, Vercellensis or Usserianus. Furthermore, citations made by his opponents or quotations of earlier authors also feature Old Latin forms, some of which resemble Codex Palatinus. The seventy-five or so places in which Augustine's biblical text appears to feature an Old Latin reading not preserved in the

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<sup>628</sup> For other rhetorical variation, including parallelism, compare John 5:19 (*haec eadem*, a double form) and 5:29 (*bene*). In most other cases, it seems unlikely that Augustine's form, however frequently cited, derives from a manuscript.

<sup>629</sup> For example, consider *domino* in John 1:23, *opus* in 6:28, *deo* in 6:45, *ut sit* in 10:16, *inueniet* in 12:25, and *uobis declarabit* in 14:26.



surviving manuscripts of John represent a reasonable proportion of the places where Augustine could be cited in the critical apparatus to the text of this Gospel.

### 5.3.2 Augustine as early witness to the Vulgate

The fact that Augustine was one of the earliest Church Fathers to have adopted Jerome's version of the Gospels, later known as the Vulgate, means that he is also important as a witness to the earliest state of Jerome's text.<sup>630</sup> In the foreword to his collation of four hundred and fifty Latin manuscripts of John, Fischer states that:

"Bei der Erforschung der altlateinische Bibel die Zitate neben den Handschriften eine wichtige, ja die entscheidende Rolle spielen, für die Klärung der Vulgata-Überlieferung". (1991:6\*).

The continuity between the Old Latin versions and Jerome's revision means, however, that it can often be difficult to identify distinctive features. Furthermore, during the complex textual history of the Vulgate, variant readings were often re-introduced from Old Latin traditions. Gribomont goes so far as to claim that:

"On peut dire qu'aucun manuscrit du Nouveau Testament de la Vulgate n'est exempt de contaminations «vieilles-latines»" (1985a:62).

Berger observes that:

"les manuscrits les plus anciens représentent le plus souvent des textes mêlés" (1893:x).

It is highly probable that Augustine's gospel manuscripts had their own errors, with an admixture of Old Latin readings, while the text of the Vulgate in modern editions, based on manuscripts from the sixth to eighth centuries, may owe more to Cassiodorus or later scholars

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<sup>630</sup> As Burkitt boldly claims for AUEv, "We have in Augustine's elaborate quotations a witness to the form in which the Vulgate reached Africa only fifteen years later than its first publication." (1910:455). The oldest Vulgate manuscript known to survive, Codex Sangallensis 1395, is dated to the fifth century and is "possibly contemporary with Jerome himself" (Loewe 1969:108; see also García de la Fuente 1994:161).

than Jerome himself.<sup>631</sup> Furthermore, there is always the possibility that patristic readings were introduced into later Vulgate manuscripts through contamination with the *Glossa Ordinaria* or other commentaries.

The overwhelming proportion of scriptural citations in the *Tractatus in Iohannem* and the *De consensu euangelistarum* which correspond with a reading preserved only in the Vulgate, or the Vulgate and one surviving Old Latin manuscript, indicate that Augustine was using a Vulgate text-type for these works (see Sections 3.2.1, 3.3.1). Variations within the biblical citations of these works, especially those which appear out of sequence, have been shown to be Augustine's reversion to a more familiar form of text. Nonetheless, in the sequential citations, where Augustine appears to reproduce the text of his codex accurately, variations from the modern Vulgate may represent an earlier stage in the history of this version.<sup>632</sup> The most compelling readings are those which are found in both works, although these are surprisingly rare: they include *etiamsi* in John 11:25, *impleretur* in John 19:24 and

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<sup>631</sup> On the history of the Vulgate, see Berger 1893 and Loewe 1969 (especially pages 109-112 on Old Latin "infiltration"). Metzger (1977:334-347) gives an introduction to the six principal families of the Vulgate manuscripts, while Fischer 1991:11\*-12\* lists no fewer than twenty-six groups of manuscripts. Schmid summarises: "It is therefore not appropriate to think of the Latin Vulgate as a tight, cohesive, and strictly homogeneous tradition for all of its history – let alone a tradition that has been dominated by its oldest and purest version throughout most of the time." (2003:184). For more on Cassiodorus and Alcuin, see also Gibson 1993:2-6 and Gribomont 1985b. Gribomont suggests that there may have been errors in Jerome's original: "on rencontre en effet un certain nombre de fautes d'archétype qui doivent remonter à la première «édition»" (1987:19) and goes on to note that rare forms, peculiar to Jerome, are likely to have been eliminated during transmission.

<sup>632</sup> Burkitt (1896:74-75) notes that not only are many coincidences between AUEv and the Vulgate not found in any Old Latin manuscripts, but also that Augustine's variants in AUEv are rarely Old Latin readings. He offers a list of readings in Matthew where AUEv is of interest in agreeing with early Vulgate manuscripts (1910:457).

*resurrexisset* in John 21:14.<sup>633</sup> There are occasions on which *De consensu euangelistarum*, despite being the earlier work, is closer to the modern Vulgate than the *Tractatus in Iohannem*, and vice versa.<sup>634</sup> These discrepancies could be explained as changes made to citations during the transmission of each work, but it is also possible that Augustine had more than one exemplar of John with a Vulgate text (and different variations) among his many biblical manuscripts. The suggestion that Augustine himself revised the text of the Gospel is considered further below.

Fischer's collation of Latin gospel manuscripts offers a comparison with Augustine over its four test passages. The results are inconclusive. Some of Augustine's readings are not paralleled by any surviving witness, such as *hoc autem* in John 2:21, *tunc* in John 7:33 or *fratribus* in John 20:17, all found in the continuous text of AUJo. Even where variants are comparatively well-attested in the Vulgate tradition, such as *nescis* and *aut* in John 3:8, no single Vulgate manuscript has both, unlike AUJo 12.5.18.<sup>635</sup> In contrast, most of Augustine's variations from the Weber-Gryson Vulgate text in these works are paralleled in Old Latin witnesses, even though the rest of the verse corresponds to the Vulgate (e.g. *illis* in John

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<sup>633</sup> See also *in cor* rather than *in corde* in John 13:2, *quaeritis* for *quaeretis* in John 13:33, the omission of *iam* in John 19:28, *uidit* in John 20:14 and the omission of *si* in John 21:22 (and 21:23). I have already mentioned the reading *panibus meis*, found in John 6:26 in AUJo 25 and one manuscript of AUEv 4.10.15; see also *utique* in John 18:36, *autem* in John 19:13 and *congregati* in John 20:19, each of which is found in manuscripts or allusions in AUEv but not quoted verbatim.

<sup>634</sup> For example, in John 18:18 AUEv 3.6.23 reads *calefiebant*, a reading found only in the Vulgate, while AUJo 113 has *calefaciebant*. (In fact, six manuscripts of AUEv 3.6.23 have *calefaciebant*, while only four have *calefiebant*; *calefaciebant* is found in both Vulgate and Old Latin manuscripts.) See also *Iohanna/Iohannis* in John 1:42 and the forms of John 6:9-10 in each work. In John 6:5, 13:2, 18:5, 18:7, 19:14, 20:2 and 20:15, AUEv has a variant reading where AUJo agrees with the standard Vulgate.

<sup>635</sup> Similar results are found in other passages. For example, in John 12:22, forty manuscripts read *dicunt* rather than *dixerunt*, but only twenty of these also have *glorificetur* in the next verse; only two of these have the order *haec uox* in John 12:30 (**Hy** and **H<sub>z</sub>**), while the only witness with *post me* rather than *ad me* in John 12:32 (**Gk**) agrees with none of these three earlier readings in Augustine.

2:24, *facturus est* in John 7:31, *testimonium dicis* in John 8:13, *cum* in John 20:11). This appears to confirm that there was a greater proportion of Old Latin readings in Augustine's Vulgate text than later exemplars, although it is impossible to say how many of these originated with Jerome. However, a handful of Augustine's readings within these test passages are only found in Vulgate witnesses, listed in the table below: these may be Old Latin variants or early Vulgate readings not preserved elsewhere, although they could also have been introduced from Augustine into the later Vulgate tradition.

**Readings in Augustine paralleled only in Vulgate mss in Fischer's test passages**

*destruite* in John 2:19 (**Jg**);<sup>636</sup> *opus non habebat* in John 2:25 (**Jc**); *intrabit* in John 3:5 (**Wb**); *heremo* in John 3:14 (**Eh** and **Gk**); *quicquam accipere* in John 3:27 (**Hy**\*); *datum fuerit ei* in John 3:27 (**Hhosmtibyz Ge Co**); omission of *qui* and addition of *et* in John 3:29 (**Ot**; **Ji Gi**\* also omit *qui*); *dicit* in John 7:33 (**Sflh**\*? **Thbc Uc Vr**); *mulierem quandam* in John 8:3 (**Hm**); additions in John 8:9 (**Bw Sx Jy**); *remanet* in John 12:24 (**Jg**); *post me* in John 12:32 (**Gk**); *et quis est* in John 12:34 (**Lf**<sub>2</sub>); omission of *autem* in John 12:44 (**Ev Hh**); *nescio* in John 20:2 (**He Bd Wcd\*eso Te**\*? **Pku Kue**\*); *introiit* in John 20:8 (**Hi Gl**); *scripturas* in John 20:9 (38 mss); *iesum* in John 20:9 (**Jg**); addition of *ergo* in John 20:18 (20 mss); *insuflavit in faciem eorum* in John 20:22 (**Ce**); *adpraehenderunt* in John 21:3 (**Hd** and **St**).

Many of the variations in the continuous text of AUJo, especially in the earlier sermons, appear in Old Latin witnesses, which supports the suggestion that Augustine's Vulgate had a "mixed" character.<sup>637</sup> The agreements between certain readings and the Vulgate manuscripts listed in the apparatus of Weber-Gryson mean that Augustine's citations can be used in support of the addition in the early Vulgate text of *scripturas* (John 7:52), *iesus* (8:20 and

<sup>636</sup> Note that **Jg** is Fischer's siglum for Codex Brixianus, normally considered an Old Latin witness. This reading is found in AUPs 85.22.12.

<sup>637</sup> Such as John 1:4 (*in illo uita est*), 2:15 (*resticulis*), 3:8 (*aut* and *et*), 3:26 (*illum*), 3:28 (*eum*), 4:3 (*terram*), 4:43 (*biduum*), 6:17 (*nauculam*), 7:20 (*occidere*), 7:27 (*nouimus*), 7:52 (*scripturas*), 8:13 (*testimonium dicis*), 8:20 (*nondum*), 8:27 (*intellexerunt* etc.), 8:31 (*uerbo*), 8:55 (*noui*), 10:39 (*adprehendere*), 11:11 (*excitem*), 11:25 (*etiamsi*), 12:23 (*glorificetur*), 13:27 (*panem*), 14:26 (*commemorabit*), 16:30 (*nost*), 17:26 (*quam*), 18:2 (om. *ipsum*), 18:10 (*principis sacerdotum*), 18:12 (*autem*), 19:28 (om. *iam*), 21:12 (*discumbentium*).

11:45), *meum* (8:38), *eius* (11:3), *suis* (11:54 and 21:14), *uobis* (16:3), *utique* (18:36) and *congregati* (20:19) or the omission of *ipsum* (18:2) and *sic* (21:22-23), not to mention several changes of tense, word order or pronouns.<sup>638</sup> Other patterns of variation in AUJo also find some support in Vulgate witnesses. For example, the preference for *nescire* rather than *non scire* in the continuous text is paralleled in the Vulgate tradition in John 1:26, 3:8 and 7:28. Augustine sometimes has a compound verb where the editorial Vulgate text has a simple verb and vice versa: four of these are also present in the Vulgate tradition, while three more feature in Old Latin witnesses.<sup>639</sup> As with his Old Latin readings, some variants which are only found in Augustine may have appeared in biblical manuscripts which have not been preserved, or may simply have been one-off alterations.<sup>640</sup> The overall conclusion must be that although Augustine's text of John often has clear affinities with the Vulgate, it illustrates clearly the continuum in the Latin Bible and the ongoing transmission and interpolation of Old Latin elements within the revised version.

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<sup>638</sup> For example, AUJo 70 has the present tense in John 14:9, *qui uidet me uidet et patrem*, which is only found in Vulgate manuscripts. Augustine's reading of the plural *manifestentur* in John 9:3 is also present in a few witnesses. Compare also the manuscript variants with the citations from AUJo and AUEv in John 9:10, 10:39, 11:1, 11:25, 14:1, 14:17, 14:23, 15:27, 16:22, 17:22, 17:25, 18:3, 19:24, 19:36, 19:40, 20:1, 20:5, 20:14, 20:15, 20:25, 21:12, 21:20.

<sup>639</sup> A compound verb is found in Augustine in John 10:39 (*adprehendere*), 15:25 (*adimpleatur*), 16:3 (*cognouerunt*), 20:13 (*sustulerunt*), 21:3 (*adprehenderunt*), 21:10 (*adprehendistis*) and 21:14 (*resurrexisset*). Augustine has a simple verb at John 1:42 (*duxit*), 3:23 (*ueniebant*), 11:56 (*loquebantur*) and 13:26 (*tinctum* and *tinxisset*). Augustine's reading in John 1:42, 3:23, 10:39, 16:3, 20:13 and 21:14 is also present in surviving Old Latin manuscripts. Vulgate witnesses contain the same variants in John 3:23, 10:39 and 21:14, while only the Clementine Vulgate has *adimpleatur* in John 15:25. On the interchange between compound and simple verbs in Latin Church Fathers, see Chapot 1996:75.

<sup>640</sup> E.g. *samaritani* in John 4:39, *rogare coepit* in John 4:47, the various forms of John 13:10, *quaecumque ... haec* in John 14:13, and the addition of *meo* in John 16:25.

### 5.3.3 Diatessaronic readings

Two of the foremost Diatessaronic scholars, Leloir and Quispel, agree that "Augustine, probably from his days as a Manichee, occasionally lapses into citing a passage according to the Diatessaron used by the Manichees".<sup>641</sup> Manichaean use of the Diatessaron has already been discussed in Chapter Four, where the evidence in Augustine's opponents was found to be inconclusive: the best example is Faustus' reference to the "Flying Jesus" tradition at Luke 4:29-30.<sup>642</sup> The identification of Diatessaronic readings is fraught with problems, because there has been much scope for contamination of the Gospel Harmony traditions by other sources. Nonetheless, Petersen has set out three conditions for isolating readings peculiar to the Diatessaron: they should occur only in Diatessaronic witnesses, in at least one source from the Eastern tradition and one from the West, and all the sources should be harmonised "Lives of Jesus" or influenced by that tradition. Studies of different gospel harmonies have suggested a number of readings which meet these criteria.<sup>643</sup>

Three of Augustine's references to the Gospel according to John feature material which is claimed to be unique to the Diatessaron, although none is found in Codex Fuldensis. In John 1:5, the imperfect tense *lux in tenebris lucebat* is found in citations of John 1:5 in AUJo

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<sup>641</sup> Petersen 1995:89; see also Quispel 1975:60.

<sup>642</sup> See Section 4.3, and Baarda 1994:78.

<sup>643</sup> For the conditions, see Petersen 1994:373-374 and Petersen 1995:91, although Schmid (2003:198) has criticised this "incoherent comparison base". The two principal lists of Diatessaronic readings are found in Leloir 1962 (Ephraim's commentary on the Syriac Diatessaron), and Quispel 1975 (the Old High German tradition). In addition to these, Petersen 1994 includes a number of variants claimed to be Diatessaronic. Nonetheless, the recent work of Schmid must be taken into account in any discussion of the Latin Diatessaron: referring to the hypothesis of an Old Latin version, he says that "There is no external testimony that such a text ever existed, nor has any evidence of it ever been found" (2003:181), and he shows how Codex Fuldensis is "die Stammhandschrift aller erhaltenen lateinischen Tatiancodices." (2005:15; see also 18-33).

36.3.21, AUJo 47.14.11 and AUs 195.3.<sup>644</sup> Augustine also has *amicus noster* in John 11:14 (AUs 98.4.4) and adds *et totum* in John 13:9 (AUPs 92.3.33).<sup>645</sup> A handful of citations feature material corresponding to other putative Diatessaronic readings. The introduction to John 20:17 in AUs 5.244, *hoc est quod dominus dicit post passionem mulieri quae uolebat illi tenere pedes*, might support the explicit desire to hold Jesus' feet added in some sources at John 20:16, while others in place of *ascendo* have a verb equivalent to *uado*, the reading of AUGn q 59.743, AUJo 21.3.23 and AUy 9.18.<sup>646</sup> The reference to "running" in three citations of John 4:28 could be related to the verb  $\tau\rho\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota$  claimed for the Diatessaron (Petersen 1994:368). There are other minor correspondences with variants listed by Leloir and Quispel as well as Baumstark.<sup>647</sup>

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<sup>644</sup> See Leloir 1962:12 and Quispel 1975:74. Baarda (1994:303ff.) concludes that Tatian's own text of John 1:5 in the *Oratio ad Graecos* was the same as the majority of Greek manuscripts.

<sup>645</sup> On the Diatessaronic evidence for these two readings, see Petersen 1994:170 and 380ff.

<sup>646</sup> There is a similar introduction to this verse in the lectionary sermon AUs 143.4.4, [*dicit*] *mulieri cum ei post resurrectionem ad pedes caderet*. Baarda, however, plausibly suggests that references to "feet" before John 20:17 stem from a reminiscence of Matthew 28:9 (Baarda 1994:97, 102-3). On *uado*, see Petersen 1994:249, 367 and Leloir 1962:230.

<sup>647</sup> In Leloir's Latin form of Ephraim's text, we find the harmonisation of John 5:8 and Mark 2:11 (as seen in AUJo 20), *pater **neminem** iudicabit* in John 5:22 (cf. AUAr 11:11, AUMax co 18), ***auferte** lapidem* in John 11:39, the abbreviated *uade **dic fratribus meis*** in John 20:17, the flattened form ***non ueni ego facere*** in John 6:38 (see further Leloir 1962:162) and the self-contained form of John 10:18 with *animam meam*. Nonetheless, given that this is a translation of the Syriac, many similarities may be coincidental. Quispel's list of Diatessaronic readings in the Old High German version of Codex Sangallensis (1975:108ff.) cites nine verses of John, four of which are paralleled in Augustine: ***lucebat*** in John 1:5, ***uoluptate*** in John 1:13 (in certain manuscripts of Augustine), ***unici*** in John 1:14 and ***discipulorum suorum*** in John 13:5. Petersen 1994:219-222 reports Baumstark's work on Novatian's citations in *Oriens Christianus* 27 (1930) 1-14: correspondences also found in Augustine are *pater* for *ille* in John 5:19, *panibus **meis*** in John 6:26, and *panis **uitae aeternae*** in John 6:51. Again, it should be noted that none of these appears in Codex Fuldensis. If Augustine were considered a source of Diatessaronic readings, certain forms of text not found in any other witnesses might be considered as possibly Diatessaronic, such as *ille adnuntiabit uobis de eo* in John 1:18 which appears twice in AUAd 9, an anti-Manichaean work, (Quispel 1975:68 claims the addition of ***nobis*** (but not *de eo*) in this verse is a Manichaean Diatessaronic reading), the reading *profluxit* in John 19:34, the addition *in faciem eorum* at John 20:22 or the references to *cicatrices* in John 20:25-27, and maybe even *tam magno* in John 21:11 (see the discussion in the commentary above and Quispel 1975:98-103).

Whatever the situation may be in the Synoptic Gospels, however, Augustine cannot be claimed as a Diatessaronic witness in John. For a start, many of these additions appear in Old Latin manuscripts. It is far more likely that Augustine was familiar with these readings from within the Latin tradition than as mediated by the Diatessaron.<sup>648</sup> Many of the other variants are either logical deductions (e.g. Mary wishing to touch Jesus' feet before the prohibition *noli me tangere*), or equivalent to rhetorical variations and paraphrases.<sup>649</sup> Both citations of John 1:5 with *lux lucebat in tenebris* not only have this non-Diatessaronic word order, but also (uniquely) the imperfect *comprehendebant* at the end of the verse, which suggests that the entire sentence has been re-cast into the imperfect by Augustine. The replacement of *ille* by *pater* in John 5:19 is a common phenomenon, while in John 20:17 *uado* may have been repeated from earlier in the verse.<sup>650</sup> Finally, there are plenty more alleged

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<sup>648</sup> Codex Bezae has *ante me* in John 10:8 and is joined by the Fragmentum Sangallense in *amicus noster* in John 11:14 (which is probably repetition from John 11:11; see the commentary above), while Codex Vercellensis adds *et totum corpus* in John 13:9. In John 13:5, *discipulorum suorum* is read in five Old Latin witnesses. Furthermore, Fischer (1972:48) notes that harmonisations are found throughout patristic citations, and the fact that there are more in the Gospels is a reflection of their subject matter and genre rather than the influence of Tatian. Petersen acknowledges the weakness of Quispel's evidence: "The *number* of agreements is impressive, however the *quality* of the readings is, on the whole, poor. The principal flaw, however, is that in too many readings there is "interference" from earlier Latin texts which also contain the reading. The consequence is that one cannot draw a clear line between Augustine and the Diatessaron, for the line of dependence might go back no further than the Vetus Latina." (Petersen 1994:334-335).

<sup>649</sup> Baarda acknowledges that the addition *et occurrit ut tangeret eum* in John 20:16 may be "an interpretative gloss" (1994:103), while Schmid (2005:200) suggests that it probably entered the Latin harmony tradition through the Cadmug Gospels, although he admits that it may be Tatianic in origin.

<sup>650</sup> Leloir's use of Augustine as evidence is partial and selective: there is no obvious reason why Augustine's form *deponat* in John 5:7 is closer than the Old Latin *mittat* to the Syriac which has been rendered *demittat* (1962:172). In the next verse, Leloir lists two Augustinian adaptations of the verse (AUJo 21.6.3 and AUs 125.10), ignoring the verbatim parallels with AUJo 20.2.4 and AUJo 20.2.51 for a reading which is anyway clearly a conflation with Mark 2:11 (1962:173). See also his use of Augustine to support *da mihi aquam* in John 4:10, *hominibus* in John 5:34, *faciem* in John 9:7 and *flebat* in John 11:35, all found only in allusions or paraphrases.



Diatessaronic features in John which do not occur at all in Augustine's citations. It has already been demonstrated that the pattern of Augustine's biblical development is entirely consistent with his introduction to the text of Scripture when he was baptised into the Catholic Church: his text of John provides no evidence that he was already familiar with Manichaean forms of text at the time of his conversion.<sup>651</sup> The "Diatessaronic" reminiscences do not occur in Augustine's early works, but later in his career, after twenty years of familiarity with the Catholic tradition. As Petersen remarks, "one might presume that had he known the Diatessaron, he would have mentioned it, or that more blatant Diatessaronic readings would have surfaced in his copious œuvre" (1994:336).

As for the presence of "Diatessaronic readings" in the Old Latin manuscripts of John, these are probably a misnomer. Schmid has shown that there is no evidence that the existing Latin harmony tradition relies on an Old Latin gospel harmony prior to Codex Fuldensis: non-Vulgate readings found in the later harmony tradition can be explained as contamination from variant forms of the four-fold text.<sup>652</sup> Furthermore, if Petersen's claim is accepted that "Justin's Greek harmony is the most likely source for variant readings and harmonisations in the Vetus Latina" (1994:430), this would only cover the Synoptic Gospels. If Johannine material had subsequently been added to this by Tatian, as has been suggested, readings shared by the Diatessaron and the Old Latin tradition of John would derive independently

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<sup>651</sup> See further Sections 2.2, 3.4.1 and 4.3.

<sup>652</sup> "Als primäre Quelle für zwischen beiden Handschriften abweichende Lesarten muss der lokale fuldische Evangelientext gelten. ... Die Harmonieüberlieferung ist in textlicher Hinsicht kein hermetisch abgeschlossener Bereich, in dem nur Evangelienharmonien miteinander interagieren." (Schmid 2005:33). Elsewhere, he admits that an Old Latin harmony may have existed, but it cannot be reconstructed from variants in the surviving Latin tradition (Schmid 2003:198).

from the same source, namely the "Western" text of the Gospel. These would therefore fail to meet Petersen's third condition for identifying genuine readings from the Diatessaron.<sup>653</sup>

#### 5.3.4 Augustine's significance for the Greek text

Augustine's citations of John are, at best, tertiary evidence for the Greek text of the Gospel, being both a versional source and patristic testimony. Although he claims on several occasions to have consulted Greek manuscripts of the Gospel, his concern is purely with the renderings of individual words or etymology and he rarely quotes the original term.<sup>654</sup> Nonetheless, just as his citations may be used to support certain forms of text in the Old Latin tradition, so these can in turn be connected with readings in the underlying Greek, particularly when the Greek tradition is divergent. For example, in John 1:34, only Codex Sinaiticus has ὁ ἐκλεκτός, but four Old Latin witnesses include *electus*, a reading also found in AUs 308A.4. Similarly, in John 12:28, Augustine's reading *filium* rather than *nomen* in two early works suggests that he was familiar with an Old Latin text based on Greek manuscripts with υἱόν. In John 16:21, like some Old Latin manuscripts, AUs 210.5.7 has *dies* rather than *hora*, which supports ἡμέρα in place of ὥρα as in P66, Codex Bezae and other versions.<sup>655</sup> In John 8:9, we saw that Augustine's citations provide unique Latin evidence for two phrases

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<sup>653</sup> On the Diatessaron as based on the "Western" text, see Petersen 1994:12. Quispel (1975:28, 57) agrees that the Old Latin versions are independent of Tatian. On Tatian's use of John, see Baarda 1994:301. Compare also Petersen's assessment of Quispel's evidence from Augustine, quoted above (Petersen 1994:334).

<sup>654</sup> The only Greek words from the Gospel quoted by Augustine (rather than etymological roots) are λόγος (John 1:1 and John 17:17, AUJo 108.3.3, AUq 63.2), ἐντολή (John 15:12, AUJo 83.2.4), δοξάσει (John 16:14, AUJo 100.1.25) and δόξασον (John 17:1, AUJo 104.3.18, AUJo 105.3.22).

<sup>655</sup> For more examples of readings in which Augustine joins Old Latin manuscripts in supporting a variant form found in a few Greek witnesses, compare John 1:4 (note also Augustine's punctuation of this verse), John 3:31 (ἐπάνω πάντων ἐστίν) and the addition in John 5:39. It was noted above that Augustine is cited in the critical apparatus of Nestle-Aland at John 10:8. On the importance of Latin patristic citations for the history of the Greek text, see Frede 1972:472.

found in certain Greek manuscripts: ἕως τῶν ἐσχάτων in AUs 16A.124 and AUs 272B.5, and καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς συνειδησέως ἐλεγχόμενοι in AUs 272B.5 and AUPs 102.11.43. These are important correspondences in this problematic passage.

Very occasionally, an alternative Greek text is reconstructed on the basis of the Latin tradition, such as διηγῆσεται ὑμῖν τὴν ἀληθεῖαν πᾶσαν at John 16:13.<sup>656</sup> Latin citations can play a part in this, such as Tertullian's support for the singular verb in John 1:4, along with Codex Veronensis: this also appears to be suggested by a couple of Augustine's citations (AUpec 2.24.38 and AUcf 7.9.20). Finally, there is the example of John 21:18, in which the rendering *feret* found in Augustine, corresponding to οἴσει, may imply that *ducet* in the rest of the Latin tradition originates from a different Greek text not preserved in any manuscript.

As a witness to the Old Latin tradition, Augustine's citations also feature readings identified as part of the "Western text", one of the four text-types of the Greek New Testament, often distinguished by its additions.<sup>657</sup> For example, Augustine has three of the four "Greater Interpolations" identified by Burkitt in the "Western" text of John, along with two of the

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<sup>656</sup> As noted above, the Latin tradition would suggest διδάξει, but διηγῆσεται derives from Greek citational evidence not listed in Nestle-Aland.

<sup>657</sup> The classic exposition of the theory of geographical text-types is found in Westcott-Hort 1882:108-135, with a description of Western characteristics on 120-126. Fischer 1972:39-49 discusses the relationship of Codex Bezae with the "Western text" and the Diatessaron. The Old Latin versions have traditionally been identified with the "Western" text (e.g. Metzger 1977:325, Elliott 1992:223, North 1995:218), but Petzer claims that "it is wrong to refer to the Old Latin version *en masse* as Western" (1995:125). Conversely, an "Alexandrian" Greek text seems to underlie the Vulgate (see Westcott-Hort 1882:152; Monceaux 1901:98; Zarb 1938:389; Metzger 1977:355, 359; Gribomont 1987:17).

"Smaller Interpolations".<sup>658</sup> These readings are often present in Codices Vercellensis and Bezae, so some of the parallels with these manuscripts already mentioned in the previous section may also qualify as "Western", even though few are attested in Greek outside Codex Bezae. Codex Vercellensis provides the only support for *non pedes tantum sed et caput et totum* in John 13:9, and also *sicut et ego dilexi uos* in John 15:12, while Codex Bezae has parallels for the addition of *ante me* in John 10:8, *amicus noster* in John 11:14 and *sua* in John 14:10. It is also the only manuscript which approaches Augustine's peculiar form of John 20:22, *insufflauit in faciem eorum*, by reading *insufflauit in eos*.

### 5.3.5 Additional material and unusual readings

Many of the places where Augustine departs from the text of the surviving Latin and Greek manuscripts are clearly paraphrases. Other readings, however, are more difficult to categorise. For example, there are several short additions to the text, sometimes found in more than one citation, such as *non ex carne* in John 1:13, the form *adnuntiauit uobis de eo* twice in John 1:18, *recede a me mulier* in John 2:4 and *super terram* in John 3:14.<sup>659</sup> These could have been added by Augustine, but there is also a possibility that they already formed part of the biblical tradition. The same may be said of explanatory glosses, such as

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<sup>658</sup> See Burkitt 1896:46-53. The "Greater Interpolations" are found in John 7:53-8:11, John 5:4, John 3:6 and John 6:56: of these, Augustine clearly cites the Western text at John 7:53-8:11 and John 3:6 (at AU<sub>sy</sub> 9.19); he frequently alludes to John 5:4 but does not cite it (see the commentary above): only John 6:56 (6:57 in the Vulgate) does not have the additional material, although this may partially be bound up in Augustine's memorised version of John 6:53 (6:54). As for the "Smaller Interpolations", Augustine's citations do not feature the additions in John 3:6, John 3:8, 5:3a or 5:3b but the majority of citations of John 3:18 have *qui est in caelo*, and although John 6:59 (6:60) is not cited in the body of AU<sub>Jo</sub> 27, the title of this tractate includes *sabbato*.

<sup>659</sup> Compare also the addition of *sitio* in John 4:7. As both irregular citations of John 1:18 appear in AU<sub>Ad</sub>, this may be representative of the text of the Manichee Adimantus: the subsequent citations of John 5:37 in the same paragraph also have a non-standard form of text.

John 5:10, *non licet tibi **facere quod facis**, tollere grabatum tuum* (AUJo 17.10.9) and perhaps also *si dimiserimus eum **uiuere*** rather than *si dimittimus eum sic* in John 11:48, which is supported by four citations.<sup>660</sup> A different form of text sometimes introduces additional ideas: all three citations of John 4:28 include an element of speed, while in John 11:51 several of Augustine's citations add a verb of necessity, ***oportebat** Iesum mori*, not present in Greek or Latin biblical manuscripts.<sup>661</sup>

Unusual readings may sometimes have arisen through conflation with other passages (see Section 2.6.2). The text *maior me est* instead of *qui ante me factus est* in John 1:27 appears to be a reminiscence of Matthew 11:11. In John 11:48, in place of *omnes credent in illum* the readings *omne saeculum post illum ibit* (AUPs 17.44.2; see also AUPs 40.1.27) and *omnes ibunt post illum* (AUPs 64.1.33) could have been inspired by John 12:19, although this phrasing is different. I have already mentioned that although *non ueni facere uoluntatem meam* in John 6:38 bears the hallmark of flattening, it is attested in other Latin Fathers and may have been present in biblical traditions now lost.<sup>662</sup> Occasionally, a particular sermon has a comparatively high proportion of unusual readings, such as AUs 210 (John 16:19-22), AUs 272B (John 8:9-10), AUPs 58.s1 (John 7:45-49), or AUPs 92 (John 13:6-14). Although these appear to be non-lectionary sermons, with a high likelihood that Augustine was citing

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<sup>660</sup> AUJo 93.3.48, AUPs 40.1.28, AUPs 55.17.43 have the text as above, while AUPs 62.18.24 has *si illum dimiserimus uiuum*. All Greek witnesses have οὕτως.

<sup>661</sup> *Oportebat* appears in AUFau 22.83, AUPs 40.1.32 and AUs 315.1.2: the Old Latin tradition has either *moriturus est* or *incipiebat mori*. On the introduction of an element of necessity by a Latin translator, compare the discussion of Matthew 17:22 at Plater and White 1926:114. For "speeding-up" of the Gospel narratives, compare also Augustine's citations of John 12:19 (*pergat*) and 12:35 (*currite*) and the reading τρέχει in John 4:28 (Petersen 1994:368).

<sup>662</sup> The same may be true of other examples of flattening, such as Augustine's forms of John 3:17, 9:4 and 14:31, or paraphrases such as *de seruitute non sumus nati* (John 8:33) and *qui soluit sabbatum* (John 9:16).

from memory, the parallels between some of the variants and known alternative Greek or Latin readings suggest that the other unusual features might have had wider currency.<sup>663</sup>

Sometimes variants may pose problems of identification. The citation in AUFau 6.9, *ego fallere non didici: quod sentio loquor*, has been connected with John 8:28, *sicut docuit me pater, haec loquor*, but the resemblance is superficial. Similarly, *si inuenistis in me peccatum, dicite* (AUPs 50.9.7) has been claimed as a citation of John 8:46, *quis ex uobis arguit mihi de peccato?*, but other correspondences may be suggested.<sup>664</sup> In John 16:33, one citation adds an entirely new phrase:

*dominus dixit haec loquor uobis ut in me habeatis pacem. pacem in terra uobis non promitto.* (AUPs 33.s3.19.38)

It should not be forgotten that Augustine appears to have been familiar with a number of apocryphal works, and it could be that citations such as these may have come from such sources.<sup>665</sup> On the other hand, Elliott observes how many so-called "agrapha" are "patristic inventions ... they are homiletic and placed by the Church father on the lips of Jesus" (1993:349). As all these examples occur in direct speech, this seems a likely explanation for their origin.

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<sup>663</sup> For example, it is interesting that in a couple of sermons, Augustine's one-off rendering of ζῆτεῖν by *uelle* instead of *quaerere* is paralleled by citations in Tertullian (John 5:18; AUs 125 and TEPrä 21 (also AMfi 2.8.67); John 8:40; AUs 121 and TEPrä 22, TEcar 15).

<sup>664</sup> This same text is found in AUs 26.218, which is also claimed as a citation of John 8:46, and, with *arguite*, in AUs 44.6 on Isaiah 53, where it is not marked as a biblical reference although Augustine introduces it with *audiebatis modo dicentem illis*. There is no obvious connection with the Isaiah passage. Compare also AUJo 33.6.14, *in me peccatum non inuenisti*. The closest parallel in sense seems to be Psalm 16:3, *igne me examinasti, et non est inuenta in me iniquitas*, or Malachi 2:6, *lex ueritatis fuit in ore eius et iniquitas non est inuenta in labiis eius*.

<sup>665</sup> On Augustine's familiarity with apocryphal works, see Altaner 1952:208, Berrouard 2003:434 and Zarb 1938:280ff..

### 5.3.6 Characteristics of possible alteration to the biblical text by Augustine

Given the great variety of both the Old Latin and the Vulgate traditions, as well as the extent of material now lost, it is very difficult to identify any readings deliberately introduced by Augustine, although the subconscious variations of his citations from memory are comparatively obvious. Many of his apparently authentic readings which are not paralleled in biblical manuscripts have already been considered in Sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.2 as additional Old Latin material or examples of the early Vulgate text. Augustine is most likely to have made a conscious change to the biblical text on the occasions when he expounds or retells a passage from the Gospel. Deliberate alteration of the biblical text may involve one or more of the following: accommodating the citation to its grammatical context, clarifying the meaning of a verse, widening the scope of a biblical saying, emphasising a particular element of the citation, improving the style or language of the original, and harmonising conflict or contradiction in the biblical account. Nonetheless, many changes of this type are also characteristic of the flattening of citations by memory and of the variation introduced by translators or copyists into the biblical versions, hence the difficulty of isolating features for which Augustine is responsible.<sup>666</sup>

In marking contrasts, Augustine seems to prefer the word *autem* and on some occasions, including his mental text, has the only occurrence of this word (e.g. John 3:33, 4:40, 6:64 and 7:39). He often inserts it at the beginning of citations, such as *nos **autem** ex plenitudine eius accepimus*. Nonetheless, as *autem* is frequently found in Old Latin witnesses,

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<sup>666</sup> Milne 1926:xxvi-xxvii makes five general observations on the characteristics of Augustine's biblical text, some of which are considered below. Nonetheless, none of these is unique to Augustine.

it can never be securely ascribed to Augustine.<sup>667</sup> Although basic changes for clarification, such as the replacement of pronouns by nouns, also commonly occur in biblical manuscripts, more advanced distinctions are sometimes without parallel. For example, in John 2:20, *tu in tribus diebus excitabis illud* appears at AUJo 10.10.3 as *tu dicis "in tribus diebus excitabo illud"*. This might be described as a paraphrase repeating John 2:19, but the recast version eliminates the ambiguity of the original, which could have been read as a profession of faith by the Jews. Similarly, a periphrastic form uniquely found in Augustine may have been introduced to clarify the sense, such as the subtle difference between *non ueniet in iudicium* and *non iudicatur* in John 3:18.<sup>668</sup>

A number of changes may be described as widening the scope of a biblical saying, especially changes in the tense of verbs which make Jesus' words applicable to a later situation. A good example of this is in John 20:29, where Augustine alone has *beati qui non uident et credunt*. On the majority of occasions, however, variation in tense is also found within the Old Latin tradition.<sup>669</sup> The recasting of *potest* and infinitive by a single verb, however, is

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<sup>667</sup> For examples of *autem* apparently inserted by Augustine, see John 1:16 (AUgr 9.21, AUs 67.5.9, AUs 292.8, AUs 308A.2). See also John 1:9 (AUs 229R.1), John 1:17 (AUep 82.18 and AUFau 17.6), John 1:18 (AUep 147.15.37), John 1:27 (AUs 379.7), John 3:33 (AUJo 14.8.7), John 4:40 (AUJo 15.33.4) and so on. Variation concerning this connective is found, for example, at John 5:13, 5:29, 6:6, 6:11, 8:36, 9:41, 18:12, 19:13. See further Fischer 1972:87 on the problems with the rendering of particles in Old Latin manuscripts, and the developments in the later Latin use of *autem* described by Löfstedt 1911:33-34.

<sup>668</sup> See also John 7:45 (*potuistis adprehendere*). The periphrastic *transitum facere* in John 5:24 might have been introduced to temper the metaphor. The addition of *facere quod facis* in John 5:10 may be a gloss: compare the addition of *qui tibi aperuit oculos* in John 9:12.

<sup>669</sup> Compare the following verses in which Augustine's citations have a future tense not found in the Vulgate: John 4:23, 4:25, 5:24, 5:28, 6:37, 10:28, 12:8, 12:25, 12:47, 13:8, 14:17, 14:19, 14:30, 15:15, 15:27, 16:22, 16:32, 16:33. Milne's first characteristic of Augustine's biblical text is the replacement of the present by the future (1926:xxvi). Nonetheless, several of these examples are also found in Tertullian (e.g. John 4:23, 5:24). Similarly, on other occasions, Augustine has a present where the Vulgate has a future, such as John 1:15, 1:27, 6:35, 8:31, 10:5 and 15:2, although he is often inconsistent. See further Coleman, who notes the "tendency in Vulgar Latin to use the present indicative as an exponent of Futurity" among a number of confusions in tense in later Latin (1971:220-222).



unique to Augustine, such as *nemo uenit ad me* rather than *nemo potest uenire ad me* in John 6:44.<sup>670</sup> Replacing the singular by the plural increases the scope of a citation, and there are sometimes even changes in person as well.<sup>671</sup> Conditionals or temporals may be rewritten as relative clauses to enhance their applicability: compare Augustine's generalised form of John 8:44, *qui loquitur mendacium* rather than *cum loquitur mendacium*. On the other hand, many of the variant forms of such clauses are paralleled by Old Latin manuscripts.<sup>672</sup> Means of adding focus or emphasis to a citation, such as the addition of subject pronouns before a verb or variations in word order, are also commonly found in biblical witnesses: many of these differences are due to developments in the Latin language and cannot be attributed to Augustine.<sup>673</sup> Sometimes Augustine seems to display a preference for the

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<sup>670</sup> See also John 3:3, 3:5, 6:66 and 10:29, although we have noted the parallel for John 3:5 in Tertullian. Conversely, only Augustine has *potest uenire* rather than *ueniet* in John 16:7. Note that although Augustine sometimes renders this periphrasis with a future tense (John 3:3, 3:5), he does not do the same for *habere* and infinitive (e.g. John 8:26), despite this being an emergent form of the future tense (see Coleman 1971, Burton 2000:183-184).

<sup>671</sup> For plural forms in Augustine's citations, see *amen dico uobis* in John 3:5, *eos* etc. in John 3:36, *scimus* in John 4:25, *omnia* in John 6:39, *eos* in John 6:40, *eos* in John 12:48 and *quaecumque* in John 14:13. The most noteworthy examples of change in person are *facietis* in John 14:12 (also found in Ambrose, AM118Ps 3.34) and *estis* in John 17:16; *blasphematis* in John 10:36 is also found in Cyprian (Fahey 1971:370).

<sup>672</sup> For example, John 5:43 (where the conditional clause is replaced by a future tense); John 6:46 (*sed qui* instead of *nisi is qui*); John 6:54 (*qui non* for *nisi*); John 6:63 (*cum* for *si ergo*; cf. John 12:32 and 16:7); John 8:24 (*si non* and *nisi*) and John 20:23 (variation between *quorum*, *si cuius* and *si cui*).

<sup>673</sup> See further García de La Fuente 1996:32-34 on "redundant" pronouns, changes in number and alteration of word-order. Citations which feature "additional" pronouns are found at John 1:22, 1:25, 4:14, 4:42, 7:3, 7:36, 8:33, 14:28, 16:3, 16:28, 19:15 and 21:18. Pronouns are also easily omitted, as in Augustine's citations of John 1:27, 5:44, 6:64, 8:31, 8:48, 9:39, 14:14 and 17:19. Variations in word order include the fronting of unstressed pronouns (e.g. *mihi dixit* in John 4:29, *mihi credere* in John 10:37 and *uobis feci* in John 15:15) common in proto-Romance and the positioning of the subject before the verb. Certain adjectives are also brought before their noun despite their position in Greek, e.g. *omne iudicium* in John 5:22, *bona opera* in John 10:32, *magna uoce* in John 11:43, *totus mundus* in John 12:19 and *multae mansiones* in John 14:2, which appears to be an internal Latin change.

pronoun *ipse*, especially when it refers to God, but there is too much inconsistency and overlap with Old Latin manuscripts to make much of this.<sup>674</sup>

Several changes could be described as improvements to the quality of biblical Latin. The clearest example of a change apparently made by Augustine is the introduction of the accusative and infinitive construction in reported speech at John 4:17 and John 19:21.<sup>675</sup> Another stylistic feature typical of his citations is the prevention of asyndeton by inserting *et* between two co-ordinated verbs or clauses.<sup>676</sup> Other patterns of alteration, such as the use of the subjunctive or improving the consistency of tense in biblical narratives, cannot be confidently ascribed to Augustine as they frequently occur in manuscripts.<sup>677</sup> The same is the case with a number of changes which remove anacoluthon: none of these is unique to

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<sup>674</sup> Consider, for example, the use of *ipse* in John 1:33, 1:34, 4:2 and 5:11.

<sup>675</sup> Compare also Augustine's use of reported speech for John 21:5 in AUs 249.1 and AUs 252.1.1; Milne (1926:xxvii) also notes Augustine's preference for the accusative and infinitive, although he only adduces four examples from the entire gospel tradition; on the rarity of the accusative and infinitive in biblical Latin, see Plater and White 1926:121 and Coleman 1971:223, while Burton (2000:189-190) has an interesting summary of its use in the Old Latin translations (including the expression of false belief at John 20:15).

<sup>676</sup> As found in John 1:39, 2:16, 3:29, 4:29, 20:23. Nonetheless, Augustine omits *et* in numerals (John 5:5, some citations of John 2:20)

<sup>677</sup> For the use of the subjunctive, see John 4:1, 8:39, 8:50, 9:18, 9:28, 15:15, 16:18, 20:9, 21:18. *Ut* is sometimes added to clarify the use of the subjunctive: see John 18:28 and 18:39. Differences in narrative tense abound in the Old Latin witnesses, compounded by confusion between present and perfect due to changes in the pronunciation of vowels (see Coleman 1971:220-221). There are plenty of examples of this in the opening verses of John 20. Compare also Augustine's reference to *Afrae aures* at AUdo 4.10.24, the list of sound changes at Fischer 1972:88-89 and the changes of conjugation listed at García de la Fuente 1994:295. Other possible preferences, such as *nescire* for *non scire* (e.g. John 1:26, 3:8, 7:28), the choice of *scire* or *noscere* (e.g. John 1:33, 2:25, 3:2, 3:8, 4:42, 6:6, 6:65, 7:27, 7:28, 8:19, 8:27, 8:55, 9:29, 14:9, 16:30 and 20:9) or the treatment of Hebrew words (for example, the use of prepositions in John 2:12, 3:10, 4:3, 12:1 or the explanatory word in John 4:46) probably derive from the manuscripts.

Augustine.<sup>678</sup> There are, however, variations in the continuous text of certain tractates in AUJo which are more likely to have been made by Augustine: some of these are discussed in Section 5.3.7.

The motivation for linguistic changes may also be related to context: in some sermons, Augustine may have recast the biblical text in a more colourful or colloquial manner resembling the speech of his audience. On several occasions, he alone has the word *ecce* in the narrative, making it more vivid.<sup>679</sup> Variants in direct speech might enhance the characterisation of the speakers, such as the addition of *mulier, da mihi bibere* in John 4:7.<sup>680</sup> Augustine seems to have a particular preference for *iste* as a scornful demonstrative in dialogue. For example, in John 9:16, Augustine has the Pharisees say *non est iste homo a deo* in all five citations outside AUJo 44, although this does not occur in any biblical manuscript. In John 9:29, even the continuous text of AUJo 44.12.4 has *istum autem nescimus unde sit*. Similar phrasing is found in his only citation of John 7:27 when the Jews dismiss Jesus, saying *istum nouimus unde sit*, while in John 4:18 Jesus refers to the current partner of the Samaritan woman by *iste*: because this is dependent on an initial misreading of *nunc* as *hunc*, the further substitution of *iste* may well have been down to Augustine. Of

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<sup>678</sup> For parallels in the Old Latin tradition, see *uidissent turbae* in John 6:24, *animas nostras* in John 10:24, *sorum* in John 11:1, *dicebat* in John 12:29 and *nescio* in John 20:2. Even *eos qui circumstant* in John 11:42, the only example which uniquely features in the Augustinian corpus, is initially found on the lips of Maximinus. On sense agreement in the Latin Bible, see Plater and White 1926:75, and Löfstedt 1911:307-310 on anacoluthon more generally. Augustine does not change *maledicti sunt* in John 7:46.

<sup>679</sup> See John 4:46, 7:25 and 14:30. The second *ecce* in John 1:29 appears in several Old Latin manuscripts.

<sup>680</sup> See also John 1:21 (*non* for *non sum*), John 2:4 in AUrel 16.25, John 4:27 (*quid uel quare*), the sequential variant to John 6:43 at AUJo 26.11.39 (*quid murmuratis in inuicem?* rather than *nolite murmurare ad inuicem*) and John 8:5 (*tu de illa quid censes?*).

the other examples of *iste*, some are paralleled in one or two Old Latin witnesses but most are unique to Augustine.<sup>681</sup>

There are no obvious examples of deliberate harmonisation in Augustine, although there is plenty of conflation in his citations from memory. We have noted above that it is impossible to tell whether he is responsible for ensuring consistency in tense and other such details. In John 18:28, where the narrative sequence presents particular problems, Augustine reads *ad Caiphā* in all citations which suggests that this was the reading of his manuscript. Even so, given that Augustine's exegetical method relied on links between different parts of the Gospel, we may wonder whether he introduced verbal echoes such as *sitio* in John 4:7 (cf. John 19:28) and *inclinato capite* in John 8:6 or 8:8 (cf. John 19:30). Like many of the examples in this section, however, these readings are balanced on a fine line between Augustinian paraphrase and variant forms which he may have encountered in biblical manuscripts.

### 5.3.7 Did Augustine revise the text of John?

At Section 2.3.4, I reviewed the scholarly discussion as to whether Augustine made a systematic revision of the text of Scripture: the spectrum of opinions runs from De Bruyne, who held that Augustine revised almost every book of the Bible, to those who like Bogaert maintain that his ability in Greek was insufficient for such a task. The collection of Augustine's citations of John enables us to consider this question again, although, as we

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<sup>681</sup> *Iste* is unique to Augustine in citations of John 4:18, 7:27, 8:48, 9:16, 9:17, 9:29, 10:21, 11:48, 17:6 and 21:21. It is also found in the Old Latin tradition at John 2:18, 3:9, 7:8, 9:2 and 9:24. Although Plater and White (1926:72) claim that "*iste* has lost all sense of reproach", which is true in the *Itinerarium Egeriae* where it is used instead of *hic* (Löfstedt 1911:123), in most of Augustine's examples a critical tone seems to be present.

have seen in the previous section, it is rare that variants in the biblical text can with confidence be ascribed to Augustine. There are two principal areas in which the hand of a reviser can be seen at work: internal changes to improve the quality of the Latin, and alterations to a translation to bring it into conformity with a Greek text. Both these activities, however, were frequently repeated during the transmission of the Latin Bible, and identifying the person responsible is frequently impossible.

Zarb (1938:313) suggests that Augustine's comment to Jerome on his gospel revision, *paene in omnibus nulla offensio est cum scripturam graecam contulerimus* (AUep 71.4.6), referred to the composition of *De consensu euangelistarum* at around the same time. There is no obvious indication, however, of any revision of the Gospel according to John in this work: as observed earlier, it is closer to the modern editorial text of the Vulgate than the *Tractatus in Iohannem*. This leads to a possible application of De Bruyne's claim that Augustine revised the text of Scripture when composing his commentaries. It should, however, be observed immediately that the number of sequential variants to the commentary text in the tractates demonstrates that Augustine does not conform rigidly to one form of text; furthermore, the ongoing persistence of his "mental text" of the Gospel in later works (not to mention a closer adherence to the Vulgate) contradicts De Bruyne's assertion that, once he had revised a biblical book, Augustine used the same text for the rest of his life.<sup>682</sup>

Nevertheless, as we have already noted in Section 5.3.6, there are examples of variations from the Vulgate in the continuous text of AUJo unique to Augustine which may be described as improvements to the Latin. For example, in AUJo 24, Augustine's form of John

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<sup>682</sup> cf. De Bruyne 1931:523.

6:9-11 has several readings which are not paralleled in any surviving manuscripts, either Vulgate or Old Latin:

Vulgate <6:9> "est puer unus hic qui habet quinque panes hordiacios et duos pisces, sed haec quid sunt inter tantos?" <6:10> dixit ergo lesus "facite homines discumbere." erat autem faenum multum in loco. discubuerunt ergo uiri numero quasi quinque milia. <6:11> accepit ergo panes lesus, et cum gratias egisset distribuit discumbentibus; similiter et ex piscibus quantum uolebant.

AUJo 24 <6:9> "est **hic puer quidam** qui habet quinque panes [] et duos pisces, sed haec quid sunt **ad** tantos?" <6:10> **et ait** lesus "facite homines discumbere." erat autem **ibi** foenum multum **et** discubuerunt **ferme** quinque millia **hominum**. <6:11> accepit **autem dominus** lesus panes, **gratias egit** ... et **de** piscibus quantum **sufficiebat**.

Many of these variants appear to be improvements to the Latin: *quidam* is a more classical idiom, as is *ibi*.<sup>683</sup> Augustine's form of *uiri numero quasi quinque milia* removes the unnatural features such as the emphasis on *uiri*, the redundant *numero* and the possibility of interpreting *quasi* as potential rather than approximate. The substitution of both instances of *ergo* improves the narrative flow and avoids unexpected logical connections: the presence of grass, the seating of the crowd and Jesus' actions are not dependent on each other. The introduction of *dominus* is clearly secondary: that and the perfect tense may be a verbal reminiscence of the Eucharistic Prayer (cf. 1 Corinthians 11:23), although *gratias egit* appears in some Old Latin witnesses at this point. The replacement of *uolebant* by *sufficiebat* may, in part, be theological: it demonstrates that Jesus, rather than the crowd, keeps the initiative throughout. There are no variants in Greek or Latin biblical manuscripts that would explain any of these alternative readings, so it would appear that these changes have been deliberately made to improve the Latin and the logic of the passage. Furthermore, not only are these verses found in AUEv 2.46.95 in strict conformity with the Vulgate (which

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<sup>683</sup> On the development of *loco* to mean *ibi* in later Latin, see Löfstedt 1911:143-145.

indicates that the changes are specific to AUJo), but some of these alterations are paralleled elsewhere in AUJo.<sup>684</sup>

A number of the same types of change are found in John 5:13-16 in AUJo 17:

Vulgate <5:13> is autem qui sanus fuerat effectus nesciebat quis esset. lesus enim declinauit turba constituta in loco <5:14> postea inuenit eum lesus in templo et dixit illi "ecce sanus factus es iam noli peccare ne deterius tibi aliquid contingat" <5:15> abiit ille homo et nuntiauit iudaeis quia lesus esset qui fecit eum sanum <5:16> propterea persequebantur iudaei lesum quia haec faciebat in sabbato.

AUJo 17 <5:13> **sed** qui sanus **erat factus** nesciebat quis esset. lesus **autem** declinauit **ab eo in turba** <5:14> **uidit eum** postea **lesus** in templo ... "ecce **iam** sanus factus es noli peccare ne **quid tibi** deterius contingat" <5:15> abiit [] et nuntiauit iudaeis quia lesus esset qui **eum** sanum **fecerat** <5:16> [] persequebantur iudaei **dominum** lesum quia haec faciebat in sabbato.

There is the improvement of Latin grammar, such as the simplification of the pleonastic *fuerat effectus*, the elegant introduction of the pluperfect *fecerat* in John 5:15, and the removal of the redundant *in loco* and *ille homo* (despite the presence of both nouns in the Greek tradition).<sup>685</sup> These are all unique to Augustine, as is the secondary addition of *dominus* in John 5:16, comparable to John 6:11 above. The alteration to the end of John 5:13 is interesting: *autem* is found in several Latin manuscripts, suggesting uneasiness with the causal connection. The Old Latin witnesses render the Greek genitive absolute ὁχλου ὄντος ἐν τῷ τόπῳ in a number of ways, but Augustine's solution is not found elsewhere: furthermore, although most versions treat *declinauit* as intransitive, Codex Palatinus also adds *ab eo*. Old Latin translators handle καὶ διὰ τοῦτο at the beginning of John 5:16 in a

<sup>684</sup> Compare the addition of *quidam* in John 9:49 in AUJo 44 and 45 (although this appears in the Clementine Vulgate), the removal of redundant Latin words and idiomatic improvement of John 7:46 in AUJo 33.1.11, and the variants in John 5:13-16 in the following paragraph.

<sup>685</sup> On the development of the passive in later Latin (and the justification for *fuerat effectus*), see Burton 2000:178-180. García de la Fuente 1994:195 considers the pleonastic use of *homo* in biblical Latin.

variety of ways, but the Vulgate's omission of *et* and choice of *propterea* is unfortunate, as by stating that the authorities were already searching for him it implies that the man may have maliciously denounced Jesus: perhaps Augustine deliberately removed the word to avoid such a reading. The alteration of *inuenit* to *uidit* in John 5:14 is also unique to Augustine and cannot be derived from the Greek εὕρίσκει. This may be connected with Augustine's recasting of the previous verse: the idea of Jesus seeking out the man on purpose contradicts his deliberate disappearance into the crowd, so Augustine prefers to make the encounter in the temple a matter of chance. Although it is possible that these passages are paraphrases, this is not consistent with Augustine's close attention to the biblical text. A better explanation seems that he has deliberately made some changes to improve the Latin text of the Gospel. These are the two clearest examples, although there are numerous other minor adjustments in AUJo for which he may be responsible.<sup>686</sup> Nonetheless, two points must be emphasised: firstly, these are one-off changes, which do not re-appear in his citations, so it is unwarranted to speak of a thoroughgoing revision of the Gospel. Secondly, most if not all of the changes of this type occur in the continuous text of AUJo 1-54, the commentaries which were preached as sermons and recorded by stenographers: Augustine's alterations to the biblical text should therefore be seen as homiletic variation, albeit deliberate, rather than text-critical emendation. It was rhetorical practice in antiquity to change a text when reading aloud, as Fischer observes:

"Auch der Einfluß gewisser Methoden der antiken Rhetorik und des Schubetriebs kann bei der *lectio* zur *emendatio* geführt haben" (1972:13).<sup>687</sup>

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<sup>686</sup> For example, only Augustine reads *multi Samaritani* rather than *multi Samaritanorum* in John 4:39 in AUJo 15, while a sequential variant to John 7:1 in AUJo 28.2.12 has *nolebat* rather than *non uolebat*. The introduction of *iste* for the purposes of characterisation in John 9 and elsewhere has been discussed in Section 5.3.6, along with alterations to the number of verbs to avoid anacoluthon. Augustine might be responsible for the re-casting of John 15:6 in AUJo 81, where the antecedent of the verbs is sometimes unclear, but there is also considerable variation in the biblical tradition at this point.

<sup>687</sup> See further the discussion of adaptations in Section 1.5.1.



Revision of the Latin text on the basis of Greek manuscripts would be a surer way of demonstrating Augustine's intention to correct the Gospel. His references to Greek readings in John, however, are few. They appear mostly in the second set of tractates (AUJo 55-124), where Augustine comments on the interchangeability of different renderings rather than trying to support a translation for which he is responsible.<sup>688</sup> Furthermore, we can never know for sure the reading of Augustine's Greek text. Nevertheless, there are a few points in AUJo where Augustine has a reading which is not found elsewhere in the Latin tradition but does correspond in form to a surviving Greek manuscript. In John 13:26, both AUJo 61 and AUJo 62 have uncompounded forms of *tingere*, where all Latin witnesses read *intingere*. The majority of Greek manuscripts, however, have βαπτίζειν on both occasions, although ἐμβαπτίζειν is also found. In John 14:24, AUJo 76 alone reads *sermo quem audistis non est meus*: in Latin biblical manuscripts, *sermo* has been attracted into the accusative, but in Greek it remains nominative: ὁ λόγος ὃν ἀκούετε οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμός. There is also one occasion on which a Greek imperfect is translated with inchoative force rather than a Latin imperfect, *coepit rogare* in John 4:47 in AUJo 16, but this could be a paraphrase.<sup>689</sup>

These verses are the only parallels with Greek unique to Augustine's continuous text. Other variants are paralleled in the Vulgate tradition, e.g. the omission of *ipsum* in John 18:2

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<sup>688</sup> There are also some comments in the earlier group of tractates which show that Augustine has occasionally compared the Latin with the Greek (e.g. AUJo 38.11.14, AUJo 41.1.38): see further Section 2.2.2 above and Berrouard 1988:91.

<sup>689</sup> Compare *coepit scribere* at John 8:8 in AUs 13.113, although this may also be a paraphrase. Gribomont (1985:52) observes that the custom of revisers was to reinforce the parallelism of Latin Bibles with Greek, both in structure and vocabulary; compare also Burton's comment that "the Old Latin Gospels are less literal than the Vulgate revision of them" (2000:79).

(where the Greek has been misunderstood by several Latin translators).<sup>690</sup> Correspondence with Greek readings is, in addition, sometimes found outside the continuous text. For example, in John 9:39, the participles in *ut non uidentes uideant et uidentes caeci fiant* at AUJo 33.1.22 correspond directly to the Greek, ἵνα οἱ μὴ βλέποντες βλέπωσιν καὶ οἱ βλέποντες τυφλοὶ γένωνται: all Latin biblical manuscripts have relative clauses.<sup>691</sup> I have already discussed Augustine's parallels with Greek readings at John 8:9 in AUs 16A and AUs 272B. It is very unlikely, however, that these correspondences were introduced by Augustine following a consultation of Greek manuscripts. Furthermore, there are examples, even in AUJo, of internal Latin errors which would have been corrected if compared against a Greek text: the most obvious is *discumbentium* for τῶν μαθητῶν in John 21:12 at AUJo 123.<sup>692</sup> In conclusion, then, the scarcity of alterations to the continuous text which accord with Greek readings and the absence of other corrections suggests that no deliberate revision was undertaken by Augustine against the Greek: the handful of variants above may instead have derived from the codex he was using, in which case they should be classed as evidence for the early form of the Vulgate text, as treated in Section 5.3.2.<sup>693</sup> Although Augustine

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<sup>690</sup> Further examples may include *illud* in John 6:39 and John 19:40, although the strict antecedent in Latin is also neuter, so this may be an internal change.

<sup>691</sup> Similar participles in John 1:12 and 5:44 are found in Old Latin manuscripts.

<sup>692</sup> Compare the plural *quaecumque* in John 14:13 (all Greek witnesses have the singular), *ad Caifan* in John 18:28 (the Greek has ἀπό) and the addition of *rex iudaeorum* at John 19:20.

<sup>693</sup> All except one of the so-called "corrections on the basis of the Greek" made by Augustine to the Vulgate text in AUJo listed at De Bruyne 1931:598-599 are either found in some Vulgate manuscripts (John 1:16, 7:39, 8:31, 13:2, 16:27) or elsewhere in the Old Latin tradition, especially Codex Brixianus (John 1:4, 1:31, 8:24, 14:1, 14:26, 16:20 and 17:26). The one exception, John 7:46, I have already described as a modification to improve the Latin and the Greek tradition is, anyhow, very diverse in this verse: for parallels which disprove some of De Bruyne's examples in other biblical books, see Gribomont 1985:57.

occasionally modified the words of the Gospel, his citations of John do not permit him to be described as a reviser of the biblical text.<sup>694</sup>

## 5.4 Conclusion

The textual commentary and subsequent sections in this Chapter have shown that Augustine's scriptural citations cannot always be taken at face value, nor is frequency of citation a reliable guide to the text known to Augustine from biblical manuscripts in circulation. Despite his gradual alignment with an early form of the revision now known as the Vulgate, no single form of text can categorically be described as "Augustine's version of the Gospel according to John". Within his citations are many different types of variant. Some correspond to surviving Old Latin manuscripts, although this is not in itself an indication that these text-types were known to Augustine: the agreement must be sufficiently sustained to count as more than coincidence. Furthermore, citations from memory are likely to have been subject to a number of different influences, such as variation in Old Latin traditions, the liturgical use of Scriptural material, parallel passages in other texts and the form of citations in other authors, in addition to alterations such as abbreviation or "flattening". Although "primary citations" found in commentaries or lectionary sermons are more likely to reproduce

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<sup>694</sup> Loewe notes that "De Bruyne overestimated Augustine's textual activity", but he still claims that "Augustine ... may have revised at least parts of both Testaments in order to improve the fidelity of the Latin to the Greek, its clarity, and its latinity (in that order of priority)" (1969:107-108). Pontet makes a similar statement that "Augustin a lentement révisé sa Bible, laissant une leçon qui devient alors en quelque sorte paléontologique pour une leçon plus fidèle au grec, ou plus lumineuse en Latin" (1946:18-19), which he exemplifies by *palmites* and *sarmenta* in John 15:2, a poor choice which ignores the difference between existing Old Latin manuscripts and the Vulgate. Bogaert's conclusion is worth citing again: "Augustin n'a vraisemblablement hésité à retoucher le latin des ses livres bibliques les plus chers, mais tous les travaux actuels montrent que le nom de «réviseur de la Bible» ne lui convient pas" (1998:42). To this, we may add Berrouard's observation on the text of John 13:10 in AUJo; "il ne peut pas ne pas remarquer les divergences des traductions dont il dispose, mais il n'essaie jamais de les confronter entre elles ou avec un texte grec pour arriver à établir une traduction meilleure" (1993:404).

the text of a manuscript, even these must be treated with caution and compared with the other evidence for the verse in case they have undergone deliberate modification or subconscious alteration.

That said, the full collection of Augustine's citations of John provides an important body of data for the history of the Latin Bible. In addition to his correspondences with Old Latin witnesses, which are often significant when, by the vagaries of transmission, a reading has been preserved in only one source, there are several occasions when Augustine's text provides additional Old Latin readings not found in surviving biblical manuscripts. Many of these are renderings which are paralleled elsewhere in Latin versions of the Gospel, while some occur in other Church Fathers and others still are possible renderings of the Greek tradition not found elsewhere. Separating these from paraphrases or possible inaccuracies in the processes of citation and transmission is a difficult task which can rarely be achieved with complete confidence, but the collection and comparison of all Augustine's citations of John means that a plausible explanation can usually be offered for variant forms of text.

The exact division of variant readings into Old Latin or early Vulgate is also problematic, given the continuity of the Latin biblical tradition and the potential for contamination in both directions. As Augustine does not seem to have used Jerome's text of John before the fifth century, variants which appear at least once in earlier works can be described as Old Latin. The two principal works in which Augustine extensively cites a Vulgate text-type, *De consensu euangelistarum* and the *Tractatus in Iohannis euangelium*, are the main sources in which early readings from Jerome's revised version may be found. On the other hand, the disparity between the scriptural text of these works is an obstacle to this. Indeed, it seems that in his sermons delivered to a congregation, Augustine not only frequently reverted to

older forms of the biblical text after the initial citation in his commentary, but sometimes even recast a passage on its first appearance. The alterations made in this way appear solely to be internal changes to the Latin, either to improve the style or sense of a given passage or to enhance the characterisation of biblical figures by adapting direct speech.

There is no evidence that Augustine ever revised a Latin version of the Gospel according to John on the basis of a Greek manuscript. There is also little support in these citations for the hypothesis that Augustine's biblical text includes Diatessaronic readings originating from his time as a Manichaean *auditor*. However, there are a handful of verses in which one or more of Augustine's citations appears to derive from a Greek text which is not paralleled elsewhere in the Latin tradition, and a couple when his evidence may be used with that of other Latin witnesses to suggest a reading which has not been preserved in the surviving Greek Gospel tradition. In sum, despite all the problems associated with the use of patristic evidence in biblical research, Augustine's scriptural citations will continue to provide important material and significant correspondences to be cited and used by textual critics as well as church historians and theologians.

# Conclusion

## Summary

The principal results of this study may be seen in the conclusions to each Chapter, culminating in the textual commentary and syntheses of Chapter Five. After establishing criteria for describing each citation based on its text and context (Chapter One), and examining Augustine's use of codices and citing habits (Chapter Two), the survey in Chapter Three studied the citations in each work to outline the chronological development of Augustine's text of John. Once the anomalies in the polemical works had been investigated (Chapter Four), it was finally possible to consider all the citations for each verse with appropriate weighting and assess Augustine's textual evidence for the Gospel.

The fact that Augustine's biblical citations do not contribute a wealth of new readings to the Old Latin tradition or show an exclusive alignment with any group of Old Latin or Vulgate manuscripts is indicative of the state of the Latin Bible at this time. There was no sharp disjuncture between different versions: Jerome's revision of the Gospels was one stage in an ongoing process of comparing the Latin text with Greek witnesses. Furthermore, his explicit intent was to leave as much of the current tradition intact as possible.<sup>695</sup> Augustine's subsequent admixture of Old Latin renderings within a broadly Vulgate text form was one

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<sup>695</sup> As we have already observed, he states in the *Epistula ad Damasum*: "*quae ne multum a lectionis latinae consuetudine discreparent, ita calamo imperauimus ut, his tantum quae sensum uidebantur mutare correctis, reliqua manere pateremur ut fuerant.*" (Weber-Gryson 1515-1516).

which would typify the Vulgate tradition for at least the next four centuries. Nonetheless, the range and type of these Old Latin elements along with his consistency between works confirm the distinctiveness of Augustine's biblical text when compared with later Vulgate manuscripts.

In addition to specific observations concerning Augustine, some of the conclusions of this study may be more general in application. In the field of the Old Latin Bible, the fact that most of Augustine's non-Vulgate readings are paralleled in surviving Old Latin witnesses inspires a degree of confidence in the representative nature of the group of manuscripts which have been preserved. The breadth of Augustine's agreements also suggests that these text-types were widely diffused by this time. Away from the mainstream, however, the biblical texts of Augustine's opponents, reported in his polemical works, offer indications of less well-attested versions which, in addition to their cultural importance, may be significant for the earlier history of the text.

In the field of patristic citations, it is noteworthy that Augustine's citations appear to have been transmitted with the same degree of accuracy as the rest of his text. Not only is this shown by the general chronological pattern of his biblical affiliation, but it is demonstrated in a microcosm by citations embedded into his argument, discussed in minute detail or mirrored by their context. Despite the potential for alterations to the scriptural citations, later copyists seem to have worked as mechanically as the stenographers who initially recorded Augustine's words. It has also become clear that determining the author's own accuracy is an integral part of the study of citations. The distinction between primary and secondary citations and the identification of alterations characteristic of memory, such as "flattening" and "conflation", assist in assessing the text-critical importance of patristic evidence.

Although certain elements may be generalised, a separate evaluation must be made of each Church Father's citing habits and reliability on a broader level before individual citations can be used in support of a particular text.

The presentation of all the available material, with minimal editorial intervention, is central to the study and wider use of a Father's biblical citations. Recording the text of adaptations, allusions and reminiscences where possible may contribute significant textual evidence, such as an example of a particular rendering, but it will also increase the value of the collection for patristic scholars. The reconstruction of an underlying text can only be undertaken after the original words are presented in context, and in many cases textual variation means that reconstructions can be misleading. This is clearly shown in the case of Augustine, whose reliance on memory means that his most consistent citations were probably never found in any codex, while the variety of Old Latin and Vulgate readings elsewhere indicates different exemplars used at varying times and places. The inclusion of prefatory material not only assists in the evaluation of each citation and contributes to the overall picture of a Father's treatment of biblical material, but can sometimes relate to other parts of the tradition: this is most obviously the case in *Sermo 272B*, where what appears to be Augustine's introduction to John 8:9 provides the only Latin evidence for a phrase found in a number of Greek manuscripts.

This study has also highlighted the inadequacy of a number of assumptions which are still repeated in more general works. Augustine should not be described as a witness either just for the Old Latin versions or for the Vulgate tradition alone, as in the Gospels he spans both. Although his memory was remarkable, there are plenty of examples of his referring to a biblical codex and several occasions on which he regrets his lack of biblical knowledge. If he



did not have a Bible to hand when composing a work, however, there is no evidence that he later checked the form of text in his citations.<sup>696</sup> Augustine may have encountered certain passages of Scripture while he was a Manichee, but he did not begin to study the Bible thoroughly until his conversion to Catholic Christianity, where it is clear that he read several biblical books for the first time. There is nothing to support the assertions that he possessed Manichaean copies of Scripture or that he ever used a Diatessaron. Questions about Augustine's ability in Greek, or his revision of the biblical text require more nuanced treatment, to which the evidence considered in this study may contribute.

## Avenues for further research

The interest and current activity surrounding the use of patristic evidence for biblical textual criticism show no sign of abating, and I hope this study will contribute to the theory and method of this burgeoning subject. Despite the recent proliferation of studies in the biblical text of Greek Church Fathers, Latin authors have been neglected. For textual purposes, the need for separate collections of Latin citations has largely been removed by the Vetus Latina Database. Even so, the potential of this resource cannot be fully harnessed without more detailed appreciation of the citing habits of the Fathers included within, in the manner of this study. Furthermore, the current format of the collection is unwieldy and comparison would be greatly facilitated by the construction of a database of text rather than images.

The value of Fischer's pioneering computer collations of test passages in over four hundred Latin Gospel manuscripts has also been demonstrated in finding parallels for readings in Augustine not preserved in the Old Latin tradition or major Vulgate witnesses. Although it is

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<sup>696</sup> The *Retractationes* are a special case, in which he only corrects glaring errors in his biblical citations, drawing on his later, more advanced, scriptural knowledge.

possible that later manuscripts were influenced by the form of text used by patristic authors, some of these similarities may well be worth exploring, such as those found in Würzburg University 67. Despite the scale of the task, further collations, including other books of the Bible, could bring interesting evidence to light which is at present absent from the Vulgate critical apparatus based on a couple of dozen witnesses.

For the *Vetus Latina* edition of the Gospel according to John, the retrieval of the African tradition is a key element. In the absence of Codex Bobiensis, the only manuscript witness is Codex Palatinus, which has already undergone assimilation to European texts. The citations of Cyprian will certainly play a vital role, but it is possible that these could be supplemented by other sources, especially the Donatist texts which have been identified in this study. Indeed, the conclusions of Chapter Four suggest that translations of Scripture preserved in sectarian writings could be a valuable area of further study.

Critical editions of patristic texts are indispensable for biblical studies, and this study has shown that Augustine's sermons and debates are of considerable importance as sources of primary citations. The current project to produce a new edition of the *Tractatus in Iohannis euangelium* is a welcome development. The majority of Augustine's *Sermones ad populum*, however, are accessible only in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*. Modern editions of these are highly desirable, and the research involved might even lead to further discoveries to rival the *Sermones Dolbeau*.

Further studies of Augustine's biblical text would be of particular interest in the Old Testament, in order to determine the exact extent of his adoption of Jerome's Hebrew version from a text-critical point of view by supplementing the evidence of the *Biblia*

*Augustiniana*. This may also clarify the situation in *De doctrina christiana*, which appears to have the earliest Vulgate citations of Isaiah. Given the continued debate about the identity of the reviser of the Vulgate New Testament outside the Gospels, patristic citations of Acts, the Pauline and Catholic Epistles and Revelation from around the time of Jerome and Augustine could assist in locating the earliest examples of this version and tracing its diffusion. On the other hand, if these books were only lightly revised for the Vulgate, there may be few distinctive readings.

Finally, Augustine's references to *capitula* and even, in the *Speculum*, to *uersus*, could be followed up by an investigation of the types of division in Old Latin biblical manuscripts. As the modern system of chapters was only introduced in the Vulgate from the twelfth century, it would be interesting to see if there were any consistency in earlier witnesses. This might, in turn, provide further indications of the relationship and use of these important early documents.

# Appendix

## *Complete listing of all citations of John in the works of Augustine*

For an account of the compilation of this list, see Sections 1.3 and 1.4. Citations have been transcribed along with variations listed in the critical apparatus: at times, these include readings found in earlier editions as well as manuscripts.

The editions of Augustine's works used are listed in the following table, together with the abbreviations used by the Vetus Latina Institut and the date assigned to each work (as found in Frede 1995 and updated in Gryson 1999a and Gryson 2004). The numeration used for each edition is also described.

Siglum	Title	Date	Edition and date	Numeration used
1 Jo	In epistolam Iohannis ad Parthos tractatus 10	407	Migne PL 35, 1977-2062 (1861)	sermon.para/column
2an	De duabus animabus	391/2	Zycha CSEL25,1 (1891)	para/page.line
Ac	Contra academicos libri 3	386	Green CC29 (1970)	chapter.line
Ad	Contra Adimantum	394	Zycha CSEL25,1 (1891)	para/page.line
adu	Ad Pollentium de adulterinis coniugiis libri 2	420	Zycha CSEL41 (1900)	book.para.section/page.line
ag	De agone christiano	396/7	Zycha CSEL41 (1900)	para.section/page.line
an	De natura et origine animae libri 4	419/420	Urba, Zycha CSEL60 (1913)	book.para.section/page.line

<b>Ar</b>	Contra sermonem Arrianorum liber 1	419	Suda CSEL92 (2000)	chap.line
<b>ba</b>	De baptismo libri 7	404	Petschenig CSEL51 (1908)	book.para.section /page.line
<b>bo</b>	De natura boni liber		Zycha CSEL25,2 (1892)	para/page.line
<b>bre</b>	Breviculus collationis cum Donatistis	411	Lancel CC 149a (1974)	para.section.line
<b>c men</b>	Ad Consentium contra mendacium	420	Zycha CSEL41 (1900)	para.section/ page.line
<b>Cae</b>	Sermo ad Caesariensis ecclesiae plebem	418	Petschenig CSEL53 (1910)	para.section/ page.line
<b>cat</b>	De catechizandis rudibus	403	Bauer CC46 (1969)	chap.line <i>not paragraph</i>
<b>cf</b>	Confessionum libri 13 1-9; 397-400; 10-13 403	397-403	Verheijen CC27 (1981)	book.chap.line
<b>Chr</b>	De gratia Christi et de peccato originali libri 2	418	Urba, Zycha CSEL42 (1902)	para/page.line
<b>ci</b>	De civitate Dei libri 22	412-426/7	Dombart, Kalbe CC 47-48 (1955)	book.chap.line
<b>ci brev</b>	Breviculus ad AU ci (prob EUGI)		Dombart, Kalbe CC47 (1955)	book.chap.line
<b>ci ep</b>	Epistula ad Firmum = ep Div 1A	426/7	Divjak CSEL88 (1981)	chap.para
<b>conj</b>	De bono conjugali	403/4	Zycha CSEL41 (1900)	para.section/ page.line
<b>cont</b>	De continentia	408/412	Zycha CSEL41 (1900)	para.section/ page.line
<b>corr</b>	De correptione et gratia	426/7	Folliet CSEL92 (2000)	chap.line
<b>Cre</b>	Contra Cresconium grammaticum et Donatistam libri 4	406/7	Petschenig CSEL52 (1909)	book.para.section /page.line
<b>cred</b>	De utilitate credendi liber	391/2	Zycha CSEL25,1 (1891)	para/page.line
<b>cur</b>	De cura pro mortuis gerenda ad Paulinum episcopum	422?	Zycha CSEL41 (1900)	para.section/ page.line
<b>dia</b>	De dialecta	387	Marchand (1994) <sup>1</sup>	chap.para
<b>disc</b>	Sermo de disciplina christiana	397/8	Vander Plaetse CC46 (1962)	chap.line <i>not paragraph</i>
<b>div</b>	De divinatione daemonum	c.407	Zycha CSEL41 (1900)	para.section/ page.line

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<sup>1</sup> Based on Crecelius 1857, hosted on the website of James O'Donnell at: <http://www.georgetown.edu/faculty/jod/augustine/>

<b>Do</b>	Epistula ad catholicos de secta Donatistarum (=de unitate ecclesiae liber)	404	Petschenig CSEL52 (1909)	para.section/ page.line
<b>do</b>	De doctrina christiana libri 4	397, 426-7	Martin CC32 (1969)	book.chap.line
<b>Don</b>	Contra partem Donati post gesta	411	Petschenig CSEL53 (1910)	para.section/ page.line
<b>Dt</b>	Quaestiones de Deuteronomio (Quaestiones in Heptateuchum liber 5)	419	Fraipont CC33 (1958)	chap.line
<b>Em</b>	Gesta cum Emerito Donatistarum episcopo	418	Petschenig CSEL53 (1910)	para.section/ page.line
<b>ench</b>	Enchiridion ad Laurentium de fide et spe et caritate	422?	Evans CC46 (1969)	chap.line <i>not paragraph</i>
<b>ep</b>	Epistulae 1-30		Goldbacher CSEL34,1 (1895)	epist.para.section /page.line
<b>ep</b>	Epistulae 31-123		Goldbacher CSEL34,2 (1898)	epist.para.section /page.line
<b>ep</b>	Epistulae 124-184A		Goldbacher CSEL44 (1904)	epist.para.section /page.line
<b>ep</b>	Epistulae 185-270		Goldbacher CSEL57 (1911)	epist.para.section /page.line
<b>ep Div</b>	Epistulae Divjak 1-29	416-430	Divjak CSEL88 (1981)	epist.chap.para
<b>Ev</b>	De consensu evangelistarum libri 4	403/4	Wehrich CSEL43 (1904)	book.para.section /page.line
<b>Ev q</b>	De consensu evangelistarum quaestiones sive capitula librorum 2-4 (by EUGI)	saec.5	Wehrich CSEL43 (1904)	book.para.section /page.line
<b>Ex</b>	Quaestiones de Exodo (Quaestiones in Heptateuchum liber 2)	419	Fraipont CC33 (1958)	chap.line
<b>Fau</b>	Contra Faustum Manichaeum libri 33	400/2	Zycha CSEL25,1 (1891)	book.para/ page.line
<b>Fel</b>	Contra Felicem Manichaeum libri 2	404	Zycha CSEL25,2 (1892)	book.para/ page.line
<b>fi</b>	Liber de fide rerum invisibilium	post 399	van den Hout CC46 (1969)	chap.line <i>not paragraph</i>
<b>Fo</b>	Contra Fortunatum Manichaeum disputatio	392	Zycha CSEL25,1 (1891)	para/page.line
<b>fu</b>	Contra epistulam Manichaei, quam vocant fundamenti	396	Zycha CSEL25,1 (1891)	para/page.line
<b>Gal</b>	Epistolae ad Galatas expositionis liber	394/5	Divjak CSEL84 (1971)	section.para

<b>Gau</b>	Contra Gaudentium Donatistarum episcopum libri 2	418, 419	Petschenig CSEL53 (1910)	book.para.section /page.line
<b>gest</b>	De gestis Pelagii	417	Urba, Zycha CSEL42 (1902)	para/page.line
<b>Gn im</b>	De Genesi ad litteram imperfectus liber	393/4	Zycha CSEL28,1 (1894)	book.para/page.line
<b>Gn li</b>	De Genesi ad litteram libri 12 1.1-3.15; 404/5, 3.16-end; 412/4	404/414	Zycha CSEL28,1 (1894)	book.para/page.line
<b>Gn Ma</b>	De Genesi contra Manichaeos libri 2	388-390	Weber CSEL91 (1998)	book.para.line
<b>Gn q</b>	Quaestiones de Genesi (Quaestiones in Heptateuchum liber 1)	419	Fraipont CC33 (1958)	chap.line
<b>gr</b>	De gratia et libero arbitrio	426	Migne PL44, 881-912 (1861)	para.chap
<b>hae</b>	De haeresibus ad Quodvultdeum liber	428/9	Vander Plaetse, Beukers CC46 (1969)	chap.line <i>not paragraph</i>
<b>im</b>	De immortalitate animae	387	Hörmann CSEL89 (1986)	para/page.line
<b>Jb</b>	Adnotationum in Iob liber	400/5?	Zycha CSEL 28,2 (1895)	chap/page.line
<b>Jdc</b>	Quaestiones de Iudicibus (Quaestiones in Heptateuchum liber 7)	419	Fraipont CC33 (1958)	chap.line
<b>je</b>	De utilitate ieiunii	404/410	Ruegg CC46 (1969)	chap.line <i>not paragraph</i>
<b>Jo</b>	In Iohannis Evangelium tractatus 124	406-7, 418-422	Willems CC36 (1954)	tractate.para.line
<b>Jos</b>	Quaestiones de Iesu Nave (Quaestiones in Heptateuchum liber 6)	419	Fraipont CC33 (1958)	chap.line
<b>Jud</b>	Adversus Iudaeos	post 420?	Migne PL42, 51-64 (1861)	chap.para/col
<b>Jul</b>	Contra Iulianum libri 6	421/2	Migne PL44, 641-874 (1861)	book.chap.para
<b>Jul im</b>	Contra secundum Iuliani responsionem imperfectum opus 6 libros complectens	428-9	<i>Books 1-3:</i> Zelzer CSEL85 (1974) <i>Books 4-6:</i> Migne PL45, 1049-1608 (1861)	<i>Books 1-3:</i> book.para.line  <i>Books 4-6:</i> book.para/page.line

<b>leg</b>	Contra adversarium legis et prophetarum libri 2	420	Daur CC49 (1985)	book.chap.line
<b>lib</b>	De libero arbitrio libri 3	387/8, 391	Green CC29 (1970)	book.chap.line
<b>loc</b>	Locutionum in Heptateuchum libri 7	419	Fraipont CC33 (1958)	book.line
<b>Lv</b>	Quaestiones de Levitico (Quaestiones in Heptateuchum liber 3)	419	Fraipont CC33 (1958)	chap.line
<b>mag</b>	De magistro	388/390	Daur CC29 (1970)	book.chap.line
<b>Max</b>	Contra Maximum haereticum Arrianorum episcopum libri 2	428/9	Migne PL42, 743-814 (1861)	book.chap.para/col
<b>Max co</b>	Collatio cum Maximino	428/9	Migne PL42, 709-742 (1861)	chap/col
<b>men</b>	De mendacio	395	Zycha CSEL41 (1900)	para.section/page.line
<b>mon</b>	De opere monachorum	405/6	Zycha CSEL41 (1900)	para.section/page.line
<b>mor</b>	De moribus ecclesiae catholicae et de moribus Manichaeorum libri 2	387-8	Bauer CSEL90 (1992)	book.para.line <i>not page line</i>
<b>mus</b>	De musica libri 6	388-390	Migne PL32, 1081-1194 (1861)	book.chap
<b>na</b>	De natura et gratia liber	413/415-416	Urba, Zycha CSEL60 (1913)	para.section/page.line
<b>Nm</b>	Quaestiones de Numeris (Quaestiones in Heptateuchum liber 4)	419	Fraipont CC33 (1958)	chap.line
<b>nu</b>	De nuptiis et concupiscentia ad Valerium comitem libri 2	418/9, 420/1	Urba, Zycha CSEL42 (1902)	para/page.line
<b>op</b>	De fide et operibus	413	Zycha CSEL41 (1900)	para.section/page.line
<b>ord</b>	De ordine libri 2	386	Green CC29 (1970)	book.chap.line
<b>Par</b>	Contra epistulam Parmeniani libri 3	403/4	Petschenig CSEL51 (1908)	book.para.section/page.line
<b>pat</b>	De patientia	418	Zycha CSEL41 (1900)	para.section/page.line
<b>pec</b>	De peccatorum meritis et remissione et de baptismo parvulorum ad Marcellinum libri 3	411/2	Urba, Zycha CSEL60 (1913)	book.para.section/page.line
<b>Pel</b>	Contra duae epistulas Pelagianorum libri 4	420/1	Urba, Zycha CSEL60 (1913)	book.para.section/page.line



<b>perf</b>	De perfectione iustitiae hominis	c. 415	Urba, Zycha CSEL42 (1902)	para/page.line
<b>pers</b>	De dono perseverantiae	post 429	Migne PL45, 993-1034 (1861)	chap.para/col
<b>Pet</b>	Contra litteras Petiliani libri 3 (libri 1-2; 400/1, liber 3; 403/5)	400/1 403/5	Petschenig CSEL52 (1909)	book.para.section /page.line
<b>prae</b>	De praedestinatione sanctorum ad Prosperum et Hilarium	post 429	Migne PL44, 959-992 (1861)	chap.para/col
<b>Pri</b>	Ad Orosium contra Priscillianistas et Origenistas	415	Daur CC49 (1985)	chap.line
<b>Ps</b>	Enarrationes in Psalmos	394-422	Dekkers, Fraipont CC38-40 (1956)	enarratio.para.line
<b>ps Do</b>	Psalmus contra partem Donati	393/4	Petschenig CSEL51 (1908)	para.section/ page.line
<b>q</b>	De diversis quaestionibus LXXXIII liber	388/397	Mutzenbecher CC44A (1975)	quaestio.line
<b>q Du</b>	De VIII Dulcitii quaestionibus liber	424	Mutzenbecher CC44A (1975)	quaestio.line
<b>q Ev</b>	Quaestionum evangeliorum libri 2	403/4	Mutzenbecher CC44B (1980)	quaestio.line
<b>q Ev app</b>	Quaestionum evangeliorum appendix	400-411	Mutzenbecher CC44B (1980)	quaestio.line
<b>q Si</b>	Ad Simplicianum de diversis quaestionibus libri 2	396/8	Mutzenbecher CC44 (1970)	book.quaestio.line
<b>q VT</b>	De VIII quaestionibus ex Veteri Testamento	ante 419	De Bruyne CC33 (1958)	quaestio.line
<b>qua</b>	De quantitate animae	387/8	Hörmann CSEL89 (1986)	para/page.line
<b>re</b>	Retractationum libri 2	427	Mutzenbecher CC57 (1984)	book.chap.line
<b>rel</b>	De vera religione liber	390	Daur CC32 (1962)	chap.line
<b>Rm</b>	Expositio quarundam propositionum ex epistola ad Romanos	394	Divjak CSEL84 (1971)	section.para
<b>Rm in</b>	Epistolae ad Romanos inchoata expositio	394/5	Divjak CSEL84 (1971)	section.para
<b>s</b>	Sermones 1-50	391-430	Lambot CC41 (1961)	sermo.line

<b>s</b>	Sermones 51-340	391-430	Migne PL38, 332-1484 (1861) <sup>2</sup>	sermo.chap.para/col
<b>s</b>	Sermones 341-396	391-430	Migne PL39, 1493-1718 (1861)	sermo.chap.para/col
<b>s</b>	Sermones litteris indicati (e.g. Sermones Mai, Lambot, Guelferbytanus)	391-430	www.sant-agostino.it	sermo.para
<b>s</b>	Sermones Dolbeau <sup>3</sup> 1-27		Dolbeau (1996)	sermo.line/page.line
<b>s dni</b>	De sermone Domini in monte libri 2	392/7	Mutzenbecher CC35 (1967)	book.chap.para.line
<b>s sy</b>	Sermo de symbolo ad catechumenos	post 418	Vander Plaetse CC46 (1969)	chap.line <i>not paragraph</i>
<b>Se</b>	Contra Secundinum Manichaeum	403/5 ?	Zycha CSEL25,2 (1892)	para/page.line
<b>sol</b>	Soliloquiorum libri 2	386-7	Hörmann CSEL89 (1986)	book.para/page.line
<b>sp</b>	De spiritu et littera liber	412	Urba, Zycha CSEL60 (1913)	para.section/page.line
<b>spe</b>	Liber qui appellatur Speculum	427/8	Weihrich CSEL12 (1887)	para.section/page.line
<b>sy</b>	De fide et symbolo	393	Zycha CSEL41 (1900)	para.section/page.line
<b>tri</b>	De trinitate libri 15 liber 1; 400/3, libri 2-15; 411/422	400/3 411/422	Mountain, Glorie CC50-50a (1968)	book.chap.line
<b>tri brev</b>	Breviculus ad tri		Mountain, Glorie CC50 (1968)	book.chap.line
<b>un</b>	De unico baptismo contra Petilianum	410/11	Petschenig CSEL53 (1910)	book.para.section/page.line
<b>urb</b>	De excidio urbis Romae sermo	410	O'Reilly CC46 (1969)	chap.line <i>not paragraph</i>
<b>vg</b>	De sancta virginitate 1-37; 404, 38-end; 412	404, 412	Zycha CSEL41 (1900)	para.section/page.line
<b>vid</b>	De bono viduitatis	c.414	Zycha CSEL41 (1900)	para.section/page.line
<b>vit</b>	De beata vita liber	386	Green CC29 (1970)	chap.line

<sup>2</sup> Certain sermons have been edited by Poque in *Sources chrétiennes* 116. Variants in the critical apparatus of this edition have been included in the table below. Furthermore, the www.augustinus.it webtext occasionally has additional readings not found in Migne.

<sup>3</sup> The *Sermones Dolbeau* have been assigned an alphanumeric number along with earlier named sermons, although the traditional indication has been kept in brackets. For the conversion table, see the next page.

## Conversion table for the *Sermones Dolbeau*

Although François Dolbeau initially numbered the sermons he discovered in the Mainz lectionary as 1-27, in his 1996 reprint of the collected sermons he preferred to number them according to their sequence in the lectionary.

Since then, however, these sermons have been integrated into the complete sequence of Augustine's sermons by the use of a letter in addition to the number (as with the *Sermones Lambot*, the *Sermones Mai* etc.). This is used in the listing below.

AU s Dol number	Mainz number	Sequence number
AUs Dol 1	-	AUs 214A
AUs Dol 2	M5	AUs 359B
AUs Dol 3	M7	AUs 293A aug.
AUs Dol 4	M9	AUs 299A aug.
AUs Dol 5	M12	AUs 114B
AUs Dol 6	M13	AUs 23B
AUs Dol 7	M15	AUs 142 aug.
AUs Dol 8	M21	AUs 29B
AUs Dol 9	M24	AUs 28A
AUs Dol 10	M27	AUs 162C
AUs Dol 11	M40	AUs 90A
AUs Dol 12	M41	AUs 354A
AUs Dol 13	M42	AUs 159A
AUs Dol 14	M44	AUs 352A
AUs Dol 15	M45	AUs 283 aug.
AUs Dol 16	M46-7	AUs 72 aug.
AUs Dol 17	M48	AUs 110A
AUs Dol 18	M50	AUs 306E
AUs Dol 19	M51	AUs 130A
AUs Dol 20	M52	AUs 14A
AUs Dol 21	M54	AUs 159B
AUs Dol 22	M55	AUs 341 aug.
AUs Dol 23	M59	AUs 374 aug.
AUs Dol 24	M60	AUs 360A
AUs Dol 25	M61	AUs 360B
AUs Dol 26	M62	AUs 198 aug.
AUs Dol 27	M63	AUs 360C
AUs Dol 28	-	AUs 20B
AUs Dol 29	-	- <sup>4</sup>
AUs Dol 30	-	AUs 348A aug.
AUs Dol 31	-	AUs 272B aug.

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<sup>4</sup> This sermon is treated separately by the Nuova Biblioteca Agostiniana as *Discorso sulla provvidenza di Dio*.

**<1:1> in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum**

*euangelio suo ubi modo audistis* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum AU1Jo 1.1/1978

*[Jn 13:25] ille qui bibendo de pectore domini diuinitatem ructauit* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum AU1Jo 1.8/1983

*perueniat ad manducandum cibum quod est* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AU1Jo 3.1/1998

*et quid est hoc?* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum. *et quid est hoc?* [Phil 2:6] AU1Jo 4.5/2008

*nonne de illo scriptum est* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum? AU1Jo 6.13/2028

*[Ps 44:3] quia* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AU1Jo 9.9/2051

*Allusion: quid sit dei uirtus et sapientia et in principio uerbum per quod facta sunt omnia* AUag 17.19/120.13  
*non enim aliter intellegendum est* in principio erat uerbum AUAr 1.22

*sic scriptum est* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUbo 24/866.15

*et ibi legi non quidem his uerbis sed hoc idem omnino multis et multiplicibus suaderi rationibus quod* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUcf 7.9.8

*Allusion: uerbum tuum apud te deum tecumque unum deum* AUcf 8.1.40

*Allusion: in quantum autem uerbum non medius quia aequalis deo et deus apud deum et simul unus deus* AUcf 10.43.11

*Allusion: ad intellegendum uerbum deum apud te deum* AUcf 11.7.1

*piscatorem suo spiritu docuit sapere ac dicere* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUci 10.29.2

*illa haeretica distinctio* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat *ut alius sit sensus* uerbum [Jn 1:2] *non uult deum uerbum confiteri* AUdo 3.2.15 (mss D1 K1 G1 V v Kn deus erat **uerbum**) (CSELms mss K S M deus erat **uerbum**)

*ut dicamus et deus erat uerbum deinde subiungamus* [Jn 1:2] AUdo 3.2.19 (ms D1 om.**et**)

*deus quia dei uerbum deus enim erat uerbum homo autem quia in unitatem personae accessit uerbo anima rationalis et caro* AUench 10.50

*nam* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum *et* [Jn 1:3] AUep 137.4.14/116.4 (ms W\* omnium per ipsa)

*nunc adtende euangelium* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUep 140.3.6/159.4

*Reminiscence: per deum tantum modo christum id est per uerbum quod erat* in principio AUep 157.3.14/461.15

*et ideo non sicut in principio fecit deus caelum et terram ita in principio fecit uerbum sed* in principio erat uerbum AUep 170.4/625.10

*in quibus sicut apparet dominus christus siue secundum diuinitatem aequalem patri quae* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum *siue secundum susceptae carnis humilitatem quia* [1:14] AUep 185.1.3/3.16

*si hodie per gentes populosque praedicatur quod erat* in principio **uerbum** et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum [Gal 4:4 cum autem uenit plenitudo temporis] [Jn 1:14] AUep 219.1/428.17

*uidit deum hominem factum quia uerbum caro factum est* et deus erat uerbum AUep 219.3/430.13

*Reminiscence: deus autem pater et filius eius uerbum eius deus apud deum* AUep 238.2.14/543.3

*Allusion: in principio uerbum deum apud deum* (mss p g uerbum domini) AUEv 1.4.7/7.1

*Allusion: secundum quod uerbum est et deus apud deum et uerbum caro factus est ut habitaret in nobis secundum quod ipse et pater unum sunt a iohanne maxime commendanda suscepta est* (ms B **factus**, alii et edd. **factum**, mss R D C P M Q m factum ut, mss C P V g **hoc** secundum) AUEv 4.10.11/407.8

*Allusion: uerbo quod in principio erat et uerbum apud deum erat et uerbum deus erat* AUEv 4.10.20/417.17

*hoc modo nec iohannes euangelium scripsisse dicitur quia nec ipse ait initium euangelii aut liber euangelii sed* in principio erat uerbum AUFau 2.6/260.20

*cur ergo credunt iohanni dicenti* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUFau 7.2/304.14

*Allusion: ut eum inueniant in principio deum apud deum per quem facta sunt omnia* AUFau 12.26/355.4

*quia* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUFau 13.8/388.12

*quia* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUFel 2.9/838.4

*de quo dicitur* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUGn li 1.2/6.14

*sicut scriptura testatur* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUGn li 5.13/156.12 (mss E P aput)

*[Jn 1:4] quomodo* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum [continues with 1:3/4 again] AUGn li 5.14/158.1

*Adaptation: uerbo dictum est quod in principio erat deus apud deum* (mss E1 P aput) AUGn li 6.12/186.1

*Adaptation: qualis est in uerbo eius quod in principio erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum* [continues with 1:3] (mss E P aput, Eug apud eum) AUGn li 8.27/266.9

*Allusion: uerbum apud deum caro apud nos uerbum caro inter deum et nos* AUGn li 8.14/253.24

*Adaptation: cor mundum nondum habebant unde uidetur uerbum in principio deus apud deum* (mss F R om.**deus**) AUGn Ma 2.37.20

*illam forte uocem quam dedit per filium tonitrus* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum *ut sit ordo* AUJb 26/563.21

*[Matt 5:34] et sapientia uerbum dei* et deus erat uerbum AUJb 38/612.25

in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUJo 1.1.8 [CT]

*(si ergo) erat in principio* uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUJo 1.12.15

in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUJo 2.1.6

in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUJo 3.4.4

in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUJo 4.11.7

in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUJo 12.6.35

in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUJo 13.2.11

in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUJo 13.4.19

in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum AUJo 13.5.20

in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUJo 14.7.18

in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUJo 15.6.13

in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUJo 16.7.20

in principio erat uerbum et...deus erat uerbum AUJo 17.15.6

in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUJo 18.2.11

in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUJo 18.4.5 *et passim*

in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUJo 19.2.4

in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUJo 19.2.11

in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUJo 19.15.11

in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUJo 20.3.35

in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum AUJo 20.13.8

in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum AUJo 22.2.15

in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum AUJo 22.10.37

in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUJo 22.11.17

in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum AUJo 23.13.34

in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUJo 26.8.13

in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUJo 29.3.15

in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUJo 29.8.11

in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUJo 35.9.19

in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUJo 36.1.13

in principio erat uerbum...uerbum erat apud deum...deus erat uerbum AUJo 37.4.9

in principio erat uerbum AUJo 37.8.23

in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUJo 38.4.24

in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUJo 40.4.28

in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUJo 43.9.40

in principio erat uerbum AUJo 43.17.11

in principio erat uerbum AUJo 45.8.15

in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUJo 46.3.27

in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUJo 47.6.15

in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUJo 47.10.13

in principio erat uerbum AUJo 48.6.48

in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUJo 76.5.11

deus erat uerbum AUJo 78.2.20

deus erat uerbum AUJo 80.2.11

in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUJo 96.2.20

in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUJo 108.3.4

in principio erat **sermo** AUJo 108.3.10

*Allusion: quod in principio uerbum erat* AUJul 2.4.8

*sicut agnoscitis unigeniti naturam quod* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum *agnoscite et gratiam quod* [Jn 1:14] AUJul im 1.138.48

*euangelium ubi scriptum est* in principio erat uerbum AUleg 1.3.101

*ubi audit* in principio erat uerbum AUleg 1.3.106

*eum de quo dicit euangelium* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum *et* [Jn 1:3] AUMax 1.19/758

*Allusion: antequam hoc fieret non erat altus dei filius deus dei uerbum deus apud deum* AUMax 2.2/759

*quid est autem* in principio erat uerbum *nisi in patre erat filius...* [Jn 8:25] AUMax 2.17.4/784

*propter quam dictum est* in principio erat uerbum AUMax 2.18.2/785

[Jn 5:21]...[Ps 35:10] *quis est autem iste fons uitae apud patrem nisi de quo dicitur* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUMax 2.23.7/801

*attinet ad illud quod dixit iohannes in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum* AUMax  
co 14/721

*ipsum esse de quo iohannes ait in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum* AUPar  
2.16.35/89.14

*Allusion: quod erat in principio uerbum deus apud deum* AUpec 1.25.36/35.8

*deus quia in principio erat uerbum et deus erat uerbum* AUpec 1.31.60/61.2 (ms d adds **et uerbum erat apud deum**)

*audite a capite illum euangelistam qui ructabat quod biberat de pectore domini uideamus si deus est christus in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum* AUPs 21.s2.3.10

*sicut in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum quis christianus tacere potest* AUpers 16.40/1017

*Reminiscence: in principio uerbum deus apud deum* AUPri 7.172

*Adaptation: secundum quod est uerbum in principio deus apud deum per quod facta sunt omnia* AUPs 9.35.27

*Reminiscence: quod uerbum in principio deus apud deum est* AUPs 18.3.2

*quare non homo? quia in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum* AUPs 21.s2.7.8

*intuentes ergo quod per iohannem quasi per quamdam nubem suam ipse intonuit dicens in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum* AUPs 29.s2.1.26

*secundum id quod in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum* AUPs 29.s2.2.18

*respice altitudinem ipsius in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum* AUPs 33.s1.6.8

*ut possit intellegere in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum* AUPs 35.1.30

*[no intro] in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum* AUPs 44.3.21

*adscendant et uideant in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum* AUPs 44.20.55

*ipse christus deus quoniam in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum* AUPs 46.8.14

*qualis est christus? in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum* AUPs 48.s1.5.74

*euangelium respondet in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum* AUPs 49.1.19

*quia et antequam de maria nasceretur in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum* AUPs 50.17.5

*quomodo dominus? quia in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum* AUPs 54.3.21

*Allusion: in principio uerbum et uerbum apud deum et deus uerbum* AUPs 54.20.5

*secundum diuinitatem in principio erat uerbum deus apud deum* AUPs 58.s1.2.8

*ut tamquam uerbo dei dicatur quod erat in principio sicut dicit euangelista in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum* AUPs 64.7.5

*proinde illud quod in principio erat uerbum lumen illud uerum* AUPs 67.21.45

*quid est christus? in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum* AUPs 70.s2.10.1

*potes uidere quod audisti modo ex euangelio in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum* AUPs 73.19.22

*quid enim ante principium? et utique in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum* AUPs 80.13.5

*quando audimus in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum* AUPs 85.1.18

*hoc non uidebunt impii. in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum* AUPs 85.21.18

*quomodo uidetur modo ab angelis in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum* AUPs 90.s2.13.17

*non expauescis diuitias in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum* AUPs 101.s1.1.25

*quanto magis ille de quo dicebat in principio erat uerbum et non quaecumque uerbum sed uerbum deum et non ubicumque sed apud deum* AUPs 101.s1.1.29

*ecce in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum* AUPs 103.s1.8.20

*quomodo ergo? sicut in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum* AUPs 103.s3.3.18

*quaeris proprietatem christi? in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum* AUPs 103.s3.20.10

*Allusion: per multa ora sanctorum unum uerbum sonet quod cum sit in principio deus apud deum ibi non habet syllabas quia non habet tempora* AUPs 103.s4.1.3

*quia in principio erat uerbum et [Jn 1:14] AUPs 108.29.12*

*Adaptation: nunc ergo quia didicimus dicimus in principio eras uerbum et uerbum eras apud deum et deus eras uerbum* AUPs 109.6.22

*Allusion: quid est ergo uerbum tuum? numquidnam illud quod in principio erat deus apud deum uerbum scilicet per quod facta sunt omnia? non est ita. nam illud uerbum lumen est sed lucerna non est.* AUPs 118.s23.1.7

*sed quo adscendendum est? in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum* AUPs 119.1.38

*ecce iohannes manentem in se loquitur in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum* AUPs 119.2.41

*nam in principio facies eius quae est? in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum* AUPs 120.6.50

*ueritas illud uerbum est de quo dicitur* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUPs 123.2.38  
*iohannes ille* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum *uidebat praedicauit nobis ut crederemus* AUPs 124.4.33  
*secundum illud iohannis* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUPs 130.9.30  
*nam christus erat et non crucifixus* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUPs 130.10.4  
*sicuti est* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum *per quod facta sunt omnia* AUPs 134.5.31  
*Allusion: non enim et nos uerbum non enim et nos in principio deus apud deum non enim et nos ille per quem facta sunt omnia* AUPs 142.3.70  
*Allusion: nondum uidet uerbum in principio deum apud deum* AUPs 142.15.18  
*iohannes apostolus...quid eructauit?* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum AUPs 144.9.15  
*quis est christus?* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUPs 148.7.7  
*non modo natus est quia* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUPs 149.1.14  
*LXIII De Uerbo.* in principio erat uerbum *quod graece logos dicitur* AUq 63.2  
*quemadmodum dictum sit [Jn 14:28] et [Jn 10:30] et deus erat uerbum et [Jn 1:14] et [Phil 2:6]* AUq 69.18  
*Adaptation: aut bonos intellectus homo quaerit et inuenit unum illum quo cuncti continentur: in principio uerbum et uerbum apud deum et uerbum deum* AUqEv app 12.16  
*Reminiscence: uerbum apud patre uidere non poterant* AUq 73.52  
*Adaptation: de domino iesu christo non secundum uerbum in principio deum apud deum sed secundum puerum* AUq 75.36  
*in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum* AUrel 3.54  
*Adaptation: et haec est ueritas et uerbum in principio et uerbum deus apud deum* AUrel 36.11  
*de eo quod scriptum est [Gen 1:1] et in principio erat uerbum* AUs 1.4 (ms A3 om. **erat uerbum**)  
*cum iohannes dicat* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 1.23  
*Allusion: aequalem esse patri deum de deo uerbum apud deum uerbum deum per quod facta sunt omnia* AUs 9.145  
*ipse est iohannes qui dixit* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 20A.144  
*non tantum pater sed pater et filius et spiritus sanctus.* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 23.262 (ms X **apud**)  
*dicat iohannes* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 23A.60 (ms B2m **apud**)  
*quis est enim iesus christus nisi* in principio **uerbum** et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 26.117 (mss V4 V52m V6 V7 maur **principio erat uerbum**)  
*[1 Tim 2:5] in principio erat uerbum. nondum erat homo christus iesus* et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 26.127  
*[Ps 44:3] quia* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum *[Jn 14:21]* AUs 27.114  
*Allusion: ecce enim uerbum dei deus apud deum* AUs 28.105  
*Adaptation: nouimus te domine in principio uerbum uerbum deum uerbum apud deum* AUs 30.182  
*Allusion: discite inquit a me. cum essem in principio deus apud deum creaui uos* AUs 30.188  
*[Jn 13:23] ex illo potu et ex illa felici ebrietate ructauit* in principio erat uerbum AUs 34.17  
*uide diuitias eius:* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 36.56  
*texuit pretiosissimum illud pallium laudis* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum (in Prov. 31:22) AUs 37.387  
*de quo dicitur* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 45.177  
*excidit tibi* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum. *excidit tibi [christum esse dei uirtutem et dei sapientiam]* AUs 53A.13  
*[Matt] in principio erat quid excelsius [Jn 1:14]* AUs 70A.2  
*remanet tibi* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 78.5/492  
*quid enim ille erat qui non habebat unde moreretur?* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 80.5/496  
*quoniam* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum *ecce quomodo est dominus dauid* AUs 91.2/568  
*habet patriam;* in principio erat uerbum; *habet patriam [Phil 2:6]* AUs 92.3/573  
*ubi uictoria quam non praec essit pugna?* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum *[Jn 1:2-3]* AUs 97.4/591  
*sed quis erat in carne mortali* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 104.2/617  
*quomodo possit intelligi quod dictum est* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 117.2.3  
*et dictum est* et deus erat uerbum AUs 117.3.5

[1Jn 3:2] *hoc ait iohannes qui ait in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum qui super pectus domini discumbibat qui secreta ista de sinu illius cordis hauriebat ipse ait [1Jn 3:2] AUs 117.10.15/670*

*intellegite unum uerbum dei in principio erat uerbum. [Gen 1:1] AUs 118.1/671*

[Gen 1:1] *per quid fecit? erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum AUs 118.1/672*

*quid a me quaeris multa? deus erat uerbum. quando audimus deus erat uerbum non duplicamus deum AUs 118.1/672*

*quid quaeris? in principio erat uerbum AUs 118.2/672*

*nihil est ante principium in principio erat uerbum AUs 118.2/672*

*uerbum dei non est factum. in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 119.2/674*

[Jn 1:1] *o praedicare! o saginam dominici pectoris eructuare! in principio erat uerbum. quid quaeris quid ante erat? in principio erat uerbum AUs 119.2/674*

[Gen 1:1] *non ergo in principio fecit deus uerbum quia in principio erat uerbum. hoc uerbum quod in principio erat ubi erat? sequere et uerbum erat apud deum...hic noli habere uile nomen uerbi deus erat uerbum [Jn 1:2-3] AUs 119.2/674*

*et dicat sibi quomodo in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum [Jn 1:3] AUs 119.5/675*

*deum tibi loquor deus erat uerbum AUs 119.6/675*

*euangelii iohannis principium in principio erat uerbum AUs 120.1/676*

*Adaptation: [Jn 8:58] in principio enim uerbum erat non factum erat. ergo [Jn 1:11] AUs 121.2/678*

*quantum attinet ad uerbum. in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum non quod sonaret et transiret quia deus erat uerbum AUs 124.3/688*

*secundum quod est in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 125.3/691*

*ipse est qui in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 126.5.6/701*

*Adaptation: te uerbum audiui in principio AUs 126.9.12/703*

*ut possis uidere quid sit uidere ipsius. in principio erat uerbum AUs 126.10.13/706*

[Jn 13:23]...*quid uidit super pectus domini discumbens? quid bibit? quid nisi quod ructauit? in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 133.6/740*

[Gen 1:1]...*sed quid ait? erat erat erat. audis erat crede. in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 135.3.4/747*

[1Jn 1:8] *iohannes autem ille est qui dixit in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum. uidete quanta transcenderat ut perueniret ad uerbum. talis ac tantus qui uolauit sicut aquila super nubes qui mentis serenitate cernebat in principio erat uerbum ipse dixit [1Jn 1:8-9] AUs 135.7.8/750*

*sed quod in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum. hoc uerbum in principio deus apud deum [Jn 1:14] AUs 136C.2*

*quia in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum....[Jn 1:14] AUs 145A*

[Matt 9:28 *discite a me*] *quid? quia in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 164.4.7/898*

*ecce filius dei in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum [Jn 1:2]. in principio erat uerbum. AUs 183.3.4/990*

*tu ergo dicis in principio fecit deus uerbum sed euangelista dicit in principio erat uerbum. et ideo in principio fecit deus coelum et terram qui erat uerbum [Jn 1:3] AUs 183.3.4/990*

*neque enim quia dictum est deus erat uerbum et [Jn 1:14] AUs 187.3/1002*

*non ex eo quod in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 188.2/1003*

*plenitudo enim mensae ipsorum est quia in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 194.2.2/1016*

*illam primam attendite generationem in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 196.1/1019*

*iacet in terra sapientia. in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 196.3/1020*

*Allusion: manens in secreto dominus et deus apud deum AUs 198.40/121.960 (AUs Dol 26)*

*Adaptation: [Rom 8:24,23] nos enim adoptati ille autem unicus natus in principio uerbum deus apud deum sicut euangelista testatur AUs 198.44/124.1055 (AUs Dol 26)*

*iohannes...quod ructaret in populos in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 198.55/134.1339 (AUs Dol 26)*

*natura quippe inuisibile est uerbum dei quod in principio erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 212.1.27 (mss p maur om. apud deum, mss p maur deus erat om.uerbum)*

[Gen 1:1] *non autem fecit in principio uerbum quia in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 214.5/1068*

*non solum quod in principio erat uerbum non habens ullum nascendi principium AUs 215.3/1073*

[Ps 35:10] *et uerbum erat apud deum AUs 217.5 (webtext; not in Migne)*

*quis enim est christus nisi illud quod in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum. [Jn 1:14] AUs 218C.1*

*sed quid? in principio erat uerbum AUs 223A.1*



in principio erat uerbum et [Gen 1:1] AUs 223A.2  
*et quaeritis quid erat?* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum. *ecce quod erat* in principio erat uerbum. *non est in principio factum uerbum sed* erat uerbum AUs 225.1.1/1096  
[Gen 1:1] *quaeritis per quod fecit?* in principio erat uerbum *per quod fieret coelum et terra. non est factum sed* erat uerbum AUs 225.1.1/1096  
*illud autem quid?* et uerbum erat apud deum AUs 225.1.1/1096  
*sanctum euangelium dixit tibi* in principio erat uerbum. *dic ubi erat dic quid erat* et uerbum erat apud deum. *sed ego quaesiui quale uerbum. uultis audire quid erat?* et deus erat uerbum. *o uerbum! quale uerbum? quis explicet uerbum:* et deus erat uerbum AUs 225.1.1/1096  
*dic quod erat.* et uerbum erat apud deum. *dic quod erat.* et deus erat uerbum AUs 225.3.3/1097  
*sic audistis praedicare dominum christum quia* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 226/1098  
*ille enim dominus qui* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 229.1 (webtext; not in Migne)  
*attende* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 229E.4  
in principio *enim* erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum...[Gen 1:1]...*quid erat* in principio? *ergo* erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 229G.6  
*nec miremini sine peccato* in principio erat uerbum **uerbum** erat apud deum **deus** erat uerbum AUs 229P.4  
*audiamus sermonem sapientiae* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 229T.1  
*non intelleximus quid est* in principio erat uerbum AUs 229T.1  
*ipsum attende* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 232.5.5/1110  
*quid didicisti de uerbo?* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum [Jn 1:2] AUs 238.2/1125  
*carnem quippe uerbum non habebat* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 242A.1  
*redi ad uerbum redi ad illud* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 242A.1  
*uide factorem:* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 244.3/1149  
*tunc enim tange quando cognoueris* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 245.4/1153  
*in euangelio autem iohannis multum eminet.* in principio erat uerbum *ipse dixit.* AUs 253.4.5/1182 (SC116 AUs 253.5.109)  
*peruenit ad uerbum per quod facta sunt omnia* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 253.4.5/1182 (SC116 AUs 253.5.112)  
*audi ergo qualis deus christus.* in principio erat uerbum. *ubi?* et uerbum erat apud deum. *sed uerba quotidie solemus audire. noli sic cogitare, quomodo soles audire* deus erat uerbum AUs 261.2/1203  
*dictum est tibi* in principio erat uerbum. *quaerebas ubi esset responsum est* uerbum erat apud deum. *et ne uerba contemneres ex consuetudine locutionis humanae audisti* deus erat uerbum AUs 261.4/1204  
*non capis* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 261.6.6/1205  
[Jn 14:28] *quid est me?* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum *quod ait ipse iohannes* AUs 264.4/1215  
*si esset iam oculus qui uideret* in principio erat uerbum AUs 264.5/1217  
*sine ulla mutabilitate* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 265D.7  
*exaltatus ab initio quia* in principio erat uerbum AUs 265E.2  
*totus est in caelo totus in terra.* in principio erat uerbum. AUs 277.13.13/1264  
*non aequalis mole sed diuinitate.* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 277.13.13/1264  
*quis sit uis audire?* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 287.1.1/1301  
*audi illud tibi clare ostendentem* in principio *inquit* erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 288.2/1304  
*ad illud uerbum de quo dictum est* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum [1:2] AUs 288.4/1306  
[1Cor 13:9-10] *quid est perfectum?* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum. *hoc est perfectum.* AUs 288.5/1306  
*ueniat illud* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum. *cum eum uiderimus sicuti est numquid ibi recitabitur euangelium?* AUs 288.5/1307  
*quid est christus?* in principio erat uerbum AUs 289.3/1309  
*ante omnia creator. quia* in principio *non est factum uerbum sed* erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 290.2.2/1313  
*in principio non fecit deus uerbum sed erat uerbum:* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat *non quaecumque sed* deus erat uerbum [Jn 1:3] AUs 291.2/1317  
*uox iohannes dominus autem* in principio erat uerbum AUs 293.3/1328  
*ibi uide* in principio erat uerbum AUs 293.5/1330

*Adaptation: [Gen 1:1] hoc quod in principio erat non est quando non erat. hoc ergo quod in principio erat et uerbum erat apud deum et ipsum uerbum deus erat [Jn 1:3] AUs 293.5/1330*  
*ante illum autem in principio erat uerbum AUs 293A.3*  
*de christo quid dicitur? in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 293A.5*  
*Allusion: erat ergo uerbum apud deum et nondum erat uox iohannes AUs 293A.10/390.147 (AUs Dol 3)*  
*de christo scriptum est in principio erat uerbum AUs 293B.2*  
*quaere christum. in principio erat uerbum ubi erat? et uerbum erat apud deum [Jn 1:2] AUs 293B.2*  
*de illo autem dictum est in principio erat uerbum AUs 293C.1*  
*in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 293E.1*  
*qua sapientia saginatus eructauit in principio erat uerbum AUs 305A.9*  
*quis enim nobis donatus sit uidete in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 334.2.1468*  
*ecce solidus cibus in principio erat uerbum et deus erat uerbum AUs 335K.4*  
*illic quod dictum est in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 335K.4*  
*pertinet illud quod nobilissimum et praeclarissimum est in euangelio secundum iohannem in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum [Jn 1:2] AUs 341.2.2/1493*  
*[Jn 1:14] nam qui dixerat in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum [Jn 1:2] AUs 341.3.3/1495*  
*[Phil 2:6] hoc est in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum [Jn 1:2] AUs 341.3.4/1495*  
*attendo tecum in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum [Jn 1:2] AUs 341.6.7/1497*  
*dicentes et recolentes in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum et cetera AUs 341.5/175.109 (AUs Dol 22)*  
*iam noli contemnere quia deus erat uerbum AUs 341.5/176.139 (AUs Dol 22)*  
*audite ructuantem in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 341.5/176.137 (AUs Dol 22)*  
*[Jn 1:14] nam qui dixerat in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 341.10/181.259 (AUs Dol 22)*  
*[Phil 2:6] hoc est in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 341.11/181.271 (AUs Dol 22)*  
*[Phil 2:6] ubi ergo ille deus erat uerbum AUs 341.11/182.274 (AUs Dol 22)*  
*aequalis patri in quantum filius dei quia deus erat uerbum AUs 341.13/184.320 (AUs Dol 22)*  
*ad tendo tecum in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum ad tendo tecum [Phil 2:6] AUs 341.14/184.326 (mss P T D ed addunt **hoc erat in principio apud deum**) (AUs Dol 22)*  
*audiamus euangelistam laudantem uerbum in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum [Jn 1:2] AUs 341A.1*  
*creauit enim nos in principio quod erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum. ab hoc creati sumus. AUs 342.1/1501*  
*in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum est deus erat uerbum AUs 348A.3 (AUs Dol 30)*  
*uidete...uerbum ante carnem. in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 342.1/1502*  
*nam et in eo ipso quod uerbum erat apud deum utique stabat quia non mutabatur. et deus erat uerbum [Jn 1:14] AUs 349.6/1532*  
*agnoscitis [Jn 10:30] agnoscitis [Jn 14:9] agnoscitis et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum agnoscitis [Phil 2:6] AUs 359B.8/68.167 (AUs Dol 2)*  
*sicut euangelista ille piscator loquitur **uerbum erat** in principio et uerbum apud deum et deus erat uerbum hoc est [Phil 2:6] AUs 361.16.16/1608*  
*quaenam est illa generatio qua in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 369.2/1656*  
*si ante quid erat in principio erat uerbum si ubi erat et uerbum erat apud deum si quale uerbum erat et deus erat uerbum AUs 375A.2*  
*numquid pati aliquid potuit quod in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 375B.4*  
*quae uita in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 375B.5*  
*a iohanne euangelista ipse dicat de domino christo in principio erat uerbum moyses quid dicit [Gen 1:1] iohannes quid dicit in principio non fecit deus uerbum sed erat uerbum AUs 379.4 (webtext; not in Migne)*  
*audi iohannem uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 379.4 (webtext; not in Migne)*  
*ille enim de quo dicit iohannes non baptista sed euangelista quia in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum et quia [Jn 1:3] AUs 380.2/1676*  
*in cuius euangelio est in principio erat uerbum AUs 380.3/1677*  
*cum dictum est in principio erat uerbum AUs 380.4/1677*  
*nunc uero audis in principio erat uerbum AUs 380.4/1678*  
*lux quae uenit in humilitate. uideres in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUs 380.4/1678*

*secundum id quod scriptum est* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUSe 5/912.1

[Gen 1:1] *et quod* in principio erat uerbum AUspe Prol./3.8

[Jn 10:30] *et* [Jn 14:9] *et* deus erat uerbum *non enim factus deus cum* [Jn 1:3] AUsy 8.18/22.5

*unde sunt illa* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUtri 1.6.5

*Adaptation: sed utique in ipso dei uerbo quod erat in principio apud deum et deus erat* (ms Ka pincipio) AUtri 2.5.84

*Adaptation: itaque cum sine ullo initio temporis* in principio esset uerbum et uerbum esset apud deum et deus esset uerbum (ms Na principium) AUtri 2.5.87

*et quod* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum *per quod facta sunt omnia quis corporeis oculis uidet?* AUtri 2.16.22 (mss A C Oa S K Pa T om.quod, ms J et uerbum quod, ms T uideretur) *quia cum dixisset* et deus erat uerbum AUtri 1.6.11

[Jn 1:4] *et facta non sit quia* in principio *non factum est uerbum sed* erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum *et* [1:3] AUtri 4.1.47 (et uerbum erat: mss J R, et:mss B C2 L, om. C, cett codd mu) (deum om.*et* mss B Oa C)

*et quod dictum est* in principio erat uerbum *in patre erat uerbum....quod sequitur* et uerbum erat apud deum...*quod uero adiungitur* et uerbum erat apud deum *multum est ut sic intellegatur uerbum quod solus est filius* erat apud deum...*ut etiam quod consequenter scriptum est* et deus erat uerbum *sic intellegatur* AUtri 6.2.19-35 (ms T est om.*et* deus is the only var. in cit)

*sed uerbo quod* erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum *et* [Jn 1:3] AUtri 7.1.23

[Jn 1:9] *et lumen hoc* uerbum erat apud deum *sed* et deus erat uerbum [1 Jn 1:5] AUtri 7.3.35

*euangelium suum iohannes euangelista sic orsus est* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUtri 13.1.9

*in libro duodecimo praecessit nostra distinctio. nam* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUtri 13.1.32 (ms Va in principio a principio)

[1 Cor 13:12]...*de quo dictum est* in principio erat uerbum et uerbum erat apud deum et deus erat uerbum AUtri 15.10.71

*de quo dictum est* deus erat uerbum AUtri 15.11.36

[FAU] *Adaptation: [FAU] sed iohannes quidem in principio fuisse uerbum dicit et uerbum fuisse apud deum et deum fuisse uerbum* AUFau 3.1/262.2

[MAX] *ante omnem creaturam erat antequam quidquid esset et apud deum erat et deus erat* [John 1:2] AUMax co 17/734

[MAX] *constat quod in principio erat filius et apud patrem erat et deus erat* [John 1:2] AUMax co 17/734

#### <1:2> hoc erat in principio apud deum

[Jn 1:1] hoc erat in principio apud deum AUbo 24/866.16

[Jn 1:1] hoc erat in principio apud deum AUcf 7.9.9

[Jn 1:1] hoc erat in principio apud deum AUci 10.29.2

[Jn 1:1] *uerbum* hoc erat in principio apud deum AUdo 3.2.16 (ms P1 om. erat)

[Jn 1:1] *deinde subiungamus* hoc erat in principio apud deum AUdo 3.2.19

[Jn 1:1] hoc erat in principio apud deum AUep 140.3.6/159.6

[Jn 1:1] hoc erat in principio apud deum AUFau 7.2/304.16

[Jn 1:1] hoc erat in principio apud deum AUGn li 5.13/156.13 (mss E P aput)

hoc erat in principio apud deum AUJo 2.1.7 [CT]

hoc erat in principio apud deum AUJo 3.4.7

[Jn 1:1] hoc erat in principio apud deum AUJo 15.6.15

[Jn 1:1] hoc erat in principio apud deum AUJo 18.5.4

[Jn 1:1] hoc erat in principio apud deum AUJo 19.15.12

[Jn 1:1] hoc erat in principio apud deum AUJo 36.1.14

[Jn 1:1] hoc erat in principio apud deum AUJo 96.2.21

[Jn 1:1] hoc erat in principio apud deum AUMax 2.23.7/801

[Jn 1:1] hoc erat in principio apud deum AUPs 29.s2.1.27

[Jn 1:1] hoc erat in principio apud deum AUPs 70.s2.10.2

[Jn 1:1] hoc erat in principio apud deum AUPs 85.1.19

[Jn 1:1] hoc erat in principio apud deum AUPs 101.1.26

[Jn 1:1] hoc erat in principio apud deum AUPs 119.2.42

[Jn 1:1] hoc erat in principio apud deum AUPs 130.9.31

[Jn 1:1] hoc erat in principio apud deum AUPs 148.7.8

[Jn 1:1] hoc erat in principio apud deum AUPs 149.1.15

[Jn 1:1] hoc erat in principio apud deum AUrel 3.55

[Jn 1:1] hoc erat in principio apud deum AU 1.24

[Jn 1:1] hoc erat in principio apud deum AU 20A.145

[Jn 1:1] hoc erat in principio apud deum AU 23A.61 (ms B2m apud)

[Jn 1:1] hoc erat in principio apud deum AUs 26.118 (mss S31m **om. erat**)  
 [Jn 1:1] hoc erat in principio apud deum AUs 36.57  
 [Jn 1:1] hoc erat in principio apud deum AUs 37.389  
 [Jn 1:1] hoc erat in principio apud deum [Jn 1:3] AUs 97.4/591  
 [Jn 1:1] hoc *id est uerbum* erat in principio apud deum AUs 119.2/674  
 [Jn 1:1] hoc erat in principio apud deum AUs 133.6/740  
 [Jn 1:1] hoc erat in principio apud deum AUs 183.3.4/990  
 [Jn 1:1] hoc erat in principio apud deum AUs 229E.4  
 [Jn 1:1] hoc erat in principio *et cetera* AUs 229T  
 [Jn 1:1] hoc erat in principio apud deum AUs 238.2/1125  
 [Jn 1:1] hoc erat in principio apud deum AUs 242A.1  
 [Jn 1:1] hoc erat in principio apud deum AUs 244.3/1149  
 [Jn 1:1] hoc erat in principio apud deum AUs 253.4.5 (SC116 AUs 253.5.112)  
 [Jn 1:1] hoc erat in principio apud deum AUs 261.6.6/1205  
 [Jn 1:1] hoc erat in principio apud deum AUs 277.13.13/1264  
 [Jn 1:1] hoc erat in principio apud deum AUs 288.2/1304  
 [Jn 1:1] hoc erat in principio apud deum AUs 288.4/1306  
 [Jn 1:1] hoc erat in principio apud deum AUs 290.2.2/1313  
 [Jn 1:1] hoc erat in principio apud deum AUs 293A.5  
 [Jn 1:1] in principio apud deum AUs 293B.2  
 [Jn 1:1] hoc erat in principio apud deum AUs 341.2.2/1493  
 [Jn 1:1] hoc erat in principio apud deum AUs 341.3.3/1495  
 [Jn 1:1] hoc erat in principio apud deum AUs 341.6.7/1497  
 [Jn 1:1] hoc erat in principio apud deum AUs 341.10/181.260 (AUs Dol 22)  
 [Jn 1:1] hoc erat in principio apud deum AUs 341A.1  
 [Jn 1:1] hoc erat in principio apud deum AUs 380.4/1678  
 [Jn 1:1] hoc erat *inquit* in principio apud deum AUtri 1.6.12  
 [Jn 1:1] hoc erat in principio apud deum AUtri 13.1.10  
 [Jn 1:1] hoc erat in principio apud deum AUtri 13.1.33

[MAX] [Jn 1:1] *et hic* erat in principio apud deum AUMax co 17/734

[MAX] [Jn 1:1] *et hic* erat in principio apud deum *ut primogenitus omnis creaturae* (i.e. Col 1:15) [John 1:3] AUMax co 17/734

### <1:3> omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil

*uerus creator quia* omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil...[Ps 18:6] AU1Jo 1.2/1979

*maior plane quam mater* omnia enim per ipsum facta sunt AU1Jo 2.5/1992

[Ps109:3]... *quare?* *quia* omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AU1Jo 2.5/1993

*Adaptation: illud est magnum intellegere uerbum deum apud deum in principio per quod facta sunt omnia* AU1Jo 3.2/1998

*Adaptation: illud uerbum per quod facta sunt omnia* [Jn 1:14] AU1Jo 10.3/2056

*ego quoque contra recitarem* omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AU2an 9/61.11 (ms A **sine ipsum**)

*Adaptation: et dei quidem uirtus atque sapientia et uerbum per quod facta sunt omnia* (mss V L **per quem**) AUag 1.1/101.12

[Rom 1:3] *sicut apostolus loquitur* omnia enim per ipsum facta sunt *sicut in euangelio scriptum est* et sine ipso factum est nihil AUag 10.11/113.9 (ms F **om.enim**, ms N puts the interjection at the end of the verse)

*Adaptation: propterea sapientia dei et uerbum in principio per quod facta sunt omnia* AUag 20.22/123.3

*Adaptation: uirtus et sapientia dei et uerbum per quod facta sunt omnia* AUag 23.25/126.8

*Adaptation: quid sit dei uirtus et sapientia et in principio uerbum per quod facta sunt omnia et quomodo* [Jn 1:14] AUag 17.19/120.13

[Jn 1:1] *et omnia* per ipsum facta sunt AUAr 1.23 (ms O **fata**)

*omnia enim* per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUAr 11.50 (ms O per **ipsa**)

*de filio quippe dictum est* omnia per ipsum facta sunt AUAr 15.19

[Jn 1:2] omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUbo 24/866.17

*nihil interesse utrum dicatur sine illo* factum est nihil *an sine illo nihil* factum est AUbo 25/866.26 (mss L V **ipso x2**).

*Adaptation: fecit autem omnia per uerbum suum* AUcat 17.48

*Adaptation: filius dei uerbum patris aequale et coaeternum patri per quod facta sunt omnia* AUcat 19.81

*Adaptation: ut propter eos mitteret unicum filium per quem fecit omnia* AUcat 22.28

*Reminiscence: misit unigenitum filium suum hoc est uerbum suum aequale sibi per quod condidit omnia* (ms C\* **condit**, ms T **om. omnia**) AUcat 26.42

*Allusion: sed non nouerant uiam uerbum tuum per quod fecisti ea quae numerant* AUcf 5.3.39

[Jn 1:2] omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUcf 7.9.10

*Adaptation: uerbum tuum apud te deum tecumque unum deum per quod creasti omnia* AUcf 8.1.41  
*Adaptation: uerbum tuum per quod fecisti omnia* AUcf 11.2.51  
*Reminiscence: ergo dixisti et facta sunt atque in uerbo tuo fecisti ea* (cf. Ps 32:6) AUcf 11.5.21  
*Adaptation: in suae sapientiae per **quam** facta sunt omnia* AUChr 2.35/198.27  
*[Jn 1:2] omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil* AUci 10.29.2  
*Adaptation: uerbum dei per quod et ipsi et omnia facta sunt* AUci 11.9.64  
*Adaptation: uerbum patris per **quod facta** sunt omnia* AUdo 4.7/238.20  
*Adaptation: ipsa ueritas et uerbum per quod facta sunt omnia caro factum esset* AUdo 1.34.2  
*Adaptation: unicus dei filius per **quem** facta sunt **omnia*** AUdo 2.28.19  
*Adaptation: aequalis est patri per **quem** facta sunt **omnia*** AUdo 2.41.29  
*quoniam dominus noster iesus christus in quantum deus est omnia per ipsum facta sunt* AUench 12.16  
*Adaptation: filium dei uerbum per **quod** facta sunt **omnia*** AUep 55.11.20/191.6  
*Adaptation: christum dicamus uerbum dei per **quod** facta sunt **omnia*** AUep 102.11/553.16  
*[Jn 1:1] et omnia per ipsum facta sunt* AUep 137.4.14/116.4 (ms W\* omnium per ipsa)  
*Adaptation: cum dicitur uerbum dei per **quod** facta sunt **omnia*** AUep 137.6/104.13  
*[Jn 1:2] omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil* AUep 140.3.6/159.6  
*Adaptation: [Jn 1:1-5] hic ergo deus uerbum dei per **quod** facta sunt **omnia*** AUep 140.3.6/159.10  
*Adaptation: uocem uerbi per **quod** facta sunt **omnia*** (ms T quam) AUep 140.6.18/168.19  
*[Jn 8:25] omnia enim per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil* AUep 149.25/371.19  
*creator est christus omnia enim per ipsum facta sunt* AUep 187.3.8/88.1 (ms P om. enim)  
*Adaptation: facile est non esse factum per **quem** facta sunt **omnia** et sine **quo** factum est nihil* (ms R omnia facta sunt) AUep 242.2/564.23  
*quicquid factum est per ipsum facta est omnia enim per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil* AUep 242.2/565.3  
*non enim satis fuit dicere omnia per ipsum facta sunt nisi adderet [sc.euangelista] et sine ipso factum est nihil* AUep 242.3/565.7  
*Adaptation: in principio uerbum deum apud deum per **quod** facta sunt **omnia*** AUEv 1.4.7/7.1  
*Adaptation: uerbum dei per **quod** facta sunt **omnia*** (mss A1 E L om.sunt, mss C1 P sunt **et**) AUEv 1.7.11/11.23  
*Adaptation: christum per **quem** facta sunt **omnia*** (ms Ns omnia facta sunt) AUEv 1.8.13/14.5  
*Adaptation: illum deum per **quem** facta sunt **omnia*** AUEv 1.34.52/57.24  
*quia omnia per ipsum facta sunt* (mss C P V p g per ipsum omnia) AUEv 2.1.2/82.8  
*quia omnia per ipsum facta sunt [Jn 1:6] AUEv 2.6.18/115.2*  
*[Jn 1:2] omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil et cetera* AUFau 7.2/304.16  
*Adaptation: filio dei per **quem** facta sunt **omnia*** AUFau 16.15/456.10  
*Adaptation: sapientia...quia per illam facta sunt **omnia*** AUFau 22.8/597.16  
*quoniam omnia per ipsum facta sunt* AUFau 26.7/735.15  
*Adaptation: uerbum eius, per **quod** facta sunt omnia* AUFel 2.17/846.8  
*Adaptation: **uerbum** per **quod** facta sunt **omnia** et sine **quo** factum est nihil* AUfo 9/88.19  
*Adaptation: uerbum dei dicitur per quod facta sunt omnia* (mss M L b d dei uerbum) AUGn im 5/471.9  
*omnia enim per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil [in Gen 1:26] AUGn im 16/497.17*  
*[Jn 1:1] cum enim de illo dicitur omnia per ipsum facta sunt* AUGn li 1.2/6.16  
*Adaptation: uerbum patris per quod facta sunt omnia* AUGn li 2.6/41.1  
*Adaptation: quod in euangelio dicit ipse per quem facta sunt omnia [Jn 5:17] AUGn li 4.11/107.14*  
*[Jn 1:2] omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil* AUGn li 5.13/156.14  
*cum ergo scriptura dixisset omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil [continues with Jn 1:10] AUGn li 5.17/160.17*  
*[Jn 1:1] et quia omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil* AUGn li 6.12/186.2  
*Adaptation: ille per uerbum suum fecit per quod facta sunt omnia* AUGn li 6.12/186.21  
*Adaptation: [Jn 1:1 Adaptation: deus erat uerbum] per quod facta sunt omnia* AUGn li 8.27/266.10  
*Adaptation: in christo cum uerbum esset apud patrem per quod facta et in quod facta sunt omnia* (mss K pc. E **per quae**, ms M **per quo**, ms K pc. **per quem**, mss G N per quod **om.facta**, mss R Mac **per quod facta sunt**) AUGn Ma 1.3.9  
*Adaptation: per uerbum oportuno tempore incarnatum per quod facta sunt omnia* AUJb 38/604.15  
*omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil* AUJo 1.13.1 [CT]  
*omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil* AUJo 2.1.8  
*omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil* AUJo 3.4.9  
*omnia per ipsum facta sunt* AUJo 5.4.10  
*omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil* AUJo 8.2.39  
*omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil* AUJo 15.6.16  
*omnia enim per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil* AUJo 16.7.7  
*[Jn 1:1] omnia per ipsum facta sunt* AUJo 16.7.22  
*omnia per ipsum facta sunt* AUJo 17.15.8  
*omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil* AUJo 18.5.42 *et passim*  
*omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil* AUJo 19.1.9 *et passim*

*[Jn 1:1] omnia per ipsum facta sunt AUJo 20.3.36*  
*omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUJo 20.7.18*  
*omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUJo 21.1.6 et passim*  
*[Jn 1:1] omnia per ipsum facta sunt AUJo 22.11.18*  
*[Jn 1:1] omnia per ipsum facta sunt AUJo 23.13.35*  
*omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUJo 34.2.20*  
*[Jn 1:2] omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUJo 36.1.14*  
*omnia per ipsum facta sunt AUJo 37.8.27*  
*[Jn 1:1] omnia per ipsum facta sunt AUJo 38.4.12*  
*omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUJo 44.4.13*  
*omnia per ipsum facta sunt AUJo 105.2.10*  
*Allusion: quod in principio uerbum erat per quod creauit quod non erat AUJul 2.4.8*  
*Allusion: factum est ut illud dei uerbum per quod facta sunt omnia...[Jn 1:14] AUlib 3.10.30*  
*de quo dicit euangelium [Jn 1:1] et omnia per ipsum facta sunt AUMax 1.19/758*  
*de filio dictum est omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUMax 2.17.1/783*  
*quasi legeris omnia per ipsum facta sunt sine spiritu sancto AUMax 2.17.1/783*  
*quando de filio dictum est omnia per ipsum facta sunt AUMax 2.17.1/783*  
*cur non sic audis de filio dei omnia per ipsum facta sunt AUMax 2.17.1/783*  
*per unigenitum filium de quo dictum est omnia per ipsum facta sunt AUMax 2.17.3/784*  
*et omnia per ipsum facta sunt christum AUMax co 14/723*  
*Adaptation: nam in forma dei usque adeo non est factus ut per illum facta sint omnia. si enim ipse factus est non per illum sunt omnia facta sed cetera AUMax co 14/723*  
*Adaptation: ueritate per **quam** facta sunt **omnia** (ms R ueritatem) AUmen 18.37/457.24*  
*unde in euangelio duo ipsa signantur cum dicitur omnia per ipsum facta sunt AUmor 1.27.4*  
*Adaptation: ille per quem facta sunt omnia AUPar 2.17.36/90.22*  
*uerbum de quo dicitur omnia per ipsum facta sunt AUPri 8.223 (om F1, supplied by F2 in marg.)*  
*hominem ad imaginem suam fecit tamen omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUPs 18.s2.3.8*  
*[Jn 1:2] omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUPs 29.s2.1.28*  
*si facta est a deo per uerbum facta est quia omnia per ipsum facta sunt AUPs 40.2.25*  
*angelos principatus sedes dominationes potestates omnia per ipsum facta sunt AUPs 44.4.23*  
*[Jn 1:1] omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUPs 46.8.14*  
*Adaptation: si enim per ipsum facta sunt omnia per ipsum et ipse dauid factus est AUPs 54.3.9*  
*quia omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUPs 56.3.31*  
*Adaptation: uidit uerbum per **quod** facta sunt omnia et in quo simul sunt omnia AUPs 61.18.32*  
*Adaptation: ipsum uerbum dei per **quod** facta sunt omnia AUPs 62.10.14*  
*[Jn 1:1] quia et ipse est filius dei uerbum dei de quo etiam dicit omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUPs 64.7.7*  
*[Ps 68] omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUPs 68.s1.5.56*  
*[Jn 1:2] omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUPs 70.10.3*  
*Adaptation: cum sole ei per quem facta sunt omnia et sine quo factum est nihil AUPs 71.8.8*  
*Adaptation: quia in ipso habet omnia quia per ipsum facta sunt omnia AUPs 72.33.14*  
*Adaptation: quis hoc ignorat quando ipse fecit haec omnia quia per uerbum facta sunt omnia AUPs 73.19.2*  
*sed tu ista uerba cogitas omnia per ipsum facta sunt AUPs 73.19.27*  
*et ante secula quia omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUPs 75.1.64*  
*[Jn 1:2] omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUPs 85.1.20*  
*de quibus scriptum est omnia per ipsum facta sunt AUPs 90.s1.1.21*  
*Adaptation: uerbum dei per quod facta sunt omnia AUPs 90.s2.1.60*  
*et utique si omnia per ipsum facta sunt et tempora per ipsum facta sunt AUPs 92.6.46*  
*ipse fecit nos omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUPs 99.15.9*  
*Adaptation: christus uerbum dei est per quod facta sunt omnia AUPs 100.3.44*  
*sed omnia per ipsum facta sunt AUPs 101.1.7*  
*[Jn 1:2] omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUPs 101.s1.1.27*  
*quomodo factum est tempus omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUPs 101.s2.10.57*  
*christus qui antequam ueniret ad nos et carnem susciperet omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUPs 103.s2.5.12*  
*Adaptation: [Jn 1:1] omnia per te facta sunt AUPs 109.6.22*  
*in euangelio de uerbo dei scriptum est omnia per ipsum facta sunt AUPs 118.s18.1.8*  
*Adaptation: non enim erat factus unigenitus cum per eum facta sint omnia AUPs 118.s32.5.12*  
*[Jn 1:2] omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUPs 119.2.43*  
*Adaptation: uerbum dei quod erat ante omnia per quem facta sunt omnia AUPs 129.7.6*  
*[Jn 1:2] omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUPs 130.9.32*  
*Adaptation: [Jn 1:1 Allusion:] deus erat uerbum per quod facta sunt omnia AUPs 134.5.31*  
*Adaptation: semper incommutabiliter manet uerbum per quod facta sunt omnia AUPs 138.8.13*  
*quia ut haec essent omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUPs 139.3.14*

[Jn 1:2] omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUPs 148.7.9  
 [Jn 1:2] omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUPs 149.1.16  
 quomodo nos ipse fecit? omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUPs 149.4.30  
 Reminiscence: sed ad illa etiam quae per uerbum facta sunt AUq 63.5  
 Adaptation: quando quidem per ipsum facta sunt **omnia** quaecumque deus fecit AUq 67.37 (ms Z **om. omnia**)  
 scriptum est enim omnia per ipsum facta sunt AUq 69.27  
 Adaptation: aequalitas eius per quem facta sunt omnia AUq 69.37  
 Adaptation: cum ille per quem facta sunt omnia (ms E **omnia facta sunt**) AUq 69.223  
 Adaptation: uerbum patris per quod facta sunt omnia AUq 80.11  
 Adaptation: unus ille continet per quem facta sunt omnia quod est uerbum dei AUqEv app 12.30  
 [Jn 1:2] omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUrel 3.56  
 Adaptation: et uerbum per quod factum est omne quod substantialiter et naturaliter factum est AUrel 55.142  
 Adaptation: uerbum in principio per **quod** facta sunt **omnia** (mss T P **om. in principio**) AURm 48.2  
 Adaptation: ipsum est uerbum dei per **quod** facta sunt **omnia** AURm in 4.8  
 [Jn 1:1] omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUs 1.25  
 Adaptation: in luce ueritatis intelleximus et sapientiae per quam facta sunt omnia (ms C41m **quem**) AUs 5.266  
 Adaptation: sapientia dei per quam facta sunt omnia (mss D δ maur **quem**) AUs 6.23  
 Adaptation: [Jn 1:1 de uerbo dei deo apud deum] per quod facta sunt omnia AUs 8.123  
 Adaptation: haerentes ueritatem per quam facta sunt omnia (only in ms eu.) AUs 8.138  
 Adaptation: [Jn 1:1 deum de deo uerbum apud deum uerbum deum] per quod facta sunt omnia AUs 9.146  
 Adaptation: id est deus uerbum dei per quod facta sunt omnia AUs 9.349  
 Adaptation: dominus noster iesus christus uerbum patris per quod facta sunt omnia AUs 12.303  
 [2Cor 8:9] uide illum diuitem omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUs 14.170  
 uide illum diuitem omnia per ipsum facta sunt uide illum pauperem [Jn 1:14] AUs 14.173  
 [Jn 1:2] omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUs 20A.146  
 Adaptation: ipse est enim uerbum dei per quod facta sunt omnia AUs 22.25  
 [Jn 1:2] omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUs 23A.62 (ms B2m **nichil**)  
 [Jn 1:2] omnia per ipsum facta sunt AUs 26.118  
 [Jn 1:1] ipse mundus non erat quando deus uerbum erat. omnia per ipsum facta sunt [Jn 1:10] AUs 26.129  
 [Jn 1:2] omnia per ipsum facta sunt AUs 36.57  
 [Jn 1:1] omnia per ipsum facta sunt. et crucifigitur et irridetur et lancea percutitur et sepelitur. et omnia per ipsum facta sunt AUs 45.179  
 Adaptation: uerbum per quod facta sunt omnia (mss δ11m maur **quem**) AUs 46.258  
 omnia inquit per ipsum facta sunt. et satietate inculcans tardis duris litigiosis addidit et sine ipso factum est nihil AUs 52.3.4/356  
 quid igitur fratres? omnia per ipsum facta sunt AUs 52.3.5/356  
 sicut ex euangelio commemorauimus omnia per ipsum factum est et sine ipso factum est nihil AUs 52.3.5/356  
 et testimonia de scripturis adhibuisti nihil facere patrem sine filio quia omnia per ipsum facta sunt AUs 52.3.7/357  
 [Matt 8:23-27, Ps 94:5] omnia per ipsum facta sunt AUs 63.3/424  
 Adaptation: [Matt 14:33] hoc est enim gaudium sempiternum quo perspicua ueritas et uerbum dei et sapientia per quam **facta sunt** omnia AUs 75.9.10/479  
 [Jn 1:2] omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUs 97.4/591  
 quia qui fecit uerbum - et omnia per ipsum facta sunt - uenit quaerere quod perierat AUs 110A.1/42.22 (AUs Dol 17)  
 Adaptation: uerbum dei est per quod facta sunt omnia AUs 113A.14  
 subiici enim omnia possunt uerbo dei quia omnia per ipsum facta sunt AUs 117.1.1/662  
 quod per ipsum uerbum uerbum factus est hoc ei redditur ut reficiatur. omnia per ipsum factum sunt. AUs 117.2.2/662  
 Adaptation: ergo factum est uerbum a patre? non. omnia per ipsum facta sunt. si per ipsum omnia facta sunt numquid et ipse per se ipsum factus est? per quem audis facta esse omnia noli putare factum esse inter omnia. nam si et ipse factus est non **per illum facta sunt** omnia AUs 118.1/672  
 [Jn 1:2] omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUs 119.2/674  
 [Jn 1:1] omnia per ipsum facta sunt et ecce [Jn 1:14] AUs 119.5.5  
 quanto uerbo quali uerbo? omnia per ipsum facta sunt. opera uidete et operatorem expauescite. omnia per ipsum facta sunt AUs 120.2/677  
 dominus autem angelorum ex eo quod omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil. si enim omnia et angeli. et ideo ipse non factus est quia per ipsum facta sunt omnia AUs 125.3/691  
 incurristi in blasphemiam euangelii. omnia enim per ipsum facta sunt AUs 126.7.9/702  
 non erat tempus ante filium quia omnia per ipsum facta sunt. si omnia per ipsum facta sunt et tempora per ipsum facta sunt AUs 127.4.4/708  
 [Jn 8:58]....ante uniuersam creaturam omnia enim per ipsum facta sunt AUs 130A.10/64.248 (AUs Dol 19)  
 [Jn 1:2] omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUs 133.6/740  
 Adaptation: ipse est uerbum dei per quod facta sunt omnia AUs 159B.9/279.290 (AUs Dol 21)  
 [Jn 1:1] et omnia per ipsum facta sunt AUs 164.4.7/898

et ideo in principio fecit deus coelum et terram quia erat uerbum. omnia per ipsum facta sunt AUs 183.3.4/990  
*Adaptation: filius aequalis patri per quem facta sunt omnia* AUs 198.40/121.960 (AUs Dol 26)  
*Adaptation: in illo ipsum uerbum per quod facta sunt omnia quia [Jn 1:14]* AUs 198.61/139.1492 (AUs Dol 26)  
*Adaptation: uerbum illud dei per quod facta sunt omnia* AUs 198.62/139.1500 (AUs Dol 26)  
*Adaptation: uerbum ipsum per quod facta sunt omnia [caro factum est Jn 1:14]* AUs 198.62/140.1506 (AUs Dol 26)  
*Adaptation: omnipotens filius per quem facta sunt omnia* AUs 212.1/1058 (SC116 AUs 212.1.22)  
per quid factum est ? omnia per ipsum facta sunt AUs 223A.1  
audi quid dicit sanctum euangelium omnia per ipsum facta sunt AUs 225.1.1/1096  
quomodo in uirgine tale uerbum? omnia per ipsum facta sunt AUs 225.2.2/1096  
cogita quemadmodum te dilexit. omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUs 239.5.6/1129  
[Jn 1:2] omnia per ipsum facta sunt AUs 242A.1  
[Jn 1:2] omnia per ipsum facta sunt uide factum [Jn 1:14] AUs 244.3/1149  
*Adaptation: uerbum per quod facta sunt omnia [Jn 1:1-3]* AUs 253.5.111  
[Jn 1:2] omnia per ipsum facta sunt AUs 253.4.5 (SC116 AUs 253.5.113)  
[Jn 1:1] adhuc quaeris qualis deus? omnia per ipsum facta sunt AUs 261.4.4/1204  
recolo quae fecit. omnia per ipsum facta sunt AUs 261.4.4/1204  
[Jn 1:2] omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUs 261.6.6/1205  
[Jn 1:1] haec altitudo caret initio caret tempore quia per ipsum facta sunt omnia AUs 265E.2  
[Jn 1:2] omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUs 277.13.13/1264  
missus ante illum sed factus per illum. omnia enim per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUs 288.1/1302  
[Jn 1:2] omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUs 288.2/1304  
[Jn 1:2] omnia per ipsum facta sunt AUs 290.2.2/1313  
[Jn 1:1] omnia per ipsum facta sunt AUs 291.2/1317  
et nos facti sumus: omnia per ipsum facta sunt AUs 293.5/1330  
[Jn 1:1 *Adaptation:*] et omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUs 293.5/1330  
[Jn 1:1] magnas res post iohannem christus et tamen iohannes per christum. omnia enim per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUs 293A.3  
*Adaptation: uerbum ergo dei per quod facta sunt omnia* AUs 293A.5/387.73 (AUs Dol 3)  
*Adaptation: uerbum dei per quod facta sunt omnia* AUs 293A.6/387.79 (AUs Dol 3)  
qui erat ante caelum et terram quia omnia per ipsum facta sunt AUs 293D.2  
[Jn 1:1] numquid dedit unusquisque eorum diceretur de illo omnia per illum facta sunt AUs 293E.1  
unde maior? quia omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUs 293E.1  
primum uis intueri? omnia per ipsum facta sunt AUs 299B.1  
[Jn 1:1] ipse est christus ipse est unigenitus dei filius ipse est gignenti coaeternus. omnia per ipsum facta sunt AUs 334.2/1469  
[Jn 1:1] omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUs 335K.4  
[Jn 1:2] omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUs 341.2.2/1493  
[Jn 1:2] omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUs 341.3.3/1495  
[Jn 1:2] omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUs 341.10/181.261 (AUs Dol 22)  
[Ps 86:5] quia omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUs 341.19/190.465 (AUs Dol 22)  
*Adaptation: [Jn 1:14] cum ille unigenitus per quem facta sunt omnia [Phil 2:6--8]* AUs 341.20/190.472 (AUs Dol 22)  
[Jn 1:1] omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUs 341A.1  
[Jn 1:1] sermo contextus adiungit omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil. hoc est quo creati sumus. AUs 342.1/1501  
[Jn 1:1] omnia per ipsum facta sunt AUs 342.1/1502  
[Gen 1:1] quia omnia per ipsum facta sunt AUs 342.3/1503  
*Adaptation: ut uideamus super omnia per quem facta sunt omnia.* AUs 369.2/1656  
[Jn 1:1] si quantae potentiae sit omnia per ipsum facta sunt AUs 375A.2  
[Jn 1:1] qualis deus quantus deus omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUs 379.4 (webtext; not in Migne)  
ipse est christus. omnia per ipsum facta sunt AUs 379.7 (webtext; not in Migne)  
[Jn 1:1] et quia omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUs 380.2/1676  
sicut dicit euangelista omnia per ipsum facta sunt AUy 4.5/8.13  
*Adaptation: uerbum per quod facta sunt omnia* (mss R M creata) AUy 4.6/10.2  
[Jn 1:1] non enim factus deus cum omnia per ipsum facta sint AUy 8.18/22.6 (mss A F S P V O γ sunt)  
[Jn 1:2] omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil AUtri 1.6.12  
*Adaptation: ipsum factum non esse per quem facta sunt omnia* AUtri 1.6.15  
si facta substantia est non omnia per ipsum facta sunt at si omnia per ipsum facta sunt [Symbolum Nicaen.] AUtri 1.6.21  
sicut iohannes omnia per ipsum facta sunt AUtri 1.6.77 (ms F omnia inquit)  
[1 Cor 8:6] et sicut in euangelio iohannes omnia per ipsum facta sunt AUtri 1.6.95



*Adaptation: si...non fecit ipse filius non omnia per filium facta sunt. at omnia per filium facta sunt. ipse igitur factus non est ut cum patre faceret omnia quae facta sunt* AUtri 1.6.100

*Adaptation: in forma dei uerbum per quod facta sunt omnia* AUtri 1.7.38

*secundam formam dei [i.e. Phil 2:6] omnia per ipsum facta sunt* AUtri 1.11.21

*Adaptation: unigenitus per quem facta sunt omnia* AUtri 1.12.108

*Adaptation: uerbum est per quod facta sunt omnia* AUtri 1.13.203

*Adaptation: nec per alium fieri potuit nisi per quem facta sunt omnia et sine quo factum est nihil* AUtri 2.8.8

*Adaptation: uerbum eius per quod omnia facta sunt* AUtri 2.9.14

*Adaptation: omnia enim per uerbum suum fecit* AUtri 2.10.23

*Adaptation: uerbum dei per quod facta sunt omnia* AUtri 2.15.31

*Adaptation: [Jn 1:1] per quod facta sunt omnia* AUtri 2.16.23

*Reminiscence: inuisibilis ratio sapientiae dei per quam creata sunt omnia* AUtri 3.7.104

*Adaptation: uerbum dei per quod facta sunt omnia* AUtri 4.1.39

*sic enim omnia per ipsum facta sunt* AUtri 4.1.45

*[Jn 1:1] et omnia per ipsum facta sunt nec per ipsum omnia facta esset nisi ipsum esset ante omnia factumque non esset. in his autem quae per ipsum facta sunt etiam corpus quod uita non est per ipsum non fieret nisi in illo antequam fieret uita esset* AUtri 4.1.49

*omnia enim per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil* AUtri 4.1.56

*[Acts 14:14] quia omnia per ipsum facta sunt* AUtri 4.19.15

*Reminiscence: ipsum autem uerbum per quod omnia facta erant* AUtri 4.19.42

*[Jn 1:1] et omnia per ipsum facta sunt* AUtri 7.1.24

*Adaptation: genita scilicet per quam facta sunt omnia* AUtri 7.3.3

*Adaptation: uerbum dei per quod facta sunt omnia* AUtri 7.3.22

*Adaptation: uerbum per quod facta sunt omnia* AUtri 12.6.4

*[Jn 1:2] omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil* AUtri 13.1.10

*[Jn 1:2] omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil* AUtri 13.1.33

*[Jn 1:1] de quo dictum est omnia per ipsum facta sunt de quo dictum est [Jn 1:14] AUtri 15.11.37*

*sicut de illo uerbo dictum est omnia per ipsum facta sunt* AUtri 15.11.58

*Adaptation: creatura uero nulla esse posset nisi per ipsum per quod facta sunt omnia* AUtri 15.11.72

*Adaptation: unigenitum dei uerbum per quod facta sunt omnia* AUtri 15.20.3

*[MAX] [Jn 1:2] et omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil* AUMax co 17/734

*[MAX] omnia a christo consecutus est quia per christum facta sunt omnia et sine illo factum est nihil* AUMax co 10/713

*[MAX] derogat utique unigenito deo per quem omnia facta sunt et sine quo factum est nihil sicut et [Jn 5:23] AUMax co 21/736*

*[PEL] per **iesum christum** facta sunt **omnia** et sine ipso factum est nihil* AUnu 2.34/315.9

*[PEL] ut diceret [sc. Pelagius] uere credito quia per **iesum** facta sunt **omnia** et sine ipso factum est nihil* AUnu 2.35/319.6

#### **<1:4> quod factum est in ipso uita erat et uita erat lux hominum**

*[Jn 1:3] quod factum est in **eo** uita **est** et uita erat lux hominum* AUcf 7.9.11 (ms A **ea**, ms F **illo**)

*[Jn 1:3] quod factum est in ipso uita erat et uita erat lux hominum* AUci 10.29.2

*[Jn 1:3] quod factum est in ipso uita erat et uita erat lux hominum* AUep 140.3.6/159.8

*Adaptation: ipse enim uita est quae ita in **illo** est ut ipse sit quoniam ipse uita **est** lux hominum (ms d ipsa uita est lux) AUGn li 2.6/41.8*

*adiungit enim euangelista et dicit quod factum est in **illo** uita **est** et uita erat lux hominum* AUGn li 5.13/156.24

*non ergo ita pronuntiari oportet quod factum est in **illo** uita **est** ut subdistingamus quod factum est in **illo** et deinde inferamus uita **est*** AUGn li 5.14/157.3

*distinguit de quali uita loquatur cum addit et uita erat lux hominum* AUGn li 5.14/157.13 (ms S addidit, mss E S **om.et**)

*[continues Jn 1:4 previous cit] sic ergo distinguendum est ut cum dixerimus quod factum est deinde inferamus in **illo** uita **est*** AUGn li 5.14/157.15

*eo modo ergo in **illo** uita **est** quod factum est quomodo dictum est [Jn 5:26] AUGn li 5.14/157.21*

*[Jn 5:26] nec praetermittendum est quod emendatores codices habent quod factum est in **illo** uita erat ut sic intellegatur uita erat [Jn 1:1] AUGn li 5.14/157.26 (ms P **om.** ut...erat, ms Rm1 add in mg ut...erat)*

*[Jn 1:1] quod ergo factum est iam **uita erat** in **illo** et uita non qualiscumque - nam et pecora dicuntur uiuere quae frui non possunt participatione sapientiae - sed uita erat lux hominum* AUGn li 5.14/158.2

*hoc legamus et intellegamus quod factum est in **illo** uita **est*** AUGn li 5.15/158.9

*quod factum est in **illo** uita **est** et uita erat lux hominum* AUJo 1.16 [CT]

*quod factum est in **illo** uita **est** et uita erat lux hominum* AUJo 2.1.9

*quod factum est in ipso uita erat et uita erat lux hominum* AUJo 3.4.11

*[Jn 1:1] et uita erat lux hominum* AUJo 26.10.15

*[Jn 1:2] de quo etiam paulo post dictum est et uita erat lux hominum* AUMax 2.23.7/801

et uita *inquit* erat lux hominum AUmor 1.27.6 (ms S **et erat uita**)  
 [Jn 1:3] quod factum est in **illo** uita **est** et uita erat lux hominum AUPs 29.s2.1.29 (ms P & antiquiores codd. quod factum **erat**)  
*sicut in euangelio dicitur* quod factum est in ipso uita erat AUPs 44.5.36  
 [Acts 10:13] *et quid in euangelio* et uita erat lux hominum AUq 39.10  
 [Jn 1:3] quod factum est in **eo** uita **est** et uita erat lux hominum AUs 133.6/740  
*uerbum dei de quo dictum est* uita erat lux hominum AUs 141.4.4/777  
*Adaptation:* uitam et lucem hominum AUs 188.1/1003  
*uita autem unde nobis?* et uita erat lux hominum AUs 232.5/1110 (SC116 AUs 232.5.116)  
 [Jn 1:3] quod factum est in ipso uita erat et uita erat lux hominum AUs 261.6.6/1205  
*Adaptation:* [Jn 1:1, 1:3] et in quo est uita quod factum est AUs 293.5/1330  
*non enim erat mors in uita.* uita *enim* erat lux hominum AUs 299F.2  
 [Jn 1:3] quod factum est in **illo** uita **est** et uita erat lux hominum AUs 335K.4  
 [Jn 1:3] quod factum est in **illo** uita erat et uita erat lux hominum AUs 341.2.2/1493  
 [Jn 1:3] quod factum est in **illo** uita **est** et uita erat lux hominum AUs 341.3/172.35 (ms D ipso, mss M P illo uita est, mss T D ed illo uita erat) (AUs Dol 22)  
 [Jn 1:3] quod factum est in **eo** uita **est** et uita erat lux hominum AUs 341A.1  
 [Jn 1:3] *quo uero redempti audi:* quod factum est in **eo** uita erat et uita erat lux hominum AUs 342.1/1501  
*uitam perdidistis.* et uita erat lux hominum. *ecce quod reliquistis quando in adam omnes peristis.* uita erat lux hominum AUs 375B.5  
 [Jn 1:3] quod factum est in **eo** uita erat et uita erat lux hominum AUs 379.4 (webtext; not in Migne)  
*Adaptation:* [Jn 1:3] *ut quidquid factum est in his in illo* uita sit AUtri 4.1.47  
*Adaptation:* *etiam corpus quod uita non est per ipsum non fieret nisi in illo antequam fieret* uita esset AUtri 4.1.52 (mss N O F K in illo iam, ms cett codd iam in illo)  
 [Jn 1:4 *prev.cit.*] quod *enim* factum est in **illo** iam uita erat AUtri 4.1.53  
 [Jn 1:3] quod *ergo* factum est in **illo** uita erat et *non qualiscumque uita* sed uita erat lux hominum AUtri 4.1.58 (ms S om.lux hominum)  
*Adaptation:* *at illa uita lux* hominum **erat** [*continues with Acts 17:27-8*] AUtri 4.1.64  
*Adaptation:* *illius scilicet uitae quae lux est hominum* AUtri 4.2.3  
 [Jn 1:3] quod factum est in ipso uita erat et uita erat lux hominum AUtri 13.1.11 (ms S in ipso uita **est**)  
 [Jn 1:3] quod factum est in ipso uita erat et uita erat lux hominum AUtri 13.1.35  
*de eo quod dictum est* quod factum est in ipso uita erat **et** lux hominum AUtri brev alt 4.2.3

#### <1:5> et lux in tenebris lucet et tenebrae eam non comprehenderunt

[Jn 1:4] et lux in tenebris lucet et tenebrae eam non comprehenderunt AUcf 7.9.11  
 [Jn 1:4] et lux in tenebris lucet et tenebrae eam non comprehenderunt AUci 10.29.2  
*Adaptation:* *huius enim lucernae [cf 2 Pet 1:19] quidam fons ineffabilis lumen illud est quod sic lucet* in tenebris **ut** non **comprehendatur a tenebris** AUep 130.2.5/45.10 (ms P1 om.illud)  
 [Jn 1:4] et lux in tenebris lucet et tenebrae eam non comprehenderunt AUep 140.3.6/159.9  
*Adaptation:* *deus uero idem ipse christus ubique semper est. est enim lux quae lucet etiam* in tenebris **quamuis** **eam** tenebrae non **comprehendant** AUep 187.3.7/87.7 (ms R quamuis etiam tenebrae, ms C tenebrae eam)  
 [Jn 1:9] *secundum quam lucet* in tenebris et tenebrae eam non **comprehendunt** AUEv 3.25.86/393.2 (ms B ineffabilem [om.lucem] **quam** inluminat)  
*Adaptation:* *quemadmodum lux luceat* in tenebris et tenebrae eam non **comprehendant** (ms M **prehendant**) AUFau 22.11/599.10  
*talis lux luxit* in tenebris et tenebrae eam non comprehenderunt AUFel 2.15/844 (quoting FEL)  
*uerum dixisti quia lux lucet* in tenebris et tenebrae eam non comprehenderunt AUFel 2.15/844 (quoting FEL)  
*sed non est mirum si lux lucet* in tenebris et tenebrae eam non **comprehendunt.** *in Iohanne lux dicit [1Jn 3:1]* AUgr 19.40  
 et lux in tenebris lucet et tenebrae eam non comprehenderunt AUJo 1.19 [CT]  
 et lux in tenebris lucet et tenebrae eam non comprehenderunt AUJo 2.1.10  
 lux **lucet** in tenebris et tenebrae **eum** non comprehenderunt AUJo 2.8.5  
 lux in tenebris lucet et tenebrae eam non comprehenderunt AUJo 3.5.3  
 et lux **lucet** in tenebris et tenebrae **eum** non comprehenderunt AUJo 35.4.35  
*sed* lux in tenebris **lucibat** et tenebrae eam non comprehenderunt AUJo 36.3.21  
*quoniam* lux **lucibat** in tenebris et tenebrae eam non **comprehendebant** AUJo 47.14.11  
*sed* lux **lucet** in tenebris **nec eam** tenebrae comprehendunt AUJo 111.2.56  
*illo lumine...quod aeternum manet quod etiam* in tenebris lucet AUpec 1.25.37/36.1  
 [Jn 1:4] et lux in tenebris lucet et tenebrae eam non comprehenderunt AUPs 29.s2.1.30  
*de quibus dictum est* lux **lucet** in tenebris et tenebrae eam non comprehenderunt AUPs 34.s1.4.24  
 [Jn 1:10] *quia* lux in tenebris lucet et tenebrae eam non comprehenderunt *et ipsae tenebrae quae non comprehenderunt lucem praesentem [Eph 6:12]* AUPs 54.4.30  
 [Jn 1:4] et lux in tenebris lucet et tenebrae eam non comprehenderunt AUs 133.6/741  
 [Jn 1:10,11] *quia* lux **lucibat** in tenebris et **eam tenebrae** non **comprehendebant** AUs 195.3/1018

[Jn 1:4] et lux in tenebris lucet et tenebrae eam non comprehenderunt. *ecce quare non capis lux in tenebris lucet et tenebrae eam non comprehenderunt* AUs 261.6.6/1205

[Jn 1:3] et paulo post et lux **lucet** in tenebris. *iste unigenitus totus manens apud patrem totus lucet in tenebris* AUs 277.13.13/1264

[Jn 1:4] et lux in tenebris lucet et tenebrae eam non comprehenderunt AUs 335K.4

[Jn 1:4] et lux in tenebris lucet et tenebrae eam non comprehenderunt AUs 341.2.2/1493

[Jn 1:4] et lux in tenebris lucet et tenebrae eam non comprehenderunt AUs 341.3/172.35 (AUs DoI 22)

[Jn 1:4] et lux in tenebris lucet et tenebrae eam non comprehenderunt AUs 342.1/1501

*unde autem mudentur nondum dicit. lux inquit lucet* in tenebris et tenebrae eam non comprehenderunt AUs 342.1/1501

[Jn 1:14]... paulo superius attende. lux inquit **lucet** in tenebris et tenebrae eam non comprehenderunt AUs 342.2/1502

[Jn 1:4] et lux in tenebris lucet et tenebrae eam non comprehenderunt. *quid ergo dicitur* tenebrae non comprehenderunt AUs 379.5 (webtext; not in Migne)

*deinde quia dicit iohannes euangelista lux in tenebris lucet et tenebrae eam non comprehenderunt ne remanerent tenebrae* AUs 379.5 (webtext; not in Migne)

[Jn 1:7] *quare quia lux in tenebris lucet et tenebrae eam non comprehenderunt* AUs 379.5 (webtext; not in Migne)

*Reminiscence: AUsp 18.31/185.7 ipsum esse lumen quo tenebrae nostrae inluminantur* (ms Om1 **nulluminatur**, ms d **illuminentur**)

[Jn 1:4] [Acts 17:27-28] *sed lux in tenebris lucet et tenebrae eam non comprehenderunt* AUtri 4.1.66 (ms Ia om.**lux**)

[1 Cor 1:21] *quoniam lux lucet in tenebris et tenebrae eam non comprehenderunt* [continues with 1 Cor 1:21 again] AUtri 4.20.81 (ms J comprehendunt)

[Jn 1:4] et lux in tenebris lucet et tenebrae eam non comprehenderunt AUtri 13.1.12

[Jn 1:4] et lux in tenebris lucet et tenebrae eam non comprehenderunt AUtri 13.1.35 (ms K **ea**)

*sed propter id quod ait lux lucet in tenebris et tenebrae eam non comprehenderunt* AUtri 13.1.39

*lux ergo lucet in tenebris quod si eam tenebrae non comprehendunt inluminentur dei dono* AUtri 15.27.52 (ms Eug G P v tenebrae **eam**)

[FEL] *secundum quod et scriptum est lux lucet in tenebris* et tenebrae eam non comprehenderunt AUFel 2.15/844.13

#### <1:6> fuit homo missus a deo cui nomen erat iohannes

*consonans euangelio ubi legitur fuit homo missus a deo cui nomen erat iohannes* AUci 10.2.26 (ms C1 **iohannis**)

*ideo fuit homo missus a deo cui nomen erat iohannes* AUep 140.3.7/159.24 (ms O **om.homo**)

*iohannes quoque apostolus in euangelistis quattuor eminentissimus...* [Jn 1:3] *intulit continuo de iohannis*

*praedicatione ac testimonio dicens fuit homo missus a deo cui nomen erat iohannes* AUEv 2.6.18/115.4 (ms C1 **iohannis**)

*fuit homo missus a deo cui nomen erat iohannes* AUJo 2.2.1 [CT]

**erat** homo missus a deo cui nomen erat iohannes AUJo 35.3.8

[Jn 1:5]...*nec comprehendere ad perfectum ualeam illa lucet.* fuit homo missus a deo cui nomen erat iohannes AUs 133.6/741

[Jn 5:35] *iohannes autem euangelista quid de illo dicit?* fuit homo missus a deo cui nomen erat iohannes AUs 289.4/1310

*iohannes euangelista de iohanne baptista quamuis dixerit de eo* fuit homo missus a deo cui nomen erat iohannes AUs 293B.3

[Jn 1:5]...*lucernam tamen utcumque tolerabant.* fuit homo missus a deo cui nomen erat iohannes AUs 342.2/1502

[Jn 1:5] *postea quid dicit* fuit homo missus a deo cui nomen erat iohannes...fuit homo cui nomen erat iohannes AUs 379.5 (webtext; not in Migne)

*fuit enim* homo missus a deo cui nomen erat iohannes AUs 379.5 (webtext; not in Migne)

[Ps 120:1] *quia erat* homo missus a deo cui nomen erat iohannes AUs 379.7 (webtext; not in Migne)

[Jn 1:5] fuit homo missus a deo cui nomen erat iohannes AUtri 13.1.13

*propter quod adiungit et dicit* fuit homo missus a deo cui nomen erat iohannes AUtri 13.1.43

*ut possint cogitare quod dicitur* fuit homo cui nomen erat iohannes *quia et nomina sciunt loquendo et audiendo.*

*quod autem ibi est* missus a deo AUtri 13.1.55 (mss A Ja fuit homo **missus a deo**, ms P fuit homo **missus**, ms V2 ibi **dictum** est)

#### <1:7> hic uenit in testimonium ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine ut omnes crederent per illum

*Adaptation: [Jn 1:5] et quia hominis anima quamuis testimonium perhibeat de lumine* AUcf 7.9.13

[Jn 1:6] hic uenit in testimonium ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine ut omnes crederent per **eum** AUci 10.2.27

[Jn 1:6] hic uenit **ut** testimonium perhiberet de lumine ut omnes crederent per **eum** AUep 140.3.7/159.25 (ms G edd. add. in testimonium, also edd. per illum)

hic uenit in testimonium ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine ut omnes crederent per illum AUJo 2.5.6 [CT]

[Jn 1:6] hic uenit in testimonium ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine ut omnes crederent per **eum** AUJo 35.3.8 (CC36 his)  
 [Jn 1:6] hic uenit **ut** testimonium perhiberet de lumine ut omnes crederent per **ipsum** AUs 133.6/741  
 [Jn 1:6] hic uenit in testimonium ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine AUs 289.4/1310  
 [Jn 1:6] hic uenit in testimonium ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine *quamuis occurrent testimonium perhibere de lumine* AUs 293B.3  
 [Jn 1:6] hic uenit **ut** testimonium perhiberet de lumine AUs 342.2/1502  
 [Jn 1:6] in testimonium ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine...[Jn 1:5] AUs 379.5 (webtext; not in Migne)  
 non capit homo ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine *ideo uenit* AUs 379.5 (webtext; not in Migne)  
 [Jn 1:6] hic uenit **ut** testimonium perhiberet de lumine AUs 379.7 (webtext; not in Migne)  
 [Jn 1:6] hic uenit in testimonium ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine ut omnes crederent per illum AUtri 13.1.14  
 [Jn 1:6] hic uenit in testimonium ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine ut omnes crederent per illum AUtri 13.1.44  
*deinde quod sequitur* hic uenit in testimonium ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine ut omnes crederent per illum AUtri 13.1.91 (ms Ra crederent **de lumine**)  
*de quo* ut testimonium perhiberet uenit *iohannes* AUtri 13.1.95

#### <1:8> non erat ille lux sed ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine

*Adaptation:* [Jn 1:7] non est tamen ipsa **lumen** AUcf 7.9.13  
 [Jn 1:7] non erat ille **lumen** sed ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine AUci 10.2.24  
 [Jn 1:7] non erat ille **lumen** sed ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine AUep 140.3.7/159.27 (ms G **lux**)  
*quod dicitur de iohanne* non erat ille **lumen** AUep 140.3.7/160.18  
 non erat ille **lumen** AUJo 2.5.12 sed ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine AUJo 2.6.1 [CT]  
**ille non erat** lux sed ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine AUJo 2.6.16  
 sed ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine *nam* non erat ille lux AUJo 3.5.15  
 non erat ille **lumen** sed ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine AUJo 14.1.10  
 non erat ille **lumen** sed ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine AUJo 23.3.26  
 [Jn 1:7] non erat ille **lumen** sed ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine **ut omnes crederent per illum** AUJo 35.3.8  
*iohanni baptistae iohannes euangelista concedit de quo ait* non erat ille **lumen** sed ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine AUPar 2.14.32/84.20  
*quemadmodum de iohanne dictum est* non erat ille **lumen** AUperf 14/33.3  
 non erat ille **lumen** AUperf 14/33.8  
*Adaptation:* et de iohanne dicitur quia non erat ille **lumen** sed **testimonium perhibebat** de lumine AUPs 7.8.35  
*de quo dictum est deus erat uerbum* non erat ille **lumen** sed *missus est* ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine AUPs 118.s23.1.13  
*dicit enim iohannes euangelista* non erat ille **lumen** sed ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine AUs 4.85 (ms α **periberet**)  
*sic et iohannes amicus sponsi christus putabatur lumen putabatur.* non erat ille **lumen** sed ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine AUs 67.5.9/457  
*qui lapides nisi de quibus dicit ipse iohannes iste qui uenit* ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine AUs 121.3/679  
 [Jn 1:7] non erat ille **lumen**. *quis? iohannes. quis? iohannes baptista. de ipso enim dicit iohannes euangelista* non erat ille **lumen** de quo dicit dominus [Jn 5:35] AUs 133.6/741  
*Adaptation:* cui lucerna testimonium perhibebat erat **lumen uerum** AUs 133.6/741  
 [Jn 1:7] non erat ille **lumen**. *quis? iohannes baptista. quis hoc dicit? iohannes euangelista.* non erat ille **lumen** sed ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine. *tu dicis* non erat ille **lumen** de quo dicit ipsum [Jn 5:35] AUs 289.4/1310  
 [Jn 1:9] de iohanne autem baptista dicit non erat ille **lumen** AUs 341.18/187.410 (AUs Dol 22)  
 [Jn 1:7, 5:33, 35]...non erat ille **lumen** sed ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine AUs 342.2/1502  
 [Jn 1:7] et sequitur non erat ille **lumen** *quis? iohannes.* non erat ille **lumen** sed ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine AUs 379.5 (webtext; not in Migne)  
 [Jn 1:16] ergo iohannes non erat **lumen**?...*alter iohannes uerax et ipse testatur et dicit* non erat ille **lumen** AUs 379.6 (webtext; not in Migne)  
*iohannes euangelista dixit de illo* non erat ille **lumen**. *iniuriam forte fecit iohanni quia ait* non erat ille **lumen**. AUs 380.7/1681  
*quid sibi ergo uult* non erat ille **lumen** sed ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine AUs 380.7/1681  
*dictum intellegatur* non erat ille **lumen** AUs 380.7/1681  
 [Jn 1:7] non erat ille lux sed ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine AUtri 13.1.16  
 [Jn 1:7] qui non erat **lux** sed ut testimonium perhiberet de lumine AUtri 13.1.96 (ms Ca om.ut)

[Paulinus] *Reminiscence:* christus etenim **lumen** et uita credentium est AUep 121.1.5/727.8

#### <1:9> erat lux uera quae inluminat omnem hominem uenientem in mundum

*quomodo negabunt...* de quo scriptum legunt erat **lumen uerum quod** inluminat omnem hominem AUAr 32.24 (ms W **lux uera**, ms ζ **quae**, ms ζ **hominem uenientem in hunc mundum**)  
 [Jn 1:16] es enim tu **lumen uerum quod** inluminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUcf 4.15.31

[Jn 1:8] *sed uerbum deus est lumen uerum quod* inluminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUcf 7.9.14 (mss S τ deus **ipse**, mss A H B P Z μ **dei** deus, ms M om. **deus**)

*Reminiscence: redeunt ad te et accedunt et inluminantur recipientes lumen* AUcf 8.4.4

*recesserunt...a te uero lumine inluminante* inluminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUcf 8.10.10 (mss C1 D E F G1 M inluminantem)

*non enim lumen nos sumus quod* inluminat omnem hominem *sed inluminamur a te* AUcf 9.4.76

*ut quid mihi molestus est quasi ego inluminem ullum* hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUcf 13.10.10 (mss C D om. **ullum hominem**, ms G om. **hominem**, ms μ **omnem hominem**)

[Jn 1:8] erat **lumen uerum quod** inluminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUci 10.2.25

**lumen quippe uerum quod** inluminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUci 11.9.64

*quod in euangelio scriptum est qui* inluminat omnem hominem uenientem AUench 27.11 (ms X om. **uenientem**)

*denique sequitur erat lumen uerum* AUep 140.3.8/160.21

*lumen uerum a lumine inluminato id est christus a iohanne erat inquit lumen uerum quod* inluminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUep 140.3.8/160.23

*ad illud commune lumen ut inluminemur et uultus nostri non erubescant debemus accedere quod* inluminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUep 140.28.68/216.6 (ms G accedere ad lumen quod)

*Allusion: lumen earum iam christus aduenerat* AUep 149.24/370.3

*secundum illam ineffabilem lucem quae* inluminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum [Jn 1:4] AUEv 3.25.86/393.2 (ms B ineffabilem [om. lucem] **quam** inluminat)

**lumen illud mentium ab istis oculis penitus alienum quod** inluminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUFau 19.22/520.19

*ipse fecerat qui est lumen uerum quod* inluminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUFau 22.13/600.20 (mss S G **uerum lumen**, ms M **uerum est lumen**)

*quod dictum est in euangelio erat lumen uerum quod* inluminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUfu 2/194.22

[in Gen 1:2] *sed nos intellegamus aliam esse lucem in qua deus habitat unde est illud lumen de quo in euangelio dicitur erat lumen uerum quod* inluminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUGn Ma 1.6.11 (ms G euangelio **dicat**, mss C T lo ma om. M euangelio **legitur**, mss S am er euangelio **loquitur**)

*quia illud lumen* omnem hominem **illuminat** uenientem in **hunc** mundum *ergo [Gn 1:2] AUGn Ma 1.6.19* (ms N illud **est lumen quod**, ms tr.γ illuminat omnem hominem)

[Job 10:21] *illa est enim uita hominum ubi est lumen uerum quod* inluminat omnem hominem AUJb 10/533.16 (ms C enim est)

*cui sol intelligibilis est lumen illud uerum quod* inluminat omnem hominem [in Job 25:5] AUJb 25/561.9

*sed ille erat lumen uerum qui* illuminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUJo 1.6.19

erat **lumen uerum quod** illuminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUJo 1.18.8

erat lux uera quae illuminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUJo 2.7.1 [CT]

omnem hominem uenientem in mundum AUJo 2.7.19

erat lux uera quae illuminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUJo 3.5.16

erat **lumen uerum quod** illuminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUJo 7.5.6

(lux) quae illuminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUJo 11.5.4

erat **autem lumen uerum quod** illuminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUJo 14.2.25

erat **uerum lumen quod** illuminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUJo 15.19.33

**uerum lumen quod** illuminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUJo 19.14.53

erat **lumen uerum quod** illuminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUJo 23.3.23

erat **uerum lumen quod** illuminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUJo 23.3.29

[Jn 1:8] erat **lumen uerum quod** illuminat omnem hominem uenientem in mundum AUJo 35.3.8

erat **lumen uerum** AUJo 99.4.7

*Adaptation: non liberat quemquam nisi ipse sicut dictus est illuminare omnem hominem* AUJul im 2.136.9

*ubi legit erat lumen uerum quod* illuminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUleg 1.11.324 (ms V **omnem mundum** [corr.V2] **uenientem in hunc hominem**)

*Reminiscence: non a se ipso lumen est sed ab illo illuminatur* (mss V am fr maur qui est lumen illuminatur) AUleg 1.15.522

*Reminiscence: ille namque lumen est, nobis autem ab eodem illuminari licet* (ms C om. **autem**, ms O om. **ab**) AUmor 1.18.6

[Jn 1:8] erat **lumen uerum quod** illuminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUPar 2.14.32/84.21 (ms β om. **uerum**)

*quod scriptum est erat lumen uerum quod* inluminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUpec 1.25.36/35.5

*Reminiscence: si iam lumine illo uero quod uerbum dei est* (ms b illo lumine) AUpec 1.25.37/35.17

*illud quod in euangelio positum est erat lumen uerum quod* inluminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUpec 1.25.37/35.19

*cur autem cum dixisset quod* inluminat omnem hominem *addiderit* uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUpec 1.25.38/36.4

*dictum est* inluminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUpec 1.25.38/36.20

*Adaptation: nisi ab illo inluminatur quod est lumen uerum* (ms d **qui**) AUpec 1.25.38/36.23  
*quod est lumen uerum inluminans* omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUperf 14/33.6 (mss b d **uerum lumen**)  
*[Eph 5:8]...illa est lux quae* inluminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUPs 25.s2.11.26  
*ille non erubescibat. lumen enim erat uerum quod* inluminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUPs 33.s2.10.38  
*[Jn 1:16] de cuius plenitudine? illius qui erat lumen uerum quod* inluminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUPs 35.9.50  
*Reminiscence: proinde illud quod in principio erat uerbum lumen illud uerum* AUPs 67.21.45  
*[Matt 5:14] sed aliud illud dictum est lumen uerum quod* illuminat omnem hominem AUPs 77.23.23  
*[Matt 5:14] nisi ab illo de quo dictum est erat lumen uerum quod* inluminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUPs 88.s1.13.6  
*sed de quo dictum est erat lumen uerum quod* inluminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUPs 93.4.20  
*lumen est christus et uita est christus. erat lumen uerum quod* inluminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum et *[Jn 14:6]* AUPs 103.s4.6.50  
*[Jn 1:8] erat enim lumen uerum non quod illuminatur ut homo sed quod* illuminat omnem hominem AUPs 118.s23.1.15  
*ab illo lucent de quo dictum est erat lumen uerum quod* illuminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUPs 120.4.13  
*non omnino solis huius lumen occurret sed lumen uerum quod* illuminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUrel 39.28  
*dies est enim praesentia illius luminis quod* illuminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUrel 42.4 (ms δ **illius hominis**)  
*quia non eam perfundit lumen uerum quod* illuminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUrel 52.24  
*dicit iohannes erat lumen uerum quod* inluminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUs 4.82  
**uerum lumen est quod** inluminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUs 4.89 (mss γ ε **lumen uerum**)  
*erat lumen uerum quod* inluminat omnem hominem AUs 4.107 (mss γ δ ε **uerum lumen**)  
*[Jn 1:8] quod autem erat lumen? erat enim lumen uerum quid est uerum? quod* illuminat omnem hominem. *si uerum lumen quod* illuminat omnem hominem, *ergo et iohannem recte dicentem [Jn 1:16]* AUs 67.5.9/457  
*sicut dictum est erat lumen uerum quod* inluminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUs 75.4.5/476  
*ipse iesus quidem, ipse splenduit sicut sol, se lumen esse significans quod* illuminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUs 78.2/490  
*[Jn 1:8 Allusion:] cui lucerna testimonium perhibebat erat lumen uerum. ubi addidit iohannes uerum ibi tu quaeris mendacium* AUs 133.6/741  
*lumen tibi esse non potes. erat lumen uerum. in comparatione iohannis dictum est erat lumen uerum. [Jn 5:35]...sed erat lumen uerum* AUs 182.5.5/987  
*erat ergo lumen uerum quod* inluminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUs 182.5.5/987  
*eritis autem lux in domino qui* inluminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUs 216.4.4/1078  
*sed lux ista facta est erat autem lumen uerum quod* illuminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUs 229R.1  
*audi quid sequitur. erat lumen uerum quod* inluminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUs 289.4/1310  
*dictus est lux de quo dictum est erat lumen uerum quod* inluminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUs 289.6/1311  
*dicit ille iohannes euangelista erat lumen uerum quod* illuminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUs 293C.2  
*ego pro hoc lumine non negabo lumen. erat lumen uerum. noui cui dicam [Ps 35:10]* AUs 299D.5  
*ideo iohannes euangelista de domino ipso ait erat lumen uerum et quasi quaereretur quid est lumen uerum? quod* illuminat omnem hominem *inquit non ergo quod illuminatur sed quod* illuminat AUs 341.18/187.408 (ms M queretur) (AUs Dol 22)  
*quale est illud quod* illuminat et *non illuminatur* AUs 341.18/188.411 (ms M ante corr. illuminat omnem hominem) (AUs Dol 22)  
*[Jn 5:35]...[Matt 5:14 uos estis lumen mundi]...sed ille erat lumen uerum quod* illuminat omnem hominem *aliud est factum lumen quod illuminatur. lumen ergo uerum quod* illuminat *hoc dominus noster iesus christus* AUs 341.18/188.415 (AUs Dol 22) *[Jn 1:8] de quo lumine? erat lumen uerum quod* inluminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUs 342.2/1502  
*[1:16]...erat enim lumen uerum quod* inluminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUs 342.2/1502  
*illud ergo quod erat lumen uerum quod* illuminat omnem hominem *habentem mentem* uenientem in **hunc** mundum *ubi erat?* AUs 342.3/1502

[Jn 1:9] de quo lumine? sequitur erat **lumen uerum. uerum. quale lumen uerum? quod** illuminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AU 379.5 (webtext; not in Migne)  
*continuo subdidit in cuius comparatione non erat erat lumen uerum. addidit uerum. quid est quod dicis uerum?*  
**quod** illuminat omnem hominum AU 379.6 (webtext; not in Migne)  
 [Jn 1:8] secundum quod dixit erat **lumen uerum. quomodo discernis hoc uerum? quod** illuminat inquit omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AU 380.7/1681  
*Allusion: ad participatione illius ueri luminis* AUsp 3.5/157.18  
*illud enim erat uerum lumen quod* inluminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUsp 7.11/163.11 (ms S **uerbum**)  
*erat enim inquit lumen uerum quod* inluminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AU 4.6/10.11  
 [Ps 35:10] quia [Jn 5:26] et erat **lumen uerum quod** inluminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUtri 7.3.33  
*dictum est apostolis [Matt 5:14] sed lumen quod* inluminat omnem hominem AUtri 7.3.39  
*Adaptation: et nos quia inluminamur lumine illa uero quia lumen inluminans* AUtri 7.3.55  
 [Jn 1:8] erat lux uera quae inluminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUtri 13.1.16 (ms K erat **ille** lux, ms N del **hunc**)  
 [Jn 1:8]. adiungit enim erat lux uera quae inluminat omnem hominem uenientem in **hunc** mundum AUtri 13.1.97 (ms N del **hunc**, mss C F om.**hunc**)

[AM] **lumen** illud quod inluminat omnem hominem (ms D om.**illud**) AUPel 4.11.31/567.11 (Aug. quoting AM Expos. Esai.)

#### <1:10> in mundo erat et mundus per ipsum factus est et mundus eum non cognouit

mundus eum non **agnoscit** AU1Jo 4.4/2007  
*unde dicitur et mundus per eum factus est* AU1Jo 5.9/2017  
*ubi dictum est et mundus factus est per ipsum et mundus illum non cognouit* AUAd 1/115.10 (mss S T C V b **mundus per ipsum factus est**, ms V **eum non**)  
*et mundus per eum factus est* AUAd 1/116.2  
*de qua iohannes in euangelio melius ait tamquam dominici pectoris particeps. ait enim in hoc mundo erat et mundus per ipsum factus est et mundus eum non cognouit* AUAd 13/145.21  
*numquam recessit quia mundus per eum factus est et in hoc mundo erat et uenit in hunc mundum peccatores saluos facere* AUcf 4.12.28  
 [Jn 1:9] et quia in **hoc** mundo erat et mundus per **eum** factus est et mundus eum non cognouit AUcf 7.9.15 (ms μ **per ipsum**)  
*Adaptation: in uerbo dei ... per quod factus est mundus* AUci 9.22  
*Adaptation: illuc ergo uenit ubi erat quia in hoc mundo erat et mundus per eam factus est* AUdo 1.12.9 (mss F D **eum**, ms L1 **facturus est**) (CSEL ms S E **eum**)  
*propterea dixit euangelista et mundus eam non cognouit* AUdo 1.12.13 (subject is *sapientia*) (mss D μ V Kn **eum**) (CSELms A S M2 E B **eum**)  
 [Jn 1:9] in **hoc** mundo inquit erat et mundus per **eum** factus est et mundus eum non cognouit AUep 140.3.8/161.3 (ms O per ipsum)  
 [Jn 1:3] paulo post ait in **hoc** mundo erat et mundus per **eum** factus est AUGn li 5.17/160.18 (ms b om.**hoc**, mss P R S b d **ipsum**)  
 in mundo erat et mundus per **eum** factus est et mundus eum non cognouit AUJo 2.10.1 [CT]  
 in **hoc** mundo erat AUJo 2.8.1  
 per ipsum *enim mundus* factus est AUJo 2.10.14  
 mundus **factus est** per ipsum AUJo 2.11.1  
 mundus per ipsum factus est et mundus eum non cognouit AUJo 2.11.3  
 in **hoc** mundo erat AUJo 3.5.18  
 in **hoc** mundo erat AUJo 3.5.19  
 mundus per **eum** factus est et mundus eum non cognouit AUJo 3.5.21  
 et mundus per **eum** factus est et mundus eum non cognouit AUJo 20.7.25  
 et mundus per **eum** factus est AUJo 21.2.28  
 in **hoc** mundo erat et mundus per **eum** factus est AUJo 40.6.11  
 et mundus per **eum** factus est AUJo 79.2.12  
 et mundus per **eum** factus est et mundus eum non cognouit AUJo 95.4.8  
*Reminiscence: mundus factus est a patre per filium* AUJul 4.13.64  
*per uerbum hoc est per eundem ipsum christum facta sunt unde scriptum est mundus per eum factum est* AUJul 6.2.3  
 mundus per **eum** factus est et mundus eum non cognouit AUJul im 4.18  
*de christo enim scriptum est in hoc mundo erat et mundus per eum factus est* AUleg 1.3.112  
*Reminiscence: dominus iesus per quem factus est mundus* AUleg 1.4.127  
*cum ibi legat mundus per eum factus est* AUleg 1.11.324  
*Adaptation: mundus per filium factus est* AUMax 2.17.2/784

*Reminiscence: deum a quo factus est mundus* AUmor 1.16.11  
 in **hoc** mundo erat *inquit* et mundus per **eum** factus est et mundus eum non cognouit. *si ergo in hoc mundo erat et mundus eum non cognouit nostra immunditia non fert eius adspectum* AUPs 6.5.10  
*de quibus dictum est* et mundus eum non cognouit AUPs 34.s1.4.18  
*de quo dicit euangelium* et mundus eum non cognouit AUPs 54.4.29  
*Adaptation: qui in hoc mundo eras et mundus per te factus est et mundus te non cognouit* AUPs 73.19.39  
*sed mundum peccatores dicit.* et mundus eum non cognouit AUPs 76.7.13  
*adtingit omnia propter suam munditiam.* in **hoc** mundo erat et mundus per ipsum factus est AUPs 103.s1.8.26  
*non enim sic ad nos uenit ut inde discederet quia* in **hoc** mundo erat et mundus per **eum** factus est AUPs 103.s3.3.20  
 in **hoc** mundo erat *dictum est* AUPs 141.15.6  
*de quo dictum est* in **hoc** mundo erat AUPs 141.15.7  
*[Sap. 8:1] ergo in hoc mundo erat et mundus per ipsum factus est et mundus eum non cognouit* AUPs 141.15.12  
*audisti duos mundos mundus per eum factus est et mundus eum non cognouit* AUPs 141.15.13  
*mundus ergo et mundus mundus per eum factus est et mundus eum non cognouit* AUPs 141.15.39  
*de quo dicitur et mundus per eum factus est sed illius mundi de quo dicitur et mundus eum non cognouit* AUPs 142.16.20  
*mundi scilicet non qui per ipsum factus est quia et mundus per eum factus est sed mundi qui eum non cognouit*  
*quia et mundus eum non cognouit* AUPs 143.4.9  
*nam illuc uenit ubi erat quia [Jn 1:11] et in hoc mundo erat et mundus per eum factus est* AUq 62.33 (mss E c r maur **per ipsum**, mss c r om.est)  
*[Jn 1:3] et mundus per ipsum factus est* AUs 26.130  
 et mundus eum non cognouit AUs 81.3/501  
*quomodo? quoniam mundus per eum factus est et mundus eum non cognouit. mundus per eum factus est caelum et terra et omnia quae in eis sunt; mundus eum non cognouit amatores mundi, amatores mundi et contemptores dei. iste mundus eum non cognouit* AUs 96.5.5/587  
*[Matt 28:20, Rom. 6:9]...qua aequalis est patri* in **hoc** mundo erat et mundus per ipsum factus est et mundus eum non cognouit AUs 108.1.1/632  
 mundus per **dominum** factus est et mundus eum non cognouit. *qui mundus per eum factus est? qui mundus eum non cognouit? non enim mundus qui per eum factus est ipse eum non cognouit* AUs 121.1/678  
*[SC116 ergo christus in mundo erat et mundus per eum factus est et mundus eum non cognouit* AUs 121.1.3 (mss p maur om.ergo...et, mss p maur mundus dominum non)]  
*[2 Cor 5:19] mundus ergo non eum cognouit* AUs 121.1/678 (SC116 ms P mundus eum non)  
*[Jer. 23:24, Sap 8:1] ergo in hoc mundo erat et mundus per eum factus est et mundus eum non cognouit* AUs 174.1.1/940  
*Adaptation: hic est ergo dies quo uenit in mundum per quem factus est mundus; quo carne factus est praesens, uirtute numquam absens, quia in hoc mundo erat et in sua uenit. in mundo erat sed mundum latebat [Jn 1:5] AUs 195.3/1018*  
*de quo scriptum est et mundus per eum factus est* AUs 222/1091  
*quomodo in euangelio dictum est in hoc mundo erat et mundus per eum factus est et mundus eum non cognouit* AUs 252.10.10/1177  
*quia mundus per eum factus est et mundus eum non cognouit* AUs 296.9.9/1357  
*de domino christo dictum est in hoc mundo erat et mundus per eum factus est et mundus eum non cognouit. mundus per eum factus est: mundus per eum factus est [Ps 121:1-2]. iste mundus a deo factus est et mundus eum non cognouit* AUs 313A.2  
*[Jn 1:9] in hoc mundo erat. sed et terra in hoc mundo erat et sol et luna in hoc mundo erant. audi de die tuo o mentis humanae oculus!* in **hoc** mundo erat et **per ipsum** mundus factus est AUs 342.3/1502  
*ergo miro et ineffabili modo in hoc mundo erat et mundus per eum factus est et mundus eum non cognouit. quis est mundus qui per eum factus est?* AUs 342.3/1502  
*[Jn 1:3]. quis mundus eum non cognouit?* AUs 342.3/1503  
*ergo mundus per eum factus est et habitatio et habitatores et mundus eum non cognouit habitatores* AUs 342.3/1503  
*ipse euangelista dicit in hoc mundo erat et mundus per ipsum factus est et mundus eum non cognouit* AUtri 2.5.11 (mss C T Eug G P V v ipsum, cett codd **eum**)  
*[Jn 16:28] et in hoc mundo erat* AUtri 2.5.42  
*[1 Jn 5:4] in hoc mundo erat* AUtri 2.5.42 (ms Vinc add: et mundus per eum (ipsum ms R] factus est)  
*[Jn 16:28] et in hoc mundo erat* AUtri 3.pro.54  
*[Phil 2:7] [1 Tim 1:15] qui in hoc mundo erat quia mundus per eum factus est* AUtri 7.3.70 (mss C I **ipsum**)  
*[Jn 1:9] in mundo erat et mundus per ipsum factus est et mundus eum non cognouit* AUtri 13.1.18  
*[Jn 1:9] in mundo erat et mundus per eum factus est et mundus eum non cognouit* AUtri 13.1.98 (mss J P **ipsum**)



**<1:11> in propria uenit et sui eum non receperunt**

*quomodo uera esset uox illa apostoli in ipso euangelii memorabili principio, qua dictum est in sua propria uenit et sui eum non receperunt AU2an 9/63.7*

*[Jn 1:10] et tamen etiam ipse adiungit et dicit in sua propria uenit et sui eum non receperunt AUAd 13/145.23*

*[Jn 1:10] quia uero in sua propria uenit et sui eum non receperunt AUcf 7.9.16 (mss B P Z eum receperunt (om. non))*

*[Jn 1:10]... deinde adiungit in sua propria uenit et sui eum non receperunt AUep 140.3.9/161.10*

*in sua propria uenit et sui eum non receperunt AUJo 2.12.1 [CT]*

*in propria uenit id est in sua uenit et sui eum non receperunt AUJo 3.6.1*

*in sua enim propria uenit et sui enim non receperunt AUPs 47.8.44*

*nam illuc uenit ubi erat quia in sua propria uenit et [Jn 1:10] AUq 62.33*

*sicut dicitur de domino in sua propria uenit et sui eum non receperunt AUqSi 1.2.554*

*sic ergo susceptus est dominus tamquam hospes qui in sua propria uenit et sui eum non receperunt AUs 103.1.2/613*

*[Jn 1:14] quid praecessit recolamus paululum. in sua propria uenit et sui eum non receperunt AUs 119.4.4/674*

*[Jn 1:10] in sua propria uenit et sui eum non receperunt AUs 121.2/678 (SC116 AUs 121.2.18)*

*ergo in propria uenit ad iudaeos uenit. et sui eum non receperunt AUs 121.2/678 (SC116 AUs 121.2.27)*

*Reminiscence: [Jn 1:10] in sua uenit AUs 195.3/1018*

*ille pro nobis in sua propria uenit et sui eum non receperunt AUs 207.1/1043*

*fidem quaerebat a suis sed quia in propria uenit et sui eum non receperunt AUs 218.11.11/1086*

*[Jn 1:10] in sua propria uenit et sui eum non receperunt AUs 252.10.10/1177*

*[Jn 1:10]...in sua propria uenit et sui eum non receperunt AUs 342.4/1504*

*quando auditis sui eum non receperunt nolite dolere: quia credendo ipsius estis. sui eum non receperunt. qui isti sunt? AUs 342.4/1504*

*[Jn 1:10] deinde coniungit in sua propria uenit AUtri 2.5.13*

*[Jn 1:10] in propria uenit et sui eum non receperunt AUtri 13.1.19 (ms L perceperunt)*

*[Jn 1:10] in propria uenit et sui eum non receperunt AUtri 13.1.99*

*id quid dictum est sui eum non receperunt AUtri 13.1.106 (ms μ et sui)*

*de quibus dictum est et sui eum non receperunt AUtri 13.1.122*

*Adaptation: sicut hi qui uenientem in propria dei filium non receperunt (mss B K hi\*, ms μ ii) AUtri 13.2.4*

*[Paulinus] Reminiscence: consenescent non renascentes in nouam creaturam quia non receperunt eum AUep 121.1.2/724.8 (ms A qui)*

**<1:12> quotquot autem receperunt eum dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri his qui credunt in nomine eius docet scriptura cum dicit dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri AUAd 5/125.21**

*[Jn 1:11] quotquot autem receperunt eum dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri **credentibus** in nomine eius non ibi legi AUcf 7.9.17*

*Allusion: [Jn 1:9] lumen quod si recipiunt accipiunt a te potestatem ut filii tui fiunt AUcf 8.4.4*

*[Jn 1:11]... sequitur enim et dicit quotquot autem receperunt eum dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri **credentibus** in nomine eius AUep 140.3.9/161.15*

*quapropter etiam cum dixisset dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri modumque adiunxisset ne carnalis intellexeretur natiuitas quod scilicet eis id praestiterit qui credunt in nomine eius AUep 140.3.11/163.2*

*Allusion: per quod et nobis recipientibus eum potestas daretur ut qui eramus homines filii dei fieremus (ms T om.dei) AUep 140.36.82/230.17*

*quidam eorum uidebunt deum...quibus **credentibus** dedit potestatem filios dei fieri AUep 147.10.23/297.12*

*gratia facti tamquam hi quibus recipientibus eum dedit potestatem filios dei fieri AUep 153.5.13/410.7 (ms V despicientibus, ms P2 dedit eis)*

*Allusion: nos quibus dedit deus potestatem filios eius fieri (ms g deus dedit, ms P filium, mss V p r [l in mg] filios dei) AUEv 2.3.6/86.13*

*cum enim dixisset iohannes dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri his qui credunt in nomine eius AUEv 2.3.6/87.7*

*(mss C P iohannis, ms B om. fieri-eius, mss l m iis)*

*unde iohannes dicit dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri AUFau 3.3/264.27*

*quotquot autem receperunt eum dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri his qui credunt in nomine eius AUJo 2.13.1*

*[CT]*

*quotquot **receperunt** eum dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri AUJo 3.6.2*

*dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri AUJo 53.8.19*

*dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri AUJo 54.2.23*

*dedit **nobis** potestatem filios dei fieri AUJo 85.3.23*

*Allusion: non est in potestate filiorum hominis a malo liberari nisi gratia dei det potestatem filios dei fieri AUJul im 2.7.11*

*iohannes apostolus [1Jn 4:7]...de qua idem ipse in euangelio suo dedit eis inquit potestatem filios dei fieri AUJul im 3.106.35 (ms C filio)*

*sicut in euangelio legitur* quotquot autem receperunt eum dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri AUa 64.77/292.14 (ms C **recoeperunt**)

*Reminiscence: data potestate qua fiant ex filiis huius saeculi filii dei* AUnu 1.20/236.7

*Allusion: dominus iesus eum recipientibus* dedit potestatem filios dei fieri (ms z **om. eum recipientibus**) AUpec 2.6.7/78.12

*sic enim de his dictum est* quotquot autem receperunt eum dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri AUpec 2.23.37/109.20 (ms L\* quodquod)

*per iesum christum dominum nostrum dicente euangelio* quotquot autem receperunt eum dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri AUPel 1.2.5/426.26 (ms V **quodquod**, ms B **om.eis**)

*in eo quod dictum est* quotquot autem receperunt eum AUPel 1.3.6/427.7 (ms V **quodquod**)

*in eo quod sequitur* dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri AUPel 1.3.6/427.9

*Adaptation: datur ergo potestas ut filii dei fiant qui credunt in eum* AUPel 1.3.6/428.11 (Op.imp. **om.in**)

*Allusion: non itaque in hominum sed in dei est potestate ut habeant homines potestatem filii dei fieri* AUpers 8.20/1004

*[Jn 1:11] in medio tamen eorum* quotquot receperunt eum dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri AUPs 47.8.45

*quia iustificando filios dei facit. dedit enim eis potestatem filios dei fieri* AUPs 49.2.13

*quam potestatem?* dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri AUPs 72.30.19

*Adaptation: ad regnum caelorum capessendum data est potestas filios dei fieri in eodem mox euangelio diceretur quod accepimus gratiam pro gratia* AUPs 81.1.36

*[Ps 81:6] dedit enim eis potestatem filios dei fieri* AUPs 83.11.42

*deus uerus facit deos credentes in se quibus* dedit potestatem filios dei fieri AUPs 94.6.48

*dedit enim uobis potestatem filios dei fieri* AUPs 113.s1.5.13

*nam et in euangelio quod nos diuinitatis eius participes facti sumus ita dicitur* dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri his qui credunt in nomine eius AUPs 118.s16.6.14

*de qua dicit iohannes* dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri *unde accepisti hanc potestatem?* **credentibus** inquit in nomine eius AUPs 120.11.25

*Adaptation: potestatem accepimus esse filios dei* AUPs 120.12.8

*sic intellegitur quia* dedit potestatem filios dei fieri AUPs 135.8.37

*Adaptation: qua nobis data est potestas filios dei fieri quo possis audire [Jn 15:15]* AUq 68.55

*efficere filius dei per illius misericordiam qui* dedit potestatem filios dei fieri **credentibus** in nomine eius AUq 68.75

*unde enim nunc filii dei sumus nisi quia* dedit **nobis** potestatem filios dei fieri **credentibus** in nomine eius AUqEv 2.39.21 (ms G\* **om.nobis**, mss G2 N F H P A D W Flor dedit **eis**, mss M maur potestatem dedit nobis)

**quibus** dedit potestatem filios dei fieri AUqSi 1.2.638

*de quo dictum est* dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri AUre 1.22.61 (ref. AUAd)

*si filii dei esse uoluerint quoniam* dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri AUrel 35.18

*omnes ergo malas arbores inuenit sed* dedit **potestatem** filios dei fieri **credentibus** in nomine eius AU 72.1.2/467 (AU 16.2)

*mutaret filios hominum* dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri AU 81.6/503

*accepisti enim potestatem quia scriptum est* dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri AU 97A.4

*[Jn 1:11] sed* quotquot receperunt eum dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri AU 103.1.2/613

*[Jn 1:11] quotquot autem receperunt eum dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri. fieri quia non erant: ipse autem in principio erat.* dedit ergo eis potestatem filios dei fieri **credentibus** in nomine eius AU 119.4.4/674

*[Jn 1:14]. audite unde factum est. certe **credentibus** in nomine eius dedit **potestatem** filios dei fieri. nec ipsi quibus* dedit potestatem filios dei fieri *putent impossibile esse filios dei.* AU 119.5.5/675

*[Jn 1:11] quotquot autem receperunt eum* AU 121.3/678 (SC116 AU 121.3.29)

*sed uenit uobis gratia. quotquot autem receperunt eum dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri. ecce habetis modo natos* dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri *quibus dedit?* his qui credunt in nomine eius AU 121.3/679 (SC116 AU 121.3.69)

*filii dei fiunt: dedit enim inquit illis* potestatem filios dei fieri **credentibus** in eum AU 143.2/785

*sed ut sis inter eos quibus* dedit potestatem filios dei fieri AU 166.4.4/909

*Allusion: filii dei accepta potestate praesumite* AU 192.1/1011

*id donante illo qui* dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri AU 210.1.2/1048

*habet euangelii euidentem sententiam: dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri* AU 292.7/1325 (NB continues with 1:13)

*neque hoc in potestate esset nisi dedisset dominus potestatem filios dei fieri. sed quibus?* **credentibus** in nomine eius AU 306.2.2/1400

*[Jn 20:17] quia nos ab ipso accepimus esse filii dei qui* dedit **nobis** potestatem filios dei fieri AU 341.18/188.427 (AU 22)

*[Jn 1:11]...audi propter quod uenerit* quotquot autem receperunt eum AU 342.4/1504

*[Rom 11:17; Matt 8:8-12]...et quare insertus oleaster? quia* quotquot **eum receperunt** dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri AU 342.4/1504

*quid tibi promittitur?* dedit eis potestatem. *quam potestatem?*...**potestatem** inquit dedit eis filios dei fieri AU 342.5/1504

*quotquot inquit receperunt* eum dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri AU 342.5/1504

[Ps 81:6]...audi euangelium dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri AUs 360B.6/61.115 (AUs Dol 25)  
*ex homine fiat inter filios dei quia* dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri. *hoc est* dedit eis potestatem AUs  
 360B.15/67.303 (AUs Dol 25)  
*cum dixisset dominus* dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri *subiecit statim* **credentibus** in nomine eius AUs  
 360B.15/67.307 (AUs Dol 25)  
*qua et iohannes dicit* dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri (*in Matt 5:45*) AUs dni 1.23.78.1908 (mss a q/e F/β Hr edd  
 illis)  
*secundum illud euangelicum* dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri (*in Matt 6:9*) AUs dni 2.4.15.329  
 dedit eis *inquit* potestatem filios dei fieri AUSe 5/912.17 (ms C filius)  
*qui et hoc acceperunt* dedit enim **potestatem** ille **unicus** filios dei fieri **credentibus** in nomine eius AUsp  
 32.56/213.24 (mss K C filius)  
*per eius gratiam regeneramur quoniam* dedit **nobis** potestatem filios dei fieri AUtri 5.16.61  
 [Jn 1:11] quotquot autem receperunt eum dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri his qui credunt in nomine eius AUtri  
 13.1.20  
*de quibus euangelista subiungit et dicit* quotquot autem receperunt eum dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri his qui  
 credunt in nomine eius AUtri 13.2.18 (ms M **quodquod**)  
*sed si fides adsit quae inest* eis quibus dedit potestatem *iesus* filios dei fieri AUtri 13.8.54 (ms I potestatem **his**  
 filios)  
*et ideo cum dictum esset in euangelio quod iesus dederit* potestatem filios dei fieri his qui **receperunt eum et**  
*quid sit recepissem eum breuiter fuisset expositum dicendo* **credentibus** in nomine eius AUtri 13.9.17 (ms μ iis, ms  
 μ eum receperunt)  
*quanto est credibilis natura filios hominis gratia dei fieri* dei filios AUtri 13.9.28 (mss s μ filios dei fieri)  
*Adaptation:* uobis dedit potestatem filios dei fieri (mss b d **filias**) AUvg 55.56/300.23

[JUL citing AUPel 1.2.5] [Rom 7:25] *dicente euangelio* quotquot autem receperunt eum dedit eis potestatem filios  
 dei fieri AUJul im 1.94.32 (mss P C quodquod, ms P filius)

<1:13> **qui non ex sanguinibus neque ex uoluntate carnis neque ex uoluntate uiri sed ex deo nati sunt**  
 [Jn 1:12] *item ibi legi quia uerbum deus* non ex **carne** non ex **sanguine** non ex uoluntate **uiri** neque ex uoluntate  
**carnis** sed ex deo **natus est** AUcf 7.9.20 (mss B P Z μ **deus uerbum**, ms S **sanguine neque**, ms H **uiri non**)  
 [Jn 1:12] *qui non ex sanguinibus neque ex uoluntate carnis neque ex uoluntate uiri sed ex deo nati sunt* AUep  
 140.3.9/161.16  
 [Jn 1:12] *et per gratiam renascuntur spiritalem* non ex sanguinibus neque ex uoluntate **uiri** neque ex uoluntate  
**carnis** sed ex deo AUep 140.3.11/163.5  
 [Jn 1:12] *secutus ait* qui non ex sanguinibus neque ex uoluntate carnis neque ex uoluntate uiri sed ex deo nati  
 sunt AUEv 2.3.6/87.9 (mss T r uoluptate carnis, mss C1 P uoluptate uiri)  
 qui non ex sanguinibus neque ex uoluntate carnis neque ex uoluntate uiri AUJo 2.14.5 sed ex deo nati sunt AUJo  
 2.15.1 [CT]  
**non** ex uoluntate carnis neque ex uoluntate uiri sed ex deo nati sunt AUJo 2.15.1  
**non ex carne** non ex sanguinibus **non** ex uoluntate carnis **non** ex uoluntate uiri sed ex deo nati sunt AUJo 3.6.5  
*quia et ipsi ut essent filii dei* **non ex carne** non ex **sanguine** non ex uoluntate **uiri** **non** ex uoluntate **carnis** sed  
 ex deo nati sunt AUJul 6.13.40  
*Reminiscence: hac ergo concupiscentia carnis nunquam concupiscitur hominis ullum bonum si uoluptas carnis*  
*non est hominis bonum* AUJul 6.16.50  
*lege euangelium* non ex sanguinibus neque ex uoluntate carnis neque ex uoluntate uiri sed ex deo nati sunt  
 AUJul im 3.51.25 (ms C **uoluptate x2**)  
*Reminiscence: omnes omnino pertinentes ad generationem uoluntatis carnis non moriuntur* AUpec 1.28.55/54.4  
 [Jn 1:12 - ending fieri] qui non ex **sanguine** non ex uoluntate **uiri** **nec** ex uoluntate **carnis** sed ex deo nati sunt  
 AUpec 2.23.37/109.21 (ms z **uiri non**, ms A **uiri neque**, ms Lm1 S V G **uoluptate carnis**)  
*Adaptation: nos non solum* **ex carne** et **sanguine** *uerum etiam ex uoluntate* **uiri** et uoluntate **carnis**; *ille autem*  
*tantum* **ex carne** et **sanguine**, non ex uoluntate **uiri** neque ex uoluntate **carnis** sed ex deo **natus est** (mss L S P  
**uiri et ex uoluptate** (L corr m2), mss V G **uoluptate carnis**, ms V **et ex sanguine**, mss S P G L (corr m2)  
**uoluptate uiri**, ms r **om. sed...est**) AUpec 2.24.38/110.14  
 [Jn 1:12] qui non ex sanguinibus neque ex uoluntate carnis neque ex uoluntate uiri sed ex deo nati sunt AUPs  
 118.s16.6.16  
 [Jn 1:12] qui non ex sanguinibus neque ex uoluntate carnis neque ex uoluntate uiri sed ex deo nati sunt AUs  
 119.4.4/674  
 [Jn 1:12] *et quomodo filii dei fiunt?* qui non ex sanguinibus neque ex uoluntate **uiri** **nec** ex uoluntate **carnis** sed  
 ex deo nati sunt AUs 121.4/679  
 [SC116 [Jn 1:12] *et quomodo filii dei fiunt?* qui non ex sanguinibus **non** ex uoluntate **uiri** **nec** ex uoluntate **carnis**  
 sed ex deo nati sunt AUs 121.4.73 (ms α neque ex, ms P4 uoluptate)]  
*intendite ergo. isti* ex deo nati sunt. non ex sanguinibus AUs 121.4/679  
*modo unde?* ex deo nati sunt AUs 121.4/679  
*ecce* ex deo nati sunt AUs 121.5/680 (SC116 AUs 121.5.86)

[Jn 1:12] qui non ex **carne non ex sanguine non** ex uoluntate uiri **neque ex uoluntate carnis** sed ex deo nati sunt AUs 292.7/1325

[Jn 1:12]...**non ex carne inquit** non ex **sanguine** neque ex uoluntate uiri sed ex deo nati sunt AUs 342.5/1504 ex illo igitur quod unigenitus est non ex **carne non ex sanguine non** ex uoluntate uiri **neque ex uoluntate carnis** sed ex deo **natus est** AUSe 5/912.22

*Adaptation: tamen ex **carne et sanguine** et ex uoluntate carnis nati sumus; in quantum autem accepimus potestatem filii dei fieri nec nos ex **carne et sanguine** aut ex uoluntate uiri aut ex uoluntate carnis sed ex deo coaequante natura sed adoptante gratia nascimur* AUSe 5/913.2

[Jn 1:12] qui non ex sanguinibus neque ex uoluntate carnis neque ex uoluntate uiri sed ex deo nati sunt AUtri 13.1.21 (ms T **uoluptate** carnis, mss O T **uoluptate** uiri)

[Jn 1:12] qui non ex sanguinibus neque ex uoluntate carnis neque ex uoluntate uiri sed ex deo nati sunt AUtri 13.2.19 (ms μ **iis**, ms T **uoluptate** carnis, mss S om.carnis...uoluntate, mss O T **uoluptate** uiri)

[Jn 1:12] quoque modo filii dei fierent esset adiunctum **quia** non ex sanguinibus neque ex uoluntate carnis neque ex uoluntate uiri sed ex deo nati sunt AUtri 13.9.20 (mss C N O S\* F J M **quia**, ms cett codd μ **qui**, ms T **uoluptate** carnis, mss O3 T **uoluptate** uiri)

#### <1:14> et uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis et uidimus gloriam eius gloriam quasi unigeniti a patre plenum gratiae et ueritatis

*quis est qui manibus tractat uerbum nisi quia uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis? hoc autem uerbum quod caro factum est ut manibus tractaretur coepit esse caro ex uirgine Maria* AU1Jo 1.1/1978

*Adaptation: factum est uerbum caro quam uidere possemus* AU1Jo 1.1/1979

*quia [Gen 2:24] quia uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AU1Jo 1.2/1979

*Adaptation: quare fecit hoc quod fecit ut uerbum caro fieret* AU1Jo 1.4/1980

*secundum id quod uero uerbum caro factum est* AU1Jo 4.5/2008

[Jn 1:3] et uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AU1Jo 10.3/2056

*et quomodo uenit ad aegrotos?* uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AU1Jo 10.8/2060

*inbecillitatem nostram suscipere dignatus est filius dei et uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUag 10.11/114.5 (mss C1 B **habitabit**)

[Jn 1:1 and 1:13] [Jn 1:3] *et quomodo uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUag 17.19/120.14 (ms L1 cara, ms C habitabit, ms S abitaui)

*homo ille cuius susceptione uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUag 20.22/122.16 (ms C **habitabit**)

*recte dici potest quod uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUag 20.22/123.15 (mss C B1 **habitabit**, ms S **abitaui**)

*sic audiunt quod dictum est et uerbum caro factum est* AUag 21.23/123.19 (mss R S γ V L U N **om.et**)

*quod dictum est uerbum caro factum est* AUag 21.23/123.22

*quia scriptum legunt uerbum caro factum est* AUan 1.18.31/332.5

*hominem assumpsit et uerbum caro factum est* AUan 2.5.9/343.15

*quod scriptum est uerbum caro factum est* AUAr 9.37

*sic itaque dictum est uerbum caro factum est* AUAr 9.43

*quod uerbum caro factum est* AUAr 12.19 (ms R uerbo)

*uerbum caro factum est* AUAr 27.18

*secundum id quod uerbum caro factum est* AUAr 27.32

*secundum hoc intellegitur et uerbum caro factum est* AUci 14.2.26

*cum uerbum caro factum est et terreno habitauit in corpore* AUci 17.4.235

*ostendere mihi...quod uerbum tuum caro factum est et habitauit inter homines* AUcf 7.9.3 (ms S om.**tuum**)

*Jn 1:14] sed quia uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis non ibi legi* AUcf 7.9.22 (ms S **factus**)

*miscentem carni quoniam uerbum caro factum est* AUcf 7.18.6

*quid autem sacramentum haberet uerbum caro factum ne suspicari quidem poteram* AUcf 7.19.6

*didicisse me fateor in eo quod uerbum caro factum est* AUcf 7.19.31

*cum uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUci 10.24.34

*quia uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUci 10.29.105

*Adaptation: potuimus putare uerbum tuum remotum esse a coniunctione hominis et desperare de nobis nisi caro fieret et habitaret in nobis* AUcf 10.43.26

*et tamen legimus uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis [Luke 3:6, Ps 64:3, Jn 17:2, Rom 3:20]* AUcont 4.11/153.1 (mss M A D Ch B C X R b d **om.et...nobis**)

*resistente euangelio atque dicente uerbum caro factum est* AUcorr 30.20

*quomodo uenit nisi quod uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUdo 1.13.1 (mss D1 G1 L1 **habitabit**)

*Adaptation: uide quemadmodum cum ipsa ueritas et uerbum per quod facta sunt omnia caro factum esset ut habitaret in nobis (mss D2 F R V G P v factum **est**) (CSELms mss Q B factum **est**)* AUdo 1.34.2

*deinde per se ipsum cum uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUdo 4.7/239.3

*quis enim hoc solum congruentibus explicet uerbis quod uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUench 10.29

*quod ait uerbum caro factum est hoc est plenum gratiae quod autem ait gloriam unigeniti a patre hoc est plenum ueritatis* AUench 11.26 (mss B A P μ **om. autem**, mss B P M **plenum est**)

[Jn 1:13]... *statim subiunxit* et uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUep 140.3.11/163.9 (ms T\* habitabit)  
*quia et ipse filius dei hoc est* uerbum **dei** caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUep 140.3.11/163.12  
*Adaptation: habitate in illo qui* caro factus est et habitauit in nobis AUep 140.3.11/163.14 (edd uobis praeter a r)  
*nihil proinde aliud dictum est* uerbum caro factum est AUep 140.3.12/163.27  
*quoniam* uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUep 140.6.18/168.21  
*propter quam* uerbum caro factum est AUep 140.36.82/230.14  
*hominem christum iesum cum* uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUep 149.17/364.11  
[Jn 1:1] *sive secundum susceptae carnis humilitatem quia* uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUep 185.1.3/3.18 (ms M\* habitabit)  
*posteaquam* uerbum caro factum est AUep 186.8.31/69.21 (ms V\* uerbo)  
*Reminiscence: idemque filius dei unigenitus a patre et filius hominis* (ms Q om.hominis) AUep 187.3.8/87.17  
*de nullo enim sanctorum dici potuit aut potest aut poterit* uerbum caro factum est AUep 187.13.40/117.12  
[Jn 1:1] [Gal 4:4] uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUep 219.1/429.2  
*facile uidit deum hominem factus quia* uerbum caro factum est *est deus erat uerbum* AUep 219.3/430.13  
*quomodo intellegendum sit* uerbum **dei** caro factum est AUep 140.1.2/156.14 (mss T l r m **om.dei**)  
*de homine autem quem suscepit* uerbum **dei cum** caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUep 264.3/637.7 (ms P\* habitabit)  
*Adaptation: [Jn 1:1, 1:3 Allusion:] et ipsum agnosceret carnem factum ut habitaret in nobis* AUEv 1.4.7/7.2  
et uerbum *inquit* caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUEv 2.3.6/87.13 (mss A L g habitabit)  
*Adaptation: secundum quod uerbum est et deus apud deum et uerbum caro factus est ut habitaret in nobis*  
*secundum quod ipse et pater unum sunt a iohanne maxime commendanda suscepta est* AUEv 4.10.11/407.8 (ms B **factus**, alii et edd. **factum**, mss R D C P M Q m factum ut, mss C P V g **hoc** secundum)  
*Adaptation: cum ipsum uerbum dei caro factum sit ut habitaret in nobis* AUFau 7.2/303.24  
*quia* uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUFau 13.8/388.11  
*quod* uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUFau 19.14/511.24 (mss L C b om.caro)  
*Allusion: uerbum carnem factum* AUFau 22.21/639.2  
[Jn 1:1]...*ut autem pati pro nobis possit* uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUFe 2.9  
et uidimus *inquit* gloriam eius **tamquam** unigeniti a patre **pleni gratia et ueritate** AUfu 37/242.19 (mss Vb **plen~u**, ms T **plenus**)  
*Reminiscence: uerbum apud deum caro apud nos uerbum caro inter deum et nos* AUGn li 8.14/253.24  
*Adaptation: ut cum ea uerbum caro fieret et habitaret in nobis* (ms P fierit) AUGn li 10.18/321.8  
[Jn 18:26]...*sed apparendo hominibus in homine cum* uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUGn Ma 2.37.15 (mss K E D ac. habitabit)  
*Adaptation: sed etiam iustificans tamquam unigenitus a patre plenus gratia et ueritate* AUJb 38/601.15  
*ut cibus esset* uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUJb 38/614.21  
et uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUJo 2.15.16 et uidimus gloriam eius gloriam quasi unigeniti a patre plenum **gratia et ueritate** AUJo 2.16.20 [CT]  
**factum est** uerbum caro et habitauit in nobis AUJo 2.16.4  
et uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis et uidimus gloriam eius gloriam **tamquam** unigeniti a patre plenum **gratia et ueritate** AUJo 3.6.9  
uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUJo 7.1.24  
uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUJo 10.3.17  
uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUJo 12.10.14  
uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUJo 13.3.40  
uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUJo 13.3.42  
et uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUJo 13.4.21  
uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUJo 15.6.19  
uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUJo 16.7.19  
uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUJo 18.2.13  
uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUJo 19.15.14  
uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUJo 21.9.24  
uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUJo 23.6.15  
uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUJo 25.11.21  
[Jn 1:1] uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUJo 26.8.16  
uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUJo 34.9.8  
*Adaptation: uerbum caro factum est ut habitaret in nobis* AUJo 40.4.16  
*Adaptation: uerbum caro factum est ut habitaret in nobis* AUJo 42.8.20  
uerbum caro factum est AUJo 44.2.3  
[Jn 1:1] et uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUJo 47.6.17  
uerbum caro factum est AUJo 49.18.19  
uerbum caro factum est AUJo 59.3.11  
uerbum caro factum est AUJo 78.2.21  
uerbum caro factum est AUJo 80.2.11  
uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUJo 82.4.28

uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUJo 98.6.10  
 caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUJo 108.3.7  
*sed ibi per uerbum caro facta est hic autem ipsum* uerbum caro factum est AUJul 6.24.77  
*[Jn 1:1] agnoscite et gratiam quod* uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUJul im1.138.49 (ms C **habitabit**)  
*cum et ipsa caro possit dici homo a parte totum sicut* uerbum caro factum est *quia homo factus est de quo dictum* est AUJul im2.61.13 (mss T L M Migne posset, ms C aperte toto)  
*Adaptation: [Jn 1:3]...et uerbum caro fieret et habitaret in nobis* AUlib 3.10.30  
*[Jn 4:24]. nomine autem sanguinis filium quia* uerbum caro factum est AUMax 2.22.3/795  
*sed quia super hominem quod* uerbum caro factum est. *ubi enim scriptum est* uerbum caro factum est *nihil aliud* est quam uerbum homo factum est AUMax co 11/714  
*[Jn 10:30] sic se nouit minorem quia* uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis. *[Phil 2:6-7] AUMax co 14/720*  
*Adaptation: qua* uerbum caro factum est *ut habitaret* in nobis AUna 1.52.60/277.29 (ms B quia, ms b habitet)  
*quia potuit scriptura significare illic a parte totum - sicut* uerbum caro factum est *cum legimus non utique carnem* solam sed hominem totum intellegimus AUna 2.14.20/355.29  
*[Jn 1:1] de quo consequenter ait* uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUPar 2.16.35/89.16  
*[Jn 1:1] homo quia* uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUpec 1.31.60/61.3 (mss C M **habitabit**)  
*unde est et uidimus gloriam eius gloriam tamquam* unigeniti a patre plenum **gratia** et **ueritate** *[Ps 100:1] AUpec* 2.18.31/103.2 (ms z **quasi**, ms Lm1 **patrem**, ms A **plen'**, ms Lm1 **ueritatem**)  
*[Jn 1:13] secutus autem addidit et* uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUpec 2.24.38/109.24 (mss L Gm1 Km1 A **habitabit**)  
*hoc est enim et* uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUpec 2.24.38/110.6 (mss L Gm1 Km1 A C **habitabit**)  
*deus natus de deo postea de carne nascendo* caro factus est et habitauit in nobis AUpec 2.24.38/110.9  
*uerbum enim quod* caro factum est *in principio erat et apud deum deus erat* AUpec 2.24.38/110.10  
*Adaptation: in infante illo in quo* uerbum caro factum est *ut habitaret* in nobis AUpec 2.29.48/119.3 (ms Km1 **est et**, mss K C b **inhabitaret**)  
*Reminiscence: carnem non de femina sumptam sed factam de uerbo in carnem conuerso atque mutato* AUpers 24.67/1034  
*Reminiscence: ille homo ut a uerbo patri coaeterno in unitatem personae assumptus filius dei unigenitus esset unde hoc meruit* AUprae 15.30/982  
*Reminiscence: nonne faciente ac suscipiente uerbo ipse homo ex quo esse coepit filius dei unicus esse coepit?* AUprae 15.30/982  
*Reminiscence: ut filius dei et filius hominis simul, filius hominis propter susceptum hominem et filius dei propter susipientem unigenitum deum ueraciter et proprie diceretur* AUprae 15.31/982  
*suscepta est a uerbo quod* caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUPs 3.9.17  
*cum autem* uerbum etiam caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUPs 18.s1.7.5  
*posita est magna et plena gratia de qua dicit apostolus iohannes et uidimus gloriam eius gloria tamquam* unigeniti a patre plenum **gratia** et **ueritate** AUPs 18.s2.2.9  
*[Jn 1:1] ipsum ergo uerbum quod deus erat* caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUPs 21.s2.3.12  
*sed quoniam paulo post dicit et* uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUPs 29.s2.1.33  
*uerbum caro factum est id est uerbum homo factum est* AUPs 29.s2.1.46  
*quod dictum est et* uerbum caro factum est AUPs 29.s2.1.57  
*hominem illum quem suscepit uerbum cum* uerbum caro factum est AUPs 29.s2.2.32  
*quod dictus est ille cum dictum est* uerbum caro factum est AUPs 29.s2.2.57  
*quomodo ergo de ipso pane paut nos sapientia dei? quia* uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUPs 33.s1.6.21  
*uenit quia* uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUPs 35.17.12  
*intelligentibus autem et uerbo caro factum est magna pulchritudo est* AUPs 44.3.38  
*[Jn 1:1] descendant et uideant quia* uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUPs 44.20.55  
*et tamen* uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUPs 49.5.33  
*[Jn 1:1] quomodo filius? quia* uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUPs 54.3.21  
*euangelista ita dicit* uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUPs 56.5.10  
*[Jn 1:1] quod* uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUPs 58.s1.2.9  
*deus erat mundum reconcilians sibi et qui* uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUPs 68.s1.8.4  
*[Jn 1:1, 3] ut umbraculum meridianum fieret nobis* uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUPs 67.21.45  
*quid propter te? et* uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis *[Rom 8:32] AUPs* 70.s2.10.9  
*propter suscepti hominis sacramentum quo* uerbum caro factum est AUPs 71.3.36  
*habeat inquit* uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUPs 73.19.41  
*dei uerbum incorruptibiles incorruptibiliter pascit quod ut manducaretur homo* caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUPs 77.17.33  
*Adaptation: et ipse christus noster* uerbum caro factum *ut habitaret* in nobis AUPs 80.13.6  
*infirmam se fecit sapientia dei; quia* uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUPs 90.s1.5.32  
*ipsa sapientia infirmata est propter nos; quia* uerbum caro factum est AUPs 90.s2.2.25

*quod uerbum dei ut sonaret nobis ad tempus* uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUPs 93.6.22  
*hoc uerbum ut redimeret nos* caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUPs 100.3.44  
*quoniam* uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUPs 101.s1.1.35  
*tu caro et propter te* uerbum caro factum est. **omnis caro fenum et uerbum caro est factum, quanta ergo spes feni quando** uerbum caro factum est AUPs 102.23.10  
*Adaptation: cum ipse uerbum caro factum sit ut habitaret* in nobis AUPs 103.s3.7.35  
*uis audire et proprietatem per quam reffectus es?* et uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUPs 103.s3.20.12  
*nonne descendit?* *nonne* uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUPs 103.s4.2.52  
*[Jn 1:1] et uerbum caro factum est* AUPs 108.29.12  
*Adaptation: [Jn 1:1 and 1:3] uerbum caro factum es ut habitares* in nobis AUPs 109.6.26  
*ipse enim est uerbum deus* et uerbum caro factum est AUPs 118.s12.5.26  
*ignorantes quia* uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUPs 118.s13.2.5  
*[Jn 1:13] ut autem hoc fieret quia et ipse factus est particeps mortalitatis nostrae ita ibi sequitur* et uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUPs 118.s16.6.19  
*de nullo enim sanctorum dici diuinitus potuit aut dici ullo modo fas est* uerbum caro factum est AUPs 118.s23.1.32  
*quid est uallis plorationis?* uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUPs 119.1.33  
*[Jn 1:1] ipsum enim* uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUPs 119.1.40  
*sic cibus angelorum dominus* uerbum caro factum est *et factus est lac* AUPs 119.2.50  
*[Jn 1:1] posteriora eius quae sunt?* et uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUPs 120.6.51  
*factus est ipse prior particeps tui* et uerbum caro factum est *ut caro participet uerbum* AUPs 121.5.34  
*unde mundantur corda?* et uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUPs 123.2.38  
*ut cognoscamus ueritatem hoc est* uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUPs 123.2.45  
*sed ut acciperet abs te aliquid* uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUPs 129.7.8  
*ut panem angelorum manducaret homo et manna descenderet ad ueriores populum israel* uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUPs 130.9.51  
*[Jn 1:1] et quia ipsum* uerbum caro factum est AUPs 130.10.6  
*[Jn 1:1] tu autem quomodo contingis?* *quia* uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUPs 134.5.31  
*uerbum caro factum est ut fieret caput ecclesiae* AUPs 148.8.60  
*[Jn 1:3] quomodo factus est inter nos?* et uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUPs 149.4.30  
*quemadmodum dictum sit et [Jn 14:28] et [Jn 10:30] et [Jn 1:1] et uerbum caro factum est et [Phil 2:6] et [Phil 2:7]* AUq 69.19  
*ut quemadmodum ille in eo quod* uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis *et sine peccato cum esset* AUq 71.71 (mss H I om. ille)  
*dicentes scriptum esse* uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUq 80.21 (ms D inhabitauit)  
*quia dictum est* uerbum caro factum est AUq 80.34 (ms A om. factum est)  
*quia scriptum est* uerbum caro factum est AUq 80.39 (ms C **et** uerbum, mss A D E G K L P R V om. uerbum, ms Z om. uerbum...est)  
*dictum sit* uerbum caro factum est AUq 80.46  
*ut quod dictum est* uerbum caro factum est *nil aliud dictum sit nisi uerbum homo factum est* AUq 80.56  
*et quomodo intellegendum sit* uerbum caro factum est AUre 2.36.15 (in AUep 140)  
*totum hominem suscipere dignatus est* et uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUrel 16.7 (mss G1 R H **habitabit**)  
*quod uerbum ex semine david* caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AURm in 4.9 (mss T V **secundum carnem factum est**, ms O **habitabit**)  
*Adaptation: ueritatem, uerbum carnem factum et habitare in nobis* (omitted ms γ) AUs 8.139  
*secundum quod* uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis, *nutritus creuit* AUs 22.278  
*dicit ipse iohannes* uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUs 23A.65  
*ut posset ergo pro nobis mori quod mori non poterat* uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUs 23A.68  
*Adaptation: sed* uerbum caro factum est **ut habitaret** in nobis AUs 27.36  
*uide paupertatem eius* et uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUs 36.61 (mss L γ maur **om. in**)  
*[Jn 1:1-2] texuit et aliud pallium propter conuersationem inter homines quotidianum* uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis [Prov 31:22] AUs 37.390 (ms α **habitabit**)  
*[Ezek. 34:24] quare in medio eorum?* *quia* uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUs 47.696  
*descendit dominus noster et* uerbum caro factum est AUs 51.22.32/352  
*dici potuit aut poterit* uerbum caro factum est AUs 51.22.32/353  
*[Jn 1:1] quid excelsius?* uerbum caro factum est *quid humiliter?* AUs 70A.2  
*Adaptation: ut uerbum caro fieret et habitaret in nobis* AUs 71.13.23/457  
*quia uerbum mori non poterat* uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUs 80.5/497  
*[Jn 1:1]...sed quia* uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUs 91.2.2/568  
*[Jn 1:1, Phil 2:6] habet uiam* uerbum caro factum est AUs 92.3.3/573  
*ut autem ista pateretur* uerbum caro factum est AUs 97.4/591  
*[Jn 1:1] ecce quod maria audiebat* uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUs 104.2.3/617  
*uerbum enim* caro factum est et habitauit in nobis AUs 113B.2

*nonne ipsum uerbum postea caro factum est et habitauit in nobis? antequam autem caro fieret et habitaret in nobis nonne ipsum locutus est* AUs 114B.5/76.91 (AUs Dol 5)  
*sed ut subueniret nobis uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis. quid est uerbum caro factum est?* AUs 119.4.4/674  
*ut autem diceretur uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUs 119.4.4/674  
*[Jn 1:1] et ecce uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUs 119.5.5/675  
*[Jn 1:12]. uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUs 119.5.5/675  
*Adaptation: unde factum est? unde? et uerbum caro factum est ut habitaret in nobis* AUs 121.5/680 (SC116 AUs 121.5.88 *unde factum est ut habitaret in nobis?*)  
*et unde inquis ad me uerbum domini? uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUs 124.2.2/687  
*non secundum uerbum quod caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUs 127.6.9/710  
*[Jn 1:9] adhuc audi ipsum iohannem euangelistam ructuantem quod biberat et uidimus inquit gloriam eius. quid uidit? quam gloriam uidit? gloriam tamquam unigeniti a patre plenum gratia et ueritate* AUs 133.6/741  
*si aliquid tuum in eo inuenisti tene. uerbum caro factum est* AUs 134.5.6/745  
*Adaptation: [Jn 1:1] hoc uerbum in principio deus apud deum caro factum est ut habitaret in nobis* AUs 136C.2  
*[Jn 1:1]...inuocabat uerbum quia uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUs 145A.1  
*et quid est uerbum caro factum est nisi uerbum homo factum est?* AUs 153.6.8/829  
*in eo quod legitur uerbum caro factum est* AUs 153.6.8/829  
*Adaptation: uerbum enim caro factum est ut habitaret in nobis* AUs 174.2.2/941  
*merito dictum est uidimus gloriam eius gloriam tamquam unigeniti a patre plenum gratia et ueritate* AUs 174.2.2/941  
*[Ps 84:12] quia uerbum caro factum est [James 1:17] AUs 185.2.2/998*  
*uerbum tamen caro factum est. neque enim ait euangelium caro uerbum facta est sed ait uerbum caro factum est* AUs 186.2.2/999  
*si ergo uerbum deus et homo caro quid est aliud uerbum factum est* caro AUs 186.2.2/1000  
*deus enim erat uerbum et uerbum caro factum est* AUs 186.2.2/1000  
*neque enim quia dictum est [Jn 1:1] et uerbum caro factum est. sic uerbum caro factum est ut esse desineret deus: quando in ipsa carne quod uerbum caro factum est [Matt 1:23] AUs 187.3.3/1002*  
*[Jn 1:1] sed ex eo quod uerbum caro factum est. si forte dicatur a nobis per quod habitauit in nobis* AUs 188.2.2/1004  
*quod enim uerbum erat caro factum est* AUs 190.1.1/1007  
*[Jn 1:1]. plenitudo praesepii nostri est quia uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUs 194.2.2/1016  
*Adaptation: uerbum caro factum est pro nobis ut a matre procedens habitaret in nobis* AUs 195.3/1019  
*Reminiscence: illo tempore antequam uerbum caro fieret* AUs 198.38/119.895 (AUs Dol 26)  
*ut dici posset uerbum caro factum est* AUs 198.44/124.1072 (AUs Dol 26)  
*[Jn 1:3] quia uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUs 198.61/139.1492 (AUs Dol 26)  
*uerbum ipsum [Jn 1:3] caro factum est* AUs 198.62/140.1506 (AUs Dol 26)  
*uerbum enim caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUs 213.2.2/1061  
*quia filius dei ideo uerbum caro factum est* AUs 214.6/1069  
*uerum etiam quod uerbum caro factum est* AUs 215.3/1073  
*[Jn 1:1] hoc uerbum dei caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUs 218C.1  
*[Jn 1:1]...quod creauit ad imaginem suam uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUs 229.1 (webtext; not in Migne)  
*[Jn 1:1-2]...nemo. uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis. ad hoc te uocat ut operarius labores. uerbum caro factum est.* AUs 229E.4  
*unde ergo mortuus? uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUs 229G.6  
*fecit tibi quasi lumen nocturnum. uerbum enim caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUs 229T.1  
*quomodo ille mortem de nostro? uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUs 232.5.5/1110  
*nolunt eum natum ex femina credere uerbum caro factum est* AUs 237.1.1/1122 (SC116 AUs 237.1.15)  
*uerbum ergo quod non potest explicari caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUs 237.4/1124 (SC116 AUs 237.4.127 (ms α uerbum carom, mss p4 p7 om.caro))  
*[Jn 1:1-3]...quid in illo resurrexit? uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUs 242A.1  
*[Jn 1:1-3] uide factum. et uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUs 244.3/1149  
*ipsa est fidei plenitudo quia uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUs 258.3/1196 (SC116 AUs 258.3.77)  
*[Jn 20:21]...respexit ad uerbum quia uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUs 258.3/1196 (SC116 AUs 258.3.82)  
*quomodocumque possis accipere uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUs 261.6.7/1206  
*Adaptation: ascendit inquam ad patrem uerbum quod caro factum est ut habitaret in nobis* AUs 265A.7  
*uidemus eum tamquam unigenitum a patre plenum gratia et ueritate* AUs 265D.7  
*audi ipsum euangelium uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUs 287.1.2/1301  
*natalis est uerbi quia uerbum caro factum est* AUs 287.1.2/1301  
*fit caro: uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUs 290.5.5/1315  
*quod latebat quis dixerit? uerbum caro factum est* AUs 291.2/1317  
*mementote quia uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUs 292.4.4/1322



*Adaptation: uerbum plane caro factum est ut inhabitaret in nobis* AUs 293.5/1331  
*[Jn 1:2] sed ut ueniret ad nos uerbum caro factum est ut habitaret in nobis* AUs 293A.5  
*Adaptation: [Jn 1:2] quantum ante nos quantum supra nos et uerbum caro factum est **ut habitaret** in nobis* AUs 293B.2  
*quia uerbum caro factum est* AUs 293D.3  
*nisi quia uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUs 299F.2  
*Adaptation: uerbum enim caro factum ut habitaret in nobis* AUs 325.1/1448  
*et ut sciatis quia ipse est uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUs 334.2/1469  
*ut autem haberet sanguinem quem pro nobis funderet uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUs 335I.1  
*sed nolite expauescere o turba paruulorum! uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUs 335K.4  
*audi illud quod modo praedicat scriptura uerbum inquit caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUs 341.3.3/1495  
*cum dicat iohannes et uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUs 341.3.3/1495  
*et ubi ille uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis ubi iste [Phil. 2:6-7] AUs 341.3.4/1495*  
*per hoc quod uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis per hoc [Phil 2:6-7] AUs 341.3.4/1495*  
*Adaptation: cum uerbum caro factum est ut habitaret in nobis* AUs 341.10.12/1500  
*istum autem quomodo praedicat scriptura? uerbum inquit caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUs 341.10/181.259 (AUs Dol 22)  
*cum dicit iohannes et uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUs 341.10/181.269 (AUs Dol 22)  
*[Phil 2:6] et ubi ille uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis ille iste [Phil 2:7] AUs 341.11/182.275 (AUs Dol 22)*  
*per hoc quod uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis per hoc [Phil 2:7] AUs 341.11/182.277 (AUs Dol 22)*  
*Adaptation: antequam uerbum caro fieret et habitaret in nobis* AUs 341.14/184.332 (AUs Dol 22)  
*Adaptation: sic aliquando ut intellegas mediatorem hominem cum uerbum caro factum est **ut habitaret** in nobis...* [Phil 2:7] AUs 341.20/190.471 (AUs Dol 22)  
*[Jn 1:1-4]...et quid postea euangelista et uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUs 341A.1  
*[Jn 1:5]....uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUs 342.1/1501  
*[Jn 1:1,3]....unde ergo redemptus? quia uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUs 342.1/1502  
*[Jn 1:13] miraris non credis? uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUs 342.5/1504  
*nonne ipsum uerbum postea caro factum est et habitauit in nobis. antequam caro fieret et habitaret in nobis*  
*nonne ipsum uerbum locutum est per prophetas* AUs 346A.2  
*et deus erat uerbum et uerbum caro factum est* AUs 349.6.6/1532  
*caro autem christi ut honoretur uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUs 349.6.6/1532  
*euangelium diuina uoce testatur uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUs 362.13.13/1619  
*[Is. 53:8] sed uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUs 369.2/1656  
*Adaptation: uerbum quod longe erat a nobis caro factum est ut habitaret in nobis* AUs 373.5.5/1666  
*medicus quia uerbum medicamentum quia uerbum caro factum* AUs 374.23/559.53 (mss P X ed factum est) (AUs Dol 23)  
*[Jn 1:1-3] si et ipse quid factus est et uerbum caro factum est* AUs 375A.2  
*non intellexit non tetigit. uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUs 375C.5  
*[Jn 14:6] uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUs 375C.5  
*quid de humana natiuitate dicit iohannes? et uerbum caro factum est. dicat et paulus [Phil 2:6-7] AUs 380.4/1678*  
*uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUSe 5/912.25  
*ille enim dixit [Matt 5:17] de quo dictum est uidimus gloriam eius gloriam **tamquam** unigeniti a patre plenum **gratia** et **ueritate** [Rom 3:23] AUsp 10.16/168.25 (ms O\* uidebimus)*  
*sed quoniam uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUy 4.6/9.10 (ms R **habitabit**)  
*de quo post dicit et uerbum caro factum est* AUtri 1.6.8  
*Adaptation: quo tempore uerbum caro fieret et habitaret in nobis [Gal 4:4] AUtri 2.5.90*  
*in eo quod ait uerbum caro factum est sicut et illud [Luke 3:16/Is.40:5/Acts 28:28] AUtri 2.6.11*  
*aut si non recte posset dici missus nisi cum uerbum caro factum est* AUtri 2.7.12  
*aut si non recte missus diceretur nisi cum uerbum caro factum est* AUtri 3.pro.70  
*uerbum per quod facta sunt omnia caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUtri 4.2.2  
*non tantum ideo dici missus filius quia uerbum caro factum est* AUtri 4.20.9  
*Adaptation: sed ut ipsum uerbum caro fieret id est homo fieret* AUtri 4.20.57  
*quod apparuit huic mundo uerbum caro factum unde dicit [Jn 16:28] AUtri 4.20.73*  
*Adaptation: ut uerbum caro fieret et habitaret in nobis* AUtri 4.20.83  
*Adaptation: sicut caro quod uerbum factum est* AUtri 4.21.6  
*Adaptation: ipsum dei uerbum dico carnem factum id est hominem factum* AUtri 4.21.41  
*maxime quia iam uerbum caro factum loquitur* AUtri 6.9.37 (mss Eug V factum **est et**)  
*nisi cum uerbo quod caro factum est intellegi non possit* AUtri 6.9.45  
*uel illud scripturis praenuntiantibus aut narrantibus quod uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUtri 7.3.7  
*et ipse ex quodam tempore uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUtri 7.3.49 (Beda om.**caro**)  
*[Jn 1:13] et uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis et uidimus gloriam eius gloriam quasi unigeniti a patre plenum gratiae et ueritatis* AUtri 13.1.23 (mss J P **gratia** et **ueritate**, ms K\* ueritates)  
*[Jn 1:13]...illico annexum est et uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUtri 13.9.23 (ms K **habitabit**)

*hoc est enim uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in hominibus* AUtri 13.9.26 (ms M **habitabit**, mss B2 N O P in nobis, mss I μ in nobis hominibus)  
*unde dictum est uerbum caro factum est* AUtri 13.17.16  
*Adaptation: nunc et disserere longum est nisi uerbum caro fieret nulla essent* AUtri 13.18.45  
*haec autem omnia quae pro nobis uerbum caro factum temporaliter* AUtri 13.19.1  
*ac per hoc uerbum caro factum* [Col 2:2-3] AUtri 13.19.7  
*et cum lego uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUtri 13.19.23 (mss Oa K **habitabit**)  
*propter quod sequitur ac dicit et uidimus gloriam eius gloriam quasi unigeniti a patre plenum gratiae et ueritatis* AUtri 13.19.27 (ms T **gratia** et **ueritate**, ms Ka **ueritates**)  
*quod uero idem ipse est unigenitus a patre plenus gratiae et ueritatis* AUtri 13.19.35 (ms T **gratia** et **ueritate**)  
*legitur et fide sanissima accipitur uerbum caro factum est* AUtri 14.18.10  
*Adaptation: manifestetur sensibus hominum sicut uerbum dei caro factum est* AUtri 15.11.7  
*Adaptation: ita uerbum dei caro quidem factum est* AUtri 15.11.9  
*Adaptation: et hoc nostrum uox fit et illud caro factum est* AUtri 15.11.12  
*de quo dictum est [Jn 1:3] de quo dictum est et uerbum caro factum est de quo dictum est [Eccli. 1:5]* AUtri 15.11.37 (mss Aa B R μ om.et)  
*Adaptation: sed solus filius quod est uerbum dei caro factus* AUtri 15.11.74  
*Adaptation: sed etiam accepit ut homo propterea dictus est plenus **gratia*** (mss O3 N μ *gratia* et *spiritu sancto*) AUtri 15.26.47  
*tunc intellegendus est unctus quando uerbum dei caro factum est* AUtri 15.26.56 (mss Ja T om.dei)  
*quod uerbum caro factum quod est iesus christus* AUtri brev 13.19.36  
*secundum quod uerbum caro factum est* AUtri brev 14.18.37  
*Allusion: sed uerbum caro factum non sunt* AUvg 37.37/278.13

*Adaptation: [JUL] plenitudinem spectauit ut uerbum caro fieret et habitaret in nobis* AUJul im1.94.68  
*[MAX] [Jn 5:23] quod enim uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis euangelista testatur. et uidimus ait gloriam eius gloriam **tanquam** unigeniti a patre plenum gratiae et ueritatis* AUMax co 8/726  
*[MAX] [Gen 49:11]. quod lego credo: quoniam uerbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* AUMax co 8/726  
*[MAX] de hoc apostoli dicebant et uidimus gloriam eius gloriam quasi unigeniti a patre* AUMax co 26/739

#### **<1:15> iohannes testimonium perhibet de ipso et clamat dicens hic erat quem dixi uobis qui post me uenturus est ante me factus est quia prior me erat**

*cf. Matt 3:11*

*adtestatur iohannes euangelista cum dicit iohannes testimonium perhibet de ipso et clamat dicens hic erat quem dixi **qui** post me **uenit** ante me factus est quia prior me erat* AUEv 2.12.26/127.2 (ms M perhibet de **his**, mss A U de **se** ipso, mss M H2 **clamabat**)  
*cum ait hic erat quem dixi **qui** post me **uenit*** AUEv 2.12.26/127.7 (ms B1 **quia** post)  
*iohannes testimonium perhibet de ipso et clamat dicens hic erat quem dixi **qui** post me **uenit** ante me factus est quia prior me erat* AUJo 3.7.1 [CT]  
*a quo dictum est qui post me **uenit** ante me factus est* AUPs 9.4.11  
*Adaptation: perhibebat enim christo testimonium iohannes* AUPs 140.26.20  
*ipsius autem testimonium iohannis de hac re sic se habet qui post me **uenit** ante me factus est quia prior me erat* AUs 380.2/1676  
*prior loquatur qui prius natus est sed confirmetur per eum a quo factus est post me **inquit uenit et** ante me factus est* AUs 380.3/1677  
*iohannes dicit post me **uenit et** ante me factus est. *expone mihi quid sit ante me factus est* AUs 380.3/1677  
*quid ergo dicetis ad hoc quod iohannis ait ante me factus est?* AUs 380.3/1677  
*quid ait iohannes baptista? post me **uenit*** AUs 380.4/1678  
*diceret ante me factus est* AUs 380.5/1678  
*ergo ante me factus est* AUs 380.5/1678  
*quomodo dictum sit ante me factus est* AUs 380.5/1678  
*quomodo dictum sit qui post me **uenit** ante me factus est* AUs 380.5/1679  
*post me **uenit inquit: agnosce natiuitatem ex uirgine maria.** ante me factus est. *quid est ante me factus est?* AUs 380.5/1679  
*dicit post me **uenit*** AUs 380.5/1679  
*dixit ante me factus est* AUs 380.5/1679  
*ante me factus est* AUs 380.5/1679  
*sequitur quia prior me erat* AUs 380.6/1679  
*ergo merito ante me factus est quia prior me erat* AUs 380.6/1679  
*dicat distinctius quid est post me **uenit** ante me factus est. *dixit enim et causam quia prior me erat* AUs 380.6/1680  
*secundum hoc dictum quod post me **uenit** et ante me factus est* AUs 380.6/1680***

**<1:16> et de plenitudine eius nos omnes accepimus et gratiam pro gratia**

*iohannes [sc. baptista]...de ipso christo identidem loquens ait nos omnes de plenitudine eius accepimus AUba 5.9.10/271.2 (Lm1 **accepimus**, cet v. **accipimus**)*

*Adaptation: filium dei de cuius plenitudine omnes acciperent AUba 5.13.15/276.21*

*Adaptation: deus meus inluminabis tenebras meas et de plenitudine **tua omnes nos** accepimus AUcf 4.15.30 (mss B P Z  $\mu$  **nos omnes**, mss C D O2 A H V **accipimus**)*

*Reminiscence: quia de plenitudine eius accipiunt animae ut beatae sint AUcf 7.9.34*

*hoc et ipse iohannes fatetur ubi ei perhibens testimonium dicit nos omnes de plenitudine eius accepimus AUci 10.2.30*

*quae in euangelio legitur **gratia** pro gratia AUcorr 41.29*

*Allusion: quibus cum uita aeterna redditur quid nisi gratia pro gratia redditur AUench 107*

*ita quamuis legerimus [Luke 16:16 or Matt 11:13] et quia [Jn 5:18] et quia gratiam pro gratia **accepimus** AUep 82.18/369.21 (ms H pro gratiam, mss Q E **accipimus**)*

*nunc uero de plenitudine eius **accepimus** non solum gratiam qua nunc iuste in laboribus usque in finem uiuimus sed etiam gratiam pro hac gratia AUep 194.5.21/192.22 (ms B **accipiemus**, ms C\* O **pro hanc gratiam**)*

*[Jn 5:35] sed ipse sicut principium de quo dictum est nos omnes de plenitudine eius accepimus AUEv*

*4.10.17/412.14 (ms B de plenitudinem, mss C1 P accipimus)*

*dominum et deum suum quia sicut ipse ait **ex** plenitudine eius **accepit** AUFau 22.85/689.21*

*sed habetis euangelium secundum iohannem tanta luce clarissimum ubi iohannes baptista de domino christo dicit nos **autem ex** plenitudine eius **accepimus** et gratiam pro gratia...[Rom 12:3] [1Cor 7:7] AUgr 9.21*

*Reminiscence: et reddet bona pro bonis gratiam pro gratia AUgr 23.45*

*quoniam de plenitudine eius omnes accepimus AUJo 1.6.23*

*et de plenitudine eius nos omnes accepimus et gratiam pro gratia AUJo 3.8.1 [CT]*

*nos omnes de plenitudine eius accepimus AUJo 13.8.22*

*nos omnes de plenitudine eius accepimus AUJo 35.3.13*

*nos omnes de plenitudine eius accepimus AUJo 35.6.9*

*iohannes baptista dicit nos omnes de plenitudine eius accepimus AUPar 2.14.32/85.1*

*[Jn 3:29] **nos** inquit de plenitudine eius **accipimus** [continues with Jn 1:9] AUPs 35.9.49*

*quod accepimus **gratiam** pro gratia AUPs 81.1.137*

*quid confitentem [sc. iohannem baptistam]? nos omnes inquit de plenitudine eius accepimus AUPs 120.4.19*

*adhuc quid? nos inquit de plenitudine eius accepimus AU 66.1/431*

*tu dixisti nos omnes de plenitudine eius accepimus AU 66.3/432*

*ergo et iohannem recte dicentem recte confitentem nos **autem de plenitudine eius** accepimus AU 67.5.9/457*

*quid igitur de christo? nos **omnes de plenitudine eius** accepimus. quid est nos **omnes**? AU 289.5/1311*

*uel ab incarnato missi **omnes nos de plenitudine eius** accepimus AU 289.5.1311*

*audi quid dicat de christo. **nos** de plenitudine eius accepimus. lucerna in nocte fontem tibi ostendit, inde et ipse*

*bibit: **nos enim** inquit de plenitudine eius omnes accepimus. **nos omnes**. AU 289.5/1311*

*iam dixit [Jn 1:27]...[Jn 3:31]: nos **autem** omnes de plenitudine eius accepimus AU 292.8/1326*

*[Jn 3:29] non propter suam. nos inquit de plenitudine eius omnes accepimus AU 293.6/1331*

*[Jn 1:9] dicit iste iohannes baptista nos omnes de plenitudine eius accepimus AU 293C.2*

*etiam ista iohannem dicentem nos omnes de plenitudine eius accepimus. quid est nos omnes? AU 293D.3*

*ipse iohannes testatur nos **autem** inquit de plenitudine eius accepimus AU 308A.2*

*Reminiscence: lumen quod illuminatur erat iohannes quia de plenitudine eius acceperat AU 341.18/188.412 (AU Dol 22)*

*[Jn 1:9]...audi ipsum iohannem confitentem nos inquit omnes de plenitudine eius accepimus AU 342.2/1502*

*[Jn 3:29] iterum aliud testimonium ipsius iohannis nos inquit omnes de plenitudine eius accepimus AU 379.3 (webtext; not in Migne)*

*uerum dixit iohannes nos omnes de plenitudine eius accepimus AU 379.5 (webtext; not in Migne)*

*quia ipse uiuebat nos omnes inquit de plenitudine eius accepimus AU 379.7 (webtext; not in Migne)*

*ipse iohannes dicat nos omnes de plenitudine eius accepimus AU 380.7/1681*

*[Jn 5:35] qui tamen unde luceret agnoscens nos inquit de plenitudine eius accepimus AUsp 7.11/163.9*

*[HI] et in euangelio legimus [Luke 16:16 or Matt 11:13] et in alio loco [Jn 5:18] et iterum de plenitudine eius nos omnes accepimus et gratiam pro gratia AUep 75.4.14/306.5 (ms B **om.nos**, mss B P2 **accipimus**, mss H P2 K K1 B O V S Q R A C E **om.et**, ms P1 **per gratia**, ms S et gratia quae prateriit gratiam euangelii accepimus)*

**<1:17> quia lex per mosen data est gratia et ueritas per iesum christum facta est**

*Reminiscence: et huic rei consonans per quem lex data est libros quinque conscripsit AUcat 3.46*

*[Jn 1:16] et quoniam lex per moysen data est gratia **autem** et ueritas per iesum christum facta est AUep*

*82.18/369.22 (ms M **om.autem**)*

*eadem quippe lex quae per moysen data est gratia et ueritas per iesum christum facta est AUFau 15.8/434.10*

*ne uidelicet lex per moysen non ad saluandum sed ad conuincendum peccatorem data in regnum caelorum introducere putaretur sed gratia et ueritas per iesum christum facta AUFau 16.19/460.16 (ms L **om. per**, ms L **facta** ~e)*

lex enim per moysen data est gratia **autem** et ueritas per iesum christum facta est AUFau 17.6/489.23 (ms S1 mosen, mss P b **om. autem**)  
 ipsa enim lex quae per moysen data est gratia et ueritas per iesum christum facta est AUFau 19.7/503.24 (ms b **om.est**)  
 lex enim per moysen data est gratia **autem** et ueritas per iesum christum facta est AUFau 19.8/506.19  
 quia lex per mosen data est gratia **autem** et ueritas per iesum christum facta est AUFau 19.18/517.23 (ms C\* **data est lex**)  
 ipsa enim lex quae per moysen data est gratia et ueritas per iesum christum facta est AUFau 22.6/596.12  
**lex** per moysen data est gratia **autem** et ueritas per iesum christum facta est AUJo 3.2.11  
 lex enim per moysen data est AUJo 3.11.1  
**lex** per moysen data est gratia et ueritas per iesum christum facta est AUJo 3.16.1 [CT]  
 Reminiscence: lex enim quae illis per moysen data est de qua superbius extolluntur AUJud 7.9/58  
 Reminiscence: et legis siue naturalis siue per moysen datae AUJul 6.24.81  
 Reminiscence: gratia per iesum christum dominum nostrum AUleg 1.18.968  
 non ita scriptum est sed ita lex per mosen data est gratia et ueritas per iesum christum facta est AUleg 2.3.341  
 quid dicam...eam de lege quae per moysen data est AUmor 1.14.5 (ms P4 eam diligi quae)  
 [Ps 44] lex per moysen data est gratia et ueritas per iesum christum facta est AUPs 44.7.9  
 merito lex per moysen data est gratia et ueritas per iesum christum facta est AUPs 70.s1.19.49  
 nam lex per moysen data est gratia et ueritas per iesum christum facta est AUPs 70.s1.20.4  
 ut modo audiremus ex euangelio quia lex per moysen data est gratia et ueritas per iesum christum facta est AUPs 73.2.2  
 sed lex ipsa per moysen data est gratia et ueritas per iesum christum facta est AUPs 73.2.52  
 Adaptation: moysen uoluit gestare figuram eorum qui sub lege erant quia per moysen data est lex AUPs 98.12.50  
 quod dictum est in euangelio lex per moysen data est gratia et ueritas per iesum christum facta est AUPs 123.14.7  
 ut cognoscatur quia et legem deus dedit et lex per moysen data est AUPs 123.14.11  
 Adaptation: et data quidem lex esset per moysen gratia **autem** et ueritas per iesum christum fieret AUPs 123.14.13  
 Adaptation: siue quia per moysen lex ipsa data est moyses enim quinque libros scripsit AUq 61.7  
 [in Luke 16:27] appellati sunt quinque quia sub lege detinebantur quae per moysen data est AUqEv 2.38.71  
 inde est illud in euangelio lex per mosen data est gratia et ueritas per iesum christum facta est AUqSi 1.1.341 (ms C **data gratia (om.est)**)  
 quod istum mundum non deus fecerit nec deus legis quae data est per moysen et prophetarum AUre 2.58.5 (referring to AUleg)  
 a lege quae per moysen data est AU 113A.1  
 Adaptation: putatis quod alius legem dederit per moysen nisi unigenitus patris uerbum dei AU 196A

[HI] [Jn 1:16] quia lex per mosen data est gratia et ueritas per iesum christum facta est AUep 75.4.14/306.7 (mss N P2 K1 V Q R C E edd **autem et lex**)

#### <1:18> deum nemo uidit umquam unigenitus filius qui est in sinu patris ipse enarrauit

cf. 1Jn 4:12

deum nemo uidit umquam AU1Jo 7.10/2033

insidiantur ergo manichaei et dicunt omnia contraria esse nouo testamento quoniam dominus dicit deum nemo uidit umquam **nisi unicus** filius qui est in sinu patris **ille adnuntiauit uobis de eo** [Jn 5:37] AUAd 9/131.19 (ms P **adnuntiabit**)

quibus respondemus eo ipso quod in euangelio scriptum est deum nemo uidit umquam **nisi unicus** filius qui est in sinu patris **ipse adnuntiauit uobis de eo** AUAd 9/131.25 (ms V **ille**, ms P **adnuntiabit**)

cum enim dixisset [Ps 21:23] quia deum nemo uidit umquam **sed** unigenitus filius qui est in sinu patris ipse enarrauit atque adiunxisset [Ps 21:24] AUep 140.2.45/193.5 (ms R **narrauit**)

quid est ergo quod eadem dicit auctoritas deum nemo uidit umquam AUep 147.5.13/285.18

proinde his sententiis non est contrarium deum nemo uidit umquam AUep 147.5.13/285.23

hoc non est contrarium illi quod dictum est deum nemo uidit umquam AUep 147.5.13/286.3

non sunt contraria sententiae qua dictum est deum nemo uidit umquam AUep 147.5.13/286.9

quo modo enim uerum est quod in eo dicitur [Jn 14:9] si deum nemo uidit umquam AUep 147.5.13/286.12

quo modo uerum est [1Cor 2.11] si deum nemo uidit umquam AUep 147.5.13/286.14

si dicimus in eo quod scriptum est deum nemo uidit umquam AUep 147.5.14/186.19

si ergo ita dictum est deum nemo uidit umquam AUep 147.5.14/187.3 (ms L uidit hominum)

[Jn 14:9]...non uideri esse contrarium ei quod dixit deum nemo uidit umquam AUep 147.5.16/288.5

profecto quoniam deum nemo **hominum** uidit umquam AUep 147.5.16/288.10 (cf. 1Jn 4:12)

si deum nemo uidit umquam AUep 147.6.17/288.16

quomodo dictum sit deum nemo uidit umquam AUep 147.7.19/292.8

quomodo deum nemo uidit umquam AUep 147.7.19/292.15

quia sicut uidentur ista uisibilia corporis sensibus nota deum nemo uidit umquam AUep 147.9.22/296.21

deum **enim** nemo uidit umquam *uel in hac uita sicuti ipse est uel in angelorum uita sicut uisibilia ista quae corporali uisione cernuntur quia* unigenitus filius qui est in sinu patris ipse **narravit** AUep 147.11.28/303.4 (ms L **om.enim**, mss P\* L **narrabit**)

unigenitus **autem** filius qui est in sinu patris *deitatis naturam atque substantiam insonabiliter* **narrat** AUep 147.15.37/311.17

*id quod scriptum est* deum nemo uidit umquam *et [1Jn 4:12] [1Tim 6:16] et [Matt 5:8]* AUep 147.16.39/314.2 *peruenimus etiam ut credamus quod* deum nemo uidit umquam AUep 147.19.46/321.2

*et illud uerum sit quod* deum nemo uidit umquam *quae uox ipsius christi est* AUep 148.2.10/341.2

deum nemo uidit umquam unigenitus filius qui est in sinu patris ipse enarrauit AUJo 3.17.2 [CT]

deum nemo uidit umquam AUJo 17.8.21

deum nemo uidit umquam **nisi** unigenitus filius qui est in sinu patris ipse enarrauit AUJo 31.3.20

deum nemo uidit umquam **nisi** unigenitus filius qui est in sinu patris ipse enarrauit AUJo 35.5.9

deum nemo uidit umquam **nisi** unigenitus filius qui est in sinu patris ipse enarrauit AUJo 47.3.5

*quaeri potest quomodo dictum sit* deum nemo uidit unquam *cum eiusdem domini uerba sint [Matt 18:10]* AUMax 2.9.1/763

*quod dictum est* deum nemo uidit unquam *id est nemo hominum sicut [Jn 3:13]* AUMax 2.9.1/763

*et ipse dominus* nemo **nouit patrem nisi** unigenitus filius AUmor 1.28.7 (ed. says a conflation of Matt 11:27 and Jn 1:18)

*non agnoscimus unigenitum filium* qui est in sinu patris AUPs 88.s2.3.20

*dictum est tamen* qui est in sinu patris ipse enarrauit AUPs 109.16.4

*et* qui est in sinu patris ipse **narravit** AUs 73A.1

*Reminiscence: missus sit dominus quia ex occulto in carne natus est et de sinu patris ad oculos hominum in forma serui tamquam egressus apparuit* AUtri 3.pro.58

[AM] *legerimus quia* deum nemo uidit umquam *et addidit quod ultra caelestes est potestates* unigenitus filius qui est in sinu patris ipse **narravit** AUep 147.6.18/290.5 (citing AMLc 1.24-27) (Ambr. **enarrauit**)

[AM] *necesse est si* deum **patrem** nemo uidit umquam *filium uisum esse in ueteri testamento* AUep 147.6.18/290.8 (AMLc 1.24-27)

[AM] *et ideo* deum nemo uidit umquam AUep 147.6.18/290.15 (citing AMLc 1.24-27)

[AM] *denique cum additur* unigenitus filius ipse **narravit** AUep 147.6.18/290.19 (mss H M F A P edd. Ambr **enarrauit**) (AMLc 1.24-27)

[AM] *beatus ambrosius cum de christo ageret secundum id quod uerbum est...inquit...* deum **enim** nemo uidit umquam AUep 148.2.6/337.9 (AMLc 2.93) (mss P V **om.enim**)

[MAX] [Jn 6:46]...*secundum antelatum testimonium quod* deum nemo uidit unquam unigenitus filius qui est in sinu patris ipse **narravit** AUMax co 9/728

[MAX] *audi utique ipsum clamantem et dicentem de inuisibilitate omnipotentis dei quod* deum nemo uidit unquam unigenitus filius qui est in sinu patris ipse **narravit** AUMax co 13/719 (mss audiui)

<1:19> **et hoc est testimonium iohannis quando miserunt iudaei ab hierosolymis sacerdotes et leuitas ad eum ut interrogarent eum tu quis es**

**hoc** est testimonium iohannis quando miserunt iudaei ab ierosolymis sacerdotes et leuitas ad eum ut interrogarent eum tu quis es AUJo 4.3.8 [CT]

*Adaptation: qui iohannem in deserto iordanis interrogauerunt quis esset* AUPet 3.29.34/189.30

*dum diceretur illi* tu quis es *respondit [Jn 1:23]* AUs 293A.5 (AUs Dol 3)

*Adaptation: ueniebant homines ad iohannem et dicebant ei tu es christus?...dicentibus enim tu es christus respondebat iohannes [Jn 1:29]* AUs 293B.2

*et* quis es *tu dictum est ei* AUs 293D.2

*quando ad eum missum est a iudaeis dictumque illi* tu quis es? *tu es christus an elias an propheta* AUs 308A.2

*Adaptation: ipsi enim miserant ad iohannem quaerentes quis esset uel potius ipsi missi erant sacerdotes et leuitae putantes quod ipse esset christus* AUs dni 2.20.70.1627

<1:20> **et confessus est et non negauit et confessus est quia non sum ego christus**

*Adaptation: cur a iohanne quaerunt utrum ipse sit christus* AUFau 12/372.25

non sum ego christus AUJo 1.6.21

non sum ego christus AUJo 1.18.12

non sum ego christus AUJo 2.9.9

*et* confessus est *et non negauit et confessus est quia* non sum ego christus AUJo 4.3.12 [CT]

*unde ait [sc. iohannes baptistam]* non sum ego christus *[continues Jn 1:27]* AUPs 35.9.42

*Adaptation: non enim ipse se dixerit christus* AUPs 50.13.42

*Allusion: tam quippe magnus erat ut christus putaretur et si non ipse testis suus esset quia non erat ipse* AUs 66.1

non sum ego christus AUs 289.5

*respondit ergo ita putantibus et ait* non sum ego christus AUs 292.2.2/1321

*Allusion: [Jn 1:19] cum ille se negauit esse et de domino testimonium perhibuit* AUs dni 2.20.70.1629

**<1:21> et interrogauerunt eum quid ergo helias es tu et dicit non sum propheta es tu et respondit non**  
et interrogauerunt eum quid ergo elias es tu AUJo 4.4.1 [CT]

*numquid tu es elias respondit non sum AUJo 4.5.4*

*non sum ego elias AUJo 4.6.15*

*numquid tu elias es....non sum elias AUJo 4.6.24*

et interrogauerunt eum quid ergo elias es tu et **dixit non et dixerunt ei** propheta es tu et respondit non AUJo 4.7.1 [CT]

*Adaptation: iohannes interrogatus quis esset utrum christus esset utrum elias utrum propheta non sum inquit christus nec elias nec propheta. AUs 288.2/1304*

*Adaptation: miserunt ad illum iudaei et dixerunt quis es tu? numquid tu elias aut propheta? aut tu est christus? non sum inquit christus nec elias nec propheta AUs 289.3/1309*

*Adaptation: non sum inquit christus nec elias nec propheta AUs 293.2/1329*

*Adaptation: ego non sum christus nec elias nec propheta AUs 308A.2*

**<1:22> dixerunt ergo ei quis es ut responsum demus his qui miserunt nos quid dicis de te ipso**

*Adaptation: interrogatus quid diceret de se ipso sicut narrat iohannes euangelista [Jn 1:23] AUEv 2.12.25/124.8*

dixerunt ergo ei quis es **tu** ut responsum demus his qui miserunt nos quid dicis de teipso AUJo 4.7.3 [CT]

*Adaptation: adhibet exemplum iohannis quod eum discusserint qui ab eo quaesierunt quem se esse diceret AUPet 3.29.34/189.10*

*Adaptation: et illi quis ergo es? AUs 288.2/1304*

*Adaptation: [Jn 1:21] et tu inquirunt quis es? [Jn 1:23] AUs 289.3/1309*

*Adaptation: [Jn 1:21] responsum est tu ergo quis est? AUs 293.3/1329*

*[Jn 1:21] et illi quis ergo es? et quid dixit? AUs 308A.2*

**<1:23> ait ego uox clamantis in deserto dirigite uiam domini sicut dixit esaia propheta**

*cf. Isaiah 40:3*

*Allusion: iohannes autem euangelista ipsum iohannem baptistam de se ipso idem testimonium esaiae protulisse commemorat (ms R de ipso) AUEv 2.12.25/122.18*

*sicut narrat iohannes euangelista ego ait uox clamantis in deserto AUEv 2.12.25/124.9 (ms B om.ait, ms B clamans)*

ait ego uox clamantis in deserto dirigite uiam domini sicut dixit esaia propheta AUJo 4.7.5 [CT]

uox clamantis in deserto **parate** uiam **domino** AUJo 5.6.14

**parate** uiam **domino** AUJo 5.15.41

*Adaptation: [Jn 1:22] ego sum uox clamantis in deserto AUs 288.2/1304*

*[Jn 1:22] ego sum inquit uox clamantis in eremo. iohannes respondit iudaeis querentibus quis esset et iam putare incipientibus quod ipse esset christus ego uox clamantis in eremo AUs 289.3/1309*

*iohannes dixit ego uox clamantis in eremo parate uiam domino AUs 289.3/1309*

*ideo enim dicebat ipse iohannes parate uiam domino AUs 289.3/1310*

*mementote enim ego sum uox clamantis in eremo et mementote quia [Jn 1:14] AUs 292.4.4/1322*

*iohanni iam praenuntianti dominum dictum est tu quis es et respondit ego sum uox clamantis in eremo AUs 293.2/1328*

*[Jn 1:22] ego sum inquit uox clamantis in eremo parate uiam domino. uox clamantis in eremo uox rumpentis silentium. parate uiam domino tamquam diceret ego ideo sono...quid est uiam parate nisi congrue supplicate? AUs 293.3/1329*

*[Jn 1:19] respondit ego sum uox clamantis in eremo AUs 293A.5*

*[Jn 1:3] uox clamantis in eremo iohannes est AUs 293A.5/387.74 (AUs Dol 3)*

*[Jn 1:1] iohannes autem cum de se ipso loqueretur ego sum inquit uox clamantis in deserto AUs 293B.2*

*mementote quid dixerit ego sum uox clamantis in deserto parate uiam domino AUs 293B.2*

*nam iste dixit ego uox clamantis in eremo AUs 293C.1*

*[Jn 1:19] ego sum uox clamantis in deserto parate uiam domino AUs 293D.2*

*et ait ego sum uox clamantis in eremo parate uiam domino rectas facite semitas eius AUs 308A.2*

*[Jn 1:22] ego sum uox clamantis in deserto parate uiam domino AUs 308A.2*

**<1:24> et qui missi fuerant erant ex pharisaeis**

et qui missi fuerant erant ex pharisaeis AUJo 4.8.1 [CT]

**<1:25> et interrogauerunt eum et dixerunt ei quid ergo baptizas si tu non es christus neque helias neque propheta**

et interrogauerunt et dixerunt ei quid ergo baptizas si tu non es christus neque elias neque propheta AUJo 4.8.2 [CT]

quid ergo **tu** baptizas si tu non es christus neque elias neque propheta AUJo 4.9.1

**<1:26> respondit eis iohannes dicens ego baptizo in aqua medius autem uestrum stetit quem uos non scitis**

cf. Luke 3:16

respondit eis iohannes **et dixit** ego baptizo in aqua medius autem uestrum stetit quem uos **nescitis** AUJo 4.9.2 [CT]

de quo amicus eius quidam dicit in medio uestrum stat quem uos **nescitis** AUPs 81.2.30 [in Ps 81]

audi iohannem cum ueniretur ad eum ego **quidem** baptizo **uos** in aqua...ego *inquit* baptizo **uos** in aqua [Jn 1:27] AUs 292.8/1326

iohannes quo mittebat uidete ego **quidem** *inquit* baptizo **uos** in aqua AUs 379.7 (webtext; not in Migne)

**<1:27> ipse est qui post me uenturus est qui ante me factus est cuius ego non sum dignus ut soluam eius corrigiam calciamenti**

cf. Mark 1:7; Matt 3:11; Luke 3:16; John 1:30

Adaptation: iohannes quo nemo exsurrexit maior in natis mulierum tantum testimonium christo perhiberet ut soluendae corrigiae calciamenti eius se fateretur indignum (ms v calceamenti) AUba 5.9.10/271.15

Adaptation: ille meminit qui in natis mulierum quanto magnus erat tanto se in omnibus humiliabat indignum se adfirmans qui christi calciamenta portaret AUep 266.3/649.23

an quod alius dixit [sc. Matt. 3:11] cuius non sum dignus calciamenta portare alii uero corrigiam calciamenti **soluere** AUEv 2.12.29/129.12 (mss F p alius uero corrigiam, ms p om. calciamenti)

aliquid aliud ex eo quod dictum est corrigiam calciamenti **soluere** AUEv 2.12.29/129.24

potuit enim sic dicere cuius non sum dignus **corrigiam** calciamenti **soluere** nec calciamenta portare AUEv 2.12.29/130.3 (ms B cui)

[Jn 1:20] sed qui post me **uenit** cuius non sum ego dignus **corrigiam** calceamenti **soluere** AUJo 1.18.12

ipse est qui post me **uenit** qui ante me factus est cuius ego non sum dignus ut soluam **corrigiam calciamenti eius** AUJo 4.9.6 [CT]

non sum **ego** dignus corrigiam **soluere** AUJo 4.9.12

ut non esset ipse dignus corrigiam calceamenti eius **soluere** AUJo 13.2.19

non sum dignus **corrigiam calciamenti eius soluere** AUJo 13.12.10

Adaptation: ut illum dicat sponsum se amicum sponsi non dignum tamen soluere corriagiam calceamenti ipsius AUJo 14.2.36

qui autem uenit **fortior me est** cuius non sum dignus **calceamentum soluere** AUJo 35.2.10

quomodo **qui** post me uenit **ante** me factus est AUNm 51.1245 (in Num. 23:6)

[Jn 1:20] sed qui post me **uenit maior me est** cuius non sum dignus **corrigiam calceamenti soluere** AUPs 35.9.42

Adaptation: unde ille humilis qui non se dicit dignum soluere corrigiam calciamenti non est expulsus [Jn 3:29] AUPs 35.18.26

de quo dictum est qui post me **uenit ante** me factus est AUPs 77.9.42

Adaptation: ita ut diceret non se dignum esse qui solueret corrigiam calceamenti eius AUs 66.1/431

tu dixisti [Jn 1:29], tu dixisti [Jn 1:16], tu dixisti non sum dignus **corrigiam** calceamenti **eius soluere** AUs 66.3/432

audi ipsum hominem non sum dignus **corrigiam** calceamenti **eius soluere** AUs 287.2.3/1301

quale audi cuius non sum dignus **corrigiam** calceamenti **soluere** AUs 289.5/1311

testimonium iohannis de christo est qui **uenit** post me **maior me est** cuius non sum dignus **corrigiam calceamenti soluere** AUs 290.1.1/1312

[Jn 1:26] qui **uenit autem maior me est** cuius non sum dignus **corrigiam calceamenti soluere** AUs 292.8/1326

iam dixit non sum dignus **corrigiam calceamenti soluere** AUs 292.8/1326

dicit iohannes de christo teste euangelio non sum dignus *inquit* **corrigiam calceamenti eius soluere** AUs 293.5/1331

quia ipse dicit qui **uenit** post me **maior me est** audis **maior me est**...dicat iohannes quantum cuius non sum dignus *inquit* **corrigiam** calceamenti **soluere** AUs 293D.3

iohanne **maior est** et tamen non est dignus **soluere corrigiam** calceamenti eius AUs 293E.1

audi illum de ipso homine non sum dignus **soluere corrigiam** calceamenti eius AUs 293E.3

agnouit lucerna et subdidit se diei non sum dignus *inquit* **corrigiam** calciamenti eius **soluere** AUs 379.6 (webtext; not in Migne)

[Jn 1:26] qui **autem** post me **uenit maior me est** cuius non sum dignus **corrigiam** calciamenti **soluere** AUs 379.7 (webtext; not in Migne)

non sum dignus corrigiam calceamenti eius soluere AUs 380.6

**<1:28> haec in bethania facta sunt trans iordanen ubi erat iohannes baptizans**

haec in bethania facta sunt trans iordanem ubi erat iohannes baptizans AUJo 4.10.1 [CT]

**<1:29> altera die uidet iohannes iesum uenientem ad se et ait ecce agnus dei qui tollit peccatum mundi et iohannes ipse cum dicat [Matt 3:11] dominum uidens ait ecce agnus dei ecce** qui tollit **peccata** mundi AUba 5.10.12/273.18

*testimonium iohannes ipsi perhibuit dicens* **ecce** qui tollit **peccata** mundi AUEv 2.4.11/92.19 (ms v **peccatum**)  
*occiditur christus de quo in euangelio dicitur* **ecce** agnus dei **ecce** qui tollit peccatum mundi AUFau 12.30/358.20  
 (mss C b **peccata**) *et tamen in euangelio legitur* **ecce** agnus dei AUFau 16.15/456.12  
*altera die uidit iohannes iesum uenientem ad se et ait* **ecce** agnus dei **ecce** qui tollit peccatum mundi AUJo  
 4.10.2 [CT]  
*ecce* agnus dei **ecce** qui tollit peccatum mundi AUJo 5.14.9  
*ecce* agnus dei **ecce** qui tollit peccatum mundi AUJo 5.14.13  
*ecce* agnus dei AUJo 13.5.42  
*ecce* agnus dei **ecce** qui tollit peccatum mundi AUJo 46.3.16  
*quibus utique sanguis ille figurabatur qui solus tollit peccatum mundi* AUJul 5.11.45 (edd **peccata**, mss  
**peccatum**)  
*iuxta duos homines unum per quem peccatum intrauit in mundum alterum qui tollit peccatum mundi* AUJul  
 6.14.43  
*de quo autem dictum est* **ecce** agnus dei **ecce** qui tollit **peccata** mundi AUJul im 2.71.13  
*nisi ille de quo dictum est* **ecce** agnus dei **ecce** qui tollit **peccata** mundi AUJul im 2.84.31  
*sed ille de quo dictum est* **ecce** agnus dei **ecce** qui tollit **peccata** mundi AUJul im 2.198.20 (ms P **peccatam**)  
*nec expauescis uocem dei per hominem dei intendentem in christum atque dicentem* **ecce** agnus dei **ecce** qui  
 tollit peccatum mundi. *quid desipis quid insanis non natura non lex sed* **ecce** qui tollit peccatum mundi AUJul im  
 2.199.14 (ms C K **peccata** (1), ms C **peccata** (2))  
*non liberat nisi* agnus dei qui tollit **peccata** mundi AUpec 1.23.33/33.6 (ms K **om.dei**)  
*ex iohannis autem euangelio quamuis ita nonnulla posuerimus adtende etiam ista. iohannes baptista de illo* **ecce**  
 agnus dei **ecce** qui tollit **peccata** mundi [Jn 10:27, Jn 14:6] AUpec 1.27.40/39.5 (ms b baptista inquit)  
*iohannem baptistam...digito demonstrans ait* **ecce** agnus dei **ecce** qui tollit peccatum mundi AUPel 3.4.11/497.25  
 (ms O **peccata**)  
*de quo scripsit moyses de quo lex et prophetae sunt testes* **ecce** agnus dei **ecce** qui tollit peccatum mundi AUPel  
 3.4.11/498.2 (ms D **om. agnus dei ecce**, ms O **peccata**)  
*Reminiscence: mediator est missus ut tolleret peccatum mundi* AUPel 4.4.8/528.21  
*Allusion: AUPs 103.s1.13.16 quomodo dicitur agnus christus?*  
*[christus] dictus est enim* agnus dei qui tollit **peccata** mundi AUqVT 8.123 (ms Eug **tollit**)  
*agnus est: ecce* agnus dei **ecce** qui tollit **peccata** mundi AU 19.67  
 [Eph 2:3] *sed mortua est ouis et fecit nos oues. ecce* agnus dei **ecce** qui tollit peccatum *non huius aut illius sed*  
 mundi AU 26.323 (mss V2 V6 **peccata mundi**, ms V4 **peccatum mundi**)  
*uidit dominum iohannes uidit digitum in eum intendit et ait* **ecce** agnus dei **ecce** qui tollit **peccata** mundi AU  
 66.2/431  
*quae praesignauit lex. ecce* agnus dei **ecce** qui tollit **peccata** mundi AU 66.2/431  
*tu dixisti ecce* agnus dei **ecce** qui tollit **peccata** mundi AU 66.3/432  
*continuo amicus sponsi de aqua ecce* agnus dei **ecce** qui tollit peccatum mundi...*ecce* agnus dei **ecce** qui tollit  
**peccata** mundi AU 136C.2  
*uideo prorsus ecce* agnus dei **ecce** qui tollit peccatum mundi. *quod peccatum? omne peccatum* AU 152.9/824  
*de illo dictum est ecce* agnus dei **ecce** qui tollit **peccata** mundi AU 229N.1  
*quomodo sibi fecit agnos agnus? ecce* agnus dei. *de illo dictum est ecce* agnus dei. *et quomodo sibi fecit agnos?*  
**ecce** qui tollit peccatum mundi AU 229P.4  
*cui testimonium perhibuit iohannes dicens ecce* agnus dei **ecce** qui tollit **peccata** mundi AU 272B.3  
*ipsius enim uerba sunt ostendentis dominum et testimonium perhibentis ecce* agnus dei **ecce** qui tollit peccatum  
 mundi AU 288.1/1302  
 [Jn 1:19] *respondebat iohannes ecce* agnus dei **ecce** qui tollit peccatum mundi AU 293B.2  
*quomodo candidat? ecce* agnus dei **ecce** qui tollit **peccata** mundi AU 306D.5  
*Reminiscence: hic est agnus qui tollit peccata mundi hic est leo qui uicit regna mundi* AU 375A.2  
*non solum iohanne baptista dicente ecce* agnus dei AUtri 2.6.35  
*sequi deberent agnum* qui tollit peccatum mundi AUtri 15.24.18 (mss N K P **peccata**)  
*Adaptation: discant non ab eis quibus peccata dimittis sed a te ipso agno dei qui tollis peccata* mundi AUvg  
 37.37/278.14 (ms E **om.agno**, ms N **om.dei**)

[MAX] *nec hoc ignoramus quod ait baptista iohannes ecce* agnus dei **ecce** qui tollit peccatum mundi AUMax co  
 5/725

<1:30> **hic est de quo dixi post me uenit uir qui ante me factus est quia prior me erat**  
*cf. Jn 1:27*

*hic est de quo dixi post me uenit uir qui ante me factus est quia prior me erat* AUJo 4.11.14 [CT]  
*ex qua locutione et in euangelio legitur ante me factus est* AUloc 7.40 (in Jud. 3:10)

<1:31> **et ego nesciebam eum sed ut manifestaretur israhel propterea ueni ego in aqua baptizans**  
*et ego nesciebam eum sed ut manifestaretur israeli propterea ueni ego in aqua baptizans* AUJo 4.12.1 [CT]



**<1:32> et testimonium perhibuit iohannes dicens quia uidi spiritum descendentem quasi columbam de caelo et mansit super eum**

*cf. Matt 3:16*

*Reminiscence: potestas ipsa domini iesu christi per columbae speciem spiritu sancto descendente monstrata est (ms N sancto spiritu descendente) AUba 5.11.13/274.11*

*quid est ergo quod ait quoniam uidi spiritum uelut columbam descendentem de caelo et mansit super eum AUba 5.13.15/276.7*

*Allusion: spiritus sanctus in columbae specie corporali (mss T H R V U corporali specie) AUep 169.2.5/615.12 et testimonium perhibuit iohannes dicens quia uidi spiritum de caelo descendentem quasi columbam et mansit super eum AUJo 4.12.3 [CT]*

*Allusion: solum spiritum sanctum et in columbae specie et in linguis uelut igneis apparuisse AU 71.26.27/460*

*Allusion: [Acts 2:3-4] ut ostenderet per illum ignem spiritum demonstratum sicut per columbam AUtri 2.6.31*

*Allusion: super baptizatum columba descendit AUtri 2.10.69*

*Reminiscence: nec sane tunc unctus est christus spiritu sancto quando super eum baptizatum uelut columba descendit AUtri 15.26.51*

*[AM] Allusion: AUep 147.6.18/290.14 quoniam spiritum quoque uisum accepimus in columba (citing AMLc 1.24-27)*

**<1:33> et ego nesciebam eum sed qui misit me baptizare in aqua ille mihi dixit super quem uideris spiritum descendentem et manentem super eum hic est qui baptizat in spiritu sancto**

*cf. Luke 3:16*

*utquid hoc? ut audiat hic est qui baptizat AU1Jo 7.11/2035*

*[Jn 1:32] et ego nesciebam eum sed qui me misit baptizare in aqua ipse mihi dixit super quem uideris spiritum descendentem de caelo et manentem super eum ipse est qui baptizat in spiritu sancto AUba 5.13.15/276.9*

*de quo dictum est hic est qui baptizat AUba 3.4.6/202.16*

*de quo dictum est hic est qui baptizat AUba 4.11.17/242.5*

*de quo idem iohannes ait hic est qui baptizat in spiritu sancto AUba 5.12.14/275.8*

*de quo dictum est hic est qui baptizat AUba 5.12.14/275.10*

*de quo ille amicus dixerat hic est qui baptizat in spiritu sancto AUba 45.12.14/275.14*

*nam secundum quid aliud dixerit et ego nesciebam eum AUba 5.13.15/276.4*

*quid sibi itaque uult ego nesciebam eum sed qui me misit baptizare in aqua ipse mihi dixit super quem uideris spiritum descendentem de caelo manentem super eum ipse est qui baptizat in spiritu sancto AUba 5.13.15/276.15 (ms L misit me)*

*ille de quo iohannes dicit ipse est qui baptizat AUba 6.28.53/326.19 (ms L pabtizat)*

*sed ab illo uiuo de quo dictum est ipse est qui baptizat AUba 6.34.66/332.9*

*quia ille baptizat de quo dictum est ipse est qui baptizat AUba 7.14.26/352.22*

*de quo dictum est ipse est qui baptizat in spiritu sancto AUCre 2.25.30/389.8 (citing AUPet 1.9.10)*

*de quo dictum est in euangelio quod etiam ibi commemorauit ipse est qui baptizat in spiritu sancto AUCre 2.25.30/390.3 (citing AUPet 1.9.10)*

*de quo amicus ille sponsi dixerat hic est qui baptizat AUDo 21.59/307.16*

*sed illius de quo dictum est hic est qui baptizat AUep 51.5/148.15*

*ubi iohannes ait qui me misit baptizare in aqua ipse mihi dixit super quem uideris spiritum descendentem quasi columbam et manentem super eum ipse est qui baptizat in spiritu sancto AUep 89.5/422.20 (ms A uideres, ms M om.quasi columbam)*

*de quo dictum est ipse est qui baptizat AUep 89.5/423.1*

*non iste sed super quem columba descendit ipse est qui baptizat AUep 89.5/423.3 (ms P non iste est sed)*

*quia super quem columba descendit ipse baptizat AUep 89.5/423.19 (edd descendit columba)*

*numquid christus exsufflaretur in baptismo suo de quo dictum est hic est qui baptizat AUep 108.1.3/614.18*

*quomodo secundum iohannem euangelistam dicat iohannes baptista ego non noueram eum AUEv q 2.15/65.4 (ms v nesciebam)*

*dictum sit et ego non noueram eum sed qui misit me baptizare in aqua ille mihi dixit super quem uideris spiritum descendentem et manentem super eum hic est qui baptizat in spiritu sancto AUEv 2.15.32/133.4 (ms C1 om.ego, ms v nesciebam, ms g me misit, ms B1 uides, mss C1 P descendente)*

*et ego nesciebam eum sed qui me misit baptizare in aqua ille mihi dixit super quem uideris spiritum*

*descendentem et manentem super eum hic est qui baptizat in spiritu sancto AUJo 4.12.5 [CT]*

*et ego nesciebam eum sed qui me misit baptizare in aqua ille mihi dixit super quem uideris spiritum*

*descendentem sicut columbam et manentem super eum ipse est qui baptizat in spiritu sancto AUJo 4.15.12*

*non noueram eum sed qui me misit baptizare in aqua ille mihi dixit super quem uideris spiritum descendentem*

*et manentem super eum sicut columbam ipse est qui baptizat in spiritu sancto AUJo 4.15.28*

*non noueram eum sed qui me misit baptizare in aqua ipse mihi dixit super quem uideris spiritum descendentem*

*et manentem super eum sicut columbam ipse est qui baptizat in spiritu sancto AUJo 4.16.18*

*ego nesciebam eum sed qui me misit baptizare in aqua ipse mihi dixit super quem uideris spiritum*

*descendentem sicut columbam et manentem super eum ipse est qui baptizat in spiritu sancto AUJo 5.1.32*

super quem uideris spiritum descendentem **sicut columbam** et manentem super eum **ipse** est qui baptizat in spiritu sancto AUJo 5.1.44

super quem uideris spiritum descendentem **sicut columbam** et manentem super eum **ipse** est qui **baptizaret** in spiritu sancto AUJo 5.2.7

ego **non noueram** eum sed qui misit me baptizare in aqua **ipse** mihi dixit super quem uideris spiritum descendentem **sicut columbam** et manentem super eum **ipse** est qui baptizat in spiritu sancto AUJo 5.2.18

ego nesciebam eum sed qui misit me baptizare in aqua **ipse** mihi dixit super quem uideris spiritum descendentem **quasi columbam** et manentem super eum **ipse** est AUJo 5.8.13

ego **non noueram** eum sed qui **me misit** baptizare in aqua **ipse** mihi dixit super quem uideris spiritum descendentem **quasi columbam** et manentem super eum AUJo 5.8.19

super quem uideris spiritum descendentem **tamquam columbam** et manentem super eum **ipse** est AUJo 5.8.24

super quem uideris spiritum descendentem **tamquam columbam** et manentem super eum **ipse** est AUJo 5.9.4

super quem uideris spiritum descendentem **tamquam columbam** et manentem super eum **ipse** est qui baptizat in spiritu sancto AUJo 5.9.11

ipse mihi dixit super quem uideris spiritum descendentem **tamquam columbam** et manentem super eum hic est qui baptizat in spiritu sancto AUJo 5.11.11

hic est qui baptizat in spiritu sancto AUJo 5.11.16

hic est qui baptizat in spiritu sancto AUJo 5.12.2

hic est qui baptizat AUJo 5.13.37

hic est qui baptizat AUJo 5.15.11

hic est qui baptizat AUJo 5.15.17

hic est qui baptizat AUJo 5.17.1

hic est qui baptizat AUJo 5.18.33

hic est qui baptizat in spiritu sancto AUJo 5.20.3

**ipse** est qui baptizat in spiritu sancto AUJo 5.20.15

hic est qui baptizat AUJo 6.5.17

super quem uideris spiritum descendentem **sicut columbam** et manentem super eum **ipse** est qui baptizat in spiritu sancto AUJo 6.7.4

hic est qui baptizat in spiritu sancto AUJo 6.7.29

super quem uideris spiritum descendentem **uelut columbam** et manentem super eum hic est qui baptizat in spiritu sancto AUJo 7.3.10

hic est qui baptizat AUJo 9.13.11

hic est qui baptizat AUJo 13.10.19

hic est qui baptizat AUJo 13.11.30

hic est qui baptizat AUJo 13.13.7 *et passim*

qui **me misit** baptizare in aqua AUJo 14.10.4

hic est qui baptizat AUJo 15.3.13

*Allusion: spiritus...quem scimus super eum baptizatum uenisse atque mansisse* AUJo 94.4.28

*ille de quo dictum est in euangelio* hic est qui baptizat AUPar 2.10.22/71.10

*de quo solo dictum est* hic est qui baptizat in spiritu sancto AUPar 2.11.23/73.22

[Rom 6:9] *de quo dictum est* **ipse** est qui baptizat in spiritu sancto AUPet 1.9.10/9.20

*sed illius de quo iohanni dictum est* super quem uideris spiritum **sicut columbam** descendentem et manentem super eum hic est qui baptizat in spiritu sancto AUPet 2.2.5/25.1

*sicut de illo dictum est a iohanne baptista* hic est qui baptizat in spiritu sancto AUPet 3.49.59/211.31

*de quo amicus sponsi dixit* hic est qui baptizat AUPs 95.8.13

*amicus enim ille sponsi dicebat* hic est qui baptizat AUPs 131.14.15

*non dicere ego facio ego baptizo sed* hic est qui baptizat AUPs 131.27.16

*quid dictum est iohanni?* super quem uideris spiritum descendentem **quasi columbam** hic est qui baptizat AUs 129.6.7/724

[Jn 1:27] **ipse** est qui baptizat in spiritu sancto. *quid te pro christo supponis?* **ipse** est qui baptizat in spiritu sancto AUs 292.8/1326

*dictum est iohanni* super quem uideris spiritum descendentem **sicut columbam** et manentem super eum **ipse** est qui baptizat in spiritu sancto **et igni** AUs 293B.3

ego *inquit* **non noueram** eum sed qui **me misit** baptizare in aqua **ipse** mihi dixit super quem uideris spiritum descendentem **sicut columbam** et manentem super eum **ipse** est qui baptizat in spiritu sancto AUs 308A.4

**<1:34> et ego uidi et testimonium perhibui quia hic est filius dei**

et ego uidi et testimonium perhibui quia hic est filius dei AUJo 4.12.9 [CT]

quia **ipse** est filius dei AUJo 7.4.2

[Jn 1:33] et ego *inquit* **quod** uidi testimonium **perhibeo** quia **ipse** est **electus** dei AUs 308A.4

**<1:35> altera die iterum stabat iohannes et ex discipulis eius duo**

*Allusion: to 1:35-44* AUEv 2.17.37/137.9

altera die iterum stabat iohannes et ex discipulis eius duo AUJo 7.5.1 [CT]

**<1:36> et respiciens iesum ambulans dicit ecce agnus dei**

*cf. Jn 1:29*

et respiciens iesum ambulans dicit ecce agnus dei AUJo 7.5.2 [CT]

**<1:37> et audierunt eum duo discipuli loquentem et secuti sunt iesum**

et audierunt eum duo discipuli loquentem et secuti sunt iesum AUJo 7.9.2 [CT]

**<1:38> conuersus autem iesus et uidens eos sequentes dicit eis quid quaeritis qui dixerunt ei rabbi quod dicitur interpretatum magister ubi habitas**

conuersus autem iesus et uidens eos sequentes **se** dicit eis quid quaeritis qui dixerunt **rabbi** quod dicitur interpretatum magister ubi habitas AUJo 7.9.3 [CT]

quid quaeritis qui dixerunt ei rabbi quod **interpretatum** dicitur magister ubi habitas AUJo 7.10.1

**<1:39> dicit eis uenite et uidete uenerunt et uiderunt ubi maneret et apud eum manserunt die illo hora autem erat quasi decima**

*Allusion: dicit petrum et andream mansisse cum illo uno die AUEv 2.17.34/134.21*

dicunt eis uenite et uidete **et** uenerunt et uiderunt ubi maneret et apud eum manserunt die illo hora autem erat quasi decima AUJo 7.10.3 [CT]

**<1:40> erat autem andreas frater simonis petri unus ex duobus qui audierant ab iohanne et secuti fuerant eum**

erat **andreas** frater simonis petri unus ex duobus qui audierant ab iohanne et secuti fuerant eum AUJo 7.13.2 [CT]

**<1:41> inuenit hic primum fratrem suum simonem et dicit ei inuenimus messiam quod est interpretatum christus**

*cf. Jn 1:45*

*cur petrus et andreas et philippus dicunt nathanaeli inuenimus messiam quod interpretatur christus AUFau 12.44/373.1*

inuenit hic **simonem fratrem suum** et dicit ei inuenimus messiam quod est interpretatum christus AUJo 7.13.4 [CT]

*quando audiuit [sc. nathanael] ab uno ex eis qui secuti erant dominum dicente inuenimus messiam quod interpretatur christus AUPs 65.4.26*

**<1:42> et adduxit eum ad iesum intuitus autem eum iesus dixit tu es simon filius iohanna tu uocaberis cephas quod interpretatur petrus**

*Allusion: iohannes autem euangelista priusquam iesus iret in galilaeam dicit petrum et andream mansisse cum illo uno die et tunc petro nomen inpositum cum antea simon uocaretur AUEv 2.17.34/135.1*

*iohannes dictum esse commemorat tu uocaberis cephas quod interpretatur petrus AUEv 2.17.34/135.15 (mss B1 M1 H E1 L uocaueris)*

*iohannes commemorat ei dictum esse tu es simon filius iohanna tu uocaberis cephas quod interpretatur petrus AUEv 2.53.109/217.1 (ms B uocaris, mss T1 C1 P H L uocaueris)*

*contrarium iohanni qui longe ante illi dictum esse commemorat tu es simon filius iohanna tu uocaberis cephas quod interpretatur petrus AUEv 4.3.4/396.17 (ms B1 uocaueris)*

et **duxit** eum ad iesum intuitus autem eum iesus dixit tu es simon filius **iohannis** tu uocaberis cephas quod interpretatur petrus AUJo 7.14.1 [CT]

**<1:43> in crastinum uoluit exire in galilaeam et inuenit philippum et dicit ei iesus sequere me**

*Adaptation: sequenti item die iam uolentem exire in galilaeam inuenisse philippum et ei dixisse ut sequeretur eum AUEv 2.17.34/135.2 (mss C1 V sequente, ms P sequentem, mss E2 U autem, mss R1 T uolente, ms R2 uolenti)*

*sicut eum iam philippus sequebatur quem sic uocauerat ut diceret ei sequere me AUEv 2.17.39/140.1*

**et** in crastinum uoluit exire in galilaeam et inuenit philippum **dicat** ei **sequere** me AUJo 7.15.1 [CT]

**<1:44> erat autem philippus a bethsaida ciuitate andreae et petri**

erat autem **de** ciuitate andreae et petri AUJo 7.15.2 [CT]

**<1:45> inuenit philippus nathanael et dicit ei quem scripsit moyses in lege et prophetae inuenimus iesum filium ioseph a nazareth**

**et** inuenit philippus nathanaelem et **dixit** ei quem scripsit moyses in lege et prophetae inuenimus iesum filium ioseph a nazareth AUJo 7.15.3 [CT]

inuenimus iesum **quem scripsit moyses** in lege et prophetae **a nazareth** filium ioseph AUJo 7.17.28

*[Jn 1:41] quaesiuit unde et dictum est a nazareth AUPs 65.4.28*

**<1:46> et dixit ei nathanahel a nazareth potest aliquid boni esse dicit ei philippus ueni et uide illud quod nathanahel dixit a nazareth potest aliquid boni esse AUdo 3.3.31 (ms v om.a) (CSELms ms M e nazareth)**

et dixit ei nathanael a nazareth potest aliquid boni esse dicit ei philippus ueni et uide AUJo 7.16.10 [CT]  
[Jn 1:45] et ille a nazareth potest aliquid boni esse AUPs 65.4.28  
cum audiens dixisset a nazareth potest aliquid boni esse AUPs 65.4.33  
sequitur autem ibi ueni et uide. haec uerba id est ueni et uide AUPs 65.4.34  
dicas quasi non credens a nazareth potest aliquid boni esse respondetur ueni et uide AUPs 65.4.37  
rursus si dicas confirmans a nazareth potest aliquid boni esse respondetur ueni et uide AUPs 65.4.39  
ipse est qui nathanaeli dixit iam quasi testimonio suo adiuuanti euangelium et dicenti a nazareth potest aliquid boni esse AU 174.4/942

**<1:47> uidit iesus nathanahel uenientem ad se et dicit de eo ecce uere israhelita in quo dolus non est sicut ipse dominus nathanaheli perhibet testimonium dicens ecce uere israhelita in quo dolus non est AUba 3.19.26/217.17 (no ms var.)**

Adaptation: posset hoc quidem dicere si iam esset uera israhelitis in qua dolus non esset AUc men 17.34/516.18 (de Rahab) (ms T uere, ms V israhelita, ms φ israhelites)  
[in Gen 28:10] ipse saluator nobis in memoriam reuocare in euangelio ubi cum dixisset de nathanael ecce uere israhelita in quo dolus non est AUci 16.38.48 (mss G B b e v nathanele)  
Reminiscence: quamuis fuerit illic et israel in quo dolus non erat AUci 17.7.38  
Adaptation: quae commemoret dominus ex euangelio ubi ait cum uidisset israheliten in quo dolus non erat AUdo 6.14/246.1 (ms Plm2 non erat in ras., ed. israheliten, ms O israhelitē, ms PI israhelitam)  
facta israhel in quo dolus non est AUFau 15.6/428.22  
Adaptation: qui adtendit ueros israhelitas in quibus dolus non est AUFau 12.36/362.22 (ms C1 ueras)  
Adaptation: nec iam alienus ab israhel sed uerus israhelita in quo dolus non esset AUFau 13.16/396.23  
si uult reputari uerus israhelita in quo dolus non est AUFau 16.19/461.25  
et uidit iesus nathanaelem uenientem ad se et dicit de eo ecce uere israelita in quo dolus non est AUJo 7.16.12 [CT]

Adaptation: sicut fuit nathanahel in quo dolus non erat (mss M P β nathanael, ms Dm1 natanahel) AUPar 2.5.10/55.24  
non ille nathanael est de quo dominus dicit ecce uere israhelita in quo dolus non est AUPs 31.s2.9.17  
dominus quando uidit nathanaelem in euangelio ait ecce uere israhelita in quo dolus non est AUPs 44.20.34  
hoc recolens dominus uidens nathanaelem sine dolo de gente illa et de populo illo ecce uere inquit israhelita in quo dolus non est AUPs 44.20.37  
Adaptation: qui audierat quod uerus esset israelita et dolus in illo non esset AUPs 44.20.46  
non eligeret nathanael cui perhibuit testimonium ipse dominus dicens ecce uerus israelita in quo dolus non est AUPs 65.4.18  
cum tantum ei perhibuerit testimonium dominus dicens ecce uere israhelita in quo dolus non est AUPs 65.4.44  
de quo dominus dicit ecce uere israhelita in quo dolus non est AUPs 67.12.28  
ex quibus erat ille de quo dictum est ecce uere israhelita in quo dolus non est AUPs 73.1.28  
illum adtende de quo dominus ait ecce uere israhelita in quo dolus non est. si uerus israelita in quo dolus non est AUPs 75.2.14  
unicuique eorum dici possit ecce uere israhelita in quo dolus non est sicut ipsum israel scriptura sine dolo fuisse commendat AUPs 87.1.50  
hinc nathanael in quo dolus non erat AUPs 78.2.26  
et qui filii israel? ecce uere israhelita in quo dolus non est AUPs 102.15.53  
et dominus uidens nathanaelem quid ait? ecce uere israhelita in quo dolus non est. si ergo uerus israelita in quo dolus non est AUPs 121.8.48  
nathanaelem dominus quando uidit quia nouerat qualis esset ait ecce uere israhelita in quo dolus non est AU 4.360  
dominus etiam perhibet testimonium quia sine dolo erat cum dicit de nathanaele ecce uere israhelita in quo dolus non est AU 4.366 (ms α non est dolus)  
Adaptation: inde erat ipse nathanael cui perhibuit testimonium dominus in quo dolus non esset AU 4.403  
ideo dominus in euangelio quando uidit nathanael ecce inquit uere israelita in quo dolus non est AU 89.5/557  
nathanael uidebit dominus et dicet ecce uere israelita in quo dolus non est. quando audis ecce uere israelita AU 122.5.5/683  
est autem et nathanael iste uere israelita in quo dolus non est AU 122.5.5/683  
erat nathanael de quo dixit ecce israelita in quo dolus non est AU 154A.5  
in domo ueri israel in quo dolus non est (mss P Gm2 uiri) AUsp 26.46/201.6

**<1:48> dicit ei nathanahel unde me nosti respondit iesus et dixit ei priusquam te philippus uocaret cum esses sub ficu uidi te**  
dicit ei nathanael unde me nosti respondit iesus et dixit priusquam te philippus uocaret cum esses sub ficu uidi te AUJo 7.20.2 [CT]

cum esses sub **fici arbore** uidi te AUJo 7.20.8

**antequam** te philippus uocaret cum esses sub **arbore fici** uidi te AUJo 7.20.16

priusquam te **uocaret philippus** cum esses sub **arbore fici** uidi te AUJo 7.22.2

[Jn 1:47] unde autem in illo nathanaele dolus non erat? cum esses *inquit* sub **arbore fici** uidi te. sub **arbore fici** erat AUPs 31.s2.9.19

cum esses sub **arbore fici** uidi te AUPs 31.s2.9.26

uidit eos ille qui ait cum esses sub **arbore fici** uidi te AUPs 32.2.s2.19.5

et ille nathanael unde me nosti? et dominus cum esses sub **arbore fici** uidi te AUPs 44.20.39

nathanael ad unam sententiam quam ab illo audiuit priusquam te philippus uocaret cum esses sub **arbore fici** uidi te AUqSi 1.2.384 (mss B P T nathanahel, ms Z natanahel, ms V natanael)

nathanael ait domino quem nondum sciebat unde me nosti? ait ei dominus cum esses sub **arbore fici** uidi te...quid est enim cum esses sub **arbore fici** uidi te? AUs 69.3.4/442

[Jn 1:47] et ille israelita nesciens adhuc qui cum illo loqueretur respondit unde me nosti? et dominus ad eum cum esses sub **arbore fici** uidi te AUs 89.5/557

quid est ergo cum esses sub ficu uidi te? cum esses sub peccato uidi te AUs 122.1.1/681

et quoniam sciebat se solum fuisse sub ficu ubi dominus christus non erat quando dixit ei cum esses sub **arbore fici** uidi te AUs 122.1.1/681

[Jn 1:46] dominus ad illum priusquam te philippus uocaret cum esses sub **arbore fici** uidi te AUs 174.4/942

quid aliud dictum est cum esses sub **arbore fici** uidi te AUs 174.4/942

#### <1:49> respondit ei nathanael et ait rabbi tu es filius dei tu es rex israhel

respondit ei nathanael et ait rabbi tu es filius dei tu es rex israel AUJo 7.20.5 [CT]

confitetur et dicit tu es filius dei tu es rex israel AUPs 44.20.45

[Jn 1:48] respondit rabbi tu es filius dei tu es rex israel AUqSi 1.2.386 (mss B2 F V rabi, ms C2 israhel, mss BFPZg-TV isrl)

[Jn 1:48]...et illi respondit tu es filius dei tu es rex israel AUs 89.5/557

[Jn 1:48] et agnouit in illo diuinitatem et exclamauit tu es rex israel AUs 122.1.1/681

#### <1:50> respondit iesus et dixit ei quia dixi tibi uidi te sub ficu credis maius his uidebis

dominus deinde dicit ei quia dixi tibi uidi te sub **arbore fici** credis maius his uidebis AUJo 7.22.7 [CT]

[Jn 1:47] et dominus quia dixi tibi uidi te sub **arbore fici credidisti maiora horum** uidebis AUPs 44.20.48

**maiora horum** uidebis. quae maiora? qui iam lapis ille ad caput est AUPs 44.20.50

[Jn 1:49]...et dominus ad illum quia dixi cum esses sub **arbore fici** uidi te ideo credis. **maiora horum** uidebis quae sunt ista maiora? AUs 89.5/557

[Jn 1:49] dominus ait qui dixi tibi uidi te cum esses sub **arbore fici inde miraris maiora horum** uidebis. quae sunt ista maiora? AUs 122.2.2/681

[Jn 1:46] ideo cum miratus esset qui dixit ei dominus sub **arbore fici uidi te dixit ei** maius his uidebis AUs 122.5.5/683

propter illud quod dixit nathanaeli maius his uidebis AUs 123.3.3/685

#### <1:51> et dicit ei amen amen dico uobis uidebitis caelum apertum et angelos dei ascendentes et descendentes supra filium hominis

non desunt ergo quos inde ipse commemoret dominus ibi quippe ait uidebitis caelum apertum et angelos dei ascendentes et descendentes **super** filium hominis AUJo 6.14/246.3

eodem loco ait amen amen dico uobis uidebitis caelum apertum et angelos dei ascendentes et descendentes **super** filium hominis AUci 16.38.50 (ms g om. et descendentes)

amen dico uobis *inquit* uidebitis caelum apertum et angelos dei ascendentes et descendentes **super** filium hominis AUFau 12.26/354.24

et dicit ei amen amen dico uobis uidebitis caelum apertum et angelos **adscendentes** et descendentes **super** filium hominis AUJo 7.22.8 [CT]

uidebitis **caelos apertos** et angelos dei adscendentes et descendentes **ad** filium hominis AUJo 57.2.12

[Jn 1:50] amen dico uobis uidebitis caelum apertum et angelos dei adscendentes et descendentes **super** filium hominis AUPs 44.20.51

[Jn 1:50] amen dico uobis...uidebitis caelum apertum. audi nathanael sine dolo quid uidit iacob sine dolo uidebitis caelum apertum et angelos **ascendentes** et descendentes ad quem? ad filium hominis AUs 89.5/557

[Jn 1:50] et dixit uidebitis caelum apertum et angelos dei ascendentes et descendentes **super** filium hominis AUs 122.2.2/681

[Jn 1:50] uidebitis caelum apertum et angelos dei ascendentes et descendentes **ad** filium hominis AUs 122.5.5/683

dicam et hoc breuiter ut dominus donat ascendentes et descendentes **angelos ad** filium hominis AUs 122.6.6/684

[Jn 1:50] dico enim uobis uidebitis caelum apertum et angelos dei ascendentes et descendentes **ad** filium hominis AUs 123.3.3/685

*non diceret ascendentes ad filium hominis nisi sursum esset. non diceret descendentes ad filium hominis nisi et deorsum esset* AUs 123.4.4/685

*et alio loco uidebitis angelos ascendentes et descendentes ad filium hominis* AUs 265B.3

*Allusion: et uidentur scalae reuelante christo a terra in caelum uel a caelo in terram et adscendentes et descendentes angeli* AUPs 44.20.18

**<2:1> et die tertio nuptiae factae sunt in cana galilaeae et erat mater iesu ibi**

*dicit item iohannes...quod ita narrat et die tertio nuptiae factae sunt in cana galilaeae et erat mater iesu ibi* AUEv 2.17.38/138.17 (mss T L g v **tertia**, mss chana/cana/channes/chanaan/canan)

*Allusion: to 2:1-13* AUEv 2.18.42/141.21

*Allusion: iohannes euangelista apertissime exponit cum commemorat posteaquam baptizatus est iesus isse eum in galilaeam quando fecit de aqua uinum* AUEv 2.44.92/197.22

*Allusion: to 2:1-11* AUEv 2.67.129/231.16

**altera die** nuptiae factae sunt in cana galilaeae et erat **ibi mater iesu** AUJo 8.6.13 [CT]

*Allusion: to 2:1-11* AUs 123

**<2:2> uocatus est autem ibi et iesus et discipuli eius ad nuptias**

*[Jn 2:1] uocatus est autem et iesus et discipuli eius ad nuptias* AUEv 2.17.34/138.18 (mss B1 R D **om.est**)

*uenerat autem illuc inuitatus ad nuptias cum discipulis suis* AUJo 8.6.14 [CT]

*Allusion: AUconj 3.3/190.18 uenit inuitatus ad nuptias*

**<2:3> et deficiente uino dicit mater iesu ad eum uinum non habent**

**et dixit illi mater eius** AUJo 8.6.22 [CT]

**ait illi mater eius** AUJo 8.6.19

**dixit ei mater eius** AUJo 8.6.29

**dixit ei mater eius** AUJo 8.6.31

**dixit ei mater eius** AUJo 8.6.36

**dixit ei mater eius** AUJo 8.7.28

**dixit ei mater eius** AUJo 8.8.7

**<2:4> et dicit ei iesus quid mihi et tibi est mulier nondum uenit hora mea**

*horum expectabat cum diceret nondum uenit hora mea* AUep 55.9.16/187.10

*quamuis ipse euangelista matrem eius fuisse commemoret ille tamen dicit quid mihi et tibi est mulier* AUEv 4.10.11/407.19

*quid mihi et tibi est mulier nondum uenit hora mea* AUJo 8.5.2 [CT]

*respondit ei iesus quid mihi et tibi est mulier* AUJo 8.6.31

*quid mihi et tibi est mulier nondum uenit hora mea* AUJo 119.1.11

*item aquam in uinum conuersurus ut deus dicit recede a me mulier mihi et tibi quid est nondum uenit hora mea* AUrel 16.25 (ms R **a me inquit mulier**, ms a **mulier inquit**, mss Y Z a **quid mihi et tibi est**)

*[Jn 19:26,27] ista hora nondum uenerat quando aquam in uinum conuersurus eidem matri dixerat quid mihi et tibi est mulier nondum uenit hora mea* AUs 218.10.10/1086

*ab eo [sc.christo] dictum est quid mihi et tibi est mulier nondum uenit hora mea* AUsy 4.9/12.19 (ms M **nondum michi**)

**<2:5> dicit mater eius ministris quodcumque dixerit uobis facite**

NO CITATIONS

**<2:6> erant autem ibi lapideae hydrae sex positae secundum purificationem iudaeorum capientes singulae metretas binas uel ternas**

**erant ibi sex hydrae** AUJo 9.6.16 secundum purificationem iudaeorum AUJo 9.9.10 **capiebant metretas binas uel ternas** AUJo 9.7.1 [CT]

capientes **metretas binas uel ternas** AUJo 9.14.3

capientes **metretas binas uel ternas** AUJo 9.16.30

**sex hydrae** capientes **binas uel ternas metretas** AUJo 9.17.17

**<2:7> dicit eis iesus implete hydrias aqua et impleuerunt eas usque ad summum**

NO CITATIONS

**<2:8> et dicit eis iesus haurite nunc et ferte architriclino et tulerunt**

NO CITATIONS

**<2:9> ut autem gustauit architriclinus aquam uinum factam et non sciebat unde esset ministri autem sciebant qui haurierant aquam uocat sponsum architriclinus**

*Allusion: nisi uero aut in uinum aqua conuerteret AUcred 14/40.26*

*Allusion: non enim quia in uinum aqua cum uoluit dominus repente conuersa est AUcur 16.19/652.18*

*Allusion: qui de aqua uera uinum uerum fecit AUEv 3.25.72/372.17*

*Allusion: dominus cum aquam conuertit in uinam AUUs 12.223*

*Allusion: quae aqua erat uinum factum uiderunt homines et obstipuerunt AUUs 126.3.4/699*

*Allusion: conuertit aqua in uinum christus magnum miraculum AUUs 374.11/546.225 (AUUs Dol 23)*

*Allusion: aqua uera in uinum conuersa est AUtri 3.1.23*

*Allusion: aqua in uinum inusitata celeritate conuersa est AUtri 3.5.16*

**<2:10> et dicit ei omnis homo primum bonum uinum ponit et cum inebriati fuerint tunc id quod deterius est tu seruasti bonum uinum usque adhuc**

*Allusion: cum aquam miro compendio conuertit in uinum et tale uinum quod etiam ebrius conuiuia laudaret (ms S aquas, mss E2 b d compendio, mss P R b d Eug ebrius etiam, ms E1 conbiba) AUGn li 6.13/188.17 seruasti uinum bonum usque adhuc AUJo 9.2.21 [CT]*

**<2:11> hoc fecit initium signorum iesus in cana galilaeae et manifestauit gloriam suam et crediderunt in eum discipuli eius**

*miraculo facto in canan galilaeae quod initium signorum iohannes euangelista commemorat aqua in uinum conuersa crediderunt in eum discipuli eius AUQSi 1.2.387 (mss T V maur signorum iesu, Cassiod. om. iohannes)*

*quando fecit hoc id est de aqua uinum quid addidit euangelista? et crediderunt in eum discipuli eius AUUs 123.2.2/685*

**<2:12> post hoc descendit capharnaum ipse et mater eius et fratres eius et discipuli eius et ibi manserunt non multis diebus**

*quod autem dicit idem iohannes post hoc descendit capharnaum ipse et mater eius et fratres eius et discipuli eius et ibi manserunt non multis diebus AUEv 2.17.39/139.7 (ms a haec, mss F O A L capharnaum, ms R1 fratres (om.eius), ms r mansit)*

*Adaptation: iohannes euangelista apertissime exponit [Jn 2:1] et inde post paucorum dierum in capharnaum habitationem redisse ad iudaeam terram AUEv 2.44.92/197.22*

*Allusion: post paucos dies factos in capharnaum redit ad templum AUEv 4.10.12/407.24*

*descendit in capharnaum ipse et mater eius et fratres eius et discipuli eius et ibi manserunt non multis diebus AUJo 10.2.1 [CT]*

**<2:13> et prope erat pascha iudaeorum et ascendit hierosolyma iesus**

*et prope erat pascha iudaeorum et ascendit ierosolymam AUJo 10.4.1 [CT]*

**<2:14> et inuenit in templo uendentes boues et oues et columbas et nummularios sedentes**

*et inuenit in templo uendentes boues et oues et columbas et nummularios sedentes AUJo 10.4.3 [CT]*

**<2:15> et cum fecisset quasi flagellum de funiculis omnes eiecit de templo oues quoque et boues et nummulariorum effudit aes et mensas subuertit**

*Adaptation: et tamen filius dei nostri flagello de restibus facto expulit de templo eos qui boues et columbas uendebant et nummulariorum euerit mensas et ait [Matt. 21:12] AUAd 10/135.3*

*Adaptation: [Jn 2:17] quam eos ipse cum eorum mensas euerit et eos flagello de templo expulit AUJo 20.56/305.20*

*et cum fecisset quasi flagellum de resticulis omnes eiecit de templo boues quoque et oues et nummulariorum effudit aes et mensas subuertit AUJo 10.4.5 [CT]*

*Adaptation: dominus male uersantes in templo flagello de resticulis facto exclusit AUPs 57.4.36*

*Adaptation: secundum figuram enim dominus exclusit homines de templo illos qui sua quaerebant id est propter uendendum et emendum ibant in templum AUPs 130.2.1*

*Adaptation: sed excluduntur inde flagello resticulae. restis enim peccata significat. AUPs 130.2.7*

*Adaptation: ideo dominus flagellum de resticula fecit et inde expulit de templo omnes qui sua quaerebant AUPs 130.2.24*

*Adaptation: accessit dominus iesus christus qui habitabat in petro et flagello resticulae expulit foras malum mercatorem AUPs 130.5.26*

*Adaptation: dominus flagellum de resticulis fecit unde expulit eos de templo qui tibi male uersabantur AUPs 139.9.5 [in Ps 139]*

*Allusion: non mihi occurrerat quod uendentes et ementes flagellando eiecit de templo AUre 1.13.78 (referring to AUrel)*

**<2:16> et his qui columbas uendebant dixit auferte ista hinc nolite facere domum patris mei domum negotiationis**

et his qui columbas uendebant dixit auferte ista hinc **et** nolite facere domum patris mei domum negotiationis AUJo 10.4.8 [CT]

*secundum id... uidetur dixisse auferte ista hinc [continues with Luke 19:46: scriptum est domus mea domus orationis uocabitur. uos autem fecistis eam] domum negotiationis [Luke 19:46: uel speluncam latronum] AUqEv 2.48B.6 (ms A **aufferre**, mss H\* P\* **tolle**, mss H2 P2 **tollite**, ms S om.eam, mss M S2 F fecistis **illam**, mss N W speluncam latronum uel domum negotiationis, ms M om.**domum...uel**, ms B om.**uel...negotiationis**)*

*Adaptation: dominus illos expulit de templo qui columbas uendebant AUPs 130.5.23*

**<2:17> recordati uero sunt discipuli eius quia scriptum est zelus domus tuae comedit me**

*et adhibitum etiam de ueteribus in euangelio testimonium zelus domus tuae comedit me AUAd 11/138.1*

*propter quos dictum est zelus domus tuae comedit me AUDo 20.56/305.19*

*commemorauit euangelista de illo esse scriptum zelus domus tuae comedit me AUFau 22.14/601.23*

**tunc scriptum esse zelus domus tuae comedit me recordati sunt discipuli** AUJo 10.9.1 [CT]

*dominus christus flagellatos expulit de templo improbos mercatores ubi etiam conexum est testimonium*

*scripturae dicentis zelus domus tuae comedit me AUPet 2.10.24/34.1*

*nescimus unde sit [Jn 9:29] quoniam zelus domus tuae comedit me AUPs 68.s1.13.15*

*quia flagellauit in templo male uersantes ubi etiam positum est zelus domus tuae comedit me AUPs 68.s1.13.16*

*Adaptation: si enim inuenirem illos seruantes mandata tua zelus domus tuae non comederet me AUPs*

*68.s1.13.19*

*[in Ps 118:137-8] quod ex alio psalmo [Ps 68:10] quantum mihi uidetur putatum est emendandum ubi scriptum est zelus domus tuae comedit me quod commemoratum etiam in euangelio nouimus AUPs 118.s28.2.6*

**<2:18> responderunt ergo iudaei et dixerunt ei quod signum ostendis nobis quia haec facis**

*dixerunt illi iudaei quod signum ostendis nobis quia haec facis AUJo 10.10.1 [CT]*

*cum enim domino dictum esset quod signum ostendis nobis quia **ista** facis AUPs 65.7.3*

*denique iudaei cum dixissent illi quod signum **facis ut credamus tibi** AU 217.4 (webtext; not in Migne)*

**<2:19> respondit iesus et dixit eis soluite templum hoc et in tribus diebus excitabo illud**

*cf. Mark 14:58*

*et ubi est quod ait soluite templum hoc et **triduo suscitabo** illud AUAr 15.57 (mss τ ζ **et in triduo**)*

*nullus hominem nisi se ipse qui etiam de corpore suo dixit soluite templum hoc et in **triduo resuscitabo** illud AUci*

*16.41.28 (ms V **hoc in (om. et)**, mss R F G a e g **et tribus (om. in)**, mss V1(corr) R A G B H a b e g p v*

***resuscitabo**, mss V1(\*) F **suscitabo**)*

*de qua dixit in euangelio soluite templum hoc et in **triduo resuscitabo** illud AUci 18.35.65 (ms e1 **et in tridu~u**,*

*mss e(in marg) ed. Arg. **et triduo**)*

*et filius qui etiam de corpore suo...ait soluite templum hoc et in **triduo suscitabo** illud AUench 15.39 (ms A*

***resuscitabo**)*

*hinc est enim quod iudaeis signum petentibus cum dixisset soluite templum hoc et in **triduo resuscitabo** illud*

*AUep 187.13.39/116.20 (mss T R M A P N **om.in**)*

*[Jn 2:12] ubi eum dixisse commemorat de templo corporis sui soluite templum hoc et in tribus diebus excitabo*

*illud AUEv 4.10.12/408.1 (mss A L soluit)*

*hoc loco ubi ait soluite templum hoc et **tribus** diebus **suscitabo** illud AUEv 4.10.12/408.9 (mss B C P F M H A L*

*omm. in, cet. & edd. **in tribus**, mss Es γ v **excitabo**, mss r a e **resuscitabo**)*

*soluite **inquit** templum hoc et in **triduo resuscitabo** illud et [Matt.5:24] AUFau 16.10/448.12*

*soluite templum hoc et in tribus diebus excitabo illud AUJo 10.10.2 [CT]*

*soluite templum hoc et in tribus diebus **suscitabo** illud AUJo 12.8.10*

*soluite templum hoc et in **triduo suscitabo** illud AUJo 47.7.33*

*soluite templum hoc et in **triduo resuscitabo** illud AUJo 110.3.15*

*illam domum cantat de qua eius architectus ait soluite templum hoc et in tribus diebus **exsuscitabo** illud AUJul*

*6.14.42*

*Allusion: qui in alterius corpore quod est templum dei ita construitur ut non ideo sit et ipse templum dei quia*

*aedificatur in templo dei AUJul 6.14.43*

*audite ex euangelio soluite templum hoc et in **triduo suscitabo** illud AUPs 40.12.30*

*in figura templi dicit ad iudaeos soluite templum hoc et in **triduo suscitabo** illud AUPs 56.8.13*

*Reminiscence: audi quid fecerunt: soluerunt templum. quid uero ipse fecit? AUPs 58.s2.4.13*

*hoc ipsum item dixit ut noueritis hoc proprium signum maxime commendatum soluite templum **inquit** hoc et in*

*tribus diebus excitabo illud AUPs 65.7.6*

*habes in euangelio dictum **destruite** templum hoc et [om.in] **triduo suscitabo** illud AUPs 85.22.12*

*Adaptation: qui etiam carnem suam tamquam solutum ab eis templum resuscitare poterat cum uolebat AUPs*

*87.5.11*

*propter quod dicit soluite templum hoc et **triduo suscitabo** illud AUPs 108.23.25*

*dominus figurauit cum ait soluite templum hoc et **triduo suscitabo** illud AUPs 111.1.19*



unde dicit in euangelio soluite templum hoc et in **triduo** excitabo illud AUPs 126.2.17  
dictum est soluite templum hoc et **triduo suscitate** illud AUqEv 2.48B.4 (mss C F H P W Thom maur in **triduo**,  
mss A D **post triduum**, ms B **resuscitate**, ms F **excitate**)  
unde ait soluite templum hoc et **triduo suscitate** illud AUs 37.66 (mss γ4 γ5 γ6 γ7 maur in **triduo**, mss γ2 γ3 in  
**post triduum** (?), ms (psi) **post triduum**)  
in figura sui corporis de templo dixit soluite templum hoc et in **triduo resuscitate** illud AUs 52.4.13/359  
inde dixerat soluite templum hoc et in **triduo resuscitate** illud AUs 62A.3  
unde dicit soluite templum hoc et in **triduo suscitate** illud AUs 67.1.2/434  
Allusion: postremo quod ipse apertius dixit [carnem christi] templum dicas AUs 119.7.7/676  
[Jn 2:18] ait illis soluite templum hoc et in **triduo suscitate** illud...dicebat soluite templum hoc sed quid sit hoc  
non audiebant AUs 217.4 (webtext; not in Migne)  
quid dicit christus secundum carnem? soluite templum hoc et in **triduo suscitate** illud AUs 261.7.7/1206  
recole quid dixit iudeis soluite templum hoc et in **triduo suscitate** illud AUs 305.3/1399  
audierunt dixisse soluite templum hoc et **post triduum resuscitate** illud AUs 315.1.2/1427  
Adaptation: in cuius figura templum a iudeis destructum **triduo se resuscitaturum** esse dicebat (ms J eras. se,  
ms T susciturum) AUtri 4.5.2  
Adaptation: corpus domini perfectum est quod mortis passione destructum **triduo resuscitauit** (ms S post  
triduum, ms T reedificauit, ms M edificabit) AUtri 4.5.20

**<2:20> dixerunt ergo iudei quadraginta et sex annis aedificatum est templum hoc et tu tribus diebus  
excitabis illud**

Allusion: et ille numerus aedificationis templi qui commemoratur in euangelio quadraginta scilicet et sex annorum  
(mss B D1 quadraginta scilicet om. et sex) AUdo 2.16.101  
Adaptation: ut putarent quadraginta sex annorum aetate passum esse dominum quia per tot annos aedificatum  
templum esse dictum est a iudeis (mss K P XL et VI) AUdo 2.28.7  
dixerunt ergo iudei quadraginta et sex annis aedificatum est templum hoc et tu **dicis in** tribus diebus **excitate**  
illud AUJo 10.10.3 [CT]  
quadraginta et sex annis aedificatum est templum **et triduo suscitate** illud AUJo 10.10.11  
[Jn 2:19] **et illi** dixerunt quadraginta et sex annis aedificatum est templum hoc et tu in **triduo** excitabis illud AUPs  
65.7.7  
Allusion: de annis quadraginta sex aedificati templi AUq 66.1  
Allusion: non ergo absurde quadraginta sex annis dicitur fabricatum esse templum quod corpus eius significabat  
AUq 66.20  
Allusion: quinquagesima sexta de annis quadraginta sex aedificati templi (ref AUq 56 - sic) (mss A V Y  
quadraginta et sex) AUre 1.26.156  
[Jn 2:19]...denique responderunt illi quadraginta **sex** annis aedificatum est templum hoc et tu **triduo suscitate**  
illud AUs 217.4 (webtext; not in Migne)  
dixerunt enim quadraginta et sex annis aedificatum **templum** AUtri 4.5.4 (mss N O P xl et vi, ms Eug (V) xli, ms  
la om. et, mss A2 B2 S T μ aedificatum **est**, ms F aedificatum **esse**)  
quo numero annorum **templum** aedificatum est quia eo numero seniorum corpus domini perfectum est AUtri  
4.5.19  
de quadraginta et sex annis aedificationis domini corporis AUtri brev 4.5.9 (mss N O S V J P R xli, ms L xlv, mss  
F T quadraginta sex, ms I quadraginta sexto anni, ms K quadraginta sexto anno)

**<2:21> ille autem dicebat de templo corporis sui**

[Jn 2:19] euangelista quid hoc esset consequenter exponens ait **hoc** autem dicebat de templo corporis sui AUep  
187.13.39/116.22 (ms R om. sui)  
**dicebat autem** de templo corporis sui AUJo 10.10.12 [CT]  
[Jn 2:19] **hoc** autem dicebat de templo corporis sui AUJo 47.7.34  
Reminiscence: nondum suscitauerat sui corporis templum AUleg 1.19.1045  
[Jn 2:19] **hoc** autem euangelista ne etiam inde dubitarem dicebat inquit de templo corporis sui AUPs 40.12.31  
[Jn 2:19] euangelista autem exposuit nobis quid diceret **hoc** autem inquit dicebat de templo corporis sui AUPs  
56.8.14  
[Jn 2:20] et euangelista quid illud esset exponens **hoc** autem inquit dicebat **iesus** de templo corporis sui AUPs  
65.7.9  
[Jn 2:19] ne autem nos aliud suspicaremur euangelista secutus ait **hoc** autem dicebat de templo corporis sui  
AUPs 85.22.13  
[Jn 2:19] **hoc** autem dicebat de templo corporis sui AUs 217.4 (webtext; not in Migne)  
[Jn 2:19] euangelista autem dicit **hoc** autem dicebat de templo corporis sui AUs 315.1.2/1427  
[Jn 2:19] dicebat enim **hoc** de templo corporis sui sicut euentissimo et robustissimo euangelii testimonio  
declaratur AUtri 4.5.21

**<2:22> cum ergo resurrexisset a mortuis recordati sunt discipuli eius quia hoc dicebat et crediderunt scripturae et sermoni quem dixit iesus**  
NO CITATIONS

**<2:23> cum autem esset hierosolymis in pascha in die festo multi crediderunt in nomine eius uidentes signa eius quae faciebat**  
cum **esset** hierosolymis in pascha in die festo multi crediderunt in nomine eius uidentes signa eius quae faciebat AUJo 11.2.1 [CT]  
cum autem esset hierosolymis in pascha in die festo multi crediderunt in nomine eius uidentes signa eius quae faciebat AUJo 11.3.8  
multi crediderunt in nomine eius uidentes signa **quae** faciebat AUJo 12.3.4

**<2:24> ipse autem iesus non credebat semet ipsum eis eo quod ipse nosset omnes**  
*sicut apertissime iohannes dicit* ipse autem iesus non credebat semet ipsum eis eo quod ipse nosset omnes AUEv 4.4.5/397.17  
ipse autem iesus non credebat semetipsum eis **quod** ipse nosset omnes AUJo 11.2.5 [CT]  
[Jn 2:23] ipse autem iesus non credebat semetipsum **illis** AUJo 12.3.4

**<2:25> et quia opus ei non erat ut quis testimonium perhiberet de homine ipse enim sciebat quid esset in homine**  
*cum de christo scriptum sit* non opus **fuisse** ut **quisquam** illi testimonium perhiberet de homine **quoniam** ipse sciebat quid esset in homine AUep 147.5.14/286.23 (ms P **om.illi**)  
[Jn 2:24] et quia opus ei non erat ut quis testimonium perhiberet de homine ipse enim sciebat quid esset in homine AUEv 4.4.5/397.19 (ms B et **qui**, ms B periberet)  
et quia opus ei non erat ut quis testimonium perhiberet de homine ipse enim sciebat quid esset in homine AUJo 11.2.40 [CT]  
[Jn 2:24] **non enim opus habebat** ut **quisquam** testimonium perhiberet de homine ipse enim sciebat quid esset in homine AUJo 12.3.4  
*cum enim de christo uerissime dicat euangelista quod* non opus **habebat** ut **ei quisquam** testimonium perhiberet de homine ipse enim sciebat quid esset in homine AUleg 1.20.1133  
[discussion of Matt 22:16] **sed non illi erat opus** ut **quisquam ei** testimonium perhiberet de homine ipse enim sciebat quid esset in homine AUPs 37.17.13  
**neque enim** opus ei erat *ait euangelista* ut **quisquam ei perhiberet testimonium** de homine ipse enim sciebat quid esset in homine. sciebat quid esset in homine. AUPs 57.3.18  
*numquid et dominum nostrum iesum christum qui* non opus **habebat** ut **ei testimonium quisquam** perhiberet de homine ipse enim sciebat quid esset in homine *sicut euangelista testatur* AUPs 63.6.6  
*ipse est enim de quo ait euangelista* non opus **habebat** ut **quisquam ei** testimonium perhiberet de homine ipse enim sciebat quid esset in homine AUs 100.1.1/603

**<3:1> erat autem homo ex pharisaeis nicodemus nomine princeps iudaeorum**  
*Allusion: to 3:1-21* AUEv 4.10.13/408.11  
erat autem homo ex pharisaeis nicodemus nomine princeps iudaeorum AUJo 11.3.1 [CT]  
erat **princeps iudaeorum nomine** nicodemus AUJo 11.3.12  
*ut proposuimus totam ipsam circumstantiam euangelicae lectionis...diligenterque uideamus* erat autem homo *inquit* ex pharisaeis nicodemus nomine princeps iudaeorum AUpec 1.30.59/58.8 (mss S V G K A **phariseis**, ms M **fariseis**, mss V G **nichodimus**, mss P A M **nichodemus**, mss G C M **iudeorum**)

**<3:2> hic uenit ad eum nocte et dixit ei rabbi scimus quia a deo uenisti magister nemo enim potest haec signa facere quae tu facis nisi fuerit deus cum eo**  
*Allusion: dominus ei dixit qui erat unus illorum quos delectabat uocari rabbi unde etiam ad uerum magistrum nocte uenerat* AUep 166.4.9/559.6 (ms S uenerat nocte)  
hic uenit ad eum nocte et dixit ei rabbi scimus quia a deo uenisti magister nemo enim potest haec signa facere quae tu facis nisi fuerit deus cum eo AUJo 11.3.2 [CT]  
[Jn 3:1] hic uenit ad eum nocte et **ait illi** rabbi scimus quia a deo uenisti magister nemo enim potest haec signa facere quae tu facis nisi fuerit deus cum eo AUJo 11.3.13  
*Adaptation: uenerat nicodemus ad iesum nocte primum* AUJo 120.4.10  
[Jn 3:1] hic uenit ad eum nocte et dixit ei rabbi scimus quia a deo uenisti magister nemo enim potest haec signa facere quae tu facis nisi fuerit deus cum eo AUpec 1.30.59/58.9 (ms d **ad iesum**, mss V P **dixit rabbi**, ms K **rapbi**)  
*cum his qui mihi dicunt* scimus quia a deo uenisti magister AUPs 27.3.4  
*Adaptation: ex illis qui prius in christum crediderant sicut nicodemus qui ad eum uenit nocte* AUs 316.3.3/1433

**<3:3> respondit iesus et dixit ei amen amen dico tibi nisi quis natus fuerit denuo non potest uidere regnum dei**

*cf. Jn 3:5*

*[Jn 3:5] nam uerba eius de hac re ista sunt ad nicodemum amen amen dico tibi nisi quis natus fuerit denuo non potest uidere regnum dei. ecce non hic dixit 'regnum caelorum' sed 'dei'. AUan 3.11.17/373.8 (ms E **amen dico**, ms D **renatus**)*

*dominus autem cum hinc loqueretur nisi quis inquit natus fuerit denuo AUep 187.10.33/111.2 (mss M A C P1 N edd **renatus**)*

*respondit iesus et dixit ei amen amen dico tibi nisi quis natus fuerit denuo non potest uidere regnum dei AUJo 11.3.19 [CT]*

*nisi quis natus fuerit denuo non **uidebit** regnum dei AUJo 11.6.2*

*nisi quis natus fuerit denuo AUJo 12.7.3*

*[Jn 3:2] respondit iesus et dixit ei amen amen dico tibi nisi quis natus fuerit denuo non potest uidere regnum dei AUpec 1.30.59/58.12 (ms M **ei amen dico uobis**, ms A **renatus**, ms P s.l. **potest**, ms Sm1 **uide**)*

*sententia domini dicentis nisi quis natus fuerit denuo non **uidebit** regnum dei AUpec 1.19.25/25.14 (ms A **renatus**)*

*quod dictum est nisi quis natus fuerit denuo non potest uidere regnum dei [Jn 3:5] AUpec 1.30.58/57.22 (mss L S V Pm1 G **renatus**, mss V G **om.denuo...fuerit**, ms P **om. regnum**)*

*oportet autem ut si natus fuerit renascatur quia nisi quis natus fuerit denuo non potest uidere regnum dei AUpec 2.27.43/114.26 (ms z **renatus**)*

**<3:4> dicit ad eum nicodemus quomodo potest homo nasci cum senex sit numquid potest in uentrem matris suae iterato introire et nasci**

*et cum respondisset nicodemus atque dixisset quomodo potest homo nasci cum senex sit numquid potest in uentrem matris suae iterato introire et nasci AUan 3.11.17/373.12 (mss A B C D E I **nichodemus**, ms Hm1 **nicodemus**, ms A **quã senex**, ms E **sit senex**, ms C **introiret nasci**, ms H **introeisse**)*

*dicit ad eum nicodemus quomodo potest homo nasci cum **sit senex** AUJo 11.5.7 numquid potest in uentrem matris suae **iterum** introire et nasci AUJo 11.6.5 [CT]*

*quomodo potest homo **cum sit senex iterum nasci** numquid potest in uentrem matris suae **iterum** introire et nasci AUJo 11.6.5*

*numquid potest **homo denuo** in uentrem matris suae **intrare** et nasci AUJo 11.6.20*

*numquid potest **homo iterum** in uentrem matris suae **intrare** et nasci AUJo 11.6.23*

*numquid potest **homo redire** in **uiscera** matris suae AUJo 12.5.4*

*[Jn 3:3] dicit ad eum nicodemus quomodo potest homo nasci cum senex sit numquid potest in **utero** matris suae **iterum** introire et nasci AUpec 1.30.59/58.14 (mss V G **nichodimus**, mss P A **nichodemus**, mss K C b d **sit senex**, mss V P K C T b d **in uterum**, mss Km2 C **introire iterum**, ms K **renasci**)*

*[Jn 3:5] non ibi aduertisti cum quaereret nicodemus quomodo ista fierent, id est quomodo renascetur homo, quomodo denuo nasceretur, quoniam non potest utique **iterum** introire in **uterum** matris et denuo nasci AU 294.8.9/1340*

**<3:5> respondit iesus amen amen dico tibi nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu non potest introire in regnum dei**

*cf. Jn 3:3, Matt 5:20*

*certe iam renati sunt ex aqua et spiritu fratres nostri; et nos ante aliquot annos renati sumus ex aqua et spiritu AU1Jo 2.9/1994*

*ex quo autem ab illo dictum est nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu non potest **intrare** in regnum dei et alio loco [Matt 10:39] AUan 1.9.10/311.4 (ms M **nisi qui**, ms A **fuerat**, ms b **spiritu sancto**, ms b **om.in**)*

*intonat per os proprii corporis ueritas **si quis non** renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu non potest introire in regnum dei AUan 2.12.17/352.4 (ms d **fuerit renatus**, mss B C G **om. fuerit**, ms D **non introibit**)*

*ipsum dominum audi qui non ait **si quis non** renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu **non potest intrare in regnum caelorum** sed non potest inquit **intrare** in regnum dei AUan 3.11.17/373.5*

*eandem dominus sententiam planius apertiusque repetens ait amen amen dico tibi nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu non potest introire in regnum dei. ecce nec hic dixit **regnum caelorum** sed **regnum dei** quod enim dixerat nisi quis natus fuerit denuo (Jn 3:3) hoc quid esset exposuit dicens nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu ex quod dixerat non potest uidere hoc exposuit dicendo non potest introire. illud tamen quod dixerat **regnum dei** non alio nomine repetiuit. neque nunc opus est quaerere atque disserere utrum **regnum dei** **regnumque caelorum** cum aliqua differentia sit intellegendum an res una sit duobus appellata nominibus. AUan 3.11.17/373.15-26 (mss B C D I T **renatus** fuerit denuo)*

*Reminiscence: mansuros quosdam etiam non renatos ex aqua et spiritu AUan 3.11.17/374.2*

*tu uero sic condemnis quod dictum est **si quis non** renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu non potest introire in regnum dei AUan 3.13.19/375.1*

*Adaptation: contra sententiam principalem qua constitutum est non intraturum in illud regnum qui non renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu **sancto**, quam sententiam principalem timens uiolare Pelagius nec illos sine baptismo in regnum caelorum credidit intraturos quos non credidit reos. AUan 3.13.19/375.22*

nam et petro dixit [Jn 13:10] et nicodemo nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu non **intrabit** in regnum **caelorum** AUba 2.14.19/194.27 (mss LMNm2  $\mu$  m2 nichodemo, ms Nm1 **intrauit**)

cum ipse dixerit nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu non **intrabit** in regnum **caelorum** AUba 4.21.28/255.10 (ms Nm1 **intrauit**)

qui enim dixit nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu non **intrabit** in regnum **caelorum** [Matt 5:20] AUba 4.21.28/256.5 (ms Nm1 **intrauit**)

dictum est nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu non **intrabit** in regnum **caelorum** [Matt 5:20] AUba 4.12.28/256.10 (mss M  $\mu$  **introibit**)

iam uero quod dominus ait nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu non potest introire in regnum dei AUba 6.12.19/310.2 (mss K N m1 v Cypr. **renatus**, mss cet. **natus**)

quia nisi **renatus** fuerit ex aqua et spiritu non **intrabit** in regnum **caelorum** quod dominus dixit et uerum est AUba 6.12.19/310.6 (NB this follows soon after the previous cit.) (mss Mm2 **nisi quis**)

Reminiscence: neque enim iam opus habet baptismo...non enim intratur aliter in regnum caelorum ex illo quo instituisti ut sic intretur (ms S **regno**) AUcf 13.21.5

manifestum est quantum distet inter [Jn 13:10] et non **intrabit** in regnum **caelorum** AUba 2.14.19/195.4

ex euangelio testimonium quod nisi **renatus ex** aqua et spiritu **regnum caelorum nullus possit intrare** AUChr 2.19/181.11 (ms V **om. nullus**)

qui enim dixit **si quis non** renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu non **intrabit** in regnum **caelorum** AUci 13.7.4 (mss A F r G b2 v **spiritu sancto**)

nonne qui dixit nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu non **intrabit** in regnum dei [Matt 5:20] AUci 21.27.79 (mss B D2 b p v **spiritu sancto**)

credo propter illud quaeri quod dominus ait nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu non **intrabit** in regnum **caelorum** AUCre 1.22.27/347.25

sicut enim ueritas dixit **si quis non** renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu non **intrabit** in regnum **caelorum** [Matt 5:20] AUdo 22.62/309.24

Reminiscence: qui nascuntur ex aqua et spiritu (ms X **spiritu sancto**) AUench 12.40

Reminiscence: regenerati sunt ex aqua et spiritu **sancto** (ms P  $\mu$  **om.sancto**) AUench 19.12

non enim scriptum est nisi quis renatus fuerit ex parentum uoluntate aut ex offensum uel ministrantium fide sed nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu AUep 98.2/521.20 (ms M spiritu sancto)

Reminiscence: quando quidem spiritu renatos non nisi spiritaliter deceat orare (mss M A om.non) AUep 130.12.22/65.6

Reminiscence: propter quod nunc etiam renati ex aqua et spiritu AUep 187.8.27/105.7 (ms T spiritu sancto)

Reminiscence: natus dicitur homo partu ut possit renasci ex aqua et spiritu AUep 187.10.33/111.9

sicut eos tenet illa sententia **qui non** renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu non **intrabit** in regnum **caelorum** AUep 193.2.4/170.8

nullus paruulus nisi **renatus ex** aqua et spiritu **intrat** in regnum **caelorum** AUep 194.7.31/201.3

sicut ergo audiunt dominum dicentem **qui non** renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu non **intrabit** in regnum **caelorum** AUep 194.10.46/213.6 (mss P P1 M N edd **spiritu sancto**, mss P P1 M edd **introibit**)

dominus christus...apertissime dixit **si quis non** renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu **sancto** non **intrabit** in regnum **caelorum** AUep 265.4/641.8 (mss P Pd P2 S V P5 **fuerit renatus**, ms M **in regnum caelorum non intrabit**)

minime dubitamus propter illam domini sententiam nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu **sancto** non **intrabit** in regnum **caelorum** AUep 265.4/642.9 (mss P P2 P3 P5 **om.sancto**)

illa sententia quae in euangelio scripta est nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu non **intrabit** in regnum dei AUep Div 2.6.4 (AUep 272.6.4)

sicut dictum est **si quis non** renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu non **intrabit** in regnum dei AUep Div 3.3.11 (AUep 273.3.11)

nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu non **uidebit** regnum dei AUJo 11.1.5

amen amen dico tibi nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu non potest introire in regnum dei AUJo 12.5.1 [CT]

nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu non **uidebit** regnum dei AUJo 12.8.11

ipsum dominum audiens dicentem amen amen dico **uobis** nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu non **introibit** in regnum **coelorum** AUJul 2.6.18

illius est uera sententia qui dixit nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu non potest **intrare** in regnum dei AUJul 3.2.8

Adaptation: ubi est enim uita dei nisi in regno dei quo nisi renati ex aqua et spiritu intrare non possunt AUJul 3.12.25

Reminiscence: tantum amo regnum dei ut hominis magnam iudicem poenam si eo nunquam possit intrare AUJul 5.1.4

Reminiscence: nulla omnino poena est imaginis dei nunquam posse intrare in regnum dei AUJul 5.1.4

Reminiscence: deo autem nasci cum ex aqua et spiritu renascitur AUJul 6.2.3 (citing AUhu 1.21)

frustra uos terret dominica illa sententia nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu AUJul 6.4.10

uniuersaliter prolata sententia est nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu non potest **intrare** in regnum dei AUJul 6.4.10

Reminiscence: absit ut ego inanem dicerem gratiam lauacri illius in quo renatus sum ex aqua et spiritu AUJul 6.14.44

*et ubi erit* nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu non potest introire in regnum dei AUJul im 2.113.36 (ms P erit euangelica uox, mss C G **nisi qui**)

*non est ergo lex christi* nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu non potest **intrare** in regnum dei AUJul im 2.161.15 (ms G **introire**)

*qui enim dixit [sc.dominus]* nisi quis renatus fuerit ex **spiritu sancto** non **intrabit** in regnum **caelorum** *ipse etiam dixit [Matt 5:20]* AUOp 26.48/93.23 (mss S M R B N P A X b d **ex aqua et spiritu**, mss S M R B N A b d **om.sancto**)

[Jn 3:4] respondit iesus amen amen dico tibi nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu non potest introire in regnum dei AUpec 1.30.59/58.17 (ms M **iesus amen dico**, ms Gm2 s.l. **nisi**, mss z b **spiritu sancto**, ms M **intrare**)

*Allusion: spiritum sanctum quem nomine aquae in euangelio significare quis quoquo modo christianus ignorat* (mss E G H I **quomodo**) AUPar 2.10.22/70.17

*Allusion: cum dicitur ad aeternam salutem posse quemquam peruenire si non renascatur in christo* AUpec 1.18.23/22.23

[Jn 3:3] *quod cum exponeret ait* nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu non **intrabit** in regnum **caelorum** AUpec 1.20.26/25.16 (mss Gm1 A **spiritu sancto**, ms Km1 **trabit**, ms C **om.in**, ms M **regna caelorum**)

*quia non ait dominus si* quis **non** renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu *non habebit uitam sed ait* non **intrabit** in regnum dei AUpec 1.20.26/25.23 (ms K **caelorum**)

*non ait qui non manducauerit sicut de baptismo* **qui non** renatus fuerit *sed ait si non manducaueritis (Jn 6:54)* AUpec 1.20.27/26.12

*Adaptation: cuius regnum non intrabit nisi qui renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu* (mss Lm1 S Vm1 Gm1 A M **intrauit**, ms Sp.c.CM **quis**, mss G K **quis**.) AUpec 1.23.33/32.25

*quantum adiuuat dominus etiam ipsum euangelii capitulum ubi ait* nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu non **intrabit** in regnum dei AUpec 1.30.58/57.7

*quod dictum est [Jn 3:3] et* nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu non potest introire in regnum dei AUpec 1.30.58/57.23 (mss A Mm2 **spiritu sancto**, ms A **intraire**)

*Reminiscence: perficietur quod filii dei et spiritu renati sumus* (mss z d b **renouati**) AUpec 2.8.10/82.1

*Reminiscence: ut deo nascerentur spiritu* AUpec 2.23.37/109.19

*Reminiscence: per hoc quod spiritu renatus est* AUpec 2.27.44/115.11

*Adaptation: eorum qui ex aqua et spiritu renati sunt* AUpec 2.28.45/116.4

*Reminiscence: in spiritalem renascendo saluantur* AUpec 2.29.47/118.12

*non admittatur ad regnum dei quoniam* nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu non potest introire in regnum dei AUpec 3.3.6/132.26

*numquid et illud ambiguum est* nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu non potest introire in regnum dei AUpec 3.4.8/134.8 (mss z d **intrare**)

*qui enim dixit* nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu non **intrabit** in regnum **caelorum** [Matt 5:20] AUPet 3.56.68/222.14

*Allusion: de ipso spiritu et hic renatus de quo est ille renatus* AUprae 15.31/982

*Reminiscence: sic et nobis ut ex aqua et spiritu nasceremur* AUprae 15.31/983

*sed in hoc fit saeculo utraque quoniam* **qui non** renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu non **intrabit** in regnum **caelorum** AUPs 78.17.21

*et ipse dominus* nisi quis **natus** fuerit ex aqua et spiritu **sancto** non **intrabit** in regnum **caelorum** AUqSi 1.2.42 (mss B F P g – T V maur **renatus**, ms F **fuit**, mss T V **introibit**)

*secundum hanc regulam locutionis et illud accipitur* nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu. *non enim ait ibi et spiritu sancto et tamen hoc intellegitur. nec quoniam dixit ex aqua et spiritu omnem spiritum quisquam intellegere cogitur* AU 71.7.12/451

*nam et illa regeneratio ubi fit omnium praeteritorum remissio peccatorum in spiritu sancto fit dicente domino* nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu non potest introire in regnum dei AU 71.12.19/454

*spiritum sanctum de quo dictum est* **qui non** renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu AU 71.13.23/457

*Reminiscence: nam quomodo essent paruuli in christo nisi renati ex spiritu sancto* AU 71.18.31/462

*Reminiscence: segregationibus baptizantur quamuis non sint renati spiritu* AU 71.19.32/462

*audi euangelium* nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu **sancto** non **intrabit** in regnum dei AU 294.8.8/1340

*teneamus interim sententiam istam* nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu non **intrabit** in regnum dei AU 294.8.8/1340

*sententia domini aperta est* nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu non **intrabit** in regnum **caelorum** AU 294.8.9/1340

*nec attendis domini sententiam quem tu ipse in ore habes si quis* non renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu AU 294.16.16/1345

[FAU] *iesus ei respondens* nisi quis **natus** fuerit *inquit* ex aqua et spiritu non potest **uidere** regnum dei AUFau 24.1/718.1

[GR-M] *sermo christi dicentis neminem* posse introire in regnum **caelorum** nisi renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu AUJul 1.5.15

[GR-M] *dicit regeneratione ex aqua et spiritu purgari maculas primae natiuitatis* AUJul 1.7.32

[VINC-C] cum utique iam maneret **qui non** renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu **sancto** non **intrabit** in regnum **caelorum** AUan 2.10.14/348.15 (ms D **fuerit renatus**)  
 [VINC-C] *quamquam sententia illa principalis obsistat quia* **qui non** renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu **sancto** non **intrabit** in regnum **caelorum** AUan 2.12.16/350.27 (ms A **om. qui**, ms A **renatis**, ms A **om.non**)  
 [VINC-C] *ipse suis litteras imponit ipse dicit quamquam sententia illa principalis obsistat quia* **qui non** renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu **sancto** non **intrabit** in regnum **caelorum** AUan 2.12.16/351.8 (mss B G **om.non**)  
 [VINC-C] *quamquam sententia illa principalis obsistat quia* **qui non** renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu **sancto** non **intrabit** in regnum AUan 3.13.19/375.14 (ms B **om.sancto**, mss D H b d **regnum celorum**)

<3:6> **quod natum est ex carne caro est et quod natum est ex spiritu spiritus est**

N.B. Some Old Latin manuscripts add **quoniam deus spiritus est** at the end of this verse (cf. Jn 4:24)

ubi legitur **deus spiritus est** AUci 13.24.98

*dicente ipso domino* quod natum est ex carne caro est et quod natum est ex spiritu spiritus est AUGn li 10.22/326.1 (ms b **om.et**)

quod natum est **de** carne caro est et quod natum est **de** spiritu spiritus est AUJo 12.5 [CT]

*sed quoquo modo dicat manichaeus animas nasci ad nos quid pertinet qui uerba illa domini* quod natum est ex carne caro est et quod natum est **de** spiritu spiritus est AUJul im 3.172.25

Allusion: *caro de carne nascitur filius carnis de substantia carnis nascitur* AUMax 2.14.3/772

[Jn 3:5] quod natum est **de** carne caro est et quod natum est ex spiritu spiritus est AUpec 1.30.59/58.19 (**de** s.exp. ex Gm2, mss K b d **de spiritu**, ms C **e spiritu**)

Allusion: *inde et quod nascitur tale est, quia quod nascitur de carne caro est* ( mss z b d **quia et quod**) AUpec 2.9.11/82.23

*quoniam scriptum est* **deus spiritus est** AUPs 50.17.12

*sed quoniam deus spiritus est qui legem dedit* (ms V2 **spiritalis**) AU 30.20

*quia carne illum generat non spiritu.* quid natum est **de** carne caro est AU 174.8.9/944

*tabefactus carne iustificatus spiritu.* quod **nascitur de** carne caro est AU 294.16.16/1345

*maxime autem illo testimonio utuntur assertores huius sententiae quod scriptum est* quod natum est **de** carne caro est et quod natum est **de** spiritu spiritus est **quoniam deus spiritus est** AU 9.19/24.19 (ms M **natum de spiritu**, mss A F S P V O **om.et**, ms S **om.spiritus**, ms M **spiritus est deus**)

*si spiritus sancti hoc loco facta est commemoratio cum dictum est quoniam deus spiritus est animaduertendum dicunt non dictum esse 'quoniam spiritus deus est' sed quoniam deus spiritus est* AU 9.19/25.4 (mss A F S T N V O γ **spiritus dei deus est sed**, ms M **om.sed...est**)

Allusion: *quod ergo de deo natus est in hoc mundo erat quod autem de maria natus est in hunc mundum missus aduenit* AUtri 2.5.42

*spiritus uero sanctus secundum id quod scriptus est quoniam deus spiritus est potest quidem uniuersaliter dici* AUtri 5.11.14

Reminiscence: *et utique deus sanctus est et deus spiritus est potest appellari trinitas* AUtri 5.11.18

*sicut dictum est deus spiritus est* AUtri 15.17.23

[FAU] [Jn 3:5] *et sequitur quod nascitur de carne caro est et quod nascitur de spiritu spiritus est* AUFau 24.1/718.3

[FO-M] Allusion: AUfo 19/97.3 *fieri enim non potest nisi ut quod de spiritu est spiritus habeatur et quod de carne est caro intellegatur* (ms B **se spiritu sancto**)

[JUL] [citing Mani] *nam sicut animae gignuntur ab animis ita figmentum corporis a corporis natura digeritur.* quod **ergo nascitur de** carne caro est et quod **de** spiritu spiritus est AUJul im 3.172.9

[JUL] *testimonio...illo uidelicet quod in uestro ore uersatur id est quod nascitur de carne caro est et quod de spiritu spiritus est* AUJul im 3.173.4

[NEMESIANUS] *Nemesianus...posuit enim ex euangelio testimonium quod natum est de carne caro est et quod natum est de spiritu spiritus est quia deus spiritus est et ex deo natus est* AUba 6.12.19/311.6 (Nemesianus is quoted in CYsent 5)

[PARMENIANUS] *Parmenianus...addidit ex euangelio testimonium quod natum est de carne caro est et quod natum est de spiritu spiritus est* AUPar 2.11.23/72.21 (ms M **ex spiritu**)

<3:7> **non mireris quia dixi tibi oportet uos nasci denuo**

non mireris quia dixi tibi oportet uos nasci denuo AUJo 12.5.17 [CT]

[Jn 3:6] non mireris quia dixi tibi oportet uos nasci denuo AUpec 1.30.59/58.20

<3:8> **spiritus ubi uult spirat et uocem eius audis sed non scis unde ueniat et quo uadat sic est omnis qui natus est ex spiritu**

*spiritum sanctum qui* ubi uult spirat AUChr 2.24/187.24

*spiritus illius qui* ubi uult spirat AUci 13.7.21

*multum ualet quod* spiritus ubi uult spirat AUench 31.59

*ut autem habitet spiritus sanctus nonne* ubi uult spirat et [Rom 5:5] AUep 194.3.11/185.5

[1Cor 12:11] *quia* spiritus ubi uult spirat AUep 194.4.18/190.8

spiritus ubi uult spirat et uocem eius audis sed **nescis** unde ueniat **aut** quo uadat AUJo 12.5.18 sic est **et** omnis qui natus est ex spiritu AUJo 12.5.26 [CT]  
uocem eius audis **et nescis** unde ueniat et quo uadat AUJo 12.5.23  
spiritus ubi uult spirat et uocem eius audis **et nescis** unde ueniat et quo **eat** AUJo 12.7.4  
spiritus ubi uult spirat et uocem eius audis **et nescis** unde ueniat et quo **eat** sic est omnis qui natus est ex spiritu AUJo 12.7.11  
*alium sic alium autem sic deus quem dignatur uocat et* spiritus ubi uult spirat AUJul im 1.93.47 (ms C **inspirat**)  
*intellegant dei gratiam et spiritum qui* ubi uult spirat AUpec 1.22.32/32.5  
[Jn 3:7] spiritus ubi uult spirat et uocem eius audis sed non scis unde ueniat et quo uadat sic est omnis qui natus est ex spiritu AUpec 1.30.59/58.21 (mss K b d **aut quo**, ms M **sic et omnis**)  
*non audiant* spiritus ubi uult spirat *et* [Rom 8:14] AUPel 4.6.14/534.23  
spiritus *enim* ubi uult spirat AUqSi 2.1.33  
*illud attendant quod dictum a domino legitur* spiritus ubi uult spirat AUs 71.16.26/459  
*quod dominus ait* spiritus ubi uult spirat. *ecce impletum est, ecce monstratur quam uerum dominus dixerit* spiritus ubi uult **inspirat** AUs 266.7/1229  
*dictum est* spiritus ubi uult spirat *et apud apostolum...*[1 Cor 12:11] AUtri 15.19.128 (ms La om.uult)

### <3:9> respondit nicodemus et dixit ei quomodo possunt haec fieri

respondit nicodemus et dixit ei quomodo possunt haec fieri AUJo 12.6.1 [CT]  
[Jn 3:8] respondit nicodemus et dixit ei quomodo possunt haec fieri AUpec 1.30.59/58.23 (ms V **nichodimus**, mss P A **nichodemus**, ms G **nicodimus**)  
*Adaptation: cum ergo nicodemus quae dicebantur non intellexeret quaesivit a domino quomodo possent ista* fieri AUpec 1.31.60/59.25 (ms K possint)  
*dominus...ad interrogata respondere dignabitur* quomodo possunt **ista** fieri AUpec 1.31.60/60.1 (ms P **haec**)  
*Adaptation: ad illud quod interrogatus est quomodo possint ista* fieri AUpec 1.31.60/60.9 (ms V **quomo**, mss K A C **possunt**)

### <3:10> respondit iesus et dixit ei tu es magister israhel et haec ignoras

*tamen apud se dicunt* tu es magister **in** israhel et haec ignoras *quod quidem dominus ei dixit qui erat unus illorum* AUep 166.4.9/559.3 (ms M om.in (*in fine u.*), ms I om.haec, ms P\* ignoras hoc (m1 corr haec))  
respondit iesus et dixit ei tu es magister **in** israel et haec ignoras AUJo 12.6.4 [CT]  
[Jn 3:9] respondit iesus et dixit ei tu es magister **in** israhel et haec ignoras AUpec 1.30.59/58.25 (mss Am1 M om.in)

### <3:11> amen amen dico tibi quia quod scimus loquimur et quod uidimus testamur et testimonium nostrum non accipitis

[Jn 3:10] amen amen dico tibi quia quod scimus loquimur et quod **uidemus** **testificamur** et testimonium nostrum non accipitis AUpec 1.30.59/59.1 (ms M **amen dico**, mss P G Km2 A M b **uidimus**, mss P b d **testamur**, ms V **accipitis**, ms M **accipietis**)

### <3:12> si terrena dixi uobis et non creditis quomodo si dixero uobis caelestia credetis

si terrena dixi uobis et non creditis quomodo si dixero uobis caelestia credetis AUJo 12.7.1 [CT]  
si terrena dixi uobis et non creditis quomodo si **caelestia** dixero credetis AUJo 12.7.8  
si **terrestria** dixi uobis et non creditis quomodo si **caelestia** dixero credetis AUJo 12.7.23  
[Jn 3:11] si terrena dixi uobis et non **credidistis** quomodo si dixero uobis caelestia credetis AUpec 1.30.59/59.3  
*Adaptation: addidit etiam se illis terrena dixisse nec eos credidisse quaerens uel ammirans quomodo essent caelestia credituri* AUpec 1.31.60/60.6 (ms P **terrena** illis, ms M **et nec**, mss A C M b d **admirans**, ms G **possint credituri**)  
**si enim terrestria inquit** dixi uobis et non creditis quomodo si **caelestia** dixero uobis credetis AUPs 77.17.51

### <3:13> et nemo ascendit in caelum nisi qui descendit de caelo filius hominis qui est in caelo

*commemorant in euangelio quod scriptum est* nemo ascendit in caelum nisi qui **de caelo** descendit AUag 25.27/127.18 (ms H **descendit de caelo**, ms P S γ V L **om.de caelo**, ms R **discendit**, ms γ1 **desit**)  
*ipsum dixisse sic legimus* nemo ascendit in caelum nisi qui **de caelo** descendit filius hominis qui est in caelo AUAr 8.13 (mss St V τ N Y descendit de caelo)  
*in terra erat...quando dicebat* nemo ascendit in caelum nisi qui **de caelo** descendit filius hominis qui est in caelo AUep 187.3.9/88.10 (ms A descendit de caelo, ms Q **discendit**)  
et nemo adscendit in caelum nisi qui descendit de caelo filius hominis qui est in caelo AUJo 12.8.1 [CT]  
et nemo adscendit in caelum nisi qui **de caelo descendit** filius hominis qui est in caelo AUJo 12.8.22  
nemo adscendit in caelum nisi qui **de caelo descendit** filius hominis qui est in caelo AUJo 14.7.4  
nemo adscendit in caelum nisi qui **de caelo descendit** filius hominis qui est in caelo AUJo 27.4.15  
nemo adscendit in caelum nisi qui descendit de caelo filius hominis qui est in caelo AUJo 31.9.34  
nemo adscendit in caelum nisi qui descendit de caelo filius hominis qui **in caelo est** AUJo 111.2.11  
*quod dictum est* [Jn 1:18] *id est* nemo hominum sicut nemo ascendit in caelum AUMax 2.9.1/763

*propter quod etiam nemo inquit ascendit in caelum nisi qui de caelo descendit filius hominis qui est in caelo* AUMax 2.20.3/789  
*[Jn 3:12] nemo ascendit in caelum nisi qui de caelo descendit filius hominis qui est in caelo* AUpec 1.30.59/59.5 (mss C d **et nemo**, mss b d **in caelo est**)  
*[Jn 3:12] nemo inquit ascendit in caelum nisi qui de caelo descendit filius hominis qui est in caelo* AUpec 1.31.60/60.9 (ms Lm2 **ascendet**)  
*ascendere omnino non poterunt quia nemo ascendit in caelum nisi qui de caelo descendit filius hominis qui est in caelo* AUpec 1.31.60/60.20 (ms Lm2 **ascendet**)  
*ille adscendit nos leuamur quia nemo ascendit nisi qui descendit* AUPs 26.s2.8.19  
*ipse dixit dominus noster iesus christus nemo adscendit in caelum nisi qui de caelo descendit filius hominis qui est in caelo* AUPs 122.1.8  
*etenim per teipsum leuari non potes. quia nemo ascendit in caelum nisi qui de caelo descendit filius hominis qui est in caelo* AUs 91.6.7/570  
*si nemo ascendit nisi qui descendit* AUs 91.6.7/570  
*quia nemo ascendit nisi qui descendit* AUs 91.6.7/570  
*si nemo ascendit nisi qui descendit* AUs 91.6.7/570  
*[Matt 19:4-6]. nemo ascendit nisi qui descendit* AUs 91.6.7/571  
*non alio loco diceret nemo ascendit in caelum nisi qui descendit de caelo filius hominis qui est in caelo* AUs 144.4.5/789  
*quid est nemo ascendit nisi qui descendit* AUs 144.4.5/789  
*Reminiscence: sed nemo ad eam ascendit nisi prius descendit* AUs 198.59/137.1436 (AUs Dol 26)  
*ita ipse testatur nemo inquit ascendit in caelum nisi qui de caelo descendit filius hominis qui est in caelo. non dixit filius hominis qui erit in caelo sed filius hominis qui est in caelo* AUs 263A.1  
*quia dixit nemo ascendit in caelum nisi qui de caelo descendit filius hominis qui est in caelo* AUs 263A.2  
*illis uerbis quibus ait nemo ascendit in caelum nisi qui de caelo descendit...quasi ille dixerit nihil ascendit in caelum nisi quod de caelo descendit sed ait nemo ascendit nisi qui descendit* AUs 263A.3  
*quemadmodum de hoc dicitur nemo ascendit nisi qui descendit* AUs 263A.3  
*dominus in euangelio ait nemo ascendit in caelum nisi qui descendit de caelo filius hominis qui est in caelo* AUs 265B.2  
*et propterea dictum est nemo ascendit in caelum nisi qui de caelo descendit filius hominis qui est in caelo* AUs 265B..2  
*sed prius ait nemo ascendit in caelum nisi qui de caelo descendit filius hominis qui est in caelo* AUs 294.9.9/1340  
*Adaptation: ita diuidendo duas personas induceremus non ascendit in caelum inquit nisi qui de caelo descendit* AUs 294.9.9/1341  
*ex his uerbis domini filius hominis inquit qui est in caelo* AUs 294.9.9/1341  
*ergo discat nicodemus quomodo fiat illud...nemo ascendit in caelum nisi qui de caelo descendit* AUs 294.9.10/1341  
*per gratiam dei ascendunt in caelum et nemo ascendit in caelum nisi qui de caelo descendit filius hominis qui est in caelo* AUs 294.10.10/1341  
*hoc ergo dicere uoluit nemo ascendit nisi qui descendit* AUs 294.10.10/1341  
*[Eph 5:31, Matt 19:6] quapropter nemo ascendit in caelum nisi qui de caelo descendit filius hominis qui est in caelo* AUs 362.14.16/1621

### <3:14> et sicut moyses exaltauit serpentem in deserto ita exaltari oportet filium hominis

*cf. Num.21:8*  
*huic sacramento ipse dominus adtestatus est dicens sicut enim moyses exaltauit serpentem in heremo ita exaltari oportet filium hominis* AUAd 21/108.30  
*sicut exaltauit inquit moyses serpentem in heremo sic oportet exaltari filium hominis* AUFau 5.4/276.12  
*quod uerbis ipsius domini declaratur sicut exaltauit inquit moyses serpentem in heremo sic oportet exaltari filium hominis* AUFau 12.30/358.14 (ms L1 **eremo**)  
*ipse dominus attestatus est dicens sicut exaltauit moyses serpentem in heremo ita exaltari oportet filium hominis super terram* AUGal 22.12 (mss b F **heremo deserto**, ms B **ita et**, mss B1 T V1 **om.super terram**)  
*et sicut moyses exaltauit serpentem in eremo ita exaltari oportet filium hominis* AUJo 12.11.3 [CT]  
*[Jn 3:13] et sicut moyses exaltauit serpentem in deserto ita exaltari oportet filium hominis* AUpec 1.30.59/59.6 (ms A **om.et**, ms G **exaltauit moyses**, mss Lm1 S G **desertum**, ms V **deserto** (~v super o))  
*quae quoniam fieri non potest nisi per remissionem peccatorum sequitur et dicit sicut moyses exaltauit serpentem in deserto ita exaltari oportet filium hominis* AUpec 1.32.61/61.24 (ms A **sic exaltari**)  
*Adaptation: ipso loco christus ostendit cum interrogatus quomodo possent ista fieri commemorauit quid moyses fecerit in exaltatione serpentis* AUpec 2.27.43/115.3 (ms Lm1 **moyses**, ms Vm1 **exaltationes**, ms A **exaltationem**)  
*Allusion: praecepit dominus moysi ut serpentem aeneum exaltaret in eremo* AUPs 73.5.23  
*Allusion: moyses deo miserante ac iubente exaltauit in in eremo similitudinem serpentis in ligno* AUPs 118.s26.4.15  
*cum nicodimo loqueretur ait sicut moyses exaltauit serpentem in heremo ita exaltari oportet filium hominis* AUs 6.118 (ms edit **deserto**)



et ipse ait sicut **exaltauit** moyses serpentem in **heremo sic oportet exaltari** filium hominis AUs 37.55 (ms γ6 **moyses exaltauit**, ms maur **ita exaltari oportet**, mss γ4 γ5 γ6 γ7 **exaltari oportet**)  
*audi similitudinem quae sequitur* et sicut moyses exaltauit serpentem in **eremo sic oportet exaltari** filium hominis AUs 294.10.11/1342  
*id est serpentis uenenum* sicut **exaltauit** moyses serpentem in **eremo...sic oportet exaltari** filium hominis AUs 294.10.11/1342  
*ergo* sicut moyses exaltauit serpentem in **eremo ut omnis a serpente percusses intueretur exaltatum et sanaretur sic oportet exaltari** filium hominis AUs 294.11.13/1342  
*[Ps 44:8]...[Exod 4:3; 7:10] unde ait* sicut **exaltauit** moyses serpentem in **heremo sic oportet exaltari** filium hominis AUtri 3.9.55

**<3:15> ut omnis qui credit in ipso non pereat sed habeat uitam aeternam**

*quemadmodum ipse dicit ad patrem ut [Jn 6:39] non pereat sed habeat uitam aeternam* AUcorr 21.7 (*composite with John 6:39*)

*[Jn 3:14] ut omnis qui **crediderit** in **eum** non pereat sed habeat uitam aeternam* AUFau 5.4/276.12

*[Jn 3:14] ut omnis qui credit in **eum** non pereat sed habeat uitam aeternam* AUFau 12.30/386.16 (ms S **credidit**, mss L C G M b **crediderit**)

*ut omnis qui credit in **eum** non pereat sed habeat uitam aeternam* AUJo 12.11.5 [CT]

*ut omnis qui credit in **eum** non **perdat** sed habeat uitam aeternam* AUJo 12.11.38

*[Jn 3:14] ut omnis qui credit in **eum** non pereat sed habeat uitam aeternam* AUpec 1.30.59/59.8 (ms M **crediderit**, ms P **om. sed habeat**, ms Gm1 **habea**)

*[Jn 3:14] ut omnis qui **crediderit** in **eum** non pereat sed habeat uitam aeternam* AUpec 1.32.61/61.25 (mss S M **credit**, ms G **uiti.ā**)

*hoc est enim quod ait* ut omnis qui credit in **eum** non pereat sed habeat uitam aeternam AUpec 1.32.61/62.14

*et illud in euangelio [Jn 17:2] non pereat sed habeat uitam aeternam* AUq 80.51 (*composite with John 17:2*)

*[Jn 3:14] ut omnis qui credit in **eum** non pereat sed habeat uitam aeternam* AUs 6.120 (mss α γ **ipso**, ms C3 **aeternum**)

*[Jn 3:14] ut omnis qui credit in **eum** non pereat sed habeat uitam aeternam* AUs 37.56

*[Jn 3:14] ut omnis qui credit in **eum** non pereat sed habeat uitam aeternam* AUs 294.10.11/1342

*[Jn 3:14] ut omnis qui credit in **eum** *id est*...non pereat sed habeat uitam aeternam. non pereat *unde?* AUs 294.10.11/1342*

*hoc est enim* omnis qui credit in **eum** non pereat sed habeat uitam aeternam AUs 294.10.11/1342

*[Jn 3:14] ut omnis qui credit in **eum** non pereat sed habeat uitam aeternam* AUtri 3.9.57 (ms M **crediderit**, ms μ **ipsum**)

**<3:16> sic enim dilexit deus mundum ut filium suum unigenitum daret ut omnis qui credit in eum non pereat sed habeat uitam aeternam**

*Reminiscence: deum quoniam prior dilexit nos et filio suo unico non pepercit sed pro nobis omnibus tradidit eum* AUcat 4.8

*Adaptation: ut diligeremus deum qui sic **nos** dilexit ut **unicum** filium suum **mitteret*** AUcat 17.59 (mss C\* G ε L P\* **et diligeremus**, ms E **et diligimus**, ms S **et diligere rem**, mss K M Lou **dominum**, ms Lou **om. filium**)

*Adaptation: deum qui prior sic amauit iniustissimos et superbissimos homines ut propter eos **mitteret unicum** filium* AUcat 22.27 (mss I K M **dominum**, ms T **sic prior**, ms S **propter nos**, ms A **unicum filium supra lineam**)

*[Jn 3:15] sic enim dilexit deus mundum ut filium suum unigenitum daret ut omnis qui credit in eum non pereat sed habeat uitam aeternam* AUpec 1.30.59/59.9 (ms P **deus dilexit**, unigenitum s.l. S)

*deinde si quod consequenter dicit deus **sic dilexit** mundum ut omnis qui credit in eum non pereat sed habeat uitam aeternam* AUpec 1.33.62/62.18 (ms A **sic deus**, ms S **dilexit deus**)

*Adaptation: tamen tantum nos dilexit prior antequam eum diligeremus ut filium suum **unicum** mitteret mori pro nobis* AUPs 149.4.28

*sic autem dilexit deus **humanum genus** ut filium suum unigenitum daret **pro saeculi uita*** AUs 265B.4

*dixit ipse christus dominus qui est sine mendacio ueritas sic enim dilexit deus mundum ut **unigenitum** suum daret ut omnis qui credit in **illum** non pereat sed habeat uitam aeternam* AUs 375B.6

**<3:17> non enim misit deus filium suum in mundum ut iudicet mundum sed ut saluetur mundus per ipsum**

*cf. Jn 12:47*

*hoc ideo dictum est quia non **uenit** nunc ut iudicet mundum sed ut saluetur mundus per ipsum* AUci 18.32.45

*[2 Cor 5:19] et contra ipsius uerba domini qui dixit non **uenit filius hominis** ut iudicet mundum sed ut saluetur mundus per ipsum* AUDon 8.11/108.19

*dominus iesus sicut scriptum est in euangelio iohannis apostoli non **uenit** ut **iudicaret** mundum sed ut **saluaretur** mundus per ipsum* AUep 214.1/381.11 (Eugipp. Cod.Vat. **uenit iudicare**, ms L **sed utsic**, mss C O A D **saluetur**, ms P3 **om. mundus**, Eugipp. Cod.Vat. **per ipsum mundus**)

*[Ps 100:1] prius itaque non ideo **uenit filius hominis** in mundum ut iudicet mundum sed ut saluetur mundus per ipsum* AUGr 22.44

non enim misit deus filium suum in mundum ut iudicet mundum sed ut saluetur mundus per ipsum AUJo 12.12.1 [CT]  
 non ut iudicet mundum sed ut saluetur mundus per ipsum AUJo 44.17.27  
 non **uenit filius hominis** ut iudicet mundum sed ut saluetur mundus per ipsum AUJo 87.2.12  
 non **uenit filius hominis** ut iudicet mundum sed ut saluetur mundus per ipsum AUJo 95.4.13  
 non enim **uenit filius hominis** ut iudicet mundum sed ut saluetur mundus per ipsum AUJo 110.2.23  
*Allusion: qui propter saluandos homines se uenisse dixit AUleg 2.11.1204*  
*[Jn 3:16] non enim misit deus filium suum in mundum ut iudicet mundum sed ut saluetur mundus per ipsum AUpec 1.30.59/59.11*  
*dum interim sic uenit ut non iudicet mundum sed ut saluetur mundus per ipsum AUpec 1.33.62/62.23*  
*Adaptation: non enim iam uenerat filius hominis ut iudicaret saeculum sed ut saluaret mundum AURm in 23.3 (mss T V om. saeculum, ms B1 saluarem, mss S C sed ut seruaret saeculum, mss O T E V U sed ut saluaret seculum)*  
*mundus damnatus quidquid praeter ecclesia, mundus reconciliatus ecclesia. non enim uenit filius hominis ait ut iudicet mundum sed ut saluetur mundus per ipsum AUs 96.7.9/588*  
*in quodam loco et ait non enim uenit filius hominis ut iudicet mundum sed ut saluetur mundus per ipsum AUs 136B.2*  
*Allusion: ergo a patre et filio missus est idem filius AUtri 2.5.80*  
*non legeremus in litteris ueritatis misit deus filium suum AUtri 15.ora.10*

**<3:18> qui credit in eum non iudicatur qui autem non credit iam iudicatus est quia non credidit in nomine unigeniti filii dei**

*Adaptation: commemorant quod in euangelio scriptum est eum qui credit in christum non iudicari qui autem non credit in illum iam iudicatum esse AUag 27.29/129.5 (mss W N iudicatum est)*  
*sic ergo cum audimus qui credit in christum non ueniet in iudicium intellegamus quia non ueniet ad damnationem AUag 27.29/129.20 (ms L audiuius)*  
*sic ergo cum dixit [sc.dominus] ad iudicium non ueniet hoc dixit quia non ueniet ad damnationem qui autem non credit iam iudicatus est AUag 27.29/130.7 (ms B ad iudicium ueniet)*  
*ipse quippe ait qui non credit iam iudicatus est AUCre 2.21.26/385.7*  
*Allusion: minatur inquit christus sibi non credentibus aeterna supplicia AUep 102.22/564.1 [AUG is citing Deogratias]*  
*sicut etiam illud dictum est qui non credit iam iudicatus est AUep 147.11.24/298.18 (ms L credidit)*  
*sicut dominus in euangelio loquitur [Jn 5:29]...sicut alio loco qui non credit inquit iam iudicatus est AUep 205.14/335.11*  
 qui credit in eum non iudicatur qui autem non credit iam iudicatus est quia non credidit in nomine unigeniti filii dei AUJo 12.12.8 [CT]  
 qui non credit iam iudicatus est AUJo 43.9.2  
*uideant tamen quid responsuri sunt ubi ait [sc.dominus] qui autem non credit iam iudicatus est AUop 23.43/87.15*  
*quoniam qui non credit inquit iam iudicatus est AUop 23.43/87.18 (ms R credunt)*  
*[Jn 3:17] qui credit in eum non iudicatur qui autem non credit iam iudicatus est quia non credit in nomine unigeniti filii dei AUpec 1.30.59/59.13 (mss Lm1 S V G om. iam...credit, mss K C M non credidit in nomine)*  
*[Jn 3:17] praesertim quia sequitur et dicit qui credit in eum non iudicatur qui autem non credit iam iudicatus est quia non credit in nomine unigeniti filii dei AUpec 1.33.62/62.24 (mss Lm1 Vm1 credidit)*  
*[Jn 3:36] et iudicati sunt quoniam qui non credit iam iudicatus est et condemnabuntur quoniam [Mk 16:16] AUpec 3.2.3/131.7*  
 qui autem non credit inquit iam iudicatus est AUPs 9.1.46  
*Reminiscence: [Eph 4:10]...qui enim non crediderit iam iudicatus est AUs 215.7/1076*  
*secundum hoc dictum est qui autem non credit iam iudicatus est AUs 277.2.2/1258*  
*deinde ipse dominus in eodem sermone ad nicodemum non audistis quid dixerit cum eadem lectio hodie legeretur? qui credit in eum non iudicatur qui autem non crediderit iam iudicatus est AUs 294.13.14/1343*  
*nec attendis qui credit in eum non iudicatur qui autem non crediderit iam iudicatus est AUs 294.13.14/1343*  
*et tu aliter audes disserere aut credere? qui non credit iam iudicatus est AUs 294.13.14/1343*

**<3:19> hoc est autem iudicium quia lux uenit in mundum et dilexerunt homines magis tenebras quam lucem erant enim eorum mala opera**

*Reminiscence: quoniam lumen earum iam christus aduenerat AUep 149.24/370.3*  
 hoc est autem iudicium quia lux uenit in mundum et dilexerunt homines magis tenebras quam lucem erant enim mala opera eorum AUJo 12.13.6 [CT]  
 hoc est iudicium quia lux uenit in mundum et dilexerunt homines magis tenebras quam lucem erant enim mala opera eorum AUJo 12.13.15  
 dilexerunt tenebras magis quam lucem AUJo 12.13.19  
*[Jn 3:18] hoc est autem iudicium quia lux uenit in mundum et dilexerunt homines magis tenebras quam lucem erant enim eorum mala opera AUpec 1.30.59/59.16 (autem s.ras. Gm2, mss K A C tenebras magis)*

quod uero adiungit hoc est autem iudicium quia lux uenit in mundum et dilexerunt homines **tenebras** magis quam lucem unde lux uenit in mundum AUpec 1.33.62/63.9 (ms z **om. autem**, ms M **magis tenebras**)

**<3:20> omnis enim qui mala agit odit lucem et non uenit ad lucem ut non arguantur opera eius**

*Allusion: amant eam lucentem oderunt eam redarguentem* AUcf 10.23.29

*persistit igitur erigi in nos faciensque apostropham: "...ecce ego contra eam non timeo lucem quam illa trepidat quam illa odit omnis enim qui male agit odit lucem et non uenit ad lumen ne manifestentur opera eius* AUJl im 3.187.20 (ms C **ueniet**)

*[Jn 3:19] omnis enim qui male agit odit lucem et non uenit ad lucem ut non arguantur opera eius* AUpec 1.30.59/59.18 (ms Gm1 **mala**, ms P **ait**, mss K C b **lucem ne arguantur**)

**<3:21> qui autem facit ueritatem uenit ad lucem ut manifestentur eius opera quia in deo sunt facta**

*ecce enim ueritatem dilexisti quoniam qui facit eam uenit ad lucem* AUcf 10.1.6 (mss C D ea)

*unde est qui facit ueritatem uenit ad lucem [Job 6:26] [in Job 6:25] AUJb 6/521.2*

*Adaptation: ipsi ueniant ad lucem ut manifestentur opera eorum quoniam in deo sunt operata non in ipsis* (mss P C b ueniunt) AUJb 36/593.11

qui autem facit ueritatem uenit ad lucem ut manifestentur **opera eius** quia in deo sunt facta AUJo 12.13.6 [CT]  
*sicut in euangelio secundum iohannem dicitur qui autem facit ueritatem uenit ad lucem [Ps 5:7] AUmen 17.35/455.18*

*[Jn 3:20] qui autem facit ueritatem uenit ad lucem ut manifestentur eius opera quia in deo sunt facta* AUpec 1.30.59/59.20 (ms M **manifestetur opera eius quia in d'm**)

*Adaptation: in deo autem facta dicit opera eius qui uenit ad lucem* AUpec 1.33.62/63.15 (mss b d **dicit facta**)  
*quare non laudant adulterium nec adulteri? qui ergo quaerit ueritatem uenit ad lucem* AUUs 128.5.8/716

**<3:22> post haec uenit iesus et discipuli eius in iudaeam terram et illic demorabatur cum eis et baptizabat dicit iohannes euangelista in euangelio suo post haec exiit iesus et discipuli eius in iudaeam terram et illic morabatur cum eis et baptizabat** AUep 265.5/642.18

*Allusion: to 3:22-36 AUEv 4.10.13/408.12*

post haec uenit iesus et discipuli eius in iudaeam terram et illic demorabatur cum eis et baptizabat AUJo 13.4.1 [CT]

**<3:23> erat autem et iohannes baptizans in aenon iuxta salim quia aquae multae erant illic et adueniebant et baptizabantur**

*ubi secutus ait erat autem et iohannes baptizans in aeno iuxta salim quia aquae multae erant illic et adueniebant et baptizabantur* AUEv 2.18.42/142.4 (mss C1 O2 N1 **aeno**, mss B H **eno**, mss R T D V L S1 **enon**, cett. **aenon**)  
erat autem et iohannes baptizans in aenon iuxta salim quia aquae multae erant **ibi** et **ueniebant** et baptizabantur AUJo 13.6.4 [CT]

**<3:24> nondum enim missus fuerat in carcerem iohannes**

*[Jn 3:23] nondum enim missus erat in carcerem iohannes* AUEv 2.18.42/142.6 (ms r erat missus)

*Allusion: iohannes euangelista apertissime exponit...[Jn 2:1] [iesus] redisse ad iudaeam terram et ibi baptizasse multos circa iordanem antequam missus esset iohannes in carcerem. AUEv 2.44.92/197.22*

nondum enim missus **erat** in carcerem iohannes AUJo 13.6.7 [CT]

**<3:25> facta est ergo quaestio ex discipulis iohannis cum iudaeis de purificatione**

facta est ergo quaestio ex discipulis iohannis cum iudaeis de purificatione AUJo 13.8.1 [CT]

**<3:26> et uenerunt ad iohannem et dixerunt ei rabbi qui erat tecum trans iordanem cui tu testimonium perhibuisti ecce hic baptizat et omnes ueniunt ad eum**

**uenerunt** ad iohannem et dixerunt ei rabbi qui erat tecum trans iordanem cui tu testimonium perhibuisti ecce hic baptizat et omnes ueniunt ad **illum** AUJo 13.9.1 [CT]

*et uenitur ad iohannem et dicitur ei ille* cui **testimonium** perhibuisti ecce **baptizat** et omnes ueniunt ad eum AUUs 293.6/1332

**<3:27> respondit iohannes et dixit non potest homo accipere quicquam nisi fuerit ei datum de caelo**

*cf. Jn 6:66*

*sicut ipse iohannes dicit non potest homo accipere quicquam nisi datum fuerit ei de caelo* AUba 5.9.10/270.27 (ms N **ei fuerit**)

*[James 1:17] unde dicit et iohannes praecursor domini non potest homo accipere quidquam nisi fuerit ei datum de caelo* AUgr 6.15

respondit **et** dixit non potest homo **quidquam accipere** nisi **ei datum fuerit** de caelo AUJo 13.9 [CT]

non potest homo **quidquam accipere** nisi fuerit ei datum de caelo AUJo 13.9.10

non potest homo accipere quidquam nisi fuerit **illi** datum de caelo AUJo 13.9.19

non potest homo accipere quidquam nisi **datum fuerit ei** de caelo AUJo 13.16.8

non potest homo accipere quidquam nisi **datum illi fuerit** de caelo AUJo 14.2.6  
 non potest homo accipere quidquam nisi **datum illi fuerit** de caelo AUJo 14.2.40  
*agnosco euangelium et illic scriptum esse recenseo* non potest homo accipere quicquam nisi **datum illi fuerit** de caelo AUPar 2.15.33/86.21 (ms  $\alpha$  **fuerit illi**)  
*qui enim ait* non potest homo accipere quidquam nisi **datum ei fuerit** de caelo *numquam diceret nisi datum fuerit ei de sole* AUPar 2.15.33/86.24 (mss M F H **datum fuerit ei**, ms Pm1 **datum fuerit eis**, mss E G v **fuerit illi datum**, ms  $\gamma$  **illi de sole**, mss F G **datum de sole**)  
*hoc de caelo dat homini quia* non potest homo accipere quicquam nisi **datum fuerit ei** de caelo AUPar 2.15.34/87.26  
*iustitia de caelo prospexit quia* non potest homo accipere quidquam nisi fuerit ei datum de caelo AUs 185.2.2/998  
*nondum erat uirtute indutus ex alto quia* **nemo** potest accipere **nisi datum ei** fuerit de caelo AUs 265D.6  
*respondete illi* non potest homo accipere quidquam nisi **datum ei fuerit desuper** AUs 284.3/1289  
*iohannem audi praecursorem ipsius* non potest homo accipere quidquam nisi fuerit ei datum de caelo AUs 332.3/1462

[PARM] *interposuisse ex euangelio testimonium* non potest homo accipere quicquam nisi fuerit **illi datum** de caelo AUPar 2.15.33/86.13 (mss G g **potest inquit**, mss M P E F G H v **accipere homo**)  
 [PARM] *cum coepisset iste dicere* non potest homo accipere quicquam nisi **datum fuerit illi** de caelo AUPar 2.15.33/86.16 (mss M  $\alpha$  **fuerit illi**)  
 [PETI] [Jn 19:11] *et iterum dicente iohanne* non potest homo **facere** quicquam nisi **ei datum fuerit e** caelo AUPet 2.31.70/60.13 (ms v **de**)  
 [IUL] *ulianus a telepte dixit scriptum est* **nemo** potest accipere **aliquid** nisi **datum illi fuerit** de caelo AUba 7.21.40/356.6 (CYsent 57) (Cypr Thelepte, Cypr **aliquid accipere**, ms L **aliquod**, mss M  $\mu$   $\sigma$  **om. illi**, Cypr. **fuerit illi**)

<3:28> **ipsi uos mihi testimonium perhibetis quod dixerim ego non sum christus sed quia missus sum ante illum**

ipsi uos mihi testimonium perhibetis quod dixerim ego non sum christus AUJo 13.9.11 sed quia missus sum ante illum AUJo 14.2.8 [CT]

missus sum ante **eum** AUJo 14.10.4

[Jn 3:26]...**iam inquit dixi uobis quia** ego non sum christus AUs 293.6/1332

<3:29> **qui habet sponsam sponsus est amicus autem sponsi qui stat et audit eum gaudio gaudet propter uocem sponsi hoc ergo gaudium meum impletum est**

*Allusion: iohannes non erat in unitate, amicus ille sponsi, uiae dominicae praeparator?* AUba 5.10.12/273.7

*Allusion: quod enim ab amico sponsi non acceperant hoc ab eo ipso sponsi accipere debuerunt de quo ille amicus dixerat [Jn 1:33] (mss  $\beta$  v **om.eo**) AUba 5.12.14/275.13*

*Adaptation: intendebar dulcis ueritas...et stare cupiens et audire te et gaudio gaudere propter uocem sponsi et non poteram* AUcf 4.15.55 (mss B P1 Z te **om.et**)

*Adaptation: ubi uere discimus cum stamus et audimus eum et gaudio gaudemus propter uocem sponsi* AUcf 11.8.14

*Allusion: amicus est enim sponsi* AUcf 13.13.20

*Allusion: neque enim iohannes haereticus fuit amicus ille sponsi* AUCre 1.31.37/356.12

*Allusion: iohannes baptista...sponsi amicus erat* AUDo 21.58/306.14

*Adaptation: ab ipso iohanne tunc quaesitum sit de baptismo domini et responderit quod ille haberet sponsam et ille esset sponsus* AUep 44.5.10/118.5

*Allusion: iohannem...illum amicum sponsi* AUep 93.11.47/489.10

*quid enim aliud ostendit [i.e. iohannes baptista] ubi ait* qui habet sponsam sponsus est amicus autem sponsi **stat et audit eum et gaudio gaudet propter uocem sponsi** AUep 266.3/649.25

*Allusion: commendat amicum sponsi non gaudere nisi propter uocem sponsi* AUEv 4.10.13/408.13

*Allusion: non erat ille amicus sponsi nam si amicus esset sponsi gloriam sponsi quaereret non suam* AUJo 6.23.8

qui habet sponsam sponsus est amicus autem sponsi qui stat et audit eum gaudio gaudet propter uocem sponsi AUJo 13.10.7 hoc ergo gaudium meum impletum est AUJo 14.3.1 [CT]

qui habet sponsam sponsus est amicus autem sponsi **stat et audit eum** AUJo 13.16.10

qui habet sponsam sponsus est amicus autem sponsi **stat et audit eum et gaudio gaudet propter uocem sponsi** AUJo 13.16.17

amicus **enim** sponsi **stat et audit eum et gaudio gaudet propter uocem sponsi** AUJo 19.14.2

amicus autem sponsi **stat et audit eum et gaudio gaudet propter uocem sponsi** AUJo 57.3.5

[Jn 1:20/Mk 1:7] *uere quia tantum se humilans ostendit se non esse sponsum sed amicum sponsi et ideo ait* qui habet sponsam sponsus est amicus autem sponsi qui stat et audit eum gaudio gaudet propter uocem sponsi AUPs 35.9.45

[Jn 1:27 *Allusion:*] *non est expulsus sed* stat et audit eum **et gaudio gaudet propter uocem sponsi et non propter suam** AUPs 35.18.27

[Ps 50:10] et amicus sponsi **stat** et audit eum **et** gaudio gaudet propter uocem *non suam sed* sponsi AUPs 38.4.12

*christus...ait* qui habet sponsam sponsus est amicus autem sponsi **stat** et audit eum *stantem se fecit et audientem non cadentem et loquentem* stat *inquit* et audit eum. *audistis auditum ubi est exsultatio et laetitia? continuo sequitur* stat et audit eum **et** gaudio gaudet propter uocem sponsi [Ps 50:10] AUPs 50.13.46 amicus autem sponsi **stat** et audit eum *ut uerum loquatur* AUPs 61.19.15

*Adaptation: utcumque cognoscitur stare in eis quae creauit si et homo stet et audiat eum et gaudio gaudeat propter eius intimam uocem* AUPs 81.2.14

*Allusion: iam ergo audiamus quid oret caput et corpus sponsus et sponsa christus et ecclesia utrumque unus* AUPs 101.s1.2.22

*Allusion: quia amici sunt sponsi nolunt esse adulteri sponsae* AUPs 128.13.48

*unde ille gaudens iohannes quid ait?* qui habet sponsam sponsus est amicus autem sponsi **stat** et audit eum *si non stat non audit eum et gaudio gaudet propter uocem sponsi* AUPs 131.14.9

[Jn 8:44] et dictum est de amico sponsi amicus autem sponsi **stat** et audit eum **et** gaudio gaudet propter uocem sponsi AUPs 133.1.30

*ille iohannes...ait enim* amicus autem sponsi **stat** et audit eum **et** gaudio gaudet propter uocem sponsi AUPs 139.15.16

*Allusion: erant quippe in illo uires magnae quibus appellatus est amicus sponsi* AUPs 140.26.24

*securior est enim uerbi auditor quam uerbi prolator. ideo ille securus* stat et audit eum **et** gaudio gaudet propter uocem sponsi AUs 23.19

*Adaptation: non enim uocem suam dicunt amici sponsi sed gaudio gaudent propter uocem sponsi* AUs 46.760 *nouerat hoc gaudium etiam amicus ille sponsi qui dicebat* qui habet sponsam sponsus est amicus autem sponsi **stat** et audit eum...*ergo* amicus sponsi stat et audit eum **et** gaudio *inquit* gaudet propter uocem sponsi. *non propter uocem suam sed propter uocem sponsi* AUs 179.2.2/967

*de quo ait iohannes baptista* qui habet sponsam sponsus est AUs 183.6.10/991

*odit se amari pro illo.* qui habet *inquit* sponsam sponsus est. *et quasi diceret quid tu?* amicus autem *inquit* sponsi **stat** et audit eum **et** gaudio gaudet propter uocem sponsi. stat et audit AUs 288.2/1303

*audi apertius fatentem se discipulum* qui habet sponsam sponsus est amicus autem sponsi **stat** et audit eum. *et ideo stat quia audit eum.* stat et audit AUs 292.4.8/1326

[Jn 3:30]... *et abiit quasi dicens* hoc **gaudium** meum **completum** est AUs 293.3/1329

[Jn 3:28] qui habet sponsam sponsus est [Jn 3:31] AUs 293.6/1332

*iohannes nam cum interrogaretur hoc ait* qui habet sponsam sponsus est amicus autem sponsi **stat** et audit eum **et** gaudio gaudet propter uocem sponsi AUs 293A.4

*inquit iohannes...quia habet sponsam sponsus est. uox iohannis est de domino christo* qui habet sponsam sponsus est amicus autem sponsi **stat** et audit eum....amicus sponsi stat et audit eum. *stet et audiat eum...iohannes autem stetit et audiuit eum. et quid sequitur?* **et** gaudio gaudet propter uocem sponsi. *ille uerbum est ego sum uox. iohannes dicit. uox est et gaudio gaudet propter uocem sponsi* AUs 293D.3

*Allusion: tamquam desponsati ab amico sponsi* [2 Cor 11:2] AUs 341.12/182.289 (AUs Dol 22)

*Allusion: tamquam bonum et fidelis amicus sponsi* [2 Cor 11:2] AUs 341.21/191.501 (AUs Dol 22)

*iohannis uerba dico de domino christo* qui habet sponsam *inquit* sponsus est amicus autem sponsi *de se ipso dicens* **stat** et audit eum **et** gaudio gaudet propter uocem sponsi AUs 379.3 (webtext; not in Migne)

### <3:30> illum oportet crescere me autem minui

illum oportet crescere me autem minui AUJo 14.4.1 [CT]

*audi ipsum iohannem confitentem* illum oportet crescere me autem minui AUPs 132.11.18

*itaque dominus dicit* [Luke 16:16] et *iohannes ipse* illum *inquit* oportet crescere me autem minui AUq 58.13 (mss C H I *inquit* illum)

*Adaptation: prophetia ipsa in iohanne...incipit minui atque inde crescere praedicatio regni dei* AUq 58.20

*ex hoc praefiguraretur quod ait idem iohannes* illum oportet crescere me autem minui AUs 194.2.1/1016

[2 Cor 5:15, Gql 2:20] illum enim oportet crescere me autem minui AUs 194.2.1/1016

*ergo attendite iam quo pertineat* illum oportet crescere me autem minui AUs 288.5/1306

*dixerit ipsa uox ipse iohannes* illum oportet crescere me autem minui AUs 288.5/1306

*dicentem de persona uerbi* illum oportet crescere me autem minui AUs 288.5/1306

*quia deficiunt uoces crescente uerbo, quia* illum oportet crescere me autem minui AUs 288.5/1307

*iohannes ipse respiciens dicit* illum oportet crescere me autem minui AUs 293.1/1328

*nonne tibi uidetur dicere sonus ipse* illum oportet crescere me autem minui...[Jn 3:29] AUs 293.3/1329

illum autem oportet crescere me autem minui...illum *inquit* oportet crescere me autem minui. AUs 293A.6

*ideo dixit et ipse iohannes* illum oportet crescere me autem minui AUs 293A.12/391.180 (mss Va Mor illum autem oportet) (AUs Dol 3)

*quando incipit minui dies* illum oportet crescere me autem minui AUs 293A.12/392.185 (ms Mor illum *inquit*) (AUs Dol 3)

*in uestro corde requieuit* illum oportet crescere me autem minui...*hoc quare? quia* illum oportet crescere me autem minui AUs 293B.2

*unde et dicit* illum oportet crescere me autem minui AUs 293B.3

*Adaptation: quare sic nati sunt? quia illum oportet crescere hunc autem minui...illum oportet crescere hunc autem minui* AUs 293B.3

*etiam ad hoc fortasse pertinet illum oportet crescere me autem minui* AUs 293C.1

*a iohanne de christo est dictum illum oportet crescere me autem minui* AUs 293C.2

*seruus de domino illum inquit oportet crescere me autem minui* AUs 293C.2

*clamante iohanne... illum oportet crescere me autem minui* AUs 293C.2

*quid ait de christo? illum oportet crescere me autem minui... illum oportet crescere inquit me autem minui* AUs 293D.5

*crescunt dies. illum oportet crescere me autem minui* AUs 293D.5

*de domino enim iesu christo dixerat illum oportet crescere me autem minui* AUs 307.1.1/1406

*[Phil 2:6] illum oportet crescere me autem minui* AUs 380.6/1680

*illum inquit oportet crescere me autem minui* AUs 380.6/1680

*et intelligamus illum oportet crescere me autem minui* AUs 380.6/1680

*illud quod figurabat tale est illum oportet crescere me autem minui* AUs 380.8/1682

*loquantur ergo haec duo ambae passionis illum oportet crescere me autem minui* AUs 380.8/1681

**<3:31> qui desursum uenit supra omnes est qui est de terra de terra est et de terra loquitur qui de caelo uenit supra omnes est**

qui de sursum uenit supra omnes est qui est de terra de terra est et de terra loquitur AUJo 14.6.2 qui de caelo

uenit supra omnes est AUJo 14.7.1 [CT]

*nam ille qui de terra ortus est hoc est de carne natus est qui de caelo uenit et super omnes est* AUs 192.3.3/1013

*iam dixit [Jn 1:27] sed non in hoc se discipulum demonstrauit. qui de caelo inquit uenit super omnes est [Jn 1:16]* AUs 292.4.8/1326

*[Jn 3:29] qui de caelo uenit super omnes est* AUs 293.6/1332

**<3:32> et quod uidit et audiuit hoc testatur et testimonium eius nemo accipit**

et quod uidit et audiuit hoc **testificatur** et testimonium eius nemo accipit AUJo 14.7.1 [CT]

et quod uidit et audiuit hoc **loquitur** AUJo 14.7.7

et quod uidit et audiuit hoc testatur et testimonium eius nemo accipit AUJo 14.8.1

testimonium eius *qui uenit de caelo* nemo accipit AUJo 14.8.22

et quod uidit et audiuit hoc testatur AUJo 14.8.31

**<3:33> qui accipit eius testimonium signauit quia deus uerax est**

*Reminiscence: nam tu deus uerax* AUcf 7.10.41

qui **autem** accipit **testimonium eius** signauit quia deus uerax est AUJo 14.8.7 [CT]

qui accipit **testimonium eius** signauit quia deus uerax est AUJo 14.8.9

qui accipit **testimonium eius** signauit quia deus uerax est AUJo 14.8.35

qui *enim* accipit **testimonium eius** signauit quia deus uerax est AUJo 14.8.41

**<3:34> quem enim misit deus uerba dei loquitur non enim ad mensuram dat deus spiritum**

quem enim misit deus uerba dei loquitur AUJo 14.9.1 non enim ad mensuram dat deus spiritum AUJo 14.10.11 [CT]

non enim ad mensuram dat deus spiritum AUJo 74.3.1

*alio loco quod interposui testimonium non enim ad mensuram dat deus spiritum* AUre 1.19.30 (ref. AUs dni)

*aeterna uero et spiritalia nullo tali fine coercentur non enim ad mensuram dat deus spiritum (in Matt 7:2) AUs dni* 1.6.17.371

**<3:35> pater diligit filium et omnia dedit in manu eius**

*cf. Jn 5:20*

pater diligit filium et omnia dedit in manu eius AUJo 14.11.2 [CT]

*Allusion: pater diligit et filius diligitur; quasi negare possitis quod filius diligit patrem. si ambo se inuicem diligunt cur negatis eos unius esse naturae? AUMax co 14/722*

*hinc est etiam illud pater diligit filium et omnia dedit in manu eius AUpec 1.20.28/27.5 (ms Km2 s.l.in, ms M mañu, ms b manus)*

**<3:36> qui credit in filium habet uitam aeternam qui autem incredulus est filio non uidebit uitam sed ira dei manet super eum**

*cf. Jn 6:40*

*dicit et dominus iesus qui credit in filium habet uitam aeternam qui autem non credit filio non habet uitam sed ira dei manet super eum non ait ueniet sed manet super eum* AUench 10.6 (nonnulli codd. apud  $\mu$  **habebit**, mss P M **credit in filio**, mss A  $\mu$  **credit in filium**, mss A M **ed d uitam aeternam**)

*Reminiscence: potest manere in illis ira dei* AUench 29.59

*Reminiscence: [Jn 5:24] ne ira dei maneant super eos AUep 184A.1.2/733.8*

*Reminiscence: propter eos autem super quos ira dei manet AUep 186.6.17/59.11*

*Reminiscence: quisquis ergo habitabitur deo ne ira dei maneat super eum* AUep 187.10.33/111.21  
*audiant itaque dominum* qui credit in filium habet uitam aeternam qui autem incredulus est filio non uidebit uitam  
*sed ira dei manet super eum* AUep 193.2.3/169.9  
*de qua enim alia uita dicitur* qui incredulus est filio non uidebit uitam AUep 193.2.4/170.1  
 qui credit in filium habet uitam aeternam qui autem incredulus est filio non uidebit uitam *sed ira dei manet super eum* AUJo 14.13.1 [CT]  
*unde dicit etiam ipse mediator* qui **non credit** filio non **habebit** uitam *sed ira dei manet super eum. non dixit ueniet sed* manet super eum AUJul 6.24.79  
*Reminiscence: ut reconcilientur deo per mortem filii eius ne ira dei maneat super eos* AUJul 6.24.79  
*Reminiscence: ut propter eum per quem peccatum intrauit in mundum ira dei maneat super eos* AUJul 6.24.79  
*Adaptation: qui uero non liberantur ira dei manet super eos ueniens de iusto iudicio dei* AUJul im 1.127.9  
*nonne in euangelio scriptum est* qui credit in filium habet uitam aeternam qui autem incredulus est filio non uidebit uitam *sed ira dei manet super eum* AUleg 1.20.1141 (ms T **habet uitam**, ms R **iracundia dei**)  
 [Jn 3:35] qui credit in filium habet uitam aeternam qui autem incredulus est filio non **habebit** uitam *sed ira dei manet super eum* AUpec 1.20.28/27.6  
*sequetur eos quod dictum est non uidebunt* uitam *sed ira dei manet super eos* AUpec 1.20.28/27.18  
*bene autem non ait ira dei ueniet super eum sed* manet super eum AUpec 1.21.29/27.22  
*quoniam qui non manducauerit carnem eius (Jn 6:54) et* qui incredulus est filio non **habebit** uitam *sed ira dei manet super eum* AUpec 1.23.33/33.2 (ms V **filio nec**, ms z **habet**, ms M **manebit**)  
*inter eos qui non credunt erunt ac per hoc nec uitam habebunt* *sed ira dei manet super eos quoniam* qui **non credit** filio non **habebit** uitam *sed ira dei manet super eum et iudicati sunt* AUpec 3.2.3/131.4 (ms V **hoc uitam non habebunt**, ms K **super eos** [underdot] **et iudicati sunt** [ud] **quoniam**)  
*unde dominus de non credente ait* *sed ira dei manet super eum* [continues with Eph 2:3] AUPs 57.20.71  
*de infideli dictum est ira dei manet super eum* AUPs 87.15.24  
 [Eph 2:3] *et unde dicit dominus ira dei manet super eum quia non credidit in unigenitum filium dei. non enim ait ira dei ueniet super eum sed* manet super eum AUPs 101.s1.11.6  
*de qua dicitur in euangelio* *sed ira dei manet super eum* AUqSi 2.2.70 (ms Z **illum**)  
 [Ps 84:5] *languor enim ipse ira dei est. qui credit in filium habet uitam aeternam* AUs 130A.7/62.165 (AUs DoI 19)  
 [Jn 6:29] qui autem incredulus est filio non **habebit** uitam *sed ira dei manet super eum. non ueniet super eum sed* manet super eum AUs 130A.7/62.167 (AUs DoI 19)  
 [Jn 3:18] *alio loco* qui credit in filium habet uitam aeternam *quam tu paruulis promittebas non baptizatis. qui credit in filium habet uitam aeternam...sed uide quod sequitur* qui autem incredulus est filio non **habet** uitam *sed ira dei manet super eum* AUs 294.13.14/1343  
*habent uitam aeternam quia* qui credit in filium habet uitam aeternam AUs 294.13.14/1343  
 qui autem incredulus est filio *et qui non credit in filium non habet* uitam *sed ira dei manet super eum. non dixit ueniet super eum sed* manet super eum. *respexit originem cum ait ira dei manet super eum* AUs 294.14.14/1343

#### <4:1> ut ergo cognouit iesus quia audierunt pharisaei quia iesus plures discipulos facit et baptizat quam iohannes

*Adaptation: iam baptizauerat plures quam iohannes sicut ipsum loquitur euangelium* AUCre 2.14.17  
*Adaptation: quapropter quando plures quam iohannes dominus baptizabat sicut in euangelio scriptum est* AUJo 21.58/306.5  
*quem ad modum ergo scriptum esset quod iesus baptizauerit plures quam iohannes* AUep 44.5.10/117.27  
*Adaptation: utrumque autem de domino scriptum est et quia baptizabat plus quam iohannes* AUep 265.5/642.12 (ms P2 **bapt-zat**, mss e f l r m **plures**)  
 [Jn 3:22] *tunc paulo post de illo loquens ait* ut ergo cognouit iesus quia audierunt pharisaei **quod** iesus plures discipulos **haberet** et **baptizaret** quam iohannes AUep 265.5/643.2 (mss P3 M F A P4 **discipulos iesus plures**, ms P2 corr. **haberet** (fortasse fuit faceret), edd. faceret)  
*ipse iohannes euangelista sic loquitur* ut ergo cognouit iesus quia audierunt pharisaei quia iesus plures discipulos facit et baptizat quam iohannes AUEv 2.18.42/143.3 (mss A1 E batizat)  
*Adaptation: tunc ergo intellegimus iam fuisse traditum iohannem, iudaeos uero audisse quod plures discipulos faceret et baptizaret quam fecerat et baptizauerat iohannes* AUEv 2.18.42/143.9  
*cum audisset cognouisse pharisaeos quod plures discipulos faceret quam iohannes et plures baptizaret* AUJo 15.2.1 [CT]  
**baptizabat** iesus plures **quam** iohannes AUJo 15.3.1  
*ad id quod scriptum est in euangelio quod baptizabat* iesus plures **quam** iohannes AUq 62.2 incipit (ms maur **quia**, ms C **baptizauit**)  
*Adaptation: scriptum est dominum per discipulos suos baptizasse plures quam iohannes* AUq 62.5  
*ad id quod scriptum est in euangelio quod baptizabat* iesus plures **quam** iohannes AUre 1.26.178 (quoting AUq 62)

**<4:2> quamquam iesus non baptizaret sed discipuli eius**

[Jn 4:1] ubi subiecit euangelista **quamuis ipse** non **baptizabat** sed discipuli eius AUCo 21.58/306.7

[Jn 4:1] **cum ipse** non baptizaret sed discipuli eius AUep 44.5.10/117.28

Adaptation: [Jn 4:1] et quia **ipse** non **baptizabat** sed discipuli eius AUep 265.5/642.13

[Jn 4:1] quamquam iesus **ipse** non baptizaret sed discipuli eius AUep 265.5/643.4 (mss M F A P4 **om.ipse**, ms A\* **om.sed**)

[Jn 4:1] quamquam iesus non baptizaret sed discipuli eius AUEv 2.18.42/143.5

**quamuis ipse** non baptizaret sed discipuli eius AUJo 5.18.21

quamquam iesus non baptizaret sed discipuli eius AUJo 15.2.3 [CT]

quamquam iesus non **baptizabat** sed discipuli eius AUJo 15.3.3

quamquam iesus non **baptizabat** sed discipuli eius AUJo 15.3.6

quando fiebat quod scriptum est **ipse** non **baptizabat** sed discipuli eius AUPet 3.55.67/221.19 (codd. **baptizat**)

[Jn 4:1] **quamuis ipse** non baptizaret sed discipuli eius AUq 62.3 (mss Gg Poss (FP) **quamquam**, ms C

**baptizauit**, ms Poss (F) **baptizabat**), also AUq capitula 62 (CC p.6) (only in mss DGOR)

[Jn 4:1] **quamuis ipse** non baptizaret sed discipuli eius AUre 1.26.179 (quoting AUq 62)

**<4:3> reliquit iudaeam et abiit iterum in galilaeam**

[Jn 4:2] reliquit iudaeam **terram** et abiit iterum in galilaeam AUep 265.5/643.5 (mss P3\* M\* F\* **reliquid**, ms P5 **reliquit**, mss P2\* S\* **relinquit**, edd. **om.terram**)

[Jn 4:2] reliquit iudaeam et abiit iterum in galilaeam AUEv 2.18.42/143.6 (ms B **relinquit**)

Adaptation: *iohannes...commemorauit eum relicta iudaea abisse iterum in galilaeam* AUEv 2.45.94/200.11

reliquit iudaeam **terram** et abiit iterum in galilaeam AUJo 15.2.4 [CT]

**<4:4> oportebat autem eum transire per samariam**

oportebat autem eum transire per samariam AUJo 15.5.3 [CT]

**<4:5> uenit ergo in ciuitatem samariae quae dicitur sychar iuxta praedium quod dedit iacob ioseph filio suo**

uenit ergo in ciuitatem samariae quae dicitur sychar iuxta praedium quod dedit iacob **filio suo ioseph** AUJo 15.5.4 [CT]

**<4:6> erat autem ibi fons iacob iesus ergo fatigatus ex itinere sedebat sic super fontem hora erat quasi sexta**

Allusion to 4:6-28 AUEv 2.45.94/200.15

erat autem ibi fons iacob AUJo 15.5.6 iesus ergo fatigatus ex itinere sedebat sic super fontem hora erat quasi sexta AUJo 15.6.1 [CT]

*sicuti sunt quod esuriuit quod dormiuit quod fatigatus ab itinere **sedit** et alia huiuscemodi* AUq 80.91 (mss A E **ex** itinere)

Adaptation: *hora sexta dominus fatigatus sedit ad **puteum*** AUPs 126.5.9

Adaptation: *quod scriptum est dominum hora diei sexta uenisse ad **puteum** iacob fessumque ab itinere sedisse et a muliere samaritana potum petisse* AUq 64.7

Adaptation: *hora igitur diei sexta uenit a **puteum** dominus noster* AUq 64.13

Adaptation: *hora sexta uenit dominus ad **puteum*** AUq 64.33

Adaptation: *quod autem fatigatus uenit ad **puteum** infirmitatem carnis significat* AUq 64.41

Adaptation: *illa muliere cum qua ad **puteum** sexta hora locutus est* AURm in 15.8

**<4:7> uenit mulier de samaria haurire aquam dicit ei iesus da mihi bibere**

uenit mulier de samaria haurire aquam AUJo 15.10.4 dicit ei iesus da mihi bibere AUJo 15.11.1 [CT]

*bibere uolebat christus quando dixit mulieri samaritanae da mihi bibere* [Jn 19:28] AUPs 34.s2.4.6

*inde est enim **sitio mulier** da mihi bibere. samaritana illa ad puteum sitientem dominum sensit* AUPs 61.9.22

*quia et sitis ipsius erat quando dixit mulieri **sitio** da mihi bibere* AUPs 68.s1.14.6

*nisi forte quia dixit mulieri samaritanae da mihi bibere* [Jn 19:28] AUPs 108.19.10

Allusion: *quod scriptum est dominum* [Jn 4:6] *et a muliere samaritana potum petisse* AUq 64.8

Allusion: *sed quaeri potest quare a muliere samaritana quae hydrae aqua implendae gratia uenerat bibere postulauit* AUq 64.51

*dixit ergo ad eam iesus **mulier** da mihi bibere* AUq 64.62 (mss H I iesus ad eam)

Allusion: *a samaritana aquam sitiens postulauit* AUqEv 2.39.52

*sicut et illi mulieri samaritanae dixit **sitio**. quid est **sitio**?* AU 99.3.3/596

[Jn 4:10] *nam dominus idem quando cum samaritana muliere ad puteum loquebatur cui dixerat da mihi bibere* AUtri 15.19.14

**<4:8> discipuli enim eius abierant in ciuitatem ut cibos emerent**

discipuli enim eius abierant in ciuitatem ut cibos emerent AUJo 15.11.1 [CT]

*post paululum ueniunt discipuli **eius qui perrexerant** in ciuitatem ut cibos emerent* AUq 64.65



**<4:9> dicit ergo ei mulier illa samaritana quomodo tu iudaeus cum sis bibere a me poscis quae sum mulier samaritana non enim coutuntur iudaei samaritanis**

dicit ergo ei mulier illa samaritana quomodo tu iudaeus cum sis bibere a me poscis quae sum mulier samaritana non enim coutuntur iudaei samaritanis AUJo 15.11.3 [CT]

*sed carnaliter intellegens respondit tu cum sis iudaeus quomodo a me bibere petis cum sim mulier samaritana non enim coutuntur iudaei samaritanis AUq 64.75 (ms g quomodo om.a, mss E K L R T V poscis, ms C\* potios, ms O2 potis)*

*nam prima eius responsio est tu cum sis iudaeus quomodo a me bibere petis AUq 64.196 (mss LTV poscis, ms C possis)*

*Adaptation: [Jn 4:7] cum illa respondisset quod iudaei non couterentur samaritanis AUtri 15.19.14 (ms La quod dei, ms Eug (G P V v) conterentur)*

**<4:10> respondit iesus et dixit ei si scires donum dei et quis est qui dicit tibi da mihi bibere tu forsitan petisses ab eo et dedisset tibi aquam uiuam**

*Reminiscence: spiritum sanctum...sic est deus ut dicatur etiam dei donum AUench 12.62*

respondit iesus et dixit ei si scires donum dei et quis est qui dicit tibi da mihi bibere tu forsitan petisses ab eo et dedisset tibi aquam uiuam AUJo 15.12.1 [CT]

si scires donum dei et scires quis est qui dicit tibi da mihi bibere tu forsitan peteres et daret tibi aquam uiuam AUJo 15.12.9

si scires qui petit a te bibere tu forsitan postulasses ab eo et daret tibi aquam uiuam AUJo 25.10.24

si scires qui a te petit bibere tu petisses ab eo et daret tibi aquam AUJo 25.10.27

*[Matt 3:11] [Jn 7:37] et illud si scires donum dei et quis est qui a te aquam petit petisses ab eo et daret tibi aquam uiuam AUPs 1.3.9*

*[Jn 4:9] cui dominus noster dixit si scires donum dei et quis est qui dicit tibi da mihi bibere tu magis petisses ab eo et dedisset tibi aquam uiuam AUq 64.78 (ms l om. tibi)*

*sicut ipse ait si scires donum dei AUq 64.83*

*Allusion: haec ergo flumina aquae uiuae quae illi mulieri uolebat dare (cf. Jn 7:38) AUq 64.89*

*Reminiscence: immo uero impossibile nisi per illud donum dei quod apostolus commemorat dicens [1 Cor 12:10] AUtri 3.8.57*

*Reminiscence: et sicut spiritui sancto donum dei esse est a patre procedere AUtri 4.20.101*

*Reminiscence: spiritus sanctus ille qui etiam donum dei uocatur AUtri 5 9.5*

*Reminiscence: et spiritum sanctum quod est donum dei AUtri 7.4.10*

*Reminiscence: quia et spiritus sancti propria significatione qua etiam donum dei dicitur AUtri 7.4.64*

*Reminiscence: non dicitur uerbum dei nisi filius nec donum dei nisi spiritus AUtri 15.17.55*

*Reminiscence: spiritus sanctus cum sit deus uocatur etiam donum dei AUtri 15.18.30*

*Reminiscence: utrum autem donum dei sit appellata aqua ista quod est spiritus sanctus AUtri 15.19.9*

*Adaptation: ita inuenimus alibi in ipso euangelio hanc aquam dei donum appellatam AUtri 15.19.12 (mss J T μ donum dei)*

*[Jn 4:9] respondit iesus et dixit ei si scires donum dei et quis est qui dicit tibi da mihi bibere tu forsitan petisses ab eo et dedisset tibi aquam uiuam AUtri 15.19.15 (ms P qui dixit, mss La M qui dicet)*

*procul dubio spiritus donum dei est de quo hic dominus ait si scires donum dei et quis est qui dicit tibi da mihi bibere tu forsitan petisses ab eo et dedisset tibi aquam uiuam AUtri 15.19.25 (ms Ra scie scires, ms P qui dixit, mss Eug Va aquam bibam)*

*Reminiscence: qua ratione donum dei dicatur spiritus sanctus AUtri brev 15.19.42*

**<4:11> dicit ei mulier domine neque in quo haurias habes et puteus altus est unde ergo habes aquam uiuam**

domine neque in quo haurias habes et puteus altus est AUJo 15.13.1 [CT]

*sic enim respondit domine neque hauritorium habes et puteus altus est unde mihi habes dare aquam uiuam*

*AUq 64.99 (ms C domine hauritorium non, ms H habes puteus, mss C O\* unde habes dare, ms E unde ergo mihi dare habes, ms T unde ergo mihi habes dare, ms H unde ergo habes)*

*[Jn 4:9] secunda domine neque hauritorium habes et puteus altus est AUq 64.197 (ms E neque quo haurias habes)*

*[Jn 4:10] dicit ei mulier domine neque in quo haurias habes et puteus altus est unde ergo habes aquam uiuam et cetera AUtri 15.19.17 (ms Fa in quo neque, ms Aa neque hoc, ms Ra aureas, ms Ja harias, ms Ka haureas, ms Pa hauries)*

**<4:12> numquid tu maior es patre nostro iacob qui dedit nobis puteum et ipse ex eo bibit et filii eius et pecora eius**

numquid tu maior es patre nostro iacob qui dedit nobis puteum et ipse ex eo bibet et filii eius et pecora eius AUJo 15.14.2 [CT]

*[Jn 4:11] numquid tu maior es patre nostro iacob qui dedit nobis hunc puteum et ipse ex eo bibit et filii eius et pecora eius AUq 64.100 (mss D g maior patre nostro iacob es qui)*

**<4:13> respondit iesus et dixit ei omnis qui bibit ex aqua hac sitiet iterum qui autem biberit ex aqua quam ego dabo ei non sitiet in aeternum**

*Adaptation: inde ad mulierem samaritanam ubi commemoratur aqua unde qui biberit non sitiet in aeternum AUEv 4.10.13/408.15*

*[Jn 4:14] quem qui habuerit non sitiet in aeternum AUFau 22.87/692.13 (mss S G **quam**, ms M **biberit**)*

*Adaptation: dominus noster...promittens etiam quod **si quis** biberit **de** aqua eius rediet ad illum intimum fontem ut forinsecus non quaerat pluuiam AUGn Ma 2.6.17 (ms A om. **quod si**, ms A ac. **qui** biberit, ms A pc. etiam **ut** biberit, mss R B si **om.quis** biberit, mss R lo **rediret**)*

respondit iesus et dixit ei omnis qui **biberit** ex aqua hac sitiet iterum qui autem biberit ex aqua quam ego dabo ei non sitiet in aeternum AUJo 15.14.8 [CT]

qui **biberit de** aqua hac sitiet iterum AUJo 15.16.2

*[Jn 4:10] unde qui biberit amplius non sitiet nam **de hac aqua** qui biberit sitiet iterum AUJo 25.10.28*

qui biberit **de hac aqua non** sitiet **umquam** AUJo 25.13.17

*[Jn 4:10] unde qui biberit non sitiet in aeternum AUPs 1.3.10*

*et hi primitus audierunt qui biberit ex aqua quam ego dabo **non** sitiet **umquam** AUPs 67.35.12*

*non extinguunt insatiabilem cupiditatem qui enim **biberit inquit** ex **hac aqua** sitiet iterum AUPs 105.13.8*

*[Jn 4:12] nunc uero iam dominus exponit quid dixerit omnis inquit qui **biberit de** aqua **ista** sitiet iterum qui autem biberit **de** aqua quam ego **dederō non** sitiet in **sempiternum** AUq 64.103 (mss D g **ex aqua ista**, ms H2 **ex hac aqua**, ms V **de aqua hac**, ms O **sitiat iterum**, ms H **om. autem**, mss E I R **aeternum**)*

*iterum in eius appetitum inardescunt sicut **de aqua illa qui biberit inquit** sitiet iterum AUq 64.219 (ms C **de aqua illa dicitur qui biberit ex hac aqua**)*

*famem iterum patieris. **et** qui **biberit ex hac aqua** sitiet iterum AU 53.4.4/365*

*nam quando petis nihil qui **bibet de hac aqua** sitiet iterum. mittit in puteum hydriam cupiditatis leuat unde bibat ut iterum sitiāt AU 145.6/795*

*audi dominum qui **biberit** ex aqua hac **non** sitiet in aeternum AU 170.9.9/951*

*Reminiscence: de quo dominus ait panem hunc qui manducauerit non esuriet et potum quem ego dederō qui biberit non sitiet in aeternum (cf. Jn 6:35, Jn 6:52) AU 389.1/1702*

*Allusion: [Jn 4:34] quod est iustitia et illa aqua **de** qua quisquis biberit ut idem dicit [Jn 4:14] (in Matt 5:6) (ms A **quisque**, mss V T **quis**) AU dni 1.2.6.97*

*quae tamen omnia nec adepta sufficiunt: qui enim **biberit inquit** ex **hac aqua** sitiet iterum AUtri 9.9.12 (ms μ **ex hac inquit**)*

*[Jn 4:11] respondit iesus et dixit ei omnis qui **biberit** ex aqua hac sitiet iterum qui autem biberit ex aqua quam ego dabo ei non sitiet in aeternum AUtri 15.19.19 (ms J respondit **ei**, mss J K2 T Eug G P v μ **biberit**, mss cett codd Eug V **bibit**, mss Eug V μ **ex hac aqua**, ms T **cum** autem, mss A K P **om. autem**)*

**<4:14> sed aqua quam dabo ei fiet in eo fons aquae salientis in uitam aeternam**

*Reminiscence: in ambrosii ora suspendi ad fontem salientis aquae in uitam aeternam AUcf 6.1.28*

*Reminiscence: uerbum autem tuum deus fons uitae aeternae est AUcf 13.21.46*

*quia factus est in ea fons aquae salientis in uitam aeternam quem qui habuerit [Jn 4:13] AUFau 22.87/692.12*

*[Jn 4:13] dicit enim fiet in eo fons aquae salientis in uitam aeternam [Gen 2:6] AUGn Ma 2.6.18 (mss G N fiet **enim**, ms A ac. fit, ms M ac. **om. fiet**)*

sed aqua quam **ego** dabo ei fiet in eo fons aquae salientis in uitam aeternam AUJo 15.14.11 [CT]

*[Jn 4:13] sed **efficietur** in eo fons aquae salientis in uitam aeternam AUPs 1.3.11*

*Reminiscence: et apparuerunt qui facti erant in praedicantibus fontes aquarum salientium in uitam aeternam AUPs 17.16.2*

*implens spiritu sancto praedicatores suos ut fieret in eis fons aquae salientis in uitam aeternam AUPs 62.8.17*

*[Jn 4:13] sed fiet in eo fons aquae salientis in uitam aeternam AUPs 67.35.12*

*in aliis fit uerbum dei fons aquae salientis in uitam aeternam AUPs 73.17.15*

*nisi quia uerbum factum est in eo fons aquae salientis in uitam aeternam AUPs 73.17.27*

*[Ps 147:18] fiet in eo fons aquae salientis in uitam aeternam AUPs 147.26.63*

*Adaptation: cum ipse postea spiritalis fontis affluentiam se petentibus dare posse praedicauerit AUq 64.52*

*[Jn 4:13] sed aqua illa quam **dederō fiet** in eo fons aquae salientis in uitam aeternam AUq 64.105 (mss E I K **quam ego dederō**, mss H O **fiat**, ms g **fit**)*

*saepe enim posita est aqua in similitudinem sapientiae et dictum est fiet in eo fons aquae salientis in uitam aeternam AU 6.140*

*ideo dominus promittens credentibus sancti sui spiritus largitatem fiet in eo inquit fons aquae salientis in uitam aeternam AU 28A.1/251.12 (AU 9)*

*cum enim dicat dominus de spiritu suo et de uerbo suo...fiet in eo fons aquae salientis in uitam aeternam AU 239.1.1/1127*

*nascitur fons qui fundere nouit siccare non nouit fiet in eo fons aquae salientis in uitam aeternam AU 260E.2*

*[Jn 4:13] ut idem dicit fiet in eo fons aquae salientis in uitam aeternam (in Matt 5:7) AU 1.2.6.98 (mss BT **fiat**)*

[Jn 4:13] sed aqua quam dabo ei fiet in eo fons aquae salientis in uitam aeternam AUtri 15.19.22 (mss R P  $\mu$  **ego** dabo, ms M om.aquae)  
*nam quod ibi ait [Jn 7:38] hoc in isto loco fiet inquit* in eo fons aquae salientis in uitam aeternam AUtri 15.19.28 (mss A R  $\mu$  in eo inquit, mss Eug V salutis, mss Eug V uita aeterna)

[Paulinus and Therasia] *os enim tuum fistulam aquae uiuae et uenam fontis aeterni merito dixerim quia fons in te aquae salientis in uitam aeternam christus effectus est.* [Ps 62:2] AUep 25.2/79.14 (ms A **aquae uiuae**)

**<4:15> dicit ad eum mulier domine da mihi hanc aquam ut non sitiam neque ueniam huc haurire**  
dicit ad eum mulier domine da mihi hanc aquam ut non sitiam neque ueniam huc haurire AUJo 15.17.3 [CT]  
[Jn 4:13] da mihi **domine de hac aqua** AUJo 25.13.19  
[Jn 4:14]...*quid enim respondit?* domine da mihi hanc aquam ut **neque** sitiam neque ueniam huc haurire AUq 64.107 (mss D g **non sitiam**, ms I **om.huc**)  
[Jn 4:11] *tertia* domine da mihi hanc quam ut **neque** sitiam neque ueniam huc haurire AUq 64.198 (ms C **om. domine**)

**<4:16> dicit ei iesus uade uoca uirum tuum et ueni huc**  
dicit ei iesus uade uoca uirum tuum et ueni huc AUJo 15.18.1 [CT]  
[Jn 4:15] dicit ei iesus uade uoca uirum tuum et ueni huc AUq 64.108 (ms V **uade et uoca**)  
uade uoca uirum tuum et ueni huc *id est remoue te ab affectione carnali* AUq 64.169  
**et** uoca uirum tuum *id est spiritu intellegentia praesens esto* AUq 64.171  
uoca *ergo inquit* uirum tuum *id est spiritum qui est in te* AUq 64.183

**<4:17> respondit mulier et dixit non habeo uirum dicit ei iesus bene dixisti quia non habeo uirum**  
non habeo uirum *et dominus ei bene dixisti quia non habeo uirum* AUJo 15.20.2 [CT]  
*namque cum mulier dixisset* non habeo uirum dicit ei iesus bene dixisti **non habere te** uirum AUq 64.111 (ms V **om. te**, mss D g, **te non habere**, ms H **dixisti non habeo uirum**)  
*et cum illa diceret* non habeo uirum **bene inquit** dixisti AUq 64.186 (mss C O **non habere uirum**, ms C2 **non se habere uirum**)  
[Jn 4:15] *quarta* non habeo uirum AUq 64.200

**<4:18> quinque enim uiros habuisti et nunc quem habes non est tuus uir hoc uere dixisti**  
quinque enim uiros habuisti et **iste** quem habes non est **uir tuus** hoc uere dixisti AUJo 15.20.12 [CT]  
et nunc quem habes non est **uir tuus** AUJo 15.21.6  
**iste** quem habes non est tuus uir AUJo 15.22.11  
[Jn 4:17] quinque enim uiros habuisti et nunc quem habes non est tuus uir hoc **uerum** dixisti AUq 64.112 (mss C I **hunc quem**)  
*quod autem dictum est* et nunc quem habes non est tuus uir AUq 64.118 (ms D **et num quem**, ms I **hunc quem**, ms C **hic quem**)  
*quomodo dici potuerit* quinque **uiros** habuisti AUq 64.125 (mss C H V **uiros**)  
[Jn 4:17] quinque enim uiros habuisti *id est quinque sensus carnis te in prima aetate rexerunt* et nunc quem habes non est tuus uir AUq 64.187 (mss C E V **enim**, ms K\* **om. enim**, ms V **enim in uiros**, ms I **tunc quem**)

**<4:19> dicit ei mulier domine uideo quia propheta es tu**  
dicit ei mulier domine uideo quia propheta es tu AUJo 15.23.1 [CT]  
[Jn 4:17] *quinta* uideo quia propheta es [om.tu] AUq 64.200

**<4:20> patres nostri in monte hoc adorauerunt et uos dicitis quia hierosolymis est locus ubi adorare oportet**  
*Allusion: numquid eum etiam cum una muliere de quaestione orationis contra opinionem uel haeresem samaritanorum piguit disputare* AUCre 1.8.10/332.27  
patres nostri in monte hoc adorauerunt et uos dicitis quia ierosolymis est locus ubi adorare oportet AUJo 15.24.3 [CT]  
[Jn 4:19] patres nostri in monte hoc adorauerunt AUq 64.201 (ms I **et patres**)  
*Allusion: si audit <non> quaerat cum samaritana montes et templa quo uult ire ad deum* AUs 23.114

**<4:21> dicit ei iesus mulier crede mihi quia ueniet hora quando neque in monte hoc neque in hierosolymis adorabitis patrem**  
*dominus...ueniet inquit* hora quando neque in monte hoc neque in hierosolymis adorabitis patrem AUDt 10.175 (in Deut.5:5) (ms n **ueni hit**, ms S hierosolimis, ms U hierusolimis, ms T iherosolimis)  
dicit ei iesus mulier crede mihi quia ueniet hora quando neque in monte hoc neque in ierosolymis adorabitis patrem AUJo 15.24.5 [CT]  
*sicut dominus samaritanae mulieri respondit* ueniet *inquit* hora **et nunc est** quando neque in monte hoc neque **hierosolymis** adorabitis patrem AUs 198.11/99.250 (ms M ante corr neque **in**, ms M iherusolimis) (AUs Dol 26)

**<4:22> uos adoratis quod nescitis nos adoramus quod scimus quia salus ex iudaeis est**

[Jn 4:21] uos adoratis quod nescitis nos adoramus quod scimus quia salus ex iudaeis est AUDt 10.177  
samaritanus...quem etiam dominus improbavit dicens uos adoratis quod nescitis nos adoramus quod scimus  
**quoniam** salus ex iudaeis est AUep 23.4/68.18 (mss P4\*(?) P1\* S\* H adoramus **quem**)  
uos adoratis quod nescitis nos adoramus quod scimus quia salus ex iudaeis est AUJo 15.24.14 [CT]  
nos adoramus quod scimus **uos** adoratis quod nescitis **quoniam** salus ex iudaeis est AUJo 15.26.3  
omnes filii confessionis filii iudaeae sunt quia salus ex iudaeis nihil est aliud quam christus ex iudaeis AUPs  
47.11.17  
inde christus salus ex iudaeis inde apostoli inde primi credentes AUPs 79.9.34  
hodie celebramus quo a gentibus adoratus est **quoniam** salus ex iudaeis sed haec [Is 49:6] AUs 199.1.1/1026  
sic habes scriptum salus ex iudaeis est sed non solis iudaeis. non enim dixit salus iudaeis sed salus ex iudaeis  
AUs 375/1669

**<4:23> sed uenit hora et nunc est quando ueri adoratores adorabunt patrem in spiritu et ueritate nam et pater tales quaerit qui adorent eum**

[Jn 4:22] sed uenit hora et nunc est quando ueri adoratores adorabunt patrem in spiritu et ueritate nam et pater  
tales quaerit qui adorent eum AUDt 10.178 (ms n **spiritu ueritate**)  
sed **ueniet** hora et nunc est quando ueri adoratores adorabunt patrem in spiritu et ueritate nam et pater tales  
quaerit qui adorent eum AUJo 15.24.16 [CT]  
uenit ergo hora et nunc est quando ueri adoratores adorabunt patrem in spiritu et ueritate AUJo 15.26.1  
Adaptation: carnalibus enim datus fuerat locus terrenus ubi adorarent spirituales autem in spiritu et ueritate  
adoraturos dominus dixit AUq 64.203 (mss D E H I K L R T V g Carol maur **orarent**, mss C E H I K O R om.in,  
mss D E H I K L R T V g Carol maur **oratu**ros)  
[Jn 4:21] et paulo post **ueniet** inquit hora et nunc est quando ueri adoratores adorabunt patrem in spiritu et  
ueritate nam et pater tales quaerit qui adorent eum AUs 198.11/99.251 (AUs Dol 26)

**<4:24> spiritus est deus et eos qui adorant eum in spiritu et ueritate oportet adorare**

cf. John 3:6 (certain manuscripts); 2 Cor 3:17  
Reminiscence: ut etiam deus uocetur spiritus AUan 4.23.37/417.4  
Adaptation: et non noueram deum esse spiritum AUcf 3.7.10  
[Jn 4:23] spiritus est deus et eos qui adorant eum in spiritu et ueritate oportet adorare AUDt 10.180  
ubique quidem deus est...et eum **a ueris adoratoribus** in spiritu et ueritate oportet **adorari** AUep 78.3/335.10  
(ms P1m1corr **adorare**)  
audiat caro carnalibus cogitationibus ebria spiritus est deus et **ideo** qui adorant **deum** in spiritu et ueritate oportet  
adorare AUep 92.5/441.10 (ms P2 **et cum ideo**, mss P P1 S V P4 **adorare oportet**)  
Reminiscence: dominus enim spiritus est AUep 147.15.37/311.23  
exclamaui dolens in illa breui epistula et dixi "audiat caro carnalibus cogitationibus ebria spiritus est deus" AUep  
147.16.42/316.18 [citing AUep 92.5]  
Reminiscence: credamus deum non corpus esse sed spiritum AUep 147.19.46/320.21  
unde dominus dicit spiritus est deus et **ideo** qui adorant **deum** in spiritu et ueritate oportet adorare AUep  
238.2.14/544.7 (ms T **qui orant**)  
**quoniam** semel dictum est spiritus est deus AUep 238.2.14/545.1  
sicut ait dominus in euangelio spiritus est deus et eos qui adorant eum in spiritu et ueritate oportet adorare AUGn  
li 12.7/389.28  
spiritus est deus et eos qui adorant eum in spiritu et ueritate oportet adorare AUJo 15.24.22 [CT]  
spiritus est deus AUJo 99.7.3  
[AUG citing MAX] dicis credimus quod ait christus spiritus est deus AUMax 2.15.2/778  
de ipso quippe adorando loquebatur deus ubi ait spiritus est deus...[Jn 1:14] AUMax 2.22.3/795  
ipse enim orat in spiritu et ueritate qui orat in pace ecclesiae; non in illo templo ubi figura erat AUPs 130.1.29  
Reminiscence: deus qui spiritus est AUre 2.41.4 (ref. AU de uidendo dei)  
unde dixit dominus eos qui adorant eum in spiritu et ueritate **adorare debere** AUs 16A.290 (ms N1 dominus  
**om.** eos...eum oportere in spiritu)  
nullum corpus est. deus **spiritus est. ideo, inquit, qui** adorant **in** spiritu et ueritate oportet adorare AUs 21.46 (ms  
P **inquit**, mss P2 P3 X **adorat**)  
[1 Cor 3:17] uide ergo quomodo excipias deum. spiritus est deus **in** spiritu et ueritate oportet adorare **deum** AUs  
53.7.7/367  
[Jn 4:23] spiritus est deus et eos qui adorant eum in spiritu et ueritate oportet adorare AUs 198.11/99.253 (AUs  
Dol 26)  
Reminiscence: ut ex utroque unus christus esset potuit deus qui spiritus est non corpori praeter spiritum AUs  
218C.3  
respondemus eis ex euangelio quia spiritus **deus est** AUs 265.A3  
Reminiscence: est enim spiritus et deus qui renouari non potest AUtri 14.16.17  
et sentit mente non corpore quia spiritus est deus AUtri 15.5.21 (mss F P deus spiritus est)

[MAX] credimus quod ait christus spiritus est deus AUMax co 15/733

<4:25> dicit ei mulier scio quia messias uenit qui dicitur christus cum ergo uenerit ille nobis adnuntiabit omnia

dicit ei mulier scio quia messias **ueniet** qui dicitur christus cum ergo uenerit ille **omnia nobis demonstrabit** AUJo 15.27.4 [CT]

dicit ei mulier scio quia messias **ueniet** qui dicitur christus cum ergo uenerit ille nobis annuntiabit omnia AUJo 15.28.1

*quod posteaquam locutus est sexta mulier responsione christum fatetur omnium istorum esse doctorem; dicit enim* scio quia messias **ueniet** qui dicitur christus cum **uenerit ipse** nobis adnuntiabit omnia AUq 64.206 (mss C D K L O R T Carol **scio quoniam**, ms V **scio quod**, mss C D E H I K L O R V g Carol **uenit**, mss C T **christus et cum**, ms O **cum autem uenerit**, ms D **ipse nos**, ms K **ipse uobis**, ms O **adnuntiauit**, ms Carol **adnuntiabit nobis**)

*samaritana mulier loquitur cum domino iesu et inter cetera cum dixisset ei dominus quomodo debeat adorari deus ait illa* **scimus** quia **ueniet** messias qui dicitur christus **et omnia nos docebit** AUs 101.2.2/606

[Jn 4:26] *quod autem illa dixerat* **scimus** quia messias **ueniet** *quem annuntiauerit moyses et prophetae* qui dicitur christus AUs 101.2.2/606

<4:26> dicit ei iesus ego sum qui loquor tecum

cf. Jn 9:37

dicit ei iesus ego sum qui loquor tecum AUJo 15.28.3 [CT]

dicit **enim** ei iesus ego sum qui **tecum loquor** AUq 64.210 (ms C **enim illi**, ms K **enim iesus**, mss D g\* **dicit et iesus**, , ms g2 **dicit enim iesus**, mss C V **loquor tecum**)

[Jn 4:25] *et dominus ad illam* ego sum qui loquor tecum. *crede quod audis: quid quaeris quod uides?* ego sum qui loquor tecum AUs 101.2.2/606

[Jn 9:36] *respondit* ei iesus ego sum qui loquor tecum AUs 136.2/751

<4:27> et continuo uenerunt discipuli eius et mirabantur quia cum muliere loquebatur nemo tamen dixit quid quaeris aut quid loqueris cum ea

et continuo uenerunt discipuli eius et mirabantur quia cum muliere loquebatur nemo tamen dixit quid quaeris aut quid loqueris cum ea AUJo 15.29.1 [CT]

[Jn 4:28] *discipuli tunc ierant ad emendos panes: qui redeuntes inuenerunt dominum loquentem cum muliere et mirati sunt. non sunt tamen ausi dicere ei* **quid uel quare** cum **illa** loqueris AUs 101.2.2/606

<4:28> reliquit ergo hydriam suam mulier et abiit in ciuitatem et dicit illis hominibus

reliquit ergo hydriam suam mulier **cucurrit ad** ciuitatem et dicit illis hominibus AUJo 15.30.1 [CT]

*Adaptation: [Jn 4:26] quo audito illa non respondit sed statim relicta hydria sua abiit in ciuitatem* **festinans** *ut...praedicaret* AUq 64.211

*Allusion: nec hoc quod relicta hydria discessit negligenter praetereundum est* AUq 64.213

[Jn 4:26] *Adaptation: mox ut hoc audiuit credidit et hydriam* **dimisit** et **festinanter cucurrit** *annuntiare dominum coepit* AUs 101.2.2/606

<4:29> uenite uidete hominem qui dixit mihi omnia quaecumque feci numquid ipse est christus

uenite **et** uidete hominem qui **mihi dixit** omnia quaecumque feci AUJo 15.30.12 numquid ipse est christus AUJo 15.30.16 [CT]

uenite **et** uidete hominem qui dixit mihi omnia quaecumque feci numquid ipse est christus AUJo 15.30.15

<4:30> exierunt de ciuitate et ueniebant ad eum

exierunt de ciuitate et ueniebant ad eum AUJo 15.30.17 [CT]

<4:31> interea rogabant eum discipuli dicentes rabbi manduca

**et** interea rogabant eum discipuli dicentes rabbi manduca AUJo 15.31.1 [CT]

[Jn 4:8] *et dicunt ei* rabbi manduca AUq 64.65 (mss C H I O om.**et**)

<4:32> ille autem dixit eis ego cibum habeo manducare quem uos nescitis

ille autem dixit **ego** habeo cibum manducare quem uos **non scitis** AUJo 15.31.2 [CT]

[Jn 4:31] ille autem dixit eis ego **habeo escam** manducare **quam** uos nescitis AUq 64.65 (mss H I **escam habeo**)

<4:33> dicebant ergo discipuli ad inuicem numquid aliquis attulit ei manducare

dicebant ergo discipuli ad inuicem numquid aliquis attulit ei manducare AUJo 15.31.4 [CT]

[Jn 4:32] **dicunt** ergo discipuli **eius** ad **alterutrum** numquid aliquis **ei** attulit manducare AUq 64.66 (ms V **dicunt igitur**, ms E **ad inuicem**, ms O **inuicem quod aliquid**, mss C E R maur **aliquis attulit ei**, ms I **aliquis attulit eis**, ms V **ei aliquis attulit**)

**<4:34> dicit eis iesus meus cibus est ut faciam uoluntatem eius qui misit me ut perficiam opus eius**

*cf. Jn 5:30, Jn 6:38*

**meus** cibus est ut faciam uoluntatem eius qui misit me AUJo 15.31.9 [CT]

**est ergo cibus meus** ut faciam uoluntatem eius qui **me misit** AUJo 15.31.15

meus cibus est ut faciam uoluntatem eius qui **me misit** AUJo 99.3.13

[Jn 4:33] dicit eis iesus **cibus meus** est ut faciam uoluntatem eius qui **me misit et** ut perficiam opus eius AUq 64.68 (ms maur **dixit eis**,

mss E K **meus cibus**, ms I **uoluntatem patris mei qui**, ms maur **eius uoluntatem**, mss H I **misit me**, mss C D\* I O **me ut (om. et)**)

*Allusion: qui saepe testatus est dicens uoluntatem facio patris mei qui me misit* AUs 136.2/751

*ipse dominus dicit* meus cibus est ut faciam uoluntatem **patris mei** [Jn 4:13-14] (*in Matt 5:6*) AUs dni 1.2.6.96

*ipse dominus dicit cum ait* meus cibus est ut faciam uoluntatem eius qui **me misit** (*in Matt 6:10*) AUs dni

2.6.21.464 (mss C N V W1 omm. **cum ait**, mss M L T1 **dicit cum dicit**, ms P **docet cum dicit**, mss F T **est cibus**, mss B T **misit me**, ms C **om. qui me misit**)

[Matt 5:6] *imitamini eum qui dixit* meus cibus est ut faciam uoluntatem eius qui misit me AUvg 28.28/265.17 (ms K **cybus**, ms R **uoluntates**, ms E **uoluntatem patris mei**, mss P K H S A D G T γ **me misit**)

**<4:35> nonne uos dicitis quod adhuc quattuor menses sunt et messis uenit ecce dico uobis leuate oculos uestros et uidete regiones quia albae sunt iam ad messem**

nonne uos dicitis quod adhuc quattuor menses sunt et messis uenit ecce dico uobis leuate oculos uestros et uidete **quia iam** albae sunt **regiones** ad messem AUJo 15.32.1 [CT]

*nam dixit tunc discipulis* dicitis **quia longe est messis respicite** et uidete **quia** albae sunt **regiones** ad messem AUPs 64.17.12

*ideo dixit discipulis suis dominus* uidete **quia** albae sunt **regiones** ad messem *regiones utique iudaeae* AUPs 64.17.17

*dominus tunc ad discipulos suos ait* dicitis **quia** adhuc **longe** est **aestas** leuate oculos uestros et uidete **albas** regiones **ad** messem AUs 101.2.2/606

**<4:36> et qui metit mercedem accipit et congregat fructum in uitam aeternam ut et qui seminat simul gaudeat et qui metit**

[following Jn 4:37] ut et qui seminat simul gaudeat et qui metit AUJo 15.32.8 [CT]

simul gaudeat **et qui seminat** et qui metit AUJo 15.32.39

**<4:37> in hoc enim est uerbum uerum quia alius est qui seminat et alius est qui metit**

in hoc enim est uerbum uerum quia alius est qui **metit alius qui seminat** [ut et qui seminat simul gaudeat et qui metit] AUJo 15.32.7 [CT]

**<4:38> ego misi uos metere quod uos non laborastis alii laborauerunt et uos in laborem eorum introistis**

*Adaptation: mittens operarios in messem tuam in qua seminanda alii laborauerunt* AUcf 13.18.21

ego misi uos metere quod uos non laborastis alii laborauerunt et uos in laborem eorum introistis AUJo 15.32.9 [CT]

misi uos metere quod **non seminastis** alii **seminauerunt** et uos in **labores** eorum introistis AUJo 15.32.20

[Jn 4:35] alii *inquit* laborauerunt et uos in **eorum labores intrastis** AUPs 64.17.18

[Jn 4:35] *et adiungit* alii laborauerunt et uos in **labores** eorum **intrastis** AUs 101.2.2/606

**<4:39> ex ciuitate autem illa multi crediderunt in eum samaritanorum propter uerbum mulieris testimonium perhibentis quia dixit mihi omnia quaecumque feci**

ex ciuitate autem illa multi crediderunt in eum **samaritani** propter uerbum mulieris testimonium perhibentis quia dixit mihi omnia quaecumque feci AUJo 15.33.1 [CT]

**<4:40> cum uenissent ergo ad illum samaritani rogauerunt eum ut ibi maneret et mansit ibi duos dies**

cum uenissent **autem** ad eum samaritani rogauerunt ut **apud eos** maneret et mansit ibi duos dies AUJo 15.33.4 [CT]

**<4:41> et multo plures crediderunt propter sermonem eius**

et multo plures crediderunt propter sermonem eius AUJo 15.33.6 [CT]

*Allusion: [Jn 4:6] et eis qui per illam crediderunt* (mss T B1 V L1 **uel eis**) AURm in 15.8

**<4:42> et mulieri dicebant quia iam non propter tuam loquellam credimus ipsi enim audiuius et scimus quia hic est uere saluator mundi**

et mulieri dicebant quia iam non propter tuam loquelam credimus ipsi enim **nos** audiuius et scimus quia hic est uere saluator mundi AUJo 15.33.7 [CT]

non iam propter **uerbum tuam** credimus **sed** ipsi **cognouimus** et scimus quia **uere** hic est saluator mundi AUJo 15.33.14

**<4:43> post duos autem dies exiit inde et abiit in galilaeam**

*Allusion: iohannes...post duos dies dicit eum exisse in galilaeam AUEv 2.45.94/200.16*

*abiit enim iesus post **biduum** quod fecerat in samaria in galilaeam AUJo 16.1.6 [CT]*

*Allusion: merito apud samaritanos **biduum** fecit iesus ut eos caritate firmaret AUJo 17.6.37*

**<4:44> ipse enim iesus testimonium perhibuit quia propheta in sua patria honorem non habet**

ipse enim iesus testimonium perhibuit quia propheta in **patria sua** honorem non habet AUJo 16.1.8 [CT]

ipse enim iesus testimonium perhibuit **quod** propheta in **patria sua** honorem non habet AUJo 16.2.5

**<4:45> cum ergo uenisset in galilaeam exceperunt eum galilaei cum omnia uidissent quae fecerat hierosolymis in die festo et ipsi enim uenerant in diem festum**

NO CITATIONS

**<4:46> uenit ergo iterum in cana galilaeae ubi fecit aquam uinum et erat quidam regulus cuius filius infirmabatur capharnaum**

*Adaptation: [Jn 4:43] deinde uenisse in canan galileaeae ubi fecerat de qua uinum et sanasse filium reguli cuiusdam AUEv 2.45.94/200.17*

*Adaptation: inde rursus in cana galilaeae ubi fecerat de aqua uinum ubi eum commemorat dixisse regulo cuius filius infirmabatur AUEv 4.10.13/408.17*

uenit in **ciuitatem canam** galilaeae ubi **aquam uinum fecit** AUJo 16.3.16 et **ecce** quidam regulus cuius filius infirmabatur AUJo 16.3.22 [CT]

**<4:47> hic cum audisset quia iesus adueniret a iudaea in galilaeam abiit ad eum et rogabat eum ut descenderet et sanaret filium eius incipiebat enim mori**

uenit ad eum et **rogare coepit** ut descenderet et sanaret filium eius incipiebat enim mori AUJo 16.3.23 [CT]

**<4:48> dixit ergo iesus ad eum nisi signa et prodigia uideritis non creditis**

*Reminiscence: deus temptatur cum signa et prodigia flagitantur AUcf 10.35.35 (mss C1 D1 flagitatur)*

*Adaptation: neque enim nisi signa et prodigia **uiderit** non **credit** AUcf 13.21.7*

*[Jn 4:46] nisi signa et prodigia uideritis non creditis AUEv 4.10.13/408.19 (mss C1 V p r **credetis**)*

**nisi** signa et prodigia uideritis non creditis AUJo 16.3.27 [CT]

**<4:49> dicit ad eum regulus domine descende priusquam moriatur filius meus**

NO CITATIONS

**<4:50> dicit ei iesus uade filius tuus uiuit credit homo sermoni quem dixit ei iesus et ibat**

uade filius tuus uiuit AUJo 16.3.38 [CT]

uade **puer** tuus uiuit AUJo 16.5.11

**<4:51> iam autem eo descendente serui occurrerunt ei et nuntiauerunt dicentes quia filius eius uiueret**

NO CITATIONS

**<4:52> interrogabat ergo horam ab eis in qua melius habuerit et dixerunt ei quia heri hora septima reliquit eum febris**

NO CITATIONS

**<4:53> cognouit ergo pater quia illa hora erat in qua dixit ei iesus filius tuus uiuit et credidit ipse et domus eius tota**

filius tuus uiuit et credidit ipse et domus eius tota AUJo 16.3.38 [CT]

**<4:54> hoc iterum secundum signum fecit iesus cum uenisset a iudaea in galilaeam**

NO CITATIONS

**<5:1> post haec erat dies festus iudaeorum et ascendit iesus hierosolymis**

*Allusion: to 5:1-47 AUEv 2.45.94/201.1*

*Allusion: to 5:1-47 AUEv 4.10.14/409.1*

**<5:2> est autem hierosolymis super probatica piscina quae cognominatur hebraice bethsaida quinque porticus habens**

*Adaptation: de hac piscina quae quinque porticibus cingebatur AUJo 17.2.1*

*Allusion: in quinque porticibus piscinam cingentibus languidi iacebant sed curari non poterant AUPs 70.s1.19.51*  
*Allusion: cincta est piscina quinque porticibus; produxit languidos ut ibi iacerent ut proderentur non ut sanarentur AUPs 102.15.9*

*de uerbis euangelii iohannis est autem ierosolymis probatica piscina AU124 incipit*

*Allusion: breuiter dico: aqua illa iudaicus populus erat; quinque porticus lex. quinque enim libros scripsit moyses. AU124.3.3/687*

*Allusion: quinque porticus in quibus iacebant infirmi legem significant AU125.2/689*

**<5:3> in his iacebat multitudo magna languentium caecorum claudorum aridorum expectantium aquae motum**

*ingressus est locum ubi iacebat magna multitudo languentium caecorum claudorum aridorum AUJo 17.1.12 [CT]*

*Allusion: quid ergo ibi tunc sanabat aegrotum? motus aquae AUPs 70.s1.19.55*

*propterea fratres quinque illae porticus salomonis numquid curabant aegrotos ubi erat piscina in medio earum? et iacebant inquit aegroti in quinque porticibus in euangelio lectum habemus. quinque illae porticus lex est in quinque libris moysi. ad hoc producebantur aegroti de domibus suis ut iacerent in porticibus AUPs 83.10.66*

**[<5:4> angelus autem domini secundum tempus descendebat in piscinam et mouebat aquam qui ergo primus descendisset post motum aquae sanus fiebat a quocumque languore tenebatur]**

*Allusion: propter unus sanabatur in illa piscina et quisquis alius descendebat non sanabatur AUJo 12.9.10*

*Allusion: quid ergo fiebat ut in aqua illa turbata sanarentur qui in porticibus sanari non poterant? subito enim uidebatur aqua turbata et a quo turbabatur non uidebatur. credas hoc angelica uirtute fieri solere AUJo 17.3.1*

*Allusion: unde et quinque illis porticibus languidi prodebantur non sanabantur. ille autem ibi curauit languidem AUJo 24.6.5*

*Allusion: piscina illa mota descendebat aegrotus et sanabatur unus quia unitas; quisquis alius ad ipsum motum descenderet non sanabatur. quomodo commendabatur unitas corporis clamantis a finibus terrae? alius non sanabatur nisi rursus mota fuisset piscina. significabat ergo piscinae motus perturbationem populi iudaeorum quando uenit dominus iesus christus. angeli enim aduentu intellegebatur moueri aqua in piscina AUPs 70.s1.19.56*

*Allusion: sed benedictione dei turbabatur aqua tamquam angelo descendente; uisa aqua turbata qui poterat unus descendebat et sanabatur AUPs 83.10.70*

*Allusion: piscina curabat descendente uno et hoc piscina turbata: turbatio piscina in passione domini AUPs 102.15.11*

*Allusion: in tota illa perturbatione aquae unus sanabatur quia in passione domini unitas sanabatur. qui praeter unitatem fuerit etsi iacebit in porticibus sanari non poterit AUPs 102.15.16*

*Allusion: aquae perturbatio in illo populo est domini passio. quid descendebat sanabatur non nisi unus, quia ipsa est unitas AU124.3.3/687*

*Allusion: sed quis curabat aegrotos? qui descendebat in piscinam. quando autem descendebat aeger in piscinam? cum angelus signum dabat de aquae motu. sic enim erat sanctificata illa piscina ut angelus ueniret et moueret aquam. homines aquam uidebant sed ex motu aquae turbatae intelligebant praesentiam angeli. si quis tunc descendisset curabatur. AU125.3/690*

**<5:5> erat autem quidam homo ibi triginta et octo annos habens in infirmitate sua**

*Adaptation: et triginta octo annorum aegritudinem mox ut dominus dignatus est iubere sanauit (ms v et octo, mss Wm1 Xm1 Ym1 sanabit) AUCre 2.9.11/370.7*

*Adaptation: fecisse ibi miraculum illud de homine qui triginta octo annos habebat in infirmitate AUEv 2.45.94/201.1*

*triginta octo annos habebat in infirmitate AUJo 17.4.4 [CT]*

*Adaptation: quando curatus est ille qui triginta et octo annos habebat in infirmitate [Jn 5:8] AUJo 21.6.1*

*ille qui inuentus est triginta octo annos habens in infirmitate AUPs 132.6.39*

*quid sibi ergo uult quod triginta et octo annos infirmus erat? AU125.7/694*

**<5:6> hunc cum uidisset iesus iacentem et cognouisset quia multum iam tempus habet dicit ei uis sanus fieri**

*uis sanus fieri AUJo 17.7.8 [CT]*

**<5:7> respondit ei languidus domine hominem non habeo ut cum turbata fuerit aqua mittat me in piscinam dum uenio enim ego alius ante me descendit**

*Adaptation: [Jn 5:5] nec habebat hominem a quo in piscinam deponeretur AUEv 2.45.94/201.1*

*Adaptation: respondit ille hominem se non habere a quo in piscinam mittatur AUJo 17.7.8*

*Allusion: in hanc passionem credit languidus tamquam in aquam turbatam descendens et sanatur AUPs 83.10.78*



[Jn 5:5] hoc respondisset domino cum **mota** fuerit aqua **non habeo qui deponat** me alius ante me descendit. *descenderat unus iam alius non descendebat* AUPs 132.6.40

[Jn 5:4] consideremus uerba ipsius hominem *inquit* non habeo ut cum **mota** fuerit aqua **deponat** me in piscinam. **cum enim** uenio **descendit alius** AUs 125.3/690

**<5:8> dicit ei iesus surge tolle grabattum tuum et ambula**

*cf. Mark 2:11*

surge tolle grabatum tuum et ambula AUJo 17.7.12 [CT]

tolle grabatum tuum et **uade in domum tuam** AUJo 20.2.4

tolle grabatum tuum et **uade in domum tuam** AUJo 20.2.51

*Adaptation: [Jn 5:5] et iussit eum saluum tollere grabatum suum et ire in domum suam* AUJo 21.6.3

*Adaptation: [Matt 5:17] sanauit aegrotum et dixit illi ut ferret grabatum suum et iret in domum suam. hoc et paralytico quem sanauit dixit (i.e. Mark 2:11) AUs 125.10*

[Jn 5:18] hoc enim dicens redargebat iudaeos qui ei calumniabantur quod die sabbati dixerit homini surge tolle grabatum tuum et ambula AUs 125A.1

*Adaptation: quando ergo dominus iesus languidum illum quem sanum fecit grabatum suum tollere iubebat* AUs 125A.2

*Allusion: non potes dicere languido surge et ambula* AUs 125A.3

**<5:9> et statim sanus factus est homo et sustulit grabattum suum et ambulabat erat autem sabbatum in illo die**

*Allusion: christus uoce suscitauit aegrotantem* AUPs 90.s1.1.32

**<5:10> dicebant iudaei illi qui sanatus fuerat sabbatum est non licet tibi tollere grabattum tuum**

non licet tibi **facere quod facis** tollere grabatum tuum AUJo 17.10.9 [CT]

*Adaptation: hinc ergo cum essent commoti iudaei quia hoc sabbato dominus faceret* AUJo 21.6.6

**<5:11> respondit eis qui me fecit sanum ille mihi dixit tolle grabattum tuum et ambula**

qui me fecit sanum **ipse** mihi dixit tolle grabatum tuum et ambula AUJo 17.10.11 [CT]

**<5:12> interrogauerunt ergo eum quis est ille homo qui dixit tibi tolle grabattum tuum et ambula**

quis est ille homo qui tibi dixit tolle grabatum tuum et ambula AUJo 17.10.14 [CT]

**<5:13> is autem qui sanus fuerat effectus nesciebat quis esset iesus enim declinauit turba constituta in loco**

**sed** qui sanus **erat factus** nesciebat quis esset iesus **autem** declinauit **ab eo in turba** AUJo 17.11.1 [CT]

**<5:14> postea inuenit eum iesus in templo et dixit illi ecce sanus factus es iam noli peccare ne deterius tibi aliquid contingat**

*sed meminisse dominicae uocis* ecce sanus factus es iam noli peccare ne **quid tibi** deterius contingat AUcf 4.3.8 **uidit eum** postea **iesus** in templo AUJo 17.11.21 ecce **iam** sanus factus es **noli** peccare ne **quid tibi deterius** contingat AUJo 17.11.26 [CT]

*nonne recte audit* ecce sanus factus es iam noli peccare AUJul 6.18.56

*tunc uere dici potest etiam spiritaliter* ecce sanus factus est iam noli peccare *quod dominus de corporali sanitate ideo dixit* AUop 20.36/82.4

*miror quomodo dici existiment* ecce sanus factus est AUop 20.36/82.9

*quid dixerit dominus in euangelio homini quem curauit* ecce sanus factus es iam noli peccare ne **quid tibi** deterius contingat AUs 229E.3

*quid loquitur saluator?* ecce **iam** sanus factus es **noli** peccare ne **quid tibi** deterius contingat AUs 335I.2

*omnia haec quae uelut catenatim conexui habent uoces suas in scripturis sanctis. lex dicit [Ex 20:17] fides dicit [Ps 40:5] gratia dicit* ecce sanus factus es iam noli peccare ne **quid tibi deterius** contingat *sanitas dicit [Ps 29.3] liberum arbitrium dicit [Ps 53:6] dilectio iustitiae dicit [Ps 118:85] AUsp 30.52/209.3 (ms Om2 s.l. iam, ms b deterius tibi)*

[CY] *legem dedit sano et praecepit* **ne ultra** iam **peccaret ne quid peccanti grauius eueniret** AUPel 4.8.21/543.16 (citing CYop 1) (mss O V **peccati**)

[CY] *Reminiscence: haec inquit sanctificatio ut in nobis permaneat oramus et quia dominus et iudex noster sanato a se et uiuificato comminatur non delinquere* ne quid ei deterius **fiat** AUpers 2.4/997 (citing CYor)

**<5:15> abiit ille homo et nuntiauit iudaeis quia iesus esset qui fecit eum sanum**

abiit **et** nuntiauit iudaeis quia iesus esset qui **eum sanum fecerat** AUJo 17.12.3 [CT]

**<5:16> propterea persequebantur iudaei iesum quia haec faciebat in sabbato**

**persequebantur** iudaei **dominum** iesum quia haec faciebat in sabbato AUJo 17.13.1 [CT]

**<5:17> iesus autem respondit eis pater meus usque modo operatur et ego operor**

*quoniam dominus in euangelio dicit pater meus usque modo operatur* AUAd 2/117.1 (mss T C S V b usque **nunc**, ms C **operiatur**)

*conformatio uero in illo eius est opere quo usque **nunc** operatur* AUci 22.24.30

*ipsa namque operatione qua usque **nunc** operatur* AUci 22.24.58

*an creator omnipotens qui utique usque **nunc** operatur* AUep 190.1.1/138.15

*cum dominus dicat pater meus usque **nunc** operatur* AUep 205.3.17/337.19 (ms Pa *cum dictum sit in euangelio pater...operatur et ego operor*)

*quippe paulo superius dixerat eis de sabbato calumniantibus pater meus usque modo operatur et ego operor* AUEv 4.10.13/409.9

*ei aequalis uellet intellegi dicendo pater meus usque modo operatur et ego operor* AUEv 4.10.13/409.11

*quod in euangelio dicit ipse per quem facta sunt omnia pater meus usque modo operatur et ego operor* AUGn li 4.11/107.14 (mss P R b d usque **nunc**)

*ut et illud uerum diceretur pater meus usque **nunc** operatur* AUGn li 4.11/108.8 (mss b d uere)

*proinde et quod dominus ait pater meus usque modo operatur* AUGn li 4.12/108.23 (mss E2 P R b d **nunc**)

*aliter enim posset intellegi si diceret et **nunc** operatur ubi non esset necesse ut operis continuationem acciperemus aliter autem cogit intellegi cum ait usque **nunc*** AUGn li 4.12/108.26 (mss S R1 possit, ms E1 enim cogit, ms S dum ait)

*quod [Gen 2:2] et illud quod usque **nunc** operatur* AUGn li 4.12/110.7

*profertur illa sententia domini pater meus usque modo operatur* AUGn li 5.20/163.25 (mss E2 P R S b d **nunc**)

*Allusion: deum in die septimo ob omnibus operibus suis requieuisse quod geneseos liber dicit et usque **nunc** eum operari quod dominus dicit* AUGn li 7.28/227.13

*addunt etiam domini testimonium ubi ait pater meus usque **nunc** operatur [in Gen 2:1-3]* AUGn Ma 1.33.8 (ms F testimonium domini)

*dominus dicit pater meus usque **nunc** operatur [in Gen 2:1-3]* AUGn Ma 1.33.11 (mss G N R M usque **modo**)

*pater meus usque modo operatur et ego operor* AUJo 17.13.11 [CT]

*pater meus usque modo operatur et ego operor* AUJo 20.2.7

*pater meus usque modo operatur et ego operor* AUJo 20.2.46

*dominus christus dicat pater meus usque **nunc** operatur* AUPs 92.1.24

*[Jn 14:10]...cur ergo alio loco dicit pater meus usque modo operatur et ego operor* AU 71.15.25/459

*et maxime ad ipsa uerba domini pater meus usque **nunc** operatur et ego operor* AU 125.4/691

*recte dixit dominus pater meus usque **nunc** operatur* AU 125.4/692

*optime dictum sit a domino iesu christo pater meus usque modo operatur...et dixit quomodo operatur et ego operor* AU 125.6/693

*audiunt pater meus usque modo operatur turbantur. et ego operor fecit se aequalem deo turbantur.* AU 125.6/693

*cum dicat filius eius per quem facta sunt omnia pater meus usque modo operatur et ego operor* AU 125A.1

[FAU] pater **enim** inquit meus **semper** operatur et [Jn 9:4] AUFau 16.6/444.25

[HI] secundum illud quod in euangelio scriptum est pater meus usque modo operatur et ego operor AUep 165.1.1/542.11 (ms P **eo operor**)

**<5:18> propterea ergo magis quaerebant eum iudaei interficere quia non solum soluebat sabbatum sed et patrem suum dicebat deum aequalem se faciens deo respondit itaque iesus et dixit eis**

*Reminiscence: cum christo in quantum deus est aequalis deo* AUep 140.16.43/191.14

*Allusion: ne uidelicet substantiae diuinae qua aequalis est patri* AUep 219.1/429.5

*Allusion: cum filium patri audiamus aequalem* AUep 242.2/564.18

*quam diu dicuntur ibi dictum est quaerebant eum iudaei interficere quia non solum soluebat sabbatum sed et patrem suum dicebat deum aequalem se faciens deo* AUEv 4.10.13/409.3 (ms B dicebat **eum**, mss C1 P se faciens **deum**)

**hinc** ergo magis quaerebant eum iudaei interficere quia non solum soluebat sabbatum sed et patrem suum dicebat deum aequalem se faciens deo AUJo 17.16.1 [CT]

*propterea uolebant iesum iudaei interficere quia non solum soluebat sabbatum sed **etiam** patrem suum dicebat deum aequalem se faciens deo* AUJo 18.1.11 [CT]

*iudaei uolebant eum interficere quia non solum soluebat sabbatum sed et patrem suum dicebat deum aequalem se faciens deo* AUJo 18.2.24

*quia non solum soluebat sabbatum sed **etiam** patrem suum dicebat deum aequalem se faciens deo* AUJo 20.4.2

*ecce ad ipsam perturbationem pertinet quod modo legebatur. uolebant illum iudaei **occidere non solum** quia **ista faciebat sabbatis** sed quia filium dei se dicebat aequalem se faciens deo* AU 125.3/691

[HI] et in euangelio legimus [Lk 16:16] et in alio loco propterea ergo magis quaerebant eum iudaei interficere quia non solum soluebat sabbatum sed et patrem suum dicebat deum aequalem se faciens deo et iterum [Jn 1:16-7]

AUep 75.4.14/306.2 (mss H K K1 O V S Q R C E **om.ergo**, ms H **solbebat**, mss Q E **om. sed-deum**, mss H K K1 O V S R C **et quod patrem**, mss H K K1 O V S C **esse dicebat**, ms P1 **om.deum**, ms B\* et sequelem)

**<5:19> amen amen dico uobis non potest filius a se facere quicquam nisi quod uiderit patrem facientem quaecumque enim ille fecerit haec et filius similiter facit**  
*quod alibi ait* non potest filius a se facere quicquam nisi quod uiderit patrem facientem AUAr 14.7 (ms J **quicquid**)  
*si enim* non potest filius a se facere quicquam nisi quod uiderit patrem facientem AUAr 14.10 (ms τ **facere a se**, ms J **quicquid**)  
*quomodo igitur* non potest filius a se facere quicquam nisi quod uiderit patrem facientem AUAr 14.15 (ms κ **filio non potest**)  
*non enim ait* non potest filius a se facere quicquam nisi quod *audierit patrem iubentem sed* quod uiderit patrem facientem AUAr 14.18  
quaecumque enim **pater facit** haec **eadem** filius similiter facit. *euangelica est et ista sententia filii ipsius consequenter ore prolata* AUAr 15.4 (ms V **similiter filius**) (**haec eadem passim**)  
*non enim ait quaecumque pater iubet haec filius facit sed ait* quaecumque **pater facit** haec et filius **facit** similiter AUAr 22.23 (mss C O N **om. et**, mss τ Y **similiter facit**)  
*sicut nec* filius **potest** a se facere quicquam AUAr 23.27  
*non enim ait nisi quod uiderit patrem innuentem sed* quod uiderit patrem facientem AUAr 23.30  
*sed* quaecumque **pater facit** haec **eadem** filius **facit** similiter AUAr 28.26 (mss C O J St **pater fecit**, ms J **haec et idem**, ms U **haec et eadem**, ms τ **similiter facit**)  
*ibi enim at paulo ante ait iam illis ob hoc irascentibus* quaecumque enim ille fecerit haec et filius similiter facit AUEv 4.10.13/409.15  
[Jn 14:9, Jn 17:22] et quaecumque **pater facit** haec **eadem** et filius **facit similiter** AUEv 1.4.7/7.10 (ms Ns **om.haec**)  
respondit itaque iesus et dixit eis amen amen dico uobis non potest filius a se facere quicquam nisi quod uiderit patrem facientem AUJo 18.3.1 quaecumque enim ille fecerit haec et filius similiter facit AUJo 18.8.6 [CT]  
**eadem** inquit **et** similiter AUJo 18.8.14  
quaecumque **pater** fecerit haec et filius **facit et similiter** AUJo 18.8.25  
non potest filius a se facere quicquam nisi quod uiderit patrem facientem quaecumque enim ille fecerit haec et filius similiter facit AUJo 19.2.1 [CT]  
amen amen dico uobis non potest filius a se facere quicquam nisi quod uiderit patrem facientem quaecumque enim **pater** fecerit haec **eadem** et filius **facit similiter** AUJo 20.1.11 [CT]  
**filius** non potest a se facere quicquam AUJo 20.4.36  
non potest filius a se **quidquam facere** AUJo 20.8.2  
quaecumque enim **pater facit** haec **eadem** et filius **facit similiter** AUJo 20.9.11  
quaecumque **pater facit** haec **eadem** et filius **facit similiter** AUJo 20.9.15  
non potest filius a se facere quicquam nisi quod uiderit patrem facientem AUJo 21.2.1 quaecumque **facit pater** haec **eadem** et filius **facit similiter** AUJo 21.5.27 [CT]  
amen amen dico uobis non potest **a se filius** facere quicquam nisi quod uiderit patrem facientem quaecumque enim ille fecerit haec et filius similiter facit AUJo 23.7.1 [CT]  
quaecumque **pater facit** haec et filius similiter facit AUJo 71.2.36  
quaecumque enim **pater facit** haec et filius similiter facit AUJo 110.3.12  
*cum uero dicat* quaecumque **pater facit** haec et filius similiter facit AUMax 2.12.1/766  
*si patris omnipotentia filii non est quomodo* quaecumque **pater facit** haec et filius similiter facit AUMax 2.12.1/767  
*si dixeris patrem solum uiuificare omnia quomodo ergo* quaecumque **pater facit** haec et filius similiter facit AUMax 2.12.2/767  
*omnipotens itaque omnipotentem genuit filium quoniam* quaecumque **pater facit** haec et filius similiter facit AUMax 2.12.3/769  
*cum dicat idem filius* quaecumque **pater facit** haec et filius similiter facit AUMax 2.14.8/775  
[Jn 17:24]...quaecumque enim **pater facit** haec et filius similiter facit. *uerba sunt ipsius*. AUMax 2.20.4/790  
*quod dictum est [1 Cor 8:6]. numquid non et ex filio sunt omnia quandoquidem ipse dicit* quaecumque **pater facit** haec et filius similiter facit AUMax 2.23.4/799  
*Adaptation: [Jn 5:21] nec alios pater alios filius aut aliter pater aliter filius; quia et eadem facit et similiter* AUPs 108.23.21  
[Jn 5:17] et paulo post quaecumque enim ille fecerit haec et filius similiter facit...[Jn 15:24] AUs 71.15.25/459  
*de uerbis euangelii iohannis* non potest filius a se facere quicquam nisi quod uiderit patrem facientem AUs 126 incipit/698  
*dicebat quod audistis* non potest filius a se facere quicquam nisi quod uiderit patrem facientem AUs 126.5.7/701  
non potest filius a se facere quicquam nisi quod uiderit patrem facientem. *hic arianorum error exurgit*. AUs 126.6.8/701  
*ipse dicit* non potest filius a se facere quicquam nisi quod uiderit patrem facientem. *attende et quod sequitur*: quaecumque enim **facit pater eadem** et filius **facit**. *non dixit talia*. AUs 126.6.8/701  
*non ergo ait* quaecumque pater facit *talia filius facit, tamquam alia facit pater et alia filius* AUs 126.7.9/702

*cum superius diceret non facit a se filius quidquam nisi quod uiderit patrem facientem. intende: neque ibi ait nisi quid audierit patrem iubentem sed uiderit inquit patrem facientem* AUs 126.7.9/702  
*neque enim ait non potest a se facere filius quidquam nisi quod audierit patrem iubentem sed ait non potest a se facere filius quidquam nisi quod uiderit patrem facientem* AUs 126.7.9/702  
*ipsum audiuius dicentem non potest filius a se facere quidquam nisi quod uiderit patrem facientem* AUs 126.8.10/703  
*non potest filius a se facere quidquam nisi quod uiderit patrem facientem. consequens erat quod diceret quaecumque enim pater facit talia facit filius. non hoc ait sed quaecumque pater facit haec eadem et filius facit.* AUs 126.8.10/703  
*quid est quare dicere uoluisti non potest filius a se facere quidquam. uideo enim aequalitatem quamdam tibi cum patre in eo quod audio quaecumque pater facit haec eadem filius facit* AUs 126.9.12/704  
*hoc enim quod dixi non potest filius facere quidquam nisi quod uiderit patrem facientem* AUs 126.10.13/704  
*illud quod dictum est non potest filius a se facere quidquam nisi quod uiderit patrem facientem* AUs 126.11.15/705  
*quid dixit? quaecumque pater facit haec facit et filius. sufficeret omnia quae pater facit haec facit et filius. non sufficit: addo similiter. quare addo similiter?* AUs 135.2.3/747  
*quid dicit ut deus? [Jn 5:26] quaecumque pater facit haec eadem et filius facit similiter [Jn 10:30] AUs 261.7.7/1206*  
*cum ipse dicat [ego et pater unum sumus] ipse etiam dicat quaecumque pater facit haec eadem et filius similiter facit* AUs 340A.5  
*qui ait filius qui est ueritas? quaecumque pater facit haec et filius similiter facit* AUs sy 2.118 (ms D **facit similiter**)  
*dixit filius quaecumque pater facit haec et filius facit similiter* AUs sy 2.121 (ms L **facit filius similiter**)  
*sed quia uerum dixit filius credite quaecumque pater facit haec et filius facit similiter* AUs sy 2.122  
*quomodo ergo uerum est quod ipse filius dicit quaecumque enim pater facit haec eadem et filius facit similiter* AUtri 1.6.66 (mss Ba C P T om.**eadem**, mss N O J similiter facit)  
*ut est illud [Jn 5:26] et illud neque enim potest filius a se facere quidquam nisi quod uiderit patrem facientem* AUtri 2.1.36 (mss N O S facere filius a se)  
*ut possit ea facere qui dixit non posse filium a se facere quidquam nisi quod uiderit patrem facientem* AUtri 2.1.42 (no ms var in cit)  
*et ideo quod uiderit patrem quia de patre est* AUtri 2.1.51  
*sed quaecumque inquit pater facit haec eadem et filius facit similiter. et haec eadem dixit et similiter* AUtri 2.1.55 (ms P facit et filius, ms C eadem om.**et**, ms μ facit filius, ms J similiter facit, ms J eadem et dixit)  
*ideo non potest filius a se facere quidquam nisi quod uiderit patrem facientem. ex hac ergo regula qua ita loquuntur scripturae* AUtri 2.1.58  
*non ex eo fit ut minor sit filius qui dixit non potest filius a se facere quidquam nisi quod uiderit patrem facientem* AUtri 2.3.22  
*immutabiliter sic se habet ut se habet de quo est. non enim potest filius a se facere quidquam nisi quod uiderit patrem facientem* AUtri 15.14.15  
*uerbum autem illud quod est deus et potentius est nobis hoc non potest. non enim potest facere quidquam nisi quod uiderit patrem facientem* AUtri 15.15.18 (ms Ka enim potes, ms Ra uiderat)

**<5:20> pater enim diligit filium et omnia demonstrat ei quae ipse facit et maiora his demonstrabit ei opera ut uos miremini**

*cf. Jn 3:35*

*pater enim diligit filium et omnia demonstrat ei quae ipse facit* AUJo 18.9.1 et maiora his demonstrabit ei opera ut uos miremini AUJo 19.4.1 [CT]

*pater enim diligit filium et omnia demonstrat ei quae ipse facit* AUJo 21.2.12 et maiora his demonstrabit ei opera ut uos miremini AUJo 21.5.1 [CT]

*pater enim diligit filium et omnia demonstrat ei quae ipse facit* AUJo 23.7.13 et maiora his demonstrabit ei opera ut uos miremini AUJo 23.12.5 [CT]

**<5:21> sicut enim pater suscitatur mortuos et uiuificat sic et filius quos uult uiuificat**

*secundum quid sicut pater suscitatur mortuos et uiuificat sic et filius quos uult uiuificat* AUAr 8.51 (ms N\* **sicut et**, ms N1 **sic et**, ms var\* **quod uult**)

*[Jn 5:17]...[Jn 14:10] et sicut pater suscitatur mortuos et uiuificat sic et filius quos uult uiuificat* AUGn li 5.20/164.1

*sicut enim pater suscitatur mortuos et uiuificat sic et filius quos uult uiuificat* AUJo 19.5.2 [CT]

*sicut suscitatur pater mortuos et uiuificat sic et filius quos uult uiuificat* AUJo 19.5.5

*sicut pater suscitatur mortuos et uiuificat sic et filius quos uult uiuificat* AUJo 19.5.28

*sicut enim pater suscitatur mortuos et uiuificat sic et filius quos uult uiuificat* AUJo 21.6.17 [CT]

*sicut pater suscitatur mortuos et uiuificat sic et filius quos uult uiuificat* AUJo 21.10.3

*sicut pater suscitatur mortuos et uiuificat sic et filius quos uult uiuificat* AUJo 21.10.14

*sicut enim pater suscitatur mortuos et uiuificat sic et filius quos uult uiuificat* AUJo 23.13.2 [CT]

*sicut pater suscitatur mortuos et uiuificat sic et filius quos uult uiuificat* AUJo 71.2.32

*sicut pater suscitatur mortuos et uiuificat sic et filius quos uult uiuificat* AUJo 110.3.10

tamen ab ea liberat qui quos uult uiuificat AUJl im 1.110.10  
 [Jn 5:19]...deinde ubi ait sicut **pater** suscitatur mortuos et uiuificat sic et filius quos uult uiuificat AUMax 2.12.2/767  
 [Rom 8:32...Gal 2:20]. quomodo autem non facit uoluntatem suam qui dixit sicut **pater** suscitatur mortuos et uiuificat  
 sic et filius quos uult uiuificat...[Matt 8:2-3...Jn 17:24] AUMax 2.20.4/790  
 proinde quia fons fontem genuit sicut **pater** suscitatur mortuos et uiuificat sic et filius quos uult uiuificat. hoc ipse  
 filius dixit non ego. AUMax 2.23.7/801  
 eadem etiam hoc potestate fecisset quia et filius quos uult uiuificat AUna 7.7/237.16 (ms V **om.et**, ms Rm1 **quo**)  
 sicut enim pater **excitat** mortuos et uiuificat sic et filius quos uult uiuificat AUPar 2.14.32/84.8 (follows 1 Cor 3:6-  
 7) (mss M α **suscitat**)  
 ipse adiutor est hominibus. sicut enim pater suscitatur mortuos et uiuificat sic et filius quos uult uiuificat AUPs  
 108.23.19  
 dicit ipse dominus sicut enim pater suscitatur mortuos et uiuificat sic et filius quos uult uiuificat AUs 98.1.1/591  
 audi et potestatem voluntatis. sicut **pater** inquit suscitatur mortuos et uiuificat sic et filius quos uult uiuificat. quos  
 uult. ne dicas illos uiuificat filius quos iubet pater ut uiuificet. quos uult uiuificat. AUs 135.4.5/748  
 quod ipse dicit sicut **pater** suscitatur mortuos et uiuificat sic et filius quos uult uiuificat AUs 217.3 (webtext; not in  
 Migne)  
 dicit autem idem filius sicut **pater** suscitatur mortuos et uiuificat sic et filius quos uult uiuificat AUtri 1.6.69 (ms Ta  
 uificat, ms C quod uult)

# <5:22> neque enim pater iudicat quemquam sed iudicium omne dedit filio

ideo dictum est de patre quod non iudicabit quemquam sed **omne** iudicium dedit filio AUAr 11.32 (ms K  
**iudicauit**, mss K U **filio dedit**)

sed pater **non** iudicat quemquam **omne** quippe iudicium dedit filio AUAr 14.12 (ms St **quicquam** (add.  
 quemquam 2m) mss K U **filio dedit**)

iohannes uero euangelista apertissime narrat...cum enim dixisset neque enim pater iudicat quemquam sed  
 iudicium omne dedit filio AUci 20.5.110

nam ipse per suae praesentiae manifestationem **non** iudicat quemquam sed **omne** iudicium dedit filio AUci  
 20.30.113

Adaptation: filio enim omne iudicium pater dedit [Job 9:33] AUJb 9/531.1

neque enim pater iudicat quemquam sed iudicium omne dedit filio AUJo 19.5.14 [CT]

**omne iudicium** dedit filio AUJo 19.5.23

pater **non** iudicat quemquam sed **omne iudicium** dedit filio AUJo 19.5.26

neque enim pater iudicat quemquam sed **omne iudicium** dedit filio AUJo 19.5.31

**omne iudicium** dedit filio AUJo 19.6.3

pater **non** iudicat quemquam sed **omne iudicium** dedit filio AUJo 19.16.32

pater **non** iudicat quemquam sed **omne iudicium** dedit filio AUJo 19.16.37

**omne iudicium** dedit filio AUJo 19.19.4

neque enim pater iudicat quemquam sed **omne iudicium** dedit filio AUJo 21.12.1 [CT]

**non** enim pater iudicat quemquam sed **omne iudicium** dedit filio AUJo 21.12.18

pater **non** iudicat quemquam sed **omne iudicium** dedit filio AUJo 21.12.22

pater **non** iudicat quemquam sed **omne iudicium** dedit filio AUJo 21.12.27

pater **non** iudicat quemquam sed **omne iudicium** dedit filio AUJo 21.12.34

pater **non** iudicat quemquam sed **omne iudicium** dedit filio AUJo 21.13.2

**non pater** iudicat quemquam sed **omne iudicium** dedit filio AUJo 21.13.8

pater **non** iudicat quemquam sed **omne iudicium** dedit filio AUJo 21.13.36

pater **non** iudicat quemquam sed **omne iudicium** dedit filio AUJo 22.11.12

pater **non** iudicat quemquam sed **omne iudicium** dedit filio AUJo 22.14.3

neque enim pater iudicat quemquam sed **omne iudicium** dedit filio AUJo 23.13.9 [CT]

**non** enim pater iudicat quemquam sed **omne iudicium** dedit filio AUJo 23.13.15

**non** iudicat **pater** quemquam sed **omne iudicium** dedit filio AUJo 23.13.19

pater **non** iudicat quemquam sed **omne iudicium** dedit filio AUJo 36.12.3

pater **non** iudicat quemquam sed **omne iudicium** dedit filio AUJo 43.4.3

pater **non** iudicat quemquam sed **omne iudicium** dedit filio AUJo 43.8.6

pater **non** iudicat quemquam sed **omne iudicium** dedit filio AUJo 54.5.5

pater **non** iudicat quemquam sed **omne iudicium** dedit filio AUJo 54.6.7

pater **non** iudicat quemquam sed **omne iudicium** dedit filio AUJo 99.1.12

scimus quod nos commemorandos putasti quia **pater non** iudicat quemquam sed **omne iudicium** dedit filio.

uellem tamen diceret nobis quomodo **pater non** iudicat quemquam...[Jn 8:50] AUMax 2.18.6/787

[Jn 8:50] ut scias ideo dictum **pater non** iudicat quemquam sed **omne iudicium** dedit filio AUMax 2.18.6/787

quis dominus nisi christus? pater **enim non** iudicat quemquam sed **omne iudicium** dedit filio AUPs 7.8.11

[in Ps 18:10] iudicia eius qui **non** iudicat quemquam sed **omne iudicium** dedit filio AUPs 18.s1.11.2

sicut ipse dixit in euangelio pater **non** iudicat quemquam sed **omne iudicium** dedit filio AUPs 48.s1.5.59

dominus ipse in euangelio dicit pater **non** iudicat quemquam sed **omne iudicium** dedit filio AUPs 71.2.2

*quomodo da potestatem puero tuo [Ps 85:16]? pater non iudicat quemquam sed omne iudicium dedit filio* AUPs 85.21.4

*[Eph 3:15] pater ergo non iudicat quemquam sed omne iudicium dedit filio et [1Cor 2:15] AUrel 31.31*

*deus enim pater non iudicat quemquam sed omne iudicium dedit filio* AUs 290.6.7/1315

*[Matt 5:25-26] iudicem intellego pater enim non iudicat quemquam sed omne iudicium dedit filio [in Matt 5:26]*

AUs dni 1.11.29.644 (mss F β, om.Hr am **pater autem**, ms C **omnem**, ms P **iudicium omne**)

*tradetur iudici ab illo quia pater non iudicat quemquam sed omne iudicium dedit filio [in Matt 5:26] AUs dni*

1.11.32.733

*secundum hoc enim dictum est pater non iudicat quemquam sed omne iudicium dedit filio* AUtri 1.13.52 (ms Va omne iudicio)

*secundum istam locutionem dictum sit omne iudicium dedit filio* AUtri 1.13.68

*non utique diceretur pater non iudicat quemquam* AUtri 1.13.71

*non quia non iudicabat qui dedit omne iudicium filio cum de illo dicat filius [Jn 8:50] AUtri 1.13.75 (mss Eug V omne iudicium dedit)*

*[Jn 8:50] sed ita dictum est pater non iudicat quemquam sed omne iudicium dedit filio* AUtri 1.13.76 (mss Eug Va om.**non**)

*ostendamus ipsam fuisse causam ut diceret pater non iudicat quemquam sed omne iudicium dedit filio* AUtri 1.13.84 (ms F filio dedit)

*sicuti est quod ait [Jn 14:28] et est pater non iudicat quemquam sed omne iudicium dedit filio* AUtri 2.1.30

*[AUG quoting SA] sicut ipse ait pater iudicat neminem sed omne iudicium filio dedit* AUAr 11.11 (ms Y **neminem iudicat**, mss P A F H M St Y **dedit filio**)

*[MAX] nos enim scimus et credimus quod pater iudicat neminem sed omne iudicium dedit filio* AUMax co 18/735

**<5:23> ut omnes honorificent filium sicut honorificant patrem qui non honorificat filium non honorificat patrem qui misit illum**

*ut omnes honorificent filium sicut honorificant patrem quod ipse ait* AUAr 29.6 (ms O **omnes honorificant**, ms St **honorificat patrem**)

*[Jn 5:22] ut omnes honorificent filium sicut honorificant patrem qui non honorificat filium non honorificat patrem qui misit illum* AUci 20.5.111

*ut omnes honorificent filium sicut honorificant patrem* AUJo 19.5.16 *qui non honorificat filium non honorificat patrem qui misit illum* AUJo 19.6.1 [CT]

*ut omnes honorificent filium sicut honorificant patrem qui non honorificat filium non honorificat patrem* AUJo 21.16.3 [CT]

*ut omnes honorificent filium sicut honorificant patrem qui non honorificat filium non honorificat patrem qui misit illum* AUJo 23.13.21 [CT]

*qui non honorificat filium nec honorificat patrem qui misit illum* AUJo 23.13.36

*Adaptation: quia nemo honorat patrem nisi qui honorat et filium* AUPs 68.s1.13.29

*[MAX] nam qui non honorificat filium non honorificat patrem qui misit illum. [Jn 1:14] AUMax co 8/726*

*[MAX] [Jn 5:22] ut omnes honorificent filium sicut honorificant et patrem* AUMax co 18/735

*[MAX] [Jn 1:3] sicut et qui non honorificat filium non honorificat patrem qui eum misit [Jn 17:22] AUMax co 21/736*

**<5:24> amen amen dico uobis quia qui uerbum meum audit et credit ei qui misit me habet uitam aeternam et in iudicium non uenit sed transit a morte in uitam**

*[Jn 5:23] protinus addidit amen amen dico uobis quia qui uerbum meum audit et credit ei qui misit me habet uitam aeternam et in iudicium non uenit sed transiit a morte in uitam* AUci 20.5.114 (mss G1 v Ev **ueniet**, mss G r D e p **transit**, mss A Ev **transiet**, ms H **transeat**, ms p **de morte**)

*quod paulo ante sicut nunc pro damnatione posuit dicens qui uerbum meum audit et credit ei qui misit me habet uitam aeternam et in iudicium non uenit sed transiit a morte in uitam* AUci 20.6.46 (ms g(corr) **audiet**, mss R2 A D e g v E **ueniet**, mss R1 g1 v **transiit**, mss R2 A H e g2 Ev **transiet**, mss G r B D p Et **transit**, mss A B1 e **de morte**, mss A b e **ad uitam**)

*quod uoluit et ipse dominus tangere cum ait qui credit in me transiit a morte ad uitam [Jn 13:1] AUep 55.1.2/171.7 (mss P B K **transit**, mss P1 P2 M edd Eug **transiet**)*

*sed transeat a diabolo ad christum hoc est a morte ad uitam [Jn 3:36] AUep 184A.1.2/733.7*

*amen amen dico uobis quia qui uerbum meum audit et credit ei qui misit me habet uitam aeternam et in iudicium non uenit sed transiit a morte in uitam* AUJo 19.7.1 [CT]

*qui uerbum meum audit et credit ei qui me misit* AUJo 19.7.5

*qui uerbum meum audit et credit ei qui misit me habet uitam aeternam et in iudicium non ueniet sed transiit a morte in uitam* AUJo 19.8.7

*habet uitam aeternam et in iudicium non uenit sed transiit a morte ad uitam* AUJo 19.9.11

*amen amen dico uobis quia qui uerbum meum audit et credit ei qui misit me habet uitam aeternam* AUJo 22.2.1 [CT]

**uerba mea** qui audit et credit ei qui **me misit** habet uitam aeternam et in iudicium non **ueniet** sed **transiit** a morte **ad** uitam AUJo 22.3.1  
qui audit **uerba mea** et credit ei qui misit me AUJo 22.3.7  
qui **audit uerba mea** et credit ei qui **me misit** habet uitam aeternam et **transitum facit** de morte in uitam **et in iudicium non ueniet** AUJo 22.4.8  
qui audit et credit **transit** a morte **ad** uitam **et in iudicium non ueniet** AUJo 22.4.17  
qui **audit uerba mea** et credit ei qui misit me habet uitam aeternam et in iudicium non **ueniet** sed **transitum facit** a morte **ad** uitam AUJo 22.5.25  
qui **audit uerba mea** et credit ei qui misit me **transiit** a morte **ad** uitam AUJo 22.6.3  
qui **audit uerba mea** et credit ei qui misit me habet uitam aeternam AUJo 22.9.16  
**et qui credit in me transiit** a morte **ad** uitam AUJo 22.12.17  
**qui credit in me transiit** a morte **ad** uitam et in iudicium non ueniet AUJo 22.13.21  
amen amen dico uobis quia qui uerbum meum audit et credit ei qui misit me habet uitam aeternam et in iudicium non **ueniet** sed **transiit** a morte **ad** uitam AUJo 23.14.8 [CT]  
qui **audit uerbum meum** et credit ei qui misit me AUJo 25.19.17  
*uidetur mihi dominus dixisse ubi ait* **qui in me credit transiit de** morte **ad** uitam **nec** in iudicium **ueniet** AUPs 9.1.42  
*unde ipse saluator* **qui credit in me inquit transitum facit** a morte **ad** uitam AUPs 114.7.15  
*attendamus itaque euangelium modo dominus loquebatur et faciamus quod ipse dixit* **qui credit in me inquit transitum facit** a morte in uitam **et** in iudicium non uenit AUs 127.4.4/708  
*Reminiscence: uenit uerum pascha immolatur christus: transitum facit* a morte **ad** uitam [Jn 13:1] AUs 155.5.5/843  
*Reminiscence: celebratur ergo pascha resurgit dominus* **facit transitum a morte ad uitam** AUs 155.5.5/843  
*audite ergo euangelium secundum iohannem. dominus loquitur* amen amen dico uobis quia qui uerbum meum audit et credit ei qui misit me habet uitam aeternam et in iudicium non uenit sed **transitum fecit** a morte in uitam AUs 362.22.25/1628  
*tamen haec eadem uerba diligenter consideremus ut omnibus audientibus manifestum sit.* amen amen dico uobis quia qui uerbum meum audit et credit ei qui misit me habet uitam aeternam et in iudicium non uenit sed **transitum fecit** a morte in uitam AUs 362.22.25/1629  
*non dixit transiturus est* a morte in uitam sed **transitum fecit** a morte in uitam AUs 362.22.25/1629  
[Jn 5:25]. *quod supra dixit* **transiit** a morte in uitam AUs 362.22.25/1629  
*superius significauit dicens* **transiit** a morte **ad** uitam AUs 362.22.25/1629  
*sicut etiam superius* **transitum inquit fecit** a morte **ad** uitam *nec dixit quam uitam* AUs 362.24.26/1630  
[Jn 5:22]...*paulo post enim dicit* **amen** dico uobis quia qui uerbum meum audit et credit ei qui **me misit** habet uitam aeternam et in iudicium non **ueniet** sed **transiet de** morte in uitam AUtri 1.13.88 (mss F J amen amen, ms Eug uerba mea, ms Eug (V) credit **in eum**, ms  $\mu$  misit me, ms K iudicio, mss A F P Eug (V)  $\mu$  **transiet**, ms T transibit, cett. codd. transit, mss N O J Eug(V) **de** morte, cett. **a** morte, ms P **ad** uitam)  
*Reminiscence: posteriora enim eius uisurus erat et nondum ille transierat utique* a morte **ad** uitam AUtri 2.17.89 (ms C ad morte)  
*Reminiscence: quid est autem aliud resurgere nisi reuiuiscere id est* **ex** morte **ad** uitam *redire?* AUtri 8.5.66  
[FO-M] [Jn 8:52] *sed transitum faciet de* morte **ad** uitam **et** in iudicium non **ueniet** AUfo 3/86.7 (ms B **fecit**, mss P S **facit**)

**<5:25> amen amen dico uobis quia uenit hora et nunc est quando mortui audient uocem filii dei et qui audierint uiuent**  
*cf. Jn 5:28*  
*deinde adiungit et dicit* amen amen dico uobis quia uenit hora et nunc est quando mortui audient uocem filii dei et qui audierint uiuent AUci 20.6.1  
*uenit enim* hora et nunc est quando mortui audient uocem filii dei et qui audierint uiuent AUci 20.6.53  
*ait* uenit hora et nunc est AUci 20.6.7  
*uenit inquit* hora et nunc est quando mortui audient uocem filii dei et qui audierint uiuent AUci 20.6.13  
*non dixit quem ad modum in prima* et qui audierint uiuent AUci 20.6.62  
*hora enim nunc est* **cum** mortui **audiunt** uocem filii dei et qui audierint uiuent AUci 20.9.115 (ms p **audiant**, mss A r H v  $\pi$  **audient**)  
[Eph 5:14] *de qualibus etiam ipse dominus dicit* **ueniet** hora et nunc est quando mortui audient uocem filii dei et qui audierint uiuent [1Pet 4:6] AUep 164.7.21/540.6 (mss a e m **uenit**)  
*uno loco in euangelio secundum iohannem ita scriptum est* amen amen dico uobis quia uenit hora et nunc est quando mortui audient uocem filii dei et qui audierint uiuent AUFau 5.4/275.13  
*dicit* uocem filii dei **audient** AUFau 5.4/275.19  
*quam multa et ipse dominus eadem locutione de se dicit quis enumerare sufficiat?* [Lk 18:8] [Matt. 11:19] *et* **ueniet** hora et nunc est **cum** mortui audient uocem filii dei et qui audierint uiuent AUFau 17.4/488.3  
amen amen dico uobis quia uenit hora et nunc est AUJo 19.9.2 quando mortui audient uocem filii dei et qui audierint uiuent AUJo 19.10.15 [CT]

amen amen dico uobis quia uenit hora et nunc est quando mortui audient uocem filii dei et qui audierint uiuent AUJo 22.7.7 [CT]  
 quando mortui audient **et** qui audierint uiuent AUJo 23.9.39  
 amen amen dico uobis quia uenit hora quando mortui audient uocem filii dei et qui audierint uiuent AUJo 23.14.13 [CT]  
*de uerbis euangelii iohannis* amen amen dico uobis quia **ueniet** hora et nunc est quando mortui audient uocem filii dei et qui audierint uiuent AUs 127 incipit/705  
 [Jn 5:24] **amen** dico uobis quia **ueniet** hora et nunc est quando mortui audient uocem filii dei et qui audierint uiuent AUs 127.4.4/708  
*ecce quid tibi dicit dominus tuus ueniet* hora *inquit* et nunc est. **ueniet** hora et ipsa hora nunc est quando *quid?*  
 quando mortui audient uocem filii dei et qui audierint uiuent AUs 127.5.7/709  
*de ipsa hora dixit dominus ueniet* hora et nunc est AUs 127.5.7/709  
*cum dixisset* amen dico uobis quia **ueniet** hora et nunc est quando mortui *id est infideles* audient uocem filii dei *id est euangelium* et qui audierint *id est qui obedierint* uiuent AUs 127.6.9/710  
*secundum id quod filius dei est ait ueniet* hora et nunc est quando mortui audient uocem filii dei *non dixit filii hominis...* et qui audierint uiuent AUs 127.6.9/710  
*et si suscitabitur anima tua nunc ueniet* hora et nunc est AUs 127.11.15/713  
 [Jn 5:24] amen amen dico uobis quia uenit hora et nunc est quando mortui audient uocem filii dei et qui audierint uiuent AUs 362.22.25/1628  
*sequitur et hoc ipsum planius explicat* amen amen dico uobis *inquit* quia uenit hora et nunc est quando mortui audient uocem filii dei et qui audierint uiuent AUs 362.22.25/1629  
*non enim ait tantum* uenit hora *sed* uenit hora et nunc est AUs 362.22.25/1629  
 [Jn 5:28] *item superius* audient *inquit* uocem filii dei et qui audierint uiuent. *quid opus erat addere* qui audierint *cum posset ita dici* audient uocem filii dei et uiuent AUs 362.23.26/1629  
 [Jn 5:24]...*deinde sequitur* amen amen dico uobis quia **ueniet** hora et nunc est **cum** mortui audient uocem filii dei et qui audierint uiuent AUtri 1.13.92 (mss A C S P **amen** x1, mss O3 I **uenit** hora)

<5:26> **sicut enim pater habet uitam in semet ipso sic dedit et filio uitam habere in semet ipso**  
*ipse namque ait* sicut **habet pater** uitam in semet ipso sic dedit **filio habere** uitam in semetipso AUAr 17.6 (mss C X Y **et filio**, mss ζ V Y **uitam habere**)  
*de qua loquitur euangelium dicens* sic dedit et filio uitam habere in semetipso AUChr 2.27/192.11 (ms M **habere uitam**)  
 [Jn 5:25] sicut enim pater habet uitam in semet ipso sic dedit et filio **habere** uitam in semetipso AUci 20.6.3 (mss r B D H e **uitam habere**)  
*sicut dictus est filius habere* uitam in semet ipso *et eadem uita ipse est* AUep 169.2.7/617.6  
 [Jn 5:25] sicut enim pater habet uitam in semet ipso sic dedit et filio uitam habere in semet ipso AUFau 5.4/275.15 (ms C **habere uitam**)  
*Reminiscence: quemadmodum dictum est quod habeat uitam in semet ipso* AUGn li 4.12/109.15  
 [Jn 1:4] *quomodo dictum est* sicut **habet pater** uitam in semet ipso sic dedit **filio habere uitam** in semet ipso AUGn li 5.14/157.22  
 sicut enim pater habet uitam in semetipso sic dedit et filio uitam habere in semetipso AUJo 19.11.3 [CT]  
 habet uitam **pater** in semetipso AUJo 19.11.5  
 sicut **habet pater** uitam in semetipso sic dedit et filio uitam habere in semetipso AUJo 19.11.42  
 dedit **filio** uitam habere in semetipso AUJo 19.13.6  
**uitam dedit filio ut haberet eam** in semetipso AUJo 19.13.12  
 dedit **ei habere uitam** in semetipso AUJo 19.13.27  
 sicut enim **habet pater** uitam in semetipso sic dedit et filio **habere uitam** in semetipso AUJo 19.14.45  
 sicut **habet pater** uitam in semetipso sic dedit et filio **habere uitam** in semetipso AUJo 19.15.3  
 sicut enim pater habet uitam in semetipso sic dedit et filio uitam habere in semetipso AUJo 22.9.2 [CT]  
 sicut enim pater habet uitam in semetipso sic dedit et filio **habere uitam** in semetipso AUJo 22.9.6  
 sicut enim pater habet uitam in semetipso sic **et filio** dedit **habere uitam** in semetipso AUJo 22.9.19  
 sicut **habet pater** uitam in semetipso sic dedit et filio **habere uitam** in semetipso AUJo 22.10.22  
 sic dedit et filio **habere uitam** AUJo 22.10.25  
 dedit **illi habere uitam** in semetipso AUJo 22.10.35  
 sicut **habet pater** uitam in semetipso sic **et** dedit **filio** uitam habere in semetipso AUJo 22.11.3  
 sicut **pater** habet uitam in semetipso sic dedit **filio habere uitam** in semetipso AUJo 23.3.16  
 sicut enim **habet pater** uitam in semetipso sic dedit **filio habere uitam** in semetipso AUJo 23.14.20 [CT]  
 sicut **habet pater** uitam in semetipso sic dedit et filio uitam habere in semetipso AUJo 25.19.21  
 sicut **habet pater** uitam in semetipso sic dedit **filio habere uitam** in semetipso AUJo 47.14.5  
 sicut **habet pater** uitam in semetipso sic dedit et filio uitam habere in semetipso AUJo 54.7.30  
 sicut **habet ipse** uitam in semetipso sic dedit et filio uitam habere in semetipso AUJo 54.7.35  
 sicut enim **habet pater** uitam in semetipso sic dedit **filio habere uitam** in semetipso AUJo 70.1.17  
 sicut **habet pater** uitam in semetipso **et** dedit **filio habere uitam** in semetipso AUJo 99.4.27  
*ac per hoc* sicut pater **cum habeat** uitam in semetipso **dedit** et filio **habere uitam** in semetipso AUJo 99.9.16



[Jn 16:15]...*quapropter* sicut **habet pater** uitam in semetipso sic dedit et filio uitam habere in semetipso AUMax 2.14.7/774  
*aequalitatem autem ostendit dicendo* sicut **habet pater** uitam in semetipso sic dedit et filio uitam habere in semetipso AUMax co 13/717  
*Adaptation: deus...uitam a nemine accepit qui filio dedit suo exemplo habere uitam in semetipso* AUMax co 13/718  
*quomodo autem dixerit christus* sicut **habet pater** uitam in semetipso sic dedit **filio habere uitam** in semetipso AUMax co 14/722  
*quia et pater dedit filio habere* uitam in semetipso AUPri 7.191  
[Jn 5:25] sicut enim pater habet uitam in semet ipso sic dedit **filio habere uitam** in semetipso AUs 127.4.4/708  
*secutus est et ait* sicut enim **habet pater** uitam in semetipso sic dedit **filio habere uitam** in semetipso AUs 127.6.9/710  
[Jn 5:25] sicut enim pater habet uitam in semetipso sic dedit **filio** uitam habere in semetipso *non participando sed* in semetipso AUs 127.6.9/710  
*quid dicit ut deus?* sicut **pater** habet uitam in semetipso sic dedit **filio habere uitam** in semetipso [Jn 5:19] AUs 261.7.7/1206  
[Jn 5:25] sicut enim pater habet uitam in semet ipso sic dedit et filio uitam habere in semetipso AUs 362.22.25/1629  
[Jn 6:38] *secundum formam dei* sicut **habet pater** uitam in semet ipso sic dedit et filio uitam habere in semetipso AUtri 1.11.25 (ms S pater **om.uitam**, mss S2 J P Vinc R  $\mu$  **et** filio, mss Sa cett codd Eug (M P V) **om.et**, mss Sa cett codd Vinc N Eug (M P V) **habere uitam**)  
*quod illo loco manifestius dicitur si quis ad capiendum sit idoneus ubi ait* sicut **habet pater** uitam in semetipso **ita** dedit **filio habere uitam** in semetipso AUtri 1.12.111 (ms T **et** filio, mss T  $\mu$  **uitam habere**)  
*Reminiscence: et uitam non habenti dedit ut haberet* uitam in semetipso AUtri 1.12.113  
*hoc est ergo* dedit **filio habere uitam** in semetipso AUtri 1.12.114 (mss N S  $\mu$  **uitam habere**)  
*ex illa locutione dictum sit quam supra commemorauimus ubi ait* sic dedit **filio habere uitam** in semetipso AUtri 1.13.54 (ms F **uitam habere**)  
*secundum quod dictum est dedit filio habere uitam* in semetipso AUtri 1.13.70 (ms Ka uita)  
[Jn 5:25]...*et ideo sequitur et hoc ipsum commendans dicit* sicut enim **habet pater** uitam in semet ipso **ita** dedit et filio uitam habere in semetipso AUtri 1.13.98 (ms Ta **sic** enim pater, mss V Eug(V) **habet pater**, ms cett codd  $\mu$  pater habet, ms P sic et...habere dedit, mss C J T **om. et**, mss N O F habere uitam)  
[Jn 14:28, Jn 5:22]...*ut est illud* sicut **habet pater** uitam in semet ipso sic dedit **filio** uitam habere in semetipso *et illud* [Jn 5:19] AUtri 2.1.35 (ms J pater habet, ms T2 et filio, mss N O F J T **habere uitam**)  
*Reminiscence: ac per hoc sicut id quod dictum est dedit filio uitam* AUtri 2.2.13  
[Ps 35:10] *quia* sicut **pater** habet uitam in semet ipso sic dedit **filio** uitam habere in semetipso *et* [Jn 1:9] AUtri 7.3.32 (mss N K T uitam habere, mss cett codd  $\mu$  habere uitam)  
*eo quod ait filius* sicut **habet pater** uitam in semetipso sic dedit **filio** uitam habere in semetipso AUtri 15.26.90 (ms S pater habet, ms J om.dedit, ms F **et** filio, ms Sa om.habere)  
*Adaptation: intellegat sicut habet pater uitam in semetipso ut et de illo procedat spiritus sanctus sic dedisse filio ut de illo procedat idem spiritus sanctus* AUtri 15.26.94  
*ac per hoc* sicut pater **cum habeat** uitam in semetipso **dedit** et filio **habere uitam** in semetipso AUtri 15.27.34, quoting AUJo 99.9.16 (ms J **sic** dedit, mss T  $\mu$  uitam habere)

[MAX] [Jn 1:3]. *christus dicit quia a genitore suo omnia haec consecutus est et uiuit propter patrem et* [Phil 2:11] AUMax co 10/714  
[*MAX*] *et uitam se consecutum hoc modo professus est dicens* sicut **pater** habet uitam in semetipso sic dedit et filio uitam habere in semetipso AUMax co 14/731

#### <5:27> et potestatem dedit ei et iudicium facere quia filius hominis est

*ubi dicit* potestatem dedit ei **iudicium** facere **quoniam** filius hominis est AUAr 11.40 (ms C **dedit et iudicium et facere**, mss  $\epsilon$  W a(bold) **ei et**, mss  $\epsilon$  T  $\zeta$  a(bold) **quia**)  
*de quo iudicio consequenter adiunxit atque ait* et potestatem dedit ei **iudicium** facere quia filius hominis est AUci 20.6.37 (mss B2 D H g ed. Arg. **ei et**)  
*ad hoc enim ait quoniam* filius hominis est AUci 20.6.40  
[Jn 5:26] et potestatem dedit ei et iudicium facere quia filius hominis est AUFau 5.4/275.17  
*et dixit* quia filius hominis est AUFau 5.4/275.19  
et **dedit ei potestatem** et iudicium facere quia filius hominis est AUJo 19.15.7 [CT]  
et potestatem dedit ei et iudicium facere quia filius hominis est AUJo 19.16.5  
potestatem dedit ei et iudicium facere quia filius hominis est AUJo 19.16.29  
et potestatem dedit ei et iudicium facere **quoniam** filius hominis est AUJo 22.11.1 [CT]  
potestatem dedit ei **iudicium faciendi** AUJo 22.11.6  
et potestatem dedit ei **iudicium faciendi quoniam** filius hominis est AUJo 22.11.13  
potestatem dedit ei **iudicium faciendi** AUJo 22.11.15  
potestatem dedit ei **iudicium faciendi** quia filius hominis est AUJo 22.11.20

et potestatem dedit ei et iudicium facere quia filius hominis est AUJo 23.15.2 [CT]  
et potestatem dedit ei et iudicium facere quia filius hominis est AUJo 23.15.13  
et potestatem dedit ei **iudicium** facere **quoniam** filius hominis est AUJo 99.1.17  
*[Jn 5:22] secutus paulo post ait et dedit ei potestatem iudicii faciendi quoniam* filius hominis est AUPs 48.s1.5.60  
*dicit in euangelio* dedit ei **potestatem iudicii faciendi quoniam** filius hominis est AUPs 74.5.35  
*[Jn 5:26]...deinde adiecit* et potestatem dedit ei et iudicium facere **quoniam** filius hominis est AU 127.6.9/710  
*sed* et potestatem *inquit* dedit ei et iudicium facere **quoniam** filius hominis est AU 127.7.10/711  
*ideo ait* potestatem dedit ei et iudicium facere **quoniam** filius hominis est AU 127.7.10/711  
*in ipsa forma ueniet* potestatem dedit ei et iudicium facere **quoniam** filius hominis est AU 127.7.10/711  
*ait* potestatem dedit ei et iudicium facere **quoniam** filius hominis est AU 127.10.14/712  
*nolite mirari quia hoc dixi* **dedit ei** potestatem et iudicium facere **quoniam** filius hominis est AU 127.10.14/712  
*[Jn 5:26] et potestatem* dedit ei et iudicium facere quia filius hominis est AU 362.22.25/1629  
*sequitur itaque et dicit* et potestatem dedit ei et iudicium facere quia filius hominis est. *insinuauit secundum quid*  
*acceperit potestatem iudicii* quia filius *inquit* hominis est AU 362.23.26/1629  
*Adaptation: ego scilicet non iudicabo ex potestate humana* quia filius hominis *sum* AUtri 1.12.129  
*Reminiscence: non poterunt nisi secundum formam qua* filius hominis est *sed tamen in claritate in qua iudicabit*  
AUtri 1.13.25  
*Reminiscence: quia et filius hominis est* AUtri 1.13.79  
*[Jn 5:26]...sequitur enim et dicit* et potestatem dedit ei et iudicium facere **quoniam** filius hominis est AUtri 1.13.102 (mss F J ei om.**et**)  
*non accipit hanc potestatem iudicii faciendi sed habet illam cum patre in occulto accipit autem illam ut boni et mali*  
*eum uideant iudicantem* quia filius hominis est AUtri 1.13.105 (ms Fa hominis filius)  
*ut ideo diceret patrem dedisse ei* **potestatem** et iudicium facere **quoniam** filius hominis est AUtri 1.13.114 (ms T ei **et** potestatem, ms J om.**et**, ms  $\mu$  **quia**)  
*[Jn 5:28-9] ad hoc ergo oportebat ut ideo acciperet illam potestatem* quia filius hominis est AUtri 1.13.123 (ms N **quoniam**)  
*[Jn 5:22] nam paulo post consequenter ait* et potestatem dedit ei et iudicium facere **quoniam** filius hominis est AUtri 2.1.32 (mss A C J P ei om. **et**, mss S J **quia**)

**<5:28> nolite mirari hoc quia uenit hora in qua omnes qui in monumentis sunt audient uocem eius**  
*[Jn 5:27] ac deinde subiungens unde agimus nolite inquit* mirari hoc quia **ueniet** hora in qua omnes qui in monumentis sunt audient uocem eius AUci 20.6.41 (mss B ed. Arg. Ben. **uenit**)  
**ueniet** enim hora *ubi non ait et nunc est quia in fine erit saeculi hoc est in ultimo et maximo iudicio dei quando*  
omnes qui in monumentis sunt audient uocem eius AUci 20.6.58  
*qui illis dicti sunt in monumentis* AUci 20.23.75  
*cum illud tempus uenerit de quo in euangelio dicit* **ueniet** hora **quando** omnes qui **sunt** in monumentis audient uocem eius AUep 140.15.38/188.8 (mss G N T **in monumentis sunt**)  
*quae etiam uox ipsius domini iesu christi in euangelio dicitur quam* audient **hi** qui in monumentis sunt AUep 140.34.78/226.22 (ms T m1 om.**audient** m2 **audient post sunt**, mss L a **audiant**, mss f l r m ii, ms L\* monumenti (corr m1), ms N **audient** et **procedent** "e" ex corr. x2)  
*resurgent enim et digni et indigni regno illo ubi uidebitur deus quoniam* omnes qui in monumentis sunt audient uocem eius AUep 147.11.24/298.13  
*audiui et [Ps 115:1] quia* **ueniet** hora **quando** omnes qui **sunt** in monumentis audient uocem eius AUep 166.8.23/578.4 (mss K m **uenit**, ms l **ora**, mss K V S R C P3 **in monumentis sunt**)  
nolite mirari hoc quia uenit hora in qua omnes qui in monumentis sunt audient uocem eius AUJo 19.17.7 [CT]  
nolite mirari hoc quia uenit hora in qua omnes qui **sunt in monumentis** AUJo 19.17.26  
nolite mirari hoc quia uenit hora in qua omnes qui in monumentis sunt audient uocem eius AUJo 22.13.3 [CT]  
nolite mirari hoc quia uenit hora in qua omnes qui in monumentis sunt audient uocem eius AUJo 23.15.17 [CT]  
**ueniet** hora **quando** **ii** qui **sunt in monumentis** audient uocem eius AUJo 43.9.3  
**ueniet** hora **quando** omnes qui **sunt in monumentis** audient uocem eius AUJo 49.1.18  
**ueniet** hora **quando** omnes qui in monumentis sunt audient uocem eius AUJo 49.1.26  
*sicut in euangelio dominus loquitur* **ueniet** hora in qua omnes qui **sunt** in monumentis **audiant** uocem eius AUop 23.42/86.16 (mss S M R B N P A X b d **audient**)  
**ueniet** hora *dixit ipse dominus* **quando** omnes qui **sunt** in monumentis audient uocem eius AU 93.7.9/577 [Matt 25:1-13]  
*[Jn 5:27] nolite mirari hoc quia* **ueniet** hora. *ibi non addidit et nunc est quia ista hora in fine saeculi erit* AU 127.10.14/712  
*[Jn 5:27] nolite mirari* AU 127.10.14/712  
*sed quid?* **ueniet** hora **quando** **hi** qui **sunt** in monumentis. *quomodo expressit carne mortuos?* qui sunt in monumentis AU 127.10.14/712  
**ueniet** hora **quando** omnes qui sunt in monumentis audient uocem eius AU 127.10.14/712  
*resurget caro tua quando* **ueniet** hora **ut** omnes qui sunt in monumentis **audiant** uocem eius AU 127.11.15/713  
**ueniet** et **dies quando** omnes qui **sunt** in monumentis audient uocem eius AU 154.11.16/840

*sicut ipse in euangelio loquitur dicens ueniet hora quando omnes qui sunt in monumentis audient uocem eius* AUs 214.9/1071  
*ueniret dies quam commemorat dominus quando omnes qui in monumentis sunt audient uocem eius* AUs 277.2.2/1258  
*cum dicit qui in monumentis sunt procul dubio manifestat corporum resurrectionem* AUs 277.2.2/1258  
*Adaptation: tunc uero in iudicio uenientem cum angelis suis ad iudicandos uiuos et mortuos cum audierint uocem eius omnes qui sunt in monumentis* AUs 277.17.16/1267  
*ueniet enim hora sicut euangelium loquitur quando omnes qui sunt in monumentis audient uocem eius* AUs 306.5.5/1402  
*ex hoc testimonio quod modo commemoraui audient enim uocem eius inquit* AUs 306.5.5/1402  
*expectat resurrectionem cum uiderit creatorem. ueniet enim dies sicut dominus ait quando omnes qui sunt in monumentis audient uocem eius* AUs 335K.2  
*dominus quippe ipse iesus dixit uenit hora quando omnes qui in monumentis sunt audient uocem eius* AUs 344.4/1514  
*[Jn 5:29] omnes qui in monumentis sunt audient uocem eius* AUs 344.4/1514  
*omnes inquit qui in monumentis sunt audient uocem eius* AUs 344.4/1514  
*[Jn 5:27] nolite mirari hoc quia uenit hora in qua omnes qui in monumento sunt audient uocem eius* AUs 362.22.25/1629  
*[Jn 5:27]...consequenter exponit nolite inquit mirari hoc quia uenit hora in qua omnes qui in monumentis sunt audient uocem eius* AUs 362.23.26/1629  
*[Jn 5:28] superius cum dixisset uenit hora adiecit et nunc est...hic ergo quia ipsam uolebat intelligi cum dixisset uenit hora non adiecit et nunc est* AUs 362.23.26/1629  
*omnes ait qui in monumentis sunt audient uocem eius et procedent* AUs 362.23.26/1630  
*sed dixit audient* AUs 362.24.26/1630  
*et ideo uide quid sequitur nolite mirari hoc inquit* AUtri 1.13.111  
*nolite inquit hoc mirari quoniam ueniet hora in qua omnes qui in monumentis sunt audient uocem eius* AUtri 1.13.119 (mss I L uenit, ms C K om.in, ms Eug (V) omnis, ms J filii eius)

#### <5:29> et procedent qui bona fecerunt in resurrectionem uitae qui uero mala egerunt in resurrectionem iudicii

*[Jn 5:28] et procedent qui bona fecerunt in resurrectionem uitae qui uero mala egerunt in resurrectionem iudicii* AUci 20.6.43  
*[Jn 5:28] et procedent* AUci 20.6.61  
*in eo quod sequitur docet qui bona inquit fecerunt in resurrectionem uitae hi sunt qui uiuent qui uero mala egerunt in resurrectionem iudicii hi sunt qui non uiuent* AUci 20.6.66  
*sicut ibi procedent dictum est...sicut ibi qui bona fecerunt in resurrectionem uitae qui autem mala egerunt in resurrectionem iudicii* AUci 20.23.77  
*ut est illud qui bona fecerunt in resurrectionem uitae qui autem mala egerunt in resurrectionem iudicii* AUci 21.1.15  
*unde illud est qui autem male egerunt in resurrectionem iudicii* AUench 14.124 (ms P egerint)  
*[Jn 5:28] et procedent* AUep 140.15.38/188.9 (ms G T resurgent)  
*[Jn 5:28] et procedent* AUep 140.34.78/226.22 (ms N e ex corr.)  
*[Jn 5:28] et procedent sed cum magna differentia nam qui bene fecerunt in resurrectionem uitae qui autem male egerunt in resurrectionem iudicii* AUep 147.11.24/298.14  
*[Jn 5:28] et procedent qui bona fecerunt in resurrectionem uitae ipsa est de qua dicitur [1Cor 15:21] ipsa est qua [1Cor 15:22] qui autem male egerunt in resurrectionem iudicii* AUep 166.8.23/578.6 (mss K\* P2\* procedunt (m2 procedent), mss V C procedunt, ms G prodigent (g eras), ms P3 bona m1 corr. bene, ms P bone, mss B H P1 M I A P2 G edd bene, ms P in surrectionem uitae, ms R mala m1 corr. male, ms P1 coge|runt)  
*sicut dominus in euangelio loquitur qui bene fecerunt in resurrectionem uitae qui male egerunt in resurrectionem iudicii* AUep 205.2.14/335.9 (ms M resurrectione x2, ms m qui uero, Eugip mala, ms M agerunt)  
*sicut iudicium aliter accipitur de quo dictum est qui bene fecerunt in resurrectionem uitae qui male fecerunt in resurrectionem iudicii* AUEv 2.30.71/176.1 (mss N2 v bona, mss C1 P resurrectione x2, mss N v mala)  
*et procedent qui bona fecerunt in resurrectione uitae qui mala egerunt in resurrectionem iudicii* AUJo 19.18.1 [CT]  
*et procedent qui bene fecerunt in resurrectionem uitae qui male fecerunt in resurrectionem iudicii* AUJo 22.13.18 [CT]  
*et procedent qui bene fecerunt in resurrectionem uitae qui male egerunt in resurrectionem iudicii* AUJo 23.15.20 [CT]  
*[Jn 5:28] et procedent qui bene fecerunt in resurrectionem uitae qui male egerunt in resurrectionem iudicii* AUJo 43.9.3  
*[Jn 5:28] et procedent* AUJo 49.1.18  
*[Jn 5:28] et procedent qui bene fecerunt ad resurrectionem uitae qui male egerunt ad resurrectionem iudicii* AUJo 49.1.27

[Jn 5:28] et procedent qui **bene** fecerunt in resurrectionem uitae qui **autem male** egerunt in resurrectionem iudicii AUOp 23.42/86.17 (ms N **procedunt**, ms N **bona**)  
*neque hic dictum est 'hoc qui crediderunt illud autem qui non crediderunt' sed hoc illi qui bene egerunt illud qui male egerunt* AUOp 23.43/86.21  
*item de resurrectione carnis cum loqueretur* qui **bene** fecerunt *inquit* in resurrectionem uitae AUPs 118.s19.4.10 [Jn 5:28] et procedent AUs 93.7.9/577  
[Jn 5:28] et **prodient omnes** AUs 127.10.14/713  
[Jn 5:28] et **prodeant**. *non enim quia audis et prodis iam gaudere debes. audi quod sequitur* qui bona **egerunt** in resurrectionem uitae qui **autem** mala egerunt in resurrectionem iudicii AUs 127.11.15/713  
[Jn 5:28] et procedent qui bona fecerunt in resurrectionem uitae *ecce liberati a corpore mortis huius*. qui **mala fecerunt** in resurrectionem iudicii AUs 154.11.16/840  
[Jn 5:28] et procedent qui **bene** fecerunt in resurrectionem uitae qui **mala** egerunt in resurrectionem iudicii AUs 214.9/1071  
*cuius uox omnes dormientes etiam de tumulis excitabit* qui **bene** fecerunt **ad** resurrectionem uitae qui **male fecerunt** ad resurrectionem iudicii AUs 223C.1  
[Jn 5:28] et procedent *sed cum magna differentia...* qui **enim bene** fecerunt *inquit* in resurrectionem uitae qui **autem male** in resurrectionem iudicii AUs 277.2.2/1258  
[Jn 5:28] *Adaptation: et processerint alii ad resurrectionem uitae alii ad resurrectionem iudicii* AUs 277.17.16/1267  
*de resurrectione cum ageret dominum* qui **bene** fecerunt *inquit* in resurrectionem uitae qui **male** egerunt in resurrectionem iudicii AUs 294.13.14/1343  
[Jn 5:28] et procedent qui **bene egerunt** in resurrectionem uitae qui uero **male** egerunt in resurrectionem iudicii AUs 306.5.5/1402  
[Jn 5:28] et procedent qui **bene egerunt** in resurrectionem uitae. *non dixit beatae uitae sed* in resurrectionem uitae AUs 306.5.5/1402  
*habes quidam confusam resurrectionem sed* qui **bene** fecerunt in resurrectionem uitae qui **autem male in** resurrectionem iudicii AUs 335F.2  
[Jn 5:28] et procedent qui **bene** fecerunt in resurrectionem uitae qui **autem** mala egerunt in resurrectionem iudicii AUs 335K.2  
[Jn 5:28] et procedent *siue boni sint siue mali sint* AUs 344.4/1514  
[Jn 5:28] et procedent...*sed audi discretionem audi et separationem* qui bona *inquit* fecerunt in resurrectionem uitae qui **mala** egerunt in resurrectionem iudicii AUs 344.4/1514  
[Jn 5:28] et procedent qui bona fecerunt in resurrectionem uitae qui uero mala egerunt in resurrectionem iudicii AUs 362.22.25/1629  
[Jn 5:28] et procedent qui bona fecerunt in resurrectionem uitae qui uero mala egerunt in resurrectionem iudicii AUs 362.23.26/1629  
[Jn 5:28] et procedent. *sequitur et dicit* qui bona fecerunt in resurrectionem uitae qui uero mala egerunt in resurrectionem iudicii AUs 362.24.26/1630  
qui bona *inquit* fecerunt in resurrectionem uitae *etiam hic uitam in bono tantum intelligi uoluit*: qui uero mala egerunt *inquit* in resurrectionem iudicii AUs 362.24.26/1630  
[Jn 5:28] et **prodient** qui bona **gesserunt** in resurrectionem uitae qui **mala gesserunt** in resurrectionem iudicii AUtri 1.13.121 (ms F **procedent**, ms T qui **uero** mala, ms μ qui **autem** mala, ms K mala **egerunt**)

<5:30> **non possum ego a me ipso facere quicquam sicut audio iudico et iudicium meum iustum est quia non quaero uoluntatem meam sed uoluntatem eius qui misit me**

*cf. Jn 4:34; Jn 6:38*

meam sed uoluntatem eius qui **me misit** AUAr 11.12 (mss K U J T N **sicut**, mss R C **iudicio**, ms C **om. est**, ms T **misit me**)

*dixit ergo filius* sicut audio iudico AUAr 14.1

*Reminiscence*: AUAr 17.1 *sicut audit ergo filius iudicat*

*Adaptation*: AUAr 18.1 *et iudicium eius utique iustum est quia non quaerit uoluntatem sed sed uoluntatem eius qui eum misit*

*Adaptation*: AUChr 2.24/187.4 *iste nos in se saluos fecit non faciendo uoluntatem suam sed eius a quo missus est*

non possum ego a meipso facere quidquam sicut audio iudico et iudicium meum iustum est quia non quaero uoluntatem meam sed uoluntatem eius qui misit me AUJo 19.19.1 [CT]

non possum ego a meipso facere quidquam sicut audio iudico et iudicium meum iustum est AUJo 22.14.1 quia non quaero uoluntatem meam sed uoluntatem eius qui misit me AUJo 22.15.1 [CT]

sicut audio **ita** iudico AUJo 22.14.8

sicut audio **ita** iudico AUJo 22.14.16

non possum **a me** facere quidquam sicut audio iudico et iudicium meum iustum quia non quaero uoluntatem meam sed uoluntatem eius qui misit me AUJo 23.15.25 [CT]

non possum **a me** facere quidquam sicut audio iudico AUJo 99.1.6

non possum **facere** a meipso quidquam sicut audio iudico AUJo 99.1.24

non possum **a meipso** facere quidquam sicut audio iudico AUJo 99.1.32

non possum **a meipso** facere quidquam sicut audio iudico AUJo 99.1.48

[AUG quoting SA] *sicut ipse ait [Jn 5:22] item sicuti* audio iudico et iudicium meum **uerum** est quia non quaero uoluntatem

**<5:31> si ego testimonium perhibeo de me testimonium meum non est uerum**

*ait dominus iesus* si ego testimonium perhibeo de me testimonium meum non est uerum AUs 128.1.1/713

*ex his uerbis hunc sensum concipias* si ego testimonium perhibeo de me testimonium meum non est uerum AUs 128.1.1/714

**<5:32> alius est qui testimonium perhibet de me et scio quia uerum est testimonium quod perhibet de me**  
NO CITATIONS

**<5:33> uos misistis ad iohannem et testimonium perhibuit ueritati**

*quae melius quam illi de seipso nouerat qui dicebat* uos misistis ad iohannem et testimonium perhibuit ueritati AUPs 118.s22.3.37

*uide quia lucerna est* uos *inquit* misistis ad iohannem AUs 67.5.9/457

*audistis quid ait* uos **uenistis** ad iohannem AUs 128.1.2/714

uos misistis ad iohannem *ait dominus iesus iudaeis* AUs 293D.1

uos *inquit* misistis ad iohannem AUs 342.2/1502

[MAX] *ipse persecutus est* uos misistis ad iohannem et testimonium **reddidit** ueritati AUMax co 13/718

**<5:34> ego autem non ab homine testimonium accipio sed haec dico ut uos salui sitis**

*Adaptation: hodie lectio de testimonio domini locatua est quia non habeat necessarium ab hominibus* testimonium AUJo 23.2.1

[Jn 5:33] ego autem non ab homine testimonium accipio sed haec dico ut uos salui sitis AUPs 118.s22.3.38

[MAX] [Jn 5:33] ego autem **testimonium** ab homine **non** accipio: sed haec dico ut uos **saluemini** AUMax co 13/718

**<5:35> ille erat lucerna ardens et lucens uos autem uoluistis exultare ad horam in luce eius**

*lumen ergo et iohannes sed tale lumen quale testimonium perhibet ipse dominus dicens* ille erat lucerna ardens et lucens [Matt 5:14-16] AUep 140.3.7/160.7

*sicut et de iohannes baptista* ille erat *inquit* lucerna ardens et lucens AUEv 4.10.17/412.13 (ms B om. ille)

ille erat lucerna ardens et lucens **et** uos **uoluistis exultare ad horam** in **lumine** eius AUJo 2.8.23

ille erat lucerna ardens et lucens AUJo 5.14.25

ille erat lucerna ardens et lucens **et** uos **uoluistis ad horam exultare** in **lumine** eius AUJo 35.2.14

*Allusion: meministis uobis dictum de iohanne quia lucerna erat et diei testimonium perhibebat* AUJo 48.12.5

*Allusion: dominus eum [sc. iohannem] dicat esse lucernam* AUperf 14/33.3

[Jn 1:8] ille erat lucerna ardens et lucens AUPs 7.8.36

[Jn 5:34] ille erat lucerna ardens et lucens **nos** autem uoluistis exultare ad horam in luce eius AUPs 118.s22.3.39

*hoc erat iohannes de quo dicit uerbum deus* ille erat lucerna ardens et lucens AUPs 118.s23.1.11

*iam nostis domini uerba de iohanne* ille erat lucerna ardens et lucens AUPs 131.27.20

[Jn 5:33] **et uoluistis** exultare ad horam in **lumine** eius. ille erat lucerna ardens et lucens AUs 67.5.9/457

[Jn 5:33] ille erat lucerna ardens et lucens **et** uos **uoluistis** exultare ad horam in **lumine** eius AUs 128.1.2/714

*de quo dicit dominus* erat lucerna ardens et lucens AUs 133.6/741

*numquid non et iohannes lucerna?* ille erat lucerna ardens et lucens *dominus dixit.* AUs 182.5.5/987

*Allusion: lucerna enim erat [sc. iohannem]* AUs 287.2.3/1302

*dominus de iohanne hoc ait* ille erat lucerna ardens et lucens **et** uos **uoluistis** exultare ad horam in **lumine** eius AUs 289.4/1310

*de quo dicit ipsum lumen* ille erat lucerna ardens et lucens AUs 289.4/1310

[Jn 5:33] ille erat lucerna ardens et lucens **et** uos **uoluistis** exultare ad horam in **lumine** eius AUs 293D.1

*dominus ipse dicit de iohanne baptista* ille erat lucerna ardens et lucens **et** uos **uoluistis** exultare ad horam in **lumine** eius AUs 308A.1

*cum enim de illa lucerna dixisset* uoluistis exultare ad horam in **lumine** eius AUs 308A.1

*interroga autem filium* ille erat lucerna ardens et lucens AUs 308A.6

*per lucernam quam parauit christo suo pater ille enim* erat lucerna ardens et lucens *ipse dominus ait* AUs 308A.7

[Jn 1:9] *unde ait ipse dominus et* uos **uoluistis** exultare ad horam in **lucem** eius AUs 341.18/188.413 (AUs DoI 22)

[Jn 5:33] **et uoluistis ad horam** exultare in **lumine** eius. ille erat lucerna ardens et lucens AUs 342.2/1502

*iudaeis dicitur de iohanne* ille erat lucerna ardens et lucens AUs 380.7/1681

*dominus enim de iohanne ait* ille erat lucerna ardens et lucens AUs 380.7/1681

*de iohanne ipso dicit* ille erat lucerna ardens et lucens AUs 379.6 (webtext; not in Migne)

*sicut erat iohannes* lucerna ardens et lucens AUsp 7.11/163.8

[MAX] [Jn 5:34] ille inquit **lucerna fuit** ardens et lucens; uos autem uoluistis **ad horam** exsultare in **lumine** eius AUMax co 13/718

<5:36> ego autem habeo testimonium maius iohanne opera enim quae dedit mihi pater ut perficiam ea ipsa opera quae ego facio testimonium perhibent de me quia pater me misit dominus uenit habens quidem testimonium maius iohanne AUFau 22.85/689.14  
[Jn 5:35] ego autem habeo testimonium maius iohanne AUJo 2.8.24  
Adaptation: [Jn 5:34] sed habeat maius quam **sunt homines** AUJo 23.2.2  
opera quae ego facio testimonium perhibent de me AUJo 23.2.4 [CT]  
[Jn 5:35] ego autem habeo testimonium maius iohanne AUPs 118.s22.3.41  
Allusion: *missum agnoscite clamat pater misit me* AUs 136A.1  
[Jn 5:35] ego autem habeo testimonium maius iohanne AUs 293D.1  
[Jn 5:35] ego autem inquit habeo testimonium maius **quam iohannem** AUs 308A.1  
*domini testimonium de quo ait habeo testimonium maius iohannes* AUs 308A.8  
*plerumque enim dicit dedit mihi pater* AUtri 1.12.103

[MAX] [Jn 5:35] ego autem habeo testimonium maius iohanne opera **quae** dedit mihi pater ut perficiam ea ipsa opera quae ego facio **testificantur** de me quia pater me misit. AUMax co 13/718

<5:37> et qui misit me pater ipse testimonium perhibuit de me neque uocem eius umquam audistis neque speciem eius uidistis

[Jn 1:18] et iterum quod dicit iudaeis **nec** uocem illius aliquando audistis **nec** faciem eius uidistis AUAd 9/131.22 (ms S **dicit iohannes**)  
*quod autem iudaeis dicit nec* uocem **aliquando** eius audistis AUAd 9/133.12 (ms b **eius aliquando**)  
*quibus dicit etiam nec faciem* eius uidistis AUAd 9/133.14  
et **testimonium perhibet** de me qui misit me pater AUJo 23.2.5 [CT]  
Allusion: *commonui non ideo patrem filio esse maiorem quia testimonium perhibuit patrem filio...dixeras enim quod pater filio perhibuerit testimonium* AUMax 1.13/754  
Allusion: *non autem ideo maior est pater quia testimonium dicit de filio. nam et prophetae perhibuerunt filio testimonium. alius est quidem qui perhibet testimonium alius cui perhibetur* AUMax co 14/722

[MAX] [Jn 5:36] et qui misit me pater ipse **testificatur** de me AUMax co 13/718

<5:38> et uerbum eius non habetis in uobis manens quia quem misit ille huic uos non creditis

[Jn 5:37] **nec** uerbum eius **habetis** in uobis manens quia **ei** quem ille misit **non credidistis** AUAd 9/131.23  
*quod autem dicit neque* uerbum eius **habetis** in uobis manens AUAd 9/133.15  
*in hanc sententiam uult accipi et quod ait dominus ad iudaeos [Jn 8:19] sed nec* uerbum **dei** habetis in uobis manens AUleg 2.5.587 (ms G **nobis**)

<5:39> scrutamini scripturas quia uos putatis in ipsis uitam aeternam habere et illae sunt quae testimonium perhibent de me

*proferitis inde christum dicentem [Jn 10:38] et [Jn 8:18] et non uultis contra uos inde proferri* scrutamini scripturas **in quibus putatis uos** uitam aeternam habere **ipsae** testimonium perhibent de me *et [Jn 5:46]* AUFau 13.5/383.6 (mss S G **perhibet**)  
*si non illic in manifesto praedicaretur non diceret dominus etiam malis iudaeis* scrutamini scripturas **in quibus putatis uos** uitam aeternam habere **ipsae** testimonium perhibent de me AUFau 20.31/534.9 (ms C **ipse**)  
scrutamini **scripturam in qua** uos putatis **uitam** aeternam habere **ipsa** testimonium **perhibet** de me AUJo 23.2.25 [CT]  
*unde et alibi dicit ecclesiae suae [Is. 54:5].* scrutamini scripturas **in quibus putatis uos habere** uitam aeternam. *et profecto haberetis si christum in eis intellegeretis et teneretis. sed perscrutamini eas* **ipsae** testimonium perhibent de *hoc sacrificio mundo* AUJud 9.13/62  
*unde alibi dicit* scrutamini scripturas **in quibus putatis uos habere** uitam aeternam **ipsae** testimonium perhibent de me AUleg 2.4.529 (ms R edd **uos uitam aeternam habere**)  
*quibus dicitur* scrutamini scripturas **in quibus putatis uos** uitam aeternam habere AUPs 68.s2.13.26  
Adaptation: *scrutari enim iussit scripturas quae testimonium perhibent de illo non in superficie pertransiri* AUPs 108.23.27  
*de uerbis euangelii iohannis* scrutamini scripturas **in quibus putatis uos** uitam aeternam habere AUs 129 incipit/720  
*ad iudaeos dominus loquebatur iesus et dicebat eis* scrutamini scripturas **in quibus putatis uos** uitam aeternam habere **ipsae testimonium** perhibent de me AUs 129.1.1/720  
*quid me non agnoscitis?* scrutamini scripturas **in quibus putatis uos** uitam aeternam habere **ipsae** testimonium perhibent de me AUs 129.3.4/722  
*fratres audistis testimonia iam noscite me.* scrutamini scripturas **in quibus uos speratis** uitam aeternam habere **ipsae** testimonium perhibent de me AUs 129.5.6/723

**<5:40> et non uultis uenire ad me ut uitam habeatis**  
et non uultis uenire ad me ut uitam habeatis AUJo 23.2.27 [CT]

**<5:41> claritatem ab hominibus non accipio**  
NO CITATIONS

**<5:42> sed cognoui uos quia dilectionem dei non habetis in uobis**  
NO CITATIONS

**<5:43> ego ueni in nomine patris mei et non accipitis me si alius uenerit in nomine suo illum accipietis**  
ego ueni in nomine patris mei et non **suscepistis** me **alius ueniet** in nomine suo **hunc suscipietis** AUJo 29.8.5  
ego ueni in nomine patris mei et non **suscepistis** me **alius ueniet** in nomine suo **hunc suscipietis** AUJo 51.3.6  
*de quo dominus ait* ego ueni in nomine patris mei et non **suscepistis** me **alius ueniet** in nomine suo **hunc suscipietis** AUPs 105.37.27  
*sicut in euangelio dicit* ego ueni in nomine patris mei et non **accepistis** me si alius uenerit in nomine suo illum accipietis [Ps 117:26] AUPs 117.21.3  
[Jn 5:39] *deinde post paululum* ego *inquit* ueni in nomine patris mei et non **accepistis** me si alius uenerit in nomine suo illum accipietis AUs 129.1.1/721  
*sic intellegunt quod ait dominus* ego ueni in nomine patris **et non suscepistis** me si alius uenerit in nomine suo **hunc suscipietis** AUs 129.6.7/723  
[JUL] *audi sane ubi uim humanae libertatis ostendit* ego ueni in nomine patris mei et non **suscepistis** si alius uenerit in nomine suo illum accipietis *et item* [Matt 12:33] AUJul im 1.93.2 (ms P\* uenerit suo illum, ms G\* **illum suscepistis** add **ac supra lin.**)

**<5:44> quomodo potestis uos credere qui gloriam ab inuicem accipitis et gloriam quae a solo est deo non quaeritis**  
*ut dominus diceret* quo modo potestis **credere gloriam** ab inuicem **expectantes** et gloriam quae a solo **deo** est non **quaerentes** AUci 5.14.11  
quomodo potestis **credere gloriam** ab inuicem **expectantes** et gloriam quae a solo **deo est** non **quaerentes** AUJo 93.2.21  
[Jn 5:43] *deinde post paululum* quomodo potestis **mihi credere gloriam** ab inuicem **expectantes** et gloriam quae a **deo solo** est non **quaerentes** AUs 129.1.1/721  
*quae fuit doctrina pharisaeorum nisi quam modo audistis?* **gloriam ab inuicem quaerentes** gloriam ab inuicem **expectantes** et gloriam quae a solo **deo** est non **quaerentes** AUs 129.2.2/721  
[Jn 5:39]...quomodo potestis **mihi credere gloriam** ab inuicem **expectantes** et gloriam quae a solo **deo** est non **quaerentes** AUs 129.5.6/723  
*Reminiscence: auget gloriam quae secundum deum est non aliquid in illo aedificio labefactans* AUs dni 1.2.9.127  
*de euangelio secundum iohannem* quomodo potestis uos credere qui gloriam ab inuicem accipitis et gloriam quae a solo est deo non quaeritis AUSpe 28/195.24 (ms R **accepistis**, mss R Sav **solo deo est**)

**<5:45> nolite putare quia ego accusaturus sim uos apud patrem est qui accuset uos moyses in quo uos speratis**  
[Jn 5:44] *ad extremum ait* **non ego uos accuso** apud patrem est qui **uos accusat** moyses in **quem** uos speratis AUs 129.1.1/721

**<5:46> si enim crederetis mosi crederetis forsitan et mihi de me enim ille scripsit**  
*eodem domine adtestante et dicente* si **crederetis** moysi crederetis **et mihi ille enim** de me scripsit AUAd 5/124.27 (mss C V **crederetis mihi om.et**)  
*Allusion: moyses de illo scripsit* AUcf 11.2.55  
*dominus ait iudaeis* si **crederetis** moysi crederetis **et mihi de me enim ille scripsit** AUci 20.28.8 (mss e g1 **crederitis**)  
*ipse quippe ait in euangelio* si **crederetis** moysi crederetis **et mihi de me enim ille scripsit** AUDt 56.1287 (in Dt 33:1-5)  
*de quo ipse christus dicit* si **crederetis** moysi crederetis **et mihi de me enim ille scripsit** AUep 82.2.8/358.14 (ms P1\* si crederitis, ms A moyse, mss I H et mihi crederetis)  
*si autem christus non praedicaret non ipse dominus diceret* si **crederetis** moysi crederetis **et mihi de me enim ille scripsit** AUFau 12.3/332.23  
[Jn 5:39] *et si* **crederetis** moysi crederetis **et mihi de me enim ille scripsit et** [Matt. 24:24] AUFau 13.5/383.8  
*cum dominus in euangelio dixerit* si **crederetis** moysi crederetis **et mihi de me enim ille scripsit** AUFau 16.11/449.26 (mss S G M **mosi**, ms C **michi**)  
*de quo christus ait ille enim* de me scripsit AUFau 16.22/464.19  
*sed filius euangelii cum audit ille enim* de me scripsit AUFau 16.22/466.2

*de christo scripsit moyses de quo ipse dicit* de me enim ille scripsit AUFau 16.29/476.16 (mss S G om. de quo ipse dicit)  
*in eius [sc. iohannis] habetis euangelio unde iam paulo ante tractauimus* si **crederetis** moysi crederetis **et** mihi de me enim ille scripsit AUFau 17.3/486.13  
*lex per moysen data de quo christus ait* de me enim ille scripsit AUFau 19.7/504.1  
*quod et saluator ipse confirmat dicens* si **crederetis** moysi crederetis **et** mihi de me enim ille scripsit AUFau 22.69/665.19 (ms L **credideritis x2**)  
*de quo ipse ait* de me enim ille scripsit AUFau 22.83/685.28  
 si **crederetis** moysi crederetis **et** mihi de me enim ille scripsit AUJo 17.14.5  
 si **crederetis** moysi crederetis **utique** et mihi de me enim ille scripsit AUJo 30.6.10  
 si **crederetis** moysi crederetis **et** mihi de me enim ille scripsit AUJo 44.12.8  
*quandoquidem ille ait* si **crederetis** moysi crederetis **et** mihi de me enim ille scripsit AUleg 1.16.614  
*quisquis audit fideliter* si **crederetis** moysi crederetis **et** mihi de me enim ille scripsit AUleg 2.6.692 (mss G S W1 **si credieritis**, mss G S mose, mss G S **credieritis et**)  
*non frustra enim dominus ait de moyse* de me enim ille scripsit AUPs 47.1.12  
*ait ipse dominus noster iesus christus* si **crederetis** moysi crederetis **et** mihi de me enim ille scripsit AUPs 64.6.81  
*ait ipse iesus* si **crederetis** moysi crederetis **et** mihi de me enim ille scripsit AUPs 89.2.7  
*sicut ipse ait* si **crederetis** moysi crederetis forsitan et mihi **ille enim de me** scripsit AUq 64.128 (ms O **si credieritis**, ms C\* I K **si credideritis**, ms I **credideritis forsitan**, mss L T **forsitan mihi (om.et)**, mss K R **ille autem de me**, mss E V **de me enim ille**, mss D g **ille locutus est**)  
*sicut alio loco hoc ipse dominus dicit* si **crederetis** moysi crederetis **et** mihi **ille enim** de me scripsit AUqEv 2.38.80 (mss B F P A **si credieritis**, ms C **credieritis et**, ms D **forsitan et**)  
*ait enim dominus incredulis iudaeis* si **crederetis** moysi crederetis **et** mihi **ille enim** de me scripsit AU 1.34 (ms A4 **de me enim ille**)  
*ante praedixerat* si **crederetis** moysi crederetis **et** mihi AU 41.138 (mss P1 P21m P3 **credieritis x2**)  
 [Jn 5:45] si enim crederetis moysi crederetis forsitan et mihi de me enim ille scripsit AU 129.1.1/721  
*dicat ergo et nouissimum illud ecclesia* si **crederetis** moysi crederetis **et** mihi de me enim ille scripsit AU 129.7.9/724  
*unde ait ipse* si **crederetis** moysi crederetis **et** mihi de me enim ille scripsit AU 130.1/725  
*uelum tollatur ab oculis tuis.* si **crederetis** moysi crederetis **et** mihi AU 300.5.5/1379  
 si **crederetis** *inquit* moysi crederetis **et** mihi de me enim ille scripsit....de me *inquit* ille scripsit AU 300.5.5/1379  
*unde dicit in euangelio* si **crederetis** moysi crederetis **et** mihi de me enim ille scripsit AUtri 3.10.165 (mss Va Ca **credieritis** moysi, ms Ma **creditis** moysi, ms Va **credieritis et**, ms T **forsitan et**)

[FAU] *cum christus dicat* **moyses** de me **scripsit et** si **crederetis** moysi crederetis **et** mihi AUFau 16.1/439.26 (ms C **moysi crederetis**, ms L1 **credideritis**)  
 [FAU] *quod prosequitur* si **crederetis** moysi crederetis **et** mihi AUFau 16.6/444.11 (ms L1 **credideritis moysi credieritis**)  
 [FAU] *illud iesum dixisse ad eos* si **crederetis** moysi crederetis **et** mihi AUFau 16.7/446.10

**<5:47> si autem illius litteris non creditis quomodo meis uerbis credetis**

[Jn 5:46] *cum autem uerbis illius non creditis quomodo* **potestis mihi credere** AU 129.1.1/721

**<6:1> post haec abiit iesus trans mare galilaeae quod est tiberiadis**

post haec *eum dicit abisse* trans mare galilaeae quod est tiberiadis AUEv 2.45.94/201.6

*ita narrare incipit iohannes* post haec abiit iesus trans mare galilaeae **tiberiadis** AUEv 3.25.79/382.9 (mss B2 R C P F O N1 M Q1 H A E1 L **galilaeae tiberiadis**, ms B1 **galilaeae tiberiadis**, mss D V N2 Q2 E2 γ χ ψ ω **galilaeae quod est tiberiadis**)

*Allusion:* Jn 6:1-15 AUEv 4.10.13/409.17

*Allusion:* Jn 6:1-21 AUEv 4.10.19/414.25

**<6:2> et sequebatur eum multitudo magna quia uidebant signa quae faciebat super his qui infirmabantur**

*Adaptation:* [Jn 6:1] *et secutam multitudinem magnam* AUEv 2.45.94/201.7

**<6:3> subiit ergo in montem iesus et ibi sedebat cum discipulis suis**

*Adaptation:* [Jn 6:2] *deinde abisse in montem et ibi sedisse* cum discipulis suis AUEv 2.45.94/201.8

**<6:4> erat autem proximum pascha dies festus iudaeorum**

*Adaptation:* [Jn 6:3] *proximo pascha die festo* iudaeorum AUEv 2.45.94/201.8



**<6:5> cum subleuasset ergo oculos iesus et uidisset quia multitudo maxima uenit ad eum dicit ad philippum unde ememus panes ut manducent hii**

*Adaptation: [Jn 6:4] tunc leuatis oculis et uisa multitudine maxima pauisse eam* AUEv 2.45.94/201.9

*ita enim dicit [sc.iohannes] cum subleuasset ergo iesus oculos et uidisset quia multitudo maxima uenit ad eum dicit ad philippum unde ememus panes ut manducent hi* AUEv 2.46.95/202.19 (ms F2 dominus iesus, mss χ ω oculos iesus, ms r dixit, ms C1 panes et manducent, mss B R C P H L g hii)

*Allusion: euangelium loquitur. ait inquit philippo habetis panes date illis manducare [Jn 6:6] (ms F habetes, ms L1 L2 L4 habentes, mss p and maur unde ememus panes ut manducent hii (ms p5 maur hi))* AUs 2.87

**<6:6> hoc autem dicebat temptans eum ipse enim sciebat quid esset factururus**

*[Jn 6:5] hoc autem dicebat temptans eum ipse enim sciebat quid esset factururus* AUEv 2.46.95/202.21

*hoc autem dicebat temptans eum ipse enim sciebat quid esset factururus* AUJo 24.3.12 [CT]

*[Jn 6:5] et sequitur euangelista hoc autem dicebat temptans eum ipse enim sciebat quid esset factururus* AUs 2.89 (ms L temptans illos)

*euangelium ubi legimus quia interrogabat discipulum temptans eum ipse autem sciebat quid esset factururus* AUs 71.10.15/452

*quasi in euangelio de domino scriptum non sit hoc autem dicebat temptans eum nam ipse sciebat quid esset factururus (in Matt 6:13)* AUs dni 2.9.31.665

**<6:7> respondit ei philippus ducentorum denariorum panes non sufficiunt eis ut unusquisque modicum quid accipiat**

*[Jn 6:6] respondit ei philippus ducentorum denariorum panes non sufficiunt eis ut unusquisque modicum quid accipiat* AUEv 2.46.95/202.23 (ms R subficiunt, mss B1 L om.ut, mss C1 P eis et unusquisque)

*quid ergo ait philippus? ducentorum denariorum panes non sufficiunt eis ut unusquisque modicum quid accipiat* AUEv 2.46.96/204.18 (ms B1 unusquoque)

**<6:8> dicit ei unus ex discipulis eius andreas frater simonis petri**

*[Jn 6:7] dicit ei unus ex discipulis eius andreas frater simonis petri* AUEv 2.46.95/203.1 (ms R dicit enim, mss E1 L om.ex, ms L discipulus, mss C P V F r symonis)

*andreas ait* AUJo 24.4.1 [CT]

**<6:9> est puer unus hic qui habet quinque panes hordiacios et duos pisces sed haec quid sunt inter tantos**

*[Jn 6:8] est puer unus hic qui habet quinque panes hordiacios et duos pisces sed haec quid sunt inter tantos* AUEv 2.46.95/203.2

*cum enim dixisset est puer unus hic qui habet quinque hordiacos et duos pisces adiunxit etiam ipse sed haec quid sunt inter tantos* AUEv 2.46.96/205.7 (mss D g hic unus, mss B R T C1 F O N1 M E1 L om.panes, cett. add.panes, mss C2 P add. panes post hordiacios)

*est hic puer quidam qui habet quinque panes et duos pisces sed haec quid sunt ad tantos* AUJo 24.4.1 [CT]

*Adaptation: quinque panes hordeacei quibus in monte dominus turbas pauit significant ueterem legem* AUq 61.3

*Adaptation: duo autem pisces qui saporem suauem pani dabant duas illas personas uidentur significare* AUq 61.19 (ms C hi autem, ms O II autem)

*Allusion: non enim ab aliquo euangelista dictum est quod isti panes hordeacei fuerint, sicut de illis quinque dixit iohannes* AUq 61.129

*Allusion: sexagesima prima de eo quod scriptum est in euangelio turbas dominum in monte pauisse de panibus quinque (in AUq 61) (mss X L dominum in heremo)* AUre 1.26.164

*Allusion: quinque panes significant quinque libros legis moysi...duo pisces sunt aut duo praecepta dilectionis dei et proximi aut duo populi ex circumcissione et praepitio* AUs 130.1/725

*Allusion: propterea et duo pisces cum illis quinque panibus hordeaceis sunt* AUs 198.51/130.1240 (AUs DoI 26)

**<6:10> dixit ergo iesus facite homines discumbere erat autem faenum multum in loco discubuerunt ergo uiri numero quasi quinque milia**

*[Jn 6:9] dixit ergo iesus facite homines discumbere erat autem faenum multum in loco discubuerunt ergo uiri numero quasi quinque milia* AUEv 2.46.95/203.4 (ms M edd v foenum, mss H1 discubuerunt om.ergo, mss e I discubuerunt autem, mss O N M om.quasi)

*et ait iesus facite homines discumbere erat autem ibi foenum multum et discubuerunt ferme quinque millia hominum* AUJo 24.4.6 [CT]

*Allusion: nam et ipsae turbae quinque milia hominum fuerunt* AUq 61.6

*Allusion: quod autem super fenum turba illa discubuit...[1Pet 1:24]* AUq 61.112

*Allusion: neque in ipsa turba quinque milia hominum fuerunt sicut illic* AUq 61.139

**<6:11> accepit ergo panes iesus et cum gratias egisset distribuit discumbentibus similiter et ex piscibus quantum uolebant**

[Jn 6:10] accepit ergo panes iesus et cum gratias egisset distribuit discumbentibus similiter et ex piscibus quantum uolebant AUEv 2.46.95/203.7 (mss r v iesus panes, ms B1 picibus)  
accepit **autem dominus iesus** panes **gratias egit** AUJo 24.4.8 **et de** piscibus quantum **sufficiebat** AUJo 24.4.12 [CT]

**<6:12> ut autem impleti sunt dixit discipulis suis colligite quae superauerunt fragmenta ne pereant**

[Jn 6:11] ut autem impleti sunt dixit discipulis suis colligite quae superauerunt fragmenta ne pereant AUEv 2.46.95/203.9 (mss A1 E1 L colligite, ms M fragmenta quae supersunt, mss g e superauerant)

**<6:13> collegerunt ergo et impleuerunt duodecim cofinos fragmentorum ex quinque panibus hordiaciis quae superfuerunt his qui manducauerunt**

[Jn 6:12] collegerunt ergo et impleuerunt duodecim **cophinos** fragmentorum ex quinque panibus hordiaciis quae superfuerunt his qui manducauerunt AUEv 2.46.95/203.11 (mss C1 P Q colligerunt, mss H A E1 L collegerunt **autem**, mss R T C P O cofinos, hordiaciis variatim, mss B M H L manducauerunt, ms cet., edd **manducauerant** (cf. Mk 6:44, Mt 15:38))

et impleuerunt duodecim cophinos fragmentorum AUJo 24.4.14

*Adaptation: de reliquiis fragmentorum duodecim cofini bucellarum repleti sunt* AUq 61.116

*Allusion: duodecim cophini sunt duodecim apostoli* AUs 130.1/725

*Adaptation: unde illic ex reliquiis fragmentorum duodecim cophini implentur* AUs 198.51/130.1248 (AUs Dol 26)

**<6:14> illi ergo homines cum uidissent quod fecerat signum dicebant quia hic est uere propheta qui uenturus est in mundum**

illi homines cum uidissent quod fecerat signum dicebant quia hic est uere propheta AUJo 24.7.2 [CT]

**<6:15> iesus ergo cum cognouisset quia uenturi essent ut raperent eum et facerent eum regem fugit iterum in montem ipse solus**

*iohannes...non tacet ita contexens* iesus ergo cum cognouisset quia uenturi essent ut raperent eum et facerent eum regem fugit iterum in montem ipse solus AUEv 2.47.100/207.13 (ms B cognosset, ms B raparent, ms C1 rapirent, mss A E1 om. **et facerent eum**, ms N facerent **om.eum**, mss C1 P monte)

*Allusion: mattheus dixit ascendit, iohannes autem fugit quod esset contrarium si fugiens non ascenderet* AUEv 2.47.100/208.9

*iohannes autem cum cognouisset inquit* quia uenturi esset **ut facerent** eum regem fugit iterum in montem ipse solus AUEv 2.47.100/208.12 (mss O N1 H **et facerent**)

*Allusion: to Jn 6:15-72* AUEv 4.10.15/410.5

iesus ergo cum cognouisset quia **uenerant** ut raperent eum et facerent eum regem fugit iterum in montem ipse solus AUJo 25.1.5 [CT]

**<6:16> ut autem sero factum est descenderunt discipuli eius ad mare**

[Jn 6:15] ut autem sero factum est descenderunt discipuli eius ad mare AUEv 2.47.100/207.15 (ms B1 om.ut, ms B1 a sero)

*iohannes uero prius eum commemorat fugisse solum in montem ac deinde* ut autem sero factum est *inquit* descenderunt discipuli eius ad mare AUEv 2.47.100/209.2

ut autem sero factum est descenderunt discipuli eius ad mare AUJo 25.5.10 [CT]

**<6:17> et cum ascendissent nauem uenerunt trans mare in capharnaum et tenebrae iam factae erant et non uenerat ad eos iesus**

[Jn 6:16] et cum ascendissent nauem uenerunt trans mare in capharnaum et tenebrae iam factae erant et non uenerat ad eos iesus AUEv 2.47.100/207.17 (mss A1 E1 L1 a e om.in, ms M iesus ad eos)

[Jn 6:16] et cum ascendissent nauem AUEv 2.47.100/209.4 (mss g v nauim)

et cum adscendissent **nauculam** uenerunt trans mare in capharnaum **tenebrae** iam factae erant et non uenerat ad eos iesus AUJo 25.5.11 [CT]

**<6:18> mare autem uento magno flante exsurgebat**

[Jn 6:17] mare autem uento magno flante exsurgebat AUEv 2.47.100/207.19  
uento magno flante **mare** exsurgebat AUJo 25.6.1 [CT]

**<6:19> cum remigassent ergo quasi stadia uiginti quinque aut triginta uident iesum ambulans super mare et proximum naui fieri et timuerunt**

cum remigassent ergo quasi stadia uiginti quinque aut triginta AUJo 25.6.3 *tunc ad eos uenit iesus* AUJo 25.6.13 [CT]

**<6:20> ille autem dicit eis ego sum nolite timere**  
ego sum nolite timere AUJo 25.7.15 [CT]

**<6:21> uoluerunt ergo accipere eum in nauis et statim fuit nauis ad terram quam ibant**  
uoluerunt ergo **eum accipere** in **nauim** et statim fuit nauis ad terram **in** quam ibant AUJo 25.7.17 [CT]

**<6:22> altera die turba quae stabat trans mare uidit quia nauicula alia non erat ibi nisi una et quia non introisset cum discipulis suis iesus in nauem sed soli discipuli eius abissent**  
altera die turba quae stabat trans mare uidit quia nauicula **non** erat ibi nisi una et quia non introisset cum discipulis suis **in** nauem sed soli discipuli eius **abiissent** AUJo 25.8.1 [CT]  
*Allusion: Jn 6:22-72 AUEv 2.48.102/211.4*

**<6:23> aliae uero superuenerunt naues a tiberiade iuxta locum ubi manducauerant panem gratias agente domino**  
aliae uero superuenerunt naues a tiberiade iuxta locum ubi manducauerant panem gratias agente domino AUJo 25.8.4 [CT]

**<6:24> cum ergo uidisset turba quia iesus non esset ibi neque discipuli eius ascenderunt nauiculas et uenerunt capharnaum quaerentes iesum**  
cum ergo **uidisset turbae** quia iesus non esset ibi neque discipuli eius adscenderunt **in** nauiculas et uenerunt capharnaum quaerentes iesum AUJo 25.8.7 [CT]

**<6:25> et cum inuenissent eum trans mare dixerunt ei rabbi quando huc uenisti**  
et cum inuenissent eum trans mare dixerunt ei rabbi quando huc uenisti AUJo 25.9.6 [CT]  
et cum inuenissent eum **turbae** AUJo 25.9.1

**<6:26> respondit eis iesus et dixit amen amen dico uobis quaeritis me non quia uidistis signa sed quia manducastis ex panibus et saturati estis**  
*iohannes ipse commemorat...cum dixisset [sc. dominus] turbis amen amen dico uobis quaeritis me non quia signa uidistis sed quia edistis de panibus et satiati estis AUEv 4.10.15/410.10 (ms B1 non quasi signa, ms Ns manducastis ex panibus meis)*  
respondit **iesus** et dixit amen amen dico uobis quaeritis me non quia uidistis signa sed quia manducastis ex panibus **meis** AUJo 25.10.5 [CT]

**<6:27> operamini non cibum qui perit sed qui permanet in uitam aeternam quem filius hominis uobis dabit hunc enim pater signauit deus**  
*Allusion: nisi sugens lac tuum aut fruens te cibo qui non corrumpitur AUcf 4.1.18*  
*[Jn 6:26] operamini non cibum qui perit sed qui permanet in uitam aeternam AUEv 4.10.15/410.12 (ms B in uita aeterna)*  
*[Gen 2:9] quae non corrumpitur qua beatae animae pascuntur nam et dominus dicit operamini escam quae non corrumpitur AUGn Ma 2.12.16 (mss G N om. qua - corrumpitur)*  
operamini non cibum qui perit sed qui permanet in uitam aeternam quem filius hominis **dabit uobis** AUJo 25.10.16 hunc enim pater signauit deus AUJo 25.11.3 [CT]  
cibum **non** qui perit sed qui permanet in uitam aeternam AUJo 25.10.22  
hunc **deus pater signauit** AUJo 25.11.21  
*cibum non* qui perit sed qui permanet in uitam aeternam AUJo 25.11.32  
operamini **escam non quae** perit sed **quae** permanet in uitam aeternam AUJo 25.12.2  
**cibum non** qui perit sed qui permanet in uitam aeternam AUJo 25.12.7  
**cibum non** qui perit sed qui permanet in uitam aeternam AUJo 25.12.26  
**cibum non** qui perit sed qui permanet in uitam aeternam AUJo 25.12.34  
operamini **cibum non** qui perit sed qui permanet in uitam aeternam AUJo 25.12.46  
operamini **cibum non** qui perit sed qui permanet in uitam aeternam AUJo 25.13.6  
*Adaptation: unde et ad aliam escam quae non corrumpitur nos dominus exhortatur AUpec 2.26.42/114.1 (mss L V G K exhortatur)*  
*[Ps 5:11, Jn 6:51] et operamini escam quae non corrumpitur et [Ps 33:9] AUPs 5.15.2*  
*[Ps 110:5] escam quae non corrumpitur panem qui de caelo descendit [Jn 6:51] AUPs 110.5.3*  
*sermo s. augustini episcopi de uerbis de uerbis euangelii ego sum panis qui de caelo descendi et operamini*  
**escam non quae** perit sed **quae** permanet in **aeternum** AUs 130A.titulum/56.3 (AUs Dol 19)  
*ait autem ipse dominus sicut audiuius operamini escam quae non perit sed quae permanet in uitam aeternam*  
AUs 130A.1/57.12 (AUs Dol 19)  
*[Matt 15:17] operamini ergo escam quae non perit inquit sed quae permanet in uitam aeternam AUs*  
130A.1/57.15 (AUs Dol 19)  
*de quo idem dominus dicit operamini escam quae non corrumpitur et illud [Jn 6:41] (in Matt 6:11) AUs dni*  
2.7.26.521

*nam de ipsis dominus dicit operamini* **escam quae non corrumpitur** AUs dni 2.7.27.559 (ms B **corrumpit**)

[Paulinus & Therasia] Allusion: AUep 24.1/78.16 in his me oblecto de his cibum capio non illum qui perit sed qui operatur uitae aeternae substantiam per fidem nostram

**<6:28> dixerunt ergo ad eum quid faciemus ut operemur opera dei**

dixerunt ergo ad eum quid faciemus ut operemur opera dei AUJo 25.12.1 [CT]

dixerunt **enim** ad eum **iudaei** quid faciemus ut operemur **opus** dei AUprae 7.12/969 (edd operemur **opera** dei) *bene qui...interrogauerunt quid faciemus inquit* ut operemur **opus** dei AUs 130A.2/57.24 (AUs Dol 19)

**<6:29> respondit iesus et dixit eis hoc est opus dei ut credatis in eum quem misit ille**

respondit iesus et dixit eis hoc est opus dei ut credatis in eum quem misit ille AUJo 25.12.5 [CT]

hoc est opus dei ut credatis in eum quem **ille misit** AUJo 29.6.32

[Jn 6:28] respondit iesus et dixit **illis** hoc est opus dei ut credatis in eum quem misit ille AUprae 7.12/969

*dominus cum dixisset quae supra memorauimus* hoc est opus dei ut credatis in eum quem misit ille [Jn 6:36-7]

AUprae 8.13/970

*dominus in euangelio dicit* hoc est opus dei ut credatis in eum quem **ille misit** AUPs 89.17.22

hoc est opus dei *dominus ait* ut credatis in eum quem **ille misit** AUPs 104.7.35

*totum autem opus dei in eo definiuit filius dei ut diceret* hoc est opus dei ut credatis in eum quem **ille misit** AUs 14A.3/70.42 (AUs Dol 20)

*unde iam locuti sumus* hoc est opus dei ut credatis in eum quem **ille misit** AUs 14A.5/71.73 (AUs Dol 20)

[Jn 6:40] *tamquam diceret* hoc est opus dei AUs 14A.5/71.74 (AUs Dol 20)

*duas res dixit [qui uiderit]* hoc est opus dei ut credatis in eum quem **ille misit** AUs 14A.5/71.77 (AUs Dol 20)

*interrogatus autem dominus iesus quod esset opus dei respondit* hoc est opus dei ut credatis in eum quem **ille misit** AUs 49.29

*a domine audiui* hoc est opus dei ut credatis in eum AUs 49.35 (mss L2 L4 **opus uestri**)

[Jn 6:28] *et illo miro magnoque compendio* hoc est *inquit* opus dei ut credatis in **illum** quem **ille misit** AUs 130A.3/57.25 (AUs Dol 19)

*quare? quia* hoc est opus dei AUs 130A.2/57.30 (AUs Dol 19)

*Adaptation:* hoc est opus dei ut *credas inquit* in eum quem **ille misit** AUs 130A.2/57.35 (AUs Dol 19)

hoc est *enim* opus dei ut credatis in eum quem **ille misit**. *non dixit credatis ei aut credatis eum sed credatis in eum* AUs 130A.3/58.54 (AUs Dol 19)

*ecce in quem credamus ut opus dei faciamus quia* hoc ipsum est opus dei **credere** in eum [Rom 4:5] AUs 130A.3/59.77 (AUs Dol 19)

*Adaptation:* hoc *enim* est opus dei *nec est aliud quicquam opus dei nisi ut credamus* in eum quem **ille misit** AUs 130A.4/59.102 (AUs Dol 19)

*quid me ultra mones?* hoc est opus dei AUs 130A.4/59.80 (AUs Dol 19)

*cum quaesiero quid faciam? respondet breuissime* hoc est opus dei ut credatis in eum quem misit ille AUs 130A.4/59.86 (AUs Dol 19)

hoc est *enim* opus dei *quoniam supra definiuit* AUs 130A.4/59.92 (AUs Dol 19)

*ecce quam uerum dictum est* hoc est opus dei ut credatis in eum quem **ille misit** AUs 130A.5/61.130 (AUs Dol 19)

hoc est *enim* opus dei ut credatis in eum quem **ille misit** AUs 130A.7/62.167 (ms M om.est) (AUs Dol 19)

**<6:30> dixerunt ergo ei quod ergo tu facis signum ut uideamus et credamus tibi quid operaris**

dixerunt ergo ei quod ergo tu facis signum ut uideamus et credamus tibi quid operaris AUJo 25.12.21 [CT]

**<6:31> patres nostri manna manducauerunt in deserto sicut scriptum est panem de caelo dedit eis manducare**

patres nostri manna manducauerunt in deserto sicut scriptum est **dedit illis manna** manducare AUJo 25.12.42 [CT]

**<6:32> dixit ergo eis iesus amen amen dico uobis non moyses dedit uobis panem de caelo sed pater meus dat uobis panem de caelo uerum**

dixit ergo eis iesus amen amen dico uobis non moyses dedit uobis panem de caelo sed pater meus **dedit** uobis panem de caelo **uerus** AUJo 25.13.1 [CT]

pater meus dat uobis panem **uerum** AUJo 25.13.12

**<6:33> panis enim dei est qui descendit de caelo et dat uitam mundo**

cf. Jn 6:41, Jn 6:51

**enim panis** est qui **de caelo descendit** et dat uitam mundo AUJo 25.13.3 [CT]

[Jn 6:32] panis enim dei est qui descendit de caelo et dat uitam mundo AUJo 25.13.12

*tantum delectat panis uitae* qui **de caelo descendit** AUs 130A.7/61.160 (AUs Dol 19)

**<6:34> dixerunt ergo ad eum domine semper da nobis panem hunc**

dixerunt ergo ad eum domine **da nobis semper** panem hunc AUJo 25.13.14 [CT]

**<6:35> dixit autem eis iesus ego sum panis uitae qui ueniet ad me non esuriet et qui credit in me non sitiet umquam**

cf. Jn 6:48, Jn 6:54, Jn 6:55, Jn 6:57

dixit autem eis iesus ego sum panis uitae qui **uenit** ad me non esuriet et qui credit in me non sitiet umquam AUJo 25.14.1 [CT]

*Allusion: dominus noster iesus christus qui panem se dixit* AUs 130A.1/56.5 (AUs Dol 19)

*Reminiscence: de quo dominus ait panem hunc qui manducauerit non esuriet et potum quem ego dederō qui biberit non sitiet in aeternum* AUs 389.1/1702

*Allusion: das unde non esuriat homo post paululum famem iterum passurus; accipis unde famem nunquam sitimque patiaris* AUs 389.3/1703

*dominus panis est. ego sum inquit panis uitae* AUs 389.6 (webtext; not in Migne)

*Allusion: deus per quem sitimus potum quo hausto numquam sitiamus* (mss K G sitimus, mss C pc. D sitiemus) AUso1 1.3/7.6

**<6:36> sed dixi uobis quia et uidistis me et non creditis**

sed dixi uobis quia et uidistis me et non **credidistis** AUJo 25.14.8 [CT]

[Jn 6:29] in eodem ipso sermone suo paulo post ait dixi uobis quia et uidistis me et non **credidistis** AUprae 8.13/970

**<6:37> omne quod dat mihi pater ad me ueniet et eum qui uenit ad me non eiciam foras**

quomodo ipse dicit omne quod dat mihi pater ad me ueniet et eum qui uenit ad me non **eiciam** foras AUcorr 23.29 (mss D C **ad me uenit**)

omne quod dat mihi pater ad me ueniet et eum qui **uenerit** ad me non eiciam foras AUJo 25.14.11 [CT]

et eum qui **ueniet** ad me non eiciam foras AUJo 25.15.1

qui **ueniet** ad me AUJo 25.15.8

qui **ueniet** ad me non eiciam foras AUJo 25.15.9

qui **ueniet** non eiciam foras AUJo 25.15.10

qui **ad me uenerit** non eiciam foras AUJo 25.16.26

[Jn 6:36] omne quod dat mihi pater ad me ueniet *quid est* ad me ueniet *nisi credet in me?* sed ut fiat pater dat AUprae 8.13/970

**<6:38> quia descendi de caelo non ut faciam uoluntatem meam sed uoluntatem eius qui misit me**

cf. Jn 4:34, Jn 5:30, Jn 6:40

*hoc ipsum quod dicit iesus descendi de caelo non ut faciam uoluntatem meam sed uoluntatem eius qui **me misit*** AUAr 7.1 (ms O **ut non**, ms Y **misit me**)

*propter hoc ergo ait descendi de caelo non ut faciam uoluntatem meam sed uoluntatem eius qui **me misit*** AUAr 7.27 (mss A F H M Y **misit me**)

*Adaptation: non facit uoluntatem suam sed eius a quo missus est* AUAr 8.50

*Adaptation: quando et ipse dei filius in euangelio non gloriam suam se quaerere dixit neque uoluntatem suam uenisse facere sed uoluntatem eius qui eum misit* AUGal 3.5 (ms d **suam gloriam**, ms B **dicit**, mss B1 G T H **dixerit**, ms C **dixerat**, ms d **uoluntatem se uenisse**, mss S E **misit eum**)

*Adaptation: quippe qui non uenit facere uoluntatem suam sed uoluntatem eius a quo missus est* (mss b d eius uoluntatem) AUGn li 8.14/254.11

**non ueni facere** uoluntatem meam sed uoluntatem eius qui misit me AUJo 22.15.9

quia descendi de caelo non ut faciam uoluntatem meam sed uoluntatem eius qui misit me AUJo 25.15.2 [CT]

**non ueni facere** uoluntatem meam sed eius uoluntatem qui misit me AUJo 25.12.23

quia **non ueni facere** uoluntatem meam sed uoluntatem eius qui misit me AUJo 25.15.18

quia **non ueni facere** uoluntatem meam sed uoluntatem eius qui misit me AUJo 25.16.27

*nam et illud quod dictum est* descendi de caelo non ut faciam uoluntatem meam sed uoluntatem eius qui **me misit** AUMax 2.20.3/789

[Jn 16:15]...*hoc secundum id quod homo factus est dixisse accipiat* descendi de caelo non ut faciam uoluntatem meam sed uoluntatem eius qui **me misit** AUMax 2.20.3/789

*Adaptation: ille qui non uenit uoluntatem suam facere sed uoluntatem eius qui eum misit* AUPs 9.3.14

*Allusion: omnia opera sua non nisi ad uoluntatem referat patris saepissime contestans ideo se uenisse ut uoluntatem patris impleat* AUPs 87.10.15

*christum...qui totiens dicit **non ueni facere** uoluntatem meam sed uoluntatem eius qui **me misit*** AUs 7.59 (ms K **misit me patris**)

*Allusion: qui saepe testatus est dicens uoluntatem facio patris mei qui me misit* AUs 136.2/751

*ipse dominus dicit cum ait [Jn 4:34] et saepe **non ueni facere** uoluntatem meam sed uoluntatem eius qui **me misit** et cum ait [Matt 12:49-50] (in Matt 6:10) AUs dni 2.6.21.465 (mss F B R T am fr lou **sed eius qui (om. uoluntatem)**, mss M W B **misit me**)*

*secundum formam serui non uenit facere uoluntatem suam sed uoluntatem eius qui misit eum* AUtri 1.11.24 (mss K T Eug (M P V) misit eum, mss cett codd Vinc  $\mu$  eum misit)  
*Reminiscence: ad eum qui de caelo descendit pondere caritatis* AUvg 37.38/279.14

[AUG quoting SA] *sicut ipse ait* descendi de caelo non ut faciam uoluntatem meam sed uoluntatem eius qui **me misit** AUAr 6.4 (ms Y **misit me**)

[MAX] *propter cuius uoluntatem faciendam de caelo descendit ut ait* descendi de caelo non ut faciam uoluntatem meam sed uoluntatem eius qui misit me AUMax co 20/736

**<6:39> haec est autem uoluntas eius qui misit me patris ut omne quod dedit mihi non perdam ex eo sed resuscitem illum nouissimo die**

*cf. Jn 6:44, Jn 6:55*

[Jn 6:37] *et paulo post* haec est **inquit uoluntas** eius qui misit me patris ut omne quod dedit mihi non perdam ex eo AUcorr 23.30

*Adaptation: quemadmodum ipse dicit ad patrem* ut omne quod *dedisti* mihi [Jn 3:15] AUcorr 21.7

haec est autem uoluntas eius qui misit me patris ut omne quod dedit mihi non perdam ex eo sed **resuscitabo illud in** nouissimo die AUJo 25.19.1 [CT]

omne quod dedit mihi **pater** non perdam ex eo AUJo 25.19.9

**qui uenit ad me resuscitabo eum in** nouissimo die AUJo 25.19.13

*propter hos dominus ait* haec est autem uoluntas eius qui misit me patris ut omne quod dedit mihi non perdam ex eo AUJul 5.4.14

*Adaptation: [Jn 6:45] istorum autem nemo perit quia* omne quod dedit ei pater non perdet ex eo *quidquam* AUprae 16.33/985

*audistis et euangelium his sermonibus concordare.* uoluntas **inquit patris est** ut **omnia quae** dedit mihi non **pereant** [Jn 6:40] AUs 170.10.10/932

**<6:40> haec est enim uoluntas patris mei qui misit me ut omnis qui uidet filium et credit in eum habeat uitam aeternam et resuscitabo ego eum in nouissimo die**

*cf. Jn 3:36*

*quem uult intellegi dominus ubi dicit* et resuscitabo **eum** in nouissimo die AUep 199.8.24/265.6

haec est enim uoluntas patris mei qui misit me ut omnis qui uidet filium et credit in eum habeat uitam aeternam et **ego resuscitabo** eum in nouissimo die AUJo 25.19.14 [CT]

ut omnis qui uidet filium et credit in eum habeat uitam aeternam et resuscitabo ego eum in nouissimo die AUJo 25.19.22

*ad hoc et nos exhortamur lectione quae sequitur quae hodie ex euangelio recitata est* haec est **uoluntas** patris **ut qui uiderit** filium et **crediderit** in eum habeat uitam aeternam et **ego suscitabo** eum in nouissimo die. *finem quaerebas: plus quaeris quam uitam aeternam?* haec est **uoluntas** patris **ut <qui> uiderit** filium et **crediderit** in eum habeat uitam aeternam et **ego suscitabo** eum in nouissimo die AUs 14A.5/71.66 (qui add. ed) (AUs Dol 20)

[Jn 6:29] *et hic quid ait?* haec est **uoluntas** patris AUs 14A.5/71.74 (AUs Dol 20)

[Jn 6:29] *qui enim facit opus dei facit uoluntatem dei* haec est **uoluntas** patris **ut qui <uiderit>** filium et **crediderit** in eum habeat uitam aeternam AUs 14A.5/71.75 (uiderit add. ed) (AUs Dol 20)

[Jn 6:29] *hic autem addidit* qui **uiderit** et **crediderit** AUs 14A.5/71.78 (AUs Dol 20)

[Jn 6:39] **sed habeant** uitam aeternam et **ego resuscitabo eos** in nouissimo die AUs 170.10.10/932

*quod promissum est in euangelio* et **ego resuscitabo eos** in nouissimo die AUs 170.11.11/933

*Reminiscence: [Matt 7:21] sed qui facit uoluntatem patris mei qui me misit* (mss C D E K L R T V only; ms V misit me) AUq 76.73

**<6:41> murmurabant ergo iudaei de illo quia dixisset ego sum panis qui de caelo descendit**

*cf. Jn 6:33, Jn 6:51, Jn 6:59*

*Adaptation: sacramentum corporis et sanguinis eius* panis qui de caelo **descendit** [in Job 36:15] AUJb 36/590.11

*Adaptation: cum dominus panem se esse dixisset* qui de caelo descendit *murmurauerunt* iudaei AUJo 26.1.2

*Adaptation: qui ibi erit adeps frumenti nisi panis ille qui descendit de caelo ad nos* AUPs 147.21.16

[Ps 5:10] *ego sum inquit* panis qui de caelo descendit *et [Jn 6:27] et [Ps 33:9]* AUPs 5.15.1

[Jn 6:27] *panem* qui de caelo descendit *quem nullis meritis dedit* AUPs 110.5.3

*ego sum inquit* panis qui de caelo descendit AUs 53.4.4/366

*Adaptation: ipse est panis qui de caelo descendit* AUs 130.2/726

*sermo s. augustini episcopi de uerbis euangelii* ego sum panis qui de caelo descendit AUs 130A1.tit/56.2 (ms M manu posteriore ego sum panis uiuus, i.e. Jn 6:51) (AUs Dol 19)

[Ps 35:10]. *qui mihi dicit* ego sum panis qui de caelo descendit AUs 158.7.7/866

*manducabatur quia panis erat.* ego sum *inquit* panis qui de caelo descendit AUs 179.5.5/969

**<6:42> et dicebant nonne hic est iesus filius ioseph cuius nos nouimus patrem et matrem quomodo ergo dicit hic quia de caelo descendi**

et **dixerunt** nonne hic est iesus filius ioseph cuius nos nouimus patrem et matrem quomodo ergo **hic dicit** quia **descendi de caelo** AUJo 26.1.3 [CT]

**<6:43> respondit ergo iesus et dixit eis nolite murmurare in inuicem**

nolite murmurare **ad** inuicem AUJo 26.2.2 [CT]

**quid murmuratis** in inuicem AUJo 26.11.39

[Jn 6:37] *item paulo post nolite inquit murmurare inuicem* AUprae 8.13/970

**<6:44> nemo potest uenire ad me nisi pater qui misit me traxerit eum et ego resuscitabo eum nouissimo die**

*cf. Jn 6:39, Jn 6:40, Jn 6:55, Jn 6:66*

*cum ipse dicat* nemo **uenit** ad me nisi pater qui misit me traxerit eum AUAr 30.4 (ms St **nemo uiuit**, ms X **me misit**, ms U **adtraxerit**, mss a b m (all bold) **illum**)

*satis ipse demonstrauit ubi ait* nemo **uenit** ad me nisi pater qui misit me traxerit eum AUChr 1.10/134.26

*christum audias dicentem* nemo **ad me uenit** nisi **quem** pater **adtraxerit** AUep 93.2.6/450.1

*ipse diceret* nemo potest uenire ad me nisi pater qui misit me traxerit eum AUep 194.3.12/185.17 (mss P P1 M edd **attraxerit**)

nemo potest uenire ad me nisi pater qui misit me traxerit eum AUJo 26.2.4 et ego resuscitabo eum **in** nouissimo die AUJo 26.6.6 [CT]

nemo **uenit** ad me nisi pater qui misit me traxerit eum AUJo 26.2.24

nemo **uenit** ad me nisi **quem pater attraxerit** AUJo 26.4.1

**pater quem traxerit** uenit ad me AUJo 26.4.26

**pater quem traxerit** AUJo 26.5.1

**pater quem traxerit** AUJo 26.5.2

nemo **uenit** ad me nisi pater qui misit me traxerit eum AUJo 26.6.5

nemo **uenit** ad me nisi pater qui misit me traxerit eum AUJo 111.1.13

*propter hoc intellegitur dictum quia nemo uenit nisi quem uenire uoluit.* nemo potest uenire ad me *inquit filius* nisi pater qui misit me traxerit eum *et [Jn 6:66]* AUJul 4.8.44

*ipso domino dicente* nemo **uenit** ad me nisi pater qui misit me traxerit eum AUJul 5.4.14

*Reminiscence: quod ut faciant quis attrahat in euangelio lege* AUJul im 1.110.11

*legant etiam illud quod ipse dominus ait* nemo potest uenire ad me nisi pater qui misit me traxerit eum AUPel 1.3.6/427.21

[Jn 6:64] *sententiam scilicet iterauit qua dixerat* nemo potest uenire ad me nisi pater qui misit me traxerit eum AUPel 1.3.6/428.4 (ms V **me misit**)

*non mihi sed illi qui clamat* nemo potest uenire ad me nisi pater qui misit me traxerit eum *non enim ait duxerit ut*

*illic aliquo modo intellegamus praecedere uoluntatem* AUPel 1.19.37/454.15 (ms V **me misit**)

*ait princeps fidei* nisi pater qui misit me traxerit eum AUper 19/44.11 (ms b **pater meus**)

[Jn 6:43] nemo potest uenire ad me nisi pater qui misit me traxerit eum et ego **eum resuscitabo in** nouissimo die AUprae 8.13/970

*hoc est illis datur ut credant illis non datur.* quia nemo *inquit* **uenit** ad me nisi pater qui misit me traxerit eum AUprae 8.15/972

*quam gratiam commendat in euangelio dicens* nemo potest uenire ad me nisi pater qui misit me traxerit eum AUPs 87.10.53

*Adaptation: nemo uenit ad me nisi quem tu adtraxeris* AUPs 87.12.15

quia nemo **uenit inquit** ad me nisi **quem pater adtraxerit** AUPs 134.22.55

*quod ait iesus* nemo **uenit** ad me nisi **quem** pater **attraxerit** AUq 38.8 (ms P **ad me uenit**, mss G\* H\* **traxerit**)

*ipsum audi uocantem* nemo **ad me uenit** nisi pater qui **me misit** traxerit eum AUs 30.228 (mss V maur **uenit ad me**, ms V6 **misit me**)

*redi ad dominum dicentem* nemo **uenit** ad me nisi **quem** pater **attraxerit** AUs 112A.11

*si superiora euangelii recolamus inueniemus eum dixisse* nemo **uenit** ad me nisi pater qui misit me traxerit eum. *non dixit duxerit sed* traxerit AUs 131.2.2/730

[Euodius] [Jn 14:9] et [Jn 14:6] et nemo **uenit** ad me nisi **quem** pater **adtraxerit** AUep 160.4/506.8

[PETI] *petilianus dixit dicit enim dominus christus* nemo **ad me uenit** nisi **quem** pater **attraxerit** AUPet 2.84.185/115.9 (ms v **uenit ad me**, ms Om1 **attraxerit**)

**<6:45> est scriptum in prophetis et erunt omnes docibiles dei omnis qui audiuit a patre et didicit uenit ad me**

*cf. Is. 54:13*

*sicut* scriptum est in prophetis **docibiles** dei AUChr 1.13/137.1 (in Is. 54:13)

*dominus ait* omnis qui audiuit a patre **meo** et didicit uenit ad me AUChr 1.14/137.24

*sicut ueritas loquitur* omnis **qui didicit** uenit AUChr 1.14/137.29

sed omnis qui audiuit *inquit* a patre et didicit uenit ad me AUChr 1.14/138.13  
*Reminiscence: quid hominem ad aliquid descendum adiuuat homo si non simus docibiles domini* (ms G\* non similes simus dociles domini (m1 corr. both)) AUep 184A 1.1/732.15  
*Reminiscence: necessitas qua hominem docet aliquid homo ut simus omnes dociles deo* (mss m D **docibiles dei** but he says in D variant codd. inter deo et dei) AUep 193.4.13/175.17  
*Adaptation: multo quippe melius omnes sumus docibiles deo* (mss M F A P1 R **dociles**) AUep 266.2/648.16  
*scriptum est enim in prophetis et erunt omnes docibiles dei omnis qui audiuit a patre et didicit uenit ad me* AUJo 26.7.1 [CT]  
 omnis qui audiuit a patre et didicit uenit ad me AUJo 77.2.13  
*Adaptation: sitis omnes docibiles deo* AUJo 96.4.18  
*Allusion: ut sint ambo docibiles deo* AUJo 98.8.10  
*[Jn 6:44] est scriptum in prophetis et erunt omnes docibiles dei omnis qui audiuit a patre et didicit uenit ad me. quid est omnis qui audiuit a patre et didicit uenit ad me nisi nullus est qui audiat a patre et discat et non ueniat ad me? si enim omnis qui audiuit a patre et didicit uenit profecto omnis qui non uenit non audiuit a patre nec didicit: nam si audisset et didicisset, ueniret. neque enim ullus audiuit et didicit et non uenit sed omnis ut ait ueritas qui audiuit a patre et didicit uenit* AUprae 8.13/970  
*Reminiscence: sed ubi et quomodo a patre audierint hoc et didicerint non uidemus* AUprae 8.13/971  
*Reminiscence: quando ergo pater intus auditur et docet ut ueniatur ad filium aufertur cor lapideum* AUprae 8.13/971  
*et tamen secundum quemdam modum omnes pater docet uenire ad suum filium non enim frustra scriptum est in prophetis et erunt omnes docibiles dei. quod testimonium cum praemisisset tunc subdidit omnis qui audiuit a patre et didicit uenit ad me* AUprae 8.14/971  
*non enim fallit aut fallitur qui ait omnis qui audiuit a patre et didicit uenit ad me. absit ergo ut quisquam non ueniat qui a patre audiuit et didicit* AUprae 8.14/971  
*ad hanc uocationem qui pertinent omnes sunt docibiles dei* AUprae 16.33/985  
*omnes enim docibiles dei ueniunt ad filium quoniam audierunt et didicerunt a patre per filium qui euidentissime dicit omnis qui audiuit a patre et didicit uenit ad me* AUprae 16.33/985  
*ueritatis namque uerbum est omnis qui audiuit a patre et didicit uenit ad me* AUPs 11.s27.8.7  
*Reminiscence: doceat eos deus qui sunt docibiles deo* AUPs 118.s32.3.3  
*impletur scriptura prophetica qua dictum est erunt omnes docibiles deo* AUPs 134.22.60  
*Adaptation: necessitas qua hominem docet aliquid homo et simus omnes dociles deo* (mss T f\* q **docibiles deo**, mss C2 L B E P V Z f2 maur **docibiles dei**) [citing AUep 193.4] AUqDu 3.100  
*ut non opus sit quemquam doceri per hominem sed sint omnes ut scriptum est docibiles deo* (in Matt 6:10) AUs dni 2.6.20.441  
*quae omnia tunc utique non erunt cum erunt omnes docibiles deo* (in Matt 6:11) AUs dni 2.10.37.809 (mss F β Hr edd **omnes erunt**)

#### <6:46> non quia patrem uidit quisquam nisi is qui est a deo hic uidit patrem

non quia patrem uidit quisquam nisi is qui est a deo hic uidit patrem AUJo 26.9.3 [CT]  
 non quia patrem uidit quisquam **sed** qui est a deo hic uidit patrem AUJo 26.9.12  
*proferens euangelicum testimonium ubi dicit ipse filius non quia patrem uidit quisquam sed qui est a deo hic uidit patrem* AUMax 1.3/745  
*cum enim contra te commemorasses euangelicum testimonium quo claruit a filio uideri patrem dicente ipso filio sed qui est a deo hic uidit patrem mox addidisti de tuo sed uidit incapabilem* AUMax 1.3/746  
*illud autem quod ait non quia patrem uidit quisquam nisi qui est a deo hic uidit patrem; ad homines referri potest quod dictum est quisquam* AUMax 2.9.1/763  
*Allusion: et ita uidet filius patrem ut quo eum uidet hoc ipso sit filius* AUtri 2.1.48  
*[MAX] legimus in euangelio non quia uidit patrem quisquam nisi qui est a deo hic uidit patrem* AUMax co 9/728

#### <6:47> amen amen dico uobis qui credit in me habet uitam aeternam

amen amen dico uobis qui credit in me habet uitam aeternam AUJo 26.10.1 [CT]  
 amen amen dico uobis qui **in me credit** habet uitam aeternam AUJo 26.10.12

#### <6:48> ego sum panis uitae

cf. Jn 6:35  
 ego sum panis uitae AUJo 26.11.1 [CT]  
*Reminiscence: deus qui nobis das panem uitae* AUso1 1.3/7.6

#### <6:49> patres uestri manducauerunt in deserto manna et mortui sunt

cf. Jn 6:59  
*contra sententiam domini disputabit dicentis patres uestri manducauerunt manna in deserto et mortui sunt* AUep 186.8.28/67.21 (ms H manna manducauerunt, ms V mannam)  
 patres uestri manducauerunt in deserto manna et mortui sunt AUJo 26.11.2 [CT]  
 manducauerunt **manna** et mortui sunt AUJo 26.11.4



patres uestri **manna manducauerunt** et mortui sunt AUJo 26.11.41  
*[AUG citing Aduersarium] sed ait eis dominus inquit parentes* uestri **manna** manducauerunt et mortui sunt  
*docens neminem ipsorum ad dominum pertinuisse quibus mors dominata est* AUleg 2.5.536 (ms R edd. **ait de eis**, ms  $\phi$  **docet**)  
*de quibus dominus ait* patres uestri manducauerunt **manna** in deserto et mortui sunt AUleg 2.5.574 (ms T ait dominus)  
*Allusion: manducetur panis de caelo ut uiuatur non manna sicut illi* manducauerunt et mortui sunt AUPs 101.s1.5.30  
*manna de caelo aperte ab ipso domino exponitur.* patres uestri manducauerunt *inquit* **manna** in **eremo** et mortui sunt AUs 352.3/1551  
manducauerunt *inquit* **manna** et mortui sunt AUs 352.3/1551  
*dicit dominus* patres uestri manducauerunt **manna** in **eremo** et mortui sunt. *quid est enim* patres uestri? AUs 352.3/1552  
*sicut ergo hoc loco dicit* patres uestri manducauerunt **manna** in **eremo** et mortui sunt. *quid est enim* patres uestri? AUs 352.3/1552

**<6:50> hic est panis de caelo descendens ut si quis ex ipso manducauerit non moriatur**  
*propter illud quod ait iesus* hic est panis **qui de caelo descendit** ut si quis ex ipso manducauerit non moriatur AUci 21.19.5 (ms g **discendit**, ms g **om. ut**, ms D **ex eo**, ms B **manducauerit ex ipso**, ms H **ex ipso pane manducauerit**, ms g **moriatur**)  
*quam ob rem quod ait dominus iesus* hic est panis **qui de caelo descendit** ut si quis ex ipso manducauerit non moriatur AUci 21.25.19  
*ipse enim saturabuntur pane* **qui de caelo descendit** AUep 140.24.61/206.22  
*[Jn 6:49] hic est panis de caelo descendens ut si quis ex ipso manducauerit non moriatur* AUep 186.8.28/67.22 (mss O P H **qui de caelo**, ms O **discendens**, ms P **descendi**, ms H **descendit**, ms Vm2 **moriatur**)  
hic est panis **qui de caelo descendit** AUJo 26.12.1 ut si quis **manducauerit ex ipso** non moriatur AUJo 26.12.19 [CT]  
hic est panis de caelo descendens ut si quis **manducauerit ex ipso** non moriatur AUJo 26.12.18  
panis **qui de caelo descendit** AUJo 123.2.20

**<6:51> ego sum panis uiuus qui de caelo descendi**  
**see also Jn 6:33, 6:41 and 6:59**  
*[Jn 6:50] ego sum panis uiuus qui de caelo descendi* AUci 21.12.6  
*[Jn 6:50] ego sum panis uiuus qui de caelo descendi* AUci 21.25.21  
*ubi scriptum est [1Pet 5:8]...[Matt 10:16]...[2Cor 11:3] in bono panis* ego sum panis uiuus qui de caelo descendi *in malo panis* [Prov. 9:17] AUdo 3.25.22 (ms P **discendi**)  
*Adaptation: cur non et manna christus tamquam* panis uiuus qui de caelo *descendit* AUFau 12.29/357.16  
ego sum panis uiuus qui de caelo descendi AUJo 11.4.31  
ego sum panis uiuus qui de caelo descendi AUJo 26.13.1 [CT]  
*nisi quod dictum est* ego sum panis uiuus qui de caelo descendi *et [Jn 6:52] et [Jn 6:54]* AUpec 1.24.34/34.1 (ms b **uitae**)  
*Adaptation: est enim et frumentum dei siquidem est* panis uiuus qui de caelo *descendit* AUPs 4.9.7  
*ille dixit* ego sum panis uiuus qui de caelo descendi *et [Matt.5:6]* AUPs 33.s2.15.29  
*quis est panis?* ego sum panis uiuus qui de caelo descendi AUPs 48.s2.8.23  
*ipse est enim* panis uiuus qui de caelo *descendit* AUPs 68.s2.17.5  
*ipse qui dixit* ego sum panis uiuus qui de caelo descendi AUPs 84.9.27  
*si non esset panis uerbum dei per quod facta sunt omnia non diceret* ego sum panis uiuus qui de caelo descendi AUPs 90.s2.6.71  
*in eius enim corpore es qui ait* ego sum panis uiuus qui de caelo descendi AUPs 101.s1.5.26  
*illum qui ait* ego sum panis uiuus qui de caelo descendi *[Ps 102.5]* AUPs 102.10.46  
*et ait suis* ego sum panis uiuus qui de caelo descendi AUPs 131.24.28  
*panis autem est si christus est* ego sum *inquit* panis uiuus qui de caelo descendi AUPs 138.1.10  
*clamemus ad panem: est enim* panis uiuus qui de caelo *descendit* AUPs 139.17.14  
ego sum *inquit* panis uiuus qui de caelo descendi AUPs 143.10.18  
*se ipsum commendans ait* ego sum panis uiuus qui de caelo descendi AUs 28.30  
*Reminiscence: panem uiuum tibi emas qui de caelo descendit* AUs 37.457  
*qui huc inde a nos uenit* ego sum panis uiuus qui de caelo descendi AUs 45.151 (mss C22m,  $\beta$ ,  $\gamma$ , delata, maur **ego sum inquit**)  
*quia ipse dixit* ego sum panis uiuus qui de caelo descendi AUs 53A.11  
*nisi christum qui dicit* ego sum panis uiuus qui de caelo descendi AUs 83.2.2/515  
*qui dixit* ego sum panis uiuus qui de caelo descendi AUs 85.4.4/522  
*ipse tibi diceret* ego sum panis uiuus qui **descendi** de caelo AUs 106.4.4/627  
*nisi qui dicit* ego sum panis uiuus qui de caelo descendi AUs 112.5.5/645  
*ipse est panis* ego sum panis uiuus qui de caelo descendi AUs 340A.9

*quod est ipse panis uiuus qui de caelo descendi* AUs 350.1/1533  
*[Jn 6:49]...ego sum inquit panis uiuus qui de caelo descendi* AUs 352.3/1551  
*quis est enim panis noster nisi ille qui dixit* ego sum panis uiuus qui de caelo descendi AUs 360C.3/304.41 (AUs Dol 27)  
*testimonio eius manifestissimo* ego sum panis uiuus qui de caelo descendi AUs 360C.3/304.44 (AUs Dol 27)  
*[Eph 2:14] qui ergo dicit* ego sum panis uiuus qui de caelo descendi AUs 360C.3/304.45 (AUs Dol 27)  
*dominus dicit [Jn 6:27] et illud* ego sum panis **uitae** qui de caelo descendi (*in Matt 6:11*) AUs dni 2.7.25.522 (ms K uiuus)  
*Reminiscence: qui est panis uiuus et apud quem fons uitae* AUsp 36.65/227.23

**<6:52> si quis manducauerit ex hoc pane uiuet in aeternum et panis quem ego dabo caro mea est pro mundi uita**

*de quo dicit sacerdos ipse panis quem ego dedit* caro mea est pro **saeculi** uita AUci 17.5.146  
*[Jn 6:51] si quis manducauerit ex hoc pane uiuet in aeternum* AUci 21.19.7  
*[Jn 6:51] si quis manducauerit ex hoc pane uiuet in aeternum* AUci 21.25.21  
*si quis manducauerit ex hoc pane uiuet in aeternum et panis quem ego dabo caro mea est pro mundi uita* AUJo 26.13.3 [CT]  
*Adaptation: iesus christum dominum nostrum qui dedit carnem suam* pro mundi uita AUJul 6.2.4  
*quandoquidem creator ipse per quem facta sunt omnia panis inquit* quem ego **dedit** caro mea est pro mundi uita. *quid ergo? mundus per filium factus est et creator est filius: caro eius quae data est pro mundi uita* AUMax 2.17.2/784  
*[Jn 6:54] et ubi est quod eodem loco de hac ipsa re ait* panis quem ego **dedit** caro mea est pro **saeculi** uita AUpec 1.20.27/26.20 (ms b mundi)  
*[Jn 6:51] et panis quem ego dedit* caro mea est pro **saeculi** uita et *[Jn 6:54]* AUpec 1.24.34/34.2  
*de qua dicit ipse uita* panis quem ego **dedit** caro mea est pro **saeculi** uita et *[Jn 6:54]* AUs 228B.3  
*Adaptation: de quo dominus ait panem hunc qui manducauerit non esuriet et potum quem ego dedit qui biberit non sitiet in aeternum* AUs 389.1/1702 (cf. Jn 6:35)

**<6:53> litigabant ergo iudaei ad inuicem dicentes quomodo potest hic nobis carnem suam dare ad manducandum**

*litigabant ergo iudaei ad inuicem dicentes quomodo potest hic* **carnem suam nobis** dare ad manducandum AUJo 26.14.1 [CT]  
*dixerunt enim* quomodo potest hic nobis **dare manducare** carnem suam AUPs 33.s1.8.29  
*[Jn 6:54] et illi in quibus regnabat achis id est error et ignorantia quid dixerunt?* quomodo **iste poterit nobis dare** carnem suam **manducare** AUPs 33.s2.12.10

**<6:54> dixit ergo eis iesus amen amen dico uobis nisi manducaueritis carnem filii hominis et biberitis eius sanguinem non habetis uitam in uobis**

*praedicabat carnem suam christus et dicebat qui non manducauerit* carnem filii hominis et **biberit** eius sanguinem non **habebit in se** uitam. AU1Jo 1.12/1987 (*webtext sanguinem eius*)  
*quoniam ipse dominus dicit nisi quis manducauerit* carnem **meam** et **biberit sanguinem meum** non **habebit in se** uitam AUCre 1.25.30/350.27 (ms Rm1 **habebat**)  
*nisi manducaueritis inquit* carnem filii hominis et **sanguinem biberitis** non **habebitis** uitam in uobis AUdo 3.16.4 (ms B1 **fili**, ms K1 **habetis**, ms K i.r. **in uobis**) (CSELms mss S M **et biberitis eius sanguinem**)  
*de qua dicit ipse saturator* nisi manducaueritis carnem **meam** et **sanguinem biberitis** non **habebitis** uitam in uobis AUep 140.25.62/207.21  
*et paulo post [sc. Jn 6:50] amen amen dico uobis nisi manducaueritis carnem filii hominis et biberitis eius sanguinem non habebitis uitam in uobis AUep 186.8.28/68.3 (mss C O **amen x1**, ms P **nisi qui**)  
*Adaptation: ipsi magistro et domino apostolorum qui dicit non habituros* uitam in semet ipsis nisi manducauerint carnem filii hominis et biberint sanguinem *quod nisi baptizati non utique possunt* AUep 186.8.29/68.20 (ms Vm2 biberint eis)  
*Adaptation: non accepta gratia regenerationis in christo sine cibo carnis eius et sanguinis potu non habere in se uitam* AUep 186.8.30/69.10 (ms V **cibu**)  
*Reminiscence: quando baptizati uel non baptizati sunt quando carnem christi manducarunt uel non manducarunt quando sanguinem biberunt uel non biberunt secundum haec ergo quae per corpus gesserunt...iudicantur* AUep 217.5.16/415.23  
*et dicit dominus in euangelio si quis non manducauerit* carnem **meam** et **biberit** sanguinem **meum** non **habebit in se** uitam AUFau 12.8/336.24  
*Reminiscence: qui autem manducare contempnit non habebit in se uitam* (mss C S L1 contempnit), mss L\* **habitu**?) AUFau 13.16/396.8  
*nisi quis manducauerit* carnem **meam** et biberit sanguinem **meum** non **habebit in se** uitam AUJo 11.4.12  
*nisi quis manducauerit* carnem **meam** et biberit sanguinem **meum** non **habebit in se** uitam AUJo 11.5.10  
*nisi quis manducauerit* carnem **meam** et biberit sanguinem **meum** non **habebit in se** uitam AUJo 11.5.35*

amen amen dico uobis nisi manducaueritis carnem filii hominis et biberitis eius sanguinem non **habebitis** uitam in uobis AUJo 26.15.3 [CT]

nisi **quis manducauerit** carnem **meam** et biberit sanguinem **meum** non **habebit in se** uitam AUJo 27.5.5  
*an dicente christo si non* manducaueritis **meam** carnem et biberitis **meum** sanguinem non **habebitis** uitam in uobis AUJul 3.1.4

*Adaptation: ubi etiam ponis quia et uita carebunt quoniam non manducauerunt carnem nec biberunt sanguinem filii hominis* AUJul 3.12.25

*contradicit christus antichristo et dicit* nisi manducaueritis carnem **meam** et biberitis **sanguinem meum** non **habebitis** uitam in uobis AUJul im 3.38.90 (ms C uiueritis sanguinem)

[Jn 6:56] *et* nisi manducaueritis carnem **meam** et biberitis **sanguinem meum** non **habebitis** uitam in uobis AUleg 1.24.1523 (ms R **sanguinem meum biberitis**)

*sed cum dominus dicat* nisi manducaueritis carnem **meam** et biberitis **sanguinem meum** non **habebitis in uobis** uitam AULv 57.1490 (in Lev 17:10-12) (mss P S T Am  $\mu$  z **meum sanguinem** mss S T **habetis**, ms T **uitam in uobis**)

*nemo rite nisi baptizatus accedit* nisi manducaueritis carnem **meam** et biberitis sanguinem **meum** non **habebitis** uitam in uobis AUpec 1.20.26/26.4 (ms Gm1 **manducaberitis**, ms b **biberetis**)

*quia non ait 'qui non manducauerit' sicut de baptismo* [Jn 3:5] *sed ait* **si non** manducaueritis AUpec 1.20.27/26.13  
*tunc dominus loquebatur quia non ait 'qui non manducauerit' sed* **si non** manducaueritis AUpec 1.20.27/26.19

*Adaptation: quoniam qui non* manducauerit carnem eius *et qui incredulus est filio non* **habebit** uitam *sed ira dei manet super eum* (cf. Jn 3:36) AUpec 1.23.33/33.2 (ms b **incredulus fuerit**, ms V **nec habebit**, ms z **habet**, ms M **manebit**)

[Jn 6:52] *et* **si non** manducaueritis carnem filii hominis et **sanguinem biberitis** non **habebitis** uitam in uobis AUpec 1.24.34/34.3 (mss L S **fili**)

*Reminiscence: numquid etiam illud quia* nisi manducauerint homines carnem eius *hoc est participes facti fuerint corporis eius* non **habebunt** uitam AUpec 3.4.8/134.14

*sanguinis christi dicente ipso* nisi manducaueritis carnem **meam** et biberitis **sanguinem meum** non **habebitis** uitam in uobis AUPel 1.22.40/458.2

*Adaptation: maxime quando conuincuntur non eos habere posse uitam aeternam quia non manducauerunt carnem nec biberunt sanguinem christi* AUprae 13.25/978

*quando dicebat dominus* nisi **quis manducauerit** carnem **meam** et biberit sanguinem **meum** non **habebit in se** uitam AUPs 33.s2.12.7

*quando loquebatur dominus noster iesus christus de corpore suo ait* nisi **quis manducauerit** carnem **meam** et biberit **sanguinem meum** non **habebit in se** uita AUPs 33.s1.8.4

*cum enim diceret* nisi **quis manducauerit** carnem **meam** et biberit **sanguinem meum** non **habebit** uitam in **se** AUPs 54.23.5

*tunc autem quando hoc dominus commendauit de carne sua locutus erat et dixerat* nisi **quis manducauerit** carnem **meam** non **habebit in se uitam** AUPs 98.9.38

[Jn 6:67] *durus illis uisum est quod ait* nisi **quis manducauerit** carnem **meam** non **habebit uitam aeternam** AUPs 98.9.43

*commendans talem escam et talem potum diceret* nisi manducaueritis carnem **meam** et biberitis **sanguinem meum** non **habebitis** uitam in uobis AUs 131.1.1/729

*ipse enim dixit* **qui non manducat carnem meam nec bibit sanguinem meum** non **habebit in se uitam** AUs 132A.2

[Jn 6:52] *et* nisi **quis manducauerit** carnem **meam** et biberit **sanguinem meum** non **habebit in se uitam** AUs 228B.3

[Innocentius] *Adaptation: nisi enim manducauerint carnem filii hominis et biberint* **sanguinem** eius non **habebunt** uitam in semet ipsis AUep 182.5/720.8 (ms P4 eius sanguinem)

[Innocentius in AUep 182, cited by Augustine] nisi enim manducauerint carnem filii hominis et biberint **sanguinem** eius non **habebunt** uitam in semet ipsis AUPel 2.4.7/467.12

[Innocentius in AUep 182] *Adaptation: qui denique paruulos definiuit nisi manducauerint carnem filii hominis uitam prorsus habere non posse* AUJul 1.4.13

[Innocentius in AUep 182] *Adaptation: dicit nisi manducauerint carnem domini et sanguinem biberint uitam paruulos habere non posse* AUJul 1.7.32

[Valentinus] *quia et cum diceret dominus* **qui non manducauerit** carnem filii hominis **neque biberit sanguinem** eius non **habebit** uitam in **semet ipso** discesserunt AUep 216.2/398.3

<6:55> **qui manducat meam carnem et bibit meum sanguinem habet uitam aeternam et ego resuscitabo eum in nouissimo die**

cf. Jn 6:39, Jn 6:44, Jn 6:57

qui manducat meam carnem et bibit meum sanguinem habet uitam aeternam et ego resuscitabo eum in nouissimo die AUJo 26.16.4 [CT]

*Allusion: sicut audiuius cum sanctum euangelium legeretur dominus iesus christus exhortatus est promissione uitae aeternae ad manducandum carnem suam et bibendum sanguinem suum* AUs 132.1.1

**<6:56> caro enim mea uere est cibus et sanguis meus uere est potus**

caro enim mea uere est cibus et sanguis meus uere est potus AUJo 26.17.1 [CT]

*dominus autem talia dicebat quae amari praeciperet non timeri et tamen quae infidelitas sufferat* caro **mea** uere **cibus** est et sanguis meus uere **potus** est AUleg 1.24.1522 (mss G S2 **mea est et uere cibus**, mss S1 W **mea et uere cibus**)

[Jn 6:54] caro enim mea uere **esca est** et sanguis meus uere **potus** est AUPs 33.s1.8.4

*de qua esca dicitur* caro **mea** uere est **esca** [Ps 135:26] AUPs 135.9.27

*Adaptation: locutus est enim nobis de corpore et sanguine suo: corpus dixit escam sanguinem potum* AUs 131.1.1/729

*de uerbis euangelii iohannis* caro **mea** uere **esca est** et sanguis meus uere **potus** est AUs 132 incipit/734  
*et forte modo cum euangelium legeretur dixistis in cordibus uestris putamus quid est quod dicit* caro **mea** uere **esca est** et sanguis meus uere **potus** est AUs 132.1.1/735

**<6:57> qui manducat meam carnem et bibit meum sanguinem in me manet et ego in illo**

*cf. Jn 15:5*

*denique ipse dicit* qui manducat **carnem meam** et bibit **sanguinem meum** in me manet et ego in **eo** AUci 21.25.78 (ms g **bibet**)

qui manducat **carnem meam** et bibit **meum sanguinem** in me manet et ego in illo AUJo 26.18.3 [CT]

qui manducat **carnem meam** et bibit **sanguinem meum** in me manet et ego in illo AUJo 27.1.7

qui **manet in me** et ego in illo AUJo 27.12.1

*Adaptation: ad regnum meum non amittatur nec uita uiuat quia carnem sanctam non manducauit nec sanguinem bibit. an et contra istam christi sententiam disputabis?* (ms C sanguinem uiuit) AUJul im3.44.23

*Allusion: christum iesum carnem suam nobis manducandam bibendumque sanguinem dantem* AUleg 2.9.1003  
*illud etiam quod ait* qui manducat **carnem meam** et bibit **sanguinem meum** in me manet et ego in illo AUs 71.11.17/453

*ut scias quid dictum sit* qui manducat **carnem meam** et bibit **sanguinem meum** in me manet et ego in illo AUs 132.1.1/735

*quomodo ipse dicit* qui manducat **carnem meam** et bibit **sanguinem meum** in me manet et ego in illo AUs 132A.2

**<6:58> sicut misit me uiuens pater et ego uiuo propter patrem et qui manducat me et ipse uiuet propter me**

sicut misit me uiuens pater et ego uiuo propter patrem et qui manducat me et ipse uiuet propter me AUJo 26.19.1 [CT]

sicut **me misit** uiuens pater et ego uiuo propter patrem et qui manducat me et ipse uiuet propter me AUJo 26.19.21

*et tamen ait* qui manducat me **uiuit** propter me AUs 132A.1

**<6:59> hic est panis qui de caelo descendit non sicut manducauerunt patres uestri manna et mortui sunt qui manducat hunc panem uiuet in aeternum**

*cf. Jn 6:40*

hic est panis qui de caelo descendit non sicut manducauerunt patres uestri manna et mortui sunt qui manducat hunc panem uiuet in aeternum AUJo 26.20.1 [CT]

*haec est iustitia fidei quam praedicamus* hic est panis **uiuus** qui de caelo descendit AUs 130A.12/61.160 (AUs Dol 19)

*Reminiscence: aliud nos qui eius participatione uiuemus in aeternum* AUtri 1.6.35

**<6:60> haec dixit in synagoga docens in capharnaum**

*de quibus euangelium sic loquitur ubi dominus cum commendasset manducandum carnem suam et bibendum sanguinem suum ait euangelista* haec dixit in synagoga docens in capharnaum AUcorr 22.6

**<6:61> multi ergo audientes ex discipulis eius dixerunt durus est hic sermo quis potest eum audire**

[Jn 6:54] *septuaginta ferme homines dixerunt* durus est hic sermo AU1Jo 1.12/1987 (*webtext iste sermo*)

*recederent dicentes* durus est hic sermo quis **eum** potest audire AUci 10.24.37

[Jn 6:60] multi ergo audientes ex discipulis eius dixerunt durus est hic sermo quis potest eum audire AUcorr 22.7 (mss D C **eum potest**)

durus est hic sermo quis potest eum audire AUJo 11.5.13

multi **itaque** audientes ex discipulis eius dixerunt durus est hic sermo quis potest eum audire AUJo 27.2.1 [CT]

*isti...qui loquente christo...dixerunt* durus est hic sermo quis potest eum audire AUleg 1.24.1515 (ms α (i.e. G S W) **qui**)

*qui dixerunt* durus est hic sermo quis **eum** potest audire AUleg 2.9.997 (ms φ (i.e. R F1 P) **qui**)

[Jn 6:44]...*dicerent quidam etiam discipulorum eius* durus est hic sermo quis potest eum audire? AUprae 8.15/972

[Jn 6:54] *illi non intellegentes dixerunt ad inuicem durus est hic sermo quis potest eum audire? dicentes quia durus est **sermo hic** separauerunt se ab illo* AUPs 54.23.7  
*dicebant iudaei: quid est quod dicit? durus est hic sermo quis potest **illum** audire? non scimus qui dicat* AUPs 68.s1.7.24

[Jn 6:54] *scandalizati sunt discipuli eius quidam septuaginta ferme et dixerunt durus est hic sermo quis potest eum **intellegere*** AUPs 98.9.41

*et dixerunt durus est hic sermo* AUPs 98.9.47

*qui dixerunt durus est hic sermo quis potest eum audire* AUPs 113.s1.11.7

[Jn 6:54] *...scandalizati sunt discipuli eius non quidem omnes sed plurimi dicentes apud se ipsos durus est hic sermo quis **eum** potest audire?* AUs 131.1.1/729

[Jn 6:65] *ipsi dicebant durus est hic sermo quis **eum** potest audire* AUs 131.1.1/730

**<6:62> sciens autem iesus apud semet ipsum quia murmurarent de hoc discipuli eius dixit eis hoc uos scandalizat**

[Jn 6:61] *sciens autem iesus apud semet ipsum quia **murmurant** de hoc discipuli eius dixit eis hoc uos scandalizat* AUcorr 22.8 (mss B E D G C *murmurant*, mss undecim recc., abcdefg *murmurabant*, mss F nonnulli recc., hijk *murmurent*, ms no.80 *murmurauerunt*)

*sciens autem iesus apud semetipsum quia murmurarent de **eo** discipuli eius...**hoc** uos scandalizat* AUJo 27.3.1 [CT]

[Jn 6:61] *sciens **iesus** apud semetipsum quia murmurarent de hoc discipuli eius dixit eis hoc uos scandalizat* AUprae 8.15/972

[Jn 6:61] *cum autem hoc dominus apud semetipsum cognovisset et murmura cogitationis audisset cogitantibus nec uoce sonantibus respondit ut se auditos esse cognoscerent et talia cogitare desinerent. quid ergo respondit?* hoc uos scandalizat? AUs 131.1.1/729

[Jn 6:63] *quid sibi uult hoc uos scandalizat* AUs 131.1.1/729

**<6:63> si ergo uideritis filium hominis ascendentem ubi erat prius**

[Jn 6:62] *si ergo uideritis filium hominis ascendentem ubi erat prius* AUcorr 22.10

*si ergo uideritis filium hominis adscendentem ubi erat prius* AUJo 27.3.7 [CT]

**cum** uideritis filium hominis adscendentem ubi erat prius AUJo 27.3.12

**cum** uideritis filium hominis adscendentem ubi erat prius AUJo 27.4.8

[Jn 6:62] *si ergo uideritis filium hominis ascendentem ubi erat prius* AUs 131.1.1/729

*quid si ergo uideritis filium hominis ascendentem ubi erat prius* AUs 131.1.1/729

**<6:64> spiritus est qui uiuificat caro non prodest quicquam uerba quae ego locutus sum uobis spiritus et uita sunt**

*Allusion: caro quid potest* AUAr 10.9

*respondit manentibus ceteris spiritus est qui uiuificat caro **autem** non prodest quicquam* AUci 10.24.38 (ms a **om. autem**, ms C1 **quidquam**)

[Jn 6:63] *spiritus est qui uiuificat caro **autem** non prodest quicquam uerba quae ego locutus sum uobis spiritus et uita sunt* AUcorr 22.11

*Reminiscence: quod solum corpus uiuificat spiritus sanctus* AUep 185.10.46/40.13

*Reminiscence: in unitate corporis christi quod uiuificat spiritus sanctus* AUep 185.11.49/42.28

[Jn 6:44] *unde et paulo post ait uerba quae ego locutus sum uobis spiritus et uita sunt* AUep 194.3.12/185.19 (ms P **om.ego**)

*Reminiscence: tamen occidit si non uiuificet spiritus per quem fit* AUep 217.4.12/412.12

[Jn 6:26-7] *...qui potuerunt intellegere spiritus est qui uiuificat caro **autem nihil prode est*** AUEv 4.10.15/410.17

(ms B prodeest, ms ω procedit, cett. **prodest**)

*spiritus est qui uiuificat caro **autem nihil** prodest uerba quae **locutus** sum uobis spiritus **est et** uita* AUJo 11.5.37

*spiritus est qui uiuificat caro non prodest quidquam* AUJo 27.4.1 *uerba quae ego locutus sum uobis spiritus et uita **est*** AUJo 27.6.1 [CT]

*non prodest quidquam **caro*** AUJo 27.5.9

*spiritus **ergo** est qui uiuificat caro **autem** non prodest quidquam* AUJo 27.5.30

*spiritus **ergo** est qui uiuificat caro **autem** non prodest quidquam uerba quae ego locutus sum uobis spiritus et uita sunt* AUJo 27.6.24

*paulo post cum de suo corpore et sanguine loqueretur et scandalizati essent plurimi in sermone eius ait uerba quae ego locutus sum uobis spiritus et uita sunt* AUPel 1.3.6/427.25

*ubi dicit uerba quae ego locutus sum uobis spiritus et uita sunt* AUPERf 19/44.13

[Jn 6:62] *et paulo post uerba inquit quae ego locutus sum uobis spiritus et uita sunt* AUprae 8.15/972

[Jn 6:44] *et paulo post apertius hoc ipsum repetens ait uerba quae ego locutus sum uobis spiritus et uita sunt* AUPs 87.10.55

*ipse dominus dixit cum de ipsa commendatione eiusdem terrae loqueretur spiritus est qui uiuificat caro **autem nihil** prodest* AUPs 98.9.28

*spiritus est **enim** inquit qui uiuificat caro **autem nihil** prodest* AUPs 98.9.36

[Jn 6:62] ille autem instruxit eos et ait illis spiritus est qui uiuificat caro **autem nihil** prodest uerba quae **locutus** sum uobis spiritus **est** et uita AUPs 98.9.55  
*audimus enim ipsum dominum dicentem* spiritus est qui uiuificat caro **autem** non prodest quidquam uerba quae **locutus** sum uobis spiritus et uita sunt AUs 131.1.1/730  
*Reminiscence: aut uideri spiritus uel humanus potest qui carnem istam uiuificat* AUtri 2.18.31

**<6:65> sed sunt quidam ex uobis qui non credunt sciebat enim ab initio iesus qui essent credentes et quis traditurus esset eum**

[Jn 6:64] sed sunt quidam ex uobis qui non credunt sciebat enim ab initio iesus qui essent credentes et quis traditurus esset eum AUcorr 22.12  
*Reminiscence: tunc uoluisse hominibus apparere christum et apud eos praedicari doctrinam suam quando sciebat et ubi sciebat esse qui in eum fuerant credituri* AUep 102.14  
[Jn 6:64] sed sunt quidam ex uobis qui non credunt *deinde euangelista subiungit* sciebat enim ab initio iesus qui essent credentes et quis **esset** traditurus eum AUep 194.3.12/185.20 (ms P **quidem**, mss C O **in uobis**, mss P M **om.enim**)  
sed sunt quidam **in** uobis qui non credunt sciebat enim ab initio iesus qui essent credentes et quis traditurus esset eum AUJo 27.7.1 [CT]  
[Jn 6:64] sed sunt quidam ex uobis qui non credunt *deinde subiunxit euangelista* sciebat enim ab initio iesus qui essent credentes et quis traditurus esset eum AUPel 1.3.6/427.27 (mss G L **quidam in uobis**, mss D E F b d **iesus ab initio**, mss G L **esset traditurus**, ms C **crediturus esset**, ms V **eum esset**)  
[Jn 6:64] sed sunt quidam ex uobis qui non credunt sciebat enim ab initio iesus qui essent credentes et quis traditurus esset eum AUperf 19/44.14 (mss b d **quidam sunt**, mss b d **quis eum traditurus esset**)  
[Jn 6:64] sed sunt quidam ex uobis qui non credunt *et mox euangelista* sciebat enim *inquit* ab initio iesus qui essent credentes et quis traditurus esset eum AUPrae 8.15/972  
*Adaptation: AUPrae 9.17/973 (citing AUep 102.14) praedicari doctrinam suam quando sciebat et ubi sciebat esse qui in eum fuerant credituri*  
*Adaptation: AUPrae 9.18/974 quid enim est uerius quam praescisse christum qui et quando et quibus locis in eum fuerant credituri? sed utrum praedicato sibi christo a se ipsis habituri essent fidem*  
*Adaptation: AUPrae 9.18/974 (citing AUep 102.14) praedicari doctrinam suam quando sciebat et ubi sciebat esse qui in eum fuerant credituri*  
[Jn 6:64] sed sunt quidam ex uobis qui non credunt. *deinde interponit euangelista* sciebat enim ab initio iesus qui essent credentes et quis traditurus **eum esset** AUPs 87.10.56 (codd. **credentes** edd. **credituri**)  
[Jn 6:66] *supra dixerat* sed sunt quidam ex uobis qui non credunt AUPs 87.10.61  
[Jn 6:64] sed sunt *inquit* quidam **qui** non credunt AUs 131.1.1/730

**<6:66> et dicebat propterea dixi uobis quia nemo potest uenire ad me nisi fuerit ei datum a patre meo**  
*cf. Jn 3:27*

*et paulo post [sc. Jn 6:44]...dixi inquit* uobis quia nemo potest uenire ad me nisi fuerit ei datum a patre meo AUChr 1.10/134.28 (ms C\* **om.quia**, ms M **om. ad me**)  
[Jn 6:65] et dicebat propterea dixi uobis quia nemo **uenit** ad me nisi fuerit ei datum a patre meo AUcorr 22.14  
*et qui euangelio audito uenire ad christum hoc est in eum credere noluerunt quoniam ipse dixit* nemo **uenit** ad me nisi **ei datum fuerit** a patre meo AUcorr 12.4  
*dicente ipso domino cum de non credentibus loqueretur* nemo **uenit** ad me nisi **ei datum fuerit** a patre AUep 186.11.38/78.1  
[Jn 6:65]...*mox adiecit atque ait* et dicebat propterea dixi uobis quia nemo potest uenire ad me nisi fuerit ei datum a patre meo AUep 194.3.12/186.4 (ms P **om.et**, ms N **ei fuerit**)  
*Adaptation: quia nemo posset uenire ad illum nisi cui datum esset a patre* AUep 194.3.12/186.8 (mss C O P P1 M N edd **potest**, mss P P1 M edd **datum est**)  
*de credentibus quippe dominus dixit* nemo nemo potest uenire ad me nisi **datum** fuerit ei a patre meo AUep 199.12.47/285.21 (ms M ad me uenire, mss P P1 S P2 ei fuerit)  
*dominus iesus...nemo inquit* **uenit** ad me nisi fuerit ei datum a patre meo AUep 217.4.12/412.19  
*et tamen ait* nemo potest uenire ad me nisi **datum** fuerit ei a patre meo AUgr 5.10  
*propter quod ait* nemo **uenit** ad me nisi fuerit ei datum a patre meo AUhae 88.8  
propterea dixi uobis quia nemo potest uenire ad me nisi fuerit ei datum a patre meo AUJo 27.7.20 [CT]  
[Jn 6:44] *inquit filius [Jn 6:44] et* nemo potest uenire ad me nisi fuerit ei datum a patre meo AUJul 4.8.44  
[Jn 6:65] et dicebat propterea dixi uobis quia nemo potest uenire ad me nisi fuerit ei datum a patre meo *sententiam scilicet iterauit qua dixerat [Jn 6:44]* AUPel 1.3.6/428.1  
*Allusion: AUPel 1.3.7/429.7 et nemo potest credere in eum hoc est uenire ad eum* nisi fuerit illi datum (mss C E F **V est enim**)  
*quid illud quod iam commemorauit dixisse dominum* nemo potest uenire ad me *quod intellegitur 'credere in me'* nisi **ei datum** fuerit a patre meo AUPel 1.19.37/453.27  
*non audiant [1 Cor 4:7] non audiant [Jn 15:5] non audiant [1 Jn 4:7] non audiant [Rom 12:3] non audiant [Jn 3:8]*  
*non audiant* nemo potest uenire ad me nisi fuerit ei datum a patre meo [1 Esd 8:25] [Jer. 32:40] AUPel 4.6.14/534.25 (ms V **potes**, ms O **post nisi eras. pater**)

[Jn 6:65] et dicebat propterea dixi uobis quia nemo potest uenire ad me nisi fuerit ei datum a patre meo AUperf 19/44.16 (mss N b d **ad me uenire**, ms B **om.ei**)  
 [Jn 14:1] nec tamen ideo eius falsa sententia est nec uana definitio ubi ait nemo **uenit** ad me *id est* nemo credit in me nisi fuerit ei datum a patre meo AUpers 14.34/1013  
*non enim quicumque sed christus nemo inquit uenit* ad me nisi fuerit ei datum a patre meo et [Matt 13:11]...[Matt 19:11]...[1Cor 7:7] AUpers 14.37/1015  
*ut qui id haberent uenirent ad eum ad quem nemo uenit* nisi fuerit ei datum a patre *ipsius* AUpers 14.37/1016  
*Adaptation:* AUpers 14.37/1016 *hoc est cur illis datum sit a patre ut ueniant ad filium*  
 [Jn 6:65] et dicebat propterea dixi uobis quia nemo potest uenire ad me nisi fuerit ei datum a patre meo AUprae 8.15/972  
*credentes a non credentibus discernebat qui dicebat* nemo **uenit** ad me nisi fuerit ei datum a patre meo AUprae 8.15/972  
 [1Cor 16:8-9]...*secundum illud domini* nemo **ad me uenit** nisi **cui** datum **fuerit** a patre meo et [Matt 13:11] AUprae 20.40/990  
 [Jn 6:65] et *secutus atque ipsius domini uerba coniungens* ait et dicebat propterea dixi uobis quia nemo potest uenire ad me nisi fuerit ei datum a patre meo [continues with Jn 6:65] AUPs 87.10.59  
 [Jn 6:65] et *tamquam huius rei causam exponens* propterea dixi *inquit* uobis quia nemo potest uenire ad me nisi fuerit ei datum a patre meo AUPs 87.10.63  
*sed ut doceret nos etiam ipsum credere doni esse non meriti* **sicut inquit** dixi uobis **nemo uenit** ad me nisi **cui datum fuerit** a patre meo AUs 131.2.2/730  
*audiuit enim a ueraci magistro* nemo **uenit** ad me nisi **datum fuerit ei** a patre meo AUs 131.3.3/730

**<6:67> ex hoc multi discipulorum eius abierunt retro et iam non cum illo ambulabant**

[Jn 6:66] ex hoc multi discipulorum eius abierunt retro et iam non cum illo ambulabant AUcorr 22.15  
*Allusion: in euangelio scriptum est recessisse a domino septuaginta discipulos* (ms P1 LXX ta) AUep 173.10/647.5  
*Allusion: hinc erat quod eorum qui audierant loquentem de carne sua et sanguine suo quidam scandalizati abscesserunt* AUep 194.3.12/186.6  
 [Jn 6:66] *ut hoc diceret in eius doctrina fuerant scandalizati discipuli eius qui eum postea non sunt secuti* AUep 217.4.12/412.21  
 ex hoc multi discipulorum eius abierunt retro et iam non cum illo **ambulauerunt** AUJo 27.8.1 [CT]  
 [Jn 6:61] et **recesserunt** ab eo et **amplius cum eo non ambulauerunt** AUPs 98.9.42  
*Allusion: scandalizati sunt in uerbo eius et recesserunt* AUPs 98.9.54

[Valentinus] Reminiscence: quia et cum diceret domino [Jn 6:54] discesserunt AUep 216.2/398.5

**<6:68> dixit ergo iesus ad duodecim numquid et uos uultis abire**

*cum duodecim remansissent* ait illis dominus numquid et uos uultis **ire** AU1Jo 1.12/1987  
*etiam his qui remanserunt* ait numquid et uos uultis **ire** AUcat 11.40 (ms H **non quid**, ms D **abire**)  
*duodecim qui remanserunt fuisse responsum* numquid et uos uultis **ire** AUep 173.10/647.7  
*sic euangelista loquitur et dominus ipse remansit cum duodecim et illi ad eum domine ecce illi dimiserunt te et illi* numquid et uos uultis abire AUJo 11.5.19  
 numquid et uos uultis abire AUJo 11.5.31  
 dixit ergo iesus **duodecim** numquid et uos uultis **ire** AUJo 27.9.1 [CT]  
 [Jn 6:61] *remansit cum aliis duodecim. cum ei suggessissent illos in sermone eius fuisse scandalizatos* numquid et uos *inquit* uultis **ire**? AUPs 54.23.11

**<6:69> respondit ergo ei simon petrus domine ad quem ibimus uerba uitae aeternae habes**

[Jn 6:68]... *responderunt ex uoce petri* domine **uerbum** uitae aeternae habes **quo** ibimus? AU1Jo 1.12/1987  
 [Jn 6:68] respondit **petrus** domine ad quem ibimus uerba uitae aeternae habes AUJo 11.5.32  
 respondit ergo ei simon petrus domine ad quem ibimus uerba uitae aeternae habes AUJo 27.9.6 [CT]  
 [Jn 6:68] et petrus **uerbum** uitae aeternae habes **ad quem ibimus**? AUPs 54.23.11  
*proinde tamquam ipse petrus post illos duritia sicut putabant sermonis domini scandalizatos etiam hic diceret* **uerbum** uitae aeternae habes **ad quem ibimus** AUPs 54.24.1

**<6:70> et nos credidimus et cognouimus quia tu es christus filius dei**

et nos credidimus et cognouimus quia tu es christus filius dei AUJo 27.9.13 [CT]

**<6:71> respondit eis iesus nonne ego uos duodecim elegi et ex uobis unus diabolus est**

*de quo ante iam dixerat [Jn 13:21] et unus* ex uobis diabolus est AUci 17.18.46  
*cum itaque audimus* nonne ego uos duodecim elegi et **unus** ex uobis diabolus est AUcorr 14.32  
*non enim eo modo dictum est de petro [redi post me satanas Matt 16.23] quomodo dictum est de iuda* **unus** ex uobis diabolus est AUDo 25.74/320.25

*Adaptation: iudas qui dominum tradidit nonne inter duodecim apostolos numeratus est et cum eis unus ex eis ad praedicandum euangelium diabolus missus est* AUFau 22.63/658.26  
*rursus in euangelio* nonne ego uos duodecim elegi et ex uobis unus diabolus est AUGn li 11.24/356.19 (ms R none, ms P eligi, ms S zabulus (corr m1 sl))  
*et illud a domino dictum* nonne ego uos duodecim elegi et **unus** ex uobis diabolus est AUGn q 117.1483 (in Gen. 35:26) (ms S **om. nonne**, ms T **elegi uos duodecim**)  
nonne ego uos duodecim elegi et **unus** ex uobis diabolus est AUJo 27.10.1 [CT]  
nonne ego uos duodecim elegi et **unus** ex uobis diabolus est AUJo 59.1.20  
nonne ego uos duodecim elegi et **unus** ex uobis diabolus est AUJo 60.1.14  
*Allusion: quod uobis fecit christus qui eundem traditorem suum quem diabolum nominauit qui ante traditionem domini nec loculis dominicis fidem potuit exhibere* AUPs 10.6.26  
*nonne omnibus discipulis suis dixerat* ego uos duodecim elegi et **unus** ex uobis diabolus est AUPs 40.11.8  
*ait quippe discipulis* nonne ego uos duodecim elegi et **unus** ex uobis diabolus est AUPs 55.9.51

**<6:72> dicebat autem iudam simonis scariotis hic enim erat traditurus eum cum esset unus ex duodecim**  
NO CITATIONS

**<7:1> post haec ambulabat iesus in galilaeam non enim uolebat in iudaeam ambulare quia quaerebant eum iudaei interficere**

post haec ambulabat iesus in galilaeam non enim uolebat in iudaeam ambulare quia quaerebant eum iudaei interficere AUJo 28.2.3 [CT]

**nolebat ambulare** in iudaeam quia quaerebant eum iudaei **occidere** AUJo 28.2.12

**<7:2> erat autem in proximo dies festus iudaeorum scenopegia**

erat autem in proximo dies festus iudaeorum scenopegia AUJo 28.3.1 [CT]

*nouissimo illius festiuitatis die (tunc enim ista agebantur) quae appellatur scenopegia* AUJo 32.1.3  
*de hoc recentissimo euangelii capitulo....dies festus erat* iudaeorum scenopegia AUs 133.1/737

**<7:3> dixerunt autem ad eum fratres eius transi hinc et uade in iudaeam ut et discipuli tui uideant opera tua quae facis**

*Allusion: deinde suis fratribus id est cognatis carnis suae suggerentibus ut ascendat ad diem festum quo possit innotescere multitudini* AUEv 4.10.16/410.20

**fratres** eius AUJo 28.3.10 transi hinc et uade in iudaeam ut et discipuli tui uideant opera tua quae **tu** facis AUJo 28.4.2 [CT]

[Jn 7:2]... dixerunt **ergo ei sicut lectum audiui**mus fratres eius transi hinc et uade in iudaeam ut et discipuli tui uideant opera tua quae facis AUs 133.1/737

[Jn 7:8]...ideo illi dixerant transi hinc **in** iudaeam AUs 133.7/741

**<7:4> nemo quippe in occulto quid facit et quaerit ipse in palam esse si haec facis manifesta te ipsum mundo**

nemo **enim** in occulto quid facit et quaerit ipse in palam esse si haec facis manifesta te ipsum mundo AUJo 28.4.8 [CT]

[Jn 7:3] nemo **enim** in occulto quid facit et quaerit ipse in palam esse si haec facis manifesta **te** mundo AUs 133.1/737

**<7:5> neque enim fratres eius credebant in eum**

neque enim fratres eius credebant in eum AUJo 28.4.10 [CT]

[Jn 7:4] *deinde subiungit euangelista* neque enim fratres eius credebant in eum AUs 133.1/737

**<7:6> dicit ergo eis iesus tempus meum nondum aduenit tempus autem uestrum semper est paratum**

[Jn 7:3] *quanta altitudine respondit* tempus meum nondum aduenit tempus autem uestrum semper est paratum AUEv 4.10.16/410.22

*hoc est ergo* tempus uestrum semper est paratum AUEv 4.10.16/411.3

dicit ergo eis iesus tempus meum nondum **uenit** tempus autem uestrum semper est paratum AUJo 28.5.1 [CT]

tempus **uestrum** semper est paratum AUJo 28.7.26

tempus **uestrum** semper est paratum AUJo 28.7.32

[Jn 7:5] *si ergo non in eum credebant inuidiosa uerba subiciebant.* **respondit** eis iesus tempus meum nondum aduenit tempus autem uestrum semper est paratum AUs 133.1/737



**<7:7> non potest mundus odisse uos me autem odit quia ego testimonium perhibeo de illo quia opera eius mala sunt**

[Jn 7:6] non potest mundus odisse uos me autem odit quia ego testimonium perhibeo de illo quia opera eius mala sunt AUEv 4.10.16/411.1 (mss R D om. **ego**)

non potest mundus odisse uos me autem odit quia ego testimonium perhibeo de illo quia opera eius mala sunt AUJo 28.8.1 [CT]

*quis est enim mundus de quo dicit saluator mundi et uictor mundi* non potest mundus odisse uos me autem odit quia ego testimonium perhibeo de illo quia opera eius mala sunt AUJul 6.2.4

[Jn 7:6] non potest mundus odisse uos me autem odit quia ego testimonium perhibeo de illo quia opera eius mala sunt AUs 133.1/737

**<7:8> uos ascendite ad diem festum hunc ego non ascendo ad diem festum istum quia meum tempus nondum impletum est**

uos adscendite ad diem festum hunc ego non adscendo ad diem festum **hunc** quia meum tempus nondum impletum est AUJo 28.8.5 [CT]

*Allusion: de uerbis euangelii iohannis ubi iesus non se ascensurum ad diem festum dixerat et tamen ascendit* AUs 133 incipit/737

[Jn 7:7] uos ascendite **in** diem festum hunc ego non ascendo ad diem festum istum quia **tempus meum** nondum impletum est AUs 133.1/737

*ubi dixit* non ascendo ad diem festum *et ascendit* AUs 133.6/740

*quia dixit inquit* non ascendo ad diem festum *et ascendit* AUs 133.6/740

*ipsa uerba soluunt quaestionem. multis diebus agebatur ille dies festus. ad istum utique hodiernum festum* AUs 133.7/741

[Jn 7:9] *ergo* non ascendit ad **istum** diem festum AUs 133.7/741

non ascendo *inquit* ad diem festum. *dixit* non ascendo *ut occultaretur: addidit istum ne mentiretur* AUs 133.7/742 *et hoc est* ego non ascendo ad diem festum **istum** AUs 133.8/742

**<7:9> haec cum dixisset ipse mansit in galilaea**

haec cum dixisset ipse mansit in galilaea AUJo 28.8.15 [CT]

[Jn 7:8] *deinde sequitur euangelista* haec cum dixisset ipse mansit in galilaea AUs 133.1/737

[Jn 7:8] *attende quod sequitur* haec cum dixisset ipse mansit in galilaea AUs 133.7/741

**<7:10> ut autem ascenderunt fratres eius tunc et ipse ascendit ad diem festum non manifeste sed quasi in occulto**

*nec fallaciter* ascendit ad diem festum *usque adeo non causa ostentationis coram hominibus ut non euidenter ascenderit* sed **latenter** AUep 82.2.18/370.10 (ms I om. **non**, mss Q I A E ascenderet)

*Allusion: inde iam* ad diem festum *cum ascendisset in templum* AUEv 4.10.16/411.9

et **ad** diem festum non **euidenter** sed **latenter ascendit** AUFau 22.36/630.7

ut autem adscenderunt fratres eius tunc et ipse adscendit ad diem festum non manifeste sed quasi in occulto AUJo 28.8.16 [CT]

quasi **latenter** adscendit ad diem festum AUJo 28.8.22

quasi **latenter** adscendit AUJo 28.8.24

quasi **latenter** AUJo 28.8.26

*non uacat quod latenter* ascendit *christus* ad diem festum *quia ipse latebat in illo die festo* AUJo 28.8.28

adscendit ad diem festum non manifeste sed **tamquam** in occulto AUJo 28.9.49

*Adaptation: dominus iesus ideo uelut occulte* adscendit ad diem festum AUJo 31.1.3

[Jn 7:9] ut autem ascenderunt fratres eius tunc et ipse ascendit ad diem festum non manifeste sed quasi **occulte** AUs 133.1/737

[Jn 7:8]...*denique posteaquam haec dixit* **ubi** autem ascenderunt fratres eius AUs 133.7/742

*ne uenturum praenuntiarent. posteaquam* ascenderunt fratres eius **ascendit etiam ipse tunc** ad diem festum non **euidenter** sed quasi **occulte**. *quid quasi occulte? ibi facit quasi occulte. quid quasi occulte? quia nec hoc erat occulte.* AUs 133.7/741

**<7:11> iudaei ergo quaerebant eum in die festo et dicebant ubi est ille**

iudaei ergo quaerebant eum in die festo AUJo 28.10.1 **dicebant ergo** ubi est ille AUJo 28.11.1 [CT]

**<7:12> et murmur multus de eo erat in turba quidam enim dicebant quia bonus est alii autem dicebant non sed seducit turbas**

*cf. Jn 7:40*

*uidentes signa tamen dubitabant dicentes propheta* est alii seducit **populum** [*cf. Jn 7:40*] AUJb 5/517.1

[Rom 11:25] *siue quia eis mala uidebantur quae christus adnuntiabat ut dicerent* seducit turbas AUJb 17/545.13

et murmur multum de eo erat in turba quidam enim dicebant quia bonus est alii autem non sed seducit turbas AUJo 28.11.1 [CT]

**et alii** dicebant **bonus** est alii autem non sed seducit turbas AUJo 29.1.5

*ut alii dicerent numquid forte est christus alii non sed seducit* **populum** AUPs 28.7.4  
*nam diuisae sunt aduersus se linguae iudaeorum alii dicebant quia bonus est alii* **dicebant** non sed seducit  
 turbas AUPs 92.2.13  
*[Jn 8:48]...sicut de illo item scribitur alii dicebant quod propheta est alii dicebant non sed seducit* **populum** (in  
 Matt 5:11) AUs dni 1.5.14.296 (ms T **scriptum est alii autem**, mss β Hr edd **quia propheta**, ms F **quia bonus**,  
 mss K R edd **est alii autem**)

**<7:13> nemo tamen palam loquebatur de illo propter metum iudaeorum**  
 nemo tamen palam loquebatur de illo propter metum iudaeorum AUJo 28.12.1 [CT]

**<7:14> iam autem die festo mediante ascendit iesus in templum et docebat**  
**mediato** die festo AUJo 28.10.6  
**adscendit mediante die festo** et docebat AUJo 29.2.1 [CT]

**<7:15> et mirabantur iudaei dicentes quomodo hic litteras scit cum non didicerit**  
 et mirabantur iudaei dicentes quomodo hic litteras scit cum non didicerit AUJo 29.2.2 [CT]

**<7:16> respondit eis iesus et dixit mea doctrina non est mea sed eius qui misit me**  
 mea doctrina non est mea sed eius qui misit me AUJo 29.3.2 [CT]  
 mea doctrina non est mea sed eius qui misit me AUJo 54.2.5  
 mea doctrina non est mea sed eius qui **me misit** AUJo 54.2.7  
 mea doctrina non est mea sed eius qui **me misit** AUJo 99.8.4  
*[Jn 6:38]...secundum quod dictum est mea doctrina non est mea sed eius qui* **me misit**...*[Jn 16:15] AUMax*  
 2.20.3/789  
*unde dixit dominus christus alio loco mea doctrina non est mea* AUs 130A.10/64.233 (AUs Dol 19)  
*non enim dixit ista doctrina non est mea sed mea doctrina non est mea* AUtri 1.2.135  
*Adaptation: secundum formam serui non est doctrina ipsius sed illius qui eum misit* (mss N2 S2 est **eius**  
 doctrina, mss T Eug V doctrina illius, ms T sed **eius** qui, ms I misit eum) AUtri 1.11.33  
*quid illic dicemus ubi ait mea doctrina non est mea* AUtri 1.12.133  
*cum enim dicit non est mea sed eius qui* **me misit** AUtri 1.12.139 (mss T Eug V **misit me**)  
*sicut est quod ait mea doctrina non est mea sed eius qui* **me misit** AUtri 2.2.7 (mss P T **misit me**)  
*Allusion: ita non est aliud filius aliud doctrina eius sed ipsa doctrina filius est* AUtri 2.2.12  
*ut quod dictum est mea doctrina non est mea sed eius qui* **me misit** *sic intellegatur ac si dictum sit ego non sum a*  
*me ipso sed ab illo qui* **me misit** AUtri 2.2.17  
*de se quippe dixerat mea doctrina non est mea sed eius qui* **me misit** AUtri 2.3.11 (ms P **misit me**)  
*unde illud est quod ait mea doctrina non est mea sed eius qui* **me misit** AUtri 15.27.12 (mss Ra P **misit me**) [**a**  
**citation of AUJo 99.8]**

*[MAX] [Jn 16:12-14]...sine dubio autem christus ipse confitetur quod doctrina* **mea** *non est mea sed eius qui* **me**  
 misit **patris** et *[Jn 8:38] AUMax co 5/713*

**<7:17> si quis uoluerit uoluntatem eius facere cognoscet de doctrina utrum ex deo sit an ego a me ipso loquar**  
 si quis uoluerit uoluntatem eius facere cognoscet de doctrina utrum ex deo sit an ego a me ipso loquar AUJo  
 29.6.11 [CT]

**<7:18> qui a semet ipso loquitur gloriam propriam quaerit qui autem quaerit gloriam eius qui misit illum hic uerax est et iniustitia in illo non est**  
*Reminiscence: si non in eo nostram gloriam requiramus* AUcat 16  
*Reminiscence: et rursus omnes homines et omnes spiritus humiliter dei gloriam quaerentes non suam* AUcat  
 19.20  
*Reminiscence: schismata per loca facta sunt sub christi nomine non ipsius gloriam sed suam quaerentium* AUcat  
 24.11  
*Reminiscence: et sub eius nomine per loca ubi possent suam non christi gloriam quaesiturae* AUcat 27.34  
*Reminiscence: ita enim dei gloriam quaerit et non suam* AUdo prol 8/3.28  
 qui a semetipso loquitur gloriam propriam quaerit qui autem quaerit gloriam eius qui misit illum hic uerax est et  
 iniustitia in illo non est AUJo 29.8.27 [CT]  
*Reminiscence: AUq 79.84 illi enim faciunt quaerentes gloriam suam illi quaerentes gloriam dei*  
*Reminiscence: qui gloriam suam quaerit non quaerit salutem aliorum* AUPs 121.12.36  
*Reminiscence: sicut haeretici qui quaerentes gloriam suam dicunt* AUPs 121.13.7

*[HI] Reminiscence: AUep 75.1.2/283.5 non enim tuam quaeris gloriam sed christi*

**<7:19> nonne moyses dedit uobis legem et nemo ex uobis facit legem**

nonne moyses dedit uobis legem et nemo ex uobis facit legem AUJo 30.2.1 [CT]

**<7:20> quid me quaeritis interficere respondit turba et dixit daemonium habes quis te quaerit interficere**  
*cf. Jn 8:48*

quid me quaeritis interficere respondit **ei** turba **daemonium** habes quis te quaerit **occidere** AUJo 30.2.2 [CT]

*Allusion: ego audiui daemonium habes et pro eis oraui AUJo 49.19.28*

*Allusion: nam et alio loco dixerunt iudaei de domino quod daemonium haberet AUs 71.21.35/465*

*cum daemonia eiceret tales contumelias audiebat ut diceretur illi daemonium habes. filio dei qui daemones eiciebat iudaei dicebant daemonium habes AUs 113A.14*

*daemonia eiciebat et dicebatur ei daemonia habes AUs 163B.6*

**<7:21> respondit iesus et dixit eis unum opus feci et omnes miramini**

**unum** opus feci et omnes miramini AUJo 30.3.6 [CT]

**<7:22> propterea moyses dedit uobis circumcisionem non quia ex mose est sed ex patribus et in sabbato circumciditis hominem**

propterea moyses dedit uobis circumcisionem non quia ex moyse est sed ex patribus et in sabbato circumciditis hominem AUJo 30.4.2 [CT]

**<7:23> si circumcisionem accipit homo in sabbato ut non soluatur lex mosi mihi indignamini quia totum hominem sanum feci in sabbato**

*turbati sunt quia saluum fecit hominem sabbato AUJo 30.3.10*

**mihi irascamini quia saluum feci totum hominem sabbato** si circumcisionem accipit homo in sabbato ut non soluatur lex moysi AUJo 30.4.14 [CT]

*mihi operanti salutem in sabbato quare indignamini AUJo 30.4.19*

*quod ego feci totum hominem saluum sabbato AUJo 30.5.30*

*et quia ego die sabbati saluum feci hominem irascimini mihi AUJo 30.6.3*

**<7:24> nolite iudicare secundum faciem sed iustum iudicium iudicate**

*cum et propheta dicat [Ps 57:2] et ipse dominus dicat nolite iudicare personaliter sed iustum iudicium iudicate AUag 27.29/130.3 (ms W dicit)*

*cur autem ipse dominus dicit nolite iudicare personaliter sed rectum iudicium iudicate AUba 2.7.10/185.8 (ms v personaliter iudicare)*

nolite iudicare **personaliter** sed **rectum** iudicium iudicate AUJo 30.6.1 [CT]

*iudicate inter nos sed uerum iudicium iudicate AUJo 30.6.8*

nolite **personaliter** iudicare sed **rectum** iudicium iudicate AUJo 30.6.24

*in hoc saeculo magni laboris est non personaliter iudicare sed rectum iudicium retinere AUJo 30.7.2*

*non personaliter iudicamus sed rectum iudicium teneamus AUJo 30.7.33*

*quis est qui non iudicat personaliter? AUJo 30.8.1*

*ubi enim dominus dicit nolite iudicare personaliter sed rectum iudicium iudicate ostendit esse posse prauum iudicium cum dicit rectum iudicium iudicate AUPs 71.4.15*

*unde hominibus in euangelio dicitur nolite iudicare personaliter sed rectum iudicium iudicate tamen hoc loco ita positum est iudicium tamquam si rectum non fuerit non debeat iudicium nominari AUPs 118.s26.1.9*

*maxime quia omnes audiuius capituli euangelii recentis lectionis nouissimam sententiam nolite iudicare*

**personaliter** sed iustum iudicium iudicate AUs 178.1.1/960

*dominus...qui nobis dicit nolite personaliter iudicare AUs 178.3.3/962*

*et iudicate uos non secundum personam sed iustum iudicium iudicate AUs 178.7*

**<7:25> dicebant ergo quidam ex hierosolymis nonne hic est quem quaerunt interficere**

nonne hic est quem **quaerebant** interficere AUJo 31.1.9 [CT]

*nam ille etiam palam ascendit postea et docebat eos in templo et dicebant nonnulli ecce hic est ecce docet AUs 133.7/742*

**<7:26> et ecce palam loquitur et nihil ei dicunt numquid uere cognouerunt principes quia hic est christus**

et ecce palam loquitur et nihil illi dicunt numquid uere cognouerunt principes quia hic est christus AUJo 31.1.9 [CT]

numquid **cognouerunt** principes quia hic est christus AUJo 31.2.1

*[Jn 7:30] ecce palam loquitur [Jn 7:30] AUs 133.7/742*

**<7:27> sed hunc scimus unde sit christus autem cum uenerit nemo scit unde sit**

sed **istum nouimus** unde sit christus autem cum uenerit nemo scit unde sit AUJo 31.2.4 [CT]

christus **cum** uenerit nemo scit unde sit AUJo 31.2.6

christus **cum** uenerit nemo scit unde sit AUJo 31.2.21

christus **cum** uenerit nemo scit unde sit AUJo 31.2.25  
christus **cum** uenerit nemo scit unde sit AUJo 31.3.3

<7:28> clamabat ergo docens in templo iesus et dicens et me scitis et unde sim scitis et a me ipso non ueni sed est uerus qui misit me quem uos non scitis

*Reminiscence: quod ipsi uenire non possent quo esset iturus quod et ipsum nosset et unde esset scirent et esset uerus qui eum miserit quem illi nescirent tamquam diceret et unde sim scitis et unde sim nescitis* AUEv 4.10.16/411.12

clamabat ergo docens in templo iesus **et** me scitis et unde sim scitis et a me ipso non ueni sed est uerus qui **me** misit quem uos **nescitis** AUJo 31.3.4 [CT]

et me **nostis** et unde sim scitis et a me ipso non ueni sed est uerus qui **me** misit quem uos **nescitis** AUJo 31.3.15

sed est uerus qui misit me quem uos **nescitis** AUJo 31.4.1  
et me **nostis** et unde sim **nostis** AUJo 37.10.25

<7:29> ego scio eum quia ab ipso sum et ipse me misit

ego scio eum quia ab ipso sum et ipse me misit AUJo 31.4.3 [CT]

<7:30> quaerebant ergo eum adprehendere et nemo misit in illum manus quia nondum uenerat hora eius

*iudaeis...nec tamen ualentibus in eum mittere* manus quia nondum uenerat hora eius AUFau 22.36/630.9

quaerebant ergo eum adprehendere et nemo misit in illum manus quia nondum uenerat hora eius AUJo 31.5.1 [CT]

nondum **uenit** hora eius AUJo 31.6.3

*[Jn 7:24] certe dicebant nostri principes quia adprehendere eum uolebant [Jn 7:25] et nemo in eum manum mittit* AUs 133.7/742

<7:31> de turba autem multi crediderunt in eum et dicebant christus cum uenerit numquid plura signa faciet quam quae hic facit

de turba autem multi crediderunt in eum AUJo 31.7.1...**numquid christus** cum uenerit plura signa **facturus est** AUJo 31.7.7 [CT]

*dicit idem iohannes euangelista* multi crediderunt in eum AUJo 109.2.15

*de quibus dictum est* multi crediderunt in eum AUJo 109.2.25

<7:32> audierunt pharisaei turbam murmurantem de illo haec et miserunt principes et pharisaei ministros ut adprehenderent eum

miserunt **ministros** ut adprehenderent eum AUJo 31.8.2 [CT]

<7:33> dixit ergo iesus adhuc modicum tempus uobiscum sum et uado ad eum qui misit me

**dic**it ergo iesus adhuc modicum tempus uobiscum sum et **tunc** uado ad eum qui **me** misit AUJo 31.8.5 [CT]

<7:34> quaeritis me et non inuenietis et ubi sum ego uos non potestis uenire

*Allusion: quod ipsi uenire non possent quo esset iturus* AUEv 4.10.16/411.12

quaeritis me et non inuenietis et ubi sum ego uos non potestis uenire AUJo 31.9.1 [CT]

ubi **ego sum** uos non potestis uenire AUJo 31.9.44

<7:35> dixerunt ergo iudaei ad se ipsos quo hic iturus est quia non inueniemus eum numquid in dispersionem gentium iturus est et docturus gentes

dixerunt ergo iudaei ad se ipsos quo hic iturus est quia non inueniemus eum numquid in dispersionem gentium iturus est et docturus gentes AUJo 31.10.1 [CT]

*quod dominus iturus esset ad dispersionem gentium* AUJo 31.10.20

<7:36> quis est hic sermo quem dixit quaeritis me et non inuenietis et ubi sum ego non potestis uenire

quis est hic sermo quem dixit **quaeritis** me et non inuenietis et ubi **ego sum** uos non potestis uenire AUJo 31.10.9 [CT]

*[Jn 5:39]...quod uobis corpus dicit* quaeritis me et non inuenietis AUs 129.3.4/722

<7:37> in nouissimo autem die magno festiuitatis stabat iesus et clamabat dicens si quis sitit ueniat ad me et bibat

*cf. Matt 11:28*

*spiritus sanctus nomine aquae appellatus est in euangelio domino clamante et dicente* si quis sitit ueniat ad me et bibat AU1Jo 6.11/2026

*aquam de qua dixit* **qui** sitit ueniat **et** bibat AU1Jo 6.11/2026

*de quo clamabat dicens* si quis sitit ueniat **et** bibat AUCre 2.13.16/375.19

*sanctum spiritum commendabat dicens* si quis sitit ueniat **et** bibat AUCre 14.17/376.4

*spiritus sanctus de quo tamen idem iesus dicit* si quis sitiit ueniat **et** bibat AUdO 23.65/312.24  
*Reminiscence: audi euangelium* stabat *inquit* iesus et clamabat *uenite* [Matt. 11:28] AUep 26.5/87.14  
*nam et in euangelio significatum est hoc donum per aquam ubi ipse dominus ait* si quis sitiit ueniat **et** bibat AUJdc 36.556 (in Jud. 6:20) (ms P eras. dominus, ms V om. dominus, ms n **scitat**)  
**nouissimo festiuitatis die** AUJo 32.1.3 stabat iesus et clamabat **si** quis sitiit ueniat ad me et bibat AUJo 32.2.1 [CT]  
**qui** sitiit ueniat ad me AUJo 34.4.25  
*secundum quem dicitur* [Matt 3:11] *et illud* **qui** sitiit ueniat **et** bibat *et illud* [Jn 4:10] AUPs 1.3.8  
*inundatio illa spiritus sancti de qua dominus dicebat* si quis sitiit ueniat **et** bibat AUPs 45.8.5  
*audi illum promittentem aquam* si quis sitiit ueniat **et** bibat AUPs 64.14.8  
*christus qui stabat et clamabat* si quis sitiit ueniat ad me AUPs 77.13.21  
*stabat iesus et clamabat dictum est in euangelio* AUPs 92.7.13  
*et quid stabat iesus et clamabat?* AUPs 92.7.16  
*quos deus fecit flumina dando illis illam aquam spiritum sanctum* si quis sitiit *inquit* ueniat **et** bibat AUPs 97.8.16  
[Rom 5:5] *audi iam dominum magistrum apostolorum* si quis sitiit ueniat **et** bibat AUPs 103.s1.10.9  
[Rom 5:5] *unde aqua ipse spiritus? quia* stabat iesus et clamabat **si** quis sitiit ueniat ad me et bibat AUPs 103.s2.3.7  
*de spiritu dicebatur quod modo commemorauit* si quis sitiit ueniat ad me et bibat AUPs 103.s2.10.24  
*misit spiritum sanctum de quo dicebat* si quis sitiit ueniat **et** bibat AUPs 113.s1.11.12  
*hae sunt aquae de quibus dominus clamat* **qui** sitiit ueniat ad me AUPs 118.s10.6.33  
*Adaptation: qui sitiunt ueniunt et bibant* AUPs 147.26.54  
*sicut idem iohannes euangelista testatur alio loco dicens quod* stabat iesus et clamabat **si** quis sitiit ueniat **et** bibat AUq 64.85 (ms D\* **et clarificabat**, ms g **clamat**, mss C E **ueniat ad me**)  
*spiritum suum se daturum cum promitteret dominus* si quis sitiit ueniat ad me et bibat AU 160.2/873  
[Jn 7:38] *prius dixit* si quis sitiit ueniat **et** bibat AU 160.2/874  
*sic enim et ipse iohannes euangelista ex persona sua dixerat quando iesus eundem significans spiritum sanctum clamauerat dicens* si quis sitiit ueniat ad me et bibat AU 270.2/1239  
*sic enim scriptum est in euangelio cum diceret* si quis sitiit ueniat ad me et bibat AU 271/1245  
*habemus in euangelio secundum iohannem domini christi uerba dicentis* si quis sitiit ueniat ad me et bibat AUtri 15.19.4 (ms Ra om.**ad**)

#### <7:38> qui credit in me sicut dixit scriptura flumina de uentre eius fluent aquae uiuae

[Jn 7:37] qui credit in me **flumina aquae uiuae fluent** de uentre eius AU1Jo 6.11/2026  
[Jn 7:37] **et** qui credit in me **flumina aquae uiuae fluent** de uentre eius. *quid est flumina aquae uiuae? quid est illa aqua?* AU1Jo 6.11/2026  
*uentrem non carneum intellegunt in euangelio cum legunt flumina aquae uiuae fluent* de uentre eius AUAd 25/183.17  
*et spiritum sanctum unde est illud* flumina **aquae uiuae fluent** de uentre eius AUdO 3.25.36  
[Jn 7:37] qui credit in me sicut **dicat** scriptura flumina **aquae uiuae fluent** de uentre eius AUdO 23.65/312.25  
[Phil 2:12-13] flumina *inquit* de uentre eius fluent aquae uiuae AUJb 38/613.11  
[Jn 7:37] qui credit in me sicut **dicat** scriptura flumina de uentre eius fluent aquae uiuae AUJdc 36.556 (ms S **dixit**)  
qui credit in me sicut **dicat** scriptura flumina de uentre eius fluent aquae uiuae AUJo 32.2.2 [CT]  
[Jn 7:37] qui credit in me **flumina aquae uiuae fluent** de uentre eius AUPs 45.8.5  
[Jn 7:37] qui credit in me **flumina aquae uiuae** de uentre eius fluent AUPs 64.14.9  
[Jn 7:37] **et qui biberit de aqua quam ego dabo** flumina **aquae uiuae fluent** de uentre eius AUPs 77.13.21  
[Jn 7:37] qui credit in me sicut **scriptura dicit** flumina **aquae uiuae** de uentre eius fluent AUPs 92.7.17  
[Jn 7:37] qui credit in me **flumina aquae uiuae fluent** de uentre eius AUPs 97.8.17  
[Jn 7:37] *dicat adhuc* qui credit in me **flumina aquae uiuae fluent** de uentre eius AUPs 103.s1.10.10  
[Jn 7:37] qui credit in me **flumina aquae uiuae fluent** de uentre eius AUPs 103.s2.3.8  
[Jn 7:37] qui credit in me **flumina aquae uiuae fluent** de uentre eius AUPs 103.s2.10.24  
[Jn 7:37] qui credit in me **flumina aquae uiuae fluent** de uentre eius AUPs 118.s10.6.33  
*et fit ille uenter de quo dictum est* flumina **aquae uiuae fluent** de uentre eius AUPs 141.5.25  
[Jn 7:37] qui credit in me sicut **dicat** scriptura flumina de uentre eius fluent aquae uiuae AUq 64.86 (mss D2 L R **dixit**, ms O **sicut scriptura**, ms I **me inquit flumina**, ms E **me inquit sicut**, mss C K L O R **eius uentre**)  
[Jn 7:38] *consequenter omnino* qui credit in me *inquit* flumina de uentre eius fluent aquae uiuae AUq 64.87 (ms V **inquit qui credit in me flumina**, ms maur **qui credit inquit in me flumina**, ms E **inquit sicut dicit scriptura**)  
[Jn 7:37] qui credit in me **flumina aquae uiuae fluent** de uentre eius AU 160.2/873  
*antequam diceret* flumina **aquae uiuae fluent** de uentre eius AU 160.2/874  
[Jn 7:37] **et** flumina **aquae uiuae fluent** de uentre eius AU 270.2/1239  
[Jn 7:37] qui credit in me **flumina fluent** de uentre eius aquae uiuae AU 271/1245  
[Jn 7:37] qui credit in me sicut **dicat** scriptura flumina de uentre eius fluent aquae uiuae AUtri 15.19.4 (ms Ia om.in me, ms R **dixit**)  
*nam quod ibi ait* flumina de uentre eius fluent aquae uiuae *hoc in isto loco* [Jn 4:14] AUtri 15.19.27

[Jn 7:37] Adaptation: AUs 160.2/874 ideo flumen habebis aquae uiuae quia bibis

<7:39> hoc autem dixit de spiritu quem accepturi erant credentes in eum non enim erat spiritus quia iesus nondum fuerat glorificatus

[Jn 7:38] euangelista autem exposuit unde diceret secutus enim ait hoc autem **dicebat** de spiritu quem accepturi erant **qui in eum erant credituri** quare non multos baptizauit dominus? sed quid ait? spiritus autem nondum erat datus quia iesus nondum erat clarificatus AU1Jo 6.11/2026

[Jn 7:38] nemo me interroget euangelium interroga. hoc autem **dicebat** ait de spiritu quem accepturi erant **hi qui in eum erant credituri** AU1Jo 6.11/2026

ex euangelico testimonio ubi ait hoc autem **dicebat** de spiritu quem erant accepturi **hi qui in eum erant credituri** AU1Jo 6.11/2027

resurgens a mortuis et ascendens in caelum. ante autem spiritus nondum erat datus quia iesus nondum erat clarificatus. et clamat prophetia [Ps 4:3] AUcf 9.4.52

ait euangelista iesus nondum erat glorificatus AUci 20.30.50

[Jn 7:37] sicut euangelista testatur adiungens hoc autem **dicebat** de spiritu quem accepturi erant credentes in eum spiritus enim non erat datus quia iesus nondum fuerat clarificatus AUCre 2.14.17/376.6

[Jn 7:38] et sequitur euangelista et exponit unde sit dictum hoc autem inquit **dicebat** de spiritu quem accepturi erant **hi qui in eum erant credituri** spiritus enim nondum erat datus quia iesus nondum fuerat clarificatus AUDo 23.65/312.27 (ms v ii qui)

ad quam percipiendam sancto spiritu caritas inspiratur. spiritus autem nondum erat datus quia iesus nondum erat clarificatus AUep 55.16.30/205.7 (ms K cum iesus, ms P glorificatus)

apertissime dictum est a iohanne spiritus enim nondum erat datus quia iesus nondum fuerat clarificatus AUFau 32.17/777.11 (mss L b glorificatus)

ideo enim nondum erat datus quia iesus nondum fuerat clarificatus AUFau 32.18/779.2 (ms SG nondum iesus)

scriptum est autem in ipso euangelio κατὰ Εὐάννην spiritus autem nondum erat datus quia iesus nondum erat clarificatus. si ergo propterea nondum erat datus quia iesus nondum erat clarificatus AUfu 10/205.19 (mss lib., b cata iohann<sup>e</sup> (b in marg. al. secundum ioh.))

Allusion: spiritus sanctus qui fontis et aquae nomine in euangelio significatur AUGn Ma 2.37.40

[Jn 7:38] ubi euangelista subiunxit hoc autem **dicebat** de spiritu quem accepturi erant credentes in eum AUJdc 36.558 (ms n subiungit)

hoc autem dixit de spiritu quem accepturi erant credentes in eum nondum enim erat spiritus datus quia iesus nondum erat glorificatus AUJo 32.2.9 [CT]

hoc autem **dicebat** de spiritu quem accepturi erant credentes in eum nondum enim erat spiritus datus quia iesus nondum erat glorificatus AUJo 32.5.3

non enim erat spiritus datus quia iesus nondum erat glorificatus AUJo 32.6.1

non erat spiritus datus quia iesus nondum erat glorificatus AUJo 32.6.29

spiritus autem nondum erat datus quia iesus nondum fuerat glorificatus AUJo 52.8.7

spiritus nondum erat datus AUJo 52.8.14

spiritus non erat datus quia iesus nondum erat glorificatus AUJo 63.2.11

[Jn 4:24...1:14]...ait euangelista hoc autem dixit de spiritu quem accepturi erant credentes in eum...[Jn 8:18] AUMax 2.22.3/795

unde dictum est spiritus autem non erat datus quia iesus nondum fuerat glorificatus AUperf 15/36.8 (mss b d om.autem, ms V enim (autem in marg.), ms C enim)

sicut in euangelio positum est spiritus autem nondum erat datus quia iesus nondum erat clarificatus AUPs 7.6.16

in eodem euangelio consequenter dicit euangelista hoc autem **dicebat** de spiritu quem accepturi erant **hi qui in eum erant credituri**. spiritus autem nondum erat datus quia iesus nondum erat glorificatus AUPs 45.8.11

[Jn 7:38] hoc enim **dicebat** sicut in euangelio legitur de spiritu quem accepturi erant credentes in eum AUPs 77.13.21

item de spiritu sancto euangelium spiritus inquit nondum erat datus quia iesus nondum erat clarificatus AUPs 90.s2.8.19

[Jn 7:38] euangelista sequitur statim hoc autem **dicebat** de spiritu quem accepturi erant **hi qui in eum erant credituri** spiritus autem nondum erat datus quia iesus nondum erat glorificatus AUPs 92.7.19

[Jn 7:38] quid est hoc? exponat euangelista hoc autem **dicebat** inquit de spiritu quem accepturi erant credentes in eum spiritus enim nondum erat datus quia iesus nondum erat glorificatus AUPs 103.s1.10.11

[Jn 7:38] unde probamus quia de spiritu dictum est? dicat ipse euangelista qui sequitur et ait hoc autem **dicebat** de spiritu quem accepturi erant **hi qui in eum fuerant credituri** AUPs 103.s2.3.10

[Jn 7:38] hoc autem **dicebat** de spiritu quem accepturi erant **hi qui in eum fuerant credituri** AUPs 103.s2.10.25 et euangelista dixit nondum erat spiritus datus quia iesus nondum fuerat glorificatus AUPs 108.26.20

[Jn 7:38] et exponens euangelista quid dixerit hoc autem inquit **dicebat** de spiritu quem accepturi erant **qui credituri erant** in eum AUPs 118.s10.6.35

[Jn 4:1] alio enim loco euangelii sic dicitur **spiritus enim nondum erat datus** quia iesus nondum **erat clarificatus** AUq 62.7 (mss E Z **om. enim**, ms K **iohannes nondum**, mss D E T V **nondum fuerat**, mss V Z **glorificatus**)  
 et hoc dictum est **spiritus autem nondum erat datus** AUq 62.28 (ms Z **om. autem**)  
 ita subicit hoc autem **dicebat inquit** de spiritu quem accepturi erant **hi qui in eum credituri erant nondum autem erat spiritus datus** quia iesus nondum fuerat **clarificatus** AUq 64.92 (mss E I O K V hii, ms I **in deum**, mss D\* K R **non autem erat**, mss D g **erat glorificatus**, ms I **fuit clarificatus**, mss L T **glorificatus**)  
 de spiritu sancto hoc erat dictum per ioannem euangelistam **spiritus autem nondum fuerat datus** quia iesus nondum **erat glorificatus. spiritus autem nondum fuerat datus** quare nondum fuerat datus? quia iesus nondum **erat glorificatus. expectabatur ergo ut glorificato iesu daretur spiritus** AUs 265.7.8/1222  
 legimus enim in euangelio spiritus **enim nondum erat datus** quia iesus nondum fuerat glorificatus AUs 267.1.1/1230  
 [Jn 7:38] secutus enim euangelista ait hoc autem **dicebat** de spiritu quem accepturi erant **ii qui in eum credituri erant. nondum enim erat spiritus datus** quia iesus nondum fuerat glorificatus AUs 270.2/1239  
 [Jn 7:38] euangelista secutus exponit et ait hoc autem **dicebat** de spiritu quem accepturi erant **hi qui in eum fuerant credituri, nondum enim erat spiritus datus** quia iesus nondum fuerat glorificatus. **restabat ergo ut clarificato iesu...iam daretur spiritus sanctus** AUs 271/1245  
 et quod dicit euangelista spiritus **nondum erat datus** quia iesus nondum fuerat **clarificatus** AUtri 4.20.124 (ms M **om. datus**, mss O T **fuerat**, mss cett  $\mu$  **erat**, mss A B C F **clarificatus**, mss cett  $\mu$  **glorificatus**)  
 quomodo ergo spiritus **nondum erat datus** quia iesus nondum **erat clarificatus** AUtri 4.20.137  
 Reminiscence: [Rom 5:5] tunc est autem datus quando est iesus resurrectione **clarificatus** (ms T autem est) AUtri 13.10.28  
 [Jn 7:38] porro euangelista secutus adiunxit hoc autem dixit de spiritu quem accepturi erant credentes in eum AUtri 15.19.6 (mss P Eug V spiritu **sancto**)

<7:40> ex illa ergo turba cum audissent hos sermones eius dicebant hic est uere propheta  
 Allusion: uidentes signa tamen dubitabant dicentes propheta est alii seducit populum [cf. Jn 7:12] AUJb 5/517.1

<7:41> alii dicebant hic est christus quidam autem dicebant numquid a galilaea christus uenit  
 [Jn 7:43] aliis putantibus quod ipse esset christus aliis dicentibus quia de galilaea non exsurget christus AUJo 33.1.6

<7:42> nonne scriptura dicit quia ex semine dauid et bethleem castello ubi erat dauid uenit christus  
 Allusion: dominus autem iesus ex eius semine fuerat in carne uenturus AUqDu 5.3  
 Allusion: sed respondemus propter semen dauid ex quo carnem christus assumpsit AUqDu 5.27

<7:43> dissensio itaque facta est in turba propter eum  
 natus est de illo in turba dissensio AUJo 33.1.6

<7:44> quidam autem ex ipsis uolebant adprehendere eum sed nemo misit super illum manus  
 [Jn 7:41] qui uero missi fuerant ut eum tenerent redierunt immunes a crimine et pleni admiratione AUJo 33.1.8

<7:45> uenerunt ergo ministri ad pontifices et pharisaeos et dixerunt eis illi quare non adduxistis eum  
 quare non adduxistis eum AUJo 33.1.11 [CT]  
 audite fortes istos: cum quidam ierosolymitae dicerent missi ab eis ad adprehendendum christum et non audentes adprehendere quia quando uoluit tunc adprehensus est qui uere fortis erat quare **ergo inquit non eum potuistis adprehendere** AUPs 58.s1.7.37

<7:46> responderunt ministri numquam sic locutus est homo sicut hic homo  
 non enim quisquam sic loquitur homo AUJo 33.1.13 [CT]  
 [Jn 7:45] et responderunt **nemo umquam hominum** sic locutus est **sicut ille** AUPs 58.s1.7.38

<7:47> responderunt ergo eis pharisaei numquid et uos seducti estis  
 numquid et uos seducti estis AUJo 33.1.15 [CT]

<7:48> numquid aliquis ex principibus credidit in eum aut ex pharisaeis  
 numquid aliquis **de** principibus credidit in eum aut ex pharisaeis AUJo 33.1.17 [CT]  
 [Jn 7:46] et illi fortes numquid aliquis **pharisaeorum** in illum credidit **aut aliquis scribarum** AUPs 58.s1.7.39

<7:49> sed turba haec quae non nouit legem maledicti sunt  
 sed turba haec quae non nouit legem maledicti sunt AUJo 33.1.18 [CT]  
 [Jn 7:48] nisi **populus iste nesciens** legem AUPs 58.s1.7.40

**<7:50> dicit nicodemus ad eos ille qui uenit ad eum nocte qui unus erat ex ipsis**  
nicodemus **unus ex phariseis** qui **ad dominum nocte uenerat** AUJo 33.2.1 [CT]

**<7:51> numquid lex nostra iudicat hominem nisi audierit ab ipso prius et cognouerit quid faciat**  
numquid lex nostra iudicat hominem nisi audierit ab ipso prius et cognouerit quid faciat AUJo 33.2.4 [CT]

**<7:52> responderunt et dixerunt ei numquid et tu galilaeus es scrutare et uide quia propheta a galilaea non surgit**  
*illi responderunt* numquid et tu galilaeus es scrutare **scripturas** et uide quia propheta a galilaea non surgit AUJo 33.2.10 [CT]

**<7:53> et reuersi sunt unusquisque in domum suam**  
**reuersi** sunt unusquisque in domum suam AUJo 33.2.20 [CT]

**<8:1> iesus autem perrexit in montem oliueti**  
*Allusion: rursus illuc de oliueti monte regredientem quae et quanta narrat locutum post ueniam illi adulterae datam* AUEv 4.10.17/411.20  
**inde iesus** perrexit in montem oliueti AUJo 33.3.1 [CT]

**<8:2> et diluculo iterum uenit in templum et omnis populus uenit ad eum et sedens docebat eos**  
et diluculo iterum uenit in templum et omnis populus uenit ad eum et sedens docebat eos AUJo 33.3.7 [CT]

**<8:3> adducunt autem scribae et pharisei mulierem in adulterio deprehensam et statuerunt eam in medio**  
*nam cum ad dominum christum iudaei adduxissent* mulierem in adulterio deprehensam *eumque temptantes dicerent quod iussa esset lege lapidari* AUep 153.4.9/405.1 (mss U H M A P3 edd **comprehensam**)  
adducunt autem **illi** scribae et pharisei mulierem in adulterio deprehensam et statuerunt eam in medio AUJo 33.4.2 [CT]  
*Allusion: hoc fecit dominus iudaeis quando ad eum adulteram* mulierem adduxerunt AUPs 50.8.21  
*Allusion: uenerunt ergo illi adducentes adulteram* AUPs 102.11.39  
*modo enim in euangelio audiimus* **adduxerunt inquit iudaei quamdam** mulierem **licet meretricem ad dominum** AUs 16A.98  
*Allusion: to Jn 8:1-12 non enim male reconciliaretur uir illi mulieri quam cum lapidare nemo ausus esset* AUs dni 1.16.43.1034  
*Adaptation: (Jn 8:1-12) euangelicum capitulum recolamus. pharisei tentantes dominum adduxerunt ante eum* mulierem in adulterio deprehensam AUs 13.90

**<8:4> et dixerunt ei magister haec mulier modo deprehensa est in adulterio**  
et dixerunt ei magister haec mulier modo deprehensa est in adulterio AUJo 33.4.4 [CT]  
in adulterio *inquiunt* haec mulier **deprehensa** est AUPs 50.8.24  
*[Jn 8:3] temptantes illum et dicentes* magister haec mulier modo **comprehensa** est in adulterio AUs 16A.100

**<8:5> in lege autem moyses mandauit nobis huiusmodi lapidare tu ergo quid dicis**  
in lege autem moyses mandauit nobis huiusmodi lapidare tu ergo quid dicis AUJo 33.4.5 [CT]  
*[Jn 8:4] moyses huiusmodi lapidari iussit tu de illa quid censes* AUPs 50.8.24  
*[Jn 8:4] in lege moysi scriptum est ut quaecumque fuerit in adulterio comprehensa lapidetur* tu quid dicis AUs 16A.101

**<8:6> haec autem dicebant temptantes eum ut possent accusare eum iesus autem inclinans se deorsum digito scribebat in terra**  
*cf. Jn 8:8*  
*[Jn 8:1] quae uelut lapidanda illi oblata a temptatoribus fuerat quando* digito scribebat in terra AUEv 4.10.17/411.22 (mss B R D H A L terram)  
*quod inclinato capite* digito scribebat in terra *et cum hominibus interrogantibus respondisset rursus hoc facere coepit* AUFau 22.25/619.14  
haec autem dicebant tentantes eum ut possent accusare eum AUJo 33.4.7 [CT]  
*[Jn 8:9] tunc autem ille ostendens de quo numero essent* digito scribebat in terra AUleg 1.20.1260  
*illum ad nos misit qui inclinato capite* digito scribebat in terra *quando ei adultera mulier offerebatur punienda* AUPs 30.2.s1.7.3  
*[Jn 8:7] quando ergo haec audiuit* digito scribebat in terra *ut erudiret terram* AUs 13.110



**<8:7> cum autem perseuerarent interrogantes eum erexit se et dixit eis qui sine peccato est uestrum primus in illam lapidem mittat**

*ex illo sunt hominum numero quibus dominus ait qui sine peccato est uestrum prior in eam lapidem iaciat* AUconj 7.6/388.8

*quibus si diceretur non quod illi audierunt qui sine peccato est qui enim sine peccato sed qui sine isto peccato est prior in illam lapidem mittat* AUconj 7.6/388.13 (ms R sine peccato est isto, ms S eam)

*et maxime uox illa dominica est in memoriam reuocanda qui sine peccato est prior in illam lapidem iaciat* AUconj 14.14/399.10

*non qui sine ipso peccato est quoniam loquimur de pudicis uiris sed qui sine peccato est* AUconj 14.14/399.12 (ms R sine peccato isto)

*[Jn 8:3] ac deinde quaerent quid de illa ipse praeciperet respondit eis qui sine peccato est uestrum prior in illam lapidem iaciat* AUep 153.4.9/405.4 (mss H M A P3 L edd. eam, mss H\* M\* A iaceat, ms U iactet, in marg. al. iaciat, ms L mittat)

*a quibus ei offerabatur puniendi peccatrix ut qui sciret se esse sine peccato prior in illam lapidem mitteret* AUep 153.4.11/408.7 (ms H\* M\* quis, ms P2 illa)

*si non compungeremur sententia domini dicentis qui uestrum est sine peccato prior in illam lapidem iaciat* AUep 153.5.15/412.17 (mss M P P2 P3 quis (s eras), ms V om.est, ms Sm2 est post peccato, mss H\* M\* A iaceat)

*qui sine peccato est uestrum prior in illam lapidem mittat* AUJo 33.5.7 [CT]

*significasse iesus quando iudaei uicti atque confusi cum audissent qui sine peccato est prior in illam lapidem iaciat* AUleg 1.20.1258

*sed ait qui se scit sine peccato esse primus in illam lapidem iaciat* AUPs 50.8.30

*ait enim illis qui in uobis sine peccato est prior in illam lapidem iactet* AUPs 102.11.41

*dominica illa sententia qui sine peccato est prior in illam lapidem mittat* AUs 13.88

*denique audite: lapidare uultis secundum legem? qui sine peccato est prior in illam lapidem mittat* AUs 13.108

*et ipse qui uenerat donare peccata ait qui se scit uestrum sine peccato esse prior in illam lapidem mittat* AUs 16A.117

*ideo et dominus in euangelio quando illa mulier illi oblata est quae in adulterio fuerat inuenta et uolebant eam secundum legem lapidare cum ipsi essent lapidei si quis est in uobis sine peccato prior in illam mittat lapidem* AUs 272B.5

*o domine quomodo pupugisti corda saeuientium quando dixisti qui sine peccato est prior in illam lapidem mittat* AUs 302.15.14/1390

**<8:8> et iterum se inclinans scribebat in terra**

*cf. Jn 8:6*

**rursum digito scribebat in terra** AUJo 33.5.37 [CT]

*[Jn 8:7] et rursum inclinato capite scribebat in terra* AUPs 102.11.42

*proinde cum hoc dixisset iterum coepit scribere in terra* AUs 13.113

*nam ipsum est quod conuersus scribit in terra. scripsit enim in terra.* AUs 16A.131

*[Jn 8:7] at ubi dixit hoc inclinauit caput et coepit digito scribere in terram* AUs 272B.5

**<8:9> audientes autem unus post unum exiebant incipientes a senioribus et remansit solus et mulier in medio stans**

*unus post unum omnes recesserunt* AUJo 33.5.34 [CT]

*[Jn 8:7] iudaei...unus post alterum recesserunt* AUleg 1.20.1259

**illi hoc audito unus post alterum discesserunt remansit adultera et dominus** AUPs 50.8.32

*Allusion: [Jn 8:8] et unusquisque iam interrogans conscientiam suam non comparuerunt* AUPs 102.11.43

*[Jn 8:8] at illi compuncti et tremefacti unus post alterum discesserunt* AUs 13.114

*ut nec ipsi se propter confusionem uidere uellent a senioribus hoc dixit euangelista usque ad minores omnes regressi sunt* AUs 16A.124 (ms N1 om. euangelista, ms N1 ad minorem regressi sunt)

*[Jn 8:8] illi autem considerantes conscientias suas unus post unum discesserunt a maiore usque ad minorem et relicta est illa mulier sola* AUs 272B.5

*Allusion: [Jn 8:7] uerbo graui et acuto compunctis cordibus conscientias suas agnouerunt et iustitiae praesenti erubuerunt et unus post unum abscedentes solam mulierem miseram relinquerunt* AUs 302.15.14/1390

**<8:10> erigens autem se iesus dixit ei mulier ubi sunt nemo te condemnauit**

*nemo te condemnauit* AUJo 33.6.12 [CT]

*ait illi dominus mulier nemo te condemnauit* AUPs 50.8.37

*et aspiciens mulierem dixit nemo te condemnauit* AUs 13.118 (mss A3 A4 respiciens)

*ille ei iudex remanserat qui erat sine peccato. nemo inquit te damnauit?* AUs 13.123 (ms A3 comdepnauit)

*cum daret indulgentiam erigens faciem suam ad illam nemo ait te lapidauit?* AUs 16A.135

*sed eius fidem atque confessionem quaerebat. nemo te lapidauit?* AUs 16A.140

*ista magis se absoluit confitendo. nemo te lapidauit?* AUs 16A.148

*[Jn 8:9] leuauit autem dominus caput et ait ei quid est mulier nemo te damnauit* AUs 272B.5

*[Jn 8:9]...et ait illi dominus nemo te condemnauit* AUs 302.15.14/1390

**<8:11> quae dixit nemo domine dixit autem iesus nec ego te condemnabo uade et amplius iam noli peccare**

*nunc autem posteaquam christus ait adulterae nec ego te **damnabo** uade **deinceps** iam noli peccare AUconj 6.5/387.20 (mss V E M N1 S **om.uade**, mss V E M N S b d **om.iam**)*

*quasi permissionem peccandi tribuerit qui dixit **iam deinceps** noli peccare AUconj 7.6/388.4 (ms P **deinceps iam**, mss M N **om.iam**)*

*ait mulieri quam perterriti illi reliquerunt nec ego te **damnabo** uade **iam deinceps** noli peccare AUep 153.5.15/413.3 (mss P2 P3 **condemnabo**, ms P2 **uade in pace**, mss P P1 S V P4 L **om.iam**, ms P4 **om.deinceps**)*

*cum illa respondisse a nemine se fuisse damnatam nec ego te inquit **damnabo** tamquam diceret: si malitia tibi parcere potuit quid metuis innocentiam? et ne delictorum non donator sed approbator uideretur uade ait **deinceps** iam noli peccare AUep 153.5.15/413.9 (ms L **ergo**, mss U H M A P3 edd **iam deinceps**, mss P P4 **om.iam**)*

*respondit illa domine nemo nec ego te condemnabo uade **deinceps** iam noli peccare AUJo 33.6.12 [CT]*

*nec ego te **damnabo** AUJo 33.6.15*

*nec ego te **damnabo** AUJo 33.8.30*

*nec ego te **damnabo** AUJo 33.8.31*

*[Jn 8:10] et illa nemo domine et ille nec ego te condemnabo uade **deinceps** iam noli peccare AUPs 50.8.38*

*audiuit a domino nec ego te **damnabo** uade **deinceps** iam noli peccare AUre 1.19.97 (ref. AUs dni, mss U D3 I **condemnabo**)*

*[Jn 8:10] et illa nemo domine AUs 13.118*

*[Jn 8:10] at illa nemo domine AUs 13.123*

*cui sollicitudini tacita domine uoce respondit nec ego te **damnabo** AUs 13.125 (mss A2 A3 A4 L3 L4 **condemnabo**)*

*[Jn 8:11] nec ego quamuis sim sine peccato nec ego te **damnabo** AUs 13.126 (ms A3 **condemnabo**)*

*[Jn 8:10]...non hoc dixit sed ait nemo domine AUs 16A.137*

*[Jn 8:10] at illa nemo domine. et nemo propter confessionem peccatorum et domine propter indulgentiam meritorum. nemo domine AUs 16A.141*

*[Jn 8:10] et illa nemo et tacet AUs 16A.148*

*[Jn 8:10] et dixit nemo domine et dominus nec ego te **damnabo** uade **deinceps** noli peccare AUs 272B.5*

*[Jn 8:10] respondit nemo domine **nec** ego inquit te **damnabo** uade et **deinceps** iam noli peccare AUs 302.15.14/1391*

*[Jn 8:3] dixit ei dominus uade **uide deinceps ne pecces** AUs dni 1.16.43.1035 (ms β edd **uade et uide**, ms L **non pecces**)*

*[Jn 5:44] et paulo post dixit autem iesus nec ego te condemnabo uade et amplius iam noli peccare AUspc 28/196.1 (ms P **om.iam**)*

*Allusion: [FAU] in iniustitia namque et in adulterio deprehensam mulierem quandam iudaeis accusantibus absoluit ipse praecipiens ei ut iam peccare desineret AUFau 33.1/785.10*

**<8:12> iterum ergo locutus est eis iesus dicens ego sum lux mundi qui sequitur me non ambulabit in tenebris sed habebit lucem uitae**

*Adaptation: ergo post haec lucem mundi se dixit et qui **eum** sequeretur non ambulaturum in tenebris sed habiturum lucem uitae AUEv 4.10.17/412.4*

**ego** sum lux mundi AUJo 34.2.1 qui sequitur me non ambulabit in tenebris sed habebit **lumen** uitae AUJo 34.5.2 [CT]

qui **me sequitur** non ambulabit in tenebris sed habebit **lumen** uitae AUJo 34.5.5

qui **me sequitur** non ambulabit in tenebris AUJo 34.6.2

qui **me sequitur** non ambulabit in tenebris sed habebit **lumen** uitae AUJo 34.7.1

qui **me sequitur** non ambulabit in tenebris sed habebit **lumen** uitae AUJo 34.8.1

ego sum **lumen** mundi qui **me sequitur** non ambulabit in tenebris AUJo 34.9.2

qui **me sequitur** non ambulabit in tenebris sed habebit **lumen** uitae AUJo 34.10.33

ego sum lux mundi qui **me sequitur** non ambulabit in tenebris sed habebit **lumen** uitae AUJo 34.10.39

ego sum lux mundi qui **me sequitur** non ambulabit in tenebris sed habebit **lumen** uitae AUJo 35.1.1

*et hoc utrumque unus christus ego sum lux mundi qui **credit in** me non ambulabit in tenebris [Jn 14:6] AUPs 42.4.8*

*quid est ista lux? ego sum inquit lux mundi. qui tibi dicit ego sum lux mundi uocat te ad se AUPs 84.8.28*

*Allusion: [Jn 1:9] illud ergo **lumen** quod est **lumen** mundi ab illo lumine uenit AUPs 88.s1.13.7*

*[Matt 5:14]...nam et de seipso quodam loco dixit ego sum **lumen** mundi ait illis de illis [Matt 5:14 continues] AUPs 118.s23.1.19*

*ipse aperte etiam dixit istud quod audistis hoc est quoniam ipse lux uenerat in mundum et qui **credit in** eum non ambulabit in tenebris sed habebit **lumen** uitae AUs 140.1/773*

**<8:13> dixerunt ergo ei pharisaei tu de te ipso testimonium perhibes testimonium tuum non est uerum**  
*illic autem ubi ei dictum est a iudaeis tu de te testificaris* testimonium tuum non est uerum AUFau 16.13/452.1  
 tu de te **testimonium dicis** testimonium tuum non est uerum AUJo 35.2.2 [CT]  
 tu de te **testimonium dicis** testimonium tuum non est uerum AUJo 36.3.3 [CT]  
 [FAU] *ad qua ringentes iudaei tu de te testificaris dicebant* testimonium tuum non est uerum AUFau 12.1/329.15  
 [FAU] *ubi se mundi lumen appellat iudaei indignantes reclamarent quia tu de te testificaris* testimonium...uerum  
 AUFau 16.2/441.16

**<8:14> respondit iesus et dixit eis et si ego testimonium perhibeo de me ipso uerum est testimonium meum quia scio unde ueni et quo uado uos autem nescitis unde uenio aut quo uado**  
 respondit iesus et dixit eis etsi ego **de me testimonium** perhibeo uerum est testimonium meum quia scio unde ueni et quo uado AUJo 35.4.7 [CT]  
 [FAU] *[Jn 8:13] quibus ipse etsi ego testifcor de me testimonium meum uerum est quia [Jn 8:16] AUFau 12.1/329.17*

**<8:15> uos secundum carnem iudicatis ego non iudico quemquam**  
 ego non iudico quemquam AUJo 21.12.24  
 uos secundum carnem iudicatis AUJo 36.3.6 ego non iudico quemquam AUJo 36.4.1 [CT]  
 uos secundum carnem iudicatis ego non iudico quemquam AUJo 37.1.6 [CT]  
 ego non iudico quemquam AUJo 39.6.3  
 ego non iudico quemquam AUJo 44.17.26  
*ipse enim dicit alio loco in euangelio ego non iudico quemquam [Jn 12:48] AUPs 32.2.s2.2.17*  
*[Phil 2:7] secundum quam dictum est ego non iudico quemquam AUtri 2.5.113 (ms N ergo, r eras)*

**<8:16> et si iudico ego iudicium meum uerum est quia solus non sum sed ego et qui me misit pater**  
*[Jn 8:14] non sum solus* AUFau 12.1/329.17  
 et si iudico ego iudicium meum uerum est quia solus non sum sed ego et qui **misit me** pater AUJo 36.5.2 [CT]  
**sed** et si **ego iudico** iudicium meum uerum est quia solus non sum sed ego et qui **misit me** pater AUJo 36.7.4  
**uerum est** iudicium meum quia solus non sum sed ego et qui **misit me** pater AUJo 36.7.9  
**uerum est** iudicium meum quia solus non sum sed ego et qui **misit me** pater AUJo 36.7.21  
 et si iudico **uerum est** iudicium meum quia solus non sum sed ego et qui **misit me** pater AUJo 36.9.2  
 quia **non sum** solus sed ego et qui **misit me** pater AUJo 36.9.33  
**uerum est** iudicium meum quia solus non sum sed ego et qui **misit me** pater AUJo 36.12.1  
**sed** et si iudico ego iudicium meum uerum est quia solus non sum sed ego et qui **misit me** pater AUJo 37.1.8 [CT]

**<8:17> et in lege uestra scriptum est quia duorum hominum testimonium uerum est**  
*quibus ait iesus in lege uestra scriptum est* AUci 22.2.16  
*nam ecce idipsum quod eis respondit nempe* in lege uestra scriptum est quia duorum hominum testimonium uerum est AUFau 16.13/452.6 (ms b **om. hominum**)  
*non ait in lege dei sed in lege uestra scriptum est* AUFau 16.13/452.21  
 in lege uestra scriptum est quia duorum hominum testimonium uerum est AUJo 36.10.1 [CT]  
 in lege uestra scriptum est **quod** duorum hominum testimonium uerum est AUJo 37.1.10 [CT]  
 [FAU] *[Jn 8:14] nam* et in lege uestra scriptum est **duorum** hominum testimonium uerum est AUFau 12.1/329.18  
 [FAU] *respondit nempe* in lege uestra scriptum est quia duorum hominum testimonium uerum est AUFau 16.2/441.20

**<8:18> ego sum qui testimonium perhibeo de me ipso et testimonium perhibet de me qui misit me pater**  
*nonne filius dicit* testimonium perhibeo de me ipso et testimonium perhibet de me qui **me misit** pater AUAr 34.50  
 (ms O **perhibeat**, mss U ε S t τ ζ Y a b m **misit me**)  
*profertis inde christum dicentem [Jn 10:38] et ego sum qui testimonium perhibeo de me et testimonium perhibet de me qui me misit pater* AUFau 13.5/383.3 (ms b **misit me**)  
*[Jn 8:17] ego sum qui testifcor de me et testificatur de me qui me misit pater* AUFau 16.13/452.7  
 ego sum qui **de me testimonium perhibeo** et testimonium perhibet de me qui misit me pater AUJo 36.10.2 [CT]  
 ego sum qui **testimonium perhibeo de me** et testimonium perhibet de me qui misit me pater AUJo 37.1.11 [CT]  
 ego testimonium perhibeo de **me** AUJo 115.4.20  
*[Jn 4:24...1:14...7:39]...quis euangelio credit et dubitat dicente filio* ego sum qui testimonium perhibeo de **me**: et testimonium perhibet de me qui misit me pater AUMax 2.22.3/795  
 [FAU] *[Jn 8:17] ego sum qui testifcor de me et testificatur de me qui me misit pater* AUFau 12.1/329.20  
 [FAU] *[Jn 8:17] ego sum qui testifcor de me et testificatur de me qui me misit pater* AUFau 16.2/441.21

**<8:19> dicebant ergo ei ubi est pater tuus respondit iesus neque me scitis neque patrem meum si me sciretis forsitan et patrem meum sciretis**

**ubi** est pater tuus...neque me scitis neque patrem meum si me sciretis forsitan et patrem meum sciretis AUJo 37.2.2 [CT]

si **enim** me sciretis et patrem meum **forsitan** sciretis AUJo 37.3.1

ubi est pater tuus **neque** me scitis neque patrem meum si me sciretis **et** patrem meum sciretis AUJo 37.7.5

si me sciretis **et** patrem meum sciretis AUJo 37.7.22

si me sciretis **et** patrem meum sciretis AUJo 37.7.34

neque me **nostis** neque patrem meum AUJo 37.10.22

*quod ait dominus ad iudaeos* neque me **nostis** neque patrem meum [Jn 5:38] AUleg 2.5.587

**<8:20> haec uerba locutus est in gazofilacio docens in templo et nemo adprehendit eum quia necdum uenerat hora eius**

haec uerba locutus est **iesus** in gazophylacio docens in templo et nemo apprehendit eum quia **nondum** uenerat hora eius AUJo 37.8.1 [CT]

locutus est **docens** in gasophylacio **dominus** et nemo apprehendit eum quia **nondum** uenerat hora eius AUJo 38.1.2 [CT]

**<8:21> dixit ergo iterum eis iesus ego uado et quaeritis me et in peccato uestro moriemini quo ego uado uos non potestis uenire**

ego uado et quaeritis me et in peccato uestro moriemini quo ego uado uos non potestis uenire AUJo 38.2.1 [CT]

quo ego uado uos **uenire non potestis** AUJo 38.2.26

**<8:22> dicebant ergo iudaei numquid interficiet semet ipsum quia dicit quo ego uado uos non potestis uenire**

numquid interficiet semetipsum quia **dixit** quo ego uado uos non potestis uenire AUJo 38.3.3 [CT]

**<8:23> et dicebat eis uos de deorsum estis ego de supernis sum uos de mundo hoc estis ego non sum de hoc mundo**

*cf. Jn 17:14, Jn 17:16*

*Reminiscence: conuerte hoc distortum nescio quid et praeposterum faciens illud quodammodo capite deorsum: quod susum faciens iusum; quod deorsum faciens sursum. iusum uis facere deum et te susum? praecipitaris non eleuaris: ille enim semper sursum est. AU1Jo 8.2/2036*

et dicebat eis uos de deorsum estis ego de supernis sum uos de mundo hoc estis ego non sum de hoc mundo AUJo 38.4.2 [CT]

ego de supernis sum uos de **hoc mundo** estis ego non sum de hoc mundo AUJo 38.5.1

uos de **hoc mundo** estis AUJo 38.5.4

uos de **hoc mundo** estis AUJo 38.5.5

*quis est mundus de quo dicebat iudaeis* uos de **hoc mundo** estis ego non sum de hoc mundo AUJul 6.2.4

[Jn 17:19] *quemadmodum de se ipso dixerat* ego non sum de hoc mundo AUJul 6.2.4

*propter quod talibus dominus dicit* uos de deorsum estis ego de **sursum** sum uos de **hoc** mundo estis ego non sum de hoc mundo *apostolis autem dicit [Jn 15:19] AUpat 19.16/681.10 (ms N uos deorsum, ms V supernis, ms S er.sum, ms W uos de mundo hoc)*

**<8:24> dixi ergo uobis quia moriemini in peccatis uestris si enim non credideritis quia ego sum moriemini in peccato uestro**

moriemini in peccatis uestris AUJo 38.5.18 si enim non credideritis quia ego sum moriemini in **peccatis uestris**

AUJo 38.7.1 [CT]

**in peccatis uestris moriemini** AUJo 38.6.26

in peccato uestro **moriemini** AUJo 38.7.5

si **non** credideritis quia ego sum moriemini in **peccatis uestris** AUJo 38.7.9

si **non** credideritis quia ego sum moriemini in **peccatis uestris** AUJo 38.8.1

si **non** credideritis quia ego sum AUJo 38.8.3

**nisi** credideritis quia ego sum AUJo 38.8.7

**nisi** credideritis quia ego sum AUJo 38.8.7

**nisi** credideritis quia ego sum AUJo 38.8.8

**nisi** credideritis quia ego sum AUJo 38.8.9

**nisi** credideritis quia ego sum AUJo 38.8.10

**nisi** credideritis quia ego sum moriemini in **peccatis uestris** AUJo 38.8.12

**nisi** credideritis quia ego sum moriemini in **peccatis uestris** AUJo 38.9.3

**nisi** credideritis quia ego sum AUJo 38.9.6

**nisi** credideritis quia ego sum AUJo 38.10.4

**nisi** credideritis quia ego sum AUJo 38.10.12

**nisi** credideritis quia ego sum AUJo 38.10.48

nisi credideritis quia ego sum AUJo 38.10.50  
 nisi credideritis quia ego sum moriemini in **peccatis uestris** AUJo 38.10.57  
 nisi credideritis quia ego sum AUJo 38.11.32  
 nisi credideritis quia ego sum moriemini in **peccatis uestris** AUJo 39.1.5  
 nisi credideritis quia ego sum AUJo 39.8.11  
*Reminiscence: non utique quoniam qui peccator moritur in peccato manet* AUJul 2.5.14  
*Reminiscence: et quia in peccato mortui sunt moriuntur et peccato ut uiuant deo* AUJul 6.5.14

**<8:25> dicebant ergo ei tu quis es dixit eis iesus principium quia et loquor uobis**

*Adaptation: docet nos quia principium est et loquitur nobis* AUcf 11.8.18  
*Adaptation: [Gen 1:1] et respiscit sapientiam principium quia et loquitur ipsa nobis* AUcf 12.28.17  
*Adaptation: ideo quaerentibus iudaeis quis esset respondit se esse principium* AUci 10.24.41  
*Adaptation: sicut ipse in euangelio iudaeis quaerentibus quis esset respondit se esse principium* AUci 11.32.11  
*sicut ipse cum ei dictum esset tu quis es respondit principium quod et loquor uobis [Jn 1:3] AUep*  
 149.2.25/371.18 (mss V K edd **qui et**)  
*Adaptation: dixit etiam se esse principium quod et loqueretur eis* AUEv 4.10.17/413.6 (ms B1 esse se, ms B principium quo, codd. principium quod, mss r a v principium qui)  
*ipse dei filius principium se dixit quando ei dictum est tu quis es et dixit principium quod et loquor uobis [in Gen 1:1] AUGn im 3/461.24 (ms L qui es)*  
*ideoque interrogatus quis esset respondit principium quia et loquor uobis* AUGn li 1.5/9.11 (ms E qui\* [a eras.], ms b qui)  
*[Jn 1:2] dominus enim noster iesus christus cum eum iudaei quis esset interrogassent respondit principium quod et loquor uobis* AUGn Ma 1.3.11 (mss O\* L G N R B ac. M T S am **qui et**, ms ma **quia**)  
 tu quis es...principium quia et loquor uobis AUJo 38.11.2 [CT]  
 dicebant ergo **iudaei** tu quis es...principium quia et loquor uobis AUJo 39.1.4 [CT]  
*Adaptation: filio qui iudaeis interrogantibus quis esset principium se esse respondit* AUleg 1.3.94  
*[Jn 1:1]...et ipse filius interrogatus a iudaeis quis esset respondit principium quia et loquor uobis* AUMax 2.17.4/784  
*respondit enim interrogantibus tu quis es et ait principium quia et loquor uobis* AUPs 109.13.30  
*loquendo euangelio ubi iudaei cum a domino quaesissent quis esset ipse respondit principium quia et loquor uobis* AUs 1.41 (mss A12m A3 A4 **qui** (A11m A2 **quia**))  
*interrogantibus quippe iudaeis et dicentibus tu quis es respondit principium* AUs 223A.1  
*Allusion: quamuis et christus principium sed non patris* AUsy 9.18/21.6 (ms N principium sit)  
*Adaptation: secundum formam enim dei principium est quod et loquitur nobis* (mss Aa Ca T om.**est**, ms J **propter** quod) AUtri 1.12.37  
*et principium dicitur filius; cum enim diceretur ei tu quis es? respondit principium quia et loquor uobis* AUtri 5.13.7 (mss A N O S K T principium quia, mss A2 F J P principium **qui**, mss B C μ principium **quod**)

**<8:26> multa habeo de uobis loqui et iudicare sed qui misit me uerax est et ego quae audiui ab eo haec loquor in mundo**

multa habeo de uobis loqui et iudicare sed qui **me misit** uerax est AUJo 39.6.2 [CT]  
 multa habeo **loqui** de uobis et iudicare AUJo 39.6.1  
**uerax est qui me misit** AUJo 40.2.3

**<8:27> et non cognouerunt quia patrem eis dicebat**

**non intellexerunt iudaei quod de patre illis diceret** AUJo 40.2.4 [CT]

**<8:28> dixit ergo eis iesus cum exaltaueritis filium hominis tunc cognoscetis quia ego sum et a me ipso facio nihil sed sicut docuit me pater haec loquor**

*Allusion: profecto christo clamantem ego sum ueritas (Jn 14:6)...quin etiam dicit ego fallere non didici quod sentio* loquor AUFau 6.9/302.15  
 cum exaltaueritis filium hominis tunc cognoscetis quia ego sum et a me ipso facio nihil sed sicut docuit me pater haec loquor AUJo 40.2.5 [CT]  
 tunc **scietis** quia ego sum AUJo 40.3.6  
 cum exaltaueritis filium hominis tunc cognoscetis quia ego sum AUJo 41.1.10 [CT]  
 cum exaltaueritis filium hominis tunc cognoscetis quia ego sum AUJo 45.10.11  
 cum exaltaueritis filium hominis tunc **agnoscetis** quia ego sum AUJo 54.1.14  
*de quo dicit ipse filius sicut docuit me pater haec loquor* AUPs 118.s22.3.24

*[AUG quoting SA] ut ipse docuit dicens sicuti docuit me pater sic loquor* AUAr 34.6 (mss D U κ N Y **sicut**, ms τ om. **sic**)

**<8:29> et qui me misit mecum est non reliquit me solum quia ego quae placita sunt ei facio semper et qui me misit mecum est non me reliquit solum quia ego quae placita sunt ei facio semper** AUJo 40.6.1 [CT]

**misit me et** mecum est AUJo 40.6.3

qui **misit me** mecum est non **me** reliquit AUJo 40.6.12

*quid itaque mirum est si ea quae commemoras dicit* ego quae placita sunt **patri** facio semper et...[Jn 11:41-2, Jn 9:4] AUMax 2.14.8/775

*Allusion: quem passurum cum omnes deseruissent solus non remansit qui pater eum non deseruit sicut ipse* testatur AUPs 87.5.14

[MAX] *nec enim pater contrarium sibi genuit sed talem genuit qui etiam clamat et dicit* ego quae placita sunt **patri** facio semper AUMax co 10/714

[MAX] *quis cui per obedientiam festinauit placere quam qui dicebat* ego quae placita sunt ei facio semper...[Jn 11:41-42] AUMax co 14/732

[MAX] *cum quando clamat filius* ego quae placita sunt **patri** facio semper AUMax co 22/737

<8:30> **haec illo loquente multi crediderunt in eum**

haec **eo** loquente multi crediderunt in eum AUJo 40.2.26

haec illo loquente multi crediderunt in eum AUJo 40.7.1 [CT]

<8:31> **dicebat ergo iesus ad eos qui crediderunt ei iudaeos si uos manseritis in sermone meo uere discipuli mei eritis**

*ipse enim dicit in euangelio eis qui in eum crediderant* si **permanseritis** in **uerbo** meo uere discipuli mei **estis** AU1Jo 4.2/2006

*denique ipse saluator* si **manseritis** *inquit* in **uerbo** meo uere discipuli mei **estis** AUcorr 22.1 (mss B G om. **uere**) *secundum id quo ait* si **manseritis** in **uerbo** meo uere discipuli mei **estis** AUcorr 22.19

*est quidam sermo domini apud euangelistam iohannem ubi hoc quod dico facilius possit intellegi* dicebat ergo *inquit* iesus ad eos qui crediderunt ei iudaeos si uos **manseritis** in sermone meo uere discipuli mei eritis AUEv 2.70.138/241.17 (mss C P V p g **permanseritis**, ms r **mei discipuli**)

*quibus dixerat* si uos **manseritis** in sermone meo uere discipuli mei eritis AUEv 2.70.138/242.3 (ms B **maneritis**) si **manseritis** in **uerbo** meo uere discipuli mei eritis AUJo 8.7.17

dicebat ergo **dominus** ad eos qui **crediderant in eum** iudaeos si uos **manseritis** in **uerbo** meo uere discipuli mei eritis AUJo 40.8.1 [CT]

si **manseritis** in **uerbo** meo uere discipuli mei eritis AUJo 40.9.31

dicebat ergo iesus ad eos qui **crediderant** ei iudaeos si **manseritis** in **uerbo** meo uere discipuli mei eritis AUJo 41.1.13 [CT]

*Allusion: qui nos in fide uerbi ueri stare iussit* (mss α (i.e. G W **uera**, ms V om. **ueri**) AUleg 2.11.1114

*ipsa enim ueritas etiam homo cum hominibus loquens ait credentibus sibi* si **manseritis** in **uerbo** meo uere discipuli mei **estis** AULib 2.13.51

si **manseritis** *inquit* in **uerbo** meo uere discipulis mei **estis** AUPs 99.7.16

*dixerat autem aliquando credentibus in se* si **manseritis** in **uerbo** meo uere discipuli mei **estis** AUPs 123.2.31

[Jn 8:32] *sed si* **manseritis** in **uerbo** meo AUPs 123.2.33

*eis qui crediderant loquebatur cum diceret* si **manseritis** in **uerbo** meo uere discipuli mei **estis** AUq 69.212 (ms C\* **meo uerbo**, ms Z **sermone meo**, mss C\* D E H I K L R T V Z Flor **eritis**)

*de uerbis euangelii iohannis* si **manseritis** in **uerbo** meo uere discipuli mei **estis** AUs 134 incipit/742

*dicit autem ille de nobis et nobis et uobis* si **manseritis** in **uerbo** meo AUs 134.1.1/743

*qui modo ex euangelio loquebatur* si **manseritis** in **uerbo** meo *inquit* uere discipuli mei **estis** AUs 134.1.1/743

*uidete qui dixerit* si **manseritis** in **uerbo** meo uere discipuli mei **estis** AUs 134.1.1/743

*quod est opus?* si **manseritis** in **uerbo** meo AUs 134.2.2/743

*Adaptation: si enim manserimus in uerbo eius uere discipuli eius sumus. non enim soli illi duodecim sed omnes qui manemus in uerbo eius uere discipuli eius sumus* AUs 134.5.6/745

*qui dixit eis quos iam uidebat credentes in eum* si **permanseritis** in **uerbo** meo uere discipuli mei eritis AUs 193.2/1014

[Jn 8:36] *ipse enim dixit* si **manseritis** in **uerbo** meo uere discipuli mei eritis AUs 241.5.5/1136

[Jn 14:6] *cum loqueretur ad iudaeos inter quos erant qui iam in eum crediderant* ad ipsos iam sermones suos dirigens si **manseritis** *inquit* in **uerbo** meo uere discipuli mei eritis AUs 346.2/1523

[Jn 8:31] *iam isti crediderant: nam euangelista sic ait* dicebat **autem** iesus ad eos qui **crediderant in eum** si **manseritis** in **uerbo** meo uere discipuli mei eritis AUs 346.2/1523

[Jn 14:6] *secundum hoc ait* si **manseritis** in **uerbo** meo uere discipuli mei eritis AUs 346.2/1523

[Jn 8:11] *et paulo post* si uos **manseritis** in sermone meo uere discipuli mei eritis AUspe 28/196.2

*iam enim credentibus ut in uerbo fidei manerent et inde ad ueritatem ac per hoc ad aeternitatem perducti a morte liberarentur ita loquitur* si **manseritis** in **uerbo** meo uere discipuli mei **estis** AUtri 4.18.56 (ms N **maneritis** (corr m1), mss O3 F T μ **eritis**)

[JUL] *dicebat inquit euangelista iohannes* iesus ad iudaeos eos qui crediderunt ei si uos **manseritis** in sermone meo uere discipuli mei eritis AUJul im 1.87.2 (ms P\* dicebant)

**<8:32> et cognoscetis ueritatem et ueritas liberabit uos**

[Jn 8:31] *et quasi dicerent quo fructu?* et cognoscetis *inquit* ueritatem et ueritas **liberauit** uos AU1Jo 4.2/2006  
*unde ille ipse filius* et ueritas *inquit* liberabit uos AUep 101.2/540.12 (ms P\* F\* A liberauit)  
*de qua dictum est in euangelio* et ueritas liberabit uos *id est liberos faciet* AUep 149.2.27/373.7 (ms V\* liberabat, ms K libabit)  
[Jn 8:31] et cognoscetis ueritatem et ueritas liberabit uos AUEv 2.70.138/241.19 (mss C1 P **cognoscitis**, mss B R1 T L liberauit, mss F1 A E1 L **eos**)  
[Jn 8:31] et cognoscetis ueritatem et ueritas liberabit uos AUJo 8.7.18  
et cognoscetis ueritatem AUJo 40.8.25 et ueritas liberabit uos AUJo 40.11.4 [CT]  
et cognoscetis ueritatem et ueritas liberabit uos AUJo 41.1.16 [CT]  
ueritas liberabit uos AUJo 108.2.18  
*unde non liberat nisi qui dixit* ueritas liberabit uos *et [Jn 14:6] et [Jn 8:36]* AUJul 6.12.39  
[Jn 8:31] et cognoscetis ueritatem et ueritas liberabit uos AUJul im 1.87.4 (ms C liberauit)  
[Jn 8:31]... et cognoscetis ueritatem et ueritas liberabit uos AULib 2.13.52  
[Jn 8:31] et cognoscetis ueritatem et ueritas liberabit uos AUPs 99.7.16  
[Jn 8:31] et cognoscetis ueritatem et ueritas liberabit uos. et cognoscetis *inquit* ueritatem AUPs 123.2.32  
[Jn 8:31] et cognoscetis ueritatem et ueritas liberabit uos AUq 69.213 (ms G **cognoscitis**, mss D\* L O Z **liberauit**)  
[Jn 8:31] et cognoscetis ueritatem et ueritas liberabit uos AUs 134.1.1/743  
[Jn 8:31, Matt 7:24-5] *praemium quod est?* cognoscetis ueritatem et ueritas liberabit uos AUs 134.2.2/743  
*o praemium!* cognoscetis ueritatem. *forte aliquis diceret: et quid mihi prodest cognoscere ueritatem?* et ueritas liberabit uos AUs 134.2.2/743  
*quia dixi* ueritas liberabit uos AUs 134.3.3/743  
[Jn 8:31] et cognoscetis ueritatem et ueritas liberabit uos...[Ps 84:12] AUs 193.2/1014  
[Jn 8:31] et cognoscetis ueritatem et ueritas liberabit uos AUs 241.5.5/1136  
[Jn 8:31] et cognoscetis ueritatem et ueritas liberabit uos AUs 346.2/1523  
[Jn 8:31] et cognoscetis ueritatem et ueritas liberabit uos AUs 346.2/1523  
*id quod ait* ueritas liberabit uos AUs 346.2/1523  
[Jn 8:31...14:6] *secundum hoc ait* et cognoscetis ueritatem et ueritas liberabit uos AUs 346.2/1523  
[Jn 8:31] et cognoscetis ueritatem et ueritas liberabit uos AUspe 28/196.3 (ms S **cognoscitis**, mss M1 P1 **liberauit**)  
[Jn 8:31]...*secutus ait* et cognoscetis ueritatem. *rursus quasi dicerent "quid prodest mortalibus ueritas?"* et ueritas *inquit* liberabit uos AUtri 4.18.58 (mss Ca K cognoscitis, ms S om. **ueritas**, mss Eug D Ga Pa liberauit)  
*Adaptation:* AUs 134.5.6/745 [Jn 8:31 *Adaptation:*] *et cognoscemus ueritatem et ueritas liberabit nos*

**<8:33> responderunt ei semen abraham sumus et nemini seruiimus umquam quomodo tu dicis liberi eritis**

*cf. Jn 8:36, Jn 8:39*  
[Jn 8:32] **et** responderunt ei semen abraham sumus et nemini seruiimus umquam quomodo tu dicis liberi eritis AUEv 2.70.138/241.20 (ms B seruimus)  
responderunt ei semen abraham sumus et nemini seruiimus umquam quomodo tu dicis liberi eritis AUJo 41.2.3 [CT]  
*superbierunt inde iudaei et dixerunt* **nos filii** abraham sumus AUPs 46.11.4  
*quid illis dicit dominus dicentibus* **filii sumus abraham** AUPs 148.17.26  
*sicut eis et ipse ait qui dicunt ei* **nos liberi** sumus et nemini seruiimus unquam *nos patrem habemus abraham*  
[Jn 8:39-40] AUs 121.3/679 (SC116 AUs 121.3.46) *cf. Lk 3:7*  
*loquente domino responderunt iudaei* **nos** nemini seruiimus umquam quomodo tu dicis **ueritas liberabit uos** AUs 134.2.2/743  
[Jn 8:32] *attendistis uos quia non seruitis homini et dixistis* nemini seruiimus umquam AUs 134.3.3/744  
[Rom 11:17] *audi oliuam superbientem et frangi dignam* **nos de seruitute non sumus nati patrem habemus abraham** *respondetur* [Jn 8:39] AUs 342.4/1503  
[Jn 8:39]. *contra id quod dictum est* **de seruitute non sumus nati** [Jn 8:36] AUs 342.4/1503

[JUL] *tunc responderunt ei iudaei non intellegentes de qua iesus libertate dixisset* semen abraham sumus et nemini seruiimus umquam quomodo tu dicis liberi eritis AUJul im 1.87.13

**<8:34> respondit eis iesus amen amen dico uobis quia omnis qui facit peccatum seruus est peccati**

*cf. 1Jn 3:4*  
*sicut autem supernus dominus dicit* omnis qui facit peccatum seruus est peccati AUci 19.15.26 (ms g **superius**)  
[Jn 8:33] respondit eis iesus amen amen dico uobis quia omnis qui facit peccatum seruus est peccati AUEv 2.70.138/241.23 (ms B1 **ei**, ms B2 **his**)  
*audirent christum dicentem [Matt 9:12ff] et* omnis qui facit peccatum seruus est peccati *et [Jn 8:36]* AUFau 12.9/338.4  
omnis qui facit peccatum seruus est peccati AUJo 3.19.15

omnis qui facit peccatum seruus est peccati AUJo 8.11.13  
omnis qui facit peccatum seruus est peccati AUJo 20.2.15  
qui *enim* facit peccatum seruus est peccati AUJo 30.6.18  
respondit eis iesus amen amen dico uobis quia omnis qui facit peccatum seruus est peccati AUJo 41.3.2 [CT]  
omnis qui facit peccatum seruus est peccati AUJo 44.9.15  
*attende quod dictum est* omnis qui facit peccatum *non enim ait qui fecit sed* qui facit AUJul im 1.87.30 (mss L M  
**add. seruus est peccati**)  
omnis *enim inquit non qui fecit sed* qui facit peccatum seruus est peccati AUJul im 1.88.21 (ms P **omnes**)  
omnis *ait* qui facit peccatum seruus est peccati AUJul im 1.88.25 (ms P **omnes**, ms K **omnis enim**)  
*audiant ergo quibus ipse aperit sensum ut intellegant scripturas audiant* omnis qui facit peccatum seruus est  
peccati AUJul im 1.88.228  
*non enim ait nemo est seruus peccati nisi qui facit peccatum sed ait* omnis qui facit peccatum seruus est peccati  
AUJul im 1.88.35 (ms P **omnes**)  
*sed factus est sub peccato tamquam seruus dicente domino* omnis qui **peccat** seruus est AUPs 7.18.4  
*abstine ab opere seruili.* omnis *enim* qui facit peccatum seruus est peccati AUPs 32.2.s1.6.16  
*liber enim in mortuis quia sine peccato* quia omnis qui facit peccatum seruus est peccati AUPs 40.6.32  
*dominus secundum illum intellectum euangelicum quo* omnis qui facit peccatum seruus est peccati *ait* AUPs  
55.9.30  
*seruilia sunt opera; quia* omnis qui facit peccatum seruus est peccati [Jn 8:36] AUPs 80.9.9  
omnis *ait* qui facit peccatum seruus est peccati AUPs 87.5.5  
*quare liber? quia* omnis qui facit peccatum seruus est peccati AUPs 142.8.25  
*audiat dominum dicentem* omnis qui facit peccatum seruus est peccati AUs 33.65  
[Ezek 34:27] *ad peccatum eos cogebant.* omnis *enim* qui facit peccatum seruus est peccati AUs 47.853  
[Jn 8:33]...omnis qui facit peccatum seruus est peccati. omnis *inquit* qui facit peccatum seruus est peccati AUs  
134.3.3/744  
*nam solus iustus est liber; omnis enim* qui facit peccatum seruus **peccati est** AUs 161.9.9/883  
*audi dominum* omnis qui facit peccatum seruus est peccati AUs 179A.3  
[Lev. 23:7] omnis qui facit peccatum seruus est peccati AUs 270.5/1242  
[2 Pet 2:19] *et* omnis qui facit peccatum seruus est peccati *et* [Jn 8:36] AUs 156.11.12/856  
[Jn 8:36] *liberos uos esse iactatis?* omnis qui facit peccatum seruus est peccati AUs 342.4/1503  
Reminiscence: *si ergo serui sunt peccati* AUsp 30.52/209.14  
[Jn 8:32] *et post paululum amen amen dico uobis quia* omnis qui facit peccatum seruus est peccati AUsp  
28/196.4

[JUL] *denique sequitur euangelista* repondit [sic] eis iesus amen amen dico uobis **quoniam** omnis qui facit  
peccatum seruus est peccati AUJul im 1.87.26 (ms P **ei**, ms P **omnes**, ms P\* **seruos**)  
[JUL] omnis *inquit* qui facit peccatum seruus est peccati AUJul im 1.88.2 (ms Pm2 **omnes**)

#### <8:35> seruus autem non manet in domo in aeternum filius manet in aeternum

[Jn 8:34] seruus autem non manet in domo in aeternum filius **autem** manet in aeternum AUEv 2.70.138/241.24  
seruus autem non manet in domo in aeternum filius **autem** manet in aeternum AUJo 41.8.2 [CT]  
filius manet in aeternum AUJo 41.8.20  
seruus **non** manet in domo in aeternum filius **autem** manet in aeternum AUJo 85.3.22  
*modo ergo doe* iste *idumaeus est in tabernaculo sed* seruus **non** manet in domo in aeternum AUPs 51.12.15  
[Jn 8:34] seruus **non** manet in domo in aeternum filius **autem** manet in aeternum AUPs 55.9.31  
*hinc est etiam seruili timor.* seruus autem non manet in domo in aeternum filius manet in aeternum AUPs  
104.7.54  
*seruilliter fit non liberaliter.* seruus autem non manet in domo in aeternum filius manet in aeternum AUPs  
118.s17.1.17  
seruus **enim** non manet in domo in aeternum filius **autem** manet in aeternum AUPs 118.s21.2.33  
*expulso seruo qui non manet in domo in aeternum* AUPs 118.s22.1.24  
*malo seruo dicitur exi quia* seruus **non** manet in domo in aeternum filius manet in aeternum AUs 147A.5  
[JUL] [Jn 8:34] seruus autem non manet in domo in aeternum filius **autem** manet in aeternum AUJul im 1.87.27  
(ms P\* **seruos**, ms T\* **in aeternum in domo**)

#### <8:36> si ergo filius uos liberauerit uere liberi eritis

cf. Jn 8:33  
*unde ueritas dicit* si **uos** filius liberauerit **tunc** uere liberi eritis AUci 14.11.45  
*nisi fuerit liberatus ab eo qui dixit* si **uos** filius liberauerit **tunc** uere liberi eritis AUcorr 2.16 (mss f1 f2 **liberauit**)  
*liberata est per illum qui dixit* si **uos** filius liberauerit **tunc** uere liberi eritis AUcorr 35.17  
*nisi redimat cuius illa uox est* si **uos** filius liberauerit **tunc** uere liberi eritis AUench 9.52 (ms B **om. uere**)  
*nisi quod in litteris uere liberalibus legimus* si **uos** filius liberauerit **tunc** uere liberi eritis AUep 101.2/540.7 (ms F  
**uero liberati**)



[2Pet 2:19] et si **uos** filius liberauerit **ait ipse dei filius tunc** uere liberi eritis AUep 145.2/268.3 (ms R om.ait-filius, mss P M F A R om.**uere**)

[Consilium Carthaginense] liberatur dicente domino si **uos** filius liberauerit **tunc** uere liberi eritis AUep 175.2/655.13 (ms U domino suos filios, ms L **om.tunc**, ms R **estis**)

sicut scriptum est si **uos** filius liberauerit uere liberi eritis AUep 190.6.23/159.13

[Jn 8:35] si ergo filius uos liberauerit uere liberi eritis AUEv 2.70.138/241.26 (mss χ ψ g r a m v uos filius, ms g liberauit, ms B estis)

Adaptation: ibi dixit se filium esse ueritatem quae nisi liberauerit nemo erit liber (mss RD ueritatemque, ms r et ueritatem, mss C2 S p g l ueritatis) AUEv 4.10.17/412.15

audirent christum dicentem [Matt 9:12ff] et [Jn 8:34] et si **uos** filius liberauerit **tunc** uere liberi eritis AUFau 12.9/338.5

si ergo **uos** filius liberauerit **tunc** uere liberi eritis AUJo 41.8.20 [CT]

si **uos** filius liberauerit **tunc** uere liberi eritis AUJo 41.11.10

si **uos** filius liberauerit **tunc** uere liberi eritis AUJo 41.11.14

si **uos** filius liberauerit **tunc** uere liberi eritis AUJo 41.13.2

si **uos** filius liberauerit **tunc** uere liberi eritis AUJo 108.2.19

unde non liberat nisi qui dixit [Jn 8:32] et [Jn 14:6] et si **uos** filius liberauerit **tunc** uere liberi eritis AUJul 6.12.39

quod autem ait dominus si **uos** filius liberauerit **tunc** uere liberi eritis AUJul im 1.77.18 (mss L M liberauit)

quod et ipse in euangelio clamat si **uos** filius liberauerit **tunc** uere liberi eritis AUmor 2.22.16

sed si **uos** filius liberauerit **ait ueritas tunc** uere liberi eritis AUnu 2.3/259.11 (ms B liberauit, C\* liberauerat, ms B **om. ait**, ms V **aut ueritas**, ms μ **estis**)

iesus...quibus dicit si **uos** filius liberauerit **tunc** uere liberi eritis AUpec 2.6.7/78.13 (ms C **nos**, ms Lm1 **filis**, ms V **filios**, ms b liberauit, ms Vm1 **uero**)

dicente domino si **uos** filius filius liberauerit **tunc** uere liberi eritis AUPel 1.2.5/426.2 (mss G L domino in euangelio, mss E F **om.tunc**)

referens hoc ad illam domini sententiam si **uos** filius liberauerit **tunc** uere liberi eritis AUPel 1.2.5/426.21 (ms C **filios**, ms B liberauit, ms D **om.tunc**, ms V **estis**)

et illis dicens [Eccl 7:30] et istis dicens si **uos** filius liberauerit uere liberi eritis AUPel 2.2.2/461.28 (ms B liberauit, ms B **estis**)

si **uos** inquit filius liberauerit **tunc** uere liberi eritis AUperf 4/8.22

nam et ipse dominus cum sine additamento ponit filium seipsum unigenitum uult intellegi ubi ait si **uos** filius liberauerit **tunc** uere liberi eritis AUPs 9.1.15

[Jn 8:34] et si **uos** filius liberauerit **tunc** uere liberi eritis AUPs 80.9.10

[Jn 8:34] et quia per eum qui non habebat peccatum oportebat liberari a peccatis si **uos** inquit filius liberauerit **tunc** uere liberi eritis AUPs 87.5.7

de quibus scriptum est si **uos** filius liberauerit **tunc** uere liberi eritis AUre 2.8.9 (ref. AUFel) (mss A C\* D\* filio)

Reminiscence: quin immo ideo uere liberorum regnum est AUs 114B.11/82.251 (AUs Dol 5)

[Jn 8:34] et si **uos** filius liberauerit **tunc** uere liberi eritis AUs 156.11.12/856

quoniam non uacat sermo redemptoris nostrae si **uos** filius liberauerit **tunc** uere liberi eritis. ipse enim dixit [Jn 8:31-32] AUs 241.5.5/1136

[Jn 8:33] si **uos** filius liberauerit uere liberi eritis AUs 342.4/1503

nec illum uelint habere dominum qui eis dicit [Jn 15:5] et si **uos** filius liberauerit **tunc** uere liberi eritis AUSp 30.52/209.19 (ms S **om.filius**) ms b **tunc uere filius liberauerit**)

[JUL citing AUnu 2.8] contra haec ergo uerba mea quae rescripseris audiamus: "...non liberum negamus arbitrium sed si **uos** filius liberauerit **ait ueritas tunc** uere liberi eritis..." AUJul im 1.74.4

[JUL citing AUnu 2.8] et subiungis testimonium euangelii "sed si **uos** filius liberauerit **ait ueritas tunc** uere liberi eritis" AUJul im 1.77.7

[JUL citing AUnu 2.8] ais enim: "non negamus arbitrium liberum sed si **uos** filius liberauerit **ait ueritas tunc** uere liberi eritis AUJul im 1.84.7

[JUL] [Jn 8:35] si ergo filius uos liberauerit **tunc** uere liberi eritis AUJul im 1.87.29 (mss P L liberauit, ms T\* **uero** (corr. m1)

[JUL] hic ergo ubi dixit dominus si **uos** filius liberauerit uere liberi eritis AUJul im 1.91.1

[JUL citing AUPel 1.2.5] natura humana diuina indiget gratia dicente domino in euangelio suo si **uos** filius liberauerit **tunc** uere liberi eritis AUJul im 1.94.10

[JUL citing AUPel 1.2.5] referens hoc ad illam domini sententiam si **uos** filius liberauerit **tunc** uere liberi eritis AUJul im 1.94.27 (ms C liberauit)

<8:37> scio quia filii abraham estis sed quaeritis me interficere quia sermo meus non capit in uobis

[Jn 8:36] scio quia filii abraham estis sed quaeritis me interficere quia sermo meus non capit in uobis AUEv 2.70.138/241.27 (ms C interficere, ms L om. quia-interficere, mss A E1 S1 **om.in**)

[8:37] non utique illis diceret quaeritis me interficere qui in eum iam crediderant AUEv 2.70.138/242.2 (ms C1 quaeretis)

*Allusion: dominus dicit in euangelio de iudaeis [Jn 15:22]. de quo peccato dicit nisi illo magno quod praesciebat eorum futurum quando ista dicebat id est quo eum fuerant occisuri AUgr 2.2*

scio quia filii abraham estis sed quaeritis me interficere quia sermo meus non capit in uobis AUJo 42.1.9 [CT]

filii abraham estis sed quaeritis me **occidere sermo enim** meus non capit in uobis AUJo 42.1.13

quaeritis me **occidere** AUJo 42.2.6

*quid est sermo meo non capit in uobis si natura etiam talis qualis nunc indiget liberante iam capax est sermonis eius AUJul im 1.89.8*

*Reminiscence: secundum doctrinam sicut filios suos quos euangelium docuit apostolus uocat secundum imitationem sicut filii abraham nos sumus AUre 1.22.48 (ref. AUAd)*

*[Prov 8:35]. dicit iudaeis dominus sermo meus non capit in uobis AU 173.2.2/938*

*[JUL] [Jn 8:34] denique ut intellegas non eum naturae eorum exprobrare sed uitae sequitur scio quia filii abraham estis AUJul 1.89.2*

*[JUL] nunc cui seruituti obnoxii sint demonstrat dicens quaeritis me interficere quia sermo meus non capit in uobis AUJul im 1.89.4*

**<8:38> ego quod uidi apud patrem loquor et uos quae uidistis apud patrem uestrum facitis**

ego quod uidi apud patrem **meum** loquor et uos quae uidistis apud patrem uestrum facitis AUJo 42.2.2 [CT]

**quae** uidi apud patrem **meum** loquor AUJo 42.2.8

*[JUL] [Jn 8:37] ego quod **audiui** apud patrem **meum** loquor et uos quae uidistis apud patrem uestrum facitis AUJul im 1.89.5 (ms G **om.meum**, ms P\* qui uidistis (corr m1))*

*[MAX] sine dubio autem christus ipse confitetur quod [Jn 7:16] et quod uidi **et audiui** apud patrem **meum** loquor AUMax co 5/713*

*[MAX] [Col 1:15-17]... ipse enim dicit quod uidi apud patrem **meum** loquor AUMax co 13/719*

**<8:39> responderunt et dixerunt ei pater noster abraham est dicit eis iesus si filii abraham estis opera abraham facite**

*cf. Jn 8:33*

*Allusion: quomodo iudae filii abraham non imitantes fidem abraham facti sunt filii diaboli: de carne abraham nati sunt et fidem abraham non sunt imitati. AU1Jo 4.10/2011*

*diabolum...unde diceretur pater impiorum sicut noster dicitur pater abraham propter imitationem fidei AUep 157.3.21/470.13*

*Adaptation: testimonium dominus perhibebat cum iudaeos admoneret ut si **abraham** filii **essent facta** abraham **facient** AUFau 33.5/790.11*

*et cum audiunt si filii abraham estis **facta** abraham facite **degenerando demonstrantur ignobiles** AUJb 30/574.14 (ms C **om.si**)*

responderunt et dixerunt ei pater noster abraham est AUJo 42.3.1 dicit eis iesus si filii abraham estis opera abraham facite AUJo 42.4.2 [CT]

si filii abraham estis **facta** abraham facite AUJo 42.15.24

*ita ut iudaeis diceret ipse dominus si filii abraham estis **facta** abraham facite AUleg 2.9.954 (ms V habrahe x2)*

*denique dominus quid ait eis ita superbientibus? si filii abraham estis **facta** abraham facite AUPs 46.11.7*

*sed non sunt semen abraham illi iudaei quibus dictum est si filii abraham estis **facta** abraham facite AUPs 68.s.2.21.8*

*dicerent domino **nos patrem habemus** abraham ait illis dominus tamquam degenerantibus si filii abraham estis **facta** abraham facite AUPs 84.4.32*

*aperte enim dominus ait si filii abraham estis **facta** abraham facite AUPs 131.20.20*

*et quid illis dominus si filii abraham **essetis facta** abraham **fecissetis** AUPs 148.17.28*

*[Jn 8:33] et ille si filii abraham **essetis facta** abraham **faceretis** AU 121.3/679 (SC116 AU 121.3.47)*

*[Jn 8:33] respondetur si filii abraham **essetis facta** abraham **faceretis** AU 342.4/1503*

*[JUL] non negauit iesus carnem eorum pertinere ad semen abraham sed inculcat eis quod ad diabolum patrem uoluntatis iniquitate migrauerint qui ideo genitor eorum dicitur quod criminum arguitur eruditor. responderunt inquit et dixerunt ei **iudaei** pater noster abraham est dicit eis iesus si filii abraham **essetis** opera abraham **faceretis** AUJul im 1.90.5*

**<8:40> nunc autem quaeritis me interficere hominem qui ueritatem uobis locutus sum quam audiui a deo hoc abraham non fecit**

*Allusion: inimicus eis factus est homo tuus uerum praedicans AUcf 10.23.24*

nunc autem quaeritis me interficere hominem qui ueritatem uobis locutus sum quam audiui a deo hoc abraham non fecit AUJo 42.4.3 [CT]

quaeritis me **occidere** hominem AUJo 42.6.3

quaeritis me **occidere** hominem qui ueritatem uobis *dico* AUJo 42.11.6

[Jn 8:39] nunc autem quaeritis me **occidere** hominem qui ueritatem uobis **dico** quam audiui a deo hoc abraham non fecit AUJo 42.15.24

[8:39] **uos uultis** me **occidere quia** ueritatem uobis **dico hoc** abraham non fecit AU 121.3/679 (SC116 AU 121.3.48)

[JUL] [Jn 8:39] nunc autem quaeritis me interficere hominem qui ueritatem **locutus** sum uobis quam audiui a deo hoc abraham non fecit AUJul im 1.90.7 (ms P **quaeretis**, ms G **hoc non fecit abraham**)

<8:41> **uos facitis opera patris uestri dixerunt itaque ei nos ex fornicatione non sumus nati unum patrem habemus deum**

*domino dixerunt* nos ex fornicatione non sumus nati unum patrem habemus deum AUJdc 49.1221 (ms p **cum patrem**)

uos facitis opera patris uestri AUJo 42.6.8 dixerunt itaque ei nos ex fornicatione non sumus nati unum patrem habemus deum AUJo 42.7.6 [CT]

*Allusion: hoc etiam egerunt aduersus dominum principes sacerdotum et scribae et pharisaei qui de legis obseruatione gloriari uidebantur tamquam ille solueret legem* AUJdc 49.1190

[JUL] [Jn 8:40] uos **autem** opera patris uestri AUJul im 1.90.9

<8:42> **dixit ergo eis iesus si deus pater uester esset diligeretis utique me ego enim ex deo processi et ueni neque enim a me ipso ueni sed ille me misit**

dixit ergo eis iesus si deus pater uester esset diligeretis utique me ego enim ex deo processi et ueni neque enim a me ipso ueni sed ille me misit AUJo 42.8.4 [CT]

*non a me ipso ueni ille me misit a deo processi et ueni* AUJo 42.8.9

*cur ergo ait et a me ipso non ueni* AUtri 2.5.112

[AUG quoting SA] *sicut ipse ait nec* enim a me ipso ueni sed ille me misit AUAr 3.6 (mss E Ox **neque**, ms a(bold) **non**)

<8:43> **quare loquellam meam non cognoscitis quia non potestis audire sermonem meum**

quare loquelam meam non cognoscitis quia non potestis audire sermonem meum AUJo 42.9.1 [CT]

<8:44> **uos ex patre diabolo estis et desideria patris uestri uultis facere ille homicida erat ab initio et in ueritate non stetit quia non est ueritas in eo cum loquitur mendacium ex propriis loquitur quia mendax est et pater eius**

*cf. 1Jn 3:8*

*Allusion: sed quicumque fuerit imitatus diabolum quasi de illo natus fit filius diaboli imitando* AU1Jo 4.10/2011

[Job 1:11-2] [1Jn 3:8] *nonne de illo dictum est in ueritate non stetit?* [Gen 3:1] [Job 2:9] AU1Jo 6.7/2023

[Jn 8:47] uos ex patre diabolo estis AU2an 9/61.10 (ms M b a **pater**)

*quia dominus in euangelio dicit iudaeis* uos ex patre diabolo estis et desideria patris uestri **facere uultis** ille homicida erat ab initio et in ueritate non stetit quia **ueritas** in eo non est AUAd 5/124.6

*hoc autem quod in euangelio est* uos ex patre diabolo estis AUAd 5/124.12

*id quod de illo dictum est et in ueritate non stetit* AUAd 5/124.25

*quales dominus arguit cum dicit* uos ex patre diabolo estis et cetera AUAd 6/125.25

*quod dominus ait de diabolo in euangelio* ille homicida erat ab initio et in ueritate non stetit AUci 11.13.35

*non dixisse dominum a ueritate alienus fuerit sed* in ueritate non stetit AUci 11.13.55

*atque ait* quia non est ueritas in eo AUci 11.14.2

*sic enim uidetur sonare* in ueritate non stetit quia non est ueritas in eo AUci 11.14.5

*Allusion: qui non solum mendax uerum etiam mendacii pater est* AUci 14.3.61

*itaque [sc. diabolus]* in ueritate non stetit *sed ueritatis iudicium non euasit* AUci 19.13.37

*quo genere locutionis dictum sit de diabolo quod* in ueritate non **steterit** qui **ueritas** non est in eo AUci brev 11.14.40

*Allusion: quid sentiendum sit de eo quod dictum est* ab initio **diabolus peccat** AUci brev 11.15.42

*Reminiscence: persuasit uoluntati nostrae similitudinem uoluntatis suae qua* in ueritate **tua** non stetit AUcf 7.21.19 (mss D V E G M quia)

*hic est a ueritate ad mendacium. qui enim loquitur mendacium de suo loquitur* AUcf 12.25.28

*omnis autem homo mendax. et ideo qui loquitur mendacium de suo loquitur* AUcf 13.25.5

*uiuens cum loquitur mendacium de suo loquitur* AUcont 4.11/154.15

*unde dictum est de diabolo* in ueritate non stetit AUcorr 10.39

*nam diabolus non habet carnem et tamen quia secundum se ipsum uiuere uoluit* in ueritate non stetit *quid ergo mirum si secundum se ipsum*

**qui enim** loquitur mendacium **de suo** loquitur AUep 92.4/440.14

*Reminiscence: potestas diaboli et angelorum eius qui cum fuissent angeli lucis in ueritate per liberum arbitrium non stantes sed inde cadentes* AUep 217.3.8/409.25

*Reminiscence: chetteus autem abscisus siue quod in ueritate non stetit* AUFau 22.87/692.19  
*illud quod dominus ait ille homicida erat ab initio et in ueritate non stetit. utrumque ab initio intellegamus non solum quod homicida fuit sed etiam quod in ueritate non stetit* AUGn li 11.16/349.5  
*quia iam diabolus erat et de sua beatitudine ceciderat quia in ueritate non stetit* AUGn Ma 2.20.7  
*iam enim habebant cooperimenta mendacii qui autem loquitur mendacium de suo loquitur* [in Gen 3:8] AUGn Ma 2.24.10  
*tenebratur mendacio quoniam qui loquitur mendacium de suo loquitur* AUGn Ma 2.24.19  
*Reminiscence: ueritate gaudere in qua non stetit* AUGn Ma 2.26.11  
*sicut ille qui ait duris et resistentibus euangelio uos ex patre diabolo estis* [Job 38:29-30] AUJb 38/610.9 (ed. uox)  
*in ueritate non stetit* AUJo 3.7.17  
**qui** loquitur mendacium **de suo** loquitur AUJo 5.1.6  
**qui** loquitur mendacium **de suo** loquitur AUJo 5.1.12  
*et in ueritate non stetit quia ueritas non est in eo* AUJo 8.5.33  
*et in ueritate non stetit* AUJo 14.2.20  
*uos a patre diabolo estis* AUJo 42.9.5 *et desideria patris uestri uultis facere ille homicida erat ab initio et in ueritate non stetit quia ueritas non est in eo* AUJo 42.11.1 *cum loquitur mendacium ex propriis loquitur quia mendax est et pater eius* AUJo 42.12.1 [CT]  
*ille homicida erat ab initio et in ueritate non stetit cum loquitur mendacium de propriis loquitur quia mendax est et pater eius* AUJo 42.12.5  
*ille homicida erat ab initio et in ueritate non stetit quia ueritas non est in eo cum loquitur mendacium de propriis loquitur quia mendax est et pater eius* AUJo 42.12.17  
*ille homicida erat ab initio et in ueritate non stetit quia ueritas non est in eo cum loquitur mendacium de propriis loquitur quia mendax est et pater eius* AUJo 42.13.12  
*ille homicida erat ab initio et in ueritate non stetit quia ueritas non est in eo cum loquitur mendacium de propriis loquitur quia mendax est et pater eius* AUJo 42.14.5  
*Reminiscence: non autem omnes filii saeculi filii sunt diaboli quamuis omnes filii diaboli filii sint saeculi* AUJul 6.13.40  
*nunc uero aliud est ille qui homicida erat ab initio quia hominem ab initio quo est homo institutus occidit per feminae seductionem et in ueritate per liberum arbitrium non stetit cadensque deiecit* [Rom 5:12] AUJul 6.20.63  
*[Rom 3:4] de uestro ista dicitis quia qui loquitur mendacium de suo loquitur* AUPar 1.2.3/23.4  
*Reminiscence: apparuit in angelis qui diabolo cum suis cadente in ueritate steterunt* AUpers 7.13/1001  
*[Jn 8:44 PETI] augustinus respondit non solemus legere ille accusator fuit sed ille homicida fuit quaerimus autem unde fuerit diabolus homicida ab initio* AUPet 2.13.30/35.22 (ms Q diabolus fuerit)  
*populus cui dictum est uos ex patre diabolo estis* AUPs 16.11.4  
*quibus recte dicitur uos ex patre diabolo estis* [in Ps 17:46] AUPs 17.46.2  
*nam infidelibus dicit dominus uos a patre diabolo estis* AUPs 26.s2.18.17  
*nam qui loquitur mendacium de suo loquitur* AUPs 38.4.14  
*adhuc infidelibus dictum est uos a patre diabolo estis* AUPs 44.12.3  
*audit enim eum ne loquendo mendacium de suo loquatur* AUPs 61.19.17  
*nisi enim te formaret ad opera bona non nosses nisi opera tua mala. qui enim loquitur mendacium de suo loquitur id est qui peccat de suo peccat* AUPs 91.6.7  
*si de tuo uolueris mentieris. qui loquitur mendacium de suo loquitur. si qui loquitur mendacium de suo loquitur. si qui loquitur ueritatem de dei [sic] loquitur* AUPs 102.4.26  
*et audi quid de illo dicatur ab ipso qui emisit fontes in conuallibus qui loquitur mendacium de suo loquitur* AUPs 103.s2.11.38  
*emisit uenenum de proprio locutus est de suo quia qui loquitur mendacium de suo loquitur* AUPs 103.s2.11.64  
*qui enim inde lapsus est in ueritate non stetit* AUPs 121.3.7  
*quid enim dicitur de diabolo? ille homicida erat ab initio et in ueritate non stetit* AUPs 131.14.4  
*quia dictum est de quodam qui archangelus fuit et in ueritate non stetit et dictum est de amico sponsi* [Jn 3:29] AUPs 133.1.29  
*Allusion: quia renuntiat quis diabolo qui fuit pater eius* (mss M S B C E Thom fuit filius eius) AUqEv app 3.4 [in Matt 10:34-35]  
*et quoniam qui loquitur ueritatem de dei loquitur qui enim loquitur mendacium de suo loquitur* AUs 8.110 (ms io (Jean Diacre) qui autem)  
*Reminiscence: et iniuriosus ipse est qui contra iustitiam facit quia in ueritate numquam stetit* AUs 22A.113  
*Reminiscence: nam non est mendax nisi de suo* AUs 28A.2/252.50 (AUs Dol 9)  
*remanebit in mendacio suo quoniam qui loquitur mendacium de suo loquitur* AUs 28A.2/252.56 (AUs Dol 9)  
*ait enim ipse dominus qui loquitur mendacium de suo loquitur quia omnis homo mendax* [Ps 115.11] qui ergo loquitur ueritatem non de suo loquitur sed de dei AUs 166.3.3/908  
*diabolus non habuisse de quo dictum est ille homicida erat ab initio et in ueritate non stetit* AUs 179.3.3/967 [Ps 33:6]. unde tenebratur? qui loquitur mendacium de suo loquitur AUs 232.4.4/1109  
*de quo dicit ipse dominus ille homicida erat ab initio et in ueritate non stetit. diabolus in ueritate non stetit et cecidit cadens qui deicit* AUs 293D.3  
*[Gal 4:19; 1 Cor 4:16]. et propter ipsam imitationem dicitur impiis uos a patre diabolo estis* AUs 294.15.15/1344

*non est hoc de cellario domini tua mihi dicis. qui loquitur mendacium de suo loquitur* AU<sup>s</sup> 340A.9  
*nam et de illo archangelo qui in ueritate non stetit dictum est sicut lucifer oriebatur [cf. Is. 14:12] sed in ipsa luce non stetit* AU<sup>s</sup> 341.18/187.404 (AU<sup>s</sup> D<sup>ol</sup> 22)  
*[Jn 6:49]...secundum quem intellectum quibusdam dicit uos a patre diabolo estis* AU<sup>s</sup> 352.3/1552  
*dicebat dominus uos a patre diabolo estis* AU<sup>s</sup> 360A.1/42.14 (AU<sup>s</sup> D<sup>ol</sup> 24)

*[JUL] Reminiscence: ab euangelio nec sane iniuria audire possis quia ab initio mendax es sicut et pater tuus* AU<sup>Jul</sup> im 1.67.25 (ms P **qui**)  
*[JUL] dicitur ergo diabolus generare peccantes secundum quod dominus in euangelio suo ait ex patre diabolo estis* AU<sup>Jul</sup> im 2.53.8 (mss P Migne Kal. euangelio uos ait)  
*[PETI] petilianus dixit falsidicos et mendaces sic identidem obiurgat filii diaboli estis et ab initio enim ille accusator fuit et in ueritate non stetit* AU<sup>Pet</sup> 2.13.29/35.20

**<8:45> ego autem quia ueritatem dico non creditis mihi**  
 ego autem quia ueritatem dico non creditis mihi AU<sup>Jo</sup> 42.14.10 [CT]

**<8:46> quis ex uobis arguit me de peccato si ueritatem dico quare uos non creditis mihi**  
 quis ex uobis arguit me de peccato si ueritatem dico quare uos non creditis mihi AU<sup>Jo</sup> 42.14.11 [CT]  
*Allusion: christus in quo peccatum cum propter nos homo factus esset omnino nullum fuit* AU<sup>pec</sup> 2.11.16/88.12  
*Reminiscence: solus enim in hominibus uerum dicere potuit homo deus si inuenistis in me peccatum dicite* AU<sup>s</sup> 50.9.17  
*Reminiscence: quis non est ligatus nisi qui dixit si inuenistis in me peccatum dicite?* AU<sup>s</sup> 26.218

**<8:47> qui est ex deo uerba dei audit propterea uos non auditis quia ex deo non estis**  
*recitarent aduersum me uoces illas euangelicas uos propterea non auditis quia non estis ex deo [Jn 8:44]* AU<sup>2an</sup> 9/61.9 (ms B2 **audistis**, mss A S b **ex deo non estis**)  
*et ideo dictum esset uos propterea non auditis quia non estis ex deo AU<sup>2an</sup> 9/63.5 (ms B **audistis**, ms b q̃m non estis, mss A S **ex deo non estis**) (non estis ex deo passim in AU<sup>2an</sup> 9)*  
 qui est ex deo uerba dei audit propterea uos non auditis quia ex deo non estis AU<sup>Jo</sup> 42.15.1 [CT]  
*[Jn 1:11] quibus item ipse dicit uos propterea non auditis quia non estis ex deo AU<sup>qSi</sup> 1.2.555 (ms g **ex deo non estis**)*

**<8:48> responderunt igitur iudaei et dixerunt ei nonne bene dicimus nos quia samaritanus es tu et daemonium habes**

*cf. Jn 7:20*  
 nonne bene dicimus nos quia samaritanus es **et** daemonium habes AU<sup>Jo</sup> 43.2.1 [CT]  
*nam dictum est illic [sc. in euangelio] a iudaeis domino christo nonne uerum dicimus quia samaritanus es et daemonium habes* AU<sup>Pri</sup> 9.321 (ms F1 **om. et**)  
*iudaei conuiciantes dicerent nonne uerum dicimus quia samaritanus es et daemonium habes unum respuit alterum amplexus est* AU<sup>s</sup> 30.2.s1.8.42  
*audistis cum euangelium legeretur quid dixerunt et cui dixerunt daemonium habes et ille non dixit daemonium habetis uos quia uos in peccatis uestris estis et diabolus possidet corda uestra* AU<sup>s</sup> 35.17.15  
*audiuit daemonium habes qui daemonia excludebat* AU<sup>s</sup> 36.s2.17.12  
*horremus iudaeos quia dixerunt domino iesu christo daemonium habes et quando audimus euangelium recitari tundimus pectora nostra. sceleratam rem dixerunt iudaei christo daemonium habes* AU<sup>s</sup> 48.s2.4.40  
*Adaptation: [Jn 9:24,29] iste samaritanus est* AU<sup>s</sup> 73.21.5  
*dominus meus audiuit daemonium habes* AU<sup>s</sup> 90.s1.4.59  
*illi enim dictum est nonne uerum dicimus nos quia samaritanus es tu et daemonium habes* AU<sup>s</sup> 125.15.11  
*cui obiectum est a iudaeis et dictum nonne uerum dicimus quia samaritanus es et daemonium habes* AU<sup>s</sup> 136.7.29  
*[Rom 6:9; Ps 120:4]...iudaei dixerunt illi nonne uerum dicimus quia samaritanus es et daemonium habes? cum ergo duo essent uerba conuiciosa obiecta domino, dictumque illi esset nonne uerum dicimus quia samaritanus es et daemonium habes poterat respondere nec samaritanus sum nec daemonium habeo* AU<sup>s</sup> 171.2.2/934  
*sicut domino nostro dictum est nonne uerum dicimus quod samaritanus es et daemonium habes (in Matt 5:11)* AU<sup>s</sup> dni 1.5.14.294 (mss V β Hr edd **quia**, ms F **es tu**)

**<8:49> respondit iesus ego daemonium non habeo sed honorifico patrem meum et uos inhonoratis me**  
 ego daemonium non habeo AU<sup>Jo</sup> 43.2.4 sed honorifico patrem meum et uos **inhonorastis** me AU<sup>Jo</sup> 43.3.2 [CT]  
*[Jn 8:48] ego inquit daemonium non habeo non dixit non sum samaritanus* AU<sup>s</sup> 30.2.s1.8.44  
*[Jn 8:48] ille non dixit non sum samaritanus sed dixit ego daemonium non habeo* AU<sup>s</sup> 125.15.13  
*[Jn 8:48] et ille obiectorum duorum unum respuit et unum tenuit ego inquit daemonium non habeo* AU<sup>s</sup> 136.7.31  
*[Jn 8:48] respondit autem ego daemonium non habeo* AU<sup>s</sup> 171.2.2/934

**<8:50> ego autem non quaero gloriam meam est qui quaerit et iudicat**

*Adaptation: quando et ipse dei filius in euangelio non gloriam suam se quaerere dixit [Jn 6:38] AUGal 3.5 (ms d suam gloriam, ms B dicit, mss B1 G T H dixerit, ms C dixerat)*

est qui **quaerat** et **iudicet** AUJo 21.12.24

ego autem non quaero gloriam meam est qui **quaerat** et **iudicet** AUJo 43.4.1 [CT]

ego **non** quaero gloriam meam est qui **quaerat** et **iudicet** AUJo 43.8.8

ego **non** quaero gloriam meam est qui **quaerat** et **iudicet** AUJo 43.9.45

*[Jn 5:22]. uellem tamen diceres nobis quomodo pater non iudicat quemquam cum dicat ipse identidem filius ego non quaero gloriam meam est qui **quaerat** et **iudicet** AUMax 2.18.6/787*

*quid est Ps 137:8 ego inquit non quaero gloriam meam est qui **quaerat** et **iudicet** [Rom. 12:19] AUPs 137.15.9 ut uerum sit quod ait [Jn 12:47, ego non iudicabo] et ego **non** quaero gloriam meam est qui **quaerat** et **iudicet** AUtri 1.13.49*

*[Jn 5:22] cum de illo dicat filius est qui **quaerat** et **iudicet** sed ita dictum est [Jn 5:22] AUtri 1.13.75*

**<8:51> amen amen dico uobis si quis sermonem meum seruauerit mortem non uidebit in aeternum**

amen amen dico uobis si quis sermonem meum seruauerit mortem non uidebit in aeternum AUJo 43.10.1 [CT]

**qui** sermonem meum seruauerit mortem non uidebit in aeternum AUJo 43.11.4

mortem non uidebit in aeternum **qui** sermonem meum seruauerit AUJo 43.11.12

**qui** sermonem meum seruauerit mortem non uidebit in aeternum AUJo 43.12.33

mortem non uidebit in aeternum **qui** sermonem meum seruauerit AUJo 43.13.14

*[Jn 8:34] et alibi amen amen dico uobis si quis sermonem meum seruauerit non uidebit mortem in aeternum AUSpe 28/196.6 (mss P R S v mortem non uidebit)*

*[MAX] nam cum dicat saluator qui uerbum meum custodit mortem non uidebit in aeternum. et si qui uerbum christum custodit mortem non uidebit in aeternum AUMax co 14/731*

**<8:52> dixerunt ergo iudaei nunc cognouimus quia daemonium habes abraham mortuus est et prophetae et tu dicis si quis sermonem meum seruauerit non gustabit mortem in aeternum**

dixerunt ergo iudaei nunc cognouimus quia daemonium habes abraham mortuus est et prophetae et tu dicis si quis sermonem meum seruauerit **mortem** non gustabit in aeternum AUJo 43.10.8 [CT]

**modo** cognouimus quia daemonium habes abraham mortuus est et prophetae AUJo 43.13.2

*[FO-M] qui in me crediderit mortem non gustabit in aeternum sed [Jn 5:24] AUfo 3/86.7*

**<8:53> numquid tu maior es patre nostro abraham qui mortuus est et prophetae mortui sunt quem te ipsum facis**

quem te ipsum facis AUJo 43.13.13

**<8:54> respondit iesus si ego glorifico me ipsum gloria mea nihil est est pater meus qui glorificat me quem uos dicitis quia deus noster est**

respondit iesus si ego glorifico me ipsum gloria mea nihil est est pater meus qui glorificat me AUJo 43.14.1 quem uos dicitis quia deus noster est AUJo 43.15.1 [CT]

**<8:55> et non cognouistis eum ego autem noui eum et si dixero quia non scio eum ero similis uobis mendax sed scio eum et sermonem eius seruo**

et non cognouistis eum ego autem noui eum si dixero quia non noui eum ero similis uobis mendax sed scio eum et sermonem eius seruo AUJo 43.15.2 [CT]

**<8:56> abraham pater uester exultauit ut uideret diem meum et uidit et gausus est**

*illud enim quod ait dominus iesus abraham concupiuit diem meum uidere et uidit et gausus est AUChr 2.27/191.25*

*inde est quod ait ipse mediator abraham concupiuit uidere diem meum et uidit et gausus est AUep 177.12/681.4 (edd abraham pater uester, ms V1 ut uideret)*

*et concupiscere illum diem quem uidere concupiuit abraham et uidit et gausus est AUEv 4.10.16/411.8*

*Adaptation: [Jn 8:39] et quod idem abraham eiusdem diem uidere concupiuit gaususque fuerit cum uidisset AUFau 33.5/790.12*

*unde est etiam illud abraham concupiuit diem meum uidere et uidit et gausus est AUGal 23.7 (ms a uidere uidit)*

abraham pater uester exultauit ut uideret diem meum et uidit et gausus est AUJo 43.16.1 [CT]

*[AUG citing MAX] ipse unigenitus in sancto affirmavit euangelio sic abraham pater uester exultauit ut uideret diem meum et uidit et gausus est AUMax 2.26.8/809*

*[Jn 8:56] o disputare o probare promissa! quasi dixerit dei filius abraham pater uester concupiuit me uidere et uidit et gausus est AUMax 2.26.8/809*

*sed cum dixerit christus abraham concupiuit uidere diem meum et uidit et gausus est AUMax 2.26.8/809*

*dicitur enim abraham diem meum uidit et gauisus est* AUPs 1.2.10  
*unde aperte ipse dicit abraham concupiuit uidere diem meum et uidit et gauisus est* AUPs 104.10.17  
*Reminiscence: quapropter multi ut diem dei uideant et gaudeant* AUrel 8.25  
*habemus enim testimonium in euangelio abraham concupiuit diem meum ait uidere et uidit et gauisus est* AUs 16A.414  
*nam dixit ipse dominus abraham concupiuit diem meum uidere et uidit et gauisus est* AUs 198.32/114.742 (AUs Dol 26)  
*testimonium ipse dominus ait abraham concupiuit uidere diem meum et uidit et gauisus est* AUs 300.1.1/1377

[MAX] *utique ipse unigenitus deus in sancto affirmavit euangelio dicens sic abraham pater uester exsultauit ut uideret diem meum et uidit et gauisus est.* AUMax co 26/739

**<8:57> dixerunt ergo iudaei ad eum quinquaginta annos nondum habes et abraham uidisti**  
*quinquaginta annos nondum habes et abraham uidisti* AUJo 43.17.1 [CT]  
*ipse dominus respondit quando ei dictum est quinquaginta annos nondum habes et abraham uidisti* AUs 225.1.1/1096

**<8:58> dixit eis iesus amen amen dico uobis antequam abraham fieret ego sum**  
*et dominus dicit ante abraham ego sum* AU1Jo 2.5/1992  
*optime enim non ait ante abraham ego fui sed ante abraham ego sum* AU1Jo 2.5/1992  
*et ante abraham ego sum* AUJo 3.7.9  
*ante abraham ego sum* AUJo 42.4.9  
*amen amen dico uobis antequam abraham fieret ego sum* AUJo 43.17.3 [CT]  
*antequam fieret abraham ego sum* AUJo 43.17.12  
*Allusion: aequalis est patri non solum ante iudaeos sed etiam ante ipsum abraham* AUPs 75.1.61  
*deus non solum ante abraham sed ante caelum et terram qui dixit ante abraham ego sum* AUPs 92.6.57  
*et iudaeis respondit dicens antequam abraham fieret ego sum* AUPs 104.10.13  
*Allusion: et non solum ante dauid sed ante abraham* AUPs 139.3.10  
*dominus autem dixit ante abraham ego sum* AUs 22.24 (ms κ et dominus dixit)  
*quia uerum dixit ante abraham ego sum. nec sic dixit: antequam abraham esset ego sum aut antequam abraham fieret factus ego sum aut ante abraham fuerit ego sum* AUs 121.2/678 (SC116 AUs 121.2.23 NB SC116 reads fuerit for fieret (ms α fieret))  
*christus autem ait ante abraham ego sum* AUs 130A.10/64.246 (AUs Dol 19)  
*[Jn 8:57] respondit enim et dixit amen amen dico uobis antequam abraham fieret ego sum* AUs 225.1.1/1096  
*ante abraham ego sum ipse dixit, euangelium loquitur* AUs 290.2.2/1313

**<8:59> tulerunt ergo lapides ut iacerent in eum iesus autem abscondit se et exiuit de templo**  
*tulerunt ergo lapides ut iacerent in eum iesus autem abscondit se* AUJo 43.18.4 [CT]  
*lapides tulerunt ut mitterent in eum* AUJo 43.18.10

**<9:1> et praeteriens uidit hominem caecum a natiuitate**  
*Allusion: inde posteaquam inluminauit a natiuitate caecum...* AUEv 4.10.18/412.17  
**exiens uidit hominem caecum a natiuitate** AUJo 44.3.3 [CT]  
*Allusion: nisi oculos caeci nati aperueris* AUPs 90.s1.1.24  
*Allusion: illuminauit filius caecum numquid pater non illuminauit?* AUs 126.8.10/705  
*Allusion: dominus iesus sicut audiuius cum sanctum euangelium legeretur aperuit oculos homini qui caecus erat natus* AUs 135.1.1/746  
*Allusion: caecum a natiuitate illuminauit christus* AUs 136.1/750  
*inuenit ergo hominem a natiuitate caecum* AUs 136A.1

**<9:2> et interrogauerunt eum discipuli sui rabbi quis peccauit hic aut parentes eius ut caecus nasceretur**  
*et interrogauerunt eum discipuli eius rabbi quis peccauit hic an parentes eius ut caecus nasceretur* AUJo 44.3.4 [CT]  
*quando enim interrogauerunt eum discipuli eius et dixerunt domine quis peccauit iste aut parentes eius*  
**quoniam caecus natus est** AUs 136.1/750

[MAX] *[Jn 8:29]...[Jn 11:41-2] quis utique iste est qui cum caeci nati oculos figuraret dicentibus discipulis quis peccauit hic aut parentes eius ut caecus nasceretur?* AUMax co 14/732

**<9:3> respondit iesus neque hic peccauit neque parentes eius sed ut manifestetur opera dei in illo**  
*respondit iesus neque hic peccauit neque parentes eius sed ut manifestentur opera dei in illo* AUJo 44.3.9 [CT]

*hoc dici potest quod dominus ait de illo qui caecus natus est non propter peccatum ipsius uel parentum id esse factum sed ut **manifestarentur** opera dei in illo AUJul 3.6.13*

*ibi enim cur caecus natus fuerit causa non tacita est non scilicet propter peccatum suum uel parentum sed ut **manifestarentur** opera dei in illo AUJul im 3.162.24 (ms K caecum natum, ms G om.sua)*

*[Jn 9:2] quid respondit mecum audistis neque hic peccauit neque parentes eius sed ut **ostendantur** opera dei in ipso AUUs 136.1/750*

*sed caecitas illa non fuit propter peccatum parentum non fuit propter peccatum ipsius sed ut **manifestarentur** opera dei in ipso AUUs 136.1/751*

*[MAX] [Jn 9:2] respondit neque hic peccauit neque parentes eius sed ut **manifestentur** opera dei in illo AUMax co 14/732*

**<9:4> me oportet operari opera eius qui misit me donec dies est uenit nox quando nemo potest operari**  
me oportet operari opera eius qui misit me donec dies est uenit nox quando nemo potest operari AUJo 44.4.1 (plures mss *ueniet* nox) [CT]

*dicit [Jn 8:29, Jn 11:41-2] et iterum me oportet operari opera eius qui **me misit** AUMax 2.14.8/775*

*de uerbis euangelii iohannis **ego ueni ut faciam** opera eius qui misit me AUUs 135 incipit/746*

*[Jn 9:7] quid est ipse missus nisi qui dixit in ipsa lectione **ego inquit ueni ut faciam** opera eius qui **me misit** AUUs 135.1.1/746*

*ecce primum ad hoc quod dictum est oculos aperite **ego inquit ueni ut faciam** opera eius qui **me misit** AUUs 135.1.2/746*

*quid dixit? **ueni ut faciam** opera eius qui **me misit** AUUs 135.1.2/746*

*[Jn 16:15]. tu dicis quia opera aliena faciebat quia dixit **faciam** opera eius qui **me misit** AUUs 135.1.2/746*

*quia dixit christus **ueni ut faciam** opera eius quasi non mea sed eius qui misit me AUUs 135.1.2/746*

*[FAU] [Jn 5:17] et me oportet operari AUFau 16.6/444.26*

*[MAX] [Jn 9:3] me oportet operari opera eius qui **me misit** AUMax co 14/732*

**<9:5> quamdiu in mundo sum lux sum mundi**

quamdiu in **hoc** mundo sum lux sum mundi AUJo 44.5.3 [CT]

quamdiu in mundo sum lux sum mundi AUJo 44.5.5

quamdiu **sum** in **hoc** mundo lux sum mundi AUJo 44.5.11

**<9:6> haec cum dixisset expuit in terram et fecit lutum ex sputo et liniuit lutum super oculos eius**

*Allusion: [Jn 9:7] cui oculos dominus luto de sputo facto **inunxerat** AUdo 2.16.5*

haec cum dixisset expuit in terram et fecit lutum ex sputo et **liniuit** lutum super oculos eius AUJo 44.7.1 [CT]

*Allusion: praecessit enim eius salua cum terra unde **inungeretur** qui caecus est natus AUJo 34.9.5*

*Allusion: nam quia de limo hominem fecerat **de limo inunxit** cui minus cui minus in utero oculos fecerat AUPs 93.23.31*

*Allusion: sicut illuminatus est a domino cuius oculos luto **de sputo facto inunxit** et saluum eum fecit AUPs 145.17.31*

*Allusion: interiores oculos nostros luto huiusce modi curare non aspernata est ineffabilis misericordia dei AUrel 50.10*

*Allusion: [Jn 9:7] ideo cui oculos luto **inunxit** [Jn 9:7] AUUs 7.61*

*Allusion: sabbatum erat quando lutum fecit **de sputo et inunxit** oculos caeci AUUs 136.3/751*

*Allusion: sed ut uideat **inungitur** sputo et luto sed sputo non quocumque non cuiuscumque sed christi AUUs 136A.1*

*Allusion: poterat enim dominus iesus christus...tangere oculos eius sine sputo et luto AUUs 136C.2*

*Allusion: alicuius caeci nati de sputo et luto oculos aperuit AUtri 2.1.40*

**<9:7> et dixit ei uade laua in natatoria siloae quod interpretatur missus abiit ergo et lauit et uenit uidens**

*Allusion: procul dubio secretum quiddam insinuat siloa **piscina** ubi faciem lauare iussus est AUdo 2.16.4*

et dixit ei uade et laua in natatoria siloae quod interpretatur missus abiit ergo et lauit et uenit uidens AUJo 44.7.2 [CT]

*[Jn 6:38] ipse proprie missus. nam et siloa illa **piscina** interpretatur missus [Jn 9:6] inde lauare faciem iussit AUUs 7.60 (ms K maur **siloe**)*

*pertinuit autem ad euangelistam exponere nobis quid significet siloa et ait quod interpretatur missus AUUs 135.1.1/746*

*Allusion: hoc est si in ipso qui missus est tamquam in siloa faciem lauaret AUUs 135.1.2/746*

*loquebatur enim cum illo siloa quod interpretatur missus AUUs 136.2/751*

*Allusion: [Jn 9:31] sed ille qui ista dixit nondum lauerat faciem cordis de siloa AUUs 136.2/751*

*non inquit [sc. christus] eat prius ad siloam piscinam et lauet faciem. gratias sancto euangelio interpretatur nobis siloam **piscinam**. siloa inquit quod interpretatur missus AUUs 136A.1*



*Allusion: inde primo inunctus est iste et omnis qui natus est caecus hinc inungitur et ad siloam **piscinam** mittitur...ergo mittitur ad siloam **piscinam** AU 136A.1*

*Allusion: lauit faciem et uidit peccata deleta sunt et lumen effulsit AU 136A.1*

*Allusion: sed quando lauerit faciem de silo lectio ipsa testatur AU 136A.1*

*iste caecus non sine causa cum inunctus fuisset missus est ad **piscinam** siloam quod interpretatur missus. quis est missus nisi a patre christum AU 136B.1*

*sed uide quo missus est ut faciem lauaret ad **piscinam** syloam. quid est syloa? bene quod non tacuit euangelista quod interpretatur missus AU 136C.3*

**<9:8> itaque uicini et qui uidebant eum prius quia mendicus erat dicebant nonne hic est qui sedebat et mendicabat alii dicebant quia hic est**

itaque uicini et qui uidebant eum prius quia mendicus erat dicebant nonne hic est qui sedebat et mendicabat alii dicebant quia hic est AUJo 44.8.1 [CT]

**<9:9> alii autem nequaquam sed similis est eius ille dicebat quia ego sum**

alii **nequaquam** sed similis est eius ille dicebat quia ego sum AUJo 44.8.3 [CT]

**<9:10> dicebant ergo ei quomodo aperti sunt oculi tibi**

dicebant ergo ei quomodo aperti sunt oculi **tui** AUJo 44.8.6 [CT]

**<9:11> respondit ille homo qui dicitur iesus lutum fecit et unxit oculos meos et dixit mihi uade ad natatorium siloae et laua et abii et laui et uidi**

respondit ille homo qui dicitur iesus lutum fecit et unxit oculos meos et dixit mihi uade ad natatorium siloae et laua et abii et laui et uidi AUJo 44.8.7 [CT]

*Allusion: [Jn 9:7] iam uero quod interrogatus et a iudaeis sic exagitatus sic respondebat iam in corde inunctus erat AU 136A.1*

**<9:12> dixerunt ei ubi est ille ait nescio**

dixerunt ei ubi est ille **qui tibi aperuit oculos** ait nescio AUJo 44.8.13 [CT]

**<9:13> adducunt eum ad pharisaeos qui caecus fuerat**

adducunt eum ad pharisaeos qui caecus fuerat AUJo 44.9.1 [CT]

**<9:14> erat autem sabbatum quando lutum fecit iesus et aperuit oculos eius**

erat autem sabbatum quando lutum fecit iesus et aperuit oculos eius AUJo 44.9.2 [CT]

**<9:15> iterum ergo interrogabant eum pharisaei quomodo uidisset ille autem dixit eis lutum posuit mihi super oculos et laui et uideo**

iterum ergo interrogabant eum pharisaei quomodo uidisset ille autem dixit eis lutum posuit mihi super oculos et laui et uideo AUJo 44.9.3 [CT]

**<9:16> dicebant ergo ex pharisaeis quidam non est hic homo a deo quia sabbatum non custodit alii dicebant quomodo potest homo peccator haec signa facere et scisma erat in eis**

*dicerent quod euangelium loquitur non est iste homo a deo **qui sic soluit sabbatum** AUJdc 49.1219*

dicebant ergo ex pharisaeis quidam non est hic homo a deo **qui** sabbatum non custodit alii dicebant quomodo potest homo peccator haec signa facere et schisma erat in eis AUJo 44.9.6 [CT]

*uae iudaeis...non est dicunt **homo iste** a deo **qui soluit** sabbatum. [Matt 27:40] AU 122.2.2/681*

*Allusion: [Jn 9:31] quandoquidem domino calumniabantur quia sabbatum erat quando lutum fecit de sputo et inunxit oculos caeci AU 136.3/751*

*iudaei aperite oculos: sol praesens est. **nos scimus**. quid scitis o corde caeci? quid scitis? **quia** non est iste homo a deo **qui sic soluit sabbatum** AU 136.3/752 (cf. Jn 9:24)*

***nos scimus**. ergo uidet. quid est **nos scimus** nisi nos uidemus? quid est **quia** homo **iste** non est a deo quia **sic soluit sabbatum** AU 136.4/752 (cf. Jn 9:24)*

*doctores iudaeorum reprobauerunt eum dicentes non est iste a deo **qui soluit** sabbatum. iam dixistis non est iste a deo **qui soluit** sabbatum AU 258.1/1195*

*[Paulinus] non modo creditus sed et blasphematus ab eis cum dicerent hic homo **si** a deo **esset non curaret sabbatis** et [Matt 12:24] AUep 121.1.4/726.16*

**<9:17> dicunt ergo caeco iterum tu quid dicis de eo qui aperuit oculos tuos ille autem dixit quia propheta est**

dicunt ergo caeco iterum tu quid dicis de eo qui aperuit oculos tuos...quia propheta est AUJo 44.9.20 [CT]

*Allusion: dictum est...ab illo qui oculos corporis iam quidem restitutos habebat sed ei oculi cordis nondum patebant unde ipsum dominum adhuc prophetam putabat AUPar 2.8.17/63.10*

*Allusion: quando autem adhuc prophetam putabat inunctos quodammodo oculos cordis habebat et nondum uidebat* AUs 136B.1

*attendite quemadmodum interrogauerunt illum iudaei. tu quid dicis de homine isto? dico inquit quia propheta est* AUs 136C.3

**<9:18> non crediderunt ergo iudaei de illo quia caecus fuisset et uidisset donec uocauerunt parentes eius qui uiderat**

non crediderunt ergo iudaei de illo quia caecus fuisset et uidisset donec **uocarent** parentes eius qui uiderat AUJo 44.10.1 [CT]

**<9:19> et interrogauerunt eos dicentes hic est filius uester quem uos dicitis quia caecus natus est quomodo ergo nunc uidet**

et interrogauerunt eos dicentes hic est filius uester quem uos dicitis quia caecus natus est quomodo ergo nunc uidet AUJo 44.10.3 [CT]

**<9:20> responderunt eis parentes eius et dixerunt scimus quia hic est filius noster et quia caecus natus est**

responderunt eis parentes eius et dixerunt scimus quia hic est filius noster et quia caecus natus est AUJo 44.10.6 [CT]

**<9:21> quomodo autem nunc uideat nescimus aut quis eius aperuit oculos nos nescimus ipsum interrogate aetatem habet ipse de se loquatur**

*ex qua regula illud in euangelio dictum est quod omnes cum legitur naturaliter mouet aetatem habet ipse pro se loquatur* AUba 4.25.32/260.11

quomodo autem nunc uideat nescimus aut quis eius aperuit oculos nos nescimus **et dixerunt** ipsum interrogate aetatem habet ipse de se loquatur AUJo 44.10.8 [CT]

**<9:22> haec dixerunt parentes eius quia timebant iudaeos iam enim conspirauerant iudaei ut si quis eum confiteretur christum extra synagogam fieret**

haec dixerunt parentes eius quia timebant iudaeos iam enim conspirauerant iudaei ut si quis eum confiteretur christum extra synagogam fieret AUJo 44.10.16 [CT]

*Allusion: conspiratum est aduersus illum* AUPs 36.s2.17.13

*[Jn 9:34] ecce quod timebant parentes ipsius exposuit hoc nobis euangelista non tacuit timebant enim inquit parentes eius ne confiterentur christum et tollerentur de synagoga* AUs 136A.4

**<9:23> propterea parentes eius dixerunt quia aetatem habet ipsum interrogate**

propterea parentes eius dixerunt quia aetatem habet ipsum interrogate AUJo 44.10.20 [CT]

*[Jn 9:22] et ideo dixerunt aetatem habet ipsum interrogate. timuerunt ergo proici de synagoga: ille non timuit et proiectus est; parentes eius ibi remanserunt* AUs 136A.4

**<9:24> uocauerunt ergo rursum hominem qui fuerat caecus et dixerunt ei da gloriam deo nos scimus quia hic homo peccator est**

uocauerunt ergo rursum hominem qui fuerat caecus et dixerunt ei da gloriam deo nos scimus quia hic homo peccator est AUJo 44.11.1 [CT]

*dictum est christo in gente sua peccator est iste [Jn 9:29] AUPs 73.21.5*

*agnoscunt enim uocem suam in euangelio in illis iudaeis superioribus dicentibus* scimus **quoniam iste** peccator est AUs 112A.12

**<9:25> dixit ergo ille si peccator est nescio unum scio quia caecus cum essem modo uideo**

dixit ergo ille si peccator est nescio unum scio quia caecus cum essem modo uideo AUJo 44.11.6 [CT]

**<9:26> dixerunt ergo illi quid fecit tibi quomodo aperuit tibi oculos**

dixerunt ergo illi quid fecit tibi quomodo aperuit tibi oculos AUJo 44.11.8 [CT]

**<9:27> respondit eis dixi uobis iam et audistis quid iterum uultis audire numquid et uos uultis discipuli eius fieri**

respondit eis dixi **iam uobis** et audistis quid iterum uultis audire numquid et uos uultis discipuli eius fieri AUJo 44.11.11 [CT]

*cum eum premerent insultationibus et urgerent ait illis numquid et uos discipuli eius uultis esse* AUPs 39.26.8

*quando a caeco illo quondam iam illuminato et corpore et corde conuincebantur iudaei uidentes corpore caeci corde; ait illis idem iam uidens numquid et uos discipuli eius uultis esse* AUPs 40.9.23

*cui dixit ille illuminatus a domino numquid et uos uultis discipuli eius fieri* AUPs 108.20.9

**<9:28> maledixerunt ei et dixerunt tu discipulus illius es nos autem mosi discipuli sumus**

maledixerunt ei et dixerunt tu discipulus **eius sis** nos autem moysi discipuli sumus AUJo 44.12.1 [CT]

*ita ut pro conuicioso maledicto diceretur tu sis discipulus eius* AUPs 21.s1.7.7

[Jn 9:27] **et illi maledixerunt ei. hoc ait euangelista maledixerunt ei dicentes tu sis discipulus eius** AUPs 39.26.9

[Jn 9:27] **et illi inquit euangelium maledixerunt ei dicentes tu sis discipulus eius** AUPs 40.9.23

[Jn 9:27] **et noluit benedictionem et pro maledicto habuit et respondit tu sis discipulus eius** AUPs 108.20.11

**<9:29> nos scimus quia mosi locutus est deus hunc autem nescimus unde sit**

nos scimus quia moysi locutus est deus **istum** autem nescimus unde sit AUJo 44.12.4 [CT]

[Lk 4:22] **et unde alio loco hunc autem nescimus unde sit** AUPs 68.s1.13.4

[Jn 9:24] **iste non nouimus unde sit nos nouimus moysen illi locutus est deus** [Jn 8:48] AUPs 73.21.5

**<9:30> respondit ille homo et dixit eis in hoc enim mirabile est quia uos nescitis unde sit et aperuit meos oculos**

respondit ille homo et dixit eis in hoc **mirabile** est quia uos nescitis unde sit et aperuit **oculos meos** AUJo 44.13.1 [CT]

**<9:31> scimus autem quia peccatores deus non audit sed si quis dei cultor est et uoluntatem eius facit hunc exaudit**

*si ergo ad hoc ualet quod dictum est in euangelio deus peccatorem non audit* AUba 5.20.28/285.28

*illo qui caecus natus iam uidebat sibi dicente scimus quia peccatores deus non exaudit sed qui eum coluerit et uoluntatem eius fecerit hunc exaudit* AUFau 12.9/338.17

scimus autem quia peccatores deus non audit sed si quis dei cultor est et uoluntatem eius facit hunc exaudit AUJo 44.13.3 [CT]

*uerumtamen quod scriptum est in euangelio deus peccatorem non audit sed si qui dominum coluerit et uoluntatem eius fecerit ipsum exaudiet non a domino dictum est sed ab illo qui oculos corporis iam quidem restitutos habebat* AUPar 2.8.17/63.5 (mss F G γ **peccatores**, mss M P α **quis**, ms α **deum**, ms β **colit**, ms H **facit**, mss M α **exaudit**)

*neque enim quia ille cuius caeci nati oculos dominus aperuerat ait* scimus **quia** peccatores deus non **exaudit** AUPri 9.331

*minus circumspectam protulisse sententiam* quia peccatores deus non **exaudit** AUPri 9.339

*sic enim dictum est [sc. in AUord] tamquam deus non exaudiat peccatores quod quidam dixit in euangelio* AUre 1.3.38 (ref AUord, mss Y Z M T\* X C D\* kn **quidem**)

*et de eo quod ait illuminatus ille qui erat caecus natus* scimus **quia** peccatores deus non **exaudit** AUs 135 incipit/746

*ait enim inter caetera sua uerba idem cui oculi aperti sunt* scimus **quia** peccatores deus non **exaudit**. *quid facimus si peccatores deus non exaudit? audemus rogare deum si peccatores non exaudit?* AUs 135.5.6/748 *quid est ergo quod dixisti tu cui dominus oculos aperuit* scimus **quia** peccatores deus non **exaudit**. *ecce peccatores deus exaudit* AUs 135.5.6/748

*uidebis quia peccatores deus exaudit* AUs 135.5.6/749

*ait enim* scimus **quia** peccatores deus non **exaudit**. *si peccatores deus non exaudit quam spem habemus? si peccatores deus non exaudit utquid oramus?* AUs 136.2/751

*Reminiscence: [Luke 18:10-14] certe peccatores deus exaudit* AUs 136.2/751

[Jn 9:7] *inunctus ergo adhuc erat nondum uidebat quando dicebat* scimus **quia** peccatores deus non **exaudit** AUs 136A.1

*quae spes est hominus si peccatores deus non exaudit* AUs 136A.2

*certe peccatores deus non exaudit* AUs 136A.2

*quando ergo quodammodo inunctos oculos cordis agebat et nondum uidebat et sic loquebatur audistis quid dixerat* scimus **quia** peccatores deus non **exaudit**...*si enim peccatores deus non exaudisset* AUs 136B.2

*certe ergo peccatores deus non exaudit?* AUs 136B.2

*dixit etiam aliquid ut inunctus nondum uidens* scimus **quia** peccatores deus non **exaudit**...*certe peccatores deus non exaudit?* AUs 136C.4

[LUC] *item alius Lucius a Membressa dixit scriptum est deus peccatorem non audit* AUba 7.26.50/359.1 (CYsent 62)

[PAR] *in euangelio inquit scriptum est deus peccatores non audiet sed si quis dominum coluerit et uoluntatem eius fecerit illum audiet* AUPar 2.8.15/60.6 (mss M H **peccatorem**, mss M P α **non audit**, ms α **deum**, ms β **colit**, ms α **facit**, ms γ **hunc**, mss M α **hunc audit**)

**<9:32> a saeculo non est auditum quia aperuit quis oculos caeci nati**

a saeculo non est auditum quia aperuit quis oculos caeci nati AUJo 44.13.10 [CT]

*Allusion: [FAU] iudaei ipsi exclamarent ab initio saeculi numquam fuisse uisum ut aliquis aperuisset oculos caeci nati* AUFau 26.2/730.2

**<9:33> nisi esset hic a deo non poterat facere quicquam**

nisi esset hic a deo non poterat facere quidquam AUJo 44.13.11 [CT]

**<9:34> responderunt et dixerunt ei in peccatis natus es totus et tu doces nos et eiecerunt eum foras**

responderunt et dixerunt ei in peccatis natus es totus et tu doces nos et eiecerunt eum foras AUJo 44.14.1 [CT]  
in peccatis **totus natus es** et tu doces nos AUJo 44.14.4

*Allusion: post multa proiectus est de synagoga iudaeorum ille ex caeco uidens; irati sunt ei proiecerunt eum de synagoga sua* AUs 136A.4

*irati iudaei uicti atque conuicti et caeci irascentes uidenti miserunt eum foras* AUs 136C.5

*Reminiscence: qua moriatur peccato et euaserit mortem qua natus fuerat in peccato [2Cor 5.14]* AUJul 6.26.83

*Allusion: certe proiectus est iste de synagoga* AUs 135.5.6/749

*Allusion: illi autem qui eum foras miserunt caeci remanserunt* AUs 136.3/751

**<9:35> audiuit iesus quia eiecerunt eum foras et cum inuenisset eum dixit ei tu credis in filium dei**

audiuit iesus quia eiecerunt eum foras et cum inuenisset eum dixit ei tu credis in filium dei AUJo 44.15.3 [CT]

[Jn 9:34] audiuit uenit ad eum et dixit ei tu credis in filium dei AUs 135.5.6/749

quando eum dominus foras missus a iudaeis intromisit ad se. inuenit enim eum et dixit ei sicut audiuius tu credis in filium dei AUs 136.2/751

ecce assumit ille ostendit se oculis quos ipse aperire dignatus est tu inquit credis in filium dei AUs 136A.4

[Jn 9:17] quando ei dominus dixit tu credis in filium dei AUs 136B.1

*Adaptation: ergo foras missus inuenit dominum in templo et ait illi utique cognoscebat a quo illuminatus erat corpore* AUs 136C.5

*modo intellegit unigenitum missum tu credis inquit in filium dei* AUs 136C.5

**<9:36> respondit ille et dixit quis est domine ut credam in eum**

respondit ille et ait quis est domine ut credam in eum AUJo 44.15.5 [CT]

[Jn 9:35] et ille quis est domine ut credam in eum AUs 135.5.6/749

[Jn 9:35] et ille quis est domine ut credam in eum AUs 136.2/751

[Jn 9:35] et ille adhuc inunctus quis est domine ut credam in eum AUs 136A.4

[Jn 9:35] ut sciatis quia nondum uidebat sic respondit quis est domine ut credam in eum AUs 136B.1

[Jn 9:35] et ille quis est domine ut credam in eum quasi inunctus nondum uidens AUs 136C.5

**<9:37> et dixit ei iesus et uidisti eum et qui loquitur tecum ipse est**

cf. Jn 4:26

et dixit ei iesus et uidisti eum et qui loquitur tecum ipse est AUJo 44.15.7 [CT]

[Jn 9:36]...ait illi dominus et uidet eum hoc est oculis et qui loquitur tecum ipse est AUs 135.5.6/749

[Jn 9:36] et dominus et uidisti eum et qui loquitur tecum ipse est AUs 136A.4

[Jn 9:36] et dominus et uidisti eum et qui loquitur tecum ipse est AUs 136B.1

[Jn 9:36] et dominus et uidisti eum et qui loquitur tecum ipse est. haec uerba dare hoc est faciem lauare AUs 136C.5

**<9:38> at ille ait credo domine et procidens adorauit eum**

ait credo domine **procidens** adorauit eum AUJo 44.15.12 [CT]

[Jn 9:37] tunc **prostratus** adorauit eum AUs 135.5.6/748

[Jn 9:37] denique ille modo lota iam facie uidens corde credo inquit domine et **prostratus** adorauit eum AUs 136C.5

**<9:39> dixit ei iesus in iudicium ego in hunc mundum ueni ut qui non uident uideant et qui uident caeci fiant**

quod idem dominus dicit ego **ueni** ut qui non uident uideant et qui uident caeci fiant AUEv 3.13.48/334.14

christo aperte in euangelio dicente ego **ueni** ut qui non uident uideant et qui uident caeci fiant AUEx 8.71 (in Ex. 4:11)

ut qui non uident uideant et qui uident caeci fiant AUFau 12.29/357.24 (in Exod.)

ille qui filium suum misit dicentem in iudicium **ueni** in hunc mundum ut qui non uident uideant et qui uident caeci fiant AUFau 21.2/571.4 (ms L **dicentem iudicium**)

[Jn 3:17]...ideo ait in iudicium **ueni** in hunc mundum ut qui non uident uideant et qui uident caeci fiant AUgr 22.44

[Job 36:29] ut qui uident caeci fiant [Job 36:29] AUJb 36/592.15

[Job 38:15] sicut ille qui uenit ut qui non uident uideant et qui uident caeci fiant [Job 38:15] AUJb 38/604.20 (ms T qui **non** uident caeci)

ego **ueni** ut **non uidentes** uideant et **uidentes** caeci fiant AUJo 33.1.22

et dixit ei iesus in iudicium ego in hunc mundum ueni ut qui non uident uideant et qui uident caeci fiant AUJo 44.16.1 [CT]

in iudicium **ueni** in hunc mundum AUJo 44.17.17

in iudicium ego **ueni** in hunc mundum ut qui non uident uideant et qui uident caeci fiant AUJo 45.1.4 [CT]

*saluatoris uerba dicentis* in iudicium ego in hunc mundum ueni ut qui non uident uideant et qui uident caeci fiant AUleg 2.8.880

*sicut in euangelio uenit* in iudicium **non solum** ut qui non uident uideant **sed etiam** qui uident caeci fiant AUleg 2.11.1206 (edd. qui sicut in euangelio ait uenit..., mss V lou **sed etiam ut**)

*uerbum caro factum* in iudicium *inquit ueni* in hunc mundum ut qui non uident uideant et qui uident caeci fiant. *quid est* ut qui non uident uideant et qui uident caeci fiant? AUPs 80.7.4

*nam et dominus dicit* ego **ueni** ut qui non uident uideant et qui uident caeci fiant AUPs 93.28.47

*ipse dominus ait* in iudicium ego in hunc mundum ueni ut qui non uident uideant et qui uident caeci fiant. *quid est* qui uident caeci fiant AUPs 96.5.8

*quia ideo ille uenit* ut qui non uident uideant et qui uident caeci fiant AUPs 106.8.7

*audi dominum dicentem* in iudicium **ueni** in hunc mundum ut qui non uident uideant et qui uident caeci fiant AUPs 134.22.10

*nisi quia hoc est iudicium* ut qui non uident uideant et qui uident caeci fiant AUPs 134.22.41

*audi ipsum dominum nostrum hoc idem dicentem* ego *inquit ueni* ut qui non uident uideant et qui uident caeci fiant AUPs 65.5.20

*quare ergo* qui non uident uideant? *propter bonitatem.* *quare* et qui uident caeci fiant? *propter elationem* AUPs 65.5.24

qui non uident uideant *inquit ideo* ueni **ut** qui uident caeci fiant AUPs 65.5.33

*non remansit in illo iudicio ualde terribili* ego **in iudicium ueni** in hunc mundum ut qui non uident uideant et qui uident caeci fiant. *magnus terror!* ut qui non uident uideant *bene...* ut qui non uident uideant. *quid est domine quod addidisti* ut qui uident caeci fiant AUs 136.3/752

*quare uenit?* ut qui non uident uideant *qui se non uidere confitentur illuminentur.* et qui uident caeci fiant...*denique impletum est* qui uident caeci fiant AUs 136.4/752

*quid est* ut qui non uident uideant? [Rom 11:25] AUs 136.4/752

*sed uenit ille ut* qui non uident uideat et qui uident caeci fiant AUs 136.4/753

*etenim quod ait dominus in iudicium se uenisse in hunc mundum ut* qui non uident uideant et qui uident caeci fiant AUs 136B.2

*acceptabile est quod ait uenisse se* ut qui non uident uideant. *illud autem durum est* ut qui uident caeci fiant AUs 136B.2

*christus uenit in mundum* ut qui non uident uideat et qui uident caeci fiant AUs 136B.2

**<9:40> et audierunt ex pharisaeis qui cum ipso erant et dixerunt ei numquid et nos caeci sumus**

**quidam** ex pharisaeis **et** dixerunt ei numquid et nos caeci sumus AUJo 44.17.1 [CT]

**quidam** ex pharisaeis **dixerunt** numquid et nos caeci sumus AUJo 45.1.6 [CT]

*cum dicerent ipsi iudaei num sumus* caeci? AUPs 65.5.27

[Jn 9:39] *ideo cum dixissent pharisaei qui tunc audiebant dicentem* numquid et nos caeci sumus AUs 136B.2

*quid illi dixerunt* numquid et nos caeci sumus AUs 136B.2

**<9:41> dixit eis iesus si caeci essetis non haberetis peccatum nunc uero dicitis quia uidemus peccatum uestrum manet**

dixit eis iesus si caeci essetis non haberetis peccatum nunc uero dicitis quia uidemus peccatum uestrum manet AUJo 44.17.4 [CT]

si caeci essetis non haberetis peccatum nunc **autem** dicitis quia uidemus peccatum uestrum manet AUJo 45.1.8 [CT]

[Jn 9:40] **ait illis dominus** si caeci essetis **peccatum** non haberetis **modo autem quia** dicitis **uidemus** peccatum uestrum **in uobis** manet AUPs 65.5.28

*sicut illi quibus dictum est* nunc **autem** dicitis quia uidemus peccatum uestrum manet AUPs 105.5.20

[Jn 9:40] *et dominus ad illos* si caeci essetis non haberetis peccatum nunc **autem quia** dicitis uidemus peccatum uestrum manet AUs 136B.2

**<10:1> amen amen dico uobis qui non intrat per ostium in ouile ouium sed ascendit aliunde ille fur est et latro**

*Allusion: Jn 10:1-21 demoratur iohannes de ouibus et pastore et ianua et de potestate ponendi animam suam et iterum sumendi eam* AUEv 4.10.18/412.18

amen amen dico uobis qui non intrat per ostium in ouile ouium sed adscendit aliunde ille fur est et latro AUJo 45.2.1 [CT]

*Reminiscence: sicut possumus dicere in aliquam domum per unam ianuam intrare omnes; non quia omnes homines intrant in eadem domum sed quia nemo intrat nisi per illam* AUJul 6.24.80

[Jn 10:2] qui **autem per aliam partem** adscendit ille fur est et latro AUPs 95.3.39

[Jn 10:2] qui **autem ex alia parte** ascendit fur est et latro **et dissipare quaerit et spargere et tollere** AUs 137.4.4/756 (cf. Jn 10:10?)

*Adaptation: qui ergo se exaltant per alteram partem uolunt ascendere ad ouile: qui autem se humiliant per ianuam intrant ad ouile. ideo de illo dixit intrat, de illo ascendit* AUs 137.4.4/756  
*Adaptation: [Jn 10:2] furem dixit et latronem ascendere per aliam partem* AUs 137.5.5/756  
*Adaptation: [Jn 10:2] ille ascendit per aliam partem quia fur est* AUs 137.5.5/757  
*Reminiscence: abundant lupi abundant latrones. ipsi sunt qui ascendunt per alteram partem...ipsi per alteram partem ascendunt* AUs 137.10.12/761

**<10:2> qui autem intrat per ostium pastor est ouium**

qui autem intrat per ostium pastor est ouium AUJo 45.6.13 [CT]  
 qui intrat per ostium pastor est ouium AUJo 45.14.7  
*in euangelio dixit quia pastor per ianuam intrat* AUPs 86.3.33  
*[Jn 10:11] pastor intrat per ianuam et quis est pastor qui intrat per ianuam?* AUPs 86.3.35  
*[Ps 95:3] qui intrat per ianuam pastor ouium est ait dominus* AUPs 95.3.38  
*audistis cum euangelium legeretur qui intrat per ianuam pastor est* AUs 137.4.4/756  
*Adaptation: pastorem dixit animam suam ponere pro ouibus et intrare per ianuam* AUs 137.5.5/756  
*Adaptation: [Jn 10:13] ille intrat per ianuam quia pastor est* AUs 137.5.5/757

**<10:3> huic ostiarius aperit et oues uocem eius audiunt et proprias oues uocat nominatim et educit eas**

huic ostiarius aperit et oues uocem eius audiunt et proprias oues uocat nominatim et educit eas AUJo 45.6.14 [CT]  
*Adaptation: fac quod ait quae sunt oues meae uocem meum audiunt et sequuntur me* AUPs 69.6.16  
*Reminiscence: ad istam ianuam quasi quidem ostiarius est* AUPs 103.s4.24

**<10:4> et cum proprias oues emisit ante eas uadit et oues illum sequuntur quia sciunt uocem eius**

et cum proprias oues emisit ante eas uadit et oues illum sequuntur quia sciunt uocem eius AUJo 45.6.20 [CT]  
 et cum proprias oues emisit ante eas uadit et oues eum sequuntur quia sciunt uocem eius AUJo 45.14.7  
*Allusion: in aliis seruis suis edit uoces ueras ouibus ut cognoscant pastoris uocem et redeant* AUs 299A.2/413.46 (AUs Dol 4)

**<10:5> alienum autem non sequuntur sed fugient ab eo quia non nouerunt uocem alienorum**

alienum autem non sequuntur sed fugiunt ab eo quia non nouerunt uocem alienorum AUJo 45.6 [CT]  
*Allusion: habes uocem pastoris tui noli sequi uocem alienorum et furem non timebis si uocem pastoris fueris secutus* AUPs 69.6.31

**<10:6> hoc prouerbum dixit eis iesus illi autem non cognouerunt quid loqueretur eis**

hoc prouerbum dixit illis iesus illi autem non cognouerunt quid loqueretur eis AUJo 45.7.1 [CT]

**<10:7> dixit ergo eis iterum iesus amen amen dico uobis quia ego sum ostium ouium**

*Allusion: quomodo in illa euangelica similitudine de ouili idem ipse christus est et pastor et ianua* AUep 164.5.16/536.19  
 ego sum ianua AUJo 20.6.6  
 dixit ergo eis iterum iesus amen amen dico uobis quia ego sum ostium ouium AUJo 45.8.2 [CT]  
*[AUG citing Aduersarius] illud quoque ait dixisse dominum ego sum ianua ouium* AUleg 2.4.493  
*[Jn 10:2] et ibi dixit ego sum pastor bonus et ibi dixit ego sum ianua* AUPs 86.3.35  
*[Jn 10:11] et quae est ergo ianua qua intras tu pastor bone?* ego sum ianua AUPs 86.3.37  
*intramus per ianuam sicut audistis lectionem euangelii. quid est enim intrare per ianuam? intrare per christum. ipse enim dixit ego sum ianua* AUPs 90.s1.1.10  
*ipse petra ipse pastor ipse ianua, pastor intrat per ianuam et dicit ego sum pastor bonus [Jn 10:11] et dicit ego sum ianua* AUPs 103.s3.22.42  
*Adaptation: sicut et de se ait quod et ipse sit ianua ipse sit pastor* AUqEv app 11.130

**<10:8> omnes quotquot uenerunt fures sunt et latrones sed non audierunt eos oues**

*Adaptation: deinde te subiungis ipsum te audisse dicentem fures fuisse et latrones omnes qui uenerunt ante se* AUFau 16.12/450.21 (mss S G uenerint)  
 omnes quotquot uenerunt fures sunt et latrones AUJo 45.8.5 sed non audierunt eos oues AUJo 45.9.1 [CT]  
 qui uenerunt fures sunt et latrones et non audierunt eos oues AUJo 45.11.12  
*[AUG citing Aduersarius] [Jn 10:7] omnes alii quotquot ante me uenerunt fures sunt et latrones* AUleg 2.4.494 (mss S P quodquod, mss G S2 ante me fuerunt)  
*[Jn 10:8] non autem ita scriptum est sed ita omnes quotquot uenerunt fures sunt et latrones* AUleg 2.4.495  
*ideo dixit omnes qui uenerunt fures sunt et latrones* AUPs 90.s1.1.37  
*Adaptation: [FAU] quippe cum et ipsum dicentem audirem fures fuisse et latrones omnes qui uenerunt ante se* AUFau 16.2/441.12

**<10:9> ego sum ostium per me si quis introierit saluabitur et ingredietur et egredietur et pascua inueniet nisi quae audit ueritatem dicentem** ego sum **ianua** AUci 7.8.32

ego sum ostium per me si quis introierit saluabitur et ingredietur et egredietur et pascua inueniet AUJo 45.14.21 [CT]

et ingredietur et egredietur et pascua inueniet AUJo 48.5.4

*dominus enim dicit* ego sum **ianua** per me **intratur** AUPs 95.3.34

*mentior si non ipse dixit* ego sum **ianua** AUPs 126.13.10

*in euangelio autem dicit [Matt 5:8] et iterum dicit* ego sum **ianua** [Jn 14:6] AUs 12.21

*cum ergo dominus nunc loqueretur dixit se esse pastorem dixit se esse et **ianuam**. utrumque ibi habes et ego sum **ianua*** AUs 137.3.3/755

*nam sicut dixit ego sum uia ita etiam* ego sum **ianua** AUs 142.5.5/781 (cf. Jn 14:6)

*Allusion: per christum intramus ipse est enim **ianua*** AUPs 86.4.7

*Allusion: AUPs 103.s4.10.20 christus est enim illa **ianua** et per christus intramus ad uitam aeternam*

**<10:10> fur non uenit nisi ut furetur et mactet et perdat ego ueni ut uitam habeant et abundantius habeant nec audis pastorem pastorumque principem dicentem** fur non uenit nisi ut **occidat** et **perdat** AUGau

1.16.17/211.20

fur non uenit nisi ut furetur et mactet et perdat ego ueni ut uitam habeant et abundantius habeant AUJo 45.15.22 [CT]

**<10:11> ego sum pastor bonus bonus pastor animam suam dat pro ouibus**

cf. Jn 10:14, Jn 10:15

*Adaptation: [Jn 21:17] nam ut noueritis quia sic ab eo pasci uolebat oues suas ut animam suam pro ouibus **poneret*** AU1Jo 5.11/2018

*Allusion: quamuis ante ipsum aduentum filii hominis, unius boni pastoris, iam uos oues ab haedis separasse iactetis* AUep 93.11.49/493.7

*Allusion: ipse pastor noster in euangelio de pastoribus bonis nos admonet* AUep 208.3/344.20

ego sum pastor bonus AUJo 45.14.5 [CT]

ego sum pastor bonus AUJo 46.1.6 **pastor bonus** animam suam dat pro ouibus AUJo 46.5.2 [CT]

**pastor bonus** animam suam **ponit** pro ouibus AUJo 47.2.14

**pastor bonus qui posuit** animam suam pro ouibus **suis** AUJo 123.5.96

*Adaptation: affectabat id est affectum in nos habebat ut animam suam **poneret** pro ouibus **suis*** AUPs 33.s1.9.30 [Jn 10:2] et ibi dixit ego sum pastor bonus AUPs 86.3.34

[Jn 10:2] ego sum pastor bonus AUPs 86.3.36

*ipse petra ipse pastor ipse **ianua**, pastor intrat per **ianuam** et dicit* ego sum pastor bonus AUPs 103.s3.22.41

*de qua dominus dicit in euangelio quia **pastor bonus** animam suam **ponit** pro ouibus **suis*** AUPs 141.11.12

[Jn 10:9] et ego sum pastor AUs 137.3.3/755

*ne intelligeretur peruerso modo multitudo pastorum* ego sum *inquit* pastor bonus. et unde sit pastor bonus consequenter ostendit. **pastor inquit bonus** animam suam **ponit** pro ouibus AUs 138.1.1/763

ego sum *inquit* pastor bonus AUs 138.3.3/764

ego sum *inquit* pastor bonus AUs 138.4.4/765

*audite quid commendauit* ego sum pastor bonus AUs 138.5.5/765

*christus...unum commendat dicens* ego sum pastor bonus AUs 138.5.5/765

[GAU] *uerba epistulae: ...nam audi et dominum dicentem quia pastor **bonus** animam suam **ponit** pro ouibus **suis*** AUGau 1.16.17/211.10 (mss f v **bonus pastor**)

[MAX] [Mark 10:18]. *non quod christus non sit bonus: ipse enim ait* ego sum pastor bonus AUMax co 23/738

**<10:12> mercennarius et qui non est pastor cuius non sunt oues propriae uidet lupum uenientem et dimittit oues et fugit et lupus rapit et dispergit oues**

*et mercennarium non exhorrent qui uidet lupum uenientem et **fugit** quoniam non est ei cura de ouibus* AUep 228.6/488.13 (mss Z K **uidit**)

mercennarius et qui non est pastor cuius non sunt oues propriae uidet lupum uenientem et dimittit oues et fugit et lupus rapit et dispergit oues AUJo 46.5.3 [CT]

**cum uiderit** lupum uenientem **fugit** quia non sunt eius oues propriae AUJo 46.7.2

[Jn 10:11] mercennarius **autem** et qui non est pastor **cum uiderit** lupum uenientem **fugit** AUPs 141.11.13

*Adaptation: [Jn 10:1] mercennarium dixit lupem **uel etiam furem** si uideat fugere* AUs 137.5.5/757

*Adaptation: [Jn 10:1] ille uidens eos qui uolunt tollere oues timet et fugit* AUs 137.5.5/757

*de mercenariis autem iam dicemus mercennarius **quando** uidet lupum **insidiantem** ouibus fugit. hoc dominus dixit.* AUs 137.10.12/760

*Adaptation: hoc est ergo cum uiderit lupum fugit* AUs 137.10.12/761

[Jn 10:11] mercennarius **autem** et qui non est pastor **uidet** lupum uenientem et **fugit** AUs 138.1.1/763

*Adaptation: non carne sed mente fugis mercennarius es uides lupum uenientem et fugis* AUs 306B.7

[GAU] [Jn 10:11] **mercenarius autem et cuius** non sunt oues propriae uidet lupum uenientem et **fugit** et lupus rapit **eas** et dispergit AUGau 1.16.17/211.11 (mss f v **autem cuius**, ms Δ **dispergunt**)  
[Innocentius] Allusion: AUep 182.6/722.9 *prospiciendum est ergo ne permittendo lupos mercennarii magis quam uideamur esse pastores*

<10:13> **mercenarius autem fugit quia mercennarius est et non pertinet ad eum de ouibus et mercennarium non exhorrent qui uidet lupum uenientem et fugit quoniam non est ei cura** de ouibus AUep 228.6/488.13  
*quid erit nisi mercennariorum illa fuga damnabilis quibus non est cura* de ouibus AUep 228.6/489.9  
[Jn 10:12] *cum uiderit praedonem quare fugit?* **quia non est ei cura** de ouibus AUPs 141.11.15  
**quia** mercenarius est et non **est ei cura** de ouibus AUJo 46.8.22 [CT]  
**nec ei cura est** de ouibus AUJo 46.7.5  
*si enim securus audit quo ad oues dicitur non est illi cura* de ouibus AUs 47.35  
[Jn 10:12] *quare?* **quia non est ei cura** de ouibus AUs 137.10.12/760  
[Jn 10:12] **quoniam non est ei cura** de ouibus. **mercenarius est enim.** AUs 138.1.1/763  
Adaptation: AUs 137.5.5./757 [Jn 10:12] *quia non est illi cura* de ouibus  
Adaptation: AUs 137.5.5./757 [Jn 10:12] *quia mercenarius est, quia non est illi cura* de ouibus *mercenarius est enim*

<10:14> **ego sum pastor bonus et cognosco meas et cognoscunt me meae**  
*cf. Jn 10:11*  
NO CITATIONS

<10:15> **sicut nouit me pater et ego agnosco patrem et animam meam pono pro ouibus**  
*cf. Jn 10:11*  
Adaptation: AUJo 25.72 *praeceptum pastoris qui animam suam posuit* pro ouibus **suis**  
Adaptation: AUep 185.6.22/20.22 *quis enim nos potest amplius amare quam christus qui animam suam posuit* pro ouibus **suis** (ms C ponit)  
*sicut nouit me pater et ego agnosco patrem* AUJo 47.3.1 [CT]  
*et quod dicit, ut animam suam ponit* pro ouibus **suis**, *hanc utique uitam dicit cum se pro nobis moriturum esse pronuntiat (in Matt 6:25)* AUs dni 1.15.42.1012 (mss L T **dicitur animam**, mss C M N P V B **dicit animam**)

<10:16> **et alias oues habeo quae non sunt ex hoc ouili et illas oportet me adducere et uocem meam audient et fiet unum ouile unus pastor**  
*ipse pascit quia de se ipso ait ut sit unus grex et unus pastor* AUCre 3.9.9/417.11  
*christi oues errantes in pacis ouile colligerentur ubi est unus grex et unus pastor* AUep 93.5.19/463.25 (ms N unus est grex)  
[Cant. 1:7] *non in tabernaculo pastoris ubi est unus grex et unus pastor* AUep 93.9.29/475.10 (ms R grex unus)  
*et de quibus dictum est ut sit unus grex et unus pastor* AUep 108.6.17/631.11  
Allusion: *donec ueniat princeps pastorum (1Pet 5:4) qui dictus est unus pastor* AUep 208.3/344.9  
*quo idem dominus alibi ait habeo alias oues quae non sunt ex hoc ouili gentes utique significans cum haberet oues etiam in populo israhel. sed quia secutus adiecit oportet me et eas adducere ut sit unus grex et unus pastor* AUEv 3.4.14/286.3 (ms B1 abeo, mss C P F O N M Q H p g m **de hoc**, mss R D om. **et eas**, ms B gres)  
*cum diceret habeo alias oues quae non sunt de hoc ouili quas tamen se adducturum ait ut esset unus grex et unus pastor* AUGal 31.8 (ms b **alias oues habeo**)  
*habeo alias oues quae non sunt ex hoc ouili* AUJo 31.11.20  
*et alias oues habeo quae non sunt de hoc ouili oportet me et illas adducere...uocem meam audient...ut sit unum ouile et unus pastor* AUJo 47.5.8 [CT]  
Adaptation: *nouerat euangelista esse alias oues quae non erant de hoc ouili quas oportebat adduci ut esset unum ouile et unus pastor* AUJo 49.27.27  
*habeo alias oues quae non sunt de hoc ouili oportet me et ipsas adducere et uocem meam audient et erit unus grex et unus pastor* AUJo 117.5.25  
*de quibus dicit habeo alias oues quae non sunt ex hoc ouili oportet me et ipsas adducere ut sit unus grex et unus pastor* AUPs 71.9.18  
*sumus oues manuum eius quas praeuidebat cum diceret habeo alias oues quae non sunt de hoc ouili oportet me et ipsas adducere ut sit unus grex et unus pastor* AUPs 77.3.29  
*ait tamen alio loco habeo alias oues quae non sunt de hoc ouili oportet me et ipsas adducere ut sit unus grex et unus pastor* AUPs 78.3.28  
*ecce quod est habeo alias oues quae non sunt de hoc ouili oportet me et ipsas adducere ut sit unus grex et unus pastor* AUPs 78.3.41  
*sed quia dixerat ipse habeo alias oues quae non sunt de hoc ouili oportet me et eas adducere ut sit unus grex et unus pastor* AUPs 96.2.56  
*christus...faciens utraque unum et adducens alias oues quae non sunt de hoc ouili ut sit unus grex et unus pastor* AUPs 105.36.39



[Jn 11:48-52] *habebat enim* alias oues quae non erant **de illo** ouili [in Ps 105:47] AUPs 105.37.59  
*hinc ait dominus alio loco habeo* alias oues quae non sunt **de** hoc ouili **oportet** me et **illas** adducere **ut sit unus grex et unus pastor** AUPs 113.s1.2.19  
*accesserunt oues quae non erant de hoc ouili ut fieret unus grex et unus pastor* AUPs 113.s2.10.4  
*secundum et domini testimonium dicentis in euangelio de gentibus habeo* alias oues quae non sunt **de** hoc ouili **quas** oportet me adducere **et erit unus grex et unus pastor** AURm 57.3 (mss T c P1 X K **ex hoc**)  
*sed quid dicit dominus de ipso grege? habeo* alias oues quae non sunt **de** hoc ouili **uado adducam eas et erit unus grex et unus pastor** AUs 4.397 (ms ζ **quae nondum sunt**, ms α **adduco**, ms γ **eas erit (om. et)**, ms α1m **unus potior 2m postor**)  
*tunc ait ille unus in quo uno omnes unum habeo* alias oues quae non sunt **de** hoc ouili **oportet** me et **eas** adducere **ut sit unus grex et unus pastor** AUs 46.780 (mss β4 δ3 δ4 δ5 **ex hoc**, ms β4 **et eas oportet me adducere**, ms δ **has adducere**, ms γ **alias adducere**)  
*ipse cum hic esset adhuc ante passionem ait habeo* alias oues quae non sunt ex hoc ouili **oportet** me et **eas** adducere **ut sit unus grex et unus pastor** AUs 60A.2  
*ait enim quodam loco idem dominus habeo* alias oues quae non sunt **de** hoc ouili **oportet** me et **has** adducere **ut sit unus grex et unus pastor** AUs 77.5.8/487 (in Matt 15:21-28)  
*et in euangelio scriptum habeo* alias oues quae non sunt **de** hoc ouili et **illas** oportet me adducere **ut sit unus grex et unus pastor... [Matt 15:22-8] AUs 88.11.10/544  
*nonne ergo idem dominus de duabus istis plebibus in uno futuris dixit habeo* et alias oues quae non sunt ex hoc ouili **loquebatur autem iudaeis oportet me inquit et eas adducere ut sit unus grex et unus pastor** AUs 137.6.6/757  
**habeo inquit** alias oues quae non sunt **de** hoc ouili AUs 138.5.5/765  
**habeo inquit** alias oues quae non sunt **de** hoc ouili *quia non sunt de genere carnis israel. sed tamen non erunt extra hoc ouile quia oportet me eas adducere ut sit unus grex et unus pastor* AUs 138.5.5/766  
*orate et pro dispersis ouibus ueniant et ipsi agnoscant et ipsi ament et ipsi ut sit unus grex et unus pastor* AUs 138.10.10/769  
*et quomodo uerum est et erit unus grex et unus pastor? porro si uerum est erit unus grex et unus pastor* AUs 229N.3  
*non tabernaculo pastoris. habeo* alias oues quae non sunt **de** hoc ouile **oportet** me **eas** adducere et uocem meam audient et **erit unus grex et unus pastor** AUs 229O.3  
*quia habeo inquit* alias oues quae non sunt **de** hoc ouili **oportet** me et **ipsas** adducere **ut sit unus grex et unus pastor** AUs 265.9.11/1224  
*sicut et pastor unus. nam oportet inquit me et eas oues adducere quae non sunt de hoc ouili* AUs 285.5/1295  
*non gregis de quo dictum est erit unus grex et unus pastor* AUs 295.5.5/1351  
*audiuimus enim et modo in euangelio de ipsa unitate habeo* alias oues quae non sunt **de** hoc ouili **oportet** me **eas** adducere **ut sit unus grex et unus pastor** AUs 340A.11**

#### <10:17> propterea me pater diligit quia ego pono animam meam ut iterum sumam eam

propterea me pater diligit quia ego pono animam meam ut iterum sumam eam AUJo 47.7.1 [CT]  
 pono animam meam **et** iterum **sumo** eam AUJo 47.13.2  
*sua uoluntate mortem sustinuit secundum illud propterea me pater diligit quoniam* ego pono animam meam ut iterum sumam eam AUPs 3.5.4

#### <10:18> nemo tollit eam a me sed ego pono eam a me ipso potestatem habeo ponendi eam et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam hoc mandatum accepi a patre meo

[Mk 14:34] potestatem habeo ponendi **animam meam** [Jn 15:13] AUAr 9.26 (ms U **om. meam**)  
*Adaptation: et quod potestatem se habere dicit ponendi et iterum sumendi animam suam* (ms τ *ponendi animam suam et iterum sumendi*) AUAr 15.58  
*quam potestatem in euangelio ipse praedicat dicens potestatem habeo ponendi animam meam et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam. nemo eam tollit eam a me sed ego eam pono a me et iterum sumo eam* AUci 16.41.22 (ms B **ponendi (om. habeo)**, ms g **et nemo**, ms B **pono et iterum (om. a me)**)  
*potestate illa de qua in euangelio dicit potestatem habeo ponendi animam meam et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam* AUci 17.11.35  
*Adaptation: unus ille in mortuis liber potestatem habens ponendi animam suam et potestatem habens iterum sumendi eam* AUcf 10.43.17  
*Allusion: multum enim ostendit quam uoluntarie pro nobis animam posuerit qui eam sic habuit in potestate resumere* AUdo 1.15.3  
*Adaptation: qui potestatem habebat ponendi animam suam et iterum recipiendi eam* AUep 55.9.16/187.7  
*Adaptation: cum potestatem habuerit ponendi animam suam et iterum sumendi eam nec eam quisque tolleretur ab illo sed eam ipse poneret et resumeret sicut in euangelio dicit* AUep 140.11.29/180.9 (ms L\* *quisquem*)  
*quod unde in illo fieri posset qui potestatem habebat ponendi et recipiendi animam suam* AUep 140.14.36/186.2 (mss O T *habeat*)  
*Adaptation: demoratur iohannes...de potestate ponendi animam suam et iterum sumendi eam* AUEv 4.10.18/412.19

*nam cum potestatem haberet ponendi animam suam nec eam poneret nisi cum uellet* AUFau 22.36/630.5  
*unde dixerit dominus noster* potestatem habeo ponendi **animam meam** et potestatem habeo **sumendi** eam  
 AUFo 34/111.18  
 potestatem habeo ponendi **animam meam** et **iterum** sumendi eam **nemo** tollit eam a me sed ego pono eam a  
 meipso **et iterum sumo eam** AUJo 8.10.12  
 potestatem habeo ponendi **animam meam** et **iterum** sumendi eam AUJo 8.10.17  
 potestatem habeo ponendi **animam meam** et **iterum** sumendi eam AUJo 8.12.12  
 potestatem habeo ponendi **animam meam** et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam **nemo** tollit eam a me sed  
 ego pono **illam** a meipso **ut iterum sumam eam** AUJo 11.2.31  
 potestatem habeo ponendi **animam meam** et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam **nemo** tollit eam a me sed  
 ego **ipse** pono eam a **me et iterum sumo eam** AUJo 37.9.28  
 potestatem habeo ponendi **animam meam** et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam AUJo 41.7.14  
 potestatem habeo ponendi **animam meam** et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam AUJo 47.7.30 hoc  
 mandatum accepi a patre meo AUJo 47.14.1 [CT]  
*Adaptation:* potestatem *habens* ponendi **animam suam** et potestatem *habens* iterum sumendi eam AUJo 60.2.1  
*Adaptation:* *ille* potestatem *habuit* ponendi **animam suam** et **iterum** sumendi eam AUJo 84.2.3  
*Adaptation:* *ille qui* potestatem habebat ponendi **animam suam** et **iterum** sumendi eam AUJo 119.6.4  
*ut homo loquitur* potestatem habeo ponendi **animam meam** et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam. hoc **enim**  
**praeceptum** accepi a patre meo. *quid hoc adiuvat causam tuam? numquid enim aliud dixit nisi potestatem habeo*  
*moriendi et resurgendi? quod itaque ait nemo eam tollit* a me sed ego eam pono a **me et iterum sumo eam** *quid*  
*intelligi uoluit?* AUMax 2.14.9/776  
 [AUG citing MAX] *ut prae loqueris dicens: hic sane et de sua potestate quam a patre accepit dicebat* potestatem  
 habeo ponendi **animam meam** et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam AUMax 2.14.9/776  
*quamuis non dixerit hanc potestatem sed hoc praeceptum* accepi a patre meo AUMax 2.14.9/776  
*Adaptation:* *qui* potestatem *habuit* ponendi **animam suam** et iterum sumendi eam AUNm 33.818  
 [Jn 10:17] **nemo eam tollit** a **meipso potestatem** habeo ponendi eam et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam  
 AUPs 3.5.5  
*Adaptation:* *desiderauit manducare pascha et ponere cum uellet atque iterum cum uellet sumere animam suam*  
 AUPs 20.2.2  
*quia ipse dixit* potestatem habeo ponendi **animam meam** AUPs 33.s2.7.22  
*Adaptation:* *abstulerunt animam ipsius sed ille potestatem habuit* ponendi **animam suam** et potestatem *habuit*  
**recipiendi** **animam suam** AUPs 39.24.18  
*Adaptation:* *non enim...recusabat mori qui potestatem habebat* **animam suam ponendi** et potestatem *habebat*  
 iterum sumendi eam AUPs 40.6.37  
*ego dormiui* [Ps 3:6] *quia* potestatem habeo ponendi **animam meam** et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam ego  
 dormiui et somnium cepi et exsurrexi [Ps 3:6] AUPs 40.10.9  
*ille passionem pauebat qui dixerat* potestatem habeo ponendi **animam meam** et potestatem habeo iterum  
 sumendi eam. **nemo** tollit **illam** a me sed ego **ipse** pono eam a me **et iterum sumo eam** AUPs 42.7.11  
*Adaptation:* *tu solus iuste iudicas iniuste iudicatus qui potestatem habes ponendi* **animam tuam** et potestatem  
*habes iterum sumendi eam* AUPs 50.9.36  
*de qua ipse dicit* potestatem habeo ponendi **animam meam** et potestatem habeo **sumendi** eam. **nemo** tollit eam  
 a me sed ego **eam** pono a me **et iterum sumo eam** AUPs 56.11.17  
*mea uoluntate ego dormiui secundum illud* potestatem habeo ponendi **animam meam** et potestatem habeo  
 iterum sumendi eam. *propterea ibi sequitur et dicit ego dormiui et somnum cepi et exsurrexi quoniam dominus*  
*suscipiet me* [Ps 3:6] AUPs 56.11.35  
*Allusion:* *filius hominis propter formam serui habens in potestate ponere* **animam suam et recipere eam** AUPs  
 63.3.9  
*ipse soluerit qui dixit* potestatem habeo ponendi **animam meam** et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam. **nemo**  
 tollit eam a me sed ego **ipse** pono eam a me **et iterum sumo eam** AUPs 65.7.44  
*Adaptation:* *hic ergo inter mortuos liber* [Ps 87:5] *qui in potestate habebant* [sic] *ponere animam suam et iterum*  
*sumere eam a quo eam nemo tollebat sed eam ipse uoluntate ponebat qui etiam carnem suam tamquam solutum*  
*ab eis templum resuscitare poterat cum uolebat* [Jn 2:19] AUPs 77.5.9  
*qui primo dixerat* potestatem habeo ponendi **animam meam** et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam. **nemo**  
 tollit eam a me sed ego pono eam a me **et iterum sumo eam** AUPs 86.5.17  
*proba qua ipse animam suam eruit* potestatem habeo ponendi **animam meam** et potestatem habeo iterum  
 sumendi eam. **nemo** tollit eam a me *quia ego dormiui* [Ps 3:6] sed **ipse eam** pono a me **et iterum sumo eam**  
 AUPs 88.s2.10.28  
*Adaptation:* *non enim uere ille timebat mortem qui potestatem habebat ponendi animam suam et potestatem*  
*habebat iterum sumendi eam* AUPs 100.6.12  
*quia ipse ait* potestatem habeo ponendi **animam meam** et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam. **nemo** tollit  
 eam a me sed ego **ipse eam** pono a me *ergo agnouit occasum suum* [Ps 103:19] AUPs 103.s3.21.31  
*cum uoluisset potuisse resurgere cum dicat* potestatem habeo ponendi **animam meam** et potestatem habeo  
 iterum sumendi eam [in Ps 108:20] AUPs 108.22.14

*cum uoluit dormiuit cum uoluit euigilaui quia potestatem inquit habeo ponendi **animam meam** et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam [in Ps 138:16] AUPs 138.21.20*  
*sed quae ipse dominus tam multa commemorat potestatem habeo ponendi **animam meam** et **iterum** sumendi eam AUq 80.72 (ms H **om.** meam...eam, mss E I **om.** et...eam, mss G Z **iterum accipiendi**)*  
*nam sic dixit potestatem habeo ponendi **animam meam** et potestatem habeo **sumendi** eam. nemo tollit eam a me sed ego pono eam **ut iterum sumam illam** AUs 5.88 (mss D maur **et iterum**, mss C3 maur **sumam eam**)*  
*audite qui dicit potestatem habeo ponendi **animam meam** et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam. nemo **tollit** eam a me sed ego pono eam **et iterum sumo eam** AUs 31.47 (ms h3 **om. potestatem habeo**, ms w1 **nemo eam tollit**, mss w42m p **tollit**, ms h2 **tollit eam ad me**, ms p **om. et iterum sumo eam**)*  
*Adaptation: ponat animam suam quia potestatem habet **recipiendi** eam AUs 111.2 (Jn webtext: not in Migne)*  
*Allusion: [christus] potestatem enim habuit ponendi uirtutem suam et potestatem habuit assumendi eam AUs 122.3.3/682*  
*non necessitatis sed arbitrii. potestatem habeo ponendi **animam meam** et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam **nemo** tollit eam a me sed ego pono eam **et iterum sumo eam** AUs 152.9/824*  
*sicut ipse dixit potestatem habeo ponendi **animam meam** et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam **nemo** tollit eam a me sed ego **ipse ponam** eam a me AUs 159B.10/280.315 (AUs Dol 21)*  
*[Matt 16:22] et ubi est potestatem habeo ponendi **animam meam** et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam...[Jn 15:13] AUs 183.10.14/994*  
*Adaptation: [Ps 68:22] tamquam potestatem habens ponendi animam suam sicut et ipse testatus est AUs 218.12.12/1087*  
*potestate mortuus est. potestatem inquit habeo ponendi **animam meam** et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam AUs 232.5.5/1110 (SC116 **om. inquit**; AUs 232.5.117 (ms P est sicut ipse in euangelio potestatem inquit))*  
*quanta potestate quam ille qui dixerat potestatem habeo ponendi **animam meam** et potestatem **iterum** sumendi eam **nemo eam** tollit a me sed **ipse eam** pono a me **et iterum sumo eam** AUs 300.4.4/1378*  
*maioris erat utique potestatis ut posset ueraciter dicere potestatem habeo ponendi **animam meam** et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam **nemo** tollit eam a me sed **ipse** pono eam a me **et iterum sumo eam**...[Jn 12:27] AUs 305.2/1398*  
*in illo imago est nostrae infirmitatis. potestatem habeo ponendi **animam meam** et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam AUs 305.2/1398*  
*attende ergo christum potestatem habeo ponendi **animam meam** et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam **nemo** tollit eam a me [Ps 3:6] AUs 305.3/1398*  
*etiam dixerat potestatem habeo ponendi **animam meam** et **sumendi** eam **nemo** tollit eam a me **ego ipse eam** pono a me AUs 313E.5*  
*[Jn 15:13] et ille qui potestatem habebat ponendi **animam suam** et potestatem habebat iterum **sumendi** eam AUs 335B.3*  
*illi qui dixerat potestatem habeo ponendi **animam meam** et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam AUs 361.16.16/1608*  
*ut non moreretur si nollet. potestatem inquit habeo ponendi **animam meam** et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam **nemo eam tollit** a me AUs 362.12.12/1619*  
*aut si mentior ipsum audite potestatem inquit habeo ponendi **animam meam** et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam. **nemo** tollit eam a me sed ego pono eam a me **et iterum sumo eam**. audistis potestatem? nemo tollit AUs 375B.2*  
*quaero ergo in his uerbis uerba illa tua dixit potestatem habeo ponendi **animam meam** et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam AUs 375B.3*  
*quando dico dixit potestatem habeo ponendi **animam meam** et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam sicut factor me loquor AUs 375B.3*  
*quando dico dixit potestatem habeo ponendi **animam meam adiutorium tuum sum** AUs 375B.3*  
*quippe dei uerbo ad unitatem commixtus hinc ait potestatem habeo ponendi **animam meam** et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam. **nemo** tollit eam a me sed ego pono eam a me **et iterum sumo eam** AUtri 4.13.11 (ms C **tollit**, ms Va tollit **meam**, mss N O S F J P pono eam **om. a me**)*  
  
*[FO-M] dictum est enim potestatem habeo ponendi **animam meam** et potestatem **accipiendi eam** AUfo 32/111.4 (ms A **potestatem habeo accipiendi**)*  
*[FO-M] ipse enim dixit potestatem habeo ponendi **animam meam** et potestatem **sumendi** eam AUfo 33/111.12*  
*[MAX] hic sane et de sua potestate quam accepit a patre dicebat potestatem habeo ponendi **animam meam** et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam. hoc **enim praeceptum** accepi a patre meo AUMax co 14/732*

#### <10:19> dissensio iterum facta est inter iudaeos propter sermones hos

dissensio iterum facta est inter iudaeos propter sermones hos AUJo 47.14.12 [CT]

#### <10:20> dicebant autem multi ex ipsis daemonium habet et insanit quid eum auditis

dicebant autem multi ex ipsis daemonium habet et insanit quid eum auditis AUJo 47.14.13 [CT]

[Jn 8:48] dictum est et de ipso domino quod insaniret quando loquebatur uerba quae illi non caperent; dictum est insanit daemonium habet [in Ps 48:15] AUPs 48.s2.4.47

*et dicentes quod in principe daemoniorum eicit daemonia [Lk 11:15] et daemonium habet et insanit quid eum auditis [in Ps 108:4] AUPs 108.4.52*

**<10:21> alii dicebant haec uerba non sunt daemonium habentis numquid daemonium potest caecorum oculos aperire**

*alii dicebant haec uerba non sunt daemonium habentis numquid daemonium potest caecorum oculos aperire AUJo 47.14.16 [CT]*

*[Jn 10:20] et tamen aliqui euigilabant a somno et dicebant non sunt ista uerba daemonium habentis [in Ps 48:15] AUPs 48.s2.4.48*

*alii dicunt daemonium habentis alii dicunt non sunt ista uerba daemonium habentis [in Ps 48:15] AUPs 48.s2.4.53*

**<10:22> facta sunt autem encenia in hierosolymis et hiemps erat**

*facta sunt autem encenia in hierosolymis AUJo 48.2.1 hiemps erat AUJo 48.3.1 [CT]*

*Adaptation: inde cum encenia in hierosolymis fierent AUEv 4.10.18/413.1*

**<10:23> et ambulabat iesus in templo in porticu salomonis**

*et ambulabat iesus in templo in porticu salomonis AUJo 48.3.1 [CT]*

**<10:24> circumdederunt ergo eum iudaei et dicebant ei quousque animam nostram tollis si tu es christus dic nobis palam**

*[Jn 8:22] commemorat [sc. iohannes] ei dixisse iudaeos quo usque animam nostram tollis si tu es christus dic nobis palam AUEv 4.10.18/413.2*

*cur ipsi domino dicunt quamdiu animam nostram tollis si tu es christus dic nobis palam AUFau 12.44/372.27*

*circumdederunt ergo eum iudaei et dicebant ei quousque animam nostram tollis si tu es christus dic nobis palam AUJo 48.3.2 [CT]*

*iudaei... ipsum dominum interrogauerunt quodam die et dixerunt quo usque animas nostras tollis si tu es christus dic nobis palam. calumniam parabant non ueritatem quaerebant. quam diu inquiunt animas nostras tollis? quamdiu non suspendis? si tu es christus dic nobis palam. et ille ad eos [Matt 21:25] AUs 293D.4*

**<10:25> respondit eis iesus loquor uobis et non creditis opera quae ego facio in nomine patris mei haec testimonium perhibent de me**

*respondit eis iesus loquor uobis et non creditis opera quae ego facio in nomine patris mei haec testimonium perhibent de me AUJo 48.4.6 [CT]*

**<10:26> sed uos non creditis quia non estis ex ouibus meis**

*sed uos non creditis quia non estis ex ouibus meis AUJo 48.4.8 [CT]*

**<10:27> oues meae uocem meam audiunt et ego cognosco eas et sequuntur me**

*cum me praesertim admonuerit [pastor] dicens quae sunt oues meae uocem meam audiunt et secuntur me. ecce uox eius clara et aperta AUDo 11.29/264.8 (mss TT v sequuntur)*

*quae sunt oues meae inquit pastor caelestis uocem meam audiunt et sequuntur me AUDo 12.32/273.1 (mss O TT audient et sequuntur)*

*pastoris... dicentis quae sunt oues meae uocem meam audiunt et sequuntur me AUDo 25.72/318.29*

*oues meae uocem meam audiunt et cognosco eas et sequuntur me AUJo 48.5.1 [CT]*

*iohannes baptista de illo [Jn 1:29] et ipse de se ipso qui de ouibus meis sunt uocem meam audiunt et ego noui illas et secuntur me AUpec 1.27.40/39.7 (ms K audient, ms M cognoui, mss r b d sequuntur)*

*ait in euangelio quae sunt oues meae uocem meam audiunt et sequuntur me AUPet 2.73.164/104.2*

*dicit in euangelio quae sunt oues meae audiunt uocem meam et sequuntur me AUs 46.629 (mss β4 β5 uocem meam audiunt, ms γ audient, mss γ2 γ3 secuntur)*

*discernit oues suas ab ouibus non suis. quae sunt oues meae inquit audiunt uocem meam et sequuntur me AUs 46.745*

*sequuntur pastorem suum dicentem quae sunt oues meae uocem meam audiunt et sequuntur me AUs 46.788*

*inde ego recito ecclesiam toto orbe diffusam et dominum dicentem quae sunt oues meae uocem meam audiunt et sequuntur me AUs 46.832 (ms β4 audient)*

*Allusion: cum hoc dicimus: saluet oues suas audiant uocem pastoris sui et sequantur eum AUs 47.567*

*[MAX] sicut ait ipse christus oues meae uocem meam audiunt et sequuntur me AUMax co 6/713*

**<10:28> et ego uitam aeternam do eis et non peribunt in aeternum et non rapiet eas quisquam de manu mea**

*et ego uitam aeternam do eis AUJo 48.5.2 et non peribunt in aeternum non rapiet eas quisquam de manu mea AUJo 48.6.1 [CT]*

*uitam aeternam dabo eis AUJo 48.5.10*

*nemo rapit oues meas de manu mea AUJo 48.6.53*

*Allusion: ait nihil esse perituum cum supra de suis ouibus loqueretur AUJo 52.11.12*

*[Jn 10:27] et ego uitam aeternam do illis et non peribunt in aeternum AUpec 1.27.40/39.8 (mss L V P G b ego (om.et))*

*[MAX] [Jn 10:27] et ego uitam aeternam do eis et non peribunt in aeternum et non rapiet eas quisquam de manu mea AUMax co 6/713*

**<10:29> pater meus quod dedit mihi maius omnibus est et nemo potest rapere de manu patris mei**

*pater meus quod dedit mihi maius est omnibus AUJo 48.6.14 nemo potest rapere de manu patris mei AUJo 48.6.54 [CT]*

*quod dedit mihi pater maius est omnibus AUJo 48.6.51*

*nemo rapit de manu patris mei AUJo 48.7.2*

*nemo rapit de manu patris mei AUJo 48.7.22*

*[MAX] [Jn 10:28] pater meus quod dedit mihi maius omnibus est et nemo potest rapere illud de manu patris mei AUMax co 6/713*

*[MAX] secundum hanc rationem quam audisti quoniam nemo potest rapere de manu mea oues quas mihi dedit pater: simili modo nec de manu patris AUMax co 6/713*

**<10:30> ego et pater unum sumus**

*secundum quid ego et pater unum sumus AUAr 8.49*

*de qua dictum est ego et pater unum sumus AUAr 9.50*

*ita ab ipso filio breuiter dicitur ego et pater unum sumus AUbo 24/866.13*

*recole euangelium quod audisti ego et pater unum sumus AUDisc 14.394*

*Adaptation: ipse et pater unum sunt AUench 10.52*

*Adaptation: tunc uiderent ea uisione in qua ipse et pater unum sunt AUep 147.12.30/304.15*

*[Jn 14:28] propter illam uero dei formam...dixit ego et pater unum sumus AUep 170.9/629.17*

*cum enim sit christus deus et homo deus utique unde dicit ego et pater unum sumus homo autem unde dicit [Jn 14:28] AUep 187.3.8/87.16*

*secundum formam dei de se ipse dixit ego et pater unum sumus secundum formam serui [Jn 14:28] AUep 188.2.10/540.17*

*cum pater et filius unum sint secundum illam ueritatis uocem ego et pater unum sumus AUep 188.2.12/541.18*

*unde dictum est ego et pater unum sumus AUep 188.2.12/542.1*

*cum filius dei dicat ego et pater unum sumus AUep 188.2.12/542.7*

*illud quod scriptum est ego et pater unum sumus et [Jn 17:20-23] AUep 188.4.28/554.18*

*ille qui uerissime dixit ego et pater unum sumus AUep 241.2/561.26*

*Adaptation: [Jn 1:1] [Jn 1:3] secundum quod ipse et pater unum sunt AUEv 4.10.11/407.10*

*ibi dixit ego et pater unum sumus AUEv 4.10.18/413.5*

*nisi enim carnis adsumtio seruata incommutabili diuinitate facta esset non diceretur ego et pater unum sumus AUEv 1.4.7/7.5*

*quia dixit dominus ego et pater unum sumus AUfu 6/199.21*

*Adaptation: qua ipse et pater unum sunt AUGn li 1.4/8.8*

*ego et pater unum sumus AUJo 5.1.25*

*ego et pater unum sumus AUJo 5.1.29*

*ego et pater unum sumus AUJo 9.8.34*

*ego et pater unum sumus AUJo 9.8.35*

*ego et pater unum sumus AUJo 10.11.27*

*ego et pater unum sumus AUJo 20.3.23*

*ego et pater unum sumus AUJo 29.8.15*

*ego et pater unum sumus AUJo 36.9.35*

*ego et pater unum sumus AUJo 36.9.36*

*ego et pater unum sumus AUJo 37.6.28*

*ego et pater unum sumus AUJo 45.5.8*

*ego et pater unum sumus AUJo 48.8.1 [CT]*

*ego et pater unum sumus AUJo 49.18.20*

*ego et pater unum sumus AUJo 53.12.18*

*ego et pater unum sumus AUJo 59.2.27*

*ego et pater unum sumus AUJo 71.2.26*

*ego et pater unum sumus AUJo 78.1.34*

*ego et pater unum sumus AUJo 78.2.19*

*ego et pater unum sumus AUJo 80.2.7*

*ego et pater unum sumus AUJo 97.4.24*

*ego et pater unum sumus AUJo 99.1.45*

*ego et pater unum sumus AUJo 107.5.11*

*ego et pater unum sumus AUJo 110.1.23*

*quod ait dominus ego et pater unum sumus AUMax 1.10/751*

*sicut ait saluator ego et pater unum sumus* AUMax 1.10/751  
*quid est inquam homousion nisi ego et pater unum sumus* AUMax 2.14.3/772  
*de uerbis domini ubi ait ego et pater unum sumus* AUMax 2.20.1/788  
*quomodo dictum sit ego et pater unum sumus* AUMax 2.20.1/788  
*[1Cor 6:17]...sicut dictum est ego et pater unum sumus* AUMax 2.20.1/788  
*[1Cor 3:8] et ego et pater unum sumus* AUMax 2.20.1/788  
*[1Cor 6:17]...[Gal 3:28] et sicut ait ipse christus ego et pater unum sumus* AUMax 2.22.2/794  
*sicut aequalem se nouit quando dicit ego et pater unum sumus. sic se nouit minorem quia [Jn 1:14]* AUMax co 14/720  
*hoc autem utrumque unus est christus qui et secundum deum uerissime dixit ego et pater unum sumus* AUpers 24.67/1034  
*Adaptation: [Jn 14:8-9] in illo ergo habemus patrem quia ipse in patre et pater in ipso et ipse et pater unum sunt [in Ps 45.1] AUPs 45.1.36*  
*nonne uerissimum ego et pater unum sumus [in Ps 49:2] AUPs 49.5.15*  
*audistis autem modo cum euangelium legeretur quomodo commendauit maiestatem suam ego et pater unum sumus [in Ps 62:3] AUPs 62.11.10*  
*dixit ex forma dei ego et pater unum sumus [in Ps 63:8] AUPs 63.13.14*  
*unde ex forma dei ego et pater unum sumus [in Ps 63:8] AUPs 63.13.15*  
*propter quam modo audistis ego et pater unum sumus [in Ps 65:3] AUPs 65.5.45*  
*[Jn 14:8]... uerum ille qui uerissime dixerat ego et pater unum sumus [in Ps 76:1] AUPs 76.1.18*  
*unde utrumque dicit in euangelio et ego et pater unum sumus et [Jn 14:28]. ego et pater unum sumus secundum formam dei [Jn 14:28] secundum formam serui [in Ps 138:2] AUPs 138.3.17*  
*ipse uoluerit esse nobiscum unus qui est cum patre unus. quomodo cum patre unus? ego et pater unum sumus [in Ps 142.1] AUPs 142.3.55*  
*quemadmodum dictum sit et [Jn 14:28] et ego et pater unum sumus et [Jn 1:1 etc.] AUq 69.18*  
*ipsa ueritas loquitur dicens ego et pater unum sumus AUre 1.4.28 (ref. AUso)*  
*interroga et audi ego et pater unum sumus AU 28A.8/256.196 (AUso Dol 9)*  
*audi unum pascentem et christum pascentem ego et pater unum sumus AU 47.620*  
*respondeat filius et dicat nobis utrumque uere dictum est ego et pater unum sumus AU 47.646*  
*dicit et [Jn 14:28] et ego et pater unum sumus AU 91.3.3/568*  
*hic capio ut possum ego et pater unum sumus AU 126.9.12/704*  
*de uerbis euangelii iohannis ego et pater unum sumus AU 139 incipit/769*  
*audistis quid dixerit ego et pater unum sumus AU 139.1.1/770*  
*quod ille unicus ait ego et pater unum sumus AU 139.1.1/770*  
*et uerum dixit ego et pater unum sumus. quid est unum sumus? unius naturae sumus. quid est unum sumus? unius substantiae sumus AU 139.1.1/770*  
*propterea dictum est ego et pater unum sumus AU 140.4/774*  
*aut frustra dixit ego et pater unum sumus AU 142.6 (webtext; not in Migne)*  
*conuerso autem ad se seruauit tibi ego et pater unum sumus AU 142.6 (webtext; not in Migne)*  
*[Jn 14:28] et propter quod permansit deus ego et pater unum sumus AU 187.4.4/1002*  
*illud autem falsum esset ego et pater unum sumus AU 187.4.4/1002*  
*uerum dixit ego et pater unum sumus AU 187.4.4/1003*  
*Adaptation: [Ps 16:15] ipse autem et pater unum sunt...[Jn 14:9] AU 194.3.3/1017*  
*Adaptation: filius unicus immortalis quia ipse et pater unum sunt AU 198.39/120.934 (AUso Dol 26)*  
*ut ab illo aliena sint qui dixit ego et pater unum sumus ...[Phil 2:6] AU 212.1/1058 (SC116 AU 212.1.17)*  
*Adaptation: ipse enim et pater unum sunt AU 215.3/1073*  
*[Jn 14:28] libentius audi ego et pater unum sumus AU 229G.4*  
*magnum est quod dicit ego et pater unum sumus AU 237.4.4/1124 (SC116 AU 237.4.124)*  
*quid dicit ut deus? [Jn 14:26,19] ego et pater unum sumus AU 261.7.7/1206*  
*[Jn 14:1,28] et alio loco dicit ego et pater unum sumus AU 264.2/1213*  
*sicut ipse dominus ego et pater unum sumus AU 264.4/1214*  
*ubi aequalem se ostenderit genitori ego et pater unum sumus...[Jn 14:28] AU 265A.6*  
*quod ipse iterum dixit ego et pater unum sumus...[Jn 14:28] AU 265A.6*  
*[Phil 2:6] secundum formam dei ipse de se loquitur ego et pater unum sumus AU 265A.7*  
*secundum uerbum audi ego et pater unum sumus AU 265D.3*  
*ipse enim dixit ego et pater unum sumus qui dixit [Jn 14:28]...ego et pater unum sumus aequalitatem ostendit [Jn 14:28] imparilitatem ostendit AU 293E.1*  
*cum ipse dicat ego et pater unum sumus AU 340A.5*  
*et ego ex euangelio ego et pater unum sumus AU 341.13/184.315 (AUso Dol 22)*  
*quomodo nos docet apostolus? audi ego et pater unum sumus AU 341.13/184.316 (AUso Dol 22)*  
*agnoscitis ego et pater unum sumus AU 359B.8/68.166 (AUso Dol 2)*  
*ne falsa sint illa ego et pater unum sumus et [Jn 14:9] et [Jn 1:3] AU 9.19/22.4*  
*unum quippe sint sicut ait ego et pater unum sumus AU 1.8.124 (ms C summus, m eras.)*  
*sed quia uerum est ego et pater unum sumus AU 1.9.20*

*Adaptation: secundum formam dei ipse et pater unum sunt* AUtri 1.11.23  
*ab ipso filio paratum est quia ipse et pater unum sunt* AUtri 1.12.54 (ms F unum pater)  
*[Jn 14:1]...quia ego et pater unus deus* AUtri 1.12.155  
*sicuti est ego et pater unum sumus et [Phil 2:6]* AUtri 2.1.25  
*propter quod et alio loco dicit ego et pater unum sumus* AUtri 4.9.4  
*Adaptation: unum sunt quia pater et filius unum sunt* AUtri 4.20.98  
*ergo quod dictum est ego et pater unum sumus* AUtri 5.3.13  
*Adaptation: AUtri 5.3.29 pater ergo et filius unum sunt utique secundum unitatem substantiae*  
*ideoque pluraliter dictum est ego et pater unum sumus. non enim dixit unum est quod sabelliani dicunt sed unum*  
*sumus* AUtri 5.9.7  
*secundum quod dicitur ego et pater unum sumus. unum sumus enim dictum est; quod ille hoc et ego secundum*  
*essentiam non secundum relatiuum* AUtri 6.2.56 (ms P unum sumus. iii unum, ms K non iii secundum)  
*propter quod etiam pluralem numerum numerum admittunt sicut in euangelio scriptum est ego et pater unum*  
*sumus. et unum dixit et sumus; unum secundum essentiam quod idem deus; sumus secundum relatiuum quod*  
*ille pater hic filius* AUtri 7.6.133

*[MAX] [Jn 10:29] et iterum sic ait ego et pater unum sumus* AUMax co 6/713  
*[MAX] et constat secundum saluatoris sententiam quod ait ego et pater unum sumus* AUMax co 12/716  
*[MAX] [1Cor 3:6-8]. intueri ergo et illud quod dominus ait ego et pater unum sumus: quod certa fide a nobis*  
*creditur et suscipitur. qui dicit ego filius est: qui dicit et pater alterum patrem ostendit. unum ait non unus* AUMax  
 co 22/737  
*[MAX] [Jn 14:31]. et ideo unum sunt secundum quod ait ego et pater unum sumus...[Jn 14:9]* AUMax co 24/738

**<10:31> sustulerunt lapides iudaei ut lapidarent eum**  
 sustulerunt lapides iudaei ut lapidarent illum AUJo 48.8.7 [CT]  
 tulerunt lapides ut lapidarent eum AUJo 48.8.4

**<10:32> respondit eis iesus multa opera bona ostendi uobis ex patre meo propter quod eorum opus me lapidatis**  
 respondit eis iesus multa bona opera ostendi uobis ex patre meo propter quod eorum opus me lapidatis AUJo  
 48.8.8 [CT]  
*quam iniquitatem? qua uoluerunt occidere dominum iesus christum. tanta opera bona inquit ostendi uobis*  
*propter quod horum me uultis occidere [in Ps 63:3] AUPs 63.3.15*

**<10:33> responderunt ei iudaei de bono opere non lapidamus te sed de blasphemia et quia tu homo cum sis facis te ipsum deum**  
 et illi responderunt de bono opere non lapidamus te sed de blasphemia et quia tu homo cum sis facis teipsum  
 deum AUJo 48.8.10 [CT]

**<10:34> respondit eis iesus nonne scriptum est in lege uestra quia ego dixi dii estis**  
*cf. Ps 81:6*  
 nonne scriptum est in lege uestra quia ego dixi dii estis AUJo 48.9.3 [CT]  
 ego dixi dii estis et filii excelsi omnes AUJo 54.2.25  
*reuera arroganter nisi ipse dixisset ego dixi dii estis et filii altissimi omnes [in Ps 84:8] AUPs 84.9.35*  
*Allusion: nam et homines dicti sunt dii* AUtri 1.6.110

**<10:35> si illos dixit deos ad quos sermo dei factus est et non potest solui scriptura**  
 si illos dixit deos ad quos sermo dei factus est et non potest solui scriptura AUJo 48.9.13 [CT]

**<10:36> quem pater sanctificauit et misit in mundum uos dicitis quia blasphemias quia dixi filius dei sum**  
 quem pater sanctificauit et misit in mundum uos dicitis quia blasphemias quia dixi filius dei sum AUJo 48.9.15 [CT]  
*utrumque idem dominus ait quem pater inquit sanctificat et misit in hunc mundum uos dicitis quia blasphemat*  
*quoniam dixi filius dei sum. alio loco ait [Jn 17:19] AUtri 2.5.60 (ms T mundum hunc, mss Ca J μ blasphemias,*  
*mss F J K μ dixi, mss cett codd Eug (G P V v) dicit)*

**<10:37> si non facio opera patris mei nolite credere mihi**  
 si non facio opera patris mei nolite mihi credere AUJo 48.10.1 [CT]  
*[PETI] petilianus dixit de se ipso iudaeis dicit dominus si non facio facta patris mei nolite mihi credite* AUPet  
 2.12.27/35.15

**<10:38> si autem facio et si mihi non uultis credere operibus credite ut cognoscatis et credatis quia in me est pater et ego in patre**  
*cf. Jn 17:21*  
*profertis inde christum dicentem si mihi non creditis operibus credite* AUFau 13.5/383.2

*Reminiscence: cum enim dicitur ego in illo et ille in me inuicem sibi quasi loca sunt [Job 28:24] AUJb 28/569.1 si autem facio et si mihi non uultis credere operibus credite ut cognoscatis et credatis quia in me est pater et ego in illo AUJo 48.10.2 [CT]*

*commendans dominus opera sua dixit operibus credite si mihi non uultis credere [in Ps 65:3] AUPs 65.6.12 [FAU] ad haec et opera ipsa sua in testimonium uocat si mihi non creditis inquit operibus credite AUFau 12.1/329.22*

*[JUL] [Jn 5:43] et item [Matt 12:33] et item si mihi non uultis credere operibus credite AUJul im 1.93.5*

**<10:39> quaerebant ergo eum prendere et exiuit de manibus eorum**

quaerebant ergo eum **adprehendere** exiit de manibus eorum AUJo 48.11.1 [CT]

**<10:40> et abiit iterum trans iordanem in eum locum ubi erat iohannes baptizans primum et mansit illic**

et abiit iterum trans iordanem in eum locum ubi **iohannes** baptizans primum et mansit **ibi** AUJo 48.12.1 [CT]

**<10:41> et multi uenerunt ad eum et dicebant quia iohannes quidem signum fecit nullum**

et multi uenerunt ad eum et dicebant quia iohannes quidem signum fecit nullum AUJo 48.12.2 [CT]

iohannes **nullum signum** fecit AUJo 48.12.13

**<10:42> omnia autem quaecumque dixit iohannes de hoc uera erant et multi crediderunt in eum**

omnia autem quaecumque dixit iohannes de hoc uera erant et multi crediderunt in eum AUJo 48.12.14 [CT]

**<11:1> erat autem quidam languens lazarus a bethania de castello mariae et marthae sororis eius**

*quod ita ibi narrat erat autem quidam inquit languens lazarus a bethania de castello mariae et marthae sororis eius AUEv 2.79.154/261.16 (ms V inquit quidam, ms g ibi inquit quidam, ms p lazarus languens, ms r lazarus nomine languens)*

erat autem quidam languens lazarus a bethania de castello mariae et marthae **sorum** eius AUJo 49.4.4 [CT]

**<11:2> maria autem erat quae unxit dominum unguento et extersit pedes eius capillis suis cuius frater lazarus infirmabatur**

*[Jn 11:1] maria autem erat quae unxit dominum unguento et extersit pedes eius capillis suis cuius frater lazarus infirmabatur AUEv 2.79.154/261.16 (ms B1 eius frater)*

maria autem erat quae unxit dominum unguento et extersit pedes eius capillis suis cuius frater lazarus infirmabatur AUJo 49.5.1 [CT]

**<11:3> miserunt ergo sorores ad eum dicentes domine ecce quem amas infirmatur**

miserunt ergo sorores **eius** ad eum dicentes domine ecce quem amas infirmatur AUJo 49.5.3 [CT]

**<11:4> audiens autem iesus dixit eis infirmitas haec non est ad mortem sed pro gloria dei ut glorificetur filius dei per eam**

audiens autem iesus dixit eis infirmitas haec non est ad mortem sed pro gloria dei ut glorificetur filius dei per eam AUJo 49.6.1 [CT]

*sicut dicit dominus non ad mortem mortuum esse lazarus sed ut glorificaretur deus in filio suo AUqSi 2.5.15 (mss H Z Claud maur fuisse, mss B F H P g Claud glorificetur)*

**<11:5> diligebat autem iesus martham et sororem eius mariam et lazarus**

diligebat autem iesus martham et sororem eius mariam et lazarus AUJo 49.7.1 [CT]

**<11:6> ut ergo audiuit quia infirmabatur tunc quidem mansit in eodem loco duobus diebus**

ut ergo audiuit quia infirmabatur tunc quidem mansit in eodem loco duobus diebus AUJo 49.7.5 [CT]

**<11:7> deinde post haec dicit discipulis suis eamus in iudaeam iterum**

deinde post haec dicit **iterum** discipulis suis eamus in iudaeam AUJo 49.7.10 [CT]

**<11:8> dicunt ei discipuli rabbi nunc quaerebant te iudaei lapidare et iterum uadis illuc**

dicunt ei discipuli rabbi nunc quaerebant te iudaei lapidare et iterum uadis illuc AUJo 49.8.2 [CT]

**<11:9> respondit iesus nonne duodecim horae sunt diei si quis ambulauerit in die non offendit quia lucem huius mundi uidet**

respondit iesus nonne duodecim horae sunt diei si quis ambulauerit in die non offendit quia lucem huius mundi uidet AUJo 49.8.4 [CT]



**<11:10> si autem ambulauerit nocte offendit quia lux non est in eo**  
si autem ambulauerit in nocte offendit quia lux non est in eo AUJo 49.8.9 [CT]

**<11:11> haec ait et post hoc dicit eis lazarus amicus noster dormit sed uado ut a somno exsuscitem eum**  
et post hoc dicit eis lazarus amicus noster dormit sed uado ut a somno **excitem** eum AUJo 49.9.1 [CT]  
*et ibi cum aegrotantem scirent discipuli cum quibus loquebatur (diligebatur autem illum) lazarus inquit amicus noster dormit* AUs 98.4.4/593

**<11:12> dixerunt ergo discipuli eius domine si dormit saluus erit**  
dixerunt ergo discipuli **domine** si dormit saluus erit AUJo 49.11.2 [CT]  
*[Jn 11:11] illi putantes aegri somnum salubrem* si dormit *inquiunt* saluus **est** AUs 98.4.4/593

**<11:13> dixerat autem iesus de morte eius illi autem putauerunt quia de dormitione somni diceret**  
dixerat autem iesus de morte eius illi autem putauerunt **quod** de dormitione somni diceret AUJo 49.11.5 [CT]

**<11:14> tunc ergo dixit eis iesus manifeste lazarus mortuus est**  
tunc ergo dixit eis iesus manifeste lazarus mortuus est AUJo 49.11.7 [CT]  
*[Jn 11:12] et ille dico uobis apertius iam loquens lazarus amicus noster* mortuus est AUs 98.4.4/593

**<11:15> et gaudeo propter uos ut credatis quoniam non eram ibi sed eamus ad eum**  
*cum ira contristatus sit quod dixerit* gaudeo propter uos ut credatis AUci 14.9.70  
et gaudeo propter uos ut credatis **quia** non eram ibi AUJo 49.11.9 sed eamus ad eum AUJo 49.12.1 [CT]  
gaudeo propter uos ut credatis **quia** non **ibi eram** AUJo 49.11.13

**<11:16> dixit ergo thomas qui dicitur didymus ad condiscipulos eamus et nos ut moriamur cum eo**  
dixit ergo thomas qui dicitur didymus ad condiscipulos eamus et nos **et** moriamur cum **illo** AUJo 49.12.1 [CT]

**<11:17> uenit itaque iesus et inuenit eum quattuor dies iam in monumento habentem**  
*Allusion: utrum credendum sit uel lazarus quarto die resuscitatum esse* AUep 102.31/571.2  
uenit itaque iesus et inuenit eum quatuor dies iam in monumento habentem AUJo 49.12.3 [CT]

**<11:18> erat autem bethania iuxta hierosolyma quasi stadiis quindecim**  
**NO CITATIONS**

**<11:19> multi autem ex iudaeis uenerant ad martham et mariam ut consolarentur eas de fratre suo**  
*Allusion: nam et martha et maria piae sorores et fideles resurrecturum suum fratrem lazarus flebant quamuis tunc ad hanc uitam reditum esse nescirent* AUep 263.3/633.13  
multi autem ex iudaeis uenerant ad martham et mariam ut consolarentur eas de fratre suo AUJo 49.13.1 [CT]

**<11:20> martha ergo ut audiuit quia iesus uenit occurrit illi maria autem domi sedebat**  
martha ergo ut audiuit quia iesus uenit occurrit illi maria autem domi sedebat AUJo 49.13.2 [CT]

**<11:21> dixit ergo martha ad iesum domine si fuisses hic frater meus non fuisset mortuus**  
dixit ergo martha ad iesum domine si fuisses hic frater meus non fuisset mortuus AUJo 49.13.4 [CT]

**<11:22> sed et nunc scio quia quaecumque poposceris a deo dabit tibi deus**  
sed et nunc scio quia quaecumque poposceris a deo dabit tibi deus AUJo 49.13.6 [CT]

**<11:23> dicit illi iesus resurget frater tuus**  
dicit illi iesus resurget frater tuus AUJo 49.14.1 [CT]

**<11:24> dicit ei martha scio quia resurget in resurrectione in nouissima die**  
dicit ei martha scio quia resurget in resurrectione in nouissima die AUJo 49.14.3 [CT]

**<11:25> dixit ei iesus ego sum resurrectio et uita qui credit in me et si mortuus fuerit uiuet**  
*Reminiscence: uita enim christus est* AUep 140.25.62/207.24  
*inde iam resuscitatum ab eo lazarus praedicat ubi dixit* ego sum resurrectio et uita qui credit in me **etiam** si mortuus fuerit uiuet AUEv 4.10.18/413.7  
**dicat** ei iesus ego sum resurrectio et uita AUJo 49.14.5 qui credit in me **etiamsi** mortuus fuerit uiuet AUJo 49.15.1 [CT]  
qui credit in me **licet moriatur** uiuet AUJo 49.15.20  
qui credit in me **licet moriatur** uiuet AUJo 72.2.12  
*unde dominus* qui credit in me *inquit* **licet moriatur** uiuet *[in Ps 36:37]* AUPs 36.s.3.15.17

*audiat dominum suum* qui credit in me **licet moriatur uiuit. ergo qui non credit licet uiuat mortuus est** [in Ps 56:7] AUPs 56.14.55

*non illi de quibus ait* qui credit in me **licet moriatur uiuet** [in Ps 144:3] AUPs 144.5.20

*illud quod audiuius nunc ex euangelio tenere debemus.* qui credit *inquit* in me **licet moriatur uiuit. quid est licet moriatur uiuit? licet moriatur corpore uiuit spiritu** AUs 173.1.1/938

[Jn 11:26] *certe licet moriatur quomodo si non morietur? sed licet moriatur ad tempus* AUs 173.1.1/938

**<11:26> et omnis qui uiuit et credit in me non morietur in aeternum credis hoc**

[Jn 11:25] *et omnis qui uiuit et credit in me non morietur in aeternum* AUEv 4.10.18/413.8

*et omnis qui uiuit et credit in me non morietur in aeternum* AUJo 49.15.2 **credis hoc** AUJo 49.15.25 [CT]

[Jn 11:25] *deinde adiungit et qui uiuit et credit in me non morietur in aeternum* AUs 173.1.1/938

[Jn 11:25] *ad tempus non morietur in aeternum* AUs 173.1.1/938

**<11:27> ait illi utique domine ego credidi quia tu es christus filius dei qui in mundum uenisti**

*ait illi utique domine ego credidi quia tu es christus filius dei qui in mundum uenisti* AUJo 49.15.25 [CT]

**<11:28> et cum haec dixisset abiit et uocauit mariam sororem suam silentio dicens magister adest et uocat te**

*et cum haec dixisset abiit et uocauit mariam sororem suam silentio dicens magister adest et uocat te* AUJo 49.16.1 [CT]

**<11:29> illa ut audiuit surgit cito et uenit ad eum**

*illa ut audiuit surgit cito et uenit ad eum* AUJo 49.17.1 [CT]

**<11:30> nondum enim uenerat iesus in castellum sed erat adhuc in illo loco ubi occurrerat ei martha**

*nondum enim uenerat iesus in castellum sed erat adhuc in illo loco ubi occurrerat ei martha* AUJo 49.17.2 [CT]

**<11:31> iudaei igitur qui erant cum ea in domo et consolabantur eam cum uidissent mariam quia cito surrexit et exiit secuti sunt eam dicentes quia uadit ad monumentum ut ploret ibi**

*iudaei igitur qui erant cum illa in domo et consolabantur eam cum uidissent mariam quia cito surrexit et exiit secuti sunt eam dicentes quia uadit ad monumentum ut ploret ibi* AUJo 49.17.3 [CT]

**<11:32> maria ergo cum uenisset ubi erat iesus uidens eum cecidit ad pedes eius et dixit ei domine si fuisses hic non esset mortuus frater meus**

*maria autem cum uenisset ubi erat iesus uidens eum cecidit ad pedes eius et dixit ei domine si fuisses hic frater meus non esset mortuus* AUJo 49.18.1 [CT]

**<11:33> iesus ergo ut uidit eam plorantem et iudaeos qui uenerant cum ea plorantes fremuit spiritu et turbauit se ipsum**

*Reminiscence: ego fremebam spiritu indignans indignatione turbulentissima* AUcf 8.8.20

*iesus ergo ut uidit eam plorantem et iudaeos qui cum illa erant plorantes fremuit spiritu et turbauit semetipsum* AUJo 49.18.3 [CT]

*cum lazarus suscitaret turbauit semetipsum* AUJo 52.1.17

*quando lazarus suscitauit nam ibi scriptum est quod turbauerit semetipsum* AUJo 60.5.21

*cum alibi dicit [Mk 5:41] alibi [Lk 7:14] alibi infremuit spiritu et [Jn 11:35] et [Jn 11:38] et post deinde [Jn 11:43] (in Matt 5:5) AUs dni 1.12.35.834 (mss A L1 T2 Hr am fr lou infremuit in spiritu, ms W infremuit et fleuit in spiritu, ms T rursus infremuit, ms Eu(P) fremuit post (om. et))*

[Jn 11:39] *uenit ergo dominus cui utique facilia erant omnia et difficultatem quamdam ostendit tibi. infremuit spiritu* AUs 98.6.6/594

**<11:34> et dixit ubi posuistis eum dicunt ei domine ueni et uide**

*ipse dominus...ait [Lk 8:45] et de lazaro ubi posuistis eum* AUc men 13.27/507.18 (ms Ch hubi)

*et dixit ubi posuistis eum* AUJo 49.18.6 *dicunt ei domine ueni et uide* AUJo 49.20.10 [CT]

*Allusion: sicut christus doceri se uoluit ubi lazarus positus fuerit* AUleg 1.20.1212

*quomodo accipiat dominum dicentem de lazaro ubi posuistis eum* AUleg 1.20.1222

*in his autem quando ait ubi posuistis eum* AUleg 1.12.1241 (ms P posuisti)

*quod autem interrogat dicens ubi eum posuistis* AUq 65.13 (mss E H I Z posuistis eum)

**<11:35> et lacrimatus est iesus**

*Allusion: lazarus suscitaturus etiam lacrimas fuderit* AUci 14.9.71

*Allusion: et ipse dominus eundem quem fuerat resuscitaturus lazarus fleuit* AUep 263.3/633.13

*lacrymatus est iesus* AUJo 49.21.1 [CT]

*Allusion: potens est et ipsum resuscitare sed lacrimat. christum fleuisse lazarus cum euangelium legeretur audiuius* AUs 139A.2

*Allusion: sed quid miraris quia maria dolebat tunc cum ipse dominus **flebat**? mouere autem quemuis potest quomodo flebat mortuum se continuo iubente uicturum? non mortuum flebat quem ipse suscitauit.* AUs 173.2.2/938  
*[Jn 11:33] **fleuit*** AUs dni 1.12.35.834

*[CHRY] Allusion: item de resurrectione lazari **flebat** christus inquit cur usque ad hoc mortalitas deliquisset ut excussa de perennitatibus inferos adamaret. **flebat** christus quod eos qui immortales esse poterant diabolus fecit esse mortales* AUJul 1.6.24 (*Homilia de Lazaro resuscitato*)  
*[CHRY] Allusion: dicit in lazaro morte ideo **fleuisse** christum* AUJul 1.7.33

<11:36> **dixerunt ergo iudaei ecce quomodo amabat eum**  
dixerunt ergo iudaei ecce quomodo amabat eum AUJo 49.21.1 [CT]

<11:37> **quidam autem dixerunt ex ipsis non poterat hic qui aperuit oculos caeci facere ut et hic non moreretur**  
quidam autem **ex ipsis** dixerunt non poterat hic qui aperuit oculos caeci facere ut et hic non moreretur AUJo 49.21.3 [CT]

<11:38> **iesus ergo rursum fremens in semet ipso uenit ad monumentum erat autem spelunca et lapis superpositus erat ei**  
iesus ergo **rursus** fremens in semetipso uenit ad monumentum erat autem spelunca et lapis superpositus erat ei AUJo 49.22.1 [CT]  
*Allusion: lazarus autem sepultus et mole lapidis pressus* AUs 139A.2  
*Allusion: [Jn 11:39] et tamquam lapide mole ipsius consuetudinis premitur* AUs 139A.2  
*Allusion: et christus ut eos resuscitet fremit* AUs 139A.2  
*Allusion: istud horrendae pressurae saxum ut gentes miserae aliquando resurgerent tamquam de sepulcro lazari remouebat* AUs 162C.9/58.198 (AUs Dol 10)  
*Adaptation: [Jn 11:33] et [Jn 11:35] et rursus fremuit* AUs dni 1.12.35.834

<11:39> **ait iesus tollite lapidem dicit ei martha soror eius qui mortuus fuerat domine iam fetet quadriduanus enim est**  
*Allusion: christus...qui quadriduanum mortuum suscitauit* (ms D qua·triduanum τ in ras.) AUci 22.8.159  
*Adaptation: cum uero etiam euangelica praecepta homo praeuaricat uelut quadriduanus mortuus **putet*** [Jn 11:43] AUep 157.3.15/464.10  
*Allusion: si quidem lazari resurrectio facta sit de corpore nondum tabescente* AUep 102.2/546.5  
**lapidem remouete** AUJo 49.22.8 dicit ei martha soror eius qui mortuus fuerat domine iam fetet quadriduanus enim est AUJo 49.23.1 [CT]  
**remouete** lapidem AUJo 49.22.12  
**remouete** lapidem AUJo 49.22.16  
*Allusion: sicut lazarus quando resuscitatus est quadriduanus mortuus [in Ps 70.17] AUPs 70.s2.3.45*  
*Allusion: non eris discipulus meus nisi ambulaueris super mare aut nisi suscitaueris mortuum quadriduanum* AUPs 90.s1.1.24  
*Allusion: ante oculos ipsorum quadriduanum mortuum suscitauerat [in Ps 138:16] AUPs 138.22.33*  
**auferte autem** lapidem quod ait illos puto significare... AUq 65.24 (ms K **om. autem**, ms C **auferte hunc lapidem**) *Adaptation:?*  
dicit illi martha **domine iam quarta dies est et putet** AUq 65.29 (ms V **dicit martha**, mss D G H I K L R T g illi maria, ms V **om. iam**, ms C **III dies**, ms Z2 **dies quarta**, mss H I **domine quadriduanus est iam**)  
*ita sepulti ut de lazaro dictum est iam **putet*** AUs 98.5.5/594  
*[Jn 11:39]...dictum est autem quadriduanus **est*** AUs 98.6.6/594  
*et fit quaedam desperatio ut dicatur quadriduanus **est iam putet*** AUs 98.6.6/594  
*Allusion: liberat enim et de mala consuetudine dominus quadriduanos mortuos: nam et ipse quadriduanus christo uolenti resuscitare dormiebat* AUs 98.6.6/594  
*Allusion: neque enim lazaro resuscitato post quadriduum ullus putor in uiuente remanserat* AUs 98.7.7/595  
*[Jn 11:43] homo enim pessimae consuetudinis iam **putet**...* [Jn 11:43] AUs 128.12.14/720  
*erat enim quadriduanus et iam **putebat**. resuscitatus est tamen* AUs 139A.2  
*tamquam reuiuiscere lazaro gratulemur. **auferte** inquit lapidem...exclamate ligate obiurgate accusate lapidem **remouete*** AUs 139A.2  
*Reminiscence: si autem facto accedat consuetudo iam **putet*** [Jn 11:38] AUs 139A.2  
*Allusion: qui mortuum quarta die resuscitauit* AUs 157.6.6/862  
*Reminiscence: quasi quadriduanus mortuus **putet*** AUs 352.3.8/1558  
*Reminiscence: perducere ad confessionem mortuum latentem **putentem*** AUs 352.3.8/1558  
*Allusion: nec quibus membrorum lineamentis fuerit lazarus nec bethaniam nec sepulcrum lapidemque illum quem remoueri iussit cum eum resuscitaret uidimus* AUtri 8.5.15

<11:40> **dicit ei iesus nonne dixi tibi quoniam si credideris uidebis gloriam dei**  
dicit ei iesus nonne dixi tibi quoniam si credideris uidebis gloriam dei AUJo 49.23.2 [CT]

<11:41> **tulerunt ergo lapidem iesus autem eleuatis sursum oculis dixit pater gratias ago tibi quoniam audisti me**

tulerunt ergo lapidem iesus autem eleuatis sursum oculis dixit pater gratias ago tibi quoniam audisti me AUJo 49.24.1 [CT]

*dicit [Jn 8:29] et ad monumentum lazari pater gratias ago tibi quia audisti me AUMax 2.14.8/775*

*[MAX] [Jn 8:29] quis est iste qui ad monumentum lazari ueniens dicebat pater gratias ago tibi quoniam audisti me AUMax co 14/732*

<11:42> **ego autem sciebam quia semper me audis sed propter populum qui circumstat dixi ut credant quia tu me misisti**

ego autem sciebam quia semper me audis sed propter populum qui circumstat dixi ut credant quia tu me misisti AUJo 49.24.3 [CT]

*[Jn 11:41] et ego sciebam quia semper me audis sed propter eos qui circumstant dixi ut credant quia tu me misisti et iterum [Jn 9:4] AUMax 2.14.8/775*

*[MAX] [Jn 11:41] et ego sciebam quia semper me audis sed propter eos qui circumstant dixi ut credant quia tu me misisti? ...[Jn 9:2-4] AUMax co 14/732*

<11:43> **haec cum dixisset uoce magna clamauit lazare ueni foras**

*cf. Jn 12:17*

*[Jn 11:39]...non lente dixit sed magna uoce clamauit lazare ueni foras AUep 157.3.15/464.13*

haec cum dixisset **magna uoce** clamauit AUJo 49.24.5 lazare ueni foras AUJo 49.24.10 [CT]

uoce magna clamauit AUJo 49.24.10

*Allusion: lazari mortem clamando superauit AUPs 67.8.24*

*accessit enim corporaliter ad sepulchrum clamauit lazare ueni foras [in Ps 70.17] AUPs 70.s2.3.47*

*Allusion: [Jn 11:44] ipse quidem uoce de sepulcro suscitauit ipse clamando animam reddidit ipse terrenam molem sepulto impositam uicit et processit ille uinctus AUPs 101.s2.3.10*

*qui cum suscitabit nisi qui remoto lapide clamauit dicens lazare prodi foras. quid est autem foras prodire nisi quod occultum erat foras prodere AU 67.1.2/434*

*clamat et christus lazare prodi foras. homo enim pessimae consuetudinis iam putet. merito ibi christus clamauit nec solum clamauit sed magna uoce clamauit AU 128.12.14/720*

*ille...clamet lazare ueni foras AU 139A.2*

*quadriduano mortuo dicitur lazare prodi foras AU 295.3.2/1349*

*[Jn 11:39] sed nec ipsum dominus deseruit sed clamauit lazare prodi foras AU 352.3.8/1558*

*[Jn 11:33] et post deinde uoce magna clamauit lazare ueni foras (in Matt 5:5) AU 1.12.35.835 (mss B R T Hr am fr lou exclamauit)*

<11:44> **et statim prodiit qui fuerat mortuus ligatus pedes et manus institis et facies illius sudario erat ligata dicit iesus eis soluite eum et sinite abire**

soluite illum et sinite abire AUJo 22.7.36

et statim prodiit qui fuerat mortuus ligatus **manus** et **pedes** institis et facies illius sudario erat ligata...**soluite illum** et sinite abire AUJo 49.24.11 [CT] (mss om. *institis*)

*Allusion: quia enim dominus lazarus suscitauit sine dubio potuit AU 7.8/237.13*

*[Jn 11:43] Adaptation: et surrexit lazarus processit de sepulcro ligatus deinde solutus discessit [in Ps 70.17] AUPs 70.s2.3.47*

*quid enim prodesset lazaro quia processit de monumento nisi diceretur soluite eum et sinite abire [in Ps 101:22] AUPs 101.s2.3.9*

*Allusion: resurrexit lazarus sed moriturus AUPs 126.7.34*

*Adaptation: et sublato lapide exiit de monumento inuolutis manibus et pedibus et facies eius tecta erat sudario AUq 65.33 (ms g exit, ms C exiuit, mss C I L T V inuolutus, ms H uolutus, ms g\* eius om. tecta, ms g2 eius ligata, mss H I de sudario)*

*et quod dixit iesus soluite eum et sinite ire AUq 65.44 (ms C soluite inquit, mss C E2 H I R\* V abire)*

*[Jn 11:43]...nisi quod ait dominus continuo ad discipulos soluite illum et sinite abire AU 67.2.3/434*

*processit de monumento uiuus et ambulare non poterat. et dominus ad discipulos soluite eum et sinite abire AU 98.6.6/594*

*Reminiscence: opus est ergo qui reuixit soluat et ire permittatur AU 98.6.6/595*

*christus dicit soluite eum et sinite illum. soluite soluite [Matt 18:18] AU 139A.2*

*[Jn 11:43] et prodiit de monumento institis ligatus manibus et pedibus. excitat dominus ut mortuus de monumento prodeat AU 295.3.2/1349*

*dominus ergo postquam exiit lazarus de monumento ad discipulos suos quibus dixerat [Matt 18:18] soluite inquit eum et sinite abire. per se excitauit per discipulos soluit AU 295.3.2/1350*

*[Jn 11:39] iam cetera implet ecclesiae ministerium soluite illum et sinite abire AU 352.3.8/1558*

<11:45> **multi ergo ex iudaeis qui uenerant ad mariam et uiderant quae fecit crediderunt in eum**

multi ergo ex iudaeis qui uenerant ad mariam et uiderant quae fecit **iesus** crediderunt in eum AUJo 49.25.1 [CT]

<11:46> **quidam autem ex ipsis abierunt ad phariseos et dixerunt eis quae fecit iesus**

quidam autem ex ipsis abierunt ad phariseos et dixerunt eis quae fecit iesus AUJo 49.25.3 [CT]

quidam **uero** ex **eis** abierunt ad phariseos et dixerunt eis quae fecit iesus AUJo 49.25.6

<11:47> **collegerunt ergo pontifices et pharisei concilium et dicebant quid facimus quia hic homo multa signa facit**

collegerunt **pontifices** et pharisei concilium et dicebant quid facimus quia hic homo multa signa facit AUJo 49.26.1 [CT]

*unde pontifex illius caiphae uox est uidetis quod turba multa eum sequitur et saeculum post illum abiit [in Ps 40.6] AUPs 40.1.27 (cf. Jn 12:19)*

<11:48> **si dimittimus eum sic omnes credent in eum et uenient romani et tollent nostrum et locum et gentem**

*cf. Jn 12:19*

si dimittimus eum sic omnes credent in eum et uenient romani et tollent nostrum **locum** et gentem AUJo 49.26.7 [CT]

*[Jn 12:19] si dimiserimus eum uiuere uenient romani et tollent nobis et locum et gentem AUJo 93.3.48*

*dixerunt enim si relinquamus eum sic credent in eum omnes et uenient romani et tollent nobis et locum et gentem [in Ps 13:5] AUPs 13.6.4*

*erues me de contradictionibus eorum qui dixerunt si dimiserimus eum omne saeculum post illum ibit [in Ps 17:44] AUPs 17.44.2*

*Allusion: et ideo ipsi temporalium rerum cupiditate obligati sunt timentes parcere domino ne a romanis perdent locum [in Ps 19:9] AUPs 19.9.3*

*[Jn 11:47] si dimiserimus eum uiuere uenient romani et tollent nobis et locum et gentem [in Ps 40.6] AUPs 40.1.28*

*Allusion: occiderunt enim christum iudaei ne perderent locum [in Ps 40:11] AUPs 40.12.5*

*dixerunt enim si dimiserimus eum uenient romani et tollent nobis et locum et regnum [in Ps 52.6] AUPs 52.9.21*

*quales fuerunt illi iudaei si dimiserimus eum uiuere uenient romani et auferent a nobis et locum et gentem [Ps 52:6] [in Ps 55:10] AUPs 55.17.43*

*nam unde est illud si dimiserimus eum uenient romani et tollent nobis et locum et gentem [in Ps 57:7] AUPs 57.11.14*

*illi ergo timentes terram perdere quid dixerunt de domino iesu christo cum uiderent multas turbas ire post illum quia mirabilia faciebat? si illum dimiserimus uiuum uenient romani et tollent nobis et locum et gentem [in Ps 62:10] AUPs 62.18.24*

*cum autem uiderent tunc multas turbas ire post dominum praedicantem regnum caelorum et mirabilia facientem dixerunt principes illius ciuitatis si dimiserimus eum omnes ibunt post illum et uenient romani et tollent nobis et locum et gentem [in Ps 64:1] AUPs 64.1.33*

*quid profuit illis caiphas dicendo nos si istum dimiserimus sic uenient romani et tollent nobis et locum et regnum [in Ps 68:26] AUPs 68.s2.10.25*

*nam recolite fratres mei quid dictum sit a persequentibus christum si dimiserimus eum uenient romani et tollent nobis et locum et gentem [in Ps 73:1] AUPs 73.3.20*

*sic enim a diabolo decepti sunt ut occiderent christum quando dixerunt si dimittimus eum sic omnes credent in eum et uenient romani et tollent nostrum et locum et gentem [in Ps 105:47] AUPs 105.37.50*

*in phariseis autem simulatio loquitur si dimiserimus eum uenient romani et tollunt nobis gentem et locum AUJo 10.265 (mss D β maur ueniunt)*

<11:49> **unus autem ex ipsis caiphas cum esset pontifex anni illius dixit eis uos nescitis quicquam**

*cf. Jn 11:51*

unus autem ex ipsis caiphas cum esset pontifex anni illius dixit eis uos nescitis quidquam AUJo 49.27.1 [CT]

*[Jn 11:48] quando caiphas unus ex ipsis cum esset pontifex anni illius dixit eis uos nescitis quidquam [in Ps 105:47] AUPs 105.37.52*

*Adaptation: sicut caifas cum esset pontifex prophetauit de domino AUqSi 2.1.64 (mss F H P Z g – T V Claud maur caiphas)*

<11:50> **nec cogitatis quia expedit nobis ut unus moriatur homo pro populo et non tota gens pereat**

*ubi caiphas cum de domino dixisset expedit nobis ut unus moriatur homo pro populo et non tota gens pereat AUep 187.12.37/114.18 (ms N uobis, mss T R P homo moriatur)*

*Adaptation: caiphas...ait expedire ut unus homo moreretur ne periret tota gens AUFau 16.23/467.4*

*sicut enim caiphas in euangelio...quando ait expedit ut unus moriatur et non tota gens pereat AUFau 22.83/686.19*

*Allusion: caiphan...protulit prophetiam quod oporteret christum mori pro gente* AUJdc 49.1073  
nec cogitatis quia expedit nobis ut unus moriatur homo pro populo et non tota gens pereat AUJo 49.27.2 [CT]  
(mss uobis)  
[Jn 11:48] expedit **ut** unus **homo** moriatur pro populo et non tota gens pereat AUJo 93.3.50  
cogitauerunt consilium dicentes expedit **unum** pro **omnibus mori** [in Ps 20:12] AUPs 20.12.5  
[Jn 11:48] expedit **ut** unus moriatur homo **quam** tota gens pereat [in Ps 40.6] AUPs 40.1.30  
[Jn 11:49] nec cogitatis quia expedit nobis ut **moriatur unus** homo pro populo et non tota gens pereat [in Ps 105:47] AUPs 105.37.53 (codd. **nobis**, edd. **uobis**)  
[Jn 11:49]...**quod** expediret unum mori pro **tota gente** AUqSi 2.1.65  
caiphas princeps sacerdotum christi persecutor erat et tamen prophetiam locutus est quando ait expedit **ut** unus **homo** moriatur **et** non tota gens pereat AU 162A.3  
quomodo caiphas ille magister illorum princeps sacerdotum dans consilium iudaeis ut occideretur christus hoc dixit expedit **unum mori quam ut** tota gens pereat AU 315.1.2/1427

**<11:51> hoc autem a semet ipso non dixit sed cum esset pontifex anni illius prophetauit quia iesus moriturus erat pro gente**

*Allusion: prophetiam quemadmodum caiphas et saul ut aliquando prophetent quos fuisse damnabiles sancta scriptura testatur* (mss M (N)  $\mu$   $\sigma$  **caifas**) AUba 1.9.12/157.22  
de quibus ait euangelista iohannes quia iesus moriturus erat pro gente AUcorr 20.8  
[Jn 11:50] mox et euangelista secutus adiunxit hoc autem a semet ipso non dixit sed cum esset pontifex anni illius prophetauit quia iesus moriturus erat pro gente AUep 187.12.37/114.21 (ms T ad semet ipsum, P1\* prophetauerat corr.m1, ms P **esset pro**)  
sicut per caifan qui nesciens quid dixerit cum esset pontifex **prophetauit** AUEv 2.70.136/239.13 (ms r add. anni illius)  
Adaptation: [Jn 11:50] ubi euangelista subiecit hoc eum non a **se** dixisse sed cum esset pontifex **prophetasse** AUFau 16.23/467.5  
[Jn 11:50] dictumque de illo est hoc autem a **se** non dixit sed cum esset pontifex **prophetauit** quia **oportebat iesum mori** pro gente AUFau 22.83/686.20  
*Allusion: sicut caiphas pontifex prophetauit cum eius intentio non haberet uoluntatem prophetandi* AUGn li 12.22/412.19  
hoc autem a semetipso non dixit sed cum esset pontifex anni illius prophetauit quia iesus moriturus erat pro gente AUJo 49.27.4 [CT]  
sicut speciosa non erat prophetia in ore caiphae pontificis sacerdotum qui nesciuit quid dixit sed cum esset pontifex **prophetauit** AUPar 2.12.26/77.17 (ms P **pontifex anni illius**)  
sicut de ipso caipha dictum est hoc autem **non a se** dixit sed cum esset pontifex **prophetauit** AUPet 2.30.69/58.29  
*Allusion: sicut caiphas domini persecutor nescientes prophetatis* (mss P Q cayphas) AUPet 2.39.94/77.29  
[Jn 11:50] euangelista autem uerba nescientis quid diceret exposuit nobis et ait hoc autem **non a se** dixit sed cum esset pontifex **prophetauit** quia **oportebat iesum mori pro populo et gente** [in Ps 40.6] AUPs 40.1.32  
[Jn 11:50] hoc autem sicut euangelista intellexit **non a seipso** dixit sed cum esset pontifex anni illius prophetauit quia iesus moriturus erat pro gente [in Ps 105:47] AUPs 105.37.54  
[Jn 11:50] secutus euangelista exposuit prophetiam et ait hoc autem **non a se** dixit sed cum esset pontifex **prophetauit** AU 162A.3  
non enim sciuit quid dixit sed caiphae similis cum esset pontifex **prophetauit** AU 164.11.13/901  
[Jn 11:50] ait autem euangelista hoc **non a** semetipso dixit sed cum esset pontifex anni illius prophetauit quia **oportebat christum mori** pro gente AU 315.1.2/1427  
sicut caiphas nesciuit quid dixit sed cum esset pontifex **prophetauit** AUtri 4.17.24 (ms F quod, ms la qui)

**<11:52> et non tantum pro gente sed et ut filios dei qui erant dispersi congregaret in unum**

[Jn 11:51] **nec** tantum pro gente sed **etiam** ut filios dei **dispersos** congregaret in unum AUcorr 20.8 (mss A2 37b 43 **et non...sed ut**, ms 43 **qui erant dispersi**)  
[Jn 11:51] et non tantum pro gente sed et ut filios dei qui erant dispersi congregaret in unum AUep 187.12.37/115.2 (ms T om. et-gente, mss T R M A C P N edd **sed ut**)  
**sed** congregaret in unum *dictum est* AUep 187.12.37/115.13  
et non tantum pro gente sed **ut** filios dei qui erant dispersi congregaret in unum AUJo 49.27.23 [CT]  
[Jn 11:51] et non tantum pro gente *id est pro ouibus quae perierant domus israel* sed **ut** filios dei qui erant dispersi congregaret in unum [in Ps 105:47] AUPs 105.37.57

**<11:53> ab illo ergo die cogitauerunt ut interficerent eum**

ab illo ergo die cogitauerunt ut interficerent eum AUJo 49.28.1 [CT]

**<11:54> iesus ergo iam non in palam ambulabat apud iudaeos sed abiit in regionem iuxta desertum in ciuitatem quae dicitur efrem et ibi morabatur cum discipulis**

iesus ergo iam non **palam** ambulabat apud iudaeos sed abiit in regionem iuxta desertum in ciuitatem quae dicitur ephrem et ibi morabatur cum discipulis **suis** AUJo 49.28.2 [CT]

**<11:55> proximum autem erat pascha iudaeorum et ascenderunt multi hierosolyma de regione ante pascha ut sanctificarent se ipsos**

*iohannes uero cum dicit proximum erat pascha iudaeorum* AUEv 2.78.152/258.5

proximum **ergo** erat pascha iudaeorum **adscenderunt ergo** multi ierosolymam de regione ante pascha ut sanctificarent seipsos AUJo 50.2.1 [CT]

**<11:56> quaerebant ergo iesum et conloquebantur ad inuicem in templo stantes quid putatis quia non ueniat ad diem festum**

quaerebant ergo iesum et **loquebantur inter se** quid putatis quia non **uenit** ad diem festum AUJo 50.3.1 [CT]

**<11:57> dederant autem pontifices et pharisaei mandatum ut si quis cognouerit ubi sit indicet ut adprehendant eum**

dederant autem pontifices et pharisaei mandatum ut si quis cognouerit ubi sit indicet ut apprehendant eum AUJo 50.4.1 [CT]

**<12:1> iesus ergo ante sex dies paschae uenit bethaniam ubi fuerat lazarus mortuus quem suscitauit iesus**

*Adaptation: iohannes autem ante sex dies paschae dicit iesum uenisse in bethaniam* AUEv 2.78.152/257.5

[Jn 11:55]....dixisset iesus ergo ante sex dies *inquit* paschae uenit **in** bethaniam ubi fuerat lazarus mortuus quem suscitauit iesus AUEv 2.78.153/258.9 (mss B R T bethania)

*Adaptation: haec diximus propter sex dies ante pascha quod dixit iohannes cum in bethania rem gestam narraret* AUEv 2.78.153/259.24

*non repugnet iohanni qui cum ipsis narrat hoc idem quod factum est in bethania et dicit ante sex dies paschae* AUEv q 2.78/74.18

iesus ergo ante sex dies paschae uenit bethaniam ubi fuerat lazarus mortuus quem suscitauit iesus AUJo 50.5.1 [CT]

**<12:2> fecerunt autem ei cenam ibi et martha ministrabat lazarus uero unus erat ex discumbentibus cum eo**

[Jn 12:1] fecerunt autem ei cenam ibi AUEv 2.78.153/258.10

fecerunt autem ei **ibi** cenam et martha ministrabat lazarus uero unus **ex** discumbentibus AUJo 50.5.3 [CT]

**<12:3> maria ergo accepit libram unguenti nardi pistici pretiosi unxit pedes iesu et extersit capillis suis pedes eius et domus impleta est ex odore unguenti**

*Allusion: nam et odore ungenti dominus quo perfusi sunt pedes eius signum aliquod dedit* (ms v odorem, mss B2 C F K P R V μ G P v unguenti) AUdo 2.3.16

*Allusion: domini pedes ita unguento pretioso a muliere perfusos* (mss G P V v unguento, ms K1 unguenta pretiosa, mss R1 M1 om. a) AUdo 3.12.11

*Allusion: inde iterum iohannes occurrit in bethania mattheo et marco ubi factum est illud de unguento pretioso quo pedes eius a maria caputque perfusum est* AUEv 4.10.18/413.11

*Allusion: tertio in bethania ubi unguento pretioso fidelis feminae deuotione perfusus est* AUEv 4.10.19/415.1

*Allusion: et obsequio mulieris unctio pedum aut capitis eius* AUFau 15.6/426.20

maria **uero** accepit libram unguenti nardi pistici pretiosi unxit pedes iesu et extersit capillis suis pedes eius et domus impleta est ex odore unguenti AUJo 50.6.1 [CT]

domus impleta est **odore** AUJo 50.7.1

*Allusion: perfudit eum quaedam mulier pretiosissimo unguento domus illa odore impleta est* AU 112.4.4/645

**<12:4> dicit ergo unus ex discipulis eius iudas scariotis qui erat eum traditurus**

*Allusion: nisi forte qua fuerat etiam dominum traditurus* AUep 108.3.8/620.9

**unus** ex discipulis eius iudas iscarotes qui **eum erat** traditurus **dixit** AUJo 50.9.4 [CT]

**<12:5> quare hoc unguentum non ueniit trecentis denariis et datum est egenis**

quare hoc unguentum non ueniit trecentis denariis et datum est egenis AUJo 50.9.5 [CT]

**<12:6> dixit autem hoc non quia de egenis pertinebat ad eum sed quia fur erat et loculos habens ea quae mittebantur portabat**

*Reminiscence: qui etiam loculos habebat quibus ad necessarium uictum pecunia portabatur nisi forte dicturi sunt in zonis habere pecuniam peccatum esse [in Matt. 10:9] AUAd 20/177.20*

*Allusion: tolerat ipse dominus iudam diabolum furem et uenditorem suum AUep 43.8.23/105.23*

*Adaptation: alii dicunt discipulos murmurasse de unguenti effusione pretiosi iohannes autem iudam commemorat et ideo quia fur erat manifesto puto esse (ms B1 iohannis quem iudas, mss C P A E1 L quia fuerat) AUEv 2.79.156/263.11*

*Adaptation: sed iudas propterea dixerit quia fur erat AUEv 2.79.156/263.18*

*[Jn 12:4] nam ipsi de illo scripserunt quod fur erat et omnia quae mittebantur de dominicis loculis auferebat AUep 108.3.8/620.10*

dixit autem hoc non quia de egenis pertinebat ad illum sed quia fur erat et loculos habens et ea quae mittebantur portabat AUJo 50.9.11 [CT]

*Allusion: cum autem uidemus et ipsum dominum habuisse loculos AUmen 15.29/449.1*

*quos loculos iudae commendauit ut etiam fures si euitare non possemus tolerare in ecclesia disceremus. ille enim ea quae mittebantur sicut de illo scriptum est auferebat AUmon 5.6/539.24*

*Allusion: cur ergo ipse dominus loculos habuit AUmon 24.31/576.25*

*Adaptation: quia nondum christi tradiderat qui loculos habebat et ea quae mittebantur auferebat AUPet 3.55.67/221.21*

*Allusion: quid uobis fecit christus qui eundem traditorem suum quem diabolum nominauit qui ante traditionem domini nec loculis dominicis fidem potuit exhibere AUPs 10.6.26*

*neque enim metueret ne hoc dominus diuinitate cognosceret quem falli putabat quando ea quae mittebantur de loculis auferebat AUPs 108.17.48*

*Allusion: ipsum habebat dominus hic in terra quando loculos habebat et ipsi loculi iudae erant commissi. iudam traditorem patiebatur dominus et furem et in ipso ostendens ubique patientiam suam tamen illi qui conferebant in loculos domini conferebant AUPs 146.17.39*

*Allusion: patiebatur quidem furem AU 101.5.6/698*

*Allusion: quorum loculorum custos et fur sicut scriptum est iudas fuit qui eum tradidit AU 2.17.57.1275*

**<12:7> dixit ergo iesus sine illam ut in die sepulturae meae seruet illud**

dixit ergo iesus sine illam ut in diem sepulturae meae seruet illud AUJo 50.11.10 [CT]

**<12:8> pauperes enim semper habetis uobiscum me autem non semper habetis**

pauperes enim semper habebitis uobiscum me autem non semper habebitis AUJo 50.12.1 [CT]

pauperes semper habebitis uobiscum me autem non semper habebitis AUJo 50.13.1

**<12:9> cognouit ergo turba multa ex iudaeis quia illic est et uenerunt non propter iesum tantum sed ut lazarus uiderent quem suscitauit a mortuis**

cognouit ergo turba multa ex iudaeis quia illic est et uenerunt non propter iesum tantum sed ut lazarus uiderent quem suscitauit iesus a mortuis AUJo 50.14.1 [CT]

**<12:10> cogitauerunt autem principes sacerdotum ut et lazarus interficerent**

cogitauerunt autem principes sacerdotum ut et lazarus interficerent AUJo 50.14.9 [CT]

**<12:11> quia multi propter illum abibant ex iudaeis et credebant in iesum**

quia multi propter illum abibant ex iudaeis et credebant in iesum AUJo 50.14.11 [CT]

**<12:12> in crastinum autem turba multa quae uenerat ad diem festum cum audissent quia uenit iesus hierosolyma**

in crastinum autem turba multa quae uenerat ad diem festum cum audissent quia uenit iesus ierosolymam AUJo 51.2.2 [CT]

**<12:13> acceperunt ramos palmarum et processerunt obuam ei et clamabant osanna benedictus qui uenit in nomine domini rex israhel**

*cf. Ps 118:25*

acceperunt ramos palmarum et processerunt obuam ei et clamabant hosanna benedictus qui uenit in nomine domini rex israel AUJo 51.2.4 [CT]

**<12:14> et inuenit iesus asellum et sedit super eum sicut scriptum est**

et inuenit iesus asellum et sedit super eum sicut scriptum est AUJo 51.5.1 [CT]

inuenit ergo iesus asellum et sedit super eum AUJo 51.5.6



**<12:15> noli timere filia sion ecce rex tuus uenit sedens super pullum asinae**

*cf. Zech 9:9, Is 35:4*

*Allusion: iohannes...interponit tamen breuiter hoc de pullo cum testimonio etiam prophetae AUEv 2.76.128/230.1*  
noli timere filia sion ecce rex tuus uenit sedens super pullum asinae AUJo 51.5.7 [CT]

**<12:16> haec non cognouerunt discipuli eius primum sed quando glorificatus est iesus tunc recordati sunt quia haec erant scripta de eo et haec fecerunt ei**

haec non cognouerunt discipuli eius primum sed quando glorificatus est iesus tunc recordati sunt quia haec **scripta erant** de eo et haec fecerunt ei AUJo 51.6.1 [CT]

**<12:17> testimonium ergo perhibebat turba quae erat cum eo quando lazarus uocauit de monumento et suscitauit eum a mortuis**

*cf. Jn 11:43*

testimonium ergo perhibebat turba quae erat cum eo quando lazarus uocauit de monumento et suscitauit eum a mortuis AUJo 51.7.1 [CT]

**<12:18> propterea et obuiam uenit ei turba quia audierunt eum fecisse hoc signum**

propterea et obuiam uenit et turba quia audierunt eum fecisse hoc signum AUJo 51.7.3 [CT]

**<12:19> pharisaei ergo dixerunt ad semet ipsos uidetis quia nihil proficimus ecce mundus totus post eum abiit**

*cf. Jn 11:48*

pharisaei ergo dixerunt ad semetipsos uidetis quia nihil proficimus ecce mundus totus post eum abiit AUJo 51.7.5 [CT]

uidetis quia **totus mundus** post eum abiit [*Jn 11:48*] AUJo 93.3.48

*Adaptation: sine causa dixerunt patres nostri occidamus eum ne saeculum post illum pergat [in Ps 40:12]*  
AUPs 40.13.26

*a cuius facie illi turbabuntur cum uiderint se nihil proficere quoniam totus mundus post eum abiit [in Ps 67:6]*  
AUPs 67.6.19

**<12:20> erant autem gentiles quidam ex his qui ascenderant ut adorarent in die festo**

*Allusion: Jn 12:20-50 quando eum uoluerunt uidere gentiles per philippum et andream... AUEv 4.10.19/413.23*  
erant autem gentiles quidam ex iis qui ascenderant ut adorarent in die festo AUJo 51.8.1 [CT]

**<12:21> hii ergo accesserunt ad philippum qui erat a bethsaida galilaeae et rogabant eum dicentes domine uolumus iesum uidere**

hi ergo accesserunt ad philippum qui erat a bethsaida galilaeae et rogabant eum dicentes domine uolumus iesum uidere AUJo 51.8.2 [CT]

**<12:22> uenit philippus et dicit andreae andreas rursum et philippus dixerunt iesu**

uenit philippus et dicit andreae andreas rursum et philippus **dicunt** iesu AUJo 51.8.5 [CT]

**<12:23> iesus autem respondit eis dicens uenit hora ut clarificetur filius hominis**

iesus autem respondit eis dicens uenit hora ut **glorificetur** filius hominis AUJo 51.8.13 [CT]

uenit hora ut **glorificetur** filius hominis AUJo 52.2.1 [CT]

**<12:24> amen amen dico uobis nisi granum frumenti cadens in terram mortuum fuerit ipsum solum manet si autem mortuum fuerit multum fructum adfert**

ipsum solum manet si autem mortuum fuerit multum fructum affert AUJo 51.9.4

nisi granum frumenti cadens in terram mortuum fuerit **solum** manet si autem mortuum fuerit multum fructum affert AUJo 52.1.3 [CT]

si **mortificatum** fuerit **granum** multum fructum affert AUJo 52.2.2

si autem mortuum fuerit **granum** multum fructum affert AUJo 52.11.24

*Adaptation: cum uerborum domini memineritis quia se dixit granum moriturum et multum fructum facturum AUPet 2.89.197/122.3*

*Allusion: non solum quo animam tuam posuisti pro amicis tuis ut **mortificatum** granum copiosius resurgeret*  
AUPs 19.5.6

*Allusion: mortuus est et non periit nomen eius sed seminatum est nomen eius; mortuus est sed granum fuit quo **mortificato** seges continuo exurgeret AUPs 40.1.40*

*dominumque nostrum quoniam in caluarie loco crucifixus est adduxisse sibi multos tamquam illud granum quod nisi **mortificatum** esset solum remaneret AUPs 45.1.6*

*Allusion: pendebat et contemnebatur; granum erat intus habebat uires trahendi post se omnia AUPs 59.9.36*

*[Gal 2:20] quia granum nisi **ceciderit in terram ut moriatur fructum inquit non reddit [in Ps 68:6]** AUPs 68.s1.10.22*

*Reminiscence: gratias grano **tritici** quia mori uoluit et multiplicari* AUPs 69.1.1

*Allusion: aut frustra occisus est christus aut frustra granum **cecidit** in terram nisi ut **multipliciter** surgeret* AUPs 73.13.20

*Adaptation: uenit ille ut **mortificatum** granum **multipliciter** surgeret* AUPs 79.2.8

*ad tendite ipsius uerba in euangelio amen amen dico uobis inquit nisi granum frumenti cadens in terram mortuum fuerit ipsum solum manet si autem mortuum fuerit multum fructum affert [in Ps 140:10] AUPs 140.25.43*

*[Jn 11:32] nisi granum frumenti inquit cadens in terram mortuum fuerit ipsum solum manet si autem mortuum fuerit multum fructum affert [in Ps 140:10] AUPs 140.25.47*

*Adaptation: quia granum nisi in terram **cecidit et mortificatum fuerit solum remanet** [in Ps 140:10] AUPs 140.25.51*

*dicat seges illa quam fecit granum quod cecidit in terra ait enim sicut nostis granum illud propinquans passioni granum inquit nisi **cecidit** in terra **solum manet** cum autem in terra ceciderit multum fructum affert AU 111.2 (webtext; not in Migne)*

*quis est ergo moriendo auctus nisi qui dixit granum **tritici si non moriatur solum remanet** si autem **moriatur multiplicatur*** AU 218.15.15/1087

*Allusion: agnoscit fides uestra granum quod in terram cecidit et mortuum **multiplicatum** est* AU 305.1/1397

*Allusion: [Jn 12:25] granum loquitur granum quod in terram cecidit et **mortificatum** est ut **multiplicaretur** loquitur* AU 305.2/1398

*audistis uerba eius cum appropinquaret passioni...nisi granum **tritici** cadens in terram mortuum fuerit ipsum solum manet si autem mortuum fuerit multum fructum affert AU 329.1/1454*

*de ipso in euangelio ipse locutus est granum inquit **tritici nisi cadat** in terram **solum remanet** si autem ceciderent et **mortificatum** fuerit multum fructum affert. seminabat christus et pullulabat ecclesia. et cecidit granum et surrexit granum AU 335E.2*

*dicit ipse dominus **si granum sic manserit et non mortificatum fuerit solum manebit** dicens de sua mortificatione quia multiplex futura est in illum credentium resurrectio AU 361.10.10/1604*

*[PETI] dicit enim dominus christi **si** granum **tritici** cadens in terram **non moriatur solum remanet** si autem **moriatur** multum **faciet** fructum AUPet 2.89.196/121.26 (ms v **manet**, ms Q **emoriatur**, ms v **fructum facit**)*

**<12:25> qui amat animam suam perdet eam et qui odit animam suam in hoc mundo in uitam aeternam custodit eam**

*cf. Mark 8:35, Matt 10:39*

*item cum ait dominus qui amat animam suam perdet eam AUdo 3.16.19 (mss B1 C D P **perdat**)*

*ita quod alio loco de anima idem dominus dicit in parentes quoque potest congruentissime conuenire qui amat inquit animam suam perdet eam AUep 243.5/572.9 (ms Sm2 **perdat**)*

*Allusion: qui amat parentes suos perdet eos. de anima quippe ibi dixit **oderit** quod hic perdet AUep 243.5/572.10 (mss S H\* A\* P3\* K **perdat**)*

*Allusion: hoc est enim quod dictum est **oderit** animam suam et perdet eam AUep 243.5/572.16 (mss P P1 S H M A P2 P3 **perdat**)*

*in eodem praecepto commemorat dicens qui **perdiderit eam** in isto saeculo in uitam aeternam **inueniet** eam AUep 243.5/572.19 (ms A crediderit, mss M A in uita aeterna)*

*Adaptation: hoc perde matris ut in uitam aeternam **inuenias** eam AUep 243.7/574.6 (mss P\* S\* R HA **inuenies**) qui amat animam suam perdet eam et qui odit animam suam in hoc mundo in uitam aeternam **custodiet** eam AUJo 51.10.2 [CT]*

*qui **autem** odit AUJo 51.10.12*

*qui odit animam suam in hoc mundo in uitam aeternam custodit eam AUJo 52.1.11 [CT]*

*sequentes uerba domini dicentis qui amat animam suam perdet eam et qui **perdiderit eam propter me** in uitam aeternam **inueniet** eam [in Ps 102:2] AUPs 102.3.20*

*Allusion: more scripturarum quae animam quando non translato uerbo utuntur nescio utrum uelint intellegi nisi eam qua uiuunt animalia mortalia in quibus et homines sunt (AUrel) AUre 1.13.14*

*[Ps 41:6] ergo qui amat animam suam **perdat** eam hic ut in uitam aeternam **inueniat illam** AU 159A.12/296.283 (AU 13)*

*audite primum granum per me. non ametis in hoc saeculo animas uestras: nolite amare si amatis ut non amando seruatis quia non amando plus amatis. qui amat in hoc saeculo animam suam perdet eam [Jn 12:24] AU 305.2/1398*

*quia omnibus dixit qui amat animam suam perdet **illam** et qui **perdiderit eam propter me inueniet illam in uita aeterna...duobus enim modis intellegi potest quod dictum est** qui amat animam suam perdet **illam**. qui amat animam suam in isto saeculo perdet **illam** in futuro saeculo et qui amat animam suam in futuro saeculo perdet **illam** in isto saeculo. secundum priorem modum qui amat animam suam timendo mori pro christo perdet **illam** ne uiuat in christo et qui amat animam suam ut uiuet in christo perdet **illam** moriendo pro christo. sequitur enim et qui **perdiderit eam propter me in uita aeterna inueniet** eam AU 313C.1*

*modo audiuius cum sanctum euangelium legeretur [Mark 8:34]. quasi obscurum uideretur addidit adhuc caelestis magister et dicit qui amat animam suam perdet eam et qui **perdiderit eam propter me inueniet** eam AU 313D.1*

[Matt 16:24]...amando enim se perdet se negando se inuenit se. qui amat *inquit* animam suam perdet eam. *iussit* qui nouit quid iubeat quai scit consulere qui nouit instruere et nouit reparare qui dignatus est creare. qui amat **perdat**. AUs 330.2/1456  
 ergo qui amat animam suam perdet eam AUs 330.2/1457  
 illa euangelica tuba ubi ait dominus qui amat animam suam perdet **illam** et qui **perdiderit illam propter me inueniet eam** AUs 331.1.1/1459  
 qui amat animam suam perdet **illam**. *duobus modis intelligi potest quod dictum est* qui amat animam suam perdet **illam** AUs 331.1.1/1459  
*cum diuina lectio legeretur audiuius dominum dicentem* qui amat animam suam perdet **illam** AUs 368.1  
*ubi audiuius* qui amat animam suam perdet **illam** AUs 368.1  
*ibi dominus secutus ait* qui **autem** odit animam suam in hoc **saeculo** in uitam aeternam **inueniet eam** AUs 368.2  
*dictum est etiam illud* qui amat animam suam perdet **illam** (in Matt 6:25) AUs dni 2.15.50.1087 (mss P F K R **eam**)  
 [Jn 8:51] et post aliquantulum qui amat animam suam perdet eam AUspe 28/196.8

**<12:26> si quis mihi ministrat me sequatur et ubi sum ego illic et minister meus erit si quis mihi ministrauerit honorificabit eum pater meus**

si quis mihi ministrat me sequatur et ubi sum ego illic et minister meus erit si quis mihi ministrauerit honorificabit eum pater meus AUJo 51.11 [CT]  
 ubi **ego sum** illic et minister meus erit AUJo 51.11.12  
 ubi sum ego **ibi erit** et minister meus AUJo 51.12.15  
 ubi **ego sum** illic et minister meus erit AUJo 51.13.1  
 si quis mihi ministrat me sequatur et ubi sum ego **ibi** et minister meus erit AUJo 52.2.5 [CT]  
*audistis cum euangelium legeretur* ubi **ego sum** illic et minister meus AUs 319.3.3/1441  
*nam multi codices euangeliorum sic habent* ubi sum ego illic et **diaconus** meus. *hoc putate dictum quia hoc est dictum* ubi sum ego illic et **diaconus** meus. *ergo bene diaconus ipsius dominus iesu accipe spiritum meum [Acts]. tu promisti euangelium legi euangelium praedicaui* ubi sum ego illic et **diaconus** meus AUs 319.3.3/1441  
 [Jn 12:25] si quis mihi ministrat me sequatur et ubi sum ego illic et minister meus erit si quis mihi ministrauerit honorificabit eum pater meus AUspe 28/196.10 (ms S ministrabit, mss M1 P1 honorificauit)

**<12:27> nunc anima mea turbata est et quid dicam pater saluifica me ex hora hac sed propterea ueni in horam hanc**

*Adaptation: nam quantum ad ipsum adinet quo modo uellet liberari ab illa hora* qui propterea **uenerat** in **illam** horam AUep 140.11.29/180.7  
 nunc anima mea turbata est AUJo 52.1.9 et quid dicam pater saluifica me ex **hac hora** sed propterea ueni in **hanc horam** AUJo 52.3.10 [CT]  
 nunc anima mea turbata est et quid dicam pater **salua** me ex hora hac sed propterea ueni in horam hanc AUJo 60.1.24  
 [Jn 10:17-18] *cum esset ergo tantae potestatis quare dixit* nunc anima mea turbata est AUs 305.2/1398  
*ad hanc potestatem non pertinet proprie* anima mea turbata est AUs 305.4/1399  
*et tanquam alloquitur eos* nunc anima mea turbata est AUs 305.4/1399  
*quando dominus dicebat* anima mea turbata est AUs 305.4/1399  
*quando dixit* anima mea turbata est AUs 305.4/1400

**<12:28> pater clarifica tuum nomen uenit ergo uox de caelo et clarificaui et iterum clarificabo**

*nam cum ipse dominus dixisset [Jn 17:5]* **sonuit** uox de caelo et clarificaui et **clarificabo** AUAd 9/133.19  
*quando dixit ad filium* et clarificaui et iterum clarificabo AUep 147.15.37/310.20 (ms A\* clarificauit)  
 pater clarifica **nomen tuum** AUJo 52.3.12 uenit ergo uox de caelo et clarificaui et iterum clarificabo AUJo 52.4.1 [CT]  
 clarifica tuum nomen AUJo 52.3.30  
*potuerunt uocem audire de caelo dicentis dei* et clarificaui et **clarificabo** cum dominus dixisset pater clarifica **filium tuum** AUs 12.148 (ms α **clarificabo** **bo** *eras.*, ms β **clarifico**)  
*aut quando sonuit uox dicens* et clarificaui et iterum clarificabo AUtri 1.4.21 (ms K iterum clarifico)  
*ubi ad patrem de sua glorificatione clamauit eique responsum est* et clarificaui et iterum clarificabo AUtri 2.10.71 (mss S F est **om.et**)  
*et ubi sonuit* et clarificaui et iterum clarificabo *non nisi patris personam fatemur. responsio quippe est ad illam domini uocem qua dixerat* pater clarifica **filium tuum** AUtri 2.10.82

**<12:29> turba ergo quae stabat et audierat dicebant tonitruum factum esse alii dicebant angelus ei locutus est**

turba ergo quae stabat et audierat **dicebat** tonitruum factum esse alii dicebant angelus ei locutus est AUJo 52.5.1 [CT]

**<12:30> respondit iesus et dixit non propter me uox haec uenit sed propter uos**  
respondit iesus et dixit non propter me **haec uox** uenit sed propter uos AUJo 52.5.3 [CT]

**<12:31> nunc iudicium est mundi nunc princeps huius mundi eicietur foras**

cf. Jn 14:30

*sed quid ait dominus iesus?* princeps huius mundi **missus est** foras AU1Jo 4.1/2005

*ipsum significat dicens* princeps huius mundi **missus est** foras AUag 1.1/102.6

nunc iudicium est mundi AUJo 52.6.1 nunc princeps huius mundi eicietur foras AUJo 52.7.3 [CT]

nunc princeps **mundi huius missus est** foras AUJo 95.4.21

*propter quod ab eo princeps mundi eicitur foras sicut ipse testatur dicens* nunc iudicium est mundi nunc princeps huius mundi eicietur foras AUJul 6.2.4

*Adaptation: si huic exsufflationi qua princeps mundi et a paruulis eiicitur foras* AUJul 6.5.11

*Reminiscence: propter quam recte dicitur diabolus princeps mundi esse* AUJul im 2.31.15

*Adaptation: exsufflatur princeps mundi inquit* **nunc missus est** foras (ms P\* principes, Pm2 principis) AUJul im 2.181.13

*Reminiscence: sed diabolus qui contagione peccati tenet paruulum reum ut illo* **foras misso** paruulus transferatur ad christum (ms C paruulos) AUJul im 3.199.17

*[Eph 2:2] et in euangelio dominus* nunc princeps **mundi huius missus est** foras AULv 72.1720 (in Lev.20:5)

(mss P S Amb  $\mu$  **huius mundi**)

*Adaptation: nisi ut ab eis princeps mundi* **mittatur** foras AUUnu 2.18

*excluso inde principe de quo dictum est* princeps huius **saeculi missus est** foras *[in Ps 9:7]* AUPs 9.8.26

*de corde christiani* princeps huius mundi **inquit nunc missus est** foras AUPs 59.2.43

*et uerba domini iesu christi ubi eum expellens de fidelium cordibus ait* nunc princeps huius mundi **missus est** foras *[in Ps 105:46]* AUPs 105.36.15

*non timeas accusatorem de quo ipse dixit* princeps huius mundi **missus est** foras AUPs 147.1.28

*nam principem uel magistratum huius* **saeculi eum domine apertissime appellat** AUs 12.55 (mss  $\alpha$   $\beta$  **magistrum**)

*propterea princeps huius* **saeculi dicitur** AUs 12.63

*Adaptation: per quod [Col 1:13] et princeps huius mundi* **mittitur** foras *fidei nostra [Eph 2:2]* AUs 71.12.19/455

*Adaptation: credentibus enim princeps mundi* **mittitur** foras...*quia enim missus est* foras... AUs 143.5.5/787

*[Gal 5:6]* **missus est** princeps huius mundi foras *a cordibus uestris* AUs 222/1091

*Adaptation: sed ille possidebat qui principem huius mundi* **miserat** foras, *ut etiam pugnans extrinsecus superaretur qui iam fuerat superatus ne intus dominaretur. ille quippe qui* **missus est** foras *non cessans* [1 Pet 5:8] AUs 275.1/1254

*de huiusmodi regno pacatissimo et ordinatissimo* **missus est foras** princeps huius **saeculi** (in Matt 5:9) AUs dni 1.2.9.124 (mss V T **mundi**)

*Allusion: quascumque persecutiones ille* **qui foras missus est** *forinsecus concitauerit* AUs dni 1.2.9.126

**<12:32> et ego si exaltatus fuero a terra omnia traham ad me ipsum**

*[Ps 61:2-3] sicut eius praecepto qui ait* **cum** exaltatus fuero **omnia** traham ad **me** AUJb 39/624.13

et ego si exaltatus fuero a terra omnia traham **post me** AUJo 52.11.2 [CT]

**cum** ego exaltatus fuero a terra AUJo 52.12.10

*[Jn 12:24] hoc ibi ait ubi etiam dixit* **cum** exaltatus fuero a terra omnia traham ad me ipsum *[Jn 12:24] [in Ps 140:10]* AUPs 140.25.46

*Allusion: pendebat et contemnebatur granum erat intus habebat uires trahendi post se omnia* AUPs 59.9.36

*[IR] Adaptation: nisi credant in eum qui secundum similitudinem carnis peccati in ligno matyrii exaltatus a terra omnia traxit ad se (matyrii - sic) (IR 4.5)* AUJul 1.3.5

**<12:33> hoc autem dicebat significans qua morte esset moriturus**

hoc autem dicebat significans qua morte esset moriturus AUJo 52.11.27 [CT]

**<12:34> respondit ei turba nos audiuius ex lege quia christus manet in aeternum et quomodo tu dicis oportet exaltari filium hominis quis est iste filius hominis**

*Reminiscence: non ipsa nos fecimus sed fecit nos qui* manet in aeternum AUcf 9.10.38

respondit ei turba nos audiuius ex lege quia christus manet in aeternum et quomodo tu dicis oportet exaltari filium hominis **et** quis est iste filius hominis AUJo 52.12.1 [CT]

nos audiuius ex lege quia christus manet in aeternum et quomodo tu dicis oportet exaltari filium hominis quis est **enim** iste filius hominis AUJo 52.12.11

**<12:35> dixit ergo eis iesus adhuc modicum lumen in uobis est ambulate dum lucem habetis ut non tenebrae uos comprehendant et qui ambulat in tenebris nescit quo uadat**

cf. 1Jn 2:11

*Adaptation: adhuc* **enim** modicum lumen **est in hominibus ambulent ambulent** *ne* tenebrae comprehendant AUcf 10.23.22 (mss C D O2 B P Z F  $\mu$  **ne eos**, mss E G M **comprehendant eos**)

**currite** *ne* tenebrae uos comprehendant AUJo 12.14.1

dixit ergo eis iesus adhuc modicum lumen in uobis est **ergo** ambulate dum lucem habetis ut non tenebrae uos comprehendant et qui ambulat in tenebris nescit quo uadat AUJo 52.13.1 [CT]  
 ambulate *inquit* **ne uos** tenebrae comprehendant AUmor 1.45.6 (mss B T **tenebrae uos**)  
*unde dicebat* ambulate dum **diem** habetis [in Ps 138:16] AUPs 138.22.2  
*Adaptation: ambulemus dum **diem** habemus id est dum ratione uti possumus...ne nos tenebrae comprehendant* [Jn 1:9] (ms H **ambulemus ergo**, ms L **dum lucem**) AUrel 42.1

**<12:36> dum lucem habetis credite in lucem ut filii lucis sitis haec locutus est iesus et abiit et abscondit se ab eis**  
*Reminiscence: [1Thess 5:2] hoc ergo scire opus est ut curent filii lucis esse* (ms F currant) AUep 199.3.9/251.18  
 dum lucem habetis credite in lucem ut filii lucis sitis AUJo 52.13.16 haec locutus est iesus et abiit et abscondit se ab eis AUJo 52.14.1 [CT]  
*Reminiscence: ergo carissimi filii pacis filii lucis filii caritatis* AUs 360C.4/305.55 (AUs DoI 27)

**<12:37> cum autem tanta signa fecisset coram eis non credebant in eum**  
 cum autem tanta signa fecisset coram eis non credebant in eum AUJo 53.2.2 [CT]  
*cur enim non poterant credere non tacuit euangelium dicens* cum autem tanta signa fecisset coram eis non **crediderunt** in eum APers 14.35/1014

**<12:38> ut sermo esaiae prophetae impleretur quem dixit domine quis credidit auditui nostro et brachium domini cui reuelatum est**  
*cf. Is 53:1, Rom 10:16*  
*[Is 51:4-5]...cum enim apostolus paulus de iudaeorum infidelitate eiusdem prophetae testimonium posuisset quod eis christum non fuerit reuelatus hoc posuit* quis credidit auditui nostro et brachium domini cui reuelatum est *deinde adiungit esaia et dicit [Is 52:9-10]* AUDo 7.17/250.13  
 ut sermo esaiae prophetae impleretur quem dixit domine quis credidit auditui nostro et brachium domini cui reuelatum est AUJo 53.2.3 [CT]  
*[Jn 12:37] ut sermo esaiae prophetae impleretur quem dixit domine quis credidit auditui nostro et brachium domini cui reuelatum est* APers 14.35/1014

**<12:39> propterea non poterant credere quia iterum dixit esaia**  
*cf. Is 6:10*  
 propterea non poterant credere quia iterum dixit esaia AUJo 53.5.3 [CT]  
*[Jn 12:38] et ideo* non poterant credere quia iterum dixit esaia APers 14.35/1014  
*quod autem iohannes hunc locum ita dicit* propterea non poterant credere quia iterum dixit esaia AUqEv app 13.12 (ms B **credere non poterant**, mss N T M R S B maur **isaia**)  
*[Jn 12:40] et quod ait* propterea non poterant credere AUqEv app 13.19  
*dicit enim apertissime* propterea non poterant credere *quod si ita est quis non exsurgat in defensionem iudeorum ut eos extra culpam fuisse proclamet quod non crediderunt?* propterea enim non poterant credere quia [Jn 12:40] AUqEv app 13.24  
*uerba enim iohannis ista sunt* propterea non poterant credere quia iterum dixit esaia AUqEv app 13.32 (mss M R S Thom **om. propterea**, mss N T M R S B C2 maur **isaia**)  
*quod ait iohannes* propterea non poterant credere quia [Jn 12:40] AUqEv app 13.47  
*quod iohannes ait* propterea non poterant credere quia [Jn 12:40] AUqEv app 13.71  
*quomodo* propterea non poterant credere *quia non intellegebant* AUqEv app 13.75

**<12:40> excaecauit oculos eorum et indurauit eorum cor ut non uideant oculis et intellegant corde et conuertantur et sanem eos**  
*cf. Ps 68:24, Is 6:10, Matt 13:15, Acts 28:27*  
*Allusion: [Jn 12:35] quia tenebrae excaecauerunt* oculos eorum AU1Jo 1.13/1988  
 excaecauit oculos eorum et indurauit **cor eorum** ut non uideant oculis et intellegant corde et conuertantur et sanem **illos** AUJo 53.5.4 [CT]  
 excaecauit oculos eorum et **cor** indurauit AUJo 53.5.17  
 et conuertantur et sanem eos AUJo 53.11.1  
*[Jn 12:39] excaecauit oculos eorum et indurauit **cor illorum*** ut non uideant oculis **nec** intellegant corde et conuertantur et sanem **illos** APers 14.35/1014  
*[Matt 13:15]...alius enim euangelista dicit* excaecauit oculos eorum AUqEv app 13.4  
*[Jn 12:39] excaecauit oculos eorum et indurauit **cor eorum*** ut non uideant oculis et intellegant corde et conuertantur et sanem eos AUqEv app 13.13 (mss B C E Claud **eorum cor**, ms B **et non intellegant**)  
*aperte ita dicit ut **oculis*** non uideant AUqEv app 13.18  
*[Jn 12:39] quia* excaecauit oculos eorum AUqEv 13.28  
*[Jn 12:39] excaecauit oculos eorum* AUqEv 13.33  
*[Jn 12:39] excaecauit oculos eorum ut non uideant* AUqEv app 13.48  
*[Jn 12:39] excaecauit oculos eorum* AUqEv app 13.72

[Jn 12:39] *hoc est quia excaecauit oculos eorum* AUqEv app 13.76 (mss M R S om.quia)

<12:41> **haec dixit esaias quando uidit gloriam eius et locutus est de eo**

*Adaptation: iohanni credite adtestanti legi et prophetis ipse scripsit quod esaias uiderit christi gloriam* AUFau 17.3/486.13

haec dixit isaias quando uidit gloriam eius et locutus est de eo AUJo 53.12.1 [CT]

<12:42> **uerumtamen et ex principibus multi crediderunt in eum sed propter phariseos non confitebantur ut de synagoga non eicerentur**

uerumtamen et ex principibus multi crediderunt in eum sed propter phariseos non confitebantur ut de synagoga non eicerentur AUJo 53.13.1 [CT]

multi **principes iudaeorum** crediderunt in eum sed propter **metum iudaeorum ne pellerentur de synagogis non audebant confiteri eum** AUJo 93.2.16

*Adaptation: et alio euangelii loco dictum est quod multi ex principibus iudaeorum credidissent in eum sed non eum confitebantur ne expellerentur de synagogis* AUPs 115.1.35

*Adaptation: fuerunt quidam quos euangelium notat principes iudaeorum qui crediderant in dominum iesum sed propter iudaeos inquit non audebant publice confiteri* AUs 286.1.1/1297

<12:43> **dilexerunt enim gloriam hominum magis quam gloriam dei**

*sicut euangelium loquitur diligunt gloriam* hominum magis quam **dei** AUba 2.11.16/192.5 (ms β pr. **diligant**)

*ait euangelista dilexerunt gloriam* hominum magis quam **dei** AUci 5.14.14

dilexerunt enim gloriam hominum magis quam gloriam dei AUJo 53.13.3 [CT]

dilexerunt **gloriam** hominum magis quam gloriam dei AUJo 54.1.11 [CT]

[Jn 12:42] dilexerunt enim gloriam hominum magis quam **dei** AUJo 93.2.18

[Jn 12:42] *sequitur enim euangelista dicens amauerunt* enim gloriam hominum magis quam **dei** AUPs 115.1.38

*quod illi timuerunt qui amauerunt gloriam* hominum magis quam **dei** AUPs 115.2.17

*putauerunt a seipsis se fieri iustos et bonos et dilexerunt gloriam* hominum magis quam **dei** [in Ps 118:38] AUPs 118.s12.3.5

[Jn 12:42] *et continuo nota addita est capiti secutus enim ait euangelista amauerunt* enim **hominum gloriam** magis quam **dei** AUs 286.1.1/1297

[Jn 12:26] *et alio loco dilexerunt enim gloriam hominum magis quam gloriam dei* AUspe 28/196.12 (ms R om., ms P1 **om.enim**)

<12:44> **iesus autem clamauit et dixit qui credit in me non credit in me sed in eum qui misit me**

iesus **clamauit** et dixit qui credit in me non credit in me sed in eum qui misit me AUJo 54.2.2 [CT]

*de uerbis euangelii iohannis* qui credit in me non credit in me sed in eum qui **me misit** AUs 140 incipit/773

*quid est quod audiuius fratres dicentem dominum* qui credit in me non credit in me sed in eum qui **me misit** AUs 140.1/773

*Adaptation: hoc admonuit dominus cum euangelium legeretur quoniam* qui credit in eum credit in **illum** qui eum misit AUs 354.1.1/1565

*et dicens non in me credit* sed in eum qui **me misit** *non utique se a patre id est ab illo qui eum misit uoluit separari* AUtri 1.12.151

*fidem hominum et in patrem transtulit dicendo* non **in me credit** sed in eum qui **me misit** AUtri 1.12.157

*quid sibi et illud uult qui in me credit non in me credit?* AUtri 1.12.142

*quomodo tam contrarium sibi aduersum potest intellegi* qui **in me credit** *inquit* non **in me credit** sed in eum qui **me misit** *nisi ita intellegas* qui in me credit *non in hoc quod uidet credit* AUtri 1.12.144 (ms Eug V qui in me inquit non, ms S in me non)

<12:45> **et qui uidet me uidet eum qui misit me**

et qui uidet me uidet eum qui misit me AUJo 54.2.4 [CT]

et qui uidet me uidet eum qui **me misit** AUJo 54.3.36

<12:46> **ego lux in mundum ueni ut omnis qui credit in me in tenebris non maneat**

ego lux in mundum ueni ut omnis qui credit in me in tenebris non maneat AUJo 54.4.1 [CT]

ego *inquit* lux in **saeculum** ueni ut omnis qui **crediderit** in me **non maneat** in tenebris AUpec 1.24.35/34.22 (mss K C **ego enim**)

*necesse est in tenebris maneat si non credat in eum qui dixit* ego lux in **saeculum** ueni ut omnis qui credit in me **non maneat** in tenebris AUpec 1.25.38/37.3 (ms S **ego sum lux**, ms M **mundum**)

<12:47> **et si quis audierit uerba mea et non custodierit ego non iudico eum non enim ueni ut iudicem mundum sed ut saluificem mundum**

*cf. Jn 3:17*

ego non ueni ut iudicem mundum sed ut **saluum faciam** mundum AUJo 36.4.12

*Adaptation: uenerat enim ut saluaret mundum non ut iudicaret mundum* AUJo 39.6.6

et si quis audierit uerba mea et non custodierit ego non iudico eum non enim ueni ut iudicem mundum sed ut saluificem mundum AUJo 54.5.1 [CT]

*Allusion: non enim amat deus damnare sed saluare* AU 18.41

*nam et illud quaero quomodo dictum sit si quis non audit uerba mea ego non iudicabo illum fortassis enim ita hoc dixit ego non iudicabo illum quemadmodum ibi [Matt 20:23] sed quid hic sequitur?* non enim ueni inquit ut iudicem mundum sed ut saluum faciam mundum AUtri 1.12.78 (mss Eug V audit **me** ego, ms A eum, ms T ueni enim, ms P inquit ueni, ms C om.inquit, ms F faciam illum)

*nec filius iudicabit quia dixit ego non iudicabo illum* AUtri 1.12.87

*quaero itaque quomodo intellegamus ego non iudicabo* AUtri 1.12.123

*apparet ita dictum ut si diceret ego non iudicabo* AUtri 1.12.125

*siccine intellegendum est ego non iudicabo sed ego iudicabo* AUtri 1.12.127

*quomodo istud potest esse uerum nisi ita ego scilicet non iudicabo* AUtri 1.12.129

*aut si contraria et repugnantia uidentur ego non iudicabo sed ego iudicabo* AUtri 1.12.132

*tale est enim et illud ego non iudicabo* AUtri 1.12.161

*ut uerum sit quod ait ego non iudicabo* AUtri 1.13.48

**<12:48> qui spernit me et non accipit uerba mea habet qui iudicet eum sermo quem locutus sum ille iudicabit eum in nouissimo die**

qui spernit me et non accipit uerba mea habet qui iudicet eum sermo quem locutus sum ille iudicabit eum in nouissimo die AUJo 54.6.2 [CT]

*ipse enim dicit alio loco in euangelio [Jn 8:15] sermo quem locutus sum eis ipse iudicabit eos in nouissimo die [in Ps 32.4] AUPs 32.2.s2.2.17*

*[Jn 12:47] deinde adiungit et dicit qui me spernit et non accipit uerba mea habet qui se iudicet. hic iam intellegeremus patrem nisi adiungeret et diceret uerbum quod locutus sum ipsum iudicabit illum in nouissima die AUtri 1.12.83 (ms Ka accipit, ms T eum iudicet, ms Sa ipsud, ms μ nouissimo)*

*[Jn 12:48] quid igitur iam nec filius iudicabit quia dixit [Jn 12:47] nec pater sed uerbum quod locutus est filius AUtri 1.12.87*

*si ergo non iudicat filius sed uerbum quod locutus est filius ideo autem iudicat uerbum quod locutus est filius AUtri 1.12.92*

*Reminiscence: pater utique iudicat cuius uerbum est quod locutus est filius AUtri 1.12.96*

*cum dicit dominus uerbum quod locutus sum ipsum iudicabit eum in nouissima die AUtri 1.12.119 (ms L om.ipsum, mss Eug (G P V v) μ nouissimo)*

*quaero itaque quomodo intellegamus [Jn 12:47] sed uerbum quod locutus sum iudicabit AUtri 1.12.124*

**<12:49> quia ego ex me ipso non sum locutus sed qui misit me pater ipse mihi mandatum dedit quid dicam et quid loquar**

quia ego ex meipso non sum locutus sed qui misit me pater ipse mihi mandatum dedit quid dicam et quid loquar AUJo 54.7.1 [CT]

qui me misit audistis qui me misit inquit ipse mihi mandatum dedit quid dicam et quid loquar AU 140.3/774

*[Jn 12:50] iohannis euangelium est tenete qui me misit ipse mihi mandatum dedit quid dicam et quid loquar AU 140.3/774*

*ipse inquit mandatum mihi dedit quid dicam et quid loquar AU 140.3/774*

*[Jn 12:48] immo audi adhuc quod sequitur quia ego inquit non ex me locutus sum sed ille qui me misit pater ille mandatum mihi dedit quid dicam et quid loquar AUtri 1.12.88 (ms μ sed om.ille, mss Eug (G P V) misit me, ms V mihi mandatum)*

*Adaptation: [Jn 12:48] quia non ex se locutus est filius sed qui misit eum pater mandatum ei dedit quid dicat et quid loquatur AUtri 1.12.94 (ms μ dedit ei)*

*uideamus ergo ne forte quod ait ego non ex me locutus sum AUtri 1.12.100*

*Reminiscence: et non a se ipso loquitur sed a patre illi est omne quod loquitur cum ipsum pater unice loquitur AUtri 15.15.19*

*[AUG quoting SA] sicut ipse ait...et ipse mihi mandatum dedit quid dicam aut quid loquar AUAr 6.10*

**<12:50> et scio quia mandatum eius uita aeterna est quae ergo ego loquor sicut dixit mihi pater sic loquor**

et scio quia mandatum eius uita aeterna est quae ego loquor sicut dixit mihi pater sic loquor AUJo 54.8.1 [CT]

*Reminiscence: qui mandata uitae perpetuae nobis dedit AUleg 2.11.1027*

*unde alio loco de mandato patris hoc est de se ipso dicit scio quia mandatum eius uita aeterna est AUMax 2.24/802*

*[Jn 12:49] et scio quia mandatum eius uita aeterna est AU 140.3/774*

*[Jn 12:49] et scio quia mandatum eius uita aeterna est AU 140.3/774*

*[Jn 12:49] et scio quia mandatum eius uita aeterna est AU 140.3/774*

*dicebam quod proposueram et scio ait quia mandatum eius uita aeterna est AU 140.6/775*

*[Jn 12:49] et scio quia mandatum eius uita aeterna est quae ego loquor ita ut dixit mihi pater sic loquor AUtri 1.12.90 (mss O3 I quia quae, ms K quam quae, ms μ quae ergo, ms C om. pater)*

[Jn 12:48]...dicit et mandatum patris ipsumque mandatum uitam aeternam et scio inquit quia mandatum eius uita aeterna est AUtri 1.12.121 (ms Eug V mandatum **estis** uita)

<13:1> ante diem autem festum paschae sciens iesus quia uenit eius hora ut transeat ex hoc mundo ad patrem cum dilexisset suos qui erant in mundo in finem dilexit eos

[Jn 5:24] et maxime idem euangelista hoc intellegitur exprimere uoluisse cum celebraturo domino pascha cum discipulis ubi cenam eis mysticam dedit **cum uidisset inquit** iesus quia uenit **hora** ut **transiret de** hoc mundo ad patrem AUep 55.1.2/171.10 (ms P uenit eius hora, mss P P1 P2 M edd Eugipp codVat **om.hoc**)

ante diem autem festum paschae sciens iesus quia uenit **hora eius** ut transeat ex hoc mundo ad patrem cum dilexisset suos qui erant in mundo in finem dilexit eos AUJo 55.1.3 [CT]

**de** hoc mundo ad patrem AUJo 55.1.29

in finem dilexit eos AUJo 61.5.2

Reminiscence: uenit enim tamquam currus dei in millibus laetantium prosperum iter habens et pertransiit **de** hoc mundo ad patrem ut fiat in ea quod sponsus ipse dicit qui transiit **de** hoc mundo ad patrem [Jn 17:24] [in Ps 67:32] AUPs 67.41.21

quod admonuit etiam iohannes euangelista qui imminente passione cum ueniret dominum ad coenam qua commendauit sacramentum corporis et sanguinis sui ita loquitur **cum autem uenisset hora qua transiret iesus de** hoc mundo ad patrem [in Ps 68 title] AUPs 68.s1.2.23

audi iohannem **cum uenisset inquit** hora **ut transiret de mundo** ad patrem [in Ps 120:4] AUPs 120.6.22

transire quid fuit domino nisi quod euangelista dicit **cum autem uenisset hora ut transiret iesus de** hoc mundo ad patrem [in Ps 138:6] AUPs 138.8.54

euangelista dicit **cum autem uenisset hora ut iesus transiret de** hoc mundo ad patrem quid est ergo donec transeam nisi **de** hoc mundo ad patrem [in Ps 140:10] AUPs 140.25.16

denique in euangelium sic loquitur quando pascha fecit cum discipulis suis. quid dicit euangelium? **cum autem uenisset** hora ut **iesus transiret de** hoc mundo ad patrem AUs 103.5.6/616

et euangelista de hoc transitu **cum autem uenisset hora ut iesus transiret de** hoc mundo ad patrem AUs 104.6 (webtext; not in Migne)

[Jn 5:24]. transitus enim interpretatur hebraice pascha quod expressit euangelista dicens **cum autem ueniret** hora ut **transiret iesus de** hoc mundo ad patrem. celebratur ergo pascha resurgit dominus facit transitum a morte ad uitam AUs 155.5.5/843

[Luke 12:37]...nam et pascha in hebraea lingua transitus interpretatur. hoc dominus ostendit imo euangelista ubi de domino dixit **cum autem uenisset** hora ut **transiret de** hoc mundo ad patrem AUs 179.6.6/969

unde et iohannes euangelista dicit ante diem autem festum paschae sciens iesus quia uenit eius hora ut transeat **de** hoc mundi ad patrem AUtri 2.17.65 (ms T om.autem, hora eius loh, transirit loh, **de** loh)

<13:2> et cena facta cum diabolus iam misisset in corde ut traderet eum iudas simonis scariotis

cf. Jn 13:27, Luke 22:3

sed etiam sibi ipsi iohannes repugnare uideatur quia iam dixerat superius antequam istam buccellam acciperet et cena facta cum diabolus **inmisisset** in **cor** ut traderet eum iudas AUEv 3.1.4/271.5 (mss B R T D P O M Q p g r cum diabolus, ms cett. **cum iam diabolus**, mss g v **iam** misisset, ms T1 **corde**, ms D **cordet**, mss R T2 **cor iudae**, mss R T D om. iudas)

et caena facta cum diabolus iam misisset in **cor** ut traderet eum iudas simonis scariotes AUJo 55.3.1 [CT] (mss scariotes)

quando mentem iudae...diabolus penitus inuasit in eo quod scriptum est et intrauit diabolus in cor eius AUPs 3.1.15

**immisit se inquit** diabolus in **cor iudae** ut traderet **dominum** AUs 67.2.4/434

lege euangelium et uide quid ibi scriptum est **immisit diabolus** in **cor iudae** ut traderet **christum** AUs 301.6.4/1383

<13:3> sciens quia omnia dedit ei pater in manus et quia a deo exiuit et ad deum uadit

sciens quia omnia dedit ei pater in manus et quia a deo exiit et ad deum uadit AUJo 55.3.3 [CT]

<13:4> surgit a cena et ponit uestimenta sua et cum accepisset linteum praecinxit se

Allusion: cum dominum a cena surrexisse et pedes discipulorum lauasse commemorasset AUEv 3.1.2/269.5

surgit a caena et ponit uestimenta sua et cum accepisset linteum praecinxit se AUJo 55.3.4 [CT]

<13:5> deinde mittit aquam in peluem et coepit lauare pedes discipulorum et extergere linteo quo erat praecinctus

Allusion: sicut seruis pedes lauit AUba 5.9.10/271.8

deinde mittit aquam in peluim et coepit lauare pedes discipulorum et extergere linteo quo erat praecinctus AUJo 55.3.6 [CT]

caepit lauare pedes discipulorum et extergere linteo quo erat praecinctus AUJo 56.1.11 [CT]



*Allusion: mundatur ab eo qui pedes lauit discipulis suis AUJo 57.1.18*

*Adaptation: [in Ps 92:1] unde dictum est praecinctus est linteo et lauit pedes discipulorum suorum AUPs 92.3.18*

*Allusion: christum enim commendans humilitatem in pelue discipulis pedes lauit [in Judg. 6:38] AUs 360A.3/44.70 (AUs Dol 24)*

**<13:6> uenit ergo ad simonem petrum et dicit ei petrus domine tu mihi lauas pedes**

uenit **ad** simonem petrum et dicit ei petrus domine tu mihi lauas pedes AUJo 56.1.1 [CT]

uenit ergo ad simonem petrum AUJo 56.1.12

*exhorruit petrus dominus suum...lauantem sibi pedes expauit et dixit domine non lauabis mihi pedes AUPs 92.3.27 (cf. Jn 13:8)*

**<13:7> respondit iesus et dicit ei quod ego facio tu nescis modo scies autem postea**

respondit iesus et **dixit** ei quod ego facio tu nescis modo scies autem postea AUJo 56.2.1 [CT]

quod ego facio tu nescis modo scies autem postea AUJo 58.2.6 [CT]

*[Jn 13:6] et ille quod ego facio tu nescis modo scies autem postea AUPs 92.3.27*

*hoc enim dixerat quod enim ego facio nescis scies autem postea AUPs 92.3.38*

**<13:8> dicit ei petrus non lauabis mihi pedes in aeternum respondit iesus ei si non lauero te non habes partem mecum**

non lauabis mihi pedes in aeternum si non lauero te non **habebis** partem mecum AUJo 56.2.5 [CT]

non lauabis mihi pedes in aeternum AUJo 58.2.5 [CT]

si non lauero te non **habebis** partem mecum AUJo 83.1.6

*[Jn 13:7] et ille non lauabis mihi pedes in aeternum et ille si non lauero te non habebis partem mecum. qui primo petrus expauerat dominum lauantem sibi pedes plus expauit non habebis partem mecum AUPs 92.3.28*

**<13:9> dicit ei simon petrus domine non tantum pedes meos sed et manus et caput**

*quando eis lauit pedes et petenti petro ut non tantum pedes uerum etiam manus et caput ei lauaret AUep*

*265.5/643.15 (mss P P1 P2 S V P5 non solum pedes sed etiam)*

domine non tantum pedes meos sed et manus et caput AUJo 56.2.15 [CT]

*[Jn 13:8] ...et ait domine non pedes tantum sed et caput et totum AUPs 92.3.33*

*[AM] loquens de apostolo petro ipse se inquit obtulit quod ante putabat esse peccatum lauare sibi non solum pedes sed et caput poscens AUPel 4.11.29/560.1 (AUG citing AM Expositio in Esaiaem)*

**<13:10> dicit ei iesus qui lotus est non indiget ut lauet sed est mundus totus et uos mundi estis sed non omnes**

*cf. Jn 15:3*

*quod beato petro dominus ait qui lotus est non indiget ut lauet AUan 3.9.12/369.24 (mss D I lo\*\*tus, mss b d nisi ut pedes lauet)*

*nam et petro dixit qui lotus est non habet necessitatem iterum lauandi et nicodemo [Jn 3:5] AUba*

*2.14.19/194.26 (ms Nm1 locutus est)*

*quantum distet inter non habet necessitatem lauandi et non intrabit in regnum caelorum AUba 2.14.19/195.4*

*nam et nos proferimus petro dictum qui lotus est semel non opus habet iterum lauare AUCre 1.31.37/356.23*

*(ms Ym1 quo, mss Wm1 Xm1 locutus, ms Wm1 labari)*

*petrus...cui dominus ait qui lotus est semel non habet necessitatem iterum lauandi AUDo 22.63/310.25*

*aut quo modo petro uolenti ut totum se lauaret responderit qui lotus est semel non eum oportet iterum lauare*

*sed est mundus totus AUep 44.5.10/118.10 (ms A lo??tus)*

*ita ut diceret eis dominus propter illius inter eos praesentiam et uos mundi estis sed non omnes AUep 108.3.9/620.6*

*[Jn 13:9] respondit qui lotus est non indiget nisi ut pedes lauet sed est mundus totus AUep 265.5/634.16 (mss P P1 S V P5 qui semel, mss P Pb lo??tus)*

dicit ei iesus qui lotus est non **habet opus nisi pedes lauare** sed est mundus totus AUJo 56.3.1 [CT]

qui lotus est **semel non habet necessitatem nisi pedes lauare** sed est mundus totus et uos mundi estis sed non omnes AUJo 58.1.2 [CT]

et uos mundi estis sed non omnes AUJo 60.1.11

et uos mundi estis sed non omnes AUJo 63.2.23

qui lotus est non indiget **nisi ut pedes lauet** sed est mundus totus AUJo 80.3.8

*[AUG citing PETI] haec uerba nobis dicite mundi estis sed non omnes AUPet 2.22.50/49.25*

*[Jn 13:9] et ille qui lotus est semel non habet necessitatem iterum lauandi sed est mundus totus AUPs 92.3.34*

*propter quem dominus ait quodam loco et uos mundi estis sed non omnes AUs 90.2/559*

*[PETI citing AUG] petilianus dixit at enim constanter opponitis dixit apostolis christus qui semel lotus est non*

*habet causam nisi pedes lauandi sed est mundus totus si uerba ista plene discutias subsequenter obtineris.*

*sic namque locutus est dicens qui semel lotus est non habet causam nisi pedes lauandi sed est mundus totus et uos mundi estis sed non omnes AUPet 2.22.49/48.13*

[PETI citing AUG] petilianus dixit at enim in eo perduratis qui **semel** lotus est non **habet causam nisi pedes lauandi** AUPet 2.24.56/55.13

<13:11> **sciebat enim quisnam esset qui traderet eum propterea dixit non estis mundi omnes**  
sciebat enim quisnam esset qui traderet eum propterea dixit non estis mundi omnes AUJo 58.1.7 [CT]  
sciebat enim quisnam esset qui traderet eum AUJo 60.1.12

<13:12> **postquam ergo lauit pedes eorum et accepit uestimenta sua cum recubisset iterum dixit eis scitis quid fecerim uobis**  
postquam ergo lauit pedes eorum et accepit uestimenta sua cum recubisset iterum dixit eis scitis quid fecerim uobis AUJo 58.2.1 [CT]  
*Adaptation: cum lauisset eis pedes **rursus discubuit*** AUPs 92.3.41

<13:13> **uos uocatis me magister et domine et bene dicitis sum etenim**  
uos uocatis me magister et domine et bene dicitis sum etenim AUJo 58.3.1 [CT]  
[Jn 13:12] *et ait illis **dicitis** me **magistrum et uerum** dicitis sum **enim*** AUPs 92.3.42  
[Jn 12:43] *et alibi uos uocatis me magister et domine et bene dicitis sum **enim*** AUSpe 28/196.14 (mss P C R Sav etenim)

<13:14> **si ergo ego laui uestros pedes dominus et magister et uos debetis alter alterius lauare pedes**  
si ergo ego laui **pedes uestros** dominus et magister **debetis et uos** alter alterius lauare pedes AUJo 58.4.1 [CT]  
si ergo ego laui uestros pedes dominus et magister **debetis et uos** alter alterius lauare pedes AUJo 58.5.11  
[Jn 13:13] si ergo ego **magister et dominus uester** laui **uobis** pedes **quomodo oportet uobis inuicem faciatis**  
AUPs 92.3.44  
[Jn 13:13] si ergo ego laui uestros pedes dominus et magister et uos debetis alter alterius lauare pedes AUSpe 28/196.15 (mss a v pedes uestros, ms M **dominus magister**)  
*Adaptation: exiturus ad passionem lauit pedes discipulis monuitque apertissime ut hoc facerent condiscipulis atque conseruis quod eis fecisset **magister*** et dominus (ms X fecisset eis, ms X domine) AUvg 32.32/272.11

<13:15> **exemplum enim dedi uobis ut quemadmodum ego feci uobis ita et uos faciatis**  
*Allusion: de lauandis uero pedibus cum hoc dominus propter humilitatis formam quam docendam uenerat commendauerit sicut ipse consequenter exposuit* AUep 55.18.33/207.17  
exemplum enim dedi uobis ut quemadmodum ego feci uobis **et uos ita** faciatis AUJo 58.4.3 [CT]  
exemplum enim dedi uobis ut quemadmodum ego **uobis feci** ita et uos faciatis AUJo 58.5.13  
exemplum enim dedi uobis ut quemadmodum ego feci uobis ita et uos faciatis AUJo 58.5.28  
*Allusion: et ideo dominus noster iesus christus imitandum se nobis praebuilt* AU 5.6  
[Jn 13:14] exemplum enim dedi uobis ut quemadmodum ego feci uobis ita et uos faciatis AUSpe 28/196.16

<13:16> **amen amen dico uobis non est seruus maior domino suo neque apostolus maior eo qui misit illum**  
*cf. Matt 10:24, Jn 15:20*  
amen amen dico uobis non est seruus maior domino suo neque apostolus maior eo qui misit illum AUJo 59.1.2 [CT]  
*nonne ab ipso audis non est seruus maior domino suo* [Matt 10:24] [in Ps 36:7] AUPs 36.s1.9.34  
*quamlibet enim magni sint non est seruus maior domino suo* [Matt 10:24] *et utique ille est dominus qui dicit* [Matt 11:27] AUvg 50.51/296.17 (ms S **non maior est seruus domino uel**, ms T **om.maior**)  
*Allusion: [CY] esse non **potest** maior domino suo **seruus*** AUCre 2.34.43/403.7 (citation of CYep 54.3)  
*Allusion: [CY] esse non **potest** maior domino suo **seruus*** AUCre 2.38.48/408.22 (citation of CYep 54.3)  
*Allusion: [CY] esse non **potest** maior domino suo **seruus*** AUep 108.3.11/623.18 (citation of CYep 54.3)  
*Allusion: [CY] esse non **potest** maior domino suo **seruus*** AUGau 2.3.3/258.14 (citation of CYep 54.3)  
*Allusion: [CY] esse non **potest** maior domino suo **seruus*** AUGau 2.13.14/273.4 (citation of CYep 54.3)

<13:17> **si haec scitis beati eritis si feceritis ea**  
si haec scitis beati eritis si feceritis ea AUJo 59.1.4 [CT]

<13:18> **non de omnibus uobis dico ego scio quos elegerim sed ut impleatur scriptura qui manducat mecum panem leuauit contra me calcaneum suum**  
*cf. Ps 40:10*  
*nam dominus ipse iesus...hunc etiam uersum psalmi huius commemorauit et in se dixit impletum qui edebat **panes meos ampliavit super me calcaneum*** AUci 17.18.42 (identical to the earlier quote from Ps 40:10)  
*illud adtendamus ubi ait non de omnibus uobis dico ego scio quos **elegi*** AUGn q 117.1489 (in Gen.35:26) (ms P **elegerim**)  
non de omnibus uobis dico ego scio quos elegerim sed ut impleatur scriptura qui manducat **panem mecum leuabit super** me calcaneum suum AUJo 59.1.9 [CT]

qui manducat mecum panem **leuabit super** me calcaneum AUJo 59.1.32  
qui manducat mecum panem **leuabit super** me calcaneum AUJo 60.1.10 [CT]

<13:19> amodo dico uobis priusquam fiat ut credatis cum factum fuerit quia ego sum  
amodo dico uobis priusquam fiat ut **cum** factum fuerit **credatis** quia ego sum AUJo 59.1.29 [CT]

<13:20> amen amen dico uobis qui accipit si quem misero me accipit qui autem me accipit accipit eum  
qui me misit  
amen amen dico uobis qui accipit si quem misero me accipit qui autem me accipit accipit eum qui me misit AUJo  
59.2.1 [CT]

<13:21> cum haec dixisset iesus turbatus est spiritu et protestatus est et dixit amen amen dico uobis quia  
unus ex uobis tradet me  
*saluator de quo ante iam dixerat* unus ex uobis **me tradet** AUci 17.18.46 (sic ms R solum, b2 in marg **ex uobis  
me tradet**, omm. rell.)  
cum haec dixisset *inquit* [sc. *iohannes*] iesus turbatus est spiritu et protestatus est et dixit amen amen dico uobis  
quia unus ex uobis tradet me AUEv 3.1.2/269.10 (mss p r **hoc**, ms B1 spiritus, mss A E1 L amen *semel*)  
cum haec dixisset iesus turbatus est spiritu et protestatus est et dixit amen amen dico uobis quia unus ex uobis  
tradet me AUJo 60.1.2 [CT]  
turbatus itaque est **iesus** spiritu et protestatus est et dixit amen amen dico uobis quia unus ex uobis tradet me  
AUJo 61.2.1 [CT]  
*nam in euangelio secundum iohannem ita legitur* amen amen dico uobis quia unus ex uobis tradet me AUtri  
15.10.86 (ms T **quod** unus, ms K me tradet, ms Ra tradit me)

<13:22> aspiciabant ergo ad inuicem discipuli haesitantes de quo diceret  
[Jn 13:21] aspiciabant ergo *sicut idem ipse iohannes subnectit* ad inuicem discipuli haesitantes de quo diceret  
AUEv 3.1.2/269.13  
adspiciabant ergo ad inuicem discipuli haesitantes de quo diceret AUJo 61.3.1 [CT]  
[Jn 13:21] aspiciabant ergo ad inuicem discipuli haesitantes de quo diceret AUtri 15.10.87 (ms Ta accipiebant)

<13:23> erat ergo recumbens unus ex discipulis eius in sinu iesu quem diligebat iesus  
*cf. Jn 13:25*  
*coniungitur illud secundum iohannem* erat ergo recumbens unus ex discipulis eius in sinu iesu quem diligebat  
iesus AUEv 3.1.3/270.18 (ms r erat **autem**)  
erat ergo recumbens unus ex discipulis eius in sinu iesu quem diligebat iesus AUJo 61.4.1 [CT]  
*Allusion: solet autem se idem iohannes ita significare et addere quem diligebat iesus* AUJo 113.2.4  
*lectum est uobis nuperrime quomodo ipse sanctus iohannes euangelista in sinu domini discumbebat. quod*  
*aperte exponere uolens ait* [Jn 13:25] *ut intelligeremus quid dixerit in sinu domini.* AU 119.1.1/673  
*ipse est enim iohannes euangelista sanctus quem praecipue diligebat iesus* AU 120.1/676  
*Adaptation: ait unus ipsorum. et quis? quem dominus amplius diligebat et* [Jn 13:25] AU 135.7.8/750  
[Jn 13:22] erat ergo **unus** ex discipulis eius in sinu iesu quem diligebat iesus AUtri 15.10.88 (ms L erat **autem**, ms  
S eius **in conuiuio** in sinu, mss N2 O3 S2 F  $\mu$  eius **recumbens** in sinu)

<13:24> innuit ergo huic simon petrus et dicit ei quis est de quo dicit  
[Jn 13:23] innuit ergo huic simon petrus et dicit ei quis est de quo dicit AUEv 3.1.3/270.20 (mss  $\gamma$  p v et **dixit**, mss  
C1 P om. de quo)  
innuit ergo **simon** petrus et dicit ei quis est de quo dicit AUJo 61.6.1 [CT]  
[Jn 13:23] innuit ergo huic simon petrus et dicit ei quis est de quo dicit AUtri 15.10.89 (ms T **om. huic**)

<13:25> itaque cum recubisset ille supra pectus iesu dicit ei domine quis est  
*cf. Jn 13:23, Jn 21:20*  
*Allusion: si iohannes non erat natus ex deo de quo audistis quia supra pectus domini recumbebat; aliquis sibi*  
*audet promittere regenerationem factam in se quam ille habere non meruit qui super pectus domini recumbere*  
*meruit? quem dominus plus quam ceteros diligebat ipsum solum de spiritu non genuerat?* AU1Jo 5.1/2012  
*Reminiscence: sed qui super pectus domini discumbebat et quem prae ceteris diligebat* [Jn 13:23] (mss D Ch R  
**supra**) AUcont 11.25/173.24  
*Reminiscence: cum clamet qui super pectus domini discumbebat* [1Jn 1:8] AUep 167.3.10/597.9  
*Reminiscence: solus iohannes in euangelio suo posuit tamquam de pectore ipsius domini super quod discumbere*  
*in eius conuiuio solitus erat* AUEv 1.4.7/7.13  
[Jn 13:24] itaque cum recubisset ille supra pectus iesu dicit ei domine quis est AUEv 3.1.3/270.21 (ms r **dixit**)  
*Reminiscence: super pectus domini discumbebat* AUJo 16.2.20  
*Reminiscence: super cuius pectus in conuiuio discumbebat* AUJo 18.1.3  
*Reminiscence: super pectus domini discumbebat* AUJo 20.1.3  
*Reminiscence: et in conuiuio super pectus domini discumbebat* AUJo 36.1.19

itaque cum recubisset ille supra pectus iesu dicit ei domine quis est AUJo 61.6.9 [CT]  
*Reminiscence: in conuiuio **super** pectus suum discumbere faceret* AUJo 119.2.18  
*Reminiscence: qui iohannes? ille fratres quem dominus prae ceteris diligebat qui **super** pectus domini recumbebat qui de pectore eius bibit quod in euangelio ructauit...* [Jn 1:1-3] AU 20A.142  
*Reminiscence: **super** pectus domine discumbebat in conuiuio illo haec omnia biberat quae in euangelio magna felicitate ructabat* AU 20A.149  
*Reminiscence: erat ergo tam magnus qui **super** pectus domini discumbebat* AU 20A.151  
*Reminiscence: si iohannes non accepit qui **super** pectus domini discumbebat, si non accepit qui **super** pectus domini discumbebat* AU 20A.154  
*Reminiscence: iohannem apostolum audite. ille est apostolus qui **super** pectus domini discumbebat et in eo conuiuio caelestia secreta bibebat...* [Jn 1:1] AU 34.15  
*Allusion: ille iohannes et euangelista quem dominus christum prae ceteris diligebat qui supra pectus eius discumbebat ipse ait* [1 Jn 1:8-9] AU 114.4/653  
*[Jn 13:23] quod aperte exponere uolens ait **super** pectus domini ut intelligeremus quid dixerit* [Jn 13:23]. ille enim qui **super** pectus domini discumbebat putamus quid bibebat? AU 119.1.1/673  
*Adaptation: [Jn 13:23] ita ut **super** pectus eius recumberet* AU 120.1/676  
*Adaptation: legi plane in euangelio iohannes **super** pectus domini discumbebat sed puto quia ueritatem bibebat* AU 133.6/740  
*Adaptation: [Jn 13:23] qui **super** pectus domini discumbebat* AU 135.7.8/750  
*Reminiscence: uide quis iohannes? qui **super** pectus domini recumbebat* AU 198.55/133.1337 (AU 26)  
*Reminiscence: discumbebant cum domino omnes discipuli; iohannes scribitur in euangelio **super** pectus domini solere discumbere* AU 341.5/176.130 (AU 22)  
*[1Jo 2:2] uide quis iohannes? qui **super** pectus domini recumbebat et de illo pectore bibebat in illo conuiuio quod ructaret in populos* [Jn 1:1] AU 354A (AU 12)  
*Reminiscence: supra pectus domini discumbebat* AU 388.2/1701

**<13:26> respondit iesus ille est cui ego intinctum panem porrexero et cum intinxisset panem dedit iudae simonis scariotis**

*Allusion: iesus istum ipsum traditorem suum per panem porrectum ostendens apostolis* AUci 17.18.40  
*[Jn 13:25] respondit iesus ille cui ego intinctum panem porrexero et cum intinxisset panem dedit iudae simonis scarioth* AUEv 3.1.3/270.22 (mss g r v ille est, mss R T panem intinctum, mss T C2 Q g simoni, mss ω e scariotis, mss r a l scariothis)  
 respondit iesus ille est cui ego tinctum panem porrexero et cum tinxisset panem dedit iudae simonis iscariotae AUJo 61.6.12 [CT]  
 et cum tinxisset panem dedit iudae simonis iscariotae AUJo 62.1.4 [CT]  
*Allusion: num enim mala erat buccella quae tradita est iudae a domino* AUJo 6.15.9  
*Allusion: per buccellam illum designauit ut appareret de illo dictum: qui edebat panes meos* [Ps 40:10] AUPs 40.11.24  
*Allusion: [1Cor 11:29] indigno buccellam christus iudae dedit et ille hanc ad iudicium accepit* AU 266.7/1229

**<13:27> et post buccellam tunc introiuit in illum satanas dicit ei iesus quod facis fac citius**

*cf. Jn 13:2*  
*Allusion: sicut enim iudas cui buccellam tradidit dominus non malum accipiendo sed male accipiendo locum in se diabolo praebuit* AUba 5.8.9/270.6  
*Allusion: nempe et de iuda dicitur quod introierit in eum satanas ut traderet christum* AUep 93.2.7/451.15  
*[Jn 13:26] et post buccellam tunc introiuit in illum satanas* AUEv 3.1.3/270.25 (mss B R T D O edd introiuit, cet. introiit)  
 post buccellam ergo tunc introiit in eum satanas et sicut contextim iohannes ipse commemorat dicit ei iesus quod facis fac citius AUEv 3.1.4/271.13 (mss R T D L edd introiuit, ms C1 introit, ms p in istum, mss χ r v dixit ei)  
*Allusion: sed utique ut dictum est in cor eius [sc. iudae] intrauit [sc. diabolus]* AUGn Ma 2.20.22  
 quod facis fac celeriter AUJo 51.12.12  
 et post panem tunc introiuit in illum satanas AUJo 61.6.14 [CT]  
 et post panem tunc introiuit in illum satanas AUJo 62.1.5 quod facis fac citius AUJo 62.4.7 [CT]  
 quod uerbo etiam domini significatur dicentis quod facis cito fac AUPs 3.1.19  
*Allusion: et iudam quando dedit buccellam ex adipe frumenti cibauit* [Ps 80:17] AUPs 80.22.6  
 quando dixit iudae eum tradituro quod facis fac uelociter AUPs 103.s3.12.3  
*Allusion: quomodo diabolus intrauit in cor iudae ut traderet dominum...* AUPs 136.9.1  
*Adaptation: accepit enim buccellam iudas et intrauit in eum satanas* [in Ps 142:9] AUPs 142.16.24  
 iudas ut traderet christum sicut scriptum est satanas intrauit in cor eius AU 313E.4

**<13:28> hoc autem nemo sciuit discumbentium ad quid dixerit ei**

*[Jn 13:27] hoc autem nemo sciuit discumbentium ad quid dixerit ei* AUEv 3.1.4/271.15 (mss C P autem nesciuit, ms V autem nesciuit quisquam, ms g ei dixerit)

hoc autem nemo sciuit discumbentium ad quid dixerit ei AUJo 62.5.1 [CT]  
*Adaptation: [Jn 13:27] non intellegentes ceteri quid dixisset AUPs 103.s3.12.3*

**<13:29> quidam enim putabant quia loculos habebat iudas quia dicit ei iesus eme ea quae opus sunt nobis ad diem festum aut egenis ut aliquid daret**

*[Jn 13:28] quidam enim putabant quia loculos habebat iudas quia dicit ei iesus eme ea quae opus sunt nobis ad diem festum aut egenis ut aliquid daret AUEv 3.1.4/271.16 (ms C1 putabat, mss C1 P loculus, mss r v iudas quod, mss κ l m dixit, mss χ ω r dixerit, ms v dixisset, ms B1 aut enis, ms B om.ut)*  
quidam enim putabant quia loculos habebat iudas quia dicit ei iesus eme ea quae opus sunt nobis ad diem festum aut egenis ut aliquid daret AUJo 62.5.2 [CT]

*Adaptation: [Jn 13:28] arbitrati sunt eum dixisse ut aliquid praepararet quod daretur pauperibus. ille enim loculos habebat hoc in euangelio scriptum est AUPs 103.s3.12.4*

*Allusion: dominus subleuabat indigentiam pauperum etiam ex his oculis quos ex opibus implebat aliorum AUs 164A.4*

**<13:30> cum ergo accepisset ille buccellam exiit continuo erat autem nox**

*[Jn 13:29] cum ergo accepisset ille buccellam exiit continuo erat autem nox AUEv 3.1.4/271.19 ms V tunc exiit, mss R D erat enim)*

cum ergo accepisset ille buccellam exiit continuo erat autem nox AUJo 62.6.1 [CT]

**<13:31> cum ergo exisset dicit iesus nunc clarificatus est filius hominis et deus clarificatus est in eo**

*[Jn 13:30] cum ergo dixisset dicit iesus nunc clarificatus est filius hominis et deus clarificatus est in eo AUEv 3.1.4/271.20*

cum ergo exisset ait iesus nunc clarificatus est filius hominis AUJo 62.6.2 [CT]

nunc clarificatus est filius hominis AUJo 63.2.4 et deus clarificatus est in eo AUJo 63.3.2 [CT]

nunc clarificatus est filius hominis et deus clarificatus est in eo AUJo 64.1.4 [CT]

**<13:32> si deus clarificatus est in eo et deus clarificabit eum in semet ipso et continuo clarificabit eum**

*[Jn 13:31] et deus clarificabit eum in semet ipso et continuo clarificabit eum AUEv 3.1.4/272.1 (mss V r a e l m v add.si deus clarificatus est in eo, mss B3 V M Q H A E L S γ κ χ g deus clarificauit, mss F2 V H A E L S1 γ p continuo clarificauit)*

si deus clarificatus est in eo et deus clarificabit eum in semetipso et continuo clarificabit eum AUJo 63.3.6 [CT]

si deus clarificatus est in eo et deus clarificabit eum in semetipso et continuo clarificabit eum AUJo 64.1.8 [CT]

**<13:33> filioli adhuc modicum uobiscum sum quaeritis me et sicut dixi iudaeis quo ego uado uos non potestis uenire et uobis dico modo**

*cf. Jn 13:36*

*[Jn 13:32] filioli adhuc modicum uobiscum sum quaeritis me et sicut dixi iudaeis quo ego uado non potestis uenire et uobis dico modo AUEv 3.2.5/272.3 (mss D2 C V N2 M E2 γ quaeritis, ms B1 dixit, mss D M E2 γ κ χ ψ uos non)*

*ex euangelio iohannis. hoc certe dixerat filioli adhuc modicum uobiscum sum quaeritis me et sicut dixi iudaeis quo ego uado non potestis uenire et uobis dico modo AUEv 3.2.6/273.21 (mss D2 C V F M E2 γ quaeritis, ms B1 dixit, mss D N1 M E2 γ π χ ψ uos non)*

*petrum ut diceret quo uadis quia dicentem audierat quo ego uado non potestis uenire AUEv 3.2.6/274.4 (mss A E1 L p g quo ego om.uado, mss γ χ r a e l m uos non, ms R potestis [tis exp.]*

quo ego uado uos non potestis uenire AUJo 31.9.47

quo ego uado uos uenire non potestis AUJo 38.2.26

filioli adhuc modicum uobiscum sum AUJo 64.1.12 quaeritis me et sicut dixi iudaeis quo ego uado uos non

potestis uenire AUJo 64.2.8 et uobis dico modo AUJo 64.4.2 [CT]

**<13:34> mandatum nouum do uobis ut diligatis inuicem sicut dilexi uos ut et uos diligatis inuicem**

*cf. 1Jn 4:11, Jn 15:12, Jn 15:17*

*attende euangelium si non est hoc mandatum mandatum inquit nouum do uobis ut uos inuicem diligatis [1Jn 2:3] AU1Jo 1.9/1984*

*alioquin contrarius erit domino ubi ait mandatum nouum do uobis ut uos inuicem diligatis AU1Jo 1.10/1985*

*audi quid dominus dicat mandatum nouum do uobis ut uos inuicem diligatis AU1Jo 1.12/1987*

*quod est mandatum? mandatum nouum do uobis ut uos inuicem diligatis AU1Jo 5.2/2013*

*quod est mandatum nouum? mandatum nouum do uobis ut uos inuicem diligatis AU1Jo 5.3/2013*

*numquid semper repetendum est? mandatum nouum do uobis ut uos inuicem diligatis AU1Jo 6.4/2021*

*lex imperatoris quae est? mandatum nouum do uobis ut uos inuicem diligatis AU1Jo 9.11/2053*

*et quae sunt praecepta dei? mandatum nouum do uobis ut uos inuicem diligatis AU1Jo 10.3/2056*

*quod est mandatum dei? nouum illud mandatum quod ideo nouum dicitur quia innouat mandatum nouum do uobis ut uos inuicem diligatis AU1Jo 10.4/2057*

*[2Cor 6:11-12] quod est latum mandatum? mandatum nouum do uobis ut uos inuicem diligatis AU1Jo 10.6/2058*

*iesus christus...de quo item dixit* mandatum nouum do uobis ut **uos inuicem** diligatis AUba 1.18.28/172.17 (mss Lm1 Nm1 **ut diligatis inuicem**, ms Lm2 **ut uos diligatis inuicem**, ms Nm2 **ut diligatis uos inuicem**)  
*[Jn 1:48] [Jn 14:21] unde etiam dicit* mandatum nouum do uobis ut **uos inuicem** diligatis *et iterum* [Jn 13:35] AUba 3.19.26/217.21  
*Reminiscence: hoc autem ideo quia finis praecepti et plenitudo legis caritas est ut et nos inuicem diligamus* AUcat 4.5  
*Adaptation: praeceptum est enim nobis ut diligamus inuicem* AUdo 1.22.9  
*Adaptation: si diligentius praecepta dominica cogitemus reddimus potius quam donamus si nemini quicquam debendum est nisi ut inuicem diligamus* AUep 110.5/641.11  
*[Jn 13:33] mandatum nouum do uobis ut diligatis inuicem sicut dilexi uos et uos diligatis inuicem* AUEv 3.2.5/272.5 (ms B nobum, mss R D om.sicut...inuicem [nonnulli codd.euang.], mss E1 γ a e l m v **ut et** [hina kai])  
*[Jn 13:33] mandatum nouum do uobis ut diligatis inuicem sicut dilexi uos et uos diligatis inuicem* AUEv 3.2.6/273.23 (ms B nobum, ms p om.sicut...inuicem, mss r a e l m **ut et**)  
*unde item dicit* mandatum nouum do uobis ut **uos inuicem** diligatis AUFau 19.27/530.4  
*[Mark 12:28-31]. dicit etiam in euangelio secundum iohannem* mandatum nouum do uobis ut diligatis inuicem sicut dilexi uos ut et uos diligatis inuicem AUgr 17.36  
*Adaptation: [1Thess 3:12] hanc benedictionem dedit ut nos inuicem diligeremus qui legem dederat ut inuicem diligamus* AUgr 18.38  
*nisi ille ostendisset qui ait* mandatum nouum do uobis ut **uos inuicem** diligatis *et* [Jn 14:21] AUJb 38/612.3  
*ecce christus loquitur – iustitiae amatorem te dixerat –* mandatum nouum do uobis ut **uos inuicem** diligatis AUje 6.216  
mandatum nouum do uobis ut diligatis inuicem AUJo 64.4.26 [CT]  
mandatum nouum do uobis ut diligatis inuicem AUJo 65.1.2 sicut dilexi uos ut et uos diligatis inuicem AUJo 65.2.23 [CT]  
mandatum nouum do uobis ut **uos inuicem** diligatis AUJo 65.1.30  
mandatum nouum do uobis ut **uos inuicem** diligatis AUJo 65.2.2  
mandatum nouum do uobis ut diligatis inuicem sicut dilexi uos ut et uos diligatis inuicem AUJo 83.2.6  
mandatum nouum do uobis AUJo 97.4.26  
mandatum *inquit* nouum do uobis ut **uos inuicem** diligatis *et* [Rom 13:8] *et* [Rom 13:10] AUna 69.83/298.12  
*quid est lex christi nisi* mandatum nouum do uobis ut **uos inuicem** diligatis AUPar 3.2.5/105.20 (mss F G H I v om. **uos**, mss D M P E F **inuicem diligatis**, mss cet. v **diligatis inuicem**)  
*Adaptation: et ipse dixit et nobis indixit* mandatum suum *dicens esse ut nos inuicem diligamus* AUPs 56.1.5  
*dominus dicit* mandatum nouum do uobis ut **uos inuicem** diligatis AUPs 95.2.13  
*quam dominus praecipue commendat* *dicens* mandatum nouum do uobis ut **uos inuicem** diligatis [in Ps 118:40] AUPs 118.s12.5.9  
*Adaptation: ipse dominus praecepit ut nos inuicem diligamus* AUq 71.8  
*[Matt 5:17]...tale mandatum discipulis dedit unde lex ab eis posset impleri:* mandatum *inquit* nouum do uobis ut **uos inuicem** diligatis AU 33.33 (ms A3 **nouum inquit**)  
*nisi qui uenit dare caritatem.* mandatum nouum do uobis ut **uos inuicem** diligatis AU 125.10/697  
*dic iam domine quae mandata?* mandatum nouum do uobis ut **uos inuicem** diligatis AU 126.11.15/705  
*quod pertinet ad testamentum nouum per quod aeternam hereditatem speratis tenentes* mandatum nouum ut **uos inuicem** diligatis AU 228B.3  
*[Ps 118:96] quod mandatum nisi de quo dictum est* mandatum nouum do uobis ut **uos inuicem** diligatis. *quare latum nisi* [Rom 5:5] AU 269.3/1236  
*dominus christus...tanquam aedificando dicebat* mandatum nouum do uobis ut **uos inuicem** diligatis. mandatum *inquit* do uobis AU 336.1.1/1472  
*dominus...[Jn 6:41]...mandatum inquit* nouum do uobis ut diligatis inuicem AU 350.1/1533  
*ipse dominus hoc modo significat* mandatum nouum do uobis ut **uos inuicem** diligatis AU 350A.1  
*quando et mandatum nouum dominus non dixit nisi* ut **uos inuicem** diligatis. *et nouum dixit ipsum mandatum* AU 350A.1  
*[Ps 118:79,96] mandatum nouum do uobis ut uos inuicem diligatis. uide latitudinem mandati huius* AU 358.4/1583  
*[Jn 13:15] et paulo post* mandatum nouum do uobis ut diligatis inuicem sicut dilexi uos ut et uos diligatis inuicem AU 28/196.18 (ms R **et ut diligatis.**)  
*Reminiscence: consequens ergo est ut et proximum diligit quia hoc praecepit deus* AUtri 8.7.20  
*[PETI] quid enim dicit* mandatum nouum do uobis ut diligatis inuicem **quomodo** dilexi uos *et* [Jn 13:35] AUPet 2.75.167/105.18 (ms O dittography)

**<13:35> in hoc cognoscent omnes quia mei discipuli estis si dilectionem habueritis ad inuicem**  
*[Jn 13:34] et iterum in hoc scient omnes quia discipuli mei estis si uos inuicem dilexeritis* AUba 3.19.26/217.23 (ms v **mei discipuli**)  
*[Jn 10:16] qui clamat in euangelio in hoc scient omnes quia discipuli mei estis si ueram dilectionem habueritis in uobis et* [Matt 13:30] AUep 108.6.17/631.12

[Jn 13:34] in hoc cognoscent omnes quia mei discipuli estis si dilectionem habueritis ad inuicem AUEv 3.2.5/272.7 (ms B1 dilectionem **meam**)  
 [Jn 13:34] in hoc cognoscent omnes quia mei discipuli estis si dilectionem habueritis ad inuicem AUEv 3.2.6/273.25 (ms p cognoscetis, ms B1 **quoniam**)  
 et ipse dominus in hoc **scient** omnes quia **discipuli mei** estis si **uos inuicem diligatis** AUFau 17.6/489.20  
 [Jn 13:34] in hoc cognoscent omnes quia **discipuli mei** estis si dilectionem habueritis ad inuicem AUgr 17.36  
 in hoc cognoscent omnes quia mei discipuli estis si dilectionem habueritis **in** inuicem AUJo 65.3.1 [CT]  
 [Jn 13:34] et in hoc **scient** omnes quia **discipuli mei** estis si dilectionem habueritis **in** inuicem [in Ps 118:40] AUPs 118.s12.5.9  
 [Jn 13:34] tantum in ea sententia praecepti pondus constituens ut diceret in hoc **cognoscetur quoniam discipuli mei** estis si **uos inuicem diligatis** AUq 71.10 (mss H V diceretur, mss C\* D E G K L O R Eug Beda Flor **cognoscitur**, mss H I **quia mei estis discipuli**, ms V **quia mei discipuli**)  
 in hoc **enim cognoscitur inquit** quia **discipuli mei** estis si **uos inuicem diligatis** AUqSi 2.1.386 (ms B **cognoscimus**, mss T V maur **cognoscetur**)  
 [Jn 13:34] et iterum in hoc **scient** omnes quia **discipuli mei** estis si **uos inuicem dilexeritis** AU 350.1/1533  
 [Jn 13:34] in hoc cognoscent omnes quia mei discipuli estis si dilectionem habueritis ad inuicem AUSpe 28/196.20 (ms R estis discipuli)  
 [Jn 13:34] [PETI] et in hoc **scient** omnes quia mei discipuli estis si dilectionem habueritis **in** inuicem AUPet 2.75.167/105.19

**<13:36> dicit ei simon petrus domine quo uadis respondit iesus quo ego uado non potes me modo sequi sequeris autem postea**

cf. Jn 13:33

quod ipse dominus adhuc infirmo petri ait non potes me **sequi** modo sequeris autem postea AUep 93.1.3/448.15 (edd modo sequi)

[Jn 13:35] dicit ei simon petrus domine quo uadis respondit iesus quo ego uado non potes me modo sequi sequeris autem postea AUEv 3.2.5/272.9 (mss p l respondit **ei**, mss A1 E1 L1 potestis, mss C P F O N Q H A E g modo me sequi)

[Jn 13:35] dicit ei simon petrus domine quo uadis AUEv 3.2.6/274.2

petrum ut diceret quo uadis *quia dicentem audierat* [Jn 13:33] respondit iesus *eidem* quo ego uado non potes me modo sequi sequeris autem postea AUEv 3.2.6/274.4 (mss A1 E1 L *eidem* iesus, mss C P V om. **ego**, mss A1 E1 L non **potestis**, mss A E L a om. **me**, ms γ sequi modo, ms R autem **me**)

quo ego uado non potes me **sequi modo** sequeris autem postea AUJo 31.9.50

domine quo uadis respondit **ei** quo ego uado non potes me modo sequi sequeris autem postea AUJo 64.4.6

dicit ei simon petrus domine quo uadis respondit **quo** ego uado non potes me modo sequi sequeris autem postea AUJo 66.1.1 [CT]

non **potestis** me **sequi modo** AUJo 96.1.23

quomodo petro non potes me modo sequi sequeris **me** postea [Matt 20:23] [in Ps 103:14] AUPs 103.s3.9.81

nondum idoneus erat passioni sequeris **me** postea illi dictum erat AUPs 140.24.29

beatissimon apostolo petro iam dixerat non potes me **sequi modo** sequeris autem postea AU 223E.1

dixerat petrus [Matt 8:19] et dominus ad illum non potes me **sequi modo** sequeris autem postea. **modo** inquit non potes...non potes me **sequi modo**...adiunxit et ait sequeris autem postea AU 253.2.3/1180 (SC116 AU 253.3.58 (ms p5 me sequi me sequeris))

**<13:37> dicit ei petrus quare non possum sequi te modo animam meam pro te ponam**

Adaptation: nempe beatissimus apostolus petrus uolebat pro domino animo ponere AUan 4.7.11/390.22

haec uox et apostoli petri esse potuit dixerat quippe et ipse in abundantia sua animam meam pro te ponam AUcorr 24.35

[Jn 13:36] dicit ei petrus quare non possum sequi te modo animam meam pro te ponam AUEv 3.2.5/272.11 (ms edd. praeter g v te sequi)

[Jn 13:36] tunc ille quare non possum *inquit* sequi te modo animam meam pro te ponam AUEv 3.2.6/274.7 (ms B1 R D sequi modo (om.te))

[Jn 15:13, Rom 13:8-10, Matt 26:69-75 ref, 1Jn 4:18] et tamen quamuis parua et imperfecta non deerat quando dicebat domino [sc. apostolus petrus] animam meam pro te ponam AUgr 17.33

animam meam pro te ponam AUJo 47.11.25

quare **te** non possum sequi modo animam meam pro te ponam AUJo 66.1.14 [CT]

quare non possum **te** sequi modo animam meam pro te ponam AUJo 113.2.15

animam meam pro te ponam AUJo 113.6.15

Allusion: animam suam se positurum pro christo petrus putabat AUJo 123.4.24

Allusion: quanta profunditas infirmitatis latebat in petro quando quid in se ageretur intus nesciebat et se moriturum cum domino uel pro domino temere promittebat AUPs 41.13.41

quando ergo dicebat [Luke 22:33] et animam meam pro te ponam AU 147.1.1/797

quando autem dixerat animam meam pro te ponam AU 147.2.2/798

[Jn 13:36] *qui cum se non solum sequi uerum etiam praecedere iam posse crederet dicens* animam meam pro te ponam AUs 223E.1  
*respondit ergo domino petrus...quando ei dixerat* animam meam pro te ponam AUs 253.2.3/1180 (SC116 animam meam pro te **pono** AUs 253.3.40 (ms maur ponam))  
*plus promiserat quam poterat quia et indignum erat ut faceret quod promiserat.* animam meam *inquit* pro te ponam AUs 296.1.1/1353  
*beatus petrus...quando dixit domino* animam meam pro te ponam AUs 297.1.1/1359  
[Jn 21:18] *ubi est* [Luke 22:33] *ubi est* animam meam pro te ponam AUs 297.1.2/1359  
*petrus...ausus est polliceri [tecum usque ad mortem]* animam meam pro te ponam AUs 340A.8

**<13:38> respondit iesus animam tuam pro me ponis amen amen dico tibi non cantabit gallus donec me ter neges**

*cf. Matt 26:34, Luke 22:34*

[Jn 13:37] *respondit iesus animam tuam pro me ponis amen amen dico tibi non cantabit gallus donec me ter neges* AUEv 3.2.5/272.13 (ms B1 ponas, mss N2 E2 γ κ pones, ms B1 amen *semel*, ms g e l m v **ter me**)  
*iohannes autem amen amen dico tibi non cantabit gallus donec me ter neges* AUEv 3.2.7/276.4 (mss F p cantabit **hodie**, ms γ edd praeter p v **ter me**, mss C1 P negis, ms r **abneges**)

*respondit ergo iesus animam tuam pro me* **pones** amen amen dico tibi non cantabit gallus donec **ter me** neges AUJo 66.1.25 [CT]

donec me ter neges AUJo 66.2.27

non cantabit gallus donec **ter me** neges AUJo 67.2.5 [CT]

**ter me negabis** AUJo 113.6.16

[Jn 13:37] *respondit ei dominus animam tuam pro me* **pones amen** dico tibi **priusquam gallus cantet ter me negabis** AUs 147.1.1/797

*praenuntiauit accessionis periculum. tu inquit pro me* animam tuam ponis? *agnosce ordinem. ego prior pono. tu pro me* animam tuam ponis? **amen** dico tibi **priusquam gallus cantet ter me negabis** AUs 286.3.2/1298

[Matt 26:35] *et dominus ad praesumptorem animam tuam pro me* **pones? amen** dico tibi **antequam gallus cantet ter me negabis** AUs 295.3.3/1350

*cum uenisset christus pro petro moriturus animam inquit tuam pro me ponis? amen* dico tibi **antequam gallus cantet ter me negabis** AUs 299.7/1372

[Jn 13:37] *et ille medicus uenam cordis inspiciens animam tuam inquit pro me ponis amen* dico tibi **prius quam gallus cantet ter me negabis** AUs 340A.8

**<14:1> non turbetur cor uestrum creditis in deum et in me credite**

*uox illa est credite deo et me credite* AUcred 14/41.1

*sequitur idem iohannes et conserit domini sermonem dicentis* non turbetur cor uestrum creditis in deum et in me credite AUEv 3.3.9/279.1 (mss C P in deum creditis et me credite)

**credite** in deum et in me credite AUJo 54.3.30

non turbetur cor uestrum **credite** in deum et in me credite AUJo 67.1.4 (pauci mss *credit* in deum) [CT]

*dicat enim crede in me quod nemo sanctorum recte dicere potuit nisi sanctus sanctorum* **credite** in deum et in me credere ut...*deputetur fides ad iustitiam* AUpec 1.14.18/18.21

*nempe ipse dominus hominibus praecepit ut crederent atque ait* **credite** in deum et in me credite AUpers 14.34/1013 (Lov creditis; Am, Er mss, credite, iuxta graecum)

*non prohibuit dominum et propter incipiendum dicere quod paulo ante commemorauit* **credite** in deum et in me credite...[Lk 18:1] AUpers 14.35/1014

*ubi est qui uobis dicebat* **credite** in deum et in me credite [in Ps 68:7] AUPs 68.s1.11.4

**credite** in deum ait ipse christus et in me credite AUs 130A.6/61.141 (AUs DoI 19)

*hoc enim euangelista iohannes sonuit si quis aduertat si quis intelligat. ait enim dominus* non turbetur cor uestrum [Jn 14:28] AUs 264.2/1213

*quod aperte alio loco dicit* **credite** in deum et in me credite *id est sicut creditis in deum sic et in me quia ego et pater unus deus* [i.e. Jn 10:30] AUtri 1.12.154 (mss O3 P Vinc R dicit **credit**, ms P sicut **credidistis**)

**<14:2> in domo patris mei mansiones multae sunt si quo minus dixissem uobis quia uado parare uobis locum**

*neque enim dominus iesus in uniuersitate creaturae uel in qualibet uniuersitatis parte sed in domo patris mei dixit* **multae** mansiones sunt AUan 2.10.14/348.27 (mss AD **multae mansiones**, cett. **mansiones multae**)

*noli credere nec dicere nec docere aliquae mansionum esse extra regnum dei quas esse dominus dixit in domo patris sui si uis esse catholicus. non enim ait sicut hoc testimonium ipse posuisti multae mansiones sunt apud patrem meum - quod si ita dixisset non alibi essent intellegendae quam in domo patris eius - sed aperte ait in domo patris mei mansiones multae sunt* AUan 3.11.15/371.28 (ms T **patris eius**)

[Jn 14:1] in domo patris mei mansiones multae sunt AUEv 3.3.9/279.2



in domo patris mei mansiones multae sunt si quo minus dixissem uobis quia uado parare uobis locum AUJo 67.2.1 [CT]

in domo patris mei mansiones multae sunt si quo minus dixissem uobis quia uado parare uobis locum AUJo 68.1.4 [CT]

*ibi dominus nobis mansiones dabit aeternas multae inquit mansiones sunt apud patrem meum [in Ps 60:5] AUPs 60.6.10*

*ait enim secundum euangelistam iohannem multae mansiones sunt apud patrem meum alioquin dicerem uobis igo parare uobis locum AUJ 239.2.2/1127*

*Allusion: AUvg 26.26/263.3 multae mansiones sunt apud patrem (mss M E N multae sunt mansiones, ms X om.sunt)*

*[VINC-C] Adaptation: [Jn 3:5] praecipue quia multas esse mansiones apud patrem suum dominus profitetur AUan 2.10.14/348.17 (ms A multos)*

*[VINC-C] Adaptation: earum aliquas mansiones extra regnum dei esse quas multas in domo patris sui dominus dixit esse AUan 4.24.38/418.9*

**<14:3> et si abiero et praeparauero uobis locum iterum uenio et accipiam uos ad me ipsum ut ubi sum ego et uos sitis**

*dicit enim uerus ipse iesus et si iero et praeparauero uobis locum iterum ueniam et adsumam uos ad me AUFau 16.19/460.23*

et si abiero et praeparauero uobis locum iterum uenio et accipiam uos ad meipsum ut ubi sum ego et uos sitis AUJo 67.4.1 [CT]

et si abiero et praeparauero uobis locum iterum uenio et accipiam uos ad meipsum ut ubi ego sum et uos sitis AUJo 68.1.8 [CT]

et si abiero et praeparauero uobis locum iterum uenio et accipiam uos ad meipsum ut ubi ego sum et uos sitis AUJo 69.1.14 [CT]

et si abiero et praeparauero uobis locum iterum uenio et accipiam uos ad meipsum ut ubi ego sum et uos sitis AUJo 70.1.4 [CT]

*[Jn 14:2] sed si iero et parauero iterum ueniens assumam uos AUJ 239.2.2/1127*

**<14:4> et quo ego uado scitis et uiam scitis**

et quo ego uado scitis et uiam scitis AUJo 67.4.3 [CT]

et quo ego uado scitis et uiam scitis AUJo 68.3.30 [CT]

et quo ego uado scitis et uiam scitis AUJo 69.1.16 [CT]

et quo ego uado scitis et uiam scitis AUJo 70.1.7 [CT]

**<14:5> dicit ei thomas domine nescimus quo uadis et quomodo possumus uiam scire**

*dicit ei thomas domine nescimus quo uadis et quomodo possumus uiam scire AUJo 69.1.17 [CT]*

**<14:6> dicit ei iesus ego sum uia et ueritas et uita nemo uenit ad patrem nisi per me**

*ipse dixit ego sum ueritas AU1Jo 3.6/2000*

*credis christo ipse dixit ego sum ueritas AU1Jo 7.3/2030*

*quae est uia per quam currimus? christus dixit: ego sum uia. quae patria quo currimus? christus dixit: ego sum ueritas AU1Jo 10.1/2054*

*ac si christum dixisse constaret ut constat ego sum uita AU2an 1/51.23 (ms B ut et)*

*Allusion: non sic in uia quam christus humilis se ipsum esse docuit AUan 3.12.18/374.14*

*at ipse filius ait ego sum ueritas AUar 30.20*

*christum iesus...uocantem et dicentem ego sum uia et ueritas et uita AUcf 7.18.5 (mss A H V F μ uia ueritas, ms S uia ueritatis)*

*ait ipse saluator ego sum uia ueritas et uita AUci 10.32.82*

*deus est enim qui dixit ego sum ueritas AUci 14.4.9*

*filium intellegimus uitam qui dixit ego sum uia ueritas et uita AUChr 2.27/192.13*

*qui ait ego sum ueritas AUdo pro.130*

*sic enim ait ego sum uia et ueritas et uita AUdo 1.34.15*

*Allusion: cum ergo ipse dicat qui ueritas est AUdo 10.24/258.16*

*Allusion: ibi tamen hoc esse scriptum ille dicit qui ueritas est AUdo 10.25/260.19*

*quem uero euangelii lateat auditorem siue lectorem quis dixerit ego sum ueritas AUench 19.69*

*Allusion: non dicit uerum nisi ueritas christus est ueritas AUep 26.6/88.13*

*iustus est ille qui dixit ego sum ueritas AUep 33.3/20.15*

*Allusion: ambulemus in illa uia scilicet quae est christus AUep 93.10.35/480.20*

*quoniam christus dixit ego sum uia AUep 104.4.12/591.22*

*quando eum sequuntur qui dixit ego sum uia et legunt [Ps 24:10] AUep 104.4.16/593.24*

*Allusion: uita enim christus est AUep 140.25.62/207.24*

*Allusion: sicut dictus est [Jn 5:26] et eadem uita ipse est AUep 169.2.7/617.6*

*et tamen filius dictus est ueritas ego sum inquit uia et ueritas et uita AUep 238.4.22/550.19 (ms R uia ueritas)*

*Allusion: hoc ipse dixisset quia ueritas est* AUEv 2.70.137/240.24  
*quia ipse dixit ego sum uia* AUFau 12.26/355.15  
*istum christum qui dicit ego sum ueritas* AUFau 5.5/277.11  
*profecto christum clamantem ego sum ueritas* AUFau 6.9/302.13  
*cum uero et ipse dicat ego sum uita* AUFau 16.22/464.16  
*Allusion: sed ipse qui ueritas est aliud dicit* AUgr 18:38  
 ego sum uia **ueritas** et uita AUJo 13.4.10  
 ego sum uia **ueritas** et uita AUJo 22.8.4  
 ego sum uia **ueritas** et uita AUJo 34.9.10  
 ego sum uia et ueritas et uita AUJo 34.9.24  
 ego sum uia et ueritas et uita AUJo 39.7.18  
 ego sum uia et ueritas et uita AUJo 45.8.16  
 dicit ei iesus ego sum uia et ueritas et uita AUJo 69.1.22 nemo uenit ad patrem nisi per me AUJo 69.2.15 [CT]  
 ego sum uia **ueritas** et uita AUJo 70.2.13 nemo uenit ad patrem nisi per me AUJo 70.1.33 [CT]  
 ego sum uia et ueritas et uita AUJo 108.2.17  
**uia uita ueritas** AUJo 111.1.8  
*Reminiscence: mediator dei...per quod solum homo potest ad aeternum dei donum regnumque perducere* AUJul 4.3.33  
*qui dixit [Jn 8:32] et ego sum ueritas et [Jn 8:36]* AUJul 6.12.39  
*Reminiscence: qui nos uiam ueritatis docuit* AUleg 2.11.1117  
*ipse christus nonne inquit ego sum ueritas* AUmor 1.22.3  
*dictum est enim nemo uenit ad patrem nisi per me* AUmor 1.22.11  
*dicit ipsa sapientia in euangelio nemo uenit ad patrem nisi per me* AUmor 1.28.17  
*[Rom 10:2-4] qui dixit ego sum uia* AUna 32.36/259.23  
*christus...qui uerissime de se ipso dixit ego sum ueritas* AUPar 2.2.5/48.7 (mss E F I **uia et ueritas**, ms v **uia ueritas et uita**, mss G H **uia et ueritas et uita**)  
*Allusion: christus qui ueritas est* AUPar 2.11.24/75.23  
*item alio loco ego sum uia **ueritas** et uita nemo uenit ad patrem nisi per me* AUpec 1.27.40/39.12 (ms K **et ueritas**, ms Lm1 **a patrem**)  
*Allusion: christus hoc dixit, christus est ueritas* AUPet 2.78.174/109.5  
*Reminiscence: omnes deus docet uenire ad christum non quia omnes ueniunt sed quia nemo aliter uenit* AUprae 8.14/971  
*cum ille dixerit ego sum ueritas [in Ps 4:7]* AUPs 4.8.37  
*Allusion: secundum ergo illud quod dictum est per me **itur ad patrem*** AUPs 5.3.10  
*ipsa enim uia locutus est nobis et dixit ego sum uia **ueritas** et uita [in Ps 26:11]* AUPs 26.s2.20.14  
*non immerito ait ego sum uia et ueritas et uita [in Ps 31:6]* AUPs 31.s2.18.50  
*unde ueritas christus? ego sum ueritas [in Ps 39:11]* AUPs 39.18.3  
*in me inquit ambulate et non errabitis ego sum uia et ueritas et uita [in Ps 39:11]* AUPs 39.18.20  
*[Jn 8:12] ego sum uia **ueritas** et uita [in Ps 42:3]* AUPs 42.4.9  
*ambulant per uiam de qua ipse dixit ego sum uia et ueritas et uita [in Ps 48:6]* AUPs 48.s1.6.24  
*sed illius de qua dictum est ego sum uia et ueritas et uita* AUPs 55.20.60  
*et ipse christus ait ego sum ueritas [in Ps 56:4]* AUPs 56.10.14  
*Allusion: ad hoc descendens ut uiam doceret et uia fieret* AUPs 58.s1.7.24  
*Allusion: nobis christus est uia* AUPs 62.13.25  
*ubi erit in uita nisi in illo qui dixit ego sum uia **ueritas** et uita [in Ps 65:9]* AUPs 65.15.13  
*possumus eam de euangelio discere ego sum uia dominus ait. christus dixit ego sum uia sed times ne erres?*  
*adiexit et ueritas...times ne moriaris antequam peruenias? ego sum uita. ego sum inquit uia et ueritas et uita [in Ps 66:3]* AUPs 66.5.10  
*Reminiscence: ego prior transii ego sum ipsa uia* AUPs 70.s1.9.23  
*quae uia tua in sancto? ego sum inquit uia **ueritas** et uita [in Ps 76:14]* AUPs 76.15.4  
*quae uia facta est in conspectu eius? ego sum inquit uia **ueritas** et uita [in Ps 79:10]* AUPs 79.9.4  
*Reminiscence: ipse est ueritas quo festinamus et ipse est uia per quam curramus* AUPs 84.2.5  
*[Ps 85:11] uia tua ueritas tua uita tua christus. ergo corpus ad illum et corpus de illo. ego sum uia et ueritas et uita [Ps 85:11]* AUPs 85.15.3  
*Allusion: et sit tibi uia ille qui tibi factus est uia* AUPs 90.s1.4.16  
*christus est ipse est ego sum inquit uia **ueritas** et uita [in Ps 101:24]* AUPs 101.s2.7.8  
*Allusion: ueritas est ueritas christus est* AUPs 103.s3.14.19  
*propterea lumen est christus et uia est christus [Jn 1:9] et ego sum uia et ueritas et uita [in Ps 103:26]* AUPs 103.s4.6.52  
*qui de seipso dixit ego sum uia [in Ps 105:4]* AUPs 105.5.14  
*perducitur ergo ad christum qui dixit ego sum uia* AUPs 106.4.22  
*Allusion: christus ueritas est* AUPs 115.1.18  
*qui etiam dixit ego sum uia* AUPs 118.s3.3.3  
*cum ergo ipse dicat ego sum uia* AUPs 118.s6.3.11

*ipse quippe ait* ego sum uia **ueritas** et uita AUPs 118.s12.1.6  
*ipse enim dixit* ego sum uia **ueritas** et uita AUPs 123.2.30  
*Allusion: ipse enim christus factus est uia* AUPs 125.4.33  
*Allusion: ipse christus est uia* AUPs 134.20.34  
*aeternus enim est qui dixit* ego sum uia **ueritas** et uita [in Ps 138:24] AUPs 138.30.7  
*Allusion: quia christus est uia* AUPs 141.9.25  
*inuestigandum est quod ait iesus [Jn 6:44] et nemo uenit ad patrem nisi per me et [Jn 16:13] AUq 38.9*  
*christum qui dicit* ego sum uia AUre 1.4.3 (ref. AUsoI)  
*ipse enim dixit* ego sum ueritas AU 8.108  
*et iterum dicit* ego sum **ianua** nemo **potest uenire** ad patrem nisi per me AU 12.21 [cf. Jn 10:9]  
*unde dominus dicit* nemo uenit ad patrem nisi per me AU 12.141  
*et christus uita nostra est. ipse enim dixit* ego sum uia et ueritas et uita AU 64.2.3/426  
*audi ipsum christum dicentem* ego sum uia et ueritas et uita AU 94A.2  
*nonne ipse est qui dicit* ego sum uia et ueritas et uita AU 128.1.1/774  
*christus filius dei qui dixit* ego sum ueritas AU 134.5.6/746  
*de uerbis euangelii iohannis* ego sum uia et ueritas et uita AU 141 incipit/776  
*audistis quod ait dominus iesus* ego sum uia et ueritas et uita AU 141.1.1/776  
*nisi christus diceret* ego sum *inquit* uia et ueritas et uita. *tanquam diceret qua uis ire?* ego sum uia *quo uis ire?*  
*ego sum ueritas ubi uis permanere?* ego sum uita AU 142.1.1/778  
*audiat eum ipsum qui dixit [Matt 7:13] dicentem* ego sum uia. *quasi enim quaereret tumidus qua intrabo?* ego sum uia AU 142.5.5/781  
*nam sicut dixit* ego sum uia *ita etiam* ego sum **ianua** AU 142.5.5/781 [cf. Jn 10:9]  
*ideo dominus* ego *inquit* sum uia...*quaerebas qua ires* ego sum uia. *quaerebas quo ires* ego sum ueritas et uita AU 150.8.10/814  
*in christo enim ambulatis qui dixit* ego sum uia AU 157.2.2/860  
*nonne ipse dixit* ego sum ueritas AU 179.5.5/969  
*christus qui dixit* ego sum ueritas AU 182.5 (webtext; not in Migne)  
*ipsum dominum dixisse meminimus* ego sum uia AU 190.3.4/1009  
*qui solus reconciliat patri solusque uerissimus ait* nemo uenit ad patrem nisi per me AU 198.38/119.898 (AU Dol 26)  
*quia ipse dixit* ego sum ueritas AU 301A.5  
*pollicitationem domini nostri iesu christi dicentis* ego sum uia et ueritas et uita AU 306.2.2/1401  
*qua ire quaeris?* ego sum *inquit* uia. *quo ire quaeris?* et ueritas et uita AU 306.10.10/1405  
*pro christo mortuus est qui dixit* ego sum uia **ueritas** et uita AU 306E.10/303.13 (AU Dol 18)  
*dominus enim noster iesus christus qui ait* ego sum uia et ueritas et uita AU 346.1/1522  
*ille quippe ait* ego sum uia et ueritas et uita AU 346.2/1523  
*ipse dominus qui ait* ego sum uia et ueritas et uita AU 346.2/1523  
*nam secundum id quod ait* ego sum uia *secundum hoc ait* [Jn 8:32]. *et secundum id quod ait* et ueritas et uita *secundum hoc ait* [Jn 8:32] AU 346.2/1523  
*Allusion: uia christus est. ille panis ille pax ipse est et uia.* AU 360C.4/304.51 (AU Dol 27)  
*Adaptation: homo christus uia tua est deus christus patria tua est. patria nostra ueritas et uita uia nostra* [Jn 1:14] AU 375C.5  
*Reminiscence: quod uerbum et ueritas dicitur et uirtus et sapientia dei* AU 2.3/6.16  
*[Prov 8:22] qui secundum formam dei dixit* ego sum ueritas *et secundum formam serui* ego sum uia AU 1.12.32  
*et ille si quod legisti agnoscis ueritas uocatur* ego sum *inquit* uia et ueritas et uita AU 19.23/333.24  
*etiam hoc enim dictus est* ego sum ueritas AU 4.255

*[Euodius] quia [Jn 14:9] inquit et nemo uenit ad patrem nisi per me et [Jn 6:44] AUep 160.4/506.8*  
*[FO-M] secundum sanctam ipsius pollicitationem qui dixit* ego sum uia **ueritas** et **ianua** et nemo **potest** ad patrem **peruenire** nisi per me AU 3/86.2 (ms A **ueritas et uita nemo**, mss P S **ianua nemo**, mss A S **uenire**)  
*[FO-M] non poterunt ad regnum dei reuerti nisi ipsum reppererint ueritatem uiam et ianuam* AU 3/86.6  
*[HI] sequor christum dicentem* ego sum uia et **uita** et **ueritas** AUep 75.4.18/315.4 (mss H K O V S **om.sum**, ms V **ui\*a**, ms H **uia uita**, mss B S A **et ueritas et uita**, mss Q R E edd **uia ueritas et uita**)  
*[JUL] Allusion: AUJul im 2.150.3 ostensoque ueritatis ipsius quam se esse christus appellauit* (ms C om.se)  
*[LIB] dicit et Libosus Uagensis in euangelio dominus* ego sum *inquit* ueritas AUba 3.6.9/203.17 (CYsent 60) (ms V inquit)  
*[LIB] Libosus a Uaga dixit in euangelio dominus* ego sum *inquit* ueritas AUba 6.37.71/334.16 (CYsent 30 (sic!)) (ms V inquit)  
*[Paulinus] [Ps 13:3] id est christum qui dicit* ego sum uia AUep 121.1.5/727.24

**<14:7> si cognouissetis me et patrem meum utique cognouissetis et amodo cognoscitis eum et uidistis eum**  
**si cognouistis** me et patrem meum utique **cognouistis** et amodo cognoscitis eum et uidistis eum AUJo 70.2.1  
(mss m2 si *cognouissetis* me, plures mss patrem meum *cognoscetis* corr. in *cognouissetis*) [CT]

et amodo **cognoscetis** eum et uidistis eum AUJo 70.2.23  
 si **cognouistis** me et patrem meum **cognouistis** et amodo **cognoscetis** eum et uidistis eum AUJo 70.2.30  
 si **cognouistis** me et patrem meum **cognouistis** et amodo **cognoscetis** eum et uidistis eum AUJo 70.2.49

**<14:8> dicit ei philippus domine ostende nobis patrem et sufficit nobis**

*Allusion: quoniam tu deus diligenti te quantum praecipis ostendis ei te et sufficis ei* AUcf 12.15.26  
*philippus et sic satiari cupiebat dicens* ostende nobis patrem et sufficit nobis AUep 147.11.26/300.7  
 domine ostende nobis patrem et sufficit nobis AUJo 14.12.3  
 domine ostende nobis patrem et sufficit nobis AUJo 37.5.8  
 domine ostende nobis patrem et sufficit nobis AUJo 70.2.6 [CT]  
 ostende nobis patrem et sufficit nobis AUJo 101.5.30  
*sed forte discipuli uiderunt quando illi dicebant* ostende nobis patrem [in Ps 37:8] AUPs 37.11.37  
*hoc enim putauit et philippus cum ei dixit* domine ostende nobis patrem et sufficit nobis. *cum dicit* sufficit nobis  
*finem quaerit satietatis et perfectionis* [in Ps 45:1] AUPs 45.1.31  
*philippus...dicebat domino iesu christo* ostende nobis patrem et sufficit nobis AUPs 76.1.14  
*dicunt illi discipuli* ostende nobis patrem et sufficit nobis [in Ps 85:16] AUPs 85.21.40  
*[Ps 89:14]...sicut enim alibi ait [Ps 16:15] unde dicitur* ostende nobis patrem et sufficit nobis *atque ipse dominus*  
*ait [Jn 14:21]* AUPs 89.15.13  
*uideo hoc in philippo* ostende *inquit* nobis patrem et sufficit nobis AUPs 102.10.31  
*Allusion: etenim hic philippus te uidebat et patrem quaerebat* AUPs 109.13.46  
*sicut philippus desiderabat cum diceret* ostende nobis patrem et sufficit nobis [in Ps 134:6] AUPs 134.11.15  
*philippus dicit* ostende nobis patrem et sufficit nobis [in Ps 58:6] AUPs 58.s1.10.80  
*unum autem hoc est illud unum* domine ostende nobis patrem et sufficit nobis [in Ps 38:4] AUPs 38.6.21  
*quod cum philippus...diceret* domine ostende nobis patrem et sufficit nobis AUs 14A.4/70.48 (AUs Dol 20)  
*gaudens ait* ostende nobis patrem et sufficit nobis. *quid est* sufficit nobis AUs 14A.4/71.53 (AUs Dol 20)  
*quomodo ait philippus* ostende nobis patrem et sufficit nobis AUs 68.9 (webtext; not in Migne)  
*ipse habebis de quo dicitur* domine ostende nobis patrem et sufficit nobis AUs 72.10/333.174 (AUs Dol 16)  
*nam cum ei diceret philippus* domine ostende nobis patrem et sufficit nobis AUs 88.4.4/541  
*et ideo sic respondit dicenti* ostende nobis patrem et sufficit nobis AUs 88.4.4/541  
*nihil tibi sufficit nisi deus.* ostende nobis patrem et sufficit nobis AUs 90A.14/74.284 (AUs Dol 11)  
*quando dixit philippus* ostende nobis patrem et sufficit nobis AUs 125.3/691  
*ex ipsa uoce dictum est* domine ostende nobis patrem et sufficit nobis AUs 125.11/698  
*sic loquens apostolo quidam ait quaerenti uidere patrem ut sufficeret ei et dicenti* ostende nobis patrem et sufficit  
 nobis AUs 126.10.14/704  
*philippus...ait domino sitiens* domine ostende nobis patrem et sufficit nobis. *quid est* sufficit nobis? AUs 142.6  
 (webtext: not in Migne)  
*dicite uocem philippi* domine ostende nobis patrem et sufficit nobis AUs 145.6/795  
*de quo dictum est* ostende nobis patrem et sufficit nobis AUs 177.9/958  
*nisi quia satiat nos?* ostende ergo nobis patrem et sufficit nobis AUs 194.3.3/1017  
*unde dicitur a philippo* ostende nobis patrem et sufficit nobis AUs 198.33/116.785 (AUs Dol 26)  
*dictum est enim domino* ostende nobis patrem et sufficit nobis AUs 229G.2  
*adhuc aliquid maius desideramus* ostende nobis patrem et sufficit nobis AUs 229G.2  
*nisi quia me nondum uidet.* ostende nobis patrem et sufficit nobis AUs 229G.3  
*ut hoc diceret cuidam discipulo dicenti sibi* domine ostende nobis patrem et sufficit nobis AUs 264.2/1213  
*domine ait illi philippus* ostende nobis patrem et sufficit nobis...ostende *inquit* nobis patrem et sufficit nobis. *bene*  
*philippe bene optime intelligis quod tibi sufficit pater. quid est* sufficit? AUs 288.5/1307  
*dat se ipsum nobis et sufficit nobis. det se ipsum nobis et sufficiat nobis. philippum apostolum audite in euangelio*  
 domine ostende nobis patrem et sufficit nobis AUs 331.4.4/1461  
*ipse enim sufficit tibi praeter illum nihil sufficit tibi. nouerat hoc philippus quando dicebat* domine ostende nobis  
 patrem et sufficit nobis AUs 334.3/1469  
*qui domino christo ait* ostende nobis patrem et sufficit nobis AUsp 33.59/219.12  
*Adaptation: ostendetur enim nobis pater et sufficiet nobis* (mss Ca Ka ostenditur, ms Ra sufficit) AUtri 1.8.104  
*[Jn 14:8] quod bene intellexerat philippus ut diceret* domine ostendit nobis patrem et sufficit nobis AUtri 1.8.106  
 (mss A C K P μ domino)  
*[Jn previous cit] sed nondum intellexerat eo quoque modo idipsum se potuisse dicere* domine ostende nobis **te** et  
 sufficit nobis AUtri 1.8.108 (ms P te nobis)  
*[Ps 90:16] siue ergo audiamus* ostende nobis filium siue audiamus ostende nobis patrem *tantundem ualet* AUtri  
 1.8.121  
*Reminiscence: aequalis est patris ut ibi esset finis uisionis quae* sufficit nobis (ms C sufficiet) AUtri 1.9.14  
*Reminiscence: [Jn 14:8] aliquando item de filio solo dicitur quod ipse sufficiat et in eius uisione merces tota*  
*promittitur dilectionis et desiderii nostri. sic enim ait [Jn 14:21]* AUtri 1.9.15

<14:9> dicit ei iesus tanto tempore uobiscum sum et non cognouistis me philippe qui uidit me uidit et patrem quomodo tu dicis ostende nobis patrem

[Jn 1:3] *qualem se cognosci uolebat quando ait philippo* tanto tempore uobiscum sum et non cognouistis me philippe qui uidet me uidet et patrem AU1Jo 3.2/1998

[Jn 1:18]. *quamquam et ipsum euangelium potest putari sibi esse contrarium. quo modo enim uerum est quod in eo dicitur qui me uidit uidit et patrem si* [Jn 1:18] AUep 147.5.13/286.12 (mss T T1 O L uidet uidet, ms L uidet \*\* [fuit et] uidet)

*nam quod dominus ait qui me uidit uidit et patrem* AUep 147.5.16/288.3 (mss P L uidet uidet, mss T T1 O A L patrem meum)

*neque enim dixit 'quia me uidistis uidistis et patrem' sed dicendo qui me uidit uidit et patrem* AUep 147.5.16/288.6 (mss P L uidet uidet)

*quoniam uerum dictum est qui me uidit uidit et patrem* AUep 147.5.16/288.9 (mss P L uidet uidet)

*solus idem iohannes commemorauit et qui quod dictum est qui me uidit uidit et patrem quod hic philippo dicebatur* AUep 147.12.29/303.18 (mss P L uidet uidet, mss T O L patrem meum)

[Jn 10:30]...*solus idem iohannes commemorauit et qui me uidit uidit et patrem et* [Jn 14:10] et [Jn 17:22] AUEv 1.4.7/7.8 (ms T qui uidit me, ms Q uidet uidit, mss C2 P2 V O2 A2 E2 S U γ p g r a e l v uidet uidet, mss C P V patrem meum)

*idem iohannes inmoratus est ubi dixit qui uidit me uidit et patrem* AUEv 4.10.19/414.7 (mss B2 C2 V F2 N edd praeter m v uidet uidet, mss M κ patrem meum)

*cum eis dicebat tanto tempore uobiscum sum et non cognouistis me* AUFau 13.8/388.15

*quid est enim tanto tempore uobiscum sum* AUFau 13.8/388.16

*quid est autem aliud et non cognouistis me* AUFau 13.8/388.18

*quem nisi eum qui dicit qui me uidit uidit et patrem* AUFau 13.8/388.20 (ms b uidet x2)

tanto tempore uobiscum sum et non cognouistis me philippe qui uidet me uidet et patrem AUJo 13.3.29

tanto tempore uobiscum sum et non cognouistis me philippe qui me uidit uidit et patrem AUJo 14.12.14

tanto tempore uobiscum sum et non cognouistis me philippe qui me uidit uidit et patrem AUJo 14.12.31

qui me uidet uidet et patrem meum AUJo 19.18.42

tanto tempore uobiscum sum et non cognouistis me philippe qui uidit me uidit et patrem AUJo 29.8.13

tanto tempore uobiscum sum et me nescitis philippe qui me uidit uidit et patrem AUJo 37.5.17

qui me uidit uidit et patrem AUJo 48.10.15

tanto tempore uobiscum sum et non cognouistis me philippe qui uidet me uidet et patrem AUJo 70.2.7 quomodo enim dicis ostende nobis patrem AUJo 70.3.5 [CT]

qui me uidet uidet et patrem AUJo 70.2.43

qui uidet me uidet et patrem quomodo tu dicis ostende nobis patrem AUJo 70.3.19

*ubi autem ait qui me uidit uidit et patrem* AUMax 2.24/802

[Jn 14:8] et ille ut ab eis se non uisum esse monstraret subiecit tanto tempore uobiscum sum et non cognouistis me philippe qui me uidet uidet et patrem [in Ps 37:8] AUPs 37.11.38

*quaerebat ipse cum diceret qui me uidet uidet et patrem* AUPs 44.3.6

[Jn 14:8] et ille tanto inquit tempore uobiscum sum et non cognouistis me philippe qui uidet me uidet et patrem [in Ps 45:1] AUPs 45.1.33

[Jn 14:8] *quamdiu ergo dicam tanto tempore uobiscum sum et patrem non nostis philippe qui me uidit uidit et patrem* [in Ps 58:6] AUPs 58.s1.10.81

*Reminiscence: [Ps 68:10] qui me cognouit cognouit et patrem* [Jn 5:23] AUPs 68.s1.13.28

[Jn 14:8 and 10:18]...*admonuit philippum...quia ipse et pater unum sunt tanto inquit tempore uobiscum sum et non uidistis me philippe qui me uidit uidit et patrem* AUPs 76.1.21

*sed non eum uidebant deum qualem se uolebat uideri dicens qui me uidit uidit et patrem* AUPs 81.2.36

*ipsum audi christum qui me uidit uidit et patrem* [in Ps 84:8] AUPs 84.9.64

[Jn 14:8] *ait illis tanto tempore uobiscum sum et non me nostis philippe qui me uidit uidit et patrem* AUPs 85.21.41

[Jn 14:8]...*ostendit dominus...et dixit tanto tempore uobiscum sum et patrem non nostis philippe qui me uidet uidet et patrem* AUPs 102.10.33

*audiamus ipsum uerbum qui me uidit uidit et patrem* [Ps 103:34] AUPs 103.s4.18.19

*nam et philippus obiurgatus est quod quaereret uidere patrem cum in ipso filio non agnosceret patrem tanto tempore uobiscum sum et non cognouistis me philippe qui me uidit uidit et patrem. sed qui me uidit non qui formam serui in me uidit. qui ergo me uidit qualem me abscondi timentibus me qualem me uidendum perficio sperantibus in me uidit et patrem* AUPs 109.14.3

*uideamus quid dicat philippo cui dixerat qui me uidit uidit et patrem* AUPs 109.14.9

*qui dixerat qui me uidit uidit et patrem* AUPs 109.14.14

*quales oculos quaerebat ipse christus quando dicebat philippo tanto tempore uobiscum sum et non me uidistis* AUPs 127.8.24

[Jn 14:10] philippe qui me uidet uidet et patrem AU 47.650 (ms β 1 β3 Filippe, mss β1 β2 β3 β5 maur uidit x2)

*ait philippo tanto tempore uobiscum sum et non cognouistis me* AU 14A.4/71.61 (AU 20)

[Jn 14:8] tanto tempore uobiscum sum et non me cognouistis philippe qui me uidit uidit et patrem AU 88.4.4/541

[Jn 14:10] iam dudum dixerat qui **me uidit** uidit et patrem AUs 88.4.4/541  
*poterat utique philippus respondere et dicere domine ecce te uideo talisne est pater quale est hoc quod uideo quoniam dixisti* qui **me uidit** uidit et patrem. *antequam hoc responderet philippus uel fortasse antequam cogitaret cum dixisset dominus* qui **me uidit** uidit et patrem AUs 88.4.4/541  
 [Jn 13:1] tanto tempore ait uobiscum sum et non **cognouisti** me AUs 104.6 (webtext; not in Migne)  
 [Jn 14:8]...*quando respondit dominus* tanto tempore uobiscum sum et non cognouistis me **qui me uidet uidet** et patrem AUs 125.3/691  
 [Jn 14:8]...*ait illi* tanto tempore uobiscum sum et non cognouistis me **qui me uidet uidet** et patrem AUs 126.10.14/704  
 [Jn 14:8] *et dominus* tanto tempore uobiscum sum et non cognouistis me philippe qui **me uidet uidet** et patrem AUs 142.6 (webtext - not in Migne)  
 [Jn 14:8] *dicit uobis dominus* tanto tempore uobiscum sum et non cognouistis me philippe qui **me uidet uidet** et patrem AUs 145.6/795  
 [Jn 14:8] *sed* tanto *inquit* tempore uobiscum sum et non cognouistis me **qui me uidit** et patrem **uidit** AUs 177.9/958  
 [Jn 14:8, Ps 16:15, Jn 10:30] *et qui ipsum uidet uidet et patrem...*[Ps 23:10, Ps 79:4] AUs 194.3.3/1017  
 [Jn 14:8]...*et ille uolens se ostendere patrem aequalem* tanto *inquit* tempore uobiscum sum et non cognouistis me AUs 229G.2  
 [Jn 14:9, previous cit] philippe qui **me uidit** uidit et patrem. *quid est* qui **me uidit** uidit et patrem *nisi quia non me uides tu quia maiorem putas patrem?* qui **me uidit** uidit et patrem AUs 229G.3  
*audiuit a domino* qui **me uidit** uidit et patrem *considerate non frustra dictum* uidit et patrem. *non dixit* qui **me uidit** uidit *patrem* AUs 229G.3  
*non dixit* qui **me uidit** uidit *patrem sed* uidit et patrem AUs 229G.3  
 [Jn 14:8] *et ille philippe* tanto tempore uobiscum sum et **patrem nescitis** **qui me uidit** uidit et patrem. *quid est* qui **me uidit**?...*quid est ergo* qui **me uidit**? AUs 264.2/1213  
*sicut ipse dominus* [Jn 10:30] *et alio loco* qui **me uidit** uidit et patrem *quomodo hic* [Jn 14:28] AUs 264.4/1214  
 [Jn 14:8]...*ergo respondeat philippo uolenti uidere* tanto tempore uobiscum sum et non cognouistis me philippe qui uidit me uidit et patrem *quid est* philippe qui uidit me uidit et patrem *nisi tu non uidisti ideo quaeris patrem?* philippe qui **me uidit** uidit et patrem...qui **me inquit uidit** uidit et patrem AUs 288.5/1307  
*agnoscitis* [Jn 10:30] *agnoscitis* qui **me uidet patrem uidet** *agnoscitis* [Jn 1:1] AUs 359B.8/68.167 (AUs Dol 2)  
*ipse enim dicit* qui **me uidit** uidit et patrem AUSe 7/915.16 (ms b **uidet** x2)  
 [Jn 14:8] *cui responsum est* qui **me uidit** uidit et patrem *quia* [Jn 17:3] AUsp 33.59/219.13 (ms Lm1 **me uidet**, mss K b **uidet** x2, ms O **om.et**)  
*ne falsa sint illa* [Jn 10:30] *et qui* **me uidit** uidit et patrem **meum et deus erat uerbum** AUsy 9.18/22.4 (mss P T N V O γ **uidet** x2, ms F **om.et**, mss A F S T N M V O γ **om.meum**)  
 [Jn 14:8] *ut enim hoc intellexeret responsum est ei a domino* tanto tempore uobiscum sum et non cognouistis me philippe qui **me uidit** uidit et patrem AUtri 1.8.109 (mss A B C2 N2 O3 F **me uidet**, mss J P **uidet me**, mss I μ **uidit me**, mss A B C2 N2 O3 F J **uidet et**, ms F **patrem meum**),  
*unde enim dicit philippo a quo...**in carne uidebatur* tanto tempore uobiscum sum et non cognouistis me philippe qui **me uidit** uidit et patrem AUtri 4.19.33 (ms F **uidet me**, mss O3 S F J P **uidet** x2, ms R(eras) **patrem meum**)

[AM] *ambrosius...inquit...nec apostoli omnes christum uidebant et ideo ait* tanto tempore uobiscum sum et **adhuc me** non cognouistis AUep 147.6.18/291.19 (AMLc 1:24-27)  
 [AM] *ambrosius...consequenter aperuit dicens: 'denique nec apostoli omnes christum uidebant et ideo ait* tanto tempore uobiscum sum et **adhuc me** non cognouistis AUep 147.12.29/304.10 (ms H suum) (AMLc 1:24-27)  
 [AM] *continuo subiecit 'et ideo ait* tanto tempore uobiscum sum et **adhuc me** non cognouistis' AUep 147.14.33/307.9 (AMLc 1:24-27)  
 [Euodius] *quia* qui **me uidit inquit** uidit et patrem *et* [Jn 14:6] *et* [Jn 6:44] AUep 160.4/506.7 (mss Scorr Vcorr P3m1(ut uid) **uidet inquit uidet**, mss P H I s r **uidet inquit uidet**)  
 [FO-M] *ipse enim dixit* qui **me uidit** uidit et patrem AUfo 3/86.6 (ms b **uidet** (x2?), mss P S b **patrem meum**)  
 [MAX] *et ea de causa ipse christus dicebat* qui **me uidit** uidit et patrem AUMax co 13/730  
 [MAX] [Jn 10:30]. *nam in quod dicit* qui **me uidit** uidit et patrem *certa fide credendum est quia qui uidet filium per filium uidet et intellegit patrem* AUMax co 24/738

<14:10> non credis quia ego in patre et pater in me est uerba quae ego loquor uobis a me ipso non loquor pater autem in me manens ipse facit opera

cf. Jn 14:11

cum...dicat pater autem in me manens **facit** opera **sua** AUAr 15.49 (ms W **om. sua**)

[Jn 14:9] *et ego in patre et pater in me et* [Jn 17:22] AUEv 1.4.7/7.8 (mss D p a e l m v **me est**)

[Jn 5:17] *et ne quisquam putaret apud se illum aliquid operari non in hoc mundo pater in me manens inquit facit opera sua et* [Jn 5:21] AUGn li 5.20/163.27

pater autem in me manens ipse facit opera **sua** AUJo 20.6.17

pater autem in me manens **facit** opera **sua** AUJo 21.17.29

non credis quia ego in patre et pater in me est AUJo 70.3.8 uerba quae ego loquor uobis a meipso non loquor pater autem in me manens ipse facit opera AUJo 71.1.3 [CT]  
**non** a meipso loquor pater autem in me manens ipse facit opera AUJo 71.2.2  
 pater **in** me manens ipse facit opera AUJo 71.2.34  
 uerba quae ego loquor uobis a meipso non loquor pater autem in me manens ipse facit opera AUJo 72.3.23 [CT]  
 ego in patre et pater in me est AUJo 111.3.33  
*[Jn 14:9]* non credis quia ego in patre et pater in me est *[in Ps 58:6]* AUPs 58.s1.10.82  
*quia ipse dixerat* ego in patre et pater in me est *[in Ps 34:13]* AUPs 34.s2.5.25  
*quoniam ipse ait* pater autem in me manens ipse facit opera **sua**. **ego** in patre et pater in me. *[in Ps 67:17]* AUPs 67.23.37  
*[Jn 14:9]...ideo consequenter subiecit et ait nescitis* quia ego in patre et pater in me AUPs 85.21.44  
*dixisti enim et alibi* pater autem in me manens **facit** opera **sua** *[in Ps 109:3]* AUPs 109.13.42  
*[Jn 14:9] quia multum erat ad philippum et longe ab eo erat uidere* non credis *inquit* quia ego in patre et pater in me est AUPs 109.14.15  
*[2 Cor 5:19] et ipse dominus ait* pater **in** me manens ipse facit opera **sua** AUqEv 2.33.77 (mss A D **om. sua**)  
*[Jn 14:9]...non credis inquit* quia ego in patre et pater in me? AUs 14A.4/71.63 (AUs Dol 20)  
*[Ezek 34:23]* non credis *inquit* quia ego in patre et pater in me est *[Jn 14:9]* AUs 47.649 (mss α1 β1 β2 β3 ε **in me** (**om. est**))  
*et ubi est* pater autem in me manens ipse facit opera? AUs 52.5.14/359  
*christus quid est quod ipse dicit* pater autem in me manens ipse facit opera? *ita enim dictum est* ipse facit opera AUs 71.15.25/458  
*et illud ideo dictum esse de patre* ipse facit opera AUs 71.16.26/459  
*[Jn 14:9]...statim subiecit* non credis quia ego in patre et pater in me est...*[Jn 14:9]* AUs 88.4.4/541  
*suscepit et ait* non credis quia ego in patre et pater in me est AUs 88.4.4/541  
*[Jn 14:9] continuo subiunxit* non credis quia ego in patre et pater in me est AUs 88.4.4/541  
*[Jn 14:9]...secutus est et ait* non credis quia ego in patre et pater in me? *[2 Cor 5:6-7]* AUtri 1.8.112 (mss S T Eug (G P v) μ **quia**, mss cett codd **quoniam**, mss A N2 O3 F J P T μ in me **est**)

#### <14:11> non creditis quia ego in patre et pater in me est

cf. Jn 14:10

non creditis quia ego in patre et pater in me est AUJo 71.2.41 [CT]

non **credis** quia ego in patre et pater in me est AUJo 101.5.31

#### <14:12> alioquin propter opera ipsa credite amen amen dico uobis qui credit in me opera quae ego facio et ipse faciet et maiora horum faciet quia ego ad patrem uado

maiora horum **facietis** AUJo 44.5.26

maiora horum **facietis** AUJo 44.5.27

alioquin propter opera ipsa credite AUJo 71.2.42 amen amen dico uobis qui credit in me opera quae ego facio et ipse faciet et maiora horum faciet quia ego ad patrem uado AUJo 71.3.1 [CT]

qui credit in me opera quae ego facio et ipse faciet et maiora horum faciet quia ego ad patrem uado AUJo 72.1.2 [CT]

qui credit in me opera quae ego facio **faciet** et maiora horum faciet quia ego ad patrem uado AUJo 73.2.5 [CT]

*Allusion: ergo et illa maiora opera seipsum facturum esse promisit* AUJo 71.3.7

*Allusion: maiora quam ipse facit dicit eos esse facturos* AUJo 71.3.9

*Reminiscence: nisi enim homo faciat quod deo non donante ad hominem pertinet non faciet ipse quod donet* AUprae 10.20/975

*Reminiscence: in christo enim maiora uidentur fecisse apostoli quam ipse dominus. sed unde fieri potest ut plus ualeant sarmenta quam radix? quomodo autem quasi maiora uidentur fecisse illi quam ille?* AUPs 130.6.39

#### <14:13> et quodcumque petieritis in nomine meo hoc faciam ut glorificetur pater in filio

et **quaecumque** petieritis in nomine meo **haec** faciam ut glorificetur pater in filio AUJo 71.3.4 [CT]

et **quaecumque** petieritis in nomine meo **haec** faciam ut glorificetur pater in filio AUJo 72.1.23 [CT]

quodcumque petieritis in nomine meo hoc faciam AUJo 72.3.29

et quodcumque petieritis in nomine meo hoc faciam AUJo 73.1.2 ut glorificetur pater in filio AUJo 73.4.15 [CT]

#### <14:14> si quid petieritis in nomine meo hoc faciam

si quid petieritis **in** nomine meo hoc faciam AUJo 71.3.5 [CT]

si quid petieritis **in** nomine meo hoc faciam AUJo 73.4.16 [CT]

#### <14:15> si diligitis me mandata mea seruare

cf. Jn 14:21

si diligitis me mandata mea seruare AUJo 74.1.2 [CT]

*[Jn 13:35] et paulo post* si diligitis me mandata mea seruare AUspe 28/196.21 (ms M **diligatis**)

*quid enim sibi uult quod ait* si diligitis me mandata mea seruare AUtri 1.8.138 (ms Ka **diligetis**)

[MAX] [Rom 8:33-34]. *aeque cum discipulis positus christus sic se rogaturum promisit dicens si diligitis me mandata mea seruare* AUMax co 12/716

<14:16> **et ego rogabo patrem et alium paracletum dabit uobis ut maneat uobiscum in aeternum**

*cf. Jn 14:26, Jn 15:26*

*ipse significat ubi dicit rogabo patrem et alium **aduocatum** dabit uobis* AUAr 19.5 (ms St\* **uocatum** (corr. **aduocatum**), ms O **om. uobis**)

*Allusion: unde mitteret ex alto promissionem suam paracletum spiritum ueritatis* (mss C D O2 H B P Z E F **paraclitum**, mss A V G M **paraclytum**) AUcf 9.4.49

*ambrosius...interposuit uerba domini dicentis rogabo patrem et alium **paraclitum** dabit uobis **qui uobiscum sit** in aeternum* AUep 148.2.6/336.22 (mss P T **patrem meum**, ms F **paracletum**, Ambros Vulg **ut uobiscum**)

*Allusion: spiritum sanctum quem dominus missurum se esse promisit* AUep 237.2/527.13

*Allusion: [Jn 14:9] ubi multa locutus est de spiritu sancto paracleto quem missurus eis erat* AUEv 4.10.19/414.7

*Allusion: cum enim christum promiserit suis missurum se paracletum, id est consolatorem uel aduocatum, spiritum ueritatis* (mss C M2 **paraclitum**) AUFau 13.17/398.23

*Allusion: per paracletum non sane illum quem christus discipulis promisit et misit* AUFau 19.22

*ubi dominus ait et alium paracletum **mittam** uobis* AUfu 6/199.16 (ms T **paraclitum**)

*Allusion: illa scriptura ubi lego uenisse spiritum sanctum et apostolos inspirasse quibus eum dominus se missurum esse promiserat* AUfu 14/210.9

*et ego rogabo patrem et alium paracletum dabit uobis ut maneat uobiscum in aeternum* AUJo 74.1.3 [CT]

*[Jn 16:7] et [Matt 12:32] et cum de se ipso dixerit [Matt 28:20] de illo dixit ut **uobiscum sit** in aeternum* AUMax 2.26.14/814

*[Jn 14:15] et ego rogabo patrem et alium **aduocatum** dabit uobis ut **uobiscum sit** in aeternum* AUtri 1.8.138 (ms T **paraclitum**, ms I **et maneat**)

*[1 Cor 2:15]. sed adhuc uideri potest ideo dictum et ego rogabo patrem et alium **aduocatum** dabit uobis* AUtri 1.8.143 (ms T **patrem meum**, ms T **paraclitum**)

*paulo quippe superius ait et ego rogabo patrem et alium **aduocatum** dabit uobis ut **uobiscum sit** in aeternum* AUtri 1.9.47

[MAX] [Jn 14:15] et ego rogabo patrem et alium **aduocatum** dabit uobis ut **uobiscum sit** in aeternum AUMax co 12/716

<14:17> **spiritum ueritatis quem mundus non potest accipere quia non uidet eum nec scit eum uos autem cognoscitis eum quia apud uos manebit et in uobis erit**

*[Jn 14:16] spiritum ueritatis quem **hic** mundus non potest accipere quia non uidet eum nec **cognoscit** eum* AUep 148.2.6/337.2 (codd **uidit**, ms V **cognouit**)

*etiam uos dicere soletis [Jn 16:13] et [1 Cor 13:10] et mundus **eum accipere** non potest* AUFau 32.17/778.11

*quod autem dictum est mundus **eum accipere** non potest* AUFau 32.18/779.21

*spiritum ueritatis quem mundus non potest accipere quia non uidet eum nec scit eum uos autem **cognoscetis** eum quia apud uos manebit et in uobis erit* AUJo 74.1.4 [CT]

*mundus **ergo eum accipere** non potest quia non uidet eum **neque** scit eum* AUJo 74.4.13

*quem mundus accipere non potest quia non uidet eum **neque cognoscit** eum* AUJo 75.2.4 [CT]

*quem mundus non potest accipere quia non uidet eum nec scit eum uos autem **cognoscetis** eum quia apud uos manebit et in uobis erit* AUJo 76.4.3 [CT]

*uos autem **cognoscetis** eum quia apud uos manebit et in uobis erit* AUJo 77.1.5

*Adaptation: quia in promissione spiritus sancti paracliti dictum est quod eum mundus iste accipere non possit* AUmor 2.69.7

*qui spiritus sanctus proprie dicitur spiritus ueritatis quem **hic** mundus **accipere** non potest* AUtri 1.8.129

*[Jn 14:16] spiritum ueritatis quem **hic** mundus **accipere** non potest* AUtri 1.8.140 (ms C **accepere**)

*quid est ergo quod superius ait de spiritu sancto quem **hic** mundus **accipere** non potest **quoniam** non uidet illum; **notis illum uos** quia **uobiscum manet** et in uobis **est*** AUtri 1.9.39 (ms C **uidet eum**, ms K **et notis**, mss I L **quoniam uobiscum**, ms F **uobiscum est** et in uobis **manet**)

*[Jn 14:17] non itaque ab hac mansione separatus est de quo dictum est **uobiscum manet** et in uobis **est*** AUtri 1.9.42 (ms F **uobiscum est** et in uobis **manet**)

[MAX] [Jn 14:16] spiritum ueritatis quem **hic** mundus **accipere** non potest **quoniam** non uidet eum nec **nouit** eum uos autem **uidistis eum et** cognoscitis eum quia apud uos **manet** et in uobis **est** AUMax co 12/716

[Paulinus & Therasia] Reminiscence: AUep 94.2/498.20 *sapientiam, quae data est tibi desuper, quam mundus hic non capit*

<14:18> **non relinquam uos orfanos ueniam ad uos**

*non relinquam uos orphanos ueniam ad uos* AUJo 75.1.3 [CT]



**<14:19> adhuc modicum et mundus me iam non uidet uos autem uidetis me quia ego uiuo et uos uiuetis**  
adhuc modicum et mundus me iam non uidet uos autem **uidebitis** me quia ego uiuo et uos uiuetis AUJo 75.2.1 [CT]

adhuc modicum et mundus me iam non uidet uos autem **uidebitis** me AUJo 76.1.4 [CT]

**<14:20> in illo die uos cognoscetis quia ego sum in patre meo et uos in me et ego in uobis**  
in illo die uos cognoscetis quia ego sum in patre meo et uos in me et ego in uobis AUJo 75.4.1 [CT]

**<14:21> qui habet mandata mea et seruat ea ille est qui diligit me qui autem diligit me diligitur a patre meo et ego diligam eum et manifestabo ei me ipsum**

cf. Jn 14:15

*Reminiscence: et qui diligit filium dei patrem diligit. nec potest quisquam diligere patrem nisi diligat filium* AU1Jo 10.3/2055

*qui sunt autem ueri christiani nisi de quibus idem dominus dicit* qui diligit me **mandata mea custodit** AUBa 3.19.26/217.19

*Adaptation: quoniam tu deus diligenti te quantum praecipis ostendis ei te* AUcf 12.15.26

*de qualibus dixit ipse dominus cum praesens non uideretur* qui diligit me **mandata mea custodit et** qui **diligit** me diligitur a patre meo et ego diligam eum et **ostendam me ipsum illi** AUep 147.11.27/301.18 (mss T H A e f l r **diligitur**)

*Adaptation: [Jn 17:3] sed sic quo modo promisit ostensurum se ipsum dilectoribus suis cum patre unum deum* (mss T O om.se ipsum, ms L se ostenturum) AUep 147.11.27/302.6

*promittatur dicente ipso domino quando corporalibus oculis uisibiliter apparebat et inuisibilem se contuendum mundis cordibus promittebat* qui **diligit** me diligitur a patre meo et ego diligam eum et **ostendam me ipsum illi** AUep 147.20.48/323.15 (mss T A **diligitur**)

*sicut se ipsum ostensurum promittebat qui hominibus in carne uisibilis apparebat quando dicebat* et ego diligam eum et **ostendam me ipsum illi** AUep 148.3.11/341.25 (mss P1 T V **illi me ipsum**)

*quam promisit apud iohannem dilectoribus suis cum diceret* et ego diligam eum et **ostendam me ipsum illi** AUEv 3.25.86/392.19

*quod dictum est* et ego diligam eum et **ostendam me ipsum illi** AUEv 4.10.20/418.5 (mss Es γ v **manifestabo**) *qui ait [Jn 13:34] et qui me diligit* diligitur a patre meo AUJb 38/612.4

qui **enim** diligit me **mandata mea custodit et** qui diligit me diligitur a patre meo et ego diligam eum et **ostendam me ipsum illi** AUJo 19.18.35

qui habet mandata mea et seruat ea ille est qui diligit me **et** qui **me diligit** diligitur a patre meo et ego diligam eum et **ostendam me ipsum illi** AUJo 21.15.6

qui diligit me **mandata mea custodit et** qui diligit me diligitur a patre meo et ego diligam eum et **ostendam me ipsum illi** AUJo 40.9.17

qui diligit me **mandata mea custodit** AUJo 72.2.7

**ipse** est qui diligit me AUJo 75.5.5

qui habet mandata mea et seruat ea ille est qui diligit me AUJo 75.5.1 **et** qui diligit me diligitur a patre meo et ego diligam eum et manifestabo ei me ipsum AUJo 75.5.7 [CT]

qui diligit me diligitur a patre meo et ego diligam eum et manifestabo **me ipsum illi** AUJo 101.5.5

[Col 3:3-4] *hinc et ipse dominus qui diligit me inquit diligitur a patre meo et ego diligam eum et manifestabo me ipsum illi [3 Jn 3:2] AUPel 3.7.19/509.17* (mss D V **diligitur**, mss D E F **manifestabo ei** (ei underdot in ms D)) *illud promisit alio loco dicens* qui **diligit** me **mandata mea custodit et** qui diligit me diligitur a patre meo et ego diligam eum et *tamquam diceretur ei quid illi dabis diligens eum?* et **ostendam inquit me ipsum illi. si ergo diligentibus eum hoc in praemio promisit quia ostendet se ipsum illis manifestum est quia illa uisio ueritatis talis nobis promittitur [in Ps 37:8] AUPs 37.11.44**

*sed nondum est illud lumen de quo dicitur* **ostendam me ipsum illi [in Ps 37:11] AUPs 37.15.26**

*qui ait? qui diligit me* mandata mea **custodit et** qui diligit me diligitur a patre meo et ego diligam eum et **ostendam illi me ipsum [in Ps 43:17] AUPs 43.16.46**

*uisionem autem illam diuinitatis quam promisit dilectoribus suis quando ait* qui **diligit** me diligitur a patre meo et **qui diligit me** mandata mea **custodit et** ego diligam eum et **ostendam me ipsum illi [in Ps 48:5] AUPs 48.s1.5.69**

*amatoribus suis dominus noster iesus christus quid dicit? qui diligit me* mandata mea **custodit et** qui diligit me diligitur a patre meo et ego diligam eum *quid illi ergo dabis?* et **ostendam me ipsum illi [in Ps 55:10] AUPs 55.17.7**

*nihil interest inter uisionem ipsius et uisionem patris. ipse ait in euangelio qui diligit me* mandata mea **custodit et** ego diligam **illum et ostendam me ipsum illi. loquebatur illis et dicebat ostendam me ipsum illi [in Ps 84:8] AUPs 84.9.68**

*ipse dominus alio loco ait* qui habet mandata mea et seruat ea ille est qui diligit me qui autem diligit me diligitur a patre meo et ego diligam eum et manifestabo ei me ipsum *[in Ps 85:16] AUPs 85.21.51*  
*[Jn 14:8] atque ipse dominus ait ostendam me ipsum illi [in Ps 89:14] AUPs 89.15.14*

[Jn 1:1] attendite qui hoc promisit ipsum dominum in euangelio dicentem qui **diligit** me diligitur a patre meo et ego diligam eum. et quasi diceretur ei: et quid ei dabis qui diligit te **ostendam** inquit **meipsum illi** [in Ps 90:16] AUPs 90.s2.13.19

idem quippe in forma serui loquens seruis ait **qui diligit me** mandata mea **custodit** et qui diligit me diligitur a patre meo et ego diligam eum et **ostendam meipsum illi**. uidentibus se promisit demonstraturum se. quid uidebant? quid promittebat? uidebant formam serui promittebat formam dei. **ostendam** inquit **meipsum illi** [in Ps 109:3] AUPs 109.12.40

quid ergo non est uisurus? et **ostendam meipsum illi** AUPs 109.12.68

ait enim ipse dominus qui **audit praecepta** mea et **custodit** ea **ipse** est qui diligit me **et** qui diligit me diligitur a patre meo et ego diligam eum et **ostendam illi** meipsum [in Ps 139:14] AUPs 139.18.31

[Ps 44:3] [Jn 1:1] qui diligit me **inquit mandata mea custodit et** qui diligit me diligitur a patre meo et ego diligam eum. et quid illi dabis? et **ostendam me ipsum illi**. haec erit species quando faciet quod dixit et **ostendam me ipsum illi** AUs 27.118

ubi completur illud quod suis dilectoribus repromisit qui **diligit** me diligitur a patre meo et ego diligam eum et quasi diceretur quia diliges eum quid illi dabis et **ostendam me ipsum illi** AUs 78.5/492

qui diligit me **inquit** diligitur a patre meo et ego diligam eum. et tamquam diceretur quid ei dabis quem diligis et **ostendam** inquit **me ipsum illi** AUs 126.10.14/704

quia qui diligit me **mandata mea custodit** et ego diligam eum tamquam custodienti mandata mea et tamquam sanato per mandata mea **ostendam me ipsum illi** AUs 126.10.14/704

quibus mandatis? qui diligit me **mandata mea custodit** AUs 126.11.15/705

dicebat qui diligit me **mandata mea custodit** et qui **diligit** me diligitur a patre meo et ego diligam eum. et quasi diceretur illi et quid ei dabis et **ostendam** inquit **me ipsum illi** AUs 127.8.12/712

et uide quam aperte hoc dicat qui diligit me **mandata mea custodit** qui autem diligit me diligitur a patre meo et ego diligam eum AUs 142.7 (webtext; not in Migne)

ait ergo dominus et ego diligam eum. quaere quid tibi daturus sit. audi quod sequitur et **ostendam** ei me ipsum AUs 142.7 (webtext; not in Migne)

dicit enim diligam eum et **ostendam** ei...ego feci haec. **ostendam me ipsum illi** AUs 142.7 (webtext; not in Migne)

[Ps 26:8,9] et respondeat ipse cordi nostro qui diligit me **mandata mea custodit** et qui **diligit** me diligitur a patre meo et ego diligam eum et **ostendam me ipsum illi** AUs 194.4.4/1017

et tamen dicebat qui **diligit** me diligitur a patre meo et ego diligam eum et manifestabo **me ipsum illi** AUs 277.17.16/1267

multis locis scriptura testatur quae omnia commemorare non possumus. inde est illud qui diligit me **mandata mea custodit** et ego diligam eum et **ostendam me ipsum illi**. tanquam enim fructus et merces ab eo quaereretur quia mandata eius custodiuntur **ostendam** inquit **me ipsum illi** AUs 362.30.31/1633

hoc enim et ipse promittit dilectoribus suis dicens qui diligit me **mandata mea custodit** et qui **diligit** me diligitur a patre meo et ego diligam eum et **ostendam** me ipsum illi AUsp 22.37/190.18 (ms O **custodit** qui om.et, mss P O T b d **diligitur**)

[Jn 14:15] et post paululum qui habet mandata mea et seruat ea ille est qui diligit me qui autem diligit me diligitur a patre meo et ego diligam eum et manifestabo ei me ipsum AUsp 28/196.22 (mss M1 P **dilegitur**, ms S **diligitur**, ms C om. ei)

sic enim ait qui habet mandata mea et **custodit** ea ille est qui **me diligit** qui autem **me diligit** diligitur a patre meo et ego diligam eum et **ostendam me ipsum illi** AUtri 1.9.16 (mss P  $\mu$  **qui diligit me**, ms P autem **diligit me**, mss Na Oa Ka T **diligitur**, ms C **diligam illum**, ms J ei **me ipsum**)

sicut ergo cum ait et **ostendam illi** me ipsum AUtri 1.9.23 (ms  $\mu$  **me ipsum illi**, ms J ei **me ipsum**)

qui dixit et **ostendam illi** me ipsum AUtri 1.9.28 (ms J ei **me ipsum**)

Adaptation: ecce quia non solum se ipsum ostendit ei a quo diligitur AUtri 1.9.33

quid est quod pro magno dilectori suo pollicetur dicens et ego diligam eum et **ostendam me ipsum illi** AUtri 1.13.38

Adaptation: hoc ipsum promittit quia ostendet se ipsum **illis** (ms  $\mu$  se ipsum ostendet) AUtri 1.13.110

Adaptation: unum uerum deum qui ostendet se ipsum **illis** (mss Oa Eug (V) ostendit, ms F semetipsum) AUtri 1.13.130

[1 Jn 3:2]...[Ps 26:4] et de qua dicit ipse dominus et ego diligam eum et **ostendam me ipsum illi** AUtri 1.13.174 (ms la **manifestabo**, ms J ei **me ipsum**)

aut unde etiam illud dicit qui habet mandata mea et seruat ea **ipse** est qui **me diligit** et qui **me diligit** diligitur a patre meo et ego diligam eum et manifestabo ei me ipsum AUtri 4.19.37 (mss P  $\mu$  **qui diligit me**, ms P **et qui diligit me**, mss C1 Sa Ka T **diligitur**, ms R illi **me ipsum**)

[MAX] [Jn 17:21-23]...certum est autem ipsum saluatorem dixisse qui **audit** mandata mea et **custodit** ea ille est qui diligit me. qui autem diligit me diligitur a patre meo et ego diligam **illum** [Jn 14:23] AUMax co 22/737

<14:22> dicit ei iudas non ille scariotis domine quid factum est quia nobis manifestaturus es te ipsum et non mundo

domine quid factum est quia nobis manifestaturus es teipsum et non mundo AUJo 76.1.7 [CT]

[Jn 14:21] *et ideo consequenter cum dixisset illi iudas domine quid factum est quia ostensurus es te nobis et non huic mundo* AUtri 1.9.29 (ms P iudas illi, ms K2 **facturus est**, ms T **te nobis es**)

**<14:23> respondit iesus et dixit ei si quis diligit me sermonem meum seruabit et pater meus diligit eum et ad eum ueniet et mansiones apud eum faciet**

*ipse saluator dicit de se et de patre ueniet ad eum et mansionem apud eum faciet* AUAr 30.10 (ms Z **faciamus**)

*Reminiscence: ibi fige mansionem tuam* AUcf 4.11.6

[Gen 1:26] *sicut etiam dominus de se et patre ueniet ad eum et mansionem apud eum faciet* AUGn li 11.39/374.12 (mss P R b d de patre, ms E1 aput)

respondit iesus et dixit ei si quis diligit me sermonem meum seruabit et pater meus diligit eum et ad eum ueniet et **mansionem** apud eum faciet AUJo 76.2.1 [CT]

ueniet **ad eum ego et pater et mansionem** apud eum faciet AUJo 94.5.6

ueniet **ad eum et mansionem** apud eum faciet AUJo 110.4.5

*Adaptation: si enim capi non potest quomodo non solum filius uerum etiam pater ueniunt ad hominem sicut dicit ipse filius et mansionem apud eum faciunt. puto quod capiat eos apud quem faciunt mansionem* AUMax 2.26.13/813

*audi pollicentem audi interim promittendo dignantem non minando indignantem ueniet inquit ad eum ego et pater...ad eum quem supra dixit dilectorem suum...ueniet inquit ad eum et mansionem apud eum faciet* AUUs 23.120

[Jn 4:23-4]...**intramus inquit ad eum ego et pater** meus et **mansionem** apud eum faciet AUUs 198.11/99.255 (AUUs Dol 26)

*dominum ipsum christum audi ego et pater ueniet ad eum et mansionem apud eum faciet* AUUs 261.5.5/1205

[Jn 14:21] *et post ill uersus si quis diligit me sermonem meum seruabit et pater meus diligit eum et ad eum ueniet et mansionem apud eum faciet* AUSpe 28/197.1 (ms R III uersus (!), mss M2 R a v **diligit eum**)

[Jn 14:22] respondit iesus et dixit illi si quis **me diligit** sermonem meum seruabit et pater meus diligit **illum** et ad **illum** ueniet et **mansionem** apud **illum** faciet AUtri 1.9.30 (ms T **dixit illis**, mss T μ **diligit me**, mss Ba Ca Na Oa Sa K **diligit illum**, mss S P T μ **diligit eum**, mss T μ **apud eum**, ms Ka **mansiones**)

*quia simul cum patre uenit ad eum et mansionem facit* apud eum AUtri 1.9.34

*Adaptation: cum pater et filius uenerint ut mansionem faciant apud dilectorem suum* AUtri 1.9.43

*Adaptation: [Jn 10:30]...sola pluraliter relatiua commemorantur ueniet ad eum ego et pater et habitabimus apud eum. ueniet et habitabimus pluralis est numerus quia praedictum est ego et pater* AUtri 7.6.137

[MAX] [Jn 14:21] *et ueniet et mansionem apud eum faciet* AUMax co 22/737

**<14:24> qui non diligit me sermones meos non seruat et sermonem quem audistis non est meus sed eius qui misit me patris**

qui non diligit me sermones meos non seruat AUJo 76.2.4 et **sermo** quem audistis non est meus sed eius qui misit me patris AUJo 76.5.1 [CT]

**<14:25> haec locutus sum uobis apud uos manens**

haec locutus sum uobis apud uos manens AUJo 77.1.8 [CT]

haec locutus sum uobis apud uos manens AUJo 104.1.25

*ascensurus ad patrem dicebat discipulis suis haec locutus sum uobis cum adessem uobiscum* AUUs 265A.1 *cum alio loco dicat* haec locutus sum uobis apud uos manens AUtri 1.12.60

**<14:26> paracletus autem spiritus sanctus quem mittet pater in nomine meo ille uos docebit omnia et suggeret uobis omnia quaecumque dixero uobis**

*cf. Jn 14:16, Jn 15:26*

*sicut scriptum est quem mittet pater in nomine meo* AUAr 4.11 (mss π C K\* O U Z **mittit**, ms O **pariter**)

[Jn 16:7] *quamuis alio loco dicat quem mittet pater in nomine meo* AUAr 19.9 (mss π C K O U J Z Y **mittit**)

*Allusion: nondum acceperat promissum spiritum sanctum* AUep 185.8.46/40.11

*Allusion: apparet sanctus spiritus missus qui est a domino iesu christo in euangelica ueritate promissus* AUep 237.2/527.4

paracletus autem spiritus sanctus quem mittet pater in nomine meo ille uos docebit omnia et **commemorabit uos** omnia quaecumque dixero uobis AUJo 77.2.1 (ms R quem *mittit*...commemorauit) [CT]

**ipse** uos docebit omnia AUJo 77.2.18

[Jn 14:25] paracletus autem spiritus sanctus quem mittet pater in nomine meo ille uos docebit omnia et suggeret uobis omnia quaecumque dixero uobis AUJo 104.1.25

[Jn 14:9] *promisit et spiritum quem mittet inquit pater in nomine meo itemque ait [Jn 15:26] AUPs 102.10.35*

*cum eundem spiritum sanctum promitteret quem mittet inquit pater in nomine meo* AUUs 71.30.33/463

[Jn 14:25] paracletus autem spiritus **ueritatis** quem mittet pater in nomine meo ille uos docebit omnia et **commonebit uos** omnia quaecumque **dixi** AUUs 265A.1

[Jn 14:25] **aduocatus** autem **ille** spiritus sanctus quem mittet pater in nomine meo **ille uobis declarabit** omnia AUtri 1.12.61 (ms  $\mu$  autem **om.ille**, ms K **mittit**, ms Pa **om. pater**, ms K **declarauit**)  
 [Jn 15:26] *quia etiam cum dixisset* quem mittet pater *addidit* in nomine meo *non tamen dixit* quem mittet pater *a me* AUtri 4.20.118 (mss A Na Oa S K P **mittit x2**, ms Ca *addedit*, ms Ca **mittit**)  
*de quo item dicit ipse filius* [Jn 15:26] *et alio loco* quem mittet pater in nomine meo AUtri 15.26.12 (mss Ra Sa K **mittit**, ms M **om. pater**)  
 [Jn 3:17] *nec tu unigenite dices de spiritu sancto* quem mittet pater in nomine meo AUtri 15.or.11 (mss R Na Oa Sa K Beda **mittit**)

<14:27> **pacem relinquo uobis pacem meam do uobis non quomodo mundus dat ego do uobis non turbetur cor uestrum neque formidet**

*legitur enim testamentum eius qui nos sibi fecit coheredes in eo recitatur* **pacem meam do uobis pacem meam relinquo** uobis AUCae 1/167.17

*testamentum lego* **pacem meam do uobis pacem meam relinquo** uobis AUCae 5/174.11

*qua ratio in ecclesia christi cui dixit* **pacem meam do uobis pacem meam relinquo** uobis AUep 33.2/19.16

*dominus humanis pedibus ambulans* **pacem meam do uobis pacem meam relinquo** uobis AUep

73.3.8/273.9 (ms E *inquit meam*, ms B\* **om.do**, ms P2 *mea reliquo*)

*numquid christus clamans* **pacem meam do uobis diuideretur in membris suis per eos qui dicunt** [1Cor 1:12] AUep 108.1.3/614.14

*Reminiscence: proinde septimo gradu peruenimus ad pacis illius tranquillitatem quam dare non potest mundus* (cf. Matt.5:9) AUep 171A.2/635.17

*Adaptation: a domino accipit pacem non sicut pacem dat saeculum quoniam saeculum pacem dat propter temporalem utilitatem dominus autem per aeternam salutem* AUGau 2.12.13/272.1

*omnia enim ista diuidi possunt: non potest diuidi* **pacem meam do uobis pacem meam dimitto uobis** AUje 11.407

**pacem relinquo uobis pacem meam do uobis** AUJo 77.3.1 *non quomodo mundus dat ego do uobis* AUJo 77.5.1

*non turbetur cor uestrum neque formidet* AUJo 78.1.2 [CT]

*ubi dominus ait* **pacem meam do uobis** AUJul 2.8.26

*christum sibi esse contrarium...alium qui dixit pacem do uobis et alium qui dixit* (Matt. 10:34) AUleg 2.12.1229 (edd. **dicat**)

*quid est lex christi nisi* **pacem meam do uobis pacem meam relinquo** uobis AUPar 3.2.5/105.22 (ms  $\alpha$  **pacem relinquo**)

*dictum est apostolis* [Jn 15:3] *et* **pacem meam do uobis** AUPet 2.22.50/49.5

*christus quid fecit uobis qui dixit* **pacem meam do uobis pacem meam relinquo** uobis [in Ps 10:4] AUPs 10.6.20

[Ps 20:3] **pacem meam inquit relinquo** uobis AUPs 20.3.4

[Ps 28:11]...*quoniam inquit* **pacem meam do uobis pacem meam relinquo** uobis AUPs 28.11.6

[Eph 2:14-17] *ipse in euangelio dicit* **pacem relinquo uobis pacem meam do uobis** AUPs 71.1.16

*quod testatus est dicens* **pacem meam do uobis pacem relinquo** uobis AUq 75.15 (mss D G L O Flor **pacem meam relinquo**, mss H\* T V *uerba sequuntur ordinem Vulgatae*)

*ipse dominus discernens ait* **pacem meam do uobis adiungens etiam et dicens non se talem pacem dare qualem dat hic mundus** AUrm in 8.3 (ms B1 R *dominus ipse*, ms E **talem se pacem**, ms c **se pacem talem**)

*Reminiscence: AUrs 16.20 et quaeramus pacem praecipitur nobis. ut autem sequamur eam promittitur nobis. quae iste pax est nisi quam non habet mundus?*

*nouerimus hoc: pacem meam do uobis dicit christus ut inter se pacem habeant christiani* AUrs 24.106

*per ipsum utique qui ait* **pacem meam do uobis pacem meam relinquo uobis** AUrs 47.708 (ms  $\alpha$ 4 **pacem relinquo**)

[Jn 14:26] **non turbetur cor uestrum neque formidet** AUrs 265A.1

*audite christus quid docet* **pacem meam do uobis pacem meam relinquo uobis** AUrs 313E.3

[GAU] *uerba epistulae:...audiant dominum dicentem* **pacem meam do uobis pacem relinquo uobis non sicut saeculum** **dat ego do uobis** AUGau 1.23.26/225.14

[PETI] *et iterum his undecim dixit* **pacem meam do uobis pacem meam dimitto uobis** AUPet 2.22.49/48.24

<14:28> **audistis quia ego dixi uobis uado et uenio ad uos si diligeretis me gauderetis utique quia uado ad patrem quia pater maior me est**

*quod dixit* pater maior me est AUAr 5.21

*secundum quid dicat* pater maior me est AUAr 8.49

*dici potuisse* pater maior me est AUAr 9.49

*Adaptation: in quantum autem homo est pater maior est illo* AUench 10.53

*Allusion: cum uenit minor patre* AUep 140.27.66/212.17

*Adaptation: propterea uero patrem dicit esse maiorem quia* [Phil 2:7] AUep 170.9/629.8

*dixit* pater maior me est [Jn 10:30 follows] AUep 170.9/629.16

[Jn 10:30] *homo autem unde dicit* pater maior me est AUep 187.3.8/87.17

[Jn 10:30] *secundum formam serui quoniam* pater maior me est AUep 238.2.11/540.18 (ms R **om. quoniam**)

pater maior me est AUJo 23.13.32  
pater maior me est AUJo 26.19.13  
audistis quia ego dixi uobis uado et uenio ad uos si diligeretis me gauderetis utique quia **ego** uado ad patrem quia  
pater maior me est AUJo 78.1.3 (mss R, Eng *quia uado*) [CT]  
si diligeretis me gauderetis utique quia uado ad patrem quia pater maior me est AUJo 78.3.1 (ms R  
*diligeritis...gauderitis*)  
si diligeretis me gauderetis utique quia uado ad patrem AUJo 78.3.19  
si diligeretis me gauderetis utique quia uado ad patrem quia pater maior me est AUJo 79.1.2 [CT]  
pater maior me est AUJo 80.2.6  
**quoniam** pater maior me est AUJo 99.1.46  
pater maior me est AUJo 107.5.13  
*Allusion: commonui non ideo patrem filio esse maiorem quia testimonium perhibuit patrem filio* AUMax 1.13/754  
*propter quam dixit [sc.filius] pater maior me est* AUMax 1.15/755  
*sicuti filius propter formam serui dixit pater maior me est* AUMax 1.19/756  
*[1Jn 3:20] filius ergo dei susceptum hominem leuaturus ad patrem quando dicebat* si diligeretis me gauderetis  
utique quia uado ad patrem quia pater maior me est AUMax 2.25.1/803  
*Adaptation: quia homo est filius secundum quod pater maior est filio* AUMax co 14/721  
*Adaptation: scimus enim dictum esse patrem filio maiorem esse* AUMax co 14/723  
*[Jn 10:30] et secundum hominem uerissime dixit pater maior me est* AUpers 24.67/1034  
*dixit ex forma dei [Jn 10:30] dixit ex forma serui* **quoniam** pater maior me est AUPs 63.13.15  
*[Phil 2:6] unde ex forma serui* **quoniam** pater maior me est? *quia [Phil 2:7]* AUPs 63.13.18  
*Adaptation: uidebant...formam serui qua maior est pater [Jn 10:30]* AUPs 65.5.44  
*unde utrumque dicit in euangelio et [Jn 10:30] et* **quoniam** pater maior me est. *ego et pater unum sumus*  
*secundum formam dei pater maior me est secundum formam serui [in Ps 138:2]* AUPs 138.3.17  
*Allusion: filius hominis in forma serui qua minor sit patre* AUPs 138.22.19  
*ipse enim dominus ait* **quoniam** pater maior me est AUq 69.12 (ms Z **om.quoniam** mss D\* P\* **om.me**)  
*apparet ergo quemadmodum dictum sit et pater maior me est et [Jn 10:30 etc]* AUq 69.17  
*coaeternus illi aequalis illi pater maior me est* AUs 28A.8/256.195 (AUs Dol 9)  
*interroga et audi* **quoniam** pater maior me est AUs 28A.8/256.198 (AUs Dol 9)  
*[Jn 10:30] audi excitari christum pascentem pater maior me est* AUs 47.621  
*quomodo iterum dicit pater maior me est et [Jn 10:30]* AUs 91.3.3/568  
*propter quod homo factus est* **quoniam** pater maior me est *et propter quod permansit deus [Jn 10:30]* AUs  
187.4.4/1002  
*non esset uerum nisi pater maior me est* AUs 187.4.4/1002  
*uerum dixit pater maior me est* AUs 187.4.4/1002  
*audi tamen ipsum dominum ut discas quid credas. si diligeretis me gauderetis* **quia** uado ad patrem **quoniam**  
pater maior me est AUs 229G.4  
*modo intellego pater maior me est* AUs 229G.4  
*hoc ergo dixit si diligeretis me gauderetis* **quia eo** ad patrem quia pater maior me est AUs 229G.4  
*[Jn 14:1] si* **me** diligeretis *inquit gauderetis* **quia** uado ad patrem **quoniam** pater maior me est. *et alio loco dicit [Jn*  
*10:30]* AUs 264.2/1213  
*quod ergo ait iohannes attendite si diligeretis me gauderetis* **quia** uado ad patrem **quoniam** pater maior me  
est...*[Jn 10:30] et alio loco [Jn 14:9] quomodo hic* quia pater maior me est AUs 264.4/1214  
*ergo hoc eis ait si* **me** diligeretis gauderetis **quia eo** ad patrem. *quare?...propterea enim* maior me est AUs  
264.4/1214  
*[Phil 2:8] si* **me** diligeretis *quid est hoc?* **si** **me** diligeretis gauderetis **quia eo** ad patrem. **si** **me** diligeretis...*si autem*  
**me** diligeretis AUs 264.4/1214  
*[Jn 1:1] quod ait ipse iohannes. si ergo sic* **me** diligeretis *quomodo per me facta sunt omnia gauderetis* **quoniam**  
uado ad patrem. *quare?* **quoniam** pater maior me est AUs 264.4/1215  
*et ideo dixit si* **me** diligeretis gauderetis **quia eo apud** patrem **quoniam** pater maior me est AUs 264.4/1215  
*et non est dictum quia* pater maior me est AUs 264.7/1218  
*[Jn 14:7] audistis quia dixi uobis* **uado** ad patrem **meum** quia pater maior me est AUs 265A.1  
*[Jn 10:30]...ecce ipse filius dixit pater maior me est* AUs 265A.6  
*[Jn 10:30]...et ait illis pater maior me est* AUs 265A.6  
*[Jn 10:30]...unde sit dictum pater maior me est* AUs 265A.6  
*ascensurus enim ad patrem contristati sunt discipuli quod eos corporali forma deseret et ait [Jn 16:6] si diligeretis*  
*me gauderetis* **quod** uado ad patrem quia pater maior me est AUs 265A.6  
*[Jn 10:30] qui dixit pater maior me est* AUs 293E.1  
*[Jn 10:30] aequalitatem ostendit pater maior me est imparilitatem ostendit* AUs 293E.1  
*ecce ubi scriptum est pater maior me est* AUs 341.5.6/1496  
*sed ex euangelio inquit probo pater maior me est et ego ex euangelio probo [Jn 10:30]* AUs 341.5.6/1496  
*[Phil 2:8] audi pater maior me est [Phil 2:8]* AUs 341.5.6/1497  
*serpens....dicit "ecce scriptum est pater maior me est"* AUs 341.13/183.308 (AUs Dol 22)  
*ecce pater maior me est accipio non a te sed ab euangelio* AUs 341.13/183.310 (AUs Dol 22)

sed ex euangelio inquis probo pater maior me est AUts 341.13/184.314 (AUts Dol 22)  
audi [Jn 10:30] [Phil 2:6] audi pater maior me est [Phil 2:7] AUts 341.13/184.317 (AUts Dol 22)  
multa de illo in scripturis inueniuntur ita dicta...qualia sunt illa **quoniam** pater maior me est et [1 Cor 11.3] AUtsy 9.18/21.18  
Reminiscence: ita dicuntur ut maiorem filio patrem significant uel etiam apertissime ostendant AUtri 1.7.7  
scriptum est ipso domino dicente pater maior me est AUtri 1.7.14 (ms A **me maior**)  
Reminiscence: non itaque immerito scriptura utrumque dicit et aequalem patri filium et patrem maiorem filio AUtri 1.7.26  
cum dominus diceret pater maior me est AUtri 1.8.15  
Reminiscence: ac per hoc etiam secundum istam opinionem adhuc pater maior est AUtri 1.8.24  
ante passionem dicebat **quoniam** pater maior me est AUtri 1.8.29  
Reminiscence: hoc esse dictum quod forma serui maior est pater AUtri 1.8.30  
inde est et illud quod ait si diligereis me gauderetis **quoniam** eo ad patrem quia pater maior me est AUtri 1.9.3  
(mss Ca Ka diligereis, ms Ca **gauderitis**, mss T μ **gauderitis utique**, mss O3 K **ego** (i.r.) **ad patrem uado** (in marg), ms F **ego eo**, ms T **patrem meum**)  
secundum formam autem serui minor est patre quia ipse dixit pater maior me est AUtri 1.11.9  
sicuti est quod ait **quoniam** pater maior me est et [Jn 5:22] AUtri 2.1.30  
Allusion: proinde maior est pater filio quia filius a patre se missum assidue commemorat AUtri 2.5.2  
Reminiscence: aut si aeternitate pater maior est non est aequalis filius AUtri 6.3.37  
etiam maior est pater sicut dicit **quoniam** pater maior me est AUtri 6.9.38 (ms la om. **quoniam**)

[MAX] [Jn 8:38]. iste filius etiam quod uos carne ascribitis in sancto ait euangelio si diligereis me gauderetis utique **quoniam** uado ad patrem **quoniam** pater maior me est AUMax co 13/719  
Adaptation: [MAX] nec enim ad hoc uenit christus ut nos instrueret quod ad formam serui maior est pater sed ideo ueritas ad nos uenit ut utique doceret nos atque instrueret quod pater filio maior est AUMax co 25/739

<14:29> et nunc dixi uobis priusquam fiat ut cum factum fuerit credatis  
et nunc dixi uobis priusquam fiat ut cum factum fuerit credatis AUJo 79.1.6 [CT]

<14:30> iam non multa loquar uobiscum uenit enim princeps mundi huius et in me non habet quicquam  
cf. Jn 12:31  
iesus christum dominum nostrum...in quo princeps huius mundi non inuenit quidquam morte dignum [cf. Luke 23:14-15] AUcf 7.21.23  
Reminiscence: quaerens quid obiciat et nihil inueniens in illo in quo uincimus AUcf 9.13.37  
[iesus christus] qui solus uerissime dicere potuit uenit enim princeps mundi **et** in me non habet **quidquam id est quidquam peccati quod morte sit dignum** AUDt 55.1211 (in Deut.32:5) (ms N **mundi huius**)  
Adaptation: in quo princeps et praepositus mortis non **inuenit aliquid** quod supplicio deberetur AUep 164.2.5  
Adaptation: in quo princeps mundi mortisque praepositus **nihil inueniet** AUep 164.7.19/538.16  
[Jn 1:14]...in quo princeps **huius mundi nihil inuenit** AUJb 38/601.17  
**ecce** uenit **princeps huius mundi** et in me **nihil inuenit** AUJo 3.13.3  
**ecce** uenit **princeps huius mundi** et in me **nihil inueniet** AUJo 41.7.4  
**ecce ueniet princeps mundi et** in me **nihil inueniet** AUJo 41.9.12  
iam non multa loquar uobiscum uenit enim princeps mundi huius et in me non habet quidquam AUJo 79.2.1 [CT]  
**ecce** uenit **princeps mundi et** in me **nihil inueniet** AUJo 95.4.3  
quemadmodum dominus ubi ait **ecce** uenit **princeps mundi** AUJul 6.2.3  
huic ergo mundo cuius princeps est de quo ait qui uicit mundum **ecce** uenit **princeps mundi** et in me **nihil inueniet**. huic inquam mundo nascitur homo donec renascitur in eo qui uicit mundum et in quo nihil **inuenit** princeps **mundi** AUJul 6.2.3  
Reminiscence: sed mundi princeps est diabolus AUJul 6.2.3  
[Jn 12:31] et **ecce ueniet** princeps mundi **et** in me **nihil inueniet** AULv 72.1721 (in Lev.20:5) (mss P S V Am μ **uenit**)  
quando dominus ad passionem perrexit **ecce** inquit **ueniet** princeps **huius mundi** et in me **nihil inueniet** AUna 24.26/252.26 (mss V E **et ecce** (et underdot), mss R V Em1 **uenit**, mss R Vm1 Em1 **inuenit**)  
unde dicit etiam ipse **ecce** uenit **princeps huius mundi** et in me **nihil inuenit** AUnu 2.5/265.24 (mss K V P N **mundi huius**, mss T K V P N b Rm2 **inueniet**)  
excepto illo qui dixit **ecce** uenit **princeps mundi et** in me **nihil inueniet** AUpec 1.39.70/71.7 (ms V **inueniit**, ms K **habet**)  
ad eam quippe iturus eamque passurus hoc ait **ecce** uenit **princeps mundi huius** et in me **nihil inueniet** AUpec 2.29.48/119.18  
dixit quod paulo ante commemorauit **ecce ueniet princeps mundi id est diabolus qui potestatem habet mortis** et in me **nihil inueniet id est peccati propter quod homines mori fecit** AUpec 2.31.51/122.3 (ms Vm1 **diabolos**, mss z d habebat)  
alio loco ait **ecce** uenit **princeps mundi acutus inspector omnium peccatorum ecce** inquit uenit **princeps mundi huius** AUPs 50.9.20

**ecce** inquit uenit **princeps** mundi huius - dixit haec proximus passioni - et in me **nihil inueniet** AUPs 50.9.23  
*[Ps 68:5] ipse dominus propinquans passioni in euangelio sic loquitur ecce* uenit **princeps huius mundi id est diabolus** et in me **nihil inueniet id est quare me occidat non inueniet** AUPs 68.s1.9.56  
*quid est enim in me nihil inueniet? nullam culpam. an aliquid perdidit de domo sua diabolus? iste discutiat raptos nihil apud me inueniet* AUPs 68.s1.9.60  
*Adaptation: quia cum in eo diabolus id est princeps huius mundi nihil inuenisset* AUPs 71.7.31  
**ecce** inquit uenit **princeps** mundi huius et in me **nihil inueniet**. *quid est in me nihil inueniet? nullum peccatum in me inueniet; quare occidat me non habet* *[in Ps 137:8]* AUPs 137.16.24  
*qui solus uerissime dicere potuit ecce* uenit **princeps** mundi huius et in me **nihil inueniet id est nullam culpam nullum reatum** AUPs 140.3.6  
*[Ps 68:5] et qui dixit in euangelio ecce* uenit **princeps** mundi **praepositus mortis operis mali persuasor supplicii exactor** uenit inquit et in me **nihil inueniet quid est in me nihil inueniet? nullam culpam, nihil quare mori debeam** *[in Ps 142:3]* AUPs 142.8.13  
*qui solus potest dicere [Ps 68:5] qui solus dicere potuit ecce* uenit **princeps huius mundi** et in me **nihil inueniet** *[in Ps 147:19]* AUPs 147.27.27  
*nisi qui dixit ecce* uenit **princeps mundi** et in me **nihil inueniet** AUs 26.219  
*qui solus uerissime dicere potuit ecce* uenit **princeps mundi** et in me **nihil inueniet** AUs 29.36 (ms A3 ueniet, ms N mundi huius)  
*audi eum iturum ad passionem et dicentem ecce* uenit **princeps** mundi **et** in me **nihil inueniet**. *non quomodo mundus in uobis non quomodo in omni genere humano in me nihil inueniet* AUs 110A.7/47.162 (AUs Dol 17)  
*posteaquam dixit in me nihil inueniet tamquam diceretur ei quare ergo morieris* AUs 110A.7/47.165 (AUs Dol 17)  
*sed [Jn 1:10] cuius princeps est ille de quo dictum est ecce* uenit **princeps** mundi huius et in me **nihil inueniet** AUs 121.1/678 (SC116 AUs 121.1.12)  
**ecce** uenit **princeps** mundi *ipse dicit redemptor noster liberator noster ecce* uenit **princeps** mundi **et** in me **nihil inueniet**. *tenet quos decepit quos seduxit quibus peccatum mortemque persuasit* in me **nihil inueniet** AUs 134.3.4/744  
*[1 Cor 5:21] nisi eum qui dixit ecce* uenit **princeps** mundi **et** in me **nihil inueniet** *[1Cor 5:21]* AUs 134.4.5/745  
*ueritas loquitur ueniet princeps* mundi huius et in me **nihil inueniet** *[1Cor 5:21]* AUs 134.5.6/745  
*non diceret ipse dominus ecce* uenit **princeps** mundi **et** in me **nihil inueniet** AUs 155.7.7/844  
*et quid ait dominus iesus de ipso diabolo ecce* uenit **princeps** mundi huius AUs 170.4.4/928  
*ergo ecce inquit* uenit **princeps** mundi **et** in me **nihil inueniet**. *in solo ipso nihil inuenit diabolus* *[Jn 14:30-1]* AUs 170.4.4/929  
**ecce** uenit inquit **princeps** mundi huius et in me **nihil inueniet**. *quomodo nihil?...princeps peccatorum nihil in me inueniet* AUs 265D.4  
*sed nihil suum in me inueniet...ueniat nihil inueniet. quare ergo morieris si ueniet et nihil inueniet? et reddit rationem quare moriatur ecce ueniet princeps mundi* et in me **nihil inueniet** AUs 265D.4  
*Reminiscence: merito suae peruersitatis praepositus magistratus huius saeculi a domino dicitur (in Matt 6:24)* AUs dni 2.14.47.1040  
*sicut in euangelio legitur dicit ecce* uenit **princeps huius mundi** et in me **nihil inueniet id est nullum peccatum** AUtri 13.14.13 (ms P huius mundi, ms cett μ mundi huius, mss A B C S F J K2 I inueniet, ms V inuenet)  
*[HI] Adaptation: ad quem uenit princeps mundi istius et inuenit in eo nihil* AUpec 3.7.13/140.16 (citing HIJov 2)

<14:31> sed ut cognoscat mundus quia diligo patrem et sicut mandatum dedit mihi pater sic facio surgite eamus hinc

*[Jn 14:30] sed ut cognoscat mundus quia diligo patrem et sicut mandatum dedit mihi pater sic facio surgite eamus hinc* AUDt 55.1213

*[Jn 14:30] sed ut sciant omnes quia uoluntatem patris mei facio surgite eamus hinc* AUJo 3.13.5

sed ut sciant omnes quia uoluntatem patris mei facio surgite eamus hinc AUJo 41.7.9

sed ut cognoscat mundus quia diligo patrem et sicut mandatum dedit mihi pater sic facio surgite eamus hinc AUJo 79.2.35 [CT]

*[Jn 14:30] utique nihil peccati unde praepositus mortis iure suo ageret ut perimeret sed ut sciant omnes inquit quia uoluntatem patris mei facio surgite eamus hinc* AUna 24.26/253.1 (ms B omnes gentes)

*[Jn 14:30] sed ut sciant omnes quia uoluntatem patris mei facio surgite eamus hinc* AUpec 2.29.28/119.19 (mss L S uoluntate)

*[Jn 14:30] et quasi diceretur ei 'quare ego morieris?' sed ut sciant omnes inquit quia uoluntatem patris mei facio surgite eamus hinc* AUpec 2.31.51/122.6 (ms z om.inquit)

*[Jn 14:30]...sed ut sciant omnes quia uoluntatem patris mei facio surgite eamus hinc* AUPs 50.9.27

*[Jn 14:30] sed ut sciant omnes quia uoluntatem patris mei facio surgite eamus et iit ad passionem* AUPs 68.s1.9.58

*[Jn 14:30] sed ut sciant omnes ait quia uoluntatem patris mei facio surgite eamus hinc. quid est surgite eamus hinc?* *[in Ps 137:8]* AUPs 137.16.27

*[Jn 14:30] sed ut sciant omnes quia uoluntatem inquit patris mei facio surgite eamus hinc* *[in Ps 142:3]* AUPs 142.8.17

[Jn 14:30] et quasi diceretur ei quare ergo pateris sequitur et dicit sed ut **sciant omnes** quia **uoluntatem patris mei** facio surgite eamus hinc [in Ps 147:19] AUPs 147.27.29  
 [Jn 14:30]...quare ergo moreris? ut **sciant inquit omnes** quia **uoluntatem patris mei** facio AUs 26.221 (ms S4 **omnes inquit**)  
 [Jn 14:30] sed ut **sciant inquit omnes** quia **uoluntatem patris mei** facio surgite eamus hinc AUs 110A.7/47.166 (AUs Dol 17)  
 [Jn 14:30]...respondit sed ut **sciant inquit omnes** quia **uoluntatem patris mei** facio surgite eamus hinc AUs 265D.4  
 Reminiscence: plerumque enim dicit dedit mihi pater AUtri 1.12.103  
 [Jn 14:30] sed ut **sciant omnes inquit** quia **uoluntatem patris mei** facio...hinc AUtri 13.14.14  
 [MAX] non denegamus quod filius diligat patrem cum quando et scriptum legimus ut **sciat hic** mundus quia diligo patrem et sicut mandatum **mihi** dedit pater sic facio. constat filium et diligere et diligere et mandatum patris ut ipse asserit implere. [Jn 10:30, 14:9] AUMax co 24/738

#### <15:1> ego sum uitis uera et pater meus agricola est

Adaptation: ipse dominus iesus cum se ipsum diceret uitem AUba 1.18.28/172.13  
 Allusion: [ecclesia]...ut esset fecundior ab agricola caelesti purgatus est AUba 5.17.23/282.28  
 Adaptation: hoc enim praedixit filius dei qui ueritas est se esse uitem suos autem filios esse **sarmenta** et patrem suum agricolam AUep 52.2/150.12  
 ego sum uitis uera et pater meus agricola est AUJo 80.2.1 [CT]  
 ideo et ipse in euangelio [Jn 15:5] pater meus agricola est AUPs 30.s2.4.36  
 ille qui ait [Jn 15:5] pater meus agricola est [in Ps 32:12] AUPs 32.2.s2.18.10  
 Allusion: terra enim domini ecclesia eius est ipsam rigat ipsam colit ille agricola pater AUPs 36.s1.4.8  
 Allusion: quia ille summus pastor ille uerus agricola [Ezek 34:6] AUs 46.467  
 quid ergo dominus christus ait? [Jn 15:5] pater meus agricola [in Ps 66:2] AUPs 66.1.46  
 ubi est domini uox [Jn 15:5] pater meus agricola? [in Ps 103:3] AUPs 103.s1.11.50  
 [1 Cor 3:9] et dominus [Jn 15:5] et pater meus agricola [in Ps 145:5] AUPs 145.11.23  
 audi ipsum dominum [Jn 15:5] et pater meus agricola est AUs 4.582 (ms D **ipsum dicentem**, mss γ ε **sum inquit**, mss α D **uos estis**)  
 dominus dicit in euangelio [Jn 15:5] pater meus **est** agricola...si ergo pater **deus** agricola est *habet agrum* AUs 87.1.2/531  
 audite eum quem misit nobis [Jn 15:5] pater meus agricola est AUs 113.6.6/652  
 colit te deus [Jn 15:5] et pater meus agricola AUs 125A.5  
 dominus...commendauit nisi caritatem [Jn 15:5] pater meus **est** agricola AUs 162A.7  
 dominum audite ego sum uitis uera [Jn 15:5] pater meus agricola. si agricola dicitur agrum colit AUs 213.9.9/1065  
 dixit enim dominus ego sum uitis [Jn 15:5] pater meus **agricola** [Jn 15:2] AUs 313E.6  
 [CY] nam cum dicat christus ego sum uitis uera AUdo 4.21.17 (quoting CYep 63)

#### <15:2> omnem palmitem in me non ferentem fructum tollet eum et omnem qui fert fructum purgabit eum ut fructum plus adferat

Reminiscence: interea dum omnes tenet aliqua **sarmenta** inutilia uisa sunt agricolae praecidenda et fecerunt haereses et schismata AU1Jo 2.2/1990  
 Adaptation: [Jn 15:1] suos autem tamquam in uite sarmenta praecidi dixit eos et de uite auferri tamquam inutilia sarmenta quae fructum non **darent** AUba 1.18.28/172.14  
 nec tamen frustra idem dominus addidit **quae autem sarmenta in me dant** fructum **purgat illa** ut **maiolem fructum adferant** AUba 1.18.28/172.24 (ms J **sarmenta**)  
 Reminiscence: plenitudo autem legis caritatis qua multum uiguit cyprianus ut de baptismo aliud sentiens non tamen desereret unitatem et esset in uite dominica radicum sarmentum fructuosum quod etiam ferro passionis purgaret caelestis agricola ut maiolem fructum daret AUba 3.19.26/217.28  
 Adaptation: nam ut in palmitibus fructuosis inuenitur aliquid quod purgandum sit ut **maiolem fructum ferat** AUba 6.1.2/299.3  
 [Jn 15:1] **sarmentum inquit quod** in me non **dat** fructum **pater meus** tollet **illud sarmentum autem quod in me dat** fructum **purgat illud** ut **maiolem fructum adferat** AUep 52.2/150.13 (ms M **tollat**, ms A **om. autem**)  
 [1Pet 4:8]. accessit huc etiam quod tamquam sarmentum fructuosissimum si quid in eo fuerat emendandum purgavit pater falce passionis **sarmentum enim ait dominus quod in me dat** fructum **purgat illud pater meus** ut **maiolem fructum adferat** AUep 93.10.40/484.8 (ms R **fructum maiolem**)  
 Reminiscence: summus quippe ille uitis agricola aliter parat falcem sarmentis fructuosis altius infructuosis tamen non parcat nec probis nec reprobis illis purgandis illis amputandis AUFau 22.20/608.18  
 sic enim ait ipse iesus **sarmentum quod in me dat** fructum **purgat illud pater meus** ut **maiolem fructum adferat** AUGau 2.8.9/265.13 (ms Δ **maiolem fructu**)



omnem palmitem in me non ferentem fructum tollet eum et omnem qui fert fructum purgabit eum ut fructum plus afferat AUJo 80.2.2 [CT]

*Reminiscence: omnia schismata quae etiam comparantur sarmentis infructuosis de uite praecisis et [Matt 3:12] AUUs 5.10*

[Jn 15:1] **sarmentum omne quod** in me **dat** fructum **purgat illud ut maius** fructum afferat **quod autem in me non dat fructum praecidet illud** AUUs 162A.7

[Jn 15:1] **omne sarmentum quod** in me **dat** fructum **purgat illud pater meus** ut **maiozem** fructum afferat et **omne sarmentum quod in me non dat fructum excidet illud** [Jn 15:6] AUUs 313E.6

**<15:3> iam uos mundi estis propter sermonem quem locutus sum uobis**

*cf. Jn 13:10*

*ab illo qui ait* iam uos mundi estis propter **uerbum quod** locutus sum uobis AUCre 2.12.15/374.6 (ms Xm1 **quem**)

iam uos mundi estis propter sermonem quem locutus sum uobis AUJo 80.2.16 [CT]

iam uos mundi estis propter **uerbum quod** locutus sum uobis AUJo 80.3.1

propter **uerbum quod** locutus sum uobis AUJo 80.3.3

iam uos mundi estis propter **uerbum quod** locutus sum uobis AUJo 80.3.31

*si propterea dictum est apostolis* iam uos mundi estis AUPet 2.22.50/49.4

*non dixisse dominum praesente iuda nondum mundi estis sed* iam uos mundi estis AUPet 2.22.50/49.14

*non eis diceretur* iam uos mundi estis AUPet 2.22.50/49.17

*postquam uero ille discessit dixit eis* iam uos mundi estis *nec addidit sed non omnes* AUPet 2.22.50/49.18

[PETI] [Jn 13:10] ...*postquam ipse damnatus est traditor christi apostolus undecim sic plenius confirmauit* iam uos mundi estis propter sermonem quem locutus sum uobis AUPet 2.22.49/48.22

**<15:4> manete in me et ego in uobis sicut palmes non potest ferre fructum a semet ipso nisi manserit in uite sic nec uos nisi in me manseritis**

*Allusion: eadem uitis sicut a domino idemtidem praedictum erat putaretur et ex ea praeciderentur infructuosa sarmenta* AUCat 24.8

manete in me et ego in uobis AUJo 68.3.17

manete in me et ego in uobis AUJo 81.1.5 sicut palmes non potest ferre fructum a semetipso nisi manserit in uite sic nec uos nisi in me manseritis AUJo 81.2.1 [CT]

*Reminiscence: sed nemo dat fructum bonum si praecisus est de uite* AU psDon 218

*Reminiscence: uitis autem crescens per omnia et sarmenta sua nouit quae in illa manserunt et iuxta se quae de illa praecisa sunt* AUUs 46.461

[Jn 14:24] *et paulo post* manete in me et ego in uobis sicut palmes non potest ferre fructum a semet ipso nisi

manserit in uite sic nec uos nisi in me manseritis AUSpe 28/197.5

[PETI] [Jn 15:3] manete in me et ego in uobis AUPet 2.22.49/48.23

**<15:5> ego sum uitis uos palmites qui manet in me et ego in eo hic fert fructum multum quia sine me nihil potestis facere**

*cf. Jn 6:57*

*quem sensum redarguit qui dicit* sine me nihil potestis facere AUChr 1.29/149.12

*ut ab illo audiens* sine me nihil potestis facere AUcorr 2.19

*non solum enim dixit* sine me nihil potestis facere AUcorr 34.21

*nec audiunt dominum quem sequi se dicunt increpantem atque testantem* sine me nihil potestis facere AUep 157.4.29/478.1

*propter hoc enim dominus cum de fructu iustitiae loqueretur ait discipulis suis* sine me nihil potestis facere AUep 214.2/382.5

*propter quod et ipse iesus super quem incumbit dealbata dixit discipulis suis* sine me nihil potestis facere AUgr 6.14

*propter illud quod ait dominus iesus* sine me nihil potestis facere...[Eph 2:8] AUgr 8.20

*frustra dominus dixisse uideretur* sine me nihil potestis facere AUhae 88.13 (ms F. om., ms C in marg., deest in plerisque codd. apud mu)

sine me nihil potestis facere AUJo 31.9.8

sine me nihil potestis facere AUJo 44.5.28

sine me nihil potestis facere AUJo 47.2.18

sine me nihil potestis facere AUJo 53.10.10

sine me nihil potestis facere AUJo 72.1.15

ego sum uitis uos palmites AUJo 75.4.14

sine me nihil potestis facere AUJo 80.2.21

ego sum uitis uos palmites qui manet in me et ego in eo hic fert fructum multum quia sine me nihil potestis facere AUJo 81.3.2 [CT]

sine me nihil potestis facere AUJo 86.3.5

sine me nihil potestis facere AUJo 88.1.6

[1Cor 7:7] *et quod dixit dominus* sine me nihil potestis facere et [Matt 19:11] AUJul 5.16.66

magister deus quando palmitibus in se manentibus dicebat sine me nihil potestis facere AUJul im 1.86.12  
 nonne respicis ei te contradicere qui dixit sine me nihil potestis facere et scripturae ubi legitur [Prov 8:35] et ubi legitur [Phil 2:13] et ubi legitur [Phil 2:13] AUJul im 1.97.43  
 alterum horum non facit nisi adiutus ab eo qui dixit sine me nihil potestis facere AUJul im 1.98.52  
 christe responde uince atque conuince, clama sine me nihil potestis facere AUJul im 2.198.14  
 aut quid est quod ait dominus cum de fructibus palmitum hoc est de bonis actibus loqueretur sine me nihil potestis facere AUJul im 3.118.6  
 ut...uideas recte dici a christo non potuisse sine me nihil potestis facere si ad bene agendum sine gratia christi liberi esse potuissent AUJul im 3.119.30  
 contradicis ei qui dixit sine me non potestis facere contradicis etiam ille qui dixit [2 Cor 3:5] AUJul im 3.120.19  
 Adaptation: cum illo semper uiuamus quia sine illo nihil facere possumus AUna 31.35/259.5 (mss C b d possumus facere)  
 immo ipso pro ea clamat ei cedatur dicenti sine me nihil potestis facere AUna 62.73/289.7  
 dominus autem ut responderet futuro pelagio non ait sine me difficile potestis aliquid facere sed ait sine me nihil potestis facere et ut responderet futuris etiam istis in eadem ipsa euangelica sententia non ait sine me nihil potestis perficere sed facere AUPel 2.8.18/480.7  
 dominus enim cum ait sine me nihil potestis facere AUPel 2.8.18/480.5 (ms O om. potestis)  
 unde est illud domini sine me nihil potestis facere AUPel 2.8.18/481.3  
 cum audierint dominum dicentem sine me nihil potestis facere AUPel 2.9.19/481.10  
 Allusion: quia sicut nemo potest bonum perficere sine domino AUPel 2.10.23/485.14  
 non audiant [1 Cor 4:7] non audiant sine me nihil potestis facere non audiant [1 Jn 4:7 etc] AUPel 4.6.14/534.21  
 [1 Cor 3:6-7] nec radix eorum erat ipse sed potius ille qui ait ego sum uitis uos **estis sarmenta** AUPet 1.5.6/7.16  
 [1 Cor 3:6-7] nec radix eorum erat ipse sed ille potius qui ait ego sum uitis uos **estis sarmenta** AUPet 3.42.51/204.4 (a citation of AUPet 1.5.6)  
 ideo et ipse in euangelio ego sum uitis uos **estis** palmites pater meus agricola est et sine me inquit nihil potestis facere AUPs 30.s2.4.35  
 ille qui ait ego sum uitis uos **estis sarmenta** pater meus agricola est [in Ps 32:12] AUPs 32.2.s2.18.10  
 quid ergo dominus christus ait? ego sum uitis uos **sarmenta** pater meus agricola [in Ps 66:2] AUPs 66.1.46  
 ut aliquid sint quibus ait quia sine me nihil potestis facere [in Ps 67:17] AUPs 67.23.63  
 credendo adhaerere ad bene cooperandum bona operanti deo quia sine me inquit nihil potestis facere [in Ps 77:8] AUPs 77.8.51  
 ubi est domini uox ego sum uitis uos **estis sarmenta** pater meus agricola? [in Ps 103:3] AUPs 103.s1.11.50  
 [Jn 6:41] et ego sum uitis uos **sarmenta** [Ps 103:15] AUPs 103.s3.14.20  
 petrus nisi in christo poterat quia sine me inquit nihil potestis facere AUPs 130.6.46  
 [1 Cor 3:9] et dominus ego sum inquit uitis uos **estis sarmenta** et pater meus agricola [in Ps 145:5] AUPs 145.11.23  
 [Jn 1:1] audi ipsum dominum ego sum uitis uos **sarmenta** [Jn 15:1] AU 4.582 (ms D ipsum dicentem, mss γ ε sum inquit, mss α D uos estis)  
 Reminiscence: permisit deus tamquam dicens deserat me et inueniat se et miseria sua probet quia nihil potest sine me (ms V61m sine om. me) AU 26.52  
 ego inquit uos reficiam quia sine me nihil potestis facere AU 30.179 (mss S1 S2 S3 reficiam uos)  
 dominus dicit in euangelio ego sum uitis uos **estis sarmenta** [Jn 15:1] AU 87.1.2/531  
 imo facta a domino per discipulos quia sine me inquit nihil potestis facere AU 89.2/554  
 ipse enim illis ait quia sine me nihil potestis facere AU 101.3.3/607  
 probemus quia adiutorium sine me nihil potestis facere AU 101.5.6/698  
 audite eum quem misit nobis ego sum inquit uitis uos **estis** palmites [Jn 15:1] AU 113.6.6/652  
 colit te deus ego sum inquit uitis uos **sarmenta** [Jn 15:1] AU 125A.5  
 audi dominum ipsorum sine me nihil potestis facere AU 136B.3  
 sic et discipulis dicit quia sine me nihil potestis facere AU 144.4.5/789  
 quid dicit dominus? sine me nihil potestis facere AU 156.12.13/857  
 dominus...commendauit nisi caritatem ego sum inquit uitis uos **estis sarmenta** [Jn 15:1] AU 162A.7  
 ipse dixit suis discipulis sine me nihil potestis facere AU 163B.6  
 dominum audite ego sum uitis uos **estis sarmenta** [Jn 15:1] AU 213.9.9/1065  
 nobis enim et uobis ait dominus iesus sine me nihil potestis facere. sine me inquit nihil potestis facere AU 284.3/1289  
 ille qui dixit sine me nihil potestis facere AU 295.8.8/1352  
 qui dixit suis sine me nihil potestis facere AU 299F.4  
 dixit enim dominus ego sum uitis uos **estis sarmenta** [Jn 15:1] [15:2] AU 313E.6  
 per legem fidei dicit dominus sine me nihil potestis facere AUsp 25.42/196.9  
 de cuius operibus etiam ipse dixit quia sine me nihil potestis facere AUsp 29.50/207.2  
 ut nec illum uelint habere dominum qui eis dicit sine me nihil potestis facere et [Jn 8:36] AUsp 30.25/209.18  
 [Jn 15:4] ego sum uitis uos palmites qui manet in me et ego in eo hic fert fructum multum quia sine me nihil potestis facere AUsp 28/197.7  
 dei quippe sententia est sine me nihil potestis facere AUtri 14.17.26

**<15:6> si quis in me non manserit mittetur foras sicut palmes et aruit et colligent eos et in ignem mittunt et ardent**

si quis in me non manserit mittetur foras sicut palmes et **arescet** et colligent **eum** et in ignem **mittent** et **ardet** AUJo 81.3.16 [CT]

[Jn 15:2] **et arescit** et in ignem **mittetur** AUs 313E.6

[Jn 15:5] si quis in me non manserit mittetur foras sicut palmes et aruit et colligent eos et in ignem mittunt et ardent AUSpe 28/197.9 (mss R a v **arescet**, mss R a v **eum**, mss R S a v **mittent**, mss R a v **ardet**)

**<15:7> si manseritis in me et uerba mea in uobis manserint quodcumque uolueritis petetis et fiet uobis**

*hinc apostolis dicebatur* si manseritis in me *dicente illo qui eos utique sciebat esse mansuros* AUcorr 40.8

si manseritis in me et uerba mea in uobis manserint quodcumque uolueritis petetis et fiet uobis AUJo 81.4.1 [CT]

[Jn 15:6] si manseritis in me et uerba mea in uobis manserint quodcumque uolueritis petetis et fiet uobis AUSpe 28/197.11 (ms S2 petitis)

**<15:8> in hoc clarificatus est pater meus ut fructum plurimum adferatis et efficiamini mei discipuli**

in hoc clarificatus est pater meus ut fructum plurimum adferatis et efficiamini mei discipuli AUJo 82.1.2 [CT]

[Jn 15:7] in hoc clarificatus est pater meus ut fructum plurimum adferatis et efficiamini mei discipuli AUSpe 28/197.13

**<15:9> sicut dilexit me pater et ego dilexi uos manete in dilectione mea**

sicut dilexit me pater et ego dilexi uos manete in dilectione mea AUJo 82.2.1 [CT]

[Jn 15:8] sicut dilexit me pater et ego dilexi uos manete in dilectione mea AUSpe 28/197.14

**<15:10> si praecepta mea seruaueritis manebitis in dilectione mea sicut et ego patris mei praecepta seruauit et maneo in eius dilectione**

*Adaptation: non ergo sibi uiuat quisque sed christo faciens non suam sed ipsius uoluntatem et manens in eius caritate sicut et ipse fecit uoluntatem patris et manet in eius caritate* (ms T om. sicut-caritate) AUep 140.28.68/215.20

si praecepta mea seruaueritis manebitis in dilectione mea AUJo 82.3.1 sicut et ego patris mei praecepta seruauit et maneo in eius dilectione AUJo 82.4.1 [CT]

[Jn 15:9] si praecepta mea seruaueritis manebitis in dilectione mea sicut et ego patris mei praecepta seruauit et maneo in **dilectione eius** AUSpe 28/197.15 (mss S a v **eius dilectione**)

[FAU]  *rursum [sc. dixit] si feceritis mandata mea manebitis in mea caritate* AUFau 5.3/273.18

**<15:11> haec locutus sum uobis ut gaudium meum in uobis sit et gaudium uestrum impleatur**

haec locutus sum uobis ut gaudium meum in uobis sit et gaudium uestrum impleatur AUJo 83.1.2 [CT]

[Jn 15:10] haec locutus sum uobis ut gaudium meum in uobis sit et gaudium uestrum impleatur AUSpe 28/197.18

**<15:12> hoc est praeceptum meum ut diligatis inuicem sicut dilexi uos**

*cf. Jn 13:34, Jn 15:17*

hoc est praeceptum meum ut diligatis inuicem sicut dilexi uos AUJo 83.2.1 [CT]

hoc est **mandatum** meum AUJo 83.2.9

hoc est **mandatum** meum AUJo 83.3.1

hoc est **mandatum** meum ut diligatis inuicem sicut dilexi uos AUJo 84.1.4 [CT]

*ad hoc enim et ait [sc. dominus]* hoc est **mandatum** meum ut diligatis inuicem sicut **et ego** dilexi uos AUmen 6.9/426.17

*ait enim* hoc est praeceptum meum ut diligatis inuicem AUs 332.1/1461

*cum ergo dixisset christus* hoc est praeceptum meum ut diligatis inuicem AUs 332.1/1461

*cum enim dixisset* hoc est praeceptum meum ut diligatis inuicem *mox addidit* sicut dilexi uos AUs 332.1/1461

[Jn 15:11] hoc est praeceptum meum ut diligatis inuicem sicut dilexi uos AUSpe 28/197.19

**<15:13> maiorem hac dilectionem nemo habet ut animam suam quis ponat pro amicis suis**

*et dominus in euangelio commendauit maiorem caritatem* nemo habet *ait* **quam** ut animam suam **ponat** pro amicis suis AU1Jo 5.12/2018

*quod et dominus in euangelio ait* maiorem hac **nemo habet caritatem quam** ut animam suam **ponat** pro amicis suis *et iste hoc dixerat [1Jn 3:16]* AU1Jo 6.1/2019

*quemadmodum autem mortuus est pro nobis?* maiorem hac **caritatem** nemo habet **quam** ut animam suam **ponat** pro amicis suis AU1Jo 6.13/2028

*ideo mortuus est pro nobis quia caritatem multam docuit* maiorem hac **caritatem** nemo habet **quam** ut animam suam **ponat** pro amicis suis AU1Jo 6.13/2028

*quam et ipse in euangelio commendat* maiorem hac dilectionem nemo **potest habere quam** ut animam suam **ponat** pro amicis suis AU1Jo 7.2/2030

*quomodo ipse dominus ait* maiorem **dilectionem** nemo **potest habere quam** ut animam suam **ponat** pro amicis suis AU1Jo 7.7/2032

*[follows Jn 10:18]* maiorem hac **caritatem** nemo habet **quam** ut animam suam **ponat** pro amicis suis AUAr 9.27 (ms C **maiore**, ms plur\* **hanc**, mss V ζ **dilectionem**, ms a(bold) **quis ponat**, ms π **suam pro amicis suis ponat**) *ueniat hic ad tantum magnitudinem qua maior esse non possit* maiorem autem **caritatem** nemo habet **quam** ut animam suam quis ponat pro amicis suis AUench 32.25

*sicut dominus ait* maiorem hac **caritatem** nemo habet **quam** ut animam suam quis ponat pro amicis suis AUep 167.3.11/598.16 (mss P\* R\* H\* P1\* K\* V I Eugipp **hanc**, mss I r m **ponat quis**, mss H P1 K V N R C **om.quis**) *de qua caritate ipse dominus ait* maiorem hac **caritatem** nemo habet **quam** ut animam suam **ponat** pro amicis suis...[Rom 13:8-10] AUgr 17.33

maio**re**m hac **caritatem** nemo habet **quam** ut animam suam **ponat quis** pro amicis suis AUJo 55.2.23

maio**re**m hac **caritatem** nemo habet **quam** ut animam suam **ponat** pro amicis suis AUJo 61.5.3

maio**re**m hac dilectionem nemo habet ut animam suam **ponat quis** pro amicis suis AUJo 84.1.2 [CT]

maio**re**m hac dilectionem nemo habet ut animam suam **ponat quis** pro amicis suis AUJo 85.1.2 [CT]

[Jn 15:12] maiorem **dilectionem** nemo habet **quam** ut animam suam **ponat** pro amicis suis AUmen 6.9/426.19 (ms F **maio**re**m hac**, mss R β Em2s.I. **ponat quis**)

*Allusion: quando pro illa [sc. caritas] ipsa contemnitur uita* AUa 70.84/298.25

*non esset tanta martyrum gloria nec dominus diceret* maiorem hac **caritatem** nemo habet **quam** ut animam suam **ponat** pro amicis suis [1Jn 3:16] AUpec 2.34.54/124.7 (ms S **maiore**, ms Vm1 **maiora**, mss L S G **caritate**, ms Gm3 **ponat quis**)

*Allusion: et compleat omne consilium tuum non solum quo animam tuam posuisti pro amicis tuis ut mortificatum granum copiosus resurgeret* AUPs 19.5.6

*expressit ipse docuit et ait* maiorem hac **caritatem** nemo habet **quam** ut animam suam quis ponat pro amicis suis AUPs 56.1.10

*o si sic amaremus!* maiorem **dilectionem** nemo habet **quam** ut animam suam **ponat** pro amicis suis *et nos quomodo possumus ponere animas nostras pro illo?* [1Jn 3:16] AUPs 90.s2.13.29

[1 Jn 3:16]...dicente domino maiorem **caritatem** nemo habet **quam** ut animam suam **ponat** pro amicis suis...[Jn 12:25] [in Ps 102:2] AUPs 102.3.17

*ipse dominus tam multa commemorat [Matt 26:38] et [Jn 10:18] et* maiorem **dilectionem** nemo habet **quam** ut animam suam **ponat** pro amicis suis AUq 80.73 (ms H I maur **ponat quis**)

*oblitus es* maiorem **caritatem** nemo habet **quam** ut animam suam **ponat quis** pro amicis suis AU 183.10.14 (webtext: not in Migne)

*crucifixum sub pontio pilato et sepultum. maiorem autem* hac **caritatem** nemo habet ut animam suam **ponat quis** pro amicis suis. *sic diligite inuicem ut unusquisque animam suam ponat pro ceteris* AU 215.5/1074

*uidete dominum dicentem* maiorem hac **caritatem** nemo habet ut animam suam **ponat quis** pro amicis suis AU 299.8/1373

*audite* maiorem hac **caritatem** nemo habet **quam** ut animam suam **ponat** pro amicis suis. *sic diligite inuicem ut unusquisque animam suam ponat pro ceteris* AU 332.2/1462

*qua maior in hac uita non est. maiorem* hac **caritatem** nemo habet **quam** ut animam suam **ponat** pro amicis suis AU 332.3/1462

*attendite ipsum dominum* maiorem hac **caritatem** nemo habet **quam** ut animam suam **ponat** pro amicis suis AU 335B.3

*Allusion: si credendo ad tantam dilectionem sancti peruenire potuerunt qua certe maiorem in hac uita esse non posse dominus ipse testatus est ut* animam suam *pro fide uel pro fratribus ponerent* AUsp 36.64/224.23

*ipse docuit uerbo et suo est hortatus exemplo dicens* maiorem hac **caritatem** nemo habet **quam** ut animam suam **ponat** pro amicis suis AUspe 9/75.5 (ms R **caritat<sup>e</sup> hac**, mss M P1 C **caritatem hanc**, mss P2 a v **ponat quis**)

[Jn 15:12] maiorem hac dilectionem nemo habet ut animam suam quis ponat pro amicis suis AUspe 28/197.20 (mss M1 P1 **hanc**, ms a **quam ut**)

*dicit enim redemptor noster* maiorem **dilectionem** nemo habet **quam** ut animam suam **ponat** pro amicis suis AUtri 4.13.68 (mss J T **quis ponat**)

#### <15:14> uos amici mei estis si feceritis quae ego praecipio uobis

uos amici mei estis si feceritis quae ego praecipio uobis AUJo 85.1.4 [CT]

[FAU] *item alibi [sc. dixit]* amici mei **eritis** si feceritis quae **praecipio** uobis AUfau 5.3/273.17

[SEC] *Allusion: Secundinus a Cezas dicit...nobis qui amici appellati sumus dei de eius dignatione* AUba 6.18.30/316.9 (CYsent 11)

#### <15:15> iam non dico uos seruos quia seruus nescit quid facit dominus eius uos autem dixi amicos quia omnia quaecumque audiui a patre meo nota feci uobis

*cf. Luke 12:47-8*

*sicut et ipse dominus discipulis dixit* omnia **quae** audiui a patre meo nota **uobis** feci AUag 27.29/129.14 (ms N **om.meo**, mss P γ L B F H b d **feci uobis**)

*dominus iesus...ait* iam non **uos** dico seruos **sed amicos** AUba 5.13.15/275.18 (citation **om.** ms L)

*dominus discipulis ait omnia quae audiui a patre meo nota uobis feci* AUep 187.8.27/104.18 (ms T **quaecumque**, mss A C edd **feci uobis**)  
*isto genere locutionis etiam dominus loquitur cum dicit iam non dico uos seruos quia seruus nescit quid faciat dominus eius uos autem dixi amicos quia omnia quae audiui a patre meo nota uobis feci* [in Gen 1:1] AUGn Ma 1.11.12 (mss ψ T dominus locutus est, mss γ A B M S edd **non dicam**, ms R **autem dico**, ms O\* om.omnia, mss V N ψ T S am er lo **quaecumque**, mss O\* L F R B T S edd feci uobis, ms A **meo nuntiaui uobis**)  
*[Jn 16:12] utquid ergo dixerat omnia quae audiui a patre meo nota uobis feci* AUGn Ma 1.11.17 (mss ψ T **quaecumque**, mss F N R B T S er lo ma **feci uobis**)  
iam non dico uos seruos quia seruus nescit quid faciat dominus eius AUJo 85.2.1 uos autem dixi amicos quia omnia quaecumque audiui a patre meo nota feci uobis AUJo 85.3.43 [CT]  
uos autem dixi amicos quia omnia quaecumque audiui a patre meo nota feci uobis AUJo 86.1.2 [CT]  
iam non dico uos seruos AUJo 88.1.21  
omnia **quae** audiui a patre meo nota feci uobis AUJo 96.1.4  
omnia **quae** audiui a patre meo nota feci uobis AUJo 105.4.19  
omnia **quae** audiui a patre meo nota feci uobis AUJo 106.4.32  
*[1Jn 4:18]...quibus dictum est iam non dicam uos seruos sed amicos* [in Ps 5:8] AUPs 5.9.12  
*apud suos autem quibus dictum est iam non dico uos seruos quia seruus nescit quid facit dominus eius uos autem dixi amicos quia omnia quae audiui a patre meo nota feci uobis* AUPs 7.1.50  
*dictum est quidem non uos dicam seruos sed amicos...* [Gal 4:7] [in Ps 122:2] AUPs 122.5.41  
*quo possis audire iam non dicam uos seruos sed amicos* AUq 68.55 (ms D K L O R Flor **non uos dicam**, ms T **non dico uos**, ms E **uos non dicam**, ms Z **amicos meos**)  
*iam enim inquit non uos dicam seruos sed amicos omnia enim quae audiui a patre meo nota feci uobis* AURm 54.20 (mss W C O N a B3 V **uobis feci**)  
*et forte dicit tibi iam non dicam uos seruos sed amicos quoniam quae audiui a patre meo nota uobis feci. sed discipulis hoc dixit* AU 27.74 (ms V7 **dicet tibi**, ms V5 **uos dicam**, ms V7 **feci uobis**)  
*quomodo hoc dixit omnia quae audiui a patre meo nota uobis feci* AU 27.78  
*sic et dominus discipulis omnia quae audiui a patre meo nota uobis feci* AU 27.95 (mss V4 maur **discipulis ait**, ms V22m **discipulis inquit**)  
*alio loco dicit illis [Jn 16:12]. certe omnia quae audiui a patre meo nota uobis feci. sed cum dicit [Jn 16:12] AU 27.98*  
*et ideo dicebat nota uobis feci* AU 27.103  
*amicos suos sibi fecit homines non illos facturum est angelos? iam non dicam uos seruos sed amicos* AU 45.362  
*adhuc in ista egestate...dixit iam non dicam uos seruos sed amicos* AU 45.365 (mss C1 C4 C5 **uos dicam**, ms maur **uos non dicam**)  
*dixit enim et discipulis suis iam non dicam uos seruos sed amicos* AU 293D.3  
*sicut dixit ipse dominus iam uos non dicam seruos sed amicos* AU 296.7 (webtext; not in Migne)  
*de quo futuro tamquam praeterito loquens ait iam non dicam uos seruos sed amicos seruus enim nescit uoluntatem domini sui uos autem dixi amicos quia omnia quae audiui a patre meo nota uobis feci* AUtri 1.12.8 (mss A F K P T Eug (G V v) μ **dicam uos**, ms cett **uos dicam**, ms P **sed amicos meos**, mss F J μ **quaecumque**, ms Ca **motu feci**, mss K T **feci uobis**)

**<15:16> non uos me elegistis sed ego elegi uos et posui uos ut eatis et fructum adferatis et fructus uester maneat ut quodcumque petieritis patrem in nomine meo det uobis**

*[Jn 15:5] uerum etiam dixit non uos me elegistis sed ego elegi uos et posui uos ut eatis et fructum adferatis et fructus uester maneat* AUcorr 34.22

*et quod discipulis suis dicit dominus non uos me elegistis sed ego elegi uos* AUgr 18.38

*sed ipse qui ueritas est aliud dicit et huic uanitati hominum apertissime contradicit non uos me elegistis inquit. si ergo non elegistis sine dubio nec dilexistis: quomodo enim eum eligerent quem non diligere? sed ego inquit uos elegi* AUgr 18.38

non uos me elegistis sed ego **uos elegi** AUJo 86.2.1 et posui uos ut eatis et fructum afferatis et fructus uester maneat ut quodcumque petieritis patrem in nomine meo det uobis AUJo 86.3.2 [CT]

non uos me elegistis sed ego elegi uos AUJo 86.2.26

ego elegi uos AUJo 86.3.2

non uos me elegistis sed ego elegi uos et posui uos ut eatis et fructum afferatis et fructus uester maneat ut quodcumque petieritis patrem in nomine meo det uobis AUJo 87.1.2 [CT]

ego **uos elegi** ut eatis et fructum afferatis et fructus uester maneat ut quodcumque petieritis patrem in nomine meo det uobis AUJo 87.1.9

*ipse quippe illis ait non uos me elegistis sed ego uos elegi unde dicit apostolus iohannes [1 Jn 4:10] AUpat 21.18/684.8 (mss N V om.uos, mss D O γ **elegi uos**)*

*hanc enim et dominus ipse satis aperit ubi dicit: non uos me elegistis sed ego elegi uos* AUprae 17.34/985

*aufert autem hoc omnino qui dicit non uos me elegistis sed ego uos elegi* AUprae 17.34/985

*unde non ob aliud dicit non uos me elegistis sed ego uos elegi* AUprae 17.34/985

*loquitur filius dicens non uos me elegistis sed ego uos elegi* AUprae 17.34/985 (ms B **ne uos me**)

*rogo quis audiat dominum dicentem non uos me elegistis sed ego uos elegi* AUprae 17.34/986  
*quibus dicit christus non uos me elegistis sed ego uos elegi* AUprae 17.34/986  
*et electionem quam significauit dominus dicens non uos me elegistis sed ego uos elegi* AUprae 19.38/988  
*ne priores eum elegeris dicamur falsum sit quod absit non uos me elegistis sed ego uos elegi* AUprae 19.38/988  
*Reminiscence: ille nos colit ut fructum feramus nos eum colit ut fructum demus* AUs 47.973  
*[Jn 20:17] quia ego uos elegi* AUs 246.5/1155 (SC116 AUs 246.5.112)

**<15:17> haec mando uobis ut diligatis inuicem**

*cf. Jn 13:34, Jn 15:12*

*haec mando uobis ut diligatis inuicem* AUJo 87.1.7 [CT]

*sic enim loquitur saluator mundi sic inquam loquitur* haec mando uobis ut diligatis inuicem AUJul 6.2.4

*[Jn 15:13] et paulo post haec mando uobis ut diligatis inuicem* AUSpe 28/197.22

**<15:18> si mundus uos odit scitote quia me priorem uobis odio habuit**

*dominus autem quando dixit si saeculum uos odit scitote quia me priorem uobis odio habuit* AUGau 1.26.29/227.127

*si mundus uos odit scitote quoniam* me priorem uobis odio habuit AUJo 87.2.5 [CT]

*si odit uos* mundus scitote quia me priorem uobis odio habuit AUJo 88.1.7 [CT]

*si mundus uos odit scitote quia me priorem uobis odio habuit* AUJo 89.1.6 [CT]

*[Jn 15:17] si mundus uos odit scitote quia me priorem uobis odio habuit* AUJul 6.2.4

*[2Cor 5:19] si odit uos* mundus *ait* scitote quia me prius odio habuit AUs 96.7.8/588

*si mundus uos odit ait dominus* scitote quia prius me odio habuit AUs 313G.1

*Adaptation: et ideo nos mundus odit sicut ab ipso domino audiui* AUs 354.1.1/1563

*[GAU] uerba epistolae...domino ipso dicente si saeculum uos odit scitote quia me primum odio habuit quam uos* AUGau 1.26.29/227.12

**<15:19> si de mundo fuissetis mundus quod suum erat diligeret quia uero de mundo non estis sed ego elegi uos de mundo propterea odit uos mundus**

*Reminiscence: propter hoc mundus non cognoscit nos quia non cognouit eum et nos non cognoscit mundus* AU1Jo 4.4/2007

*ego uos de mundo elegi* AUJo 38.5.15

*si de mundo essetis* mundus quod suum erat diligeret AUJo 87.2.8 quia uero de mundo non estis sed ego elegi

*uos de mundo propterea odit uos mundus* AUJo 87.3.9 [CT]

*si de mundo essetis* mundus quod suum erat diligeret AUJo 88.4.6 [CT]

*si de mundo essetis* mundus quod suum erat diligeret AUJo 95.1.8

*ego uos de mundo elegi* AUJo 106.5.33

*ego uos elegi* de mundo AUJo 106.5.35

*ego uos de mundo elegi* AUJo 106.5.39

*ego uos de mundo elegi* AUJo 108.1.9

*de mundo non estis sed ego uos elegi* de mundo AUJo 115.2.28

*[Jn 15:18] si de mundo essetis* mundus quod suum erat diligeret quia uero de mundo non estis sed ego elegi uos

*de mundo propterea odit uos mundus. si non addidisset ego elegi uos de mundo putari posset ita dixisse de*

*mundo non estis quemadmodum de se ipso dixerat [Jn 8:23]. neque enim et ipse fuit de mundo et electus est*

*inde ut non esset de mundo* AUJul 6.2.4

*Adaptation: postremo quis est mundus de quo elegit iesus discipulos suos ut iam de mundo non essent et eos de quo iam non erant ipse mundus odisset [Jn 15:17]* AUJul 6.2.4

*Reminiscence: porro si eos fatemini cum in corpus christi transeunt de mundo eligi* AUJul 6.2.5

*Reminiscence: haec uenit in mundum ut de mundo eligantur qui praedestinati sunt ante mundi* AUJul 6.2.5

*Reminiscence: hic mundus eos oderit* AUmor 2.69.6

*[Jn 8:23] apostolis autem dicit si de hoc mundo essetis* mundus quod suum est diligeret AUpat 19.16/681.12

(mss b d **mundo hoc**, ms L1 **estis**, mss P B N V **suum erat**)

*quia uero inquit* de mundo non estis sed ego elegi uos de mundo propterea odit uos mundus AUpat 19.16/681.15

(ms L **hoc mundo**, mss D γ **om.ego**)

*sed iustificandos elegit apostolos quibus ait ego uos de mundo elegi* AUpat 20.17/682.20 (mss N V **elegi de mundo**)

*quibus enim dicit* de mundo non estis *et ne putarent se numquam fuisse de mundo* mox addidit sed ego uos de

**mundo** elegi AUpat 20.17/682.20 (ms B **de mundo uos elegi**, mss F D O V W γ **elegi de mundo**)

*[Jn 15:18] si de mundo essetis* mundus quod suum est diligeret...sed ut de mundo non essent ipse illos elegit de

*mundo qui numquam fuit de mundo. aperte quippe hoc illis alio loco dixit ego uos de mundo elegi* AUs 313G.1

*putamusne solis discipulis dictum est odit uos mundus* AUs 313G.2

**<15:20> mementote sermonis mei quem ego dixi uobis non est seruus maior domino suo si me persecuti sunt et uos persequentur si sermonem meum seruauerunt et uestrum seruabunt**

*cf. Jn 13:16*

*[Jn 15:18] si me persecuti sunt et uos persequentur AUGau 1.26.29/227.28*

mementote sermonis mei quem ego dixi uobis non est seruus maior domino suo si me persecuti sunt et uos persequentur si sermonem meum seruauerunt et uestrum seruabunt AUJo 88.1.9 [CT]

si me persecuti sunt et uos persequentur si sermonem meum seruauerunt et uestrum seruabunt AUJo 89.1.1 [CT]

non est seruus maior domino suo si me persecuti sunt et uos persequentur AUJo 93.1.14

si me persecuti sunt et uos persequentur AUJo 93.3.52

*[Matt 10:24] si me inquit persecuti sunt et uos persequentur [Matt 10:24] [in Ps 40:7] AUPs 40.8.4*

*[GAU] [Jn 15:18] si me persecuti sunt et uos persequentur AUGau 1.26.29/227.14*

**<15:21> sed haec omnia facient uobis propter nomen meum quia nesciunt eum qui misit me**

sed haec omnia facient uobis propter nomen meum quia nesciunt eum qui misit me AUJo 88.2.1 [CT]

sed haec omnia facient uobis propter nomen meum quia nesciunt eum qui misit me AUJo 89.1.3 [CT]

haec **facient** uobis quia nesciunt eum qui misit me AUJo 89.5.4

haec **facient** uobis quia nesciunt eum qui misit me AUJo 90.1.2

**<15:22> si non uenissem et locutus fuisset eis peccatum non haberent nunc autem excusationem non habent de peccato suo**

*et habemus exemplum de euangelio manifestum quando ait dominus si non uenissem peccatum non haberent AU1Jo 6.5/2022*

*quare ergo dixit si non uenissem peccatum non haberent AU1Jo 6.5/2022*

*sicut dicit dominus in euangelio si non uenissem et locutus eis fuisset peccatum non haberent AUDt 52.1135 (in Deut.29:18-20)*

*sicut enim cum dixisset si non uenirem peccatum non haberent AUep 185.11.49/42.17*

*dicit etiam ipse dominus in euangelio si non uenissem et locutus fuisset eis peccatum non haberent nunc autem excusationem non habent de peccato suo AUep 194.6.26/196.10 (mss P P1 M N m eis fuisset)*

*sicut dominus dicit in euangelio de iudaeis si non uenissem et locutus eis fuisset peccatum non haberent nunc autem excusationem non habent de peccato suo AUgr 2.2*

si non uenissem et locutus **eis** fuisset peccatum non haberent AUJo 89.1.7 nunc autem excusationem non habent de peccato suo AUJo 89.2.1 [CT]

si non uenissem et locutus **eis** fuisset peccatum non haberent AUJo 91.1.7 [CT]

si non uenissem et locutus **eis** fuisset peccatum non haberent nunc autem excusationem non habent de peccato suo AUJo 95.1.5

*[Jn 16:9] et ubi ait si non uenissem et locutus eis fuisset peccatum non haberent AUPel 3.3.4/489.7 (ms D fuisset eis, ms V locutus ei)*

*[Jn 16:8] hoc est illud peccatum de quo alibi dicit si non uenissem peccatum non haberent. quid est hoc si non uenissem peccatum non haberent? AUPs 109.8.35*

*quemadmodum enim ait dominus de iudaeis si non uenissem peccatum non haberent AUPs 118.s3.3.19*

*attendite quod ait ipse de iudaeis si non uenissem et locutus fuisset eis peccatum non haberent. neque enim ita dictum est ut sine ullo peccato omnino uellet intelligi futuros fuisse iudaeos si non uenisset et locutus eis fuisset AU 71.7.11/450*

*sed tamen quia dictum est si non uenissem peccatum non haberent AU 71.7.11/450*

*Adaptation: hoc peccatum tam magnum et horrendum si non uenisset et locutus eis fuisset utique non haberent.*

*sicut ergo ibi cum audimus peccatum non haberent AU 71.7.11/451*

*quod commemorauit ubi ait si non uenissem et locutus eis fuisset peccatum non haberent AU 71.14.24/458*

*hoc est peccatum de quo itidem dicit si non uenissem peccatum non haberet AU 143.2.2/785*

*[FO-M] dictum est enim si non uenissem et locutus eis fuisset peccatum non haberent nunc uero quia ueni et locutus sum et noluerunt mihi credere ueniam de peccato non habebunt AUfo 21/103.3*

**<15:23> qui me odit et patrem meum odit**

qui me odit et patrem meum odit AUJo 89.5.1 [CT]

qui me odit et patrem meum odit AUJo 90.1.1 [CT]

qui me odit et patrem meum odit AUJo 91.1.1 [CT]

**<15:24> si opera non fecissem in eis quae nemo alius fecit peccatum non haberent nunc autem et uiderunt et oderunt et me et patrem meum**

si opera non fecissem in eis quae nemo alius fecit peccatum non haberent AUJo 91.1.4 nunc autem et uiderunt et oderunt et me et patrem meum AUJo 91.4.4 [CT]

nunc autem et uiderunt et oderunt et me et patrem meum AUJo 92.1.23 [CT]

*[Jn 5:17,19] quod autem alio loco dicit si opera non fecissem in eis quae nemo alius fecit AU 71.15.25/459*

*et illud quod ait dominus si opera non fecissem in eis quae nemo alius fecit AU 71.16.26/459*

**<15:25> sed ut impleatur sermo qui in lege eorum scriptus est quia odio me habuerunt gratis**

cf. Ps 34:19, Ps 68:5

sed ut **adimpleatur** sermo qui in lege eorum scriptus est quia odio me habuerunt gratis AUJo 91.4.5 [CT]

sed ut **adimpleatur** sermo qui in lege eorum scriptus est quia odio **habuerunt me** gratis AUJo 92.1.15 [CT]

sed ut impleatur sermo qui in lege eorum scriptus est quia odio **habuerunt me** gratis AUJo 92.1.24

[1 Cor 14:21] et ipse dominus in lege *inquit* eorum **scriptum** est quia **oderunt** me gratis *cum hoc legatur in psalmo* AUtri 15.17.77 (ms T est qui)

**<15:26> cum autem uenerit paracletus quem ego mittam uobis a patre spiritum ueritatis qui a patre procedit ille testimonium perhibebit de me**

cf. Jn 14:16, Jn 14:26, Jn 16:13

[Is 57:16] de quo [sc. spirito] et saluator ait a patre procedit AUan 1.14.21/321.25 (ms A **procedi**)

Allusion: uenisse spiritum sanctum quem dominus missurum se esse promisit AUep 237.2/527.11

cum autem uenerit paracletus quem ego mittam uobis a patre spiritum ueritatis qui a patre procedit ille testimonium perhibebit de me AUJo 92.1.18 [CT]

ille testimonium perhibebit de me AUJo 93.1.7 [CT]

**de** patre procedit AUJo 99.8.2

**de** patre procedit AUJo 99.8.8

cum de illo filius loqueretur ait **de** patre procedit AUMax 2.14.1/770

[Jn 8:18]...nam cum illum promitteret ait **ipse** testimonium perhibebit de me [1Jn 5:8] AUMax 2.22.3/795

[Jn 14:26] itemque ait quem ego mittam uobis a patre [in Ps 102:5] AUPs 102.10.36

Reminiscence: est enim pater ueritas et ueritas et spiritus ueritatis AUq 53.48

Allusion: et ad hoc promisit dominus **paraclitum** spiritum ueritatis AUq 4.7 (ms ε1m **spiritum paraclitum**)

superuenit spiritus sanctus die pentecostes quem promiserat dominus in euangelio dicens **mitto** uobis spiritum ueritatis AUq 60A.2

spiritus patris ipse filius dicit **de** patre procedit AUq 71.18.29/461

secundum id quod supra dixerimus cum autem uenerit paracletus quem ego mittam uobis a patre spiritum

ueritatis qui a patre procedit ille testimonium perhibebit de me AUtri 2.3.18 (mss B2 O S **paracletus spiritus**

**ueritatis**, ms N paracletus **ille spiritus ueritatis**, mss B2 N O S **pater (om. spiritum ueritatis) qui**, ms Eug (V) **procedet**)

[Jn 16:13] secundum hoc enim dictum est quod **de** patre procedit cum uero et filius de patre sit et spiritus sanctus a patre procedat AUtri 2.3.29 (ms T **de** patre procedat)

et de spiritu sancto [sc. dicitur] a patre procedit AUtri 4.20.94 (ms F procedit a patre)

Adaptation: et sicut spiritui sancto donum dei esse est a patre procedere AUtri 4.20.101

Reminiscence: non tantum a patre sed et a filio procedere spiritum sanctum AUtri 4.20.109

quod ergo ait dominus quem ego mittam uobis a patre AUtri 4.20.117

non tamen dixit [Jn 14:26] quemadmodum dixit quem ego mittam uobis a patre 4.20.120 (ms L **uobis mittam**)

principium pater est. qui ergo **ex** patre procedit et filio ad eum refertur AUtri 4.20.122 (ms F **quia**, ms μ **a** patre)

Reminiscence: aut a filio quem genuit aut a spiritu sancto qui **de** illo procedit missus diceretur AUtri 4.21.82

donum enim est patris et filii quia et a patre procedit sicut dominus dicit AUtri 5.11.25 (ms C quia **ex** patre)

utrum autem et ad spiritum sanctum principium sit pater quoniam dictum est **de** patre procedit AUtri 5.14.4

Allusion: spiritus sanctus cum et ipse a patre exeat sicut in euangelio legitur AUtri 5.14.8

dixit enim dominus de spiritu sancto quod a patre **procedat** AUtri 12.5.10 (ms C ad, d exp.)

Reminiscence: nec...de quo procedit principaliter spiritus sanctus nisi deus pater AUtri 15.17.56

Adaptation: et filius ex deo patre natus est et spiritus sanctus ex deo patre procedit AUtri 15.17.109

Reminiscence: deus igitur spiritus sanctus qui procedit ex deo AUtri 15.17.128

spiritus sanctus de quo item dicit ipse filius quem ego mitto uobis a patre et alio loco [Jn 14:26] de utroque autem

procedere sic docetur quia ipse filius ait **de** patre procedit AUtri 15.26.12 (mss P μ **mittam**, ms S hic de)

Reminiscence: [Jn 5:26] ut et de illo procedat spiritus sanctus AUtri 15.26.94

Adaptation: atque ita dictum spiritum sanctum de patre procedere AUtri 15.26.97

Reminiscence: de patre habet utique ut et de illo procedat spiritus sanctus AUtri 15.26.99

Reminiscence: spiritus sanctus de patre principaliter et ipso sine ullo intervallo temporis dante communiter de utroque procedit AUtri 15.26.113

si ergo inquam et de patre et de filio procedit spiritus sanctus cur filius dixit **de** patre procedit? AUtri 15.27.10 (citing AUJo 99)

intellegendus est et de ipso procedere spiritus sanctus ubi sic ait **de** patre procedit AUtri 15.27.15 (citing AUJo 99)

Reminiscence: ac per hoc spiritus sanctus ut etiam de filio procedat sicut procedit de patre AUtri 15.27.19

nec tu unigenite dices de spiritu sancto [Jn 14:26] et quem ego mittam uobis a patre AUtri 15.or.12

de his quae spiritum sanctum non minorem patre indicant sed tantum **de** patre procedit AUtri brev 2.3.8 (ms L **a patre**, ms λ **de patre sit**)



**<15:27> et uos testimonium perhibetis quia ab initio mecum estis**

et uos testimonium **perhibebitis** quia ab initio mecum estis AUJo 92.1.21 [CT]

et uos testimonium **perhibebitis** AUJo 93.1.8 [CT]

et uos testimonium **perhibebitis** quia ab initio mecum estis AUJo 109.1.13

**<16:1> haec locutus sum uobis ut non scandalizemini**

haec locutus sum uobis ut non scandalizemini AUJo 93.1.26 [CT]

**<16:2> absque synagogis facient uos sed uenit hora ut omnis qui interficit uos arbitretur obsequium se praestare deo**

*Adaptation: ut et iudaei occiderent praedicatores christi putantes se officium deo facere sicut praedixerat christus AUep 185.5.20/18.15*

*persequabatur ecclesiam putans officium deo se facere AUFau 22.70/667.17*

*nolite itaque falli quod uobis dictum sit ueniet hora quando qui uos occiderint putent se officium facere deo aut sicut tu hoc testimonium posuisti putent se uictimam dare deo AUGau 1.23.26/224.15 (hoc - Petschenig, mss f v hic)*

**extra synagogas** facient uos AUJo 93.2.1 sed uenit hora ut omnis qui interficit uos arbitretur obsequium se praestare deo AUJo 93.3.1 [CT]

*[AUG citing PETI] et ubi inquires impletum est quod dominus dicit ueniet tempus ut qui uos occiderit putet se deo officium facere AUPet 2.92.206/130.31*

*ecce habere quo intellegere impletum esse quod dominus ait ueniet tempus ut qui uos occiderit putet se officium deo facere AUPet 2.92.206/131.12*

*quod autem ait dominus ueniet hora ut qui uos occiderit putet se obsequium praestare deo AU 313G.3*

*quod dominus ait ueniet hora ut qui uos occiderit putet se obsequium praestare deo AU 313G.3*

*[GAU] uerba epistulae...hoc autem in euangelio dominus dixit ueniet hora ut omnis qui interficit uos putet se uictimam dare deo AUGau 1.20.22/218.20*

*[PETI] dicente domino christo ueniet inquit tempus ut qui uos occiderit putet se deo officium facere AUPet 2.92.202/123.25*

**<16:3> et haec facient quia non nouerunt patrem neque me**

*mox enim dominus adiunxit et ait sed haec facient uobis quia non cognouerunt patrem neque me AUGau 1.23.26/225.6*

et haec facient **uobis** quia non **cognouerunt** patrem neque me AUJo 93.3.3 [CT]

*[GAU] [Jn 16:2] sed haec facient quia non cognouerunt patrem neque me AUGau 1.20.22/218.22*

**<16:4> sed haec locutus sum uobis ut cum uenerit hora eorum reminiscamini quia ego dixi uobis**

sed haec locutus sum uobis ut cum uenerit hora eorum reminiscamini quia ego dixi uobis AUJo 93.4.30 [CT]

haec **ergo** locutus sum uobis ut cum uenerit hora eorum reminiscamini quia ego dixi uobis AUJo 94.2.16 [CT]

**<16:5> haec autem uobis ab initio non dixi quia uobiscum eram at nunc uado ad eum qui me misit et nemo ex uobis interrogat me quo uadis**

haec autem uobis ab initio non dixi quia uobiscum eram **nunc autem** uado ad eum qui me misit AUJo 94.1.3 et nemo ex uobis interrogat me quo uadis AUJo 94.3.1 [CT]

*Adaptation: et ait illis quod dixi uobis uado ad patrem AU 265A.6*

**<16:6> sed quia haec locutus sum uobis tristitia impleuit cor uestrum**

sed quia haec locutus sum uobis tristitia impleuit cor uestrum AUJo 94.4.1 [CT]

*[Jn 16:5] tristitia impleuit cor uestrum AU 265A.6*

*cui filius ipse tantum tribuit ut diceret quia haec locutus sum uobis tristitia cor uestrum impleuit AUtri 1.8.158 (ms μ impleuit cor uestrum, mss B2 L V2 implebit)*

**<16:7> sed ego ueritatem dico uobis expedit uobis ut ego uadam si enim non abiero paracletus non ueniet ad uos si autem abiero mittam eum ad uos**

*sicut scriptum est cum ego iero mittam illum ad uos AUAr 4.10 (ms ζ om. all, mss C K cum ergo iero, ms R ero)*

*qui...ait cum ipse iero mittam eum ad uos AUAr 19.8*

*ipse saluator...dicit nisi ego abiero aduocatus non ueniet ad uos AUAr 30.11 (ms Y nisi enim, ms St paracletus, ms a(bold) nos)*

*Allusion: promissionem domini iesu christi de paracleto spiritu sancto in suo haeresiarcho manichaeo dicunt esse completam AUhae 46.164*

sed ego ueritatem dico uobis expedit uobis ut ego uadam si enim non abiero paracletus non ueniet ad uos si autem abiero mittam eum ad uos AUJo 94.4.12 [CT]

si **non** abiero paracletus non ueniet ad uos si autem abiero mittam eum ad uos AUJo 94.4.23  
 si **non** abiero paracletus non ueniet ad uos AUJo 94.4.31  
*cui tantum honorem dat ipse christus ut dicat* expedit uobis ut ego **eam nisi** enim **ego** abiero paracletus non ueniet ad uos et [Matt 12:32] AUMax 2.26.14/814  
*illud esse referendum quod ait de sancto spiritu* non **potest ipse uenire nisi ego** abiero AUpec 2.32.52/122.26  
*hoc enim dixerat non potest ille uenire nisi ego* abiero et euangelista dixit [Jn 7:39] [in Ps 108:24] AUPs 108.26.19  
*de uerbis euangelium iohannis* ego ueritatem dico uobis expedit uobis ut ego uadam AUs 143 incipit/784  
 ego *inquit* ueritatem dico uobis expedit uobis ut ego uadam si enim **ego** non abiero paracletus non ueniet ad uos si autem abiero mittam eum ad uos AUs 143.1.1/785  
*merito dictum est* expedit uobis ut ego uadam si enim non abiero paracletus non ueniet ad uos si autem abiero mittam **illum** ad uos AUs 143.4.4/786  
*et quia sic promiserat de caelo esse missurum* non **potest ille uenire ait nisi ego** abiero **dum** autem abiero mittam **illum** ad uos AUs 267.1.1/1230  
*quare dictum sit ab ipso domino non potest ille uenire nisi ego* abiero AUs 270.2/1238  
*quid sibi ergo uult non potest ille uenire nisi ego* abiero? expedit **enim inquit** uobis ut ego **eam nam si** non **iero** paracletus non ueniet ad uos AUs 270.2/1238  
 [Jn 16:6] sed ego ueritatem dico **expedit** uobis ut ego **eam nam si** non abiero **aduocatus** non ueniet ad uos AUtri 1.8.159 (ms P **dico uobis**, ms P **uadam**)  
*sicut et de spiritu sancto dicit cum ego iero* mittam **illum** ad uos AUtri 1.12.58 (ms I **cum ergo iero**, ms F **ego iam**, ms Eug V **eum**)  
*et filius cum dicit* si autem abiero mittam eum ad uos AUtri 2.5.7 (ms K **illum**)

#### <16:8> et cum uenerit ille arguet mundum de peccato et de iustitia et de iudicio

*Adaptation: et ipse dominus iesus christus...omnia peccata arguebat in hominibus.* AU1Jo 4.4/2007  
 et cum uenerit ille arguet mundum de peccato et de iustitia et de iudicio AUJo 94.6.1 [CT]  
 cum uenerit ille arguet mundum de peccato et de iustitia et de iudicio AUJo 95.4.1 [CT]  
 de iustitia arguet mundum [Jn 16:10] AUJo 101.1.23  
*identidem loquens de spiritu sancto ita commendat ille inquit* arguet mundum de peccato **de** iustitia **de** iudicio AUpec 2.32.52/123.3 (ms A **et de iustitia**, mss A M b d **et de iudicio**)  
*unde quod ait dominus de spiritu sancto ipse* arguet mundum de peccato *infidelitatem intellegi uoluit* AUPel 3.3.4/489.4  
*Adaptation: nam hoc est peccatum de quo arguit spiritus mundum [in Ps 77:17] AUPs 77.14.3*  
*dominus in euangelio cum promitteret spiritum sanctum hoc ait ipse* arguet mundum de peccato et de iustitia et de iudicio AUPs 109.8.28  
*ubi ait de ipso spiritu sancto cum eum se missurum esse promitteret* ille arguet mundum de peccato et de iustitia et **iudicio** AUs 71.24.24/458  
 [Jn 16:7] et cum uenerit ille arguet mundum de peccato et de iustitia et de iudicio AUs 143.1.1/785  
*Adaptation: saluator noster hoc unum peccatum dicit de quo arguit mundum spiritus sanctus quia non credit in eum* AUs 143.1.1/785  
*Reminiscence: et de hoc iudicio mundus arguitur* AUs 143.5.5/787  
*de uerbis eisdem euangelii iohannis ipse* arguet mundum de peccato et de iustitia et de iudicio AUs 144 incipit/787  
*ait inter cetera ipse* arguet mundum de peccato et de iustitia et de iudicio AUs 144.1.1/788  
*cum enim dicitur* arguet mundum de peccato AUs 144.2.2/788  
 de peccato et de iustitia AUs 144.5.6  
*hanc enim iustitiam uerbis suis ipse commendat promittendo spiritum sanctum ipse inquit* arguet mundum de peccato et de iustitia et de iudicio AUs 192.3.3/1013  
*Adaptation: deus qui coarguis saeculum* de peccato de iustitia de iudicio (ms Rac.m2 **quo arguis**, mss H K N Qpc.m2 **arguis**, ms O **mundum**) AUsol 1.3/7.7

#### <16:9> de peccato quidem quia non credunt in me

de peccato quidem quia non credunt in me AUJo 94.6.2 [CT]  
 de peccato quidem quia non **crediderunt** in me AUJo 95.2.2 [CT]  
 [Jn 16:8] de peccato quidem quia non **crediderunt** in me AUpec 2.32.52/123.4 (ms Lm1 **credunt**, ms Am2 **crederint**)  
 [Jn 16:8] *hoc enim cum exponeret ait* de peccato quidem quia non **crediderunt** in me *et ubi ait [Jn 15:22] AUPel 3.3.4/489.6* (mss B C D V b d **quod non**, ms Om1 **credunt**)  
 [Jn 16:8]...ipse sequitur et exponit...de peccato quidem *inquit* quia non **crediderunt** in me AUPs 109.8.31  
*ita dixit* de peccato quidem quia non **crediderunt** in me AUPs 109.8.33  
 de peccato quidem *ait* quia non **crediderunt** in me *et alibi [Jn 15:22] AUPs 109.8.39*  
*ergo* de peccato **quia** non **crediderunt** in me AUPs 109.8.44  
 [Jn 16:8] *sicut dominus dicit* de peccato quidem quia non **crediderunt** in me [in Ps 77:17] AUPs 77.14.4  
 [Jn 16:8] de peccato quidem quia non **crediderunt** in me AUs 71.24.24/458

[Jn 16:8] de peccato quidem quia non **crediderunt** in me AUs 143.1.1/785  
*dicente domino* de peccato quidem quia non **crediderunt** in me AUs 143.2.2/786  
[Jn 16:8]...de peccato quidem *inquit* quia non **crediderunt** in me AUs 144.1.1/788  
[Jn 16:8] *non alio quam quod* non **crediderunt** in *christum* AUs 144.2.2/788  
*quandoquidem* de peccato *inquit* **quia** non **crediderunt** in me AUs 144.3.3/788  
[Jn 16:8] de peccato quidem quia non **crediderunt** in me AUs 192.3.3/1013

**<16:10> de iustitia uero quia ad patrem uado et iam non uidebitis me**

ad patrem uado AUJo 69.2.14  
de iustitia uero quia ad patrem uado et iam non uidebitis me AUJo 94.6.3 [CT]  
de iustitia uero quia ad patrem uado et iam non uidebitis me AUJo 95.2.5 [CT]  
quia **uado ad patrem** et iam non uidebitis me AUJo 95.3.25  
ad patrem uado et iam non uidebitis me AUJo 101.1.14  
[Jn 16:8] quia ad patrem uado et iam non uidebitis me AUJo 101.1.23  
[Jn 16:9] de iustitia **quia** ad patrem uado et iam non uidebitis me AUpec 2.32.52/123.5  
[Jn 16:9] de iustitia **quia** ad patrem uado et iam non uidebitis me AUPs 109.8.45  
de iustitia *inquit* **quia** ad patrem uado et iam non uidebitis me AUPs 109.8.52  
[Jn 16:9] de iustitia uero quia ad patrem uado et iam non uidebitis me AUs 143.1.1/785  
*propterea dominus ait* de iustitia **quia** ad patrem uado et iam non uidebitis me AUs 143.4.4/786  
*propterea dixit* de iustitia **quia** ad patrem uado et iam non uidebitis me AUs 143.4.4/787  
[Jn 16:9] de iustitia **autem** quia ad patrem uado AUs 144.1.1/788  
*quid sibi uult quod ait* de iustitia **quia** ad patrem uado AUs 144.3.3/788  
[Jn 16:9] de iustitia uero quia ad patrem uado AUs 144.3.3/788  
*dominus ipse commemorat dicens* de iustitia **quia** ad patrem uado AUs 144.5.6/790  
*de qua dominus dixit* quia ad patrem uado AUs 144.5.6/790  
[Jn 16:9] de iustitia **quia** ad patrem uado et iam non uidebitis me AUs 192.3.3/1013

**<16:11> de iudicio autem quia princeps mundi huius iudicatus est**

*Allusion: non dominus magistratum huius mundi diabolum diceret* AUGal 32.9  
de iudicio autem quia princeps **huius mundi** iudicatus est AUJo 94.6.5 [CT]  
de iudicio **quia** princeps **huius mundi** iudicatus est AUJo 95.4.1 [CT]  
*Allusion: principem uel magistratum huius saeculi eum dominus apertissime appellat* AUs 12.2  
[Jn 16:10] de iudicio autem quia princeps **huius mundi** iudicatus est AUs 143.1.1/785  
*et de iudicio quia ipsi si uellent credere a nullo impedirentur* **quoniam** princeps **huius mundi iam** iudicatus est AUs 143.5.5/787  
[Jn 16:10] de iudicio **uero** quia princeps **huius mundi iam** iudicatus est AUs 144.1.1/788  
*propter hoc et de iudicio mundus arguitur* **quia** princeps **huius mundi iam** iudicatus est AUs 144.5.6/790  
*de quo dixit* quia princeps **huius mundi iam** iudicatus est AUs 144.5.6/790

**<16:12> adhuc multa habeo uobis dicere sed non potestis portare modo**

[1Cor 3:2] *si denique ipse dominus electis apostolis dixit* adhuc multa habeo uobis dicere sed non potestis **illa** portare modo AUadu 27.34/381.15  
[Jn 15:15] *et paulo post dicit* multa habeo uobis dicere sed non potestis **illa** portare modo *quomodo ergo dixerat*  
[Jn 3:18] AUag 27.29/129.17  
*neque enim mentitus est dominus ubi ait* multa habeo uobis dicere sed non potestis **illa** portare modo AUc men 10.23/498.12 (mss T φ **om.illa**)  
*quod dominus ait* habeo uobis dicere sed non potestis **illa** portare modo AUep 83.5/391.7  
*meminerimus ipsis apostolis dictum* habeo uobis dicere sed non potestis **illa** portare modo AUep 166.9.28/584.9 (ms P1 om.non, mss P A **om.illa**)  
[Jn 15:15]...*ut eis postmodum dicat* habeo uobis dicere sed non potestis **illa** portare modo AUep 187.8.27/104.21 (ms T abeo, mss A m **om.illa**)  
[Jn 15:15]...*nam post paululum dicit illis* adhuc multa habeo uobis dicere sed non potestis portare modo AUGn Ma 1.11.15 (mss L β γ R B M T S **dicere uobis**, mss R B potestis **ea** portare)  
multa habeo uobis dicere sed non potestis **illa** portare modo AUJo 53.7.17  
multa habeo uobis dicere sed non potestis **illa** portare modo AUJo 86.1.9  
adhuc multa habeo uobis dicere sed non potestis portare modo AUJo 96.1.2 [CT]  
adhuc multa habeo uobis dicere sed non potestis portare modo AUJo 97.1.17 [CT]  
adhuc multa habeo uobis dicere sed non potestis portare modo AUJo 98.1.1 [CT]  
adhuc multa habeo uobis dicere sed non potestis **illa** portare modo AUJo 105.4.20  
*nam unde est illud domini* adhuc multa habeo uobis dicere sed non potestis **illa** portare modo *et illud apostoli*  
[1Cor 3.1-2] AUPers 16.40/1017  
*uerum autem occultauit et dominus cum discipulis nondum idoneis dixit* multa habeo uobis dicere sed non potestis portare **illa et apostolus paulus cum ait** [1 Cor 3:1] [in Ps 5:6] AUPs 5.7.48  
*dicit enim alibi* multa habeo uobis dicere sed non potestis **illa** portare modo [1 Cor 3:1-2] AUPs 36.s1.1.58

*et dominus ait* adhuc multa habeo uobis dicere sed non potestis **illa** portare modo [1 Cor 3:1-2] AUPs 38.3.63  
*ait enim et dominus* multa habeo uobis dicere sed non potestis **illa** portare modo [in Ps 61:12] AUPs 61.19.6  
 [Rom 11:33] *dominus dicit* adhuc multa habeo uobis dicere sed non potestis portare modo [in Ps 118:13] AUPs 118.s6.1.7  
*ipse dominus demonstrat dicens* multa habeo uobis dicere sed **nunc** non potestis **illa** portare AUq 53.128 (ms C **adhuc multa**, mss A K L O\* P R V **om. uobis**, ms O\* **om. dicere**, mss I Z **sed non potestis**, ms R\* **sed nunc potestis**, ms G\* **portare adhuc illa**, ms G2 **adhuc portare illa**, ms Z **potestis portare modo**, ms maur **potestis portare illa**)  
*inde est illud eiusdem domini* multa habeo uobis dicere sed non potestis **illa** portare modo AUqEv app 11.98 (ms T **portare illa**, ms R **ea portare**, mss M maur **portare (om.illa)**)  
 [Jn 15:15]...*alio loco dicit illis* adhuc multa habeo uobis dicere sed non potestis **illa** portare modo AU 27.97 (ms V4 **om. illa**)  
 [Jn 15:15] *sed cum dicit* non potestis **illa** portare modo *et dicit* habeo uobis dicere *differt non aufert* AU 27.99  
*quando illis dicebat* adhuc **habeo** uobis **multa** dicere sed non potestis **illa audire** modo AU 179.5.5/969  
*Adaptation: nunc longum est enarrare.* multa enim habemus **dicere** uobis sed non potestis **illa** portare modo AU 215.9/1076  
*ait enim quodam in loco discipulis suis* adhuc multa habeo uobis dicere sed non potestis **illa** portare modo AU 362.5.5/1614  
 [Matt 7:6] *quia et dominus...se ostendit dicens* adhuc multa habeo uobis dicere sed **adhuc** non potestis **illa** portare (in Matt 7:6) AU 2.20.67.1521  
*ipsis enim ait* multa habeo uobis dicere sed non potestis **illa** portare modo AUtri 1.12.12 (ms μ **uobis habeo**, ms N O S **modo portare**)  
 [MAX] *sicut ait in evangelio christus* multa habeo uobis dicere sed non potestis portare modo AUMax co 5/712

<16:13> cum autem uenerit ille spiritus ueritatis docebit uos in omnem ueritatem non enim loquetur a semet ipso sed quaecumque audiet loquetur et quae uentura sunt adnuntiabit uobis  
 quod enim dictum est non a se loquetur non est dictum quaecumque a me audierit sed quaecumque audierit loquetur AUAr 23.33 (ms C **se ipso**, mss π κ α(bold) **se loquitur**, mss π O U κ N **quae audierit**, mss π U\* N **audierit loquitur**)  
 docebit uos **omnem** ueritatem AUci 11.31  
*quod accepimus sancti spiritus qui nos* docebit omnem ueritatem AUEv 4.10.20/416.15 (mss R D quo)  
*deinde paracletus sic est promissus ut diceretur ipse* uos **inducet** in omnem ueritatem. *quomodo* uos **autem ille inducet** in ueritatem AUFau 32.16/776.8 (ms C quomodo autem uos)  
*quia scriptum est de paraclito ipse* uos **inducet** in omnem ueritatem AUFau 32.17/777.19  
*nonne ista sunt quae etiam uos dicere soletis ipse* uos **inducet** in omnem ueritatem et [1 Cor 13:10] et [Jn 14:17] AUFau 32.17/778.9  
*Adaptation: tunc introducente in omnem ueritatem spiritu sancto* AUFau 32.18/779.19  
*Adaptation: manichaeus autem iactat se inducere in omnem ueritatem* AUFau 32.22/783.12  
*ubi enim dixit dominus mitto uobis spiritum sanctum paraclitum iohannes euangelista scripsit* AUFel 1.3/803.30 (mss P R **paraclitum**, ms S **paraclytum**) (quoting FEL)  
*suscepimus eum secundum quod christus dixit mitto uobis spiritum sanctum* AUFel 1.9/811.10  
*spiritus ille de quo dictum est inducet* in omnem ueritatem AUFel 1.10/812.15 (text actually reads **iuducet**)  
**ipse uos docebit omnem** ueritatem AUJo 46.4.13  
 cum autem uenerit ille spiritus ueritatis docebit uos **omnem** ueritatem AUJo 96.1.43 [CT]  
**deducet** uos in **omni ueritate** AUJo 96.4.14  
**deducet** uos in **omni ueritate** AUJo 96.4.32  
**deducet** uos in **omni ueritate** AUJo 96.4.43  
 non enim loquetur a semetipso sed quaecumque audiet loquetur AUJo 99.1.3 et quae uentura sunt annuntiabit uobis AUJo 99.9.19 [CT]  
 non **ergo** loquetur a semetipso sed quaecumque audiet loquetur AUJo 99.4.43  
 docebit uos **omnem** ueritatem AUJo 100.1.2  
**deducet** uos in **omni ueritate**...et quae uentura sunt annuntiabit uobis AUJo 100.1.3  
*Reminiscence: si non conceditis haec de anima nec apostolus est necessarius qui animam in ueritatem inducat* AUmor 2.11.22  
*Adaptation: et quamuis continuo promiserit eis omnem ueritatem per spiritum sanctum* AUPs 118.s6.1.8*inuestigandum est quod ait iesus [Jn 6:44] et [Jn 14:6] et ipse uos* in omnem ueritatem **inducet** AUq 38.10 (mss A H I **nos**, ms A **adducet**, ms C **inducet id est docebit**, ms G **uos inducat in omnem ueritatem**)  
*Allusion: ad hoc promisit dominus paraclitum spiritum ueritatis* AU 4.1  
*Allusion: deus qui nos* in omnem ueritatem **inducis** (ms Q **uirtutem**) AUso 1.3/7.2  
*propterea de spiritu sancto dicitur ipse uos inducet* in omnem ueritatem AU 9.19/24.8 (ms O **nos**, mss R A F1 S γ **inducit**)  
*illo autem loco ita de illo dictum est tamquam solus omnino sufficiat cum uenerit* ille spiritus ueritatis docebit uos **omnem** ueritatem AUtri 1.8.146  
*Adaptation: tamquam ipse non doceat omnem ueritatem aut quasi hoc impleat spiritus sanctus* AUtri 1.8.147

*an quia non dictum est ipse solus aut nemo nisi ipse uos docebit omnem ueritatem* AUtri 1.8.152  
*ait tamen ipse dominus cum autem uenerit ille spiritus ueritatis docebit uos omnem ueritatem non enim loquetur a semet ipso sed quaecumque audiet loquetur et quae uentura sunt annuntiabit uobis* AUtri 2.3.3 (mss Ca Ka **loquitur x2**, ms P **quae audiet**, ms Eug (V) **audierit**, mss J μ **quae uentura**, mss O2 cett Eug (V) **quaecumque uentura**)  
*de se quippe dixerat [Jn 7:16] de spiritu autem sancto non enim loquetur a semet ipso sed quaecumque audiet loquetur et [Jn 16:15] AUtri 2.3.12 (mss Ca Ka **loquitur x2**, ms Eug (V) **audierit**)*  
*Adaptation: procedendo itaque a patre dicitur non loqui a semetipso* AUtri 2.3.21  
*spiritus sanctus quia dictum est de illo non enim loquetur a semet ipso sed quaecumque audiet loquetur* AUtri 2.3.27 (mss Ca Ka **loquitur x2**, ms Eug (V) **audierit**)  
*dictum enim de illo est quae uentura sunt annuntiabit uobis* AUtri 2.13.49 (ms Ka **adnuntiauit**)

[FAU] *de quo ultro iesus cum eum promitteret dicit in euangelio ipse uos inducet in omnem ueritatem et ipse uobis adnuntiabit omnia et commemorabit uos* AUFau 32.6/765.21 (ms L u pro b x2)  
[FEL] *et sanctitas tua mihi probet quod in euangelio scriptum est christo dicente uado ad patrem et mitto uobis spiritum sanctum paracletum qui uos inducat in omnem ueritatem* AUFel 1.2/802.10 (mss P R mittam, mss T P **paraclytum**, ms R **paraclytum**)  
[FEL] *sic enim dictum est a christo quia spiritus sanctus paracletus ipse in omnem ueritatem inducet* AUFel 1.2/802.16  
[FEL] *secundum quod christus dixit mitto uobis spiritum sanctum* AUFel 1.9/811.10  
[MAX] *[Jn 16:12] cum autem uenerit ille spiritus ueritatis diriget uos in omnem ueritatem non enim loquetur a se sed quaecumque audierit loquetur et uentura annuntiabit uobis* AUMax co 5/712

<16:14> **ille me clarificabit quia de meo accipiet et adnuntiabit uobis**  
*quia scriptum est de meo accipiet et annuntiabit uobis* AUAr 22.25 (mss R D C **adnuntiauit**)  
*quia uidelicet scriptum est [Jn 17:4] et de spiritu sancto ille me honorificabit quia de meo accipiet et annuntiabit uobis* AUAr 23.8 (mss C U a(bold) **honorificauit**, mss D a(bold) **annuntiauit**)  
*ille me clarificabit quia de meo accipiet et annuntiabit uobis* AUJo 99.9.20 [CT]  
*ille me clarificabit quia de meo accipiet et annuntiabit uobis* AUJo 100.1.9 [CT]  
*quod autem dicis dominum dixisse de spiritu sancto de meo accipiet; ideo dictum est quia de patre accepit et omnia quae sunt patris sine dubio et filii sunt. nam ipse cum hoc dixisset adiecit ideo dixi de meo accipiet* AUMax co 11/714  
*[Jn 16:13] ille me me clarificabit quia de meo accipiet et annuntiabit uobis* AUtri 2.3.6 (mss Oa Sa **clarificauit**)  
*dixerat...[Jn 7:16]...[Jn 16:13] et quia de meo accipiet et annuntiabit uobis* AUtri 2.3.13  
*sed quia reddidit causam cur dixerit de meo accipiet ait enim [Jn 16:15] AUtri 2.3.14*  
[MAX] *[Jn 16:13] ille me clarificabit quia de meo accipiet et annuntiabit uobis* AUMax co 5/712  
[MAX] *spiritus sanctus a christo accepit secundum praecedens testimonium ille me clarificabit quia de meo accipiet et annuntiabit uobis* AUMax co 10/713

<16:15> **omnia quaecumque habet pater mea sunt propterea dixi quia de meo accipiet et adnuntiabit uobis continuo subiecit omnia quae habet pater mea sunt propterea dixi de meo accipiet** AUAr 23.20 (ms D **om. whole verse**, ms ζ **om. dixi**, ms U\* **dixit**)  
*ex ipsius quam commemoraui domini expositione ubi ait omnia quae habet pater mea sunt propterea dixi de meo accipiet* AUAr 23.36  
*omnia quae habet pater mea sunt* AUJo 49.8.31  
*omnia quaecumque habet pater mea sunt propterea dixi quia de meo accipiet et annuntiabit uobis* AUJo 99.9.21 [CT]  
*omnia quaecumque habet pater mea sunt propterea dixi quia de meo accipiet et annuntiabit uobis* AUJo 100.4.8 [CT]  
*omnia quae habet pater mea sunt* AUJo 100.4.15  
*omnia quae habet pater mea sunt propterea dixi quia de meo accipiet et annuntiabit uobis* AUJo 107.2.25  
*si incapabilis est pater...non ueraciter dictum est omnia quae habet pater mea sunt* AUMax 2.9.2/764  
*sed quoniam ueraciter dictum est quod ueritas dixit et omnia quae habet pater filii sunt* AUMax 2.9.2/764  
*hanc domini sententiam ubi ait omnia quae habet pater mea sunt* AUMax 2.9.2/764  
*mendacem facias eundem filium dicentem omnia quae habet pater mea sunt* AUMax 2.11/766  
*quod ait filius omnia quae habet pater mea sunt* AUMax 2.12.1/766  
*omnia inquit quae habet pater mea sunt. omnia ergo quae habet pater dedit ille gignendo accepit iste nascendo* AUMax 2.14.7/774  
*quod ait filius omnia quae habet pater mea sunt* AUMax 2.14.7/774  
*et quomodo uerum est omnia quae habet pater mea sunt* AUMax 2.14.7/774  
*ille qui dicit omnia quae habet pater mea sunt* AUMax 2.14.7/775  
*[Jn 7:16]...et rursus cum dicit omnia quae habet pater mea sunt* AUMax 2.20.3/789  
*[Jn 16:14] quia omnia quae habet pater mea sunt* AUMax co 11/714

*sed sicut ipse exposuit dicens* quia omnia **quae** habet pater mea sunt **ideo** dixi **de** meo **accipiet** AUPar 2.15.34/88.15

*non quia nescio diem nam* omnia **quae** habet pater mea sunt [Ps 38:5] AUs 16A.397

*quare de meo?* quia omnia **quae** habet pater mea sunt AUs 76.2.3/480

*quid est quod ait* omnia **quae** habet pater mea sunt AUs 135.1.2/746

omnia **inquit quae** habet pater mea sunt AUs 135.2.3/746

*sed molestum est quod dixit* omnia **quae** habet pater mea sunt. *si intelligas* omnia **quae** habet pater *fili* sunt;

omnia **quae** habet *filius patris* sunt. *audi illum alio loco* [Jn 17:10] AUs 135.2.3/746

*de meo uerax.* omnia **enim quae** habet pater mea sunt AUs 335E.5

*mentitur filius qui dicit* omnia **quae pater** mea sunt AUs sy 2.128 (sic)

[Phil 2:8] *secundum formam dei* omnia **quae** habet pater *ipsius* sunt AUtri 1.11.31

*sed iam tu intellege quia si* omnia **quae** habet pater mea sunt *et hoc utique meum* est AUtri 1.12.76

[Jn 16:14] *post haec uerba nisi continuo secutus dixisset* omnia **quaecumque** habet pater mea sunt propterea dixi quia de meo **accipiet** et annuntiabit uobis AUtri 2.3.7 (ms Eug (V) **omnia quae**, mss N O Eug (V) **dixi(t)** (t eras), ms Eug (V) **om. quia**)

[Jn 16:14] *ait enim* omnia **quaecumque** habet pater mea sunt propterea dixi quia de meo **accipiet** AUtri 2.3.15

(ms J **omnia quae**, ms N **dixi(t)** (t eras), ms T propterea...accipiet *ante* omnia...sunt)

*de filii accipiet et ideo de eius accipiet quia* omnia **quae** habet pater *ipsius* sunt AUtri 2.4.6 (ms C **quaecumque** (**quaecum** eras.))

*unde cognoscitur quod* omnia **quae** habet pater *non tantum filii sed etiam spiritus sancti* sunt AUtri 2.4.9 (ms K cognoscitur **quia**)

**<16:16> modicum et iam non uidebitis me et iterum modicum et uidebitis me quia uado ad patrem**

*cf. Jn 16:19*

modicum et iam non uidebitis me et iterum modicum et uidebitis me quia uado ad patrem AUJo 101.1.1 [CT]

modicum et **non** uidebitis me et iterum modicum et uidebitis me AUJo 101.1.12

**<16:17> dixerunt ergo ex discipulis eius ad inuicem quid est hoc quod dicit nobis modicum et non uidebitis me et iterum modicum et uidebitis me et quia uado ad patrem**

dixerunt ergo ex discipulis eius ad inuicem quid est hoc quod dicit nobis modicum et non uidebitis me et iterum modicum et uidebitis me et quia uado ad patrem AUJo 101.1.6 [CT]

**<16:18> dicebant ergo quid est hoc quod dicit modicum nescimus quid loquitur**

dicebant ergo quid est hoc quod dicit modicum nescimus quid loquitur AUJo 101.1.9 [CT]

*quando dicebant iudaei* quid est **quod** dicit [Jn 6:61] **non scimus** quid **dicat** [in Ps 68:4] AUPs 68.s1.7.24

**<16:19> cognouit autem iesus quia uolebant eum interrogare et dixit eis de hoc quaeritis inter uos quia dixi modicum et non uidebitis me et iterum modicum et uidebitis me**

*cf. Jn 16:16*

cognouit autem iesus quia uolebant eum interrogare et dixit eis de hoc quaeritis inter uos quia dixi modicum et non uidebitis me et iterum modicum et uidebitis me AUJo 101.2.1 [CT]

*cras enim moriemur.* **pusillum inquit** et non uidebitis me et iterum **pusillum** et uidebitis me AUs 210.5.7/1051

**<16:20> amen amen dico uobis quia plorabitis et flebitis uos mundus autem gaudebit uos autem contristabimini sed tristitia uestra uertetur in gaudium**

amen amen dico uobis quia plorabitis et flebitis uos mundus autem gaudebit uos autem contristabimini sed tristitia uestra **in gaudium erit** AUJo 101.2.5 [CT]

[Jn 16:19] *haec est hora de qua dixit* **uos tristi eritis saeculum** autem gaudebit AUs 210.5.7/1051

**<16:21> mulier cum parit tristitiam habet quia uenit hora eius cum autem pepererit puerum iam non meminit pressurae propter gaudium quia natus est homo in mundum**

mulier cum parit tristitiam habet quia uenit hora eius cum autem pepererit puerum iam non meminit pressurae propter gaudium quia natus est homo in mundum AUJo 101.3.1 [CT]

[Is 26:18] *et mulier cum parit ait dominus* **tristitia est illa quoniam uenit dies eius sed cum pepererit fit gaudium magnum quoniam** natus est homo in **saeculum** AUs 210.5.7/1051

**<16:22> et uos igitur nunc quidem tristitiam habetis iterum autem uidebo uos et gaudebit cor uestrum et gaudium uestrum nemo tollit a uobis**

et uos igitur nunc quidem tristitiam habetis iterum autem uidebo uos et gaudebit cor uestrum et gaudium uestrum nemo **tollit** a uobis AUJo 101.3.4 [CT]

*Adaptation: ut sis aequalis angelis meis et semper uideas faciem meam et gaudeas* et gaudium *tuum* nemo **auferet** a te [in Ps 33:5] AUPs 33.s2.9.21

[Jn 16:20]...**sed** iterum *inquit* uidebo uos et gaudebit cor uestrum et gaudium uestrum nemo **auferet** a uobis AUs 210.5.7/1051

[Jn 16:21] *hoc erit gaudium quod nemo auferet* a uobis AU 210.5.7/1051

*Adaptation: requies sempiterna et gaudium quod non auferetur a nobis. hoc enim significat in eo quod ait iterum uidebo uos et gaudebit cor uestrum et gaudium uestrum nemo auferet* a uobis AUtri 1.10.5 (ms J om. et gaudium uestrum)

**<16:23> et in illo die me non rogabitis quicquam amen amen dico uobis si quid petieritis patrem in nomine meo dabit uobis**

et in illo die me non rogabitis quicquam AUJo 101.4.4 amen amen dico uobis si quid petieritis patrem in nomine meo dabit uobis AUJo 102.1.1 [CT]

amen amen dico uobis si quid petieritis patrem in nomine meo dabit uobis AUJo 107.6.7

*propter hoc nec dominus dicere debuit [Matt 10:23] quia ipse dixit* si quid petieritis in nomine meo **dabitur** uobis AUmon 27.35/583.24 (ms β **petierit**, mss F b d **petieritis patrem**, mss F b d **dabit**)

**<16:24> usque modo non petistis quicquam in nomine meo petite et accipietis ut gaudium uestrum sit plenum**

[Rom 8:31] petite et accipietis [Matt 7:7-8] [Luke 11:9-10] AUcf 12.1.7

usque modo non petistis quicquam in nomine meo petite et accipietis ut gaudium uestrum sit plenum AUJo 102.2.1 [CT]

petite et accipietis AU 16A.1

*de uerbis euangelii iohannis usque nunc nihil petiistis* in nomine meo AU 145 incipit/790

*dominum dixisse modo audiui discipulis suis usque nunc nihil petiistis* in nomine meo AU 145.1/791

*quomodo ergo uerum est usque modo nihil petiistis* in nomine meo AU 145.1/791

*et illud adhuc nihil petiistis* in nomine meo AU 145.6/795

*quid ergo rogandum est?* petite in nomine meo. *et non dixit quid sed in uerbis intelligimus quid petere debeamus.*

petite et accipietis ut gaudium uestrum sit plenum. petite et accipietis in nomine meo. *sed quid? non nihil sed autem* ut gaudium uestrum sit plenum AU 145.6/795

[Jn 4:13]...petite ut gaudium uestrum sit plenum AU 145.6/795

**<16:25> haec in prouerbiis locutus sum uobis uenit hora cum iam non in prouerbiis loquar uobis sed palam de patre annuntiabo uobis**

haec in prouerbiis locutus sum uobis uenit hora cum iam non in prouerbiis loquar uobis sed palam de patre **meo** annuntiabo uobis AUJo 102.3.1 [CT]

haec in prouerbiis locutus sum uobis uenit hora cum iam non in prouerbiis loquar uobis sed palam de patre **meo** annuntiabo uobis AUJo 103.1.12 [CT]

hora cum iam non in prouerbiis loquar uobis sed palam de patre **meo** annuntiabo uobis AUJo 106.4.24

haec in prouerbiis locutus sum uobis uenit hora cum iam non in prouerbiis loquar uobis sed palam de patre **meo** annuntiabo uobis AUJo 113.3.16

[Is 35:10, 51:11]...*hoc significans ait* haec **uobis locutus sum** in **similitudinibus ueniet** hora **quando** iam non in **similitudinibus** loquar uobis sed **manifeste** de patre **nuntiabo** uobis AUtri 1.10.45 (mss S T **locutus sum uobis**, mss A (cum eras) B C μ **haec uobiscum**, ms K **non iam**, mss B2 P **annuntiabo**)

*hoc est enim quod ait* sed **manifeste** de patre **nuntiabo** uobis AUtri 1.10.49

**<16:26> illo die in nomine meo petetis et non dico uobis quia ego rogabo patrem de uobis**

illo die in nomine meo petetis AUJo 102.3.12 et non dico uobis quia ego rogabo patrem de uobis AUJo 102.4.44 [CT]

illo die in nomine meo petetis et non dico uobis quia ego rogabo patrem de uobis AUJo 103.1.21 [CT]

[Jn 16:25]...*sequitur enim et dicit illa* die in nomine meo petetis et non dico uobis quia ego rogabo patrem AUtri 1.10.51 (mss Ca Ka Eug (M V) **petitis**, mss B2 N Sa **dicam**, ms F **patrem meum**)

*Reminiscence: ubi aequalis est patri non iam rogabit patrem pro eis* AUtri 1.10.69

*Reminiscence: ut iam non roget patrem* AUtri 1.10.82

**<16:27> ipse enim pater amat uos quia uos me amastis et credidistis quia ego a deo exiui**

ipse enim pater amat uos quia uos me amastis AUJo 102.5.1 et credidistis quia ego a deo exiui AUJo 102.6.1 [CT]

ipse enim pater amat uos quia uos me amastis et credidistis quia ego a deo exiui AUJo 103.1.22 [CT]

[Jn 16:26] ipse enim pater amat uos quia uos me **amatis** et credidistis quia ego a deo exiui AUtri 1.10.52 (ms A **om. me**, ms Oa J **amatis**, ms cett Eug (M V) μ **amastis**, ms μ **om. ego**, mss A N O S J K **exii**)

[Jn 16:26] ipse enim *inquit* pater amat uos AUtri 1.10.69

*unde se ab eo quod dixit* ipse enim pater amat uos AUtri 1.10.72

*sic itaque dictum est* ipse enim pater amat uos AUtri 1.10.76

*Reminiscence: [Jn 16:26] quia ipse pater amat nos* AUtri 1.10.82

**<16:28> exiui a patre et ueni in mundum iterum relinquo mundum et uado ad patrem**

*Reminiscence: unde oportet eum credi et intellegi et a patre exisse et de caelo uenisse* AUfau 7.2/303.23

[Eph 5:32]...significat christum qui reliquit patrem cum dicit **ego** a patre **exiui** et ueni in **hunc** mundum AUGn Ma 2.37.11 (mss R B om.**ego**, mss R B T **exiui a patre**, ms F **exii**) (quoting ISGn 3.11)  
exiui a patre et ueni in mundum iterum relinquo mundum et uado ad patrem AUJo 102.6.1 [CT]  
exiui a patre et ueni in mundum iterum relinquo mundum et uado ad patrem AUJo 103.1.24 [CT]  
[Jn 16:27] exiui a patre et ueni in **hunc** mundum iterum relinquo mundum et uado ad patrem. *quid est a patre exii?* AUtri 1.10.54 (mss A C Oa S K om. **exiui a patre**, mss B N O3 **exii**, ms P in mundum (om. **hunc**), ms I relinquam, mss I L uadam, mss F T μ **exiui**)  
et quid est ueni in **hunc** mundum? AUtri 1.10.58  
et quid est iterum relinquo mundum? AUtri 1.10.60  
et quid est uado ad patrem? AUtri 1.10.62  
primum quaero unde et quo missus sit filius. **ego** inquit **a patre exii** et ueni in **hunc** mundum AUtri 2.5.9 (ms A **exiui**)  
Adaptation: ergo **a patre** exire et uenire in **hunc** mundum hoc est mitti AUtri 2.5.10  
Adaptation: at si in **hunc** mundum missus est quia exiit a patre et uenit in **hunc** mundum AUtri 2.5.15  
[Jn 1:14] unde dicit **a patre exii** et ueni in **hunc** mundum AUtri 4.20.73 (ms μ **exiui a patre**, mss A C F **exiui**)  
Allusion: cum et ipse a patre exeat sicut in euangelio legitur AUtri 5.15  
[FAU] ne non et ipse de se a patre **meo processu** et ueni in **hunc** mundum AUFau 12.1/329.13

<16:29> dicunt ei discipuli eius ecce nunc palam loqueris et prouerbium nullum dicis  
dicunt ei discipuli eius ecce nunc palam loqueris et prouerbium nullum dicis AUJo 103.1.8 [CT]

<16:30> nunc scimus quia scis omnia et non opus est tibi ut quis te interroget in hoc credimus quia a deo existi  
nunc scimus quia **nosti** omnia et non opus est tibi ut quis te interroget in hoc credimus quia a deo existi AUJo 103.1.9 [CT]

<16:31> respondit eis iesus modo creditis  
respondit eis iesus modo creditis AUJo 103.2.2 [CT]  
modo creditis AUJo 106.6.18

<16:32> ecce uenit hora et iam uenit ut dispergamini unusquisque in propria et me solum relinquantis et non sum solus quia pater mecum est  
ille...qui ait non sum solus **quoniam** pater mecum est AUAr 3.20 (ms St **solus sum**)  
potuit...filius dicere pater mecum est AUAr 3.33  
ecce **ueniet** hora **ut unusquisque discedat ad sua** et me solum relinquantis **sed** non **solus sum** quia pater mecum est AUJo 21.17.25  
ecce uenit hora et iam uenit ut dispergamini unusquisque in propria et me solum relinquantis et non sum solus quia pater mecum est AUJo 103.2.3 [CT]  
ecce uenit hora **ut** dispergamini **in** propria et me **relinquantis** AUJo 103.3.17  
uenit hora et iam uenit ut dispergamini unusquisque in propria et me solum relinquantis AUJo 106.6.19  
si enim non sum solus **quoniam** pater mecum est ait ipse moriturus AUMax 2.18.6/787  
nonne enim tu dixisti ecce **itis quisque ad sua** et me solum **relinquetis sed** non sum solus quia pater mecum est [Jn 14:10] [in Ps 109:3] AUPs 109.13.40  
[Lk 22:33] dixerat enim illis **ueniet** hora **ut** me **relinquantis solum** et **eat unusquisque in uiam suam sed** non sum solus quia **mecum** est pater [in Ps 138:16] AUPs 138.22.38  
quando dimiserunt te omnes **solum** et ierunt unusquisque in **sua** AUPs 140.24.7

<16:33> haec locutus sum uobis ut in me pacem habeatis in mundo pressuram habetis sed confidite ego uici mundum  
ipse dominus...scitote inquit quia ego uici mundum AUag 1.1/102.23 (ms H om.inquit)  
Reminiscence: qui uicit **saeculum** AUcf 10.31.83  
nisi qui ecclesiam uocaturus ex gentibus dixit **gaudete quia** ego uici **saeculum** AUFau 12.32/360.12  
Reminiscence: quid fortius leone illo de tribu iuda qui uicit mundum AUFau 22.87/691.22  
haec locutus sum uobis ut in me pacem habeatis in mundo pressuram **habebitis** sed confidite ego uici mundum AUJo 103.3.2 [CT]  
haec locutus sum uobis ut in me pacem habeatis AUJo 104.1.2 [CT]  
Reminiscence: qui mundum uicit AUJo 111.1.8  
Allusion: de quo ait qui uicit mundum [Jn 14:30] AUJul 6.2.3  
Allusion: donec renascatur in eo qui uicit mundum et [Jn 14:30] AUJul 6.2.3  
Allusion: ubi est ergo quod perpetuam sibi persecutionem in hoc mundo futuram praedicant eoque se commendatores haberi uolunt (ms M om. praedicant, ms e praedicat, ms Pa commendationes haberi nolunt) AUmor 2.69.3  
Allusion: qui uicit hunc mundum AUPs 17.51.5  
impleuit quod ait **gaudete quoniam** ego uici **saeculum** [in Ps 23:7] AUPs 23.7.8



*dominus dixit haec loquor uobis ut in me habeatis pacem. pacem in terra uobis non promitto [in Ps 33:15]*  
AUPs 33.s3.19.38  
*[Ps 92:5] quia dixerat illud ante haec dico uobis ut in me pacem habeatis in mundo autem pressuram [in Ps 92:5]*  
AUPs 92.8.4  
*[Ps 92:5] ut in me inquit pacem habeatis in mundo autem pressuram [in Ps 92:5]* AUPs 92.8.11  
*[Ps 92:5] adeo et ibi cum diceret ut in me pacem habeatis in mundo autem pressuram [in Ps 92:5]* AUPs 92.8.15  
*[Jn 16:33]...statim subiecit sed gaudete quia ego uici saeculum. si ergo ait ego uici saeculum [in Ps 92:5]* AUPs 92.8.17  
*ait enim ipse dominus haec locutus sum uobis ut in me pacem habeatis in mundo autem pressuram [in Ps 96:12]*  
AUPs 96.20.4  
*ego inquit uici saeculum gaudete [in Ps 102:4]* AUPs 102.7.6  
*nonne ille est quem portas qui dixit ego uici saeculum [in Ps 123:4]* AUPs 123.6.29  
*nam et ipsam pacem cum promitteret dominus ait haec dixi ut in me pacem habeatis in mundo autem pressuram*  
AURm in 10.12 (ms c **pressuras**)  
*Reminiscence: quia ipse uicit saeculum* AUs 4.858  
*uicerunt autem in illo qui ait gaudete quia ego uici mundum* AUs 51.1.2/334  
*nam quare dicit dominus gaudete quia ego uici mundum* AUs 97.4.4/590  
*qui cum dixisset discipulis suis in hoc mundo pressuram habebitis mox unde territi consolarentur adiunxit dicens*  
*sed confidite ego uici mundum...in hoc inquit mundo pressuram habebitis* AUs 276.1.1/1256  
*qui dixit gaudete quoniam ego uici saeculum* AUs 329.2/1455  
*Allusion: sed in eo qui uicit saeculum uincit omnia populus dei* AUs 363.3  
*[H] credimus in eo qui dixit confidite ego uici mundum* AUep 39.2.2/68.6 (mss H Q confidete, ms B\* uicit)

**<17:1> haec locutus est iesus et subleuatis oculis in caelum dixit pater uenit hora clarifica filium tuum ut filius tuus clarificet te**

*haec locutus est iesus et subleuatis oculis in caelum dixit pater uenit hora clarifica filium tuum ut et filius tuus clarificet te* AUJo 104.2.6 [CT]  
*ut filius tuus clarificet te* AUJo 104.3.37  
*pater clarifica filium tuum ut filius tuus clarificet te* AUJo 105.1.5 [CT]  
*pater uenit hora clarifica filium tuum ut filius tuus clarificet te* AUJo 105.5.4  
*subleuatis oculis in caelum dixit pater uenit hora clarifica filium tuum ut filius tuus clarificet te* AUJo 106.3.3 [CT]  
*[Ps 19:2] exaudiat te dominus in die qua dixisti pater clarifica filium tuum [Ps 19:2]* AUPs 19.2.2  
*[Ps 20:5] resurrectionem petiit dicens pater clarifica filium tuum et dedisti ei [Ps 20:5]* AUPs 20.5.2  
*Adaptation: quia dixit filius pater clarifica me* AUtri 2.4.3 (ms K eras.pater, ms K2 clarifica me pater)

**<17:2> sicut dedisti ei potestatem omnis carnis ut omne quod dedisti ei det eis uitam aeternam et tamen legimus [Jn 1:14]...[Lk 3:6]...[Ps 64:3]...dedisti ei potestatem omnis carnis quid est nisi omnis hominis**

*AUcont 4.11/153.5 (ms T om.nisi)*  
*sicut dedisti ei potestatem omnis carnis ut omne quod dedisti ei det eis uitam aeternam* AUJo 105.2.2 [CT]  
*sicut dedisti ei potestatem omnis carnis ut omne quod dedisti ei det eis uitam aeternam* AUJo 106.3.8 [CT]  
*dedisti ei potestatem omnis carnis ut omne quod dedisti ei det eis uitam aeternam* AUJo 111.1.21  
*ut omne quod dedisti ei det eis uitam aeternam* AUJo 111.1.27  
*iterum dicit ipse dominus de hominibus sicut dedisti ei potestatem omnis carnis [in Ps 56:2]* AUPs 56.5.14  
*Adaptation: et habemus dominum dicentem datam sibi potestatem omnis carnis [in Ps 64:3]* AUPs 64.5.2  
*et illud in euangelio sicut dedisti ei potestatem omnis carnis ut omne quod dedisti ei [Jn 3:15]* AUq 80.51 (ms I\* eis, ms C **dedisti potestatem**, mss H I **om. ut—aeternum**, ms D **dedisti non**) (composite with Jn 3:15)

**<17:3> haec est autem uita aeterna ut cognoscant te solum uerum deum et quem misisti iesum christum ait enim magister deus haec est autem uita aeterna ut cognoscant te solum et uerum deum et quem misisti iesum christum**

*AU2an 10/64.22 (mss M A S b **te uerum deum**, ms B **solum deum uerum**)*  
*quod in euangelio scriptum est ut cognoscant te unum uerum deum et quem misisti iesum christum* AUAr 1.11 (ms D **om.te**, mss K U J St **deum uerum**)  
*Reminiscence: ex illo natus est populus a quo unus uerus deus coleretur qui fecit caelum et terram* AUcat 19.59  
*Reminiscence: et conabar cogitare te homo et talis homo summum et solum et uerum deum* AUcf 7.1.8  
*[Matt 25:46] et quae est uita aeterna nisi quod ipsa uita alibi dicit haec est autem uita aeterna ut cognoscant te unum deum uerum et quem misisti iesum christum* AUep 147.11.27/302.4 (ms O\*corr1 cognoscent, mss O P\* **om.te**, ms P **uerum deum**)  
*[Jn 14:6]. de patre autem tantum modo uos uultis intellegi quod ait ut cognoscant te unum uerum deum et quem misisti iesum christum ubi nos subaudimus etiam iesum christum uerum deum ut haec sit sententia 'te et quem misisti iesum christum cognoscant unum uerum deum'* AUep 238.4.22/550.21 (no ms var in cit)  
*dictum est patri te unum uerum deum* AUep 238.4.22/551.3 (ms P et unum)

haec est autem *inquit* uita aeterna ut cognoscant te **unum** deum et quem misisti iesum christum AUEv 3.25.86/393.14 (ms p om.unum, ms v **solum**)

haec est autem uita aeterna ut cognoscant te **unum** uerum deum et quem misisti iesum christum AUJo 3.20.3

haec est autem uita aeterna ut cognoscant te **unum** uerum deum et quem misisti iesum christum AUJo 19.18.31

haec est autem uita aeterna ut cognoscant te **unum** uerum deum et quem misisti iesum christum AUJo 21.15.26

haec est autem uita aeterna ut cognoscant te **unum** uerum deum et quem misisti iesum christum AUJo 101.5.14

haec est autem uita aeterna ut cognoscant te solum uerum deum et quem misisti iesum christum AUJo 105.3.1 [CT]

haec est autem uita aeterna ut cognoscant te solum uerum deum et quem misisti iesum christum AUJo 106.3.9 [CT]

ut cognoscant te solum uerum deum et quem misisti iesum christum AUJo 111.3.21

*non ait haec est autem uita aeterna ut credant sed* haec est *inquit* **uita** aeterna ut cognoscant te **uerum** deum et quem misisti iesum christum AULib 2.2.75 (ms V **om. haec**, mss M X **inquit**, Am **deum uerum**, Er Lou μ **solum deum uerum**)

*Reminiscence: id est patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum qui est unus et solus deus* AUMax 2.13.1/769

*Reminiscence: qui nolentes accipere unum solum deum patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum* AUMax 2.13.1/769

*dicit quidem filius ad patrem* haec est autem uita aeterna ut cognoscant te solum uerum deum et quem misisti iesum christum *id est te et quem misisti iesum christum cognoscant solum uerum deum* AUMax 2.15.4/779

haec est *inquit* uita aeterna ut cognoscant te **uerum** deum et quem misisti iesum christum AUMor 1.47.9 (mss E T2 **est autem**, ms R **om.deum**, ms P4 **deum uerum**, ms B **emisisti**)

*quia dominus dicit* haec est autem uita aeterna ut cognoscant te **unum** uerum deum et quem misisti iesum christum AUop 22.40/84.15 (mss S M R B N A **uerum unum**)

haec est **enim inquit** uita aeterna ut cognoscant te **unum** uerum deum et quem misisti iesum christum [*in Ps 85:16*] AUPs 85.21.32

*uidete si quaedam uisio est uita aeterna* haec est autem uita aeterna ut cognoscant te solum uerum deum et quem misisti iesum christum *quia [Ps 109:3]* AUPs 109.15.28

*et illud quod ait dominus iesus* haec est autem uita aeterna ut cognoscant te solum uerum deum et quem misisti iesum christum AUq 35.65 (ms P **haec autem**, ms R **uita aeterna autem**, ms Z **om. autem**, ms H **et quoniam misisti christum (om. iesum)**, ms V **christum iesum**)

*ipse est uita aeterna: ipse hoc dixit* haec est autem uita aeterna ut cognoscant te **unum** uerum deum et quem misisti iesum christum AUs 127.9.13/712

*audistis eum dixisse* haec est **uita** aeterna ut cognoscant te solum uerum deum et quem misisti iesum christum AUs 217.1 (webtext; not in Migne)

*ergo cum auditis* ut cognoscant te solum uerum deum et quem misisti iesum christum *subaudire debetis* solum uerum deum *hoc est ut te et quem misisti iesum christum cognoscant solum uerum deum* AUs 217.1 (webtext; not in Migne)

*quod dictum est* ut cognoscant te solum **deum uerum** et quem misisti iesum christum *hoc est te et iesum christum cognoscant solum uerum deum* AUs 217.2 (webtext; not in Migne)

*quando audis* ut cognoscant te et quem misisti iesum christum solum uerum deum AUs 217.2 (webtext; not in Migne)

*pater cui dixit christus* ut cognoscant te solum uerum deum *adde* et quem misisti iesum christum AUs 217.3 (webtext; not in Migne)

*quia* haec est *inquit* uita aeterna ut cognoscant te solum uerum deum et quem misisti iesum christum AUs 362.29.30/1633

*de hac uita dicit ipse dominus* haec est autem uita aeterna ut cognoscant te **unum** uerum deum et quem misisti iesum christum *id est te et quem misisti iesum christum unum uerum deum* AUsp 22.37/190.14

*Adaptation: quae uita aeterna sicut commemorauit definita ea esse* ut cognoscant **unum** uerum deum AUsp 22.37/190.25

*Adaptation: tunc erit uita aeterna ut cognoscamus unum uerum deum* AUsp 24.41/194.19

*iusti quidem in uitam aeternam quia* haec est *inquit* **uita** aeterna ut cognoscant te **unum** uerum deum et quem misisti iesum christum AUsp 33.59/219.6 (ms L **d~m**, mss SPG **dñm**, ms Om1 **om.et**)

[Jn 14:8-9] *quia ipsa* est **uita** aeterna ut cognoscant **unum** uerum deum et quem misisti iesum christum AUsp 33.59/219.14 (ms Lm2 **cognoscant te**, ms d **deum te et**, ms K **misisti**)

*Reminiscence: quod trinitas sit unus et solus et uerus deus* (mss Na O S P T **solus uerus**) AUtri 1.2.3

*Reminiscence: qui dixerunt dominum nostrum iesum christum non esse deum aut non esse uerum deum aut non cum patre unum et solum deum* AUtri 1.6.2

*Reminiscence: de uno et solo deo quod est ipsa trinitas* (ms J solo et uno, ms K uno solo) AUtri 1.6.29

*Reminiscence: [1Tim 6:15] quod est unus et solus et uerus deus ipsa trinitas* (mss I Eug (A G V v) μ **solus et uerus**, mss cett, Beda **solus uerus**) AUtri 1.6.53

*Reminiscence: cum haec uerba nec patrem tantum nec filium tantum permittunt intellegi sed utique deum unum uerum solum* AUtri 1.6.72

*ita quippe ait* haec est autem uita aeterna ut cognoscant te **unum** uerum deum et quem misisti iesum christum AUtri 1.8.87 (ms μ **autem est**, ms Eug V **haec est**, ms Na **om. te**, mss F P **unum et uerum**)

[Matt 5:8] *et quia* haec est **uita** aeterna *dicit deus in psalmis [Ps 90:16]* AUtri 1.8.119

[Matt 25:46] quae est autem uita aeterna nisi illa uisio quae non conceditur impiis? ut cognoscant te *inquit* **unum** uerum deum et quem misisti iesum christum *quomodo et ipsum iesum christum nisi quemadmodum unum* uerum deum *qui ostendet seipsum illis* AUtri 1.13.126 (ms Fa uita aeterna autem, ms Ta cognoscante, ms Eug (V) **agnoscant te**, ms la deum om.**et** quem, mss Eug (V) ipsum dominum christum)

[Matt 25:46] quid est autem uita aeterna **nisi** ut cognoscant te *inquit* **unum** uerum deum et quem misisti iesum christum AUtri 1.13.189

Reminiscence: an sine ulla distinctione personarum sicut dicitur **deus unus et solus** (mss N O S unus deus) AUtri 2.7.21

Reminiscence: et quod dictum est de **uno solo deo** in quo ipsa trinitas intellegitur AUtri 2.8.17

Reminiscence: longe remotum ab eis erat **ut nossent unius et solius dei** id est patris et filii et spiritus sancti (mss Ba C unius om.**et** solius) AUtri 2.9.46

Reminiscence: an ipsius omnino trinitatis qui est **unus et solus deus** (ms F **unus et solus et uerus deus**) AUtri 2.13.27

Reminiscence: ubi et pater et filius et spiritus sanctus unus **et** solus deus AUtri 2.17.139

Reminiscence: an sine ulla distinctione personarum sicut dicitur deus unus et solus **id est ipsa trinitas** (ms  $\mu$  trinitas ipsa) AUtri 2.18.62 [Repeat of AUtri 2.7.21]

Reminiscence: quia enim ab uno deo **summo** et uero (mss A C F P  $\mu$  uno uero deo et summo) AUtri 4.7.7 dixit ergo ueritas haec est autem uita aeterna ut cognoscant te **unum** uerum deum et quem misisti iesum christum AUtri 4.18.31 (ms Ja **om.autem**, mss B N O F K Eug. D G P v **unum et uerum**)

consideranda est illa sententia qua dicitur **deum uerum solum non esse patrem solum sed patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum** AUtri 6.9.3 (ms Eug (V) **uerum deum om.solum**, ms L uerum deum solum, mss J K deum uerum **om.solum**)

patrem nominauerat ad quem loquebatur cum ait haec est autem uita aeterna ut cognoscant te **unum** uerum deum AUtri 6.9.10 (mss J T om.**autem**, ms F **unum et uerum**)

cum dictum est patri ut cognoscant te **unum** uerum deum AUtri 6.9.14 (mss B S **unum et uerum**, ms P **unum deum uerum**)

Reminiscence: quia et solus pater deus uerus est AUtri 6.9.15

ex domini testimonio et patrem **unum** uerum deum dicimus et filium **unum** uerum deum et spiritum sanctum **unum** uerum deum AUtri 6.9.17 (ms V patrem uerum unum, mss N O patrem unum deum uerum)

non tres ueros deos sed **unum** deum uerum. an quoniam addidit et quem misisti iesum christum subaudiendum est **unum** uerum deum et ordo uerborum est: ut te et quem misisti iesum christum cognoscant **unum** uerum deum AUtri 6.9.21 (ms S om.deum mss Eug V om.**unum**)

haec est autem sicut ait ueritas uita aeterna ut cognoscant te *inquit* **unum** uerum deum et quem misisti iesum christum AUtri 14.19.24

Reminiscence: ut hoc modo esset homo imago **unius** ueri dei quia ipsa trinitas **unus** uerus deus est AUtri 12.6.33

Reminiscence: de unitate patris et filii et spiritus sancti qui sunt **unus et solus et uerus deus** AUtri brev 1.6.9

Reminiscence: de solo uero deo pater et filio et spiritu sancto AUtri brev 6.9.23

[MAX] sed cum dicit dominus in euangelio ut cognoscant te solum **deum uerum** et quem misisti iesum christum sic solum uerum dicit patrem AUMax co 15/733

<17:4> ego te clarificaui super terram opus consummaui quod dedisti mihi ut faciam quod enim subiciunt unde hoc probare conentur quia uidelicet scriptum est pater ego te **honorificaui** super terram opus **quod dedisti mihi** consummaui AUAr 23.7 (ms J **ergo**, ms Y **consummaui quod dedisti mihi**) [Jn 17:5] cui etiam dicit ego te **glorificaui** AUAr 31.3 (ms St **om. te**, ms Z\* **glorificaui te**, mss J  $\tau$  W **clarificaui**, ms St **clarificare**)

ego te clarificaui super terram opus consummaui quod dedisti mihi ut faciam AUJo 105.4.3 [CT]

ego te clarificaui super terram AUJo 106.1.19 [CT]

scriptum est autem quod et filius glorificet patrem ego te *inquit* **glorificaui** super terram AUtri 2.4.14 (ms T et ego, ms Eug (V) ego inquit te, ms S **clarifiaui** (sic))

<17:5> et nunc clarifica me tu pater apud temet ipsum claritatem quam habui priusquam mundus esset apud te

nam cum ipse dominus dixisset pater **clarifica me ea claritate qua fui apud te** priusquam mundus fieret [Jn 12:28] AUAd 9/133.18 (ms P **te cum mundus**)

hoc iubente filio qui ei dicit **honorifica me** AUAr 23.14

cui dicit ipse filius **glorifica me** [Jn 17:4] AUAr 31.3

Adaptation: multa locutus est...de sua clarificatione quam habuit apud patrem priusquam mundus esset AUEv 4.10.19/414.9

pater **glorifica me ea gloria** quam habui **apud te antequam** mundus esset AUJo 43.9.20

et nunc clarifica me tu pater apud temetipsum **claritate** quam habui priusquam mundus esset apud te AUJo 105.5.1 [CT]

et nunc clarifica me tu pater apud temetipsum **claritate** quam habui priusquam mundus esset apud te AUJo 106.3.4 [CT]

et nunc clarifica me tu pater apud temetipsum **claritate** quam habui priusquam mundus esset apud te AUJo 107.3.4

[Ps 15:5] *ut nota sit et his quos libero* claritas qua **eram apud te** prius quam mundus **fieret** AUPs 15.5.10

[Jn 17:3] *sed iam in ea claritate de qua dicit patri* quam habui **apud te** priusquam mundus **fieret** AUtri 1.13.191  
*quia dixit filius* **pater** clarifica me AUtri 2.4.3 (ms K2 **clarifica me pater**)

**<17:6> manifestaui nomen tuum hominibus quos dedisti mihi de mundo tui erant et mihi eos dedisti et sermonem tuum seruauerunt**

manifestaui nomen tuum hominibus quos dedisti mihi de mundo AUJo 106.1.17 tui erant et mihi eos dedisti et sermonem tuum seruauerunt AUJo 106.2.5 [CT]

manifestaui nomen tuum hominibus **istis** quos dedisti mihi de mundo AUJo 106.4.6

**<17:7> nunc cognouerunt quia omnia quae dedisti mihi abs te sunt**

nunc cognouerunt quia omnia quae dedisti mihi abs te sunt AUJo 106.2.6 [CT]

**<17:8> quia uerba quae dedisti mihi dedi eis et ipsi acceperunt et cognouerunt uere quia a te exiui et crediderunt quia tu me misisti**

quia uerba quae dedisti mihi dedi eis et ipsi acceperunt et cognouerunt uere quia a te exiui et crediderunt quia tu me misisti AUJo 106.2.8 [CT]

et cognouerunt uere quia a te exiui et crediderunt quia tu me misisti AUJo 110.4.18

**<17:9> ego pro eis rogo non pro mundo rogo sed pro his quos dedisti mihi quia tui sunt**

ego pro eis rogo non pro mundo rogo sed pro his quos dedisti mihi AUJo 107.1.1 quia tui sunt AUJo 107.2.1 [CT]

**<17:10> et mea omnia tua sunt et tua mea sunt et clarificatus sum in eis**

et mea omnia tua sunt et tua mea sunt AUJo 100.4.19

et mea omnia tua sunt et tua mea AUJo 107.2.3 **et** clarificatus sum in eis AUJo 107.3.1 [CT]

[Ps 2:8] *quia omnia* **mea** tua sunt [Ps 27:9] AUPs 27.9.5

*pater...cui dixit ipse dilectus* omnia **mea** tua sunt et tua mea [in Ps 67:13] AUPs 67.15.38

*audi illum alio loco* omnia **mea** tua sunt et tua mea sunt AUJo 135.2.3/747

*opera patris quae dicit opera sua quia* et tua mea sunt: *quia illius patris dicit opera cui dixit* omnia **mea** tua sunt et tua mea sunt. *ergo opera* **mea** tua sunt et *opera* tua mea sunt. [Jn 5:19] AUJo 135.2.3/747

[Jn 16:15] **et omnia tua mea** sunt *inquit* et **mea tua** AUtri 1.11.32 (mss Vinc R Eug V omnia inquit. mss Vinc R µ mea tua sunt, mss Vinc N tua inquit mea, mss Vinc Eug V om.inquit, mss Ba Vinc R et tua mea, ms F et tua omnia mea)

**<17:11> et iam non sum in mundo et hii in mundo sunt et ego ad te uenio pater sancte serua eos in nomine tuo quos dedisti mihi ut sint unum sicut et nos**

*cf. Jn 17:21, Jn 17:22*

*illud quod scriptum est [Jn 10:30] et pater sancte serua eos in nomine tuo quos dedisti mihi ut sint unum sicut et nos item paulo post [Jn 17:20-3] AUep 238.4.28/554.19* (ms M **om.tuo**)

et iam non sum in mundo et hi in mundo sunt AUJo 107.4.1 et ego ad te uenio AUJo 107.4.23 pater sancte serua eos in nomine tuo quos dedisti mihi ut sint unum sicut et nos AUJo 107.5.2 [CT]

pater sancte serua eos in nomine tuo quos dedisti mihi ut sint unum sicut et nos AUJo 110.1.8

*christus autem non ait ut ipsi et nos unum simus sed ait ut sint unum sicut et nos* **unum sumus**. *nam ut uerba ipsa euangelica ponam* pater sancte *inquit* serua eos in nomine tuo quos dedisti mihi ut sint unum sicut et nos **unum** AUMax 1.12/753

*dixit ergo ad patrem filius* pater sancte serua eos in nomine tuo quos dedisti mihi ut sint unum sicut et nos. *non dixit ut sint unum nobiscum aut ut simus unum ipsi et nos [Jn 17:20] AUMax 2.22.1/793*

**<17:12> cum essem cum eis ego seruabam eos in nomine tuo quos dedisti mihi custodiui et nemo ex his periit nisi filius perditionis ut scriptura impleatur**

*Reminiscence: sed non erat filius perditionis de qualibus dictum est [Ps 72.18] AUba 1.18.28/171.25*

*Reminiscence: non enim perit filius promissionis sed filius perditionis* AUcorr 20.36

cum essem cum eis ego seruabam eos in nomine tuo quos dedisti mihi custodiui et nemo ex **eis** periit nisi filius perditionis ut scriptura impleatur AUJo 106.2.14

cum essem cum eis ego seruabam **illos** AUJo 106.2.30

cum essem cum eis ego seruabam eos in nomine tuo AUJo 107.6.1 quos dedisti mihi custodiui et nemo ex his periit nisi filius perditionis ut scriptura impleatur AUJo 107.7.1 [CT]

*Reminiscence: filios perditionis aeternae* AUtri 15.18.2

[PETI] *de quo dominus christus clamauit ad patrem* **pater** quos dedisti mihi **omnes seruau**i et **ex illis nullus** **periit** nisi filius perditionis ut **impletetur** scriptura AUPet 2.8.17/29.15

**<17:13> nunc autem ad te uenio et haec loquor in mundo ut habeant gaudium meum impletum in semet ipsis**

nunc autem ad te uenio AUJo 106.2.18

nunc autem ad te uenio et haec loquor in mundo ut habeant gaudium meum impletum in semetipsis AUJo 107.8.1 [CT]

**<17:14> ego dedi eis sermonem tuum et mundus odio eos habuit quia non sunt de mundo sicut et ego non sum de mundo**

cf. Jn 8:23, Jn 17:16

ego dedi eis sermonem tuum et mundus **eos odio** habuit quia non sunt de mundo sicut et ego non sum de mundo AUJo 108.1.2 [CT]

**<17:15> non rogo ut tollas eos de mundo sed ut serues eos ex malo**

de quibus dictum est non **peto** ut tollas eos de **saeculo** sed ut **tollas** eos a malo [Job 38:9] AUJb 38/602.27

non rogo ut tollas eos de mundo sed ut serues eos ex malo AUJo 108.2.1 [CT]

non rogo ut tollas eos de mundo sed ut serues eos ex malo AUJo 115.2.16

**<17:16> de mundo non sunt sicut et ego non sum de mundo**

cf. Jn 8:23, Jn 17:14

de mundo non sunt sicut et ego non sum de mundo AUJo 108.2.4 [CT]

de mundo non **estis** sicut et ego non sum de mundo AUJo 115.2.14

**<17:17> sanctifica eos in ueritate sermo tuus ueritas est**

sanctifica eos in ueritate AUJo 108.2.5 sermo tuus ueritas est AUJo 108.3.1 [CT]

**uerbum** tuus ueritas est AUJo 108.3.8

**<17:18> sicut me misisti in mundum et ego misi eos in mundum**

sicut me misisti in mundum et ego misi eos in mundum AUJo 108.4.2 [CT]

sicut me misisti in mundum et ego misi eos in mundum AUJo 110.5.14

**<17:19> et pro eis ego sanctifico me ipsum ut sint et ipsi sanctificati in ueritate**

et pro eis ego sanctifico meipsum ut sint et ipsi sanctificati in ueritate AUJo 108.5.3 [CT]

secundum istam locutionem dictum est et pro eis **sanctifico** me ipsum AUloc 4.242 (in Num 20:12)

[Jn 10:36] alio autem loco ait et pro eis **sanctifico** me ipsum AUtri 2.5.62 (ms Eug V pro his, ms S **sanctificabo**)

**<17:20> non pro his autem rogo tantum sed et pro eis qui credituri sunt per uerbum eorum in me**

illud quod scriptum est [Jn 10:30] et [Jn 17:11] item paulo post non pro his autem rogo tantum *inquit* sed et pro eis

qui credituri sunt per uerbum eorum in me AUep 238.4.28/554.21 (ms M tantum rogo autem, ms T pro his)

non pro his autem rogo tantum sed et pro **his** qui credituri sunt per uerbum eorum in me AUJo 106.2.34

non pro his autem rogo tantum sed et pro eis qui credituri sunt per uerbum eorum in me AUJo 109.1.7 [CT]

non pro his autem rogo tantum sed et pro eis qui credituri sunt per uerbum eorum in me AUJo 110.1.2 [CT]

[Jn 17:11]...item post aliquantulum non *inquit* pro **eis** rogo tantum sed et pro eis qui credituri sunt per uerbum eorum in me AUMax 1.12/753

[Jn 17:11]. item paulo post non pro his autem rogo tantum sed et pro eis qui credituri sunt per uerbum **ipsorum** in me AUMax 2.22.1/793

[Matt 28:20]...item dicit non pro his **rogo** tantum sed **pro his** qui credituri sunt per uerbum **illorum** in me [in Ps 47:14] AUPs 47.14.29

inter cetera ita loquitur non pro his autem rogo *inquit* tantum sed et pro eis qui credituri sunt per uerbum eorum in me AUtri 4.8.6 (ms Ja om.inquit, mss O Ka sed om.**et** pro)

[MAX] et non tantum pro apostolis legimus saluatorem orasse ut unum sint sed etiam pro credituris per uerbum illorum dicens non **solum** pro his rogo **sed** et pro **credituris** per uerbum **illorum** in me AUMax co 22/737

**<17:21> ut omnes unum sint sicut tu pater in me et ego in te ut et ipsi in nobis unum sint ut mundus credat quia tu me misisti**

cf. Jn 17:11

[Jn 17:20] ut omnes unum sint sicut tu pater in me et ego in te ut et ipsi in nobis unum sint ut mundus credat quia tu me misisti AUep 238.4.28/554.23

Adaptation: et quod unum nos faceret in se sicut ipse et pater unum sunt non ut ipse et pater et nos unum sed nos unum sicut ipsi unum AUEv 4.10.19/414.10

ut omnes unum sint sicut tu pater in me et ego in te ut et ipsi in nobis unum sint AUJo 110.1.5 ut mundus credat quia tu me misisti AUJo 110.2.2 [CT]

ut **credat mundus** AUJo 110.4.16

ut **credat mundus** AUJo 110.4.24

ut **credat mundus** quia tu me misisti AUJo 110.4.27

ut **credat mundus** AUJo 110.4.29  
 ut **credat mundus** AUJo 110.4.33  
 sicut tu pater in me et ego in te ut et ipsi in nobis unum sint AUJo 111.3.34  
*[Jn 17:20]* ut omnes unum sint. *neque hic dixit ut nobiscum unum sint. deinde sequitur* sicut tu pater in me et ego in te **et** ipsi in nobis unum sint. *et hic non dixit unum simus aut unum nobiscum sint sed* unum sint in nobis... *adhuc adiungit et dicit* ut mundus credat quia tu me misisti AUMax 1.12/753  
*[Jn 17:20]* ut omnes unum sint sicut tu pater in me et ego in te ut et ipsi in nobis unum sint. *neque hic dixit ut ipsi et nos unum simus sed* unum sint in nobis. *adhuc sequitur et adiungit* ut mundus credat quia tu me misisti AUMax 2.22.1/793  
*[Jn 17:20]* ut omnes unum sint sicut tu pater in me et ego in te ut et ipsi in nobis unum sint ut mundus credat quia tu me misisti AUtri 4.8.7 (ms Ka **omnis**, mss S2 J T **et mundus**)  
*Reminiscence: unde mundantur per mediatorem ut sint in illo unum* AUtri 4.9.10  
*[MAX]* *[Jn 17:20]:* ut omnes unum sint sicut tu pater in me et ego in te ut et **illi** in nobis unum sint *[Jn 17:23]* AUMax co 22/737  
*[MAX]* *sic enim ait in euangelio patrem suum orans pro discipulis* **pater fac illos unum sicut et nos unum sumus:** sicut ego in te et tu in me ut et **illi** in nobis unum sint *[Jn 17:23]* AUMax co 22/737

<17:22> **et ego claritatem quam dedisti mihi dedi eis ut sint unum sicut nos unum sumus**

cf. Jn 17:11

*[Jn 17:21]* et ego claritatem quam dedisti mihi dedi eis ut sint unum sicut nos unum sumus AUep 238.4.28/555.2 (ms M om.unum, edd sicut et nos)

*[Jn 17:23]. uide quotiens dixit* sint unum sicut **et** nos unum sumus AUep 238.4.28/555.5

*[Jn 14:9-10]* et ut sint unum sicut **et** nos unum sumus AUEv 1.4.7/7.9

et ego claritatem quam dedisti mihi dedi **illis** AUJo 110.3.3 ut sint unum sicut **et** nos unum sumus AUJo 110.3.38 [CT]

*[Jn 17:21]* et ego claritatem quam dedisti mihi dedi **illis** ut sint unum sicut nos unum sumus AUMax 1.12/753  
*saluator noster non dixerit ut ipsi et nos unum sed ut ipsi* sint unum AUMax 2.22.1/792

*Adaptation: poscit ergo filius ut ita sint unum quomodo ipse et pater unum sunt* AUMax 2.22.1/793

*[Jn 17:21]* et ego claritatem quam **mihi dedisti** dedi **illis** ut sint unum sicut nos unum sumus AUMax 2.22.1/793

*Adaptation: aut ut simus unum ipsi et nos.* AUMax 2.22.1/793

sicut **et** nos *inquit* unum sumus AUMax 2.22.1/793

*item legimus ipso christo dicente* ut sint unum sicut **et** nos unum sumus. *non dixit ut ipsi et nos unum sed ut ipsi* sint unum AUMax co 14/722

*[1Cor 1:10]...[Phil 2:2-3]* et dominus ad patrem de suis ut sint unum sicut **et** nos unum sumus *[Acts 4:32]* AUs 103.3.4/614

*[Jn 17:21]* et ego claritatem quam dedisti mihi dedi **illis** ut sint unum sicut **et** nos unum sumus AUtri 4.8.9 (ms  $\mu$  **eis**)

*ad hoc enim ualet quod ait* ut sint unum sicut **et** nos unum sumus AUtri 4.9.15 (mss A C T **om.et**, ms La om.sumus)

*nam si iam unum essent ex eo quod homines erant non diceret* ut sint unum sicut **et** nos unum AUtri 6.3.5 (mss Aa C T  $\mu$  **om.et**, ms M unum sumus)

*nusquam dixit ut nos et ipsi unum sed* ut sint unum sicut **et** nos unum AUtri 6.3.28 (ms  $\mu$  ut unum sint, ms  $\mu$  unum sumus)

*[MAX]* *[Jn 5:23]. dicis quod non dixerit saluator noster christus ut ipsi et nos unum sed ut ipsi* sint unum *in natura sua et substantia sua* AUMax co 22/736

<17:23> **ego in eis et tu in me ut sint consummati in unum et cognoscat mundus quia tu me misisti et dilexisti eos sicut me dilexisti**

*[Jn 17:22]* ego in eis et tu in me ut sint consummati in unum AUep 238.4.28/555.4

ego in eis et tu in me ut sint consummati in unum AUJo 110.4.1 **ut** cognoscat mundus quia tu me misisti AUJo 110.4.14 et dilexisti eos sicut et me dilexisti AUJo 110.5.1 [CT]

*[Jn 17:22]* ego in eis et tu in me ut sint consummati in unum. *cum ergo toties dixerit* ut sint unum... AUMax 1.12/753

*[Jn 17:22]* ego in eis et tu in me ut sint consummati in unum. *neque hic dixit ut nobiscum sint unus aut ut ipsi et nos simus unum. deinde cum addidisset* **ut** cognoscat mundus quia tu me misisti et dilexisti eos sicut **et** me dilexisti AUMax 2.22.1/793

*[1 Tim 2:5] mons montium sicut sanctus sanctorum. unde dicit* ego in eis et tu in me *[Ps 67:18]* AUPs 67.23.59  
*deinde idipsum...sic indicat* ego *inquit* in eis et tu in me ut sint consummati in unum AUtri 4.9.21

*[MAX]* *[Jn 17:21]* **ut** cognoscat **hic** mundus quia tu me misisti et dilexisti **illos** sicut me dilexisti AUMax co 22/737

*[MAX]* *[Jn 17:21]* **ut** cognoscat **hic** mundus **quoniam** tu me misisti et dilexisti **illos** sicut me dilexisti AUMax co 22/737

**<17:24> pater quos dedisti mihi uolo ut ubi ego sum et illi sint mecum ut uideant claritatem meam quam dedisti mihi quia dilexisti me ante constitutionem mundi**

pater **uolo** ut ubi ego sum et **ipsi** sint mecum AUJo 31.9.49

pater quos dedisti mihi uolo ut ubi ego sum et **ipsi** sint mecum AUJo 45.14.20

pater quos dedisti mihi uolo ut ubi ego sum et **ipsi** sint mecum AUJo 64.2.14

pater quos dedisti mihi uolo ut ubi ego sum et illi sint mecum AUJo 111.1.10 [CT]

quos dedisti mihi uolo ut ubi ego sum et **ipsi** sint mecum AUJo 111.2.4

quos dedisti mihi uolo ut ubi ego sum et **ipsi** sint mecum AUJo 111.2.66

uolo ut ubi ego sum et **ipsi** sint mecum AUJo 111.3.3

ut uideant claritatem meam quam dedisti mihi quia dilexisti me ante constitutionem mundi AUJo 111.3.4 [CT]

uolo ut ubi ego sum et **ipsi** sint mecum AUJo 111.3.27

uolo ut ubi ego sum et **ipsi** sint mecum AUJo 111.4.10

[Matt 8:2-3]...*nam filius dicit pater uolo ut ubi ego sum et isti sint mecum. non dixit peto uel rogo sed uolo.*

AUMax 2.20.4/790

[Jn 17:23] *secutus adiunxit pater uolo ut ubi ego sum et ipsi sint mecum. ubi sum inquit mecum sint non ait unum mecum sint.* AUMax 2.22.1/793

*ut fiat in ea quod sponsus ipse dicit qui transiit de hoc mundo ad patrem [cf Jn 13:1] uolo ut ubi ego sum et isti*

*sint mecum [in Ps 67:32] AUPs 67.41.23*

*ait enim de iis qui illi adhaeserunt fide...pater inquit quos mihi dedisti uolo ut ubi ego sum et ipsi sint mecum [in Ps 126:2] AUPs 126.4.18*

*et ait pater uolo ut ubi ego sum et ipsi sint mecum [in Ps 148:6] AUPs 148.8.43*

*bonis eius perfruaris si fidem cum eo in paupertate seruaueris: pater inquit uolo ut ubi ego sum et ipsi sint mecum AU 41.248*

*ut impleatur quod petit a patre uolo ut ubi ego sum et isti sint mecum AU 65A.1*

*modo ostendo pater uolo...quid uis? ut ubi ego sum et illi sint mecum AU 135.4.5/748*

*de oratione christi pater quos dedisti mihi uolo ut ubi ego sum ibi sint ipsi AU 217 incipit/1083 (NB not in webtext)*

*dixit pater quos dedisti mihi uolo ut ubi ego sum ibi sint ipsi. uolo inquit ut ubi ego sum et ipsi sint mecum AU 217.2/1083 (not webtext)*

*de quo ait qui nobis eum praeparat uolo ut ubi ego sum et ipsi sint mecum AU 217.3/1084 (not webtext)*

*audi ipsum christum pater uolo ut ubi ego sum et illi sint mecum AU 319.3.3/1441*

*quia et cum hic esset dixit pater uolo ut ubi ego sum ibi sint et isti mecum AU 359.9/1598*

*Adaptation: itaque omnes sanctos suos ante mundi constitutionem dilexit AUtri 5.16.72*

*[MAX] Reminiscence: secundum diuinitatis suae substantiam illam beatam quam habuit ante mundi constitutionem AUMax co 5/726*

*[Paulinus and Therasia] sicut et ipse dominus ad patrem dixit uolo ut ubi ego sum et illi sint mecum sine dubio illud quod in psalmis habes [Ps 83:5] AUep 94.5/502.21*

**<17:25> pater iuste et mundus te non cognouit ego autem te cognoui et hii cognouerunt quia tu me misisti**

*dominus dicit pater iuste et mundus te non cognouit AUAd 11/136.1 (ms b om.et)*

*donec contextim ueniat [sc. iohannes] ad illum locum ubi ait dominus pater iuste et mundus te non cognouit ego autem te cognoui et hi cognouerunt quia tu me misisti AUEv 3.3.9/279.5 (ms B1 pater eius te, mss R D H A E L v edd. praeter g m iuste om.et, ms B1 om. te, mss B R C2 P hii, mss l m ii)*

*pater iuste mundus te non cognouit AUJo 95.1.10*

*pater iuste mundus te non cognouit ego autem te cognoui et hi cognouerunt quia tu me misisti AUJo 111.5.1 [CT]*

**<17:26> et notum feci eis nomen tuum et notum faciam ut dilectio qua dilexisti me in ipsis sit et ego in ipsis**

*[Jn 17:25] et notum eis feci nomen tuum et notum faciam ut dilectio qua dilexisti me in ipsis sit et ego in ipsis*

*AUEv 3.3.9/279.7 (mss V M g v feci eis)*

*et notum feci eis nomen tuum et notum faciam ut dilectio quam dilexisti me in ipsis sit et ego in ipsis AUJo 111.6.1 [CT]*

**<18:1> haec cum dixisset iesus egressus est cum discipulis suis trans torrentem cedron ubi erat hortus in quem introiuit ipse et discipuli eius**

*commemorat iohannes ita narrans haec cum dixisset iesus egressus est cum discipulis suis trans torrentem*

*cedron ubi erat hortus in quem introiuit ipse et discipuli eius AUEv 3.4.10/218.11 (ms p et cum hoc, ms r hoc cum, mss C P regressus, ms F \*egressus, mss B N ortus, mss D M Q edd v introiuit, ms B introit, cet. introit)*

*Allusion: (Jn 18:1-11) iohannes uero posteaquam in hortum ingressum dicit cum discipulis suis non commemorat quid illic egerit donec eius traditor cum iudaeis ad eum comprehendendum ueniret AUEv 3.4.12/283.18*

haec cum dixisset iesus egressus est cum discipulis suis trans torrentem cedron ubi erat hortus in quem introiit ipse et discipuli eius AUJo 112.1.1 (ms M *cedri...introibit*) [CT]

**<18:2> sciebat autem et iudas qui tradebat eum ipsum locum quia frequenter iesus conuenerat illuc cum discipulis suis**

sciebat autem et iudas qui tradebat eum **locum** quia frequenter iesus conuenerat illuc cum discipulis suis AUJo 112.1.8 [CT]

sciebat **et** iudas qui tradebat eum **locum** AUJo 112.2.1

**<18:3> iudas ergo cum accepisset cohortem et a pontificibus et pharisaeis ministros uenit illuc cum lanternis et facibus et armis**

iudas ergo cum accepisset cohortem et a **principibus** et pharisaeis ministros uenit illuc cum lanternis et facibus et armis AUJo 112.2.7 [CT]

**<18:4> iesus itaque sciens omnia quae uentura erant super eum processit et dicit eis quem quaeritis**

*deinde dixit quod iohannes commemorat* **quid** quaeritis AUEv 3.5.15/286.18 (mss M E2 γ κ χ ψ ω edd. praeter g v **quem** [tina])

**dixit illis** quem quaeritis AUJo 11.2.24

**ait illis** quem quaeritis AUJo 28.2.16

quem quaeritis **inquit** AUJo 37.9.31

quem quaeritis AUJo 47.7.10

iesus itaque sciens omnia quae uentura erant super eum processit et **dixit** eis quem quaeritis AUJo 112.3.1 [CT]  
*quando eum tenere uoluerunt et ad unam eius interrogationem quem quaeritis [in Ps 34:13] AUPs 34.s2.3.63*

**<18:5> responderunt ei iesum nazarenum dicit eis iesus ego sum stabat autem et iudas qui tradebat eum cum ipsis**

[Jn 18:4] responderunt ei iesum **nazorenium** dicit eis iesus ego sum stabat autem et iudas qui tradebat eum cum ipsis AUEv 3.5.15/286.19 (mss C P V ψ g om.**ei**, mss B M H nazorenium, ms p nazareum, cet.v. nazarenium, ms r dixit, mss B D om.**eis**, mss A E1 **ei pro eis**, ms r tradiderat

[Jn 18:4] *at illi dixerunt* iesum nazarenum *at ille* ego sum AUJo 11.2.24

[Jn 18:4] *responderunt* iesum *et ille* ego sum AUJo 28.2.16

[Jn 18:4] *et illi* iesum *et ille* ego sum AUJo 37.9.32

*dixerunt* iesum *et ait eis* ego sum AUJo 47.7.10

responderunt ei iesum nazarenum dicit eis iesus ego sum stabat autem et iudas qui tradebat eum cum ipsis AUJo 112.3.3 [CT]

*quam ut se compescere ostenderet ad illam eius uocem qua dixit* ego sum AUPs 82.2.28

**<18:6> ut ergo dixit eis ego sum abierunt retrorsum et ceciderunt in terram**

[Jn 18:5] *ut ergo dixit eis ego sum abierunt retrorsum et ceciderunt in terram* AUEv 3.5.15/286.21

[Jn 18:5] *hac uoce audita* **redierunt retro** et ceciderunt AUJo 11.2.25

[Jn 18:5] **redeuntes retro** ceciderunt AUJo 28.2.19

*ait quaerentibus se* ego sum *et illi* **retro redeuntes omnes** ceciderunt AUJo 31.6.25

[Jn 18:5] *qua uoce audita* **redierunt retro** et ceciderunt AUJo 37.9.32

[Jn 18:5] **redierunt retro** et ceciderunt AUJo 47.7.10

ut ergo dixit eis ego sum abierunt retrorsum et ceciderunt in terram AUJo 112.3.6 [CT]

[Jn 18:4] **redierunt omnes retro** et ceciderunt [in Ps 34:13] AUPs 34.s2.3.64

[Jn 18:5] *his qui eum adprehendendum quaerebant* **redierunt retro** et ceciderunt AUPs 82.2.29

**<18:7> iterum ergo eos interrogauit quem quaeritis illi autem dixerunt iesum nazarenum**

[Jn 18:6] iterum ergo eos interrogauit quem quaeritis illi autem dixerunt iesum **nazoreum** AUEv 3.5.15/286.22 (ms B1 nazoreum, ms B2 nazorenium, ms p nazareum, edd v nazarenium)

iterum ergo eos interrogauit quem quaeritis illi autem dixerunt iesum nazarenum AUJo 112.4.1 [CT]

**<18:8> respondit iesus dixi uobis quia ego sum si ergo me quaeritis sinite hos abire**

[Jn 18:7] respondit iesus dixi uobis quia ego sum si ergo me quaeritis sinite hos abire AUEv 3.5.15/287.2 (ms B1 dixit)

respondit iesus dixi uobis quia ego sum si ergo me quaeritis sinite hos abire AUJo 112.4.2 [CT]

sinite hos abire AUJo 113.2.41

*se offerens ait* si ergo me quaeritis sinite hos abire AUqVT 8.136

**<18:9> ut impleretur sermo quem dixit quia quos dedisti mihi non perdi ex ipsis quemquam**

[Jn 18:8] *ut impleretur sermo quem dixit quia quos dedisti mihi non perdi ex ipsis quemquam* AUEv 3.5.15/287.4 (mss M V ψ p r **eis**)

ut impleretur sermo quem dixit quia quos dedisti mihi non perdi ex **eis** quemquam AUJo 112.4.4 [CT]



quia quos dedisti mihi non perdidisti ex **eis** quemquam AUJo 113.2.43

*Adaptation: an quisquam dicere audebit deum non praescisse quibus esset daturus ut crederent aut quos daturus esset filio suo ut ex **eis** non perderet quemquam* AUpers 14.35/1014

*secutus ait euangelista ut impleretur sermo quem dixit quia quos dedisti mihi non perdidisti ex **eis** quemquam* AUqVT 8.138 (ms E euangelista inquit)

**<18:10> simon ergo petrus habens gladium eduxit eum et percussit pontificis seruum et abscidit eius auriculam dextram erat autem nomen seruo malchus**

*Allusion: auriculam eius sicut lucas et iohannes dicunt dextram. qui autem percussit secundum iohannem petrus erat quem percussit autem malchus uocabatur* (mss R C P ψ edd v dextram, ms B1 marchus, mss B2 H p r malcus) AUEv 3.5.16/287.10

simon ergo petrus habens gladium eduxit eum et percussit **seruum principis sacerdotum** et abscidit eius auriculam dextram erat autem nomen seruo malchus AUJo 112.5.1 [CT]

**<18:11> dixit ergo iesus petro mitte gladium in uaginam calicem quem dedit mihi pater non bibam illum**

*Allusion: quando petri gladius in uaginam reuocatur a christo* AUep 93.2.7/451.6

*quod illum eo loco iohannes dixisse commemorat calicem quem dedit mihi pater non bibam illum* AUEv 3.5.16/287.21 (mss C P F1 m **non uis**, mss F2 ψ p r a e l **non uis ut**, ms D **uis ut non**)

*Allusion: petri gladium reuocat in uaginam aurem inimici praecisam reparat ad pristinam formam dicit se legionibus angelorum imperare potuisse ad delendos inimicos nisi calix bibendus esset quem paterna uoluntas dedisset* AUFau 22.76/675.19

mitte gladium in uaginam calicem quem dedit mihi pater non bibam illum AUJo 112.5.15 [CT]

*Reminiscence: ergo bibatur calix iste si ille eum dederit* AUs 299A.5/416.123 (AUs Dol 4)

**<18:12> cohors ergo et tribunus et ministri iudaeorum comprehenderunt iesum et ligauerunt eum**

*Adaptation: ductus est autem ligatus cum adessent in illa turba tribunus et cohors et ministri iudaeorum sicut iohannes commemorat* AUEv 3.6.19/290.5

cohors **autem** et tribunus et ministri iudaeorum comprehenderunt iesum et ligauerunt eum AUJo 112.6.1 [CT]

**<18:13> et adduxerunt eum ad annam primum erat enim socer caiaphae qui erat pontifex anni illius**

*Adaptation: sed primo ad annam ductus est socerum caifae sicut iohannes dicit* AUEv 3.6.19/290.5

**adduxerunt** eum ad annam primum erat enim socer caiphae qui erat pontifex anni illius AUJo 113.1.5 [CT]

**<18:14> erat autem caiaphas qui consilium dederat iudaeis quia expedit unum hominem mori pro populo**

erat autem caiphas qui consilium **dedit** iudaeis quia expedit unum hominem mori pro populo AUJo 113.1.9 [CT]

**<18:15> sequebatur autem iesum simon petrus et alius discipulus discipulus autem ille erat notus pontifici et introiuit cum iesu in atrium pontificis**

*iohannes dicit quod sequebatur **simon** petrus et alius discipulus discipulus autem ille **alius** erat notus pontifici et introiuit cum iesu in atrium pontificis* AUEv 3.6.19/290.17 (ms l sequebatur **eum**, mss m v sequebatur **iesum**, mss p v ille **om. alius**, mss R H edd praeter g m introiuit, cet. introiit, ms B1 cum **iam** in, mss C P **atrio**)

*Allusion: (Jn 18:15-18) iohannes autem incipit petri temptationem dicere et interponit quaedam de contumeliis domini et adiungit quod inde missus est ad caifan pontificem et inde recapitulat ut explicet quam coeperat temptationem petri in domo quo primo adductus est et redit ad ordinem ubi ostendat quemadmodum ductus sit dominus ad caifan.* AUEv 3.6.21/292.21

sequebatur autem iesum simon petrus et alius discipulus discipulus autem ille erat notus pontifici et introiuit cum iesu in atrium pontificis AUJo 113.2.1 [CT]

**<18:16> petrus autem stabat ad ostium foris exiit ergo discipulus alius qui erat notus pontifici et dixit ostiariae et introduxit petrum**

*Allusion: apostolum uerum petrum foris et deorsum in atrio cum seruis ad focum nunc sedentem, nunc stantem sicut ueracissima et concordissima euangelistarum narratione monstratur* AUChr 1.45

*[Jn 18:15] sicut iohannes dicit petrus autem stabat ad ostium foris secundum eundem iohannem exiit ergo discipulus alius qui erat notus pontifici et dixit ostiariae et introduxit petrum sicut idem iohannes dicit.* AUEv 3.6.19/290.20 (mss H1 A1 E1 L **foras**)

petrus autem stabat ad ostium foris exiit ergo **alius** discipulus qui erat notus pontifici et dixit ostiariae et introduxit petrum AUJo 113.2.8 [CT]

**<18:17> dicit ergo petro ancilla ostiaria numquid et tu ex discipulis es hominis istius dicit ille non sum**

*iohannes...hoc enim tantum ait dicit ergo petro ancilla ostiaria numquid **ergo** et tu **de** discipulis es hominis istius dicit ille non sum* AUEv 3.6.23/294.15 (mss V N2 Q p r l m v **om. ergo**, ms B dicit **illi**)

dicit ergo petro ancilla ostiaria numquid et tu ex discipulis es hominis istius dicit ille non sum AUJo 113.2.10 [CT]

**<18:18> stabant autem serui et ministri ad prunas quia frigus erat et calefiebant erat autem cum eis et petrus stans et calefaciens se**

*cf. Jn 18:25*

*[Jn 18:17] deinde interponit quae gesta sunt cum iesu in eadem domo quae commemoranda arbitratus est ita narrans stabant autem serui et ministri ad prunas quia frigus erat et calefiebant erat autem cum eis et petrus stans et calefaciens se AUEv 3.6.23/294.19 (mss H A E1 L om. **serui**, ms B prunas, ms C1 prunas, mss B F N M calefiebant, mss C P O H A E **calefaciebant**, cet. edd. **calefaciebant se**)*

stabant autem serui et ministri ad prunas quia frigus erat et **calefaciebant se** erat autem cum eis et petrus stans et calefaciens se AUJo 113.3.1 [CT]

**<18:19> pontifex ergo interrogauit iesum de discipulis suis et de doctrina eius**

*uideamus ergo iohannis sequentia pontifex ergo interrogauit iesum de discipulis suis et de doctrina eius AUEv 3.6.24/295.4 (ms p om. **suis**, mss p l et om. **de**)*

pontifex ergo interrogauit iesum de discipulis **eius** et de doctrina eius AUJo 113.3.5 [CT]

**<18:20> respondit ei iesus ego palam locutus sum mundo ego semper docui in synagoga et in templo quo omnes iudaei conueniunt et in occulto locutus sum nihil**

*habent autem ipsum dominum in fine sententiae ponentem hoc uerbum ubi ait et in occulto locutus sum nihil AUbo 25/867.19*

*[Jn 18:19] respondit ei iesus ego palam locutus sum mundo ego semper docui in synagoga et in templo quo omnes iudaei conueniunt et in occulto locutus sum nihil AUEv 3.6.24/295.5 (mss R D om. **ei**, ms p **eis**, ms g et semper ego)*

respondit ei iesus ego palam locutus sum mundo ego semper docui in synagoga et in templo quo omnes iudaei conueniunt et in occulto locutus sum nihil AUJo 113.3.6 (mss *in synagoga*) [CT]

**<18:21> quid me interrogas interroga eos qui audierunt quid locutus sum ipsis ecce hii sciunt quae dixerim ego**

*[Jn 18:20] quid me interrogas interroga eos qui audierunt quid locutus sum ipsis ecce **hi** sciunt quae dixerim ego AUEv 3.6.24/295.8 (mss a e l locutus **sim**, mss B R C2 P g **hii**, ms C1 i, mss l m **ii**, mss H A E1 L om. **hi**, mss C1 L **qui**, mss C2 P V **quid**)*

quid me interrogas interroga eos qui audierunt quid locutus sum ipsis ecce **hi** sciunt quae dixerim ego AUJo 113.3.9 [CT]

**<18:22> haec autem cum dixisset unus adsistens ministrorum dedit alapam iesu dicens sic respondes pontifici**

*[Jn 18:21] haec autem cum dixisset unus adsistens ministrorum dedit alapam iesu dicens sic respondes pontifici AUEv 3.6.24/295.10 (ms B unius, mss B R1 χ ψ respondens, mss C2 P F1 N1 E1 L respondis)*

*nondum enim missus erat ad caifan cum iam illi diceretur sic respondes pontifici AUEv 3.6.24/295.17 (ms B respondens, mss C1 F1 Q respondis)*

haec autem cum dixisset unus adsistens ministrorum dedit alapam iesu dicens sic respondes pontifici AUJo 113.4.1 [CT]

**<18:23> respondit ei iesus si male locutus sum testimonium perhibe de malo si autem bene quid me caedis**

*quod ipse dominus christus exemplum singulare patientiae cum percuteretur in faciem respondit si male dixi **exprobra** de malo si autem bene quid me caedis AUep 188.2.13/138.16 (ms D **exprobra**, ms E **exprobra me**, ms R **exprobra me**, mss D E H M A C **cedis**)*

*[Jn 18:22] respondit ei iesus si male locutus sum testimonium perhibe de malo si autem bene quid me caedis AUEv 3.6.24/295.12 (mss R D om. **ei**, ms B **e**, ms B peribe)*

respondit ei iesus si male locutus sum testimonium perhibe de malo si autem bene quid me caedis AUJo 113.4.3 [CT]

*cum legimus in euangelio [Matt 5:39]...at ipse cum alapa percussus est non ait ecce altera maxilla sed ait si male dixi **exprobra** de malo si autem bene quid me caedis AUmen 15.27/447.18 (mss S R M **cedis**)*

*at uero ipse dominus...non praebuit alteram sed insuper dixit si male locutus sum **exprobra** de malo si **bene** quid me caedis (in Matt 5:39) AUd dni 1.19.58.1485 (mss V BeL **si autem bene**, mss F β ab fr lou **cur me caedis**)*

**<18:24> et misit eum annas ligatum ad caiaphan pontificem**

*[Jn 18:23] et misit eum annas ligatum ad caifan pontificem AUEv 3.6.24/295.14 (mss H A E L annas ad caifan pontificem **ligatum**)*

et misit eum annas ligatum ad caipham pontificem AUJo 113.5.2 [CT]

et misit eum annas ligatum ad caipham pontificem AUJo 114.1.5

**<18:25> erat autem simon petrus stans et calefaciens se dixerunt ergo ei numquid et tu ex discipulis eius es negavit ille et dixit non sum**

*cf. Jn 18:18*

*iohannes...ita dicit ut conpleat trinam negationem erat autem simon petrus stans et calefaciens se dixerunt ergo ei numquid et tu ex discipulis eius es negavit ille et dixit non sum AUEv 3.6.24/295.25 (ms p om.ei)*

*in eo quod iohannes ait dixerunt numquid et tu ex discipulis eius es AUEv 3.6.24/296.15 (mss C P om.eius)*

*unde iohannes dicit dixerunt ergo ei AUEv 3.6.24/296.20*

*erat autem simon petrus stans et calefaciens se dixerunt ergo ei numquid et tu ex discipulis eius es negavit ille et dixit non sum AUJo 113.6.4 [CT]*

**<18:26> dicit unus ex seruis pontificis cognatus eius cuius abscidit petrus auriculam nonne ego te uidi in horto cum illo**

*iohannes secutus de tertia petri negatione ita explicat dicit unus ex seruis pontificis cognatus eius cuius abscidit petrus auriculam nonne ego te uidi in horto cum illo AUEv 3.6.25/298.1 (mss r a e l v dicit ei, mss C P N1 om.eius, ms L om.te, mss p r uidi te)*

*sicut iohannes eidem petro dictum adseuerat nonne ego te uidi in horto cum illo AUEv 3.6.25/298.20 (ms p uidi te, mss C P hortum)*

*dicit unus ex seruis pontificis cognatus eius cuius abscidit petrus auriculam nonne ego te uidi in horto cum illo AUJo 113.6.9 (ms M dicit ei) [CT]*

**<18:27> iterum ergo negavit petrus et statim gallus cantauit**

*cf. Matt 26:69-75*

*[Jn 18:26] iterum ergo negavit petrus et statim gallus cantauit AUEv 3.6.25/298.3 (mss C P V Q om.ergo)*

*Allusion: ipsam caritatem apostolus petrus nondum habuit quando timore dominum ter negavit AUgr 17.33*

*iterum ergo negavit petrus et statim gallus cantauit AUJo 113.6.12 (ms M et continuo) [CT]*

**<18:28> adducunt ergo iesum a caiapha in praetorium erat autem mane et ipsi non introierunt in praetorium ut non contaminarentur sed manducarent pascha**

*iohannes quoque cum...petri negationem totam commemorasset adducunt ergo inquit iesum ad caifan in praetorium erat autem mane AUEv 3.7.28/303.3 (mss B R C P F O ad caiphan, mss N M Q H A E L γ χ ad caiphan, mss V ψ ad caypham, ms v a caipha, ms V praetorio)*

*nunc eadem secundum iohannem consideremus, id est quae per pilatum facta sunt et ipsi inquit non introierunt in praetorium ut non contaminarentur sed manducarent pascha AUEv 3.8.35/315.2 (ms C1 introierunt, ms B1 contaminaretur pascha, ms M manducauerunt)*

*adducunt ergo iesum ad caipham in praetorium AUJo 114.1.9 erat autem mane et ipsi non introierunt in praetorium ut non contaminarentur sed ut manducarent pascha AUJo 114.2.1 [CT]*

**<18:29> exiuit ergo pilatus ad eos foras et dixit quam accusationem adfertis aduersus hominem hunc**

*[Jn 18:28] exiit ergo pilatus ad eos foras et dixit quam accusationem adfertis aduersus hominem hunc AUEv 3.8.35/315.4 (ms R hunc hominem)*

*cum dixisset eis pilatus quam accusationem adfertis aduersus hominem hunc AUEv 3.8.35/315.15*

*cum enim dixisset eis pilatus quam accusationem adfertis aduersus hominem hunc AUEv 3.13.42/326.17 (ms Eug Vat aduersum)*

*exiuit ergo pilatus ad eos foras et dixit quam accusationem affertis aduersus hominem hunc AUJo 114.3.1 [CT]*

**<18:30> responderunt et dixerunt ei si non esset hic malefactor non tibi tradidissemus eum**

*[Jn 18:29] responderunt et dixerunt ei si non esset hic malefactor non tibi tradidissemus eum AUEv 3.8.35/315.6*

*[Jn 18:29] reponderunt enim si non esset hic malefactor non tibi tradidissemus eum AUEv 3.8.35/315.16 (mss A E1 L g a e responderunt ei si)*

*[Jn 18:29] responderunt et dixerunt ei si non esset hic malefactor non tibi tradidissemus eum AUEv 3.13.42/326.18 (mss Eug Verc om.hic, ms p esset homo malefactor)*

*iohannes dixisse...quando responderunt et dixerunt ei si non esset hic malefactor non tibi tradidissemus eum AUEv 3.8.35/318.25 (mss B H A E1 E1 L malus factor)*

*responderunt et dixerunt ei si non esset hic malefactor non tibi tradidissemus eum AUJo 114.3.3 [CT]*

**<18:31> dixit ergo eis pilatus accipite eum uos et secundum legem uestram iudicate eum dixerunt ergo ei iudaei nobis non licet interficere quemquam**

*iohannes...itaque sequitur dixit ergo eis pilatus accipite eum uos et secundum legem uestram iudicate eum dixerunt ergo ei iudaei nobis non licet interficere quemquam AUEv 3.8.35/315.25 (ms H1 dixerunt om.ergo, mss R D p om.ei, mss R D p non nobis, ms g quemquam interficere)*

*[Jn 18:30] dixit eis pilatus accipite eum uos et secundum legem uestram iudicate eum dixerunt ergo iudaei nobis non licet interficere quemquam AUEv 3.13.42/326.20 (mss B1 R D dixit eis, mss cet. edd, v dixit ergo eis, ms p iudicate om.eum, mss B1 R D C P V r l ergo iudaei, mss cet. v ergo ei iudaei)*

dixit ergo eis pilatus accipite eum uos et secundum legem uestram iudicate eum dixerunt ergo ei iudaei nobis non licet interficere quemquam AUJo 114.4.1 [CT]

nobis non licet **occidere** quemquam AUJo 115.1.3 [CT]

accipite eum uos et secundum legem uestram iudicate eum...nobis non licet interficere quemquam AUJo 116.9.9 *cum enim dixisset eis iudex tunc pilatus accipite eum uos et secundum legem uestram iudicate eum responderunt nobis non licet interficere quemquam [in Ps 56:5] AUPs 56.12.6*

*nam cum dixisset eis pilatus uos eum occidite responderunt nobis non licet occidere quemquam [in Ps 63:4] AUPs 63.4.7*

<18:32> ut sermo iesu impleretur quem dixit significans qua esset morte moriturus

[Jn 18:31] ut sermo iesu impleretur quem dixit significans qua esset morte moriturus AUEv 3.8.35/316.3 (mss p g r a v morte esset)

ut sermo iesu impleretur quem dixit significans qua **morte esset** moriturus AUJo 114.5.1 [CT]

<18:33> introiuit ergo iterum in praetorium pilatus et uocauit iesum et dixit ei tu es rex iudaeorum

[Jn 18:32] introiit ergo iterum in praetorium pilatus et uocauit iesum et dixit ei tu es rex iudaeorum AUEv 3.8.35/316.5 (mss N p v introiuit, mss H A E1 L om. iterum, ms B1 om.in, ms B2 pretorio)

introiuit **iterum** in praetorium pilatus et uocauit iesum et dixit ei tu es rex iudaeorum AUJo 115.1.5 [CT]

<18:34> et respondit iesus a temet ipso hoc dicis an alii tibi dixerunt de me

[Jn 18:33] respondit iesus a temet ipso hoc dicis an alii tibi dixerunt de me AUEv 3.8.35/316.7 (mss B HA E1 v respondit, cet. et respondit, mss C1 P ipsum)

et respondit iesus a temetipso hoc dicis an alii tibi dixerunt de me AUJo 115.1.7 [CT]

<18:35> respondit pilatus numquid ego iudaeus sum gens tua et pontifices tradiderunt te mihi quid fecisti

*adtende ergo cetera respondit inquit pilatus numquid ego iudaeus sum gens tua et pontifices tradiderunt te mihi quid fecisti AUEv 3.8.35/316.13 (mss p a l pontifices tui)*

respondit pilatus numquid ego iudaeus sum gens tua et pontifices tradiderunt te mihi quid fecisti AUJo 115.1.11 [CT]

<18:36> respondit iesus regnum meum non est de mundo hoc si ex hoc mundo esset regnum meum ministri mei decertarent ut non traderer iudaeis nunc autem meum regnum non est hinc

[Jn 18:35] respondit iesus regnum meum non est de mundo hoc si ex hoc mundo esset regnum meum ministri mei decertarent ut non traderer iudaeis nunc autem meum regnum non est hinc AUEv 3.8.35/316.15 (ms R et iesus, mss V p g v de hoc mundo, ms V **utique** mei, mss χ ψ ω, edd. v mei **utique**, ms B om.ut, mss B D C P O g meum regnum, cet., edd. v regnum meum)

*Adaptation: ipsum deinde pilatum uerbis alterioribus percutit dicens regnum suum non esse de hoc mundo AUEv 4.10.19/415.7*

respondit iesus regnum meum non est de **hoc** mundo si ex hoc mundo esset regnum meum ministri mei **utique** decertarent ut non traderer iudaeis nunc autem **regnum** meum non est hinc AUJo 115.1.13 [CT]

*satis ipse christus significat qui non dicit regnum meum est de mundo sed regnum meum non est de hoc mundo AUord 1.11.47*

*longe enim iste aliter rex qui dixit regnum meum non est de hoc mundo [in Ps 47:5] AUPs 47.5.30*

*et dicere pontio pilato interroganti...regnum meum non est de hoc mundo AUPs 53.3.15*

*non enim ita rex christus quasi saeculo regnaturus cum aperte dixerit regnum meum non est de hoc mundo AUPs 59.2.17*

*qui eis humilis apparuit cum diceret regnum meum non est de hoc mundo AUqEv 2.46.16 (ms A est non)*

*hoc etiam dominus significare uoluerit quia non ait regnum meum non est de mundo sed regnum meum non est de hoc mundo AUre 1.3.19 (citing AUord 1.11.32) (ms Z ord. qui non dicit for quia non ait)*

<18:37> dixit itaque ei pilatus ergo rex es tu respondit iesus tu dicis quia rex sum ego ego in hoc natus sum et ad hoc ueni in mundum ut testimonium perhibeam ueritati omnis qui est ex ueritate audit meam uocem

[Jn 18:36] dixit itaque ei pilatus ergo rex es tu respondit iesus tu dicis quia rex sum ego ecce quando uentum est ad id quod alii euangelistae commemorauerunt. sequitur ergo item dicente adhuc domino quod ceteri tacuerunt ego in hoc natus sum et ad hoc ueni in mundum ut testimonium perhibeam ueritati omnis qui est ex ueritate audit meam uocem AUEv 3.8.35/316.19 (mss H A E L dixit ergo, mss R D **hunc mundum**, ms B peribeam, ms κ, edd. uocem meam)

*Adaptation: [Jn 18:36] regemque se natum et ad hoc uenisse in hunc mundum ut testimonium perhibeat ueritati AUEv 4.10.19/415.8 (ms B1 ueritatis)*

dixit itaque ei pilatus ergo rex es tu respondit iesus tu dicis quia rex sum ego AUJo 115.3.1 ego in hoc natus sum et ad hoc ueni in mundum ut testimonium perhibeam ueritati omnis qui est ex ueritate audit **uocem meam** AUJo 115.4.1 [CT]

omnis qui est ex ueritate audit meam uocem AUJo 115.4.14

omnis qui est ex ueritate audit meam uocem AUJo 115.4.37

[MAX] uel ipsi filio crede dicenti ad pilatum cum ei diceret ergo **tu** rex es? ait christus ego in hoc natus sum  
AUMax co 13/719

**<18:38> dicit ei pilatus quid est ueritas et cum hoc dixisset iterum exiit ad iudaeos et dicit eis ego nullam inuenio in eo causam**

[Jn 18:37] dicit ei pilatus quid est ueritas et cum hoc dixisset iterum **exiit** ad iudaeos et dicit eis ego nullam inuenio in eo causam AUEv 3.8.35/317.3 (ms r **dixit**, ms r ad **eos** et, ms H causam in eo, ms L om. in eo) **dixit** ei pilatus quid est ueritas **cum** hoc dixisset iterum exiit ad iudaeos et **dixit** eis ego nullam inuenio in eo causam AUJo 115.5.1 [CT]

Reminiscence: AUtri 8.2.32 noli quaerere quid sit ueritas

**<18:39> est autem consuetudo uobis ut unum dimittam uobis in pascha uultis ergo dimittam uobis regem iudaeorum**

[Jn 18:38] est autem consuetudo uobis ut unum dimittam uobis in pascha uultis ergo **ut** dimittam uobis regem iudaeorum AUEv 3.8.35/317.5 (mss x ω edd v ergo om. **ut**)

est autem consuetudo uobis ut unum dimittam uobis in pascha uultis ergo dimittam uobis regem iudaeorum AUJo 115.5.4 [CT]

**<18:40> clamauerunt rursum omnes dicentes non hunc sed barabban erat autem barabbas latro**

[Jn 18:39] clamauerunt rursum omnes dicentes non hunc sed barabban erat autem barabbas latro AUEv 3.8.35/317.8 (ms B2 rursus, ms g om. omnes)

clamauerunt rursum omnes dicentes non hunc sed barabbam erat autem barabbas latro AUJo 115.5.14 [CT]

**<19:1> tunc ergo adprehendit pilatus iesum et flagellauit**

[Jn 18:40] tunc ergo adprehendit pilatus iesum et flagellauit AUEv 3.8.35/317.9

iohannes autem antequam diceret quod eum pilatus crucifigendum tradiderit commemorauit hoc dicens tunc ergo adprehendit pilatus iesum et flagellauit AUEv 3.9.36/320.15 (mss A E1 L flagellauit **eum**, ms p flagellauit **illum**) tunc **adprehendit** pilatus iesum et flagellauit AUJo 116.1.4 [CT]

Allusion: non persequendo dominum flagellauit sed eorum furori satisfacere uolens AUPs 63.4.15

**<19:2> et milites plectentes coronam de spinis inposuerunt capiti eius et ueste purpurea circumdederunt eum**

[Jn 19:1] et milites plectentes coronam de spinis inposuerunt capiti eius et ueste purpurea circumdederunt eum AUEv 3.8.35/317.10 (mss O Q uestem purpuream)

[Jn 19:1] et milites plectentes coronam de spinis inposuerunt capiti eius et ueste purpurea circumdederunt eum AUEv 3.9.36/320.16

et milites plectentes coronam de spinis inposuerunt capiti eius et ueste purpurea circumdederunt eum AUJo 116.1.11 [CT]

**<19:3> et ueniebant ad eum et dicebant haue rex iudaeorum et dabant ei alapas**

[Jn 19:2] et ueniebant ad eum et dicebant haue rex iudaeorum et dabant ei alapas AUEv 3.8.35/317.13 (mss R2 C P O A E1 L haue, mss R1 H habe, mss cet. edd. aue, mss A1 E1 L **palmas**)

[Jn 19:2] et ueniebant ad eum et dicebant haue rex iudaeorum et dabant ei alapas AUEv 3.9.36/320.18 (ms C alabas, mss H A E1 L **palmas**)

et ueniebant ad eum et dicebant **aue** rex iudaeorum et dabant ei alapas AUJo 116.1.13 [CT]

**<19:4> exiit iterum pilatus foras et dicit eis ecce adduco uobis eum foras ut cognoscatis quia in eo nullam causam inuenio**

[Jn 19:3] exiit iterum pilatus foras et dicit eis ecce adduco **eum uobis** foras ut cognoscatis quia in eo nullam causam inuenio AUEv 3.8.35/317.15 (mss Q A1 E1 L exiit **ergo**, mss H A2 exiit **ergo iterum**, mss C P in **eum**, ms V nullam in eo causam)

iohannem quoque interroga....idem namque multo explicatius ea narrat... exiit iterum pilatus foras et dicit eis ecce adduco **eum uobis** foras ut cognoscatis quia in eo nullam causam inuenio AUEv 3.13.46/330.6 (mss A1 E1 L exiit **igitur** pilatus, ms v exiit **ergo** iterum, mss r v dixit)

exiit iterum pilatus foras et dicit eis ecce adduco **eum** foras ut cognoscatis quia in eo nullam causam inuenio AUJo 116.2.1 [CT]

**<19:5> exiit ergo iesus portans spineam coronam et purpureum uestimentum et dicit eis ecce homo**

[Jn 19:4] exiit ergo iesus portans spineam coronam et purpureum uestimentum et dicit eis ecce homo AUEv 3.8.35/317.17 (mss H A E1 L S iesus **foras habens** spineam, mss. edd. coronam spineam, mss C2 P purpureum, ms r dixit)

[Jn 19:4] exiit ergo iesus portans spineam coronam et purpureum uestimentum et dicit eis ecce homo AUEv 3.13.46/330.8 (ms C1 purpurium, mss C2 P purporium)  
exiit ergo iesus portans spineam coronam et purpureum uestimentum et dicit eis ecce homo AUJo 116.2.3 [CT]

**<19:6> cum ergo uidissent eum pontifices et ministri clamabant dicentes crucifige crucifige dicit eis pilatus accipite eum uos et crucifigite ego enim non inuenio in eo causam**

cf. Matt 27:23, Mark 15:13, Luke 23:21

[Jn 19:5] cum ergo uidissent eum pontifices et ministri clamabant dicentes crucifige crucifige dicit eis pilatus accipite eum uos et crucifigite ego enim non inuenio in eo causam AUEv 3.8.35/317.19 (mss A E L ministri iudaeorum, mss V2 E2 κ χ g r a e l v crucifige crucifige **eum**, ms r **dixit**, ms g om.**enim**, ms R non in eo inuenio causam, mss H A E L γ non inuenio causam in eo, ms g in eo non inuenio causam)

[Jn 19:5]...sed adiungit et dicit cum ergo uidissent eum pontifices et ministri clamabant dicentes crucifige crucifige tunc horam tertiam fuisse dicimus. adtende quae sequantur dicit eis pilatus accipite eum uos et crucifigite ego enim non inuenio in eo causam AUEv 3.13.46/330.12 (ms B1 ministeri, ms B1 om.**crucifige** x1, mss r a e l v crucifige crucifige **eum**, ms L om.**in eo**, ms p **in eum**)

crucifige crucifige AUJo 114.4.23

cum ergo uidissent eum pontifices et ministri clamabant dicentes crucifige crucifige **eum** dicit eis pilatus accipite eum uos et crucifigite ego enim non inuenio in eo causam AUJo 116.3.1 [CT]

crucifige crucifige AUJo 117.1.21

[Ps 17:48] clamantibus crucifige crucifige iudaeis AUPs 17.48.4

adprehensus adductus sum et rugitus crucifige crucifige [in Ps 21:14] AUPs 21.s1.14.4

[Ps 21:14] audiamus rugitum ipsorum in euangelio crucifige crucifige AUPs 21.s2.14.3

tamquam leo rapiens et rugiens exclamans crucifige crucifige [in Ps 40:11] AUPs 40.12.10

quando ergo percusserunt nisi quando clamauerunt crucifige crucifige [in Ps 56:5] AUPs 56.12.41

cum praeuideam iudicium uestrum crucifige crucifige AUPs 57.3.34

postea clamauerunt crucifige crucifige [in Ps 57:7] AUPs 57.14.8

[Ps 58:13] quid in illis occides? crucifige crucifige quod clamauerunt non qui clamauerunt AUPs 58.s2.3.31

et quando percussistis nisi quando clamastis crucifige crucifige AUPs 63.4.24

inuenimus horam tertiam esse potuisse quando illi clamauerunt crucifige crucifige AUPs 63.5.13

atque clamantes crucifige crucifige [in Ps 67:3] AUPs 67.3.3

uoces dicentium crucifige crucifige dicente pilato non inuenio **causam ullam in hoc homine quare occidendus sit inualescebant uoces dicentium** crucifige crucifige [in Ps 68:3] AUPs 68.s1.6.8

ciuitate ierusalem...clamando aduersus filium dei crucifige crucifige [in Ps 68:26] AUPs 68.s2.10.17

synagoga potentium...dicentium uno ore crucifige crucifige de quibus dictum est [Ps 56:5] [in Ps 85:14] AUPs 85.19.38

quos uidetis furere saeuire clamare crucifige crucifige AUs 335D.3

[JUL] in euangelio refertur et clamabat omnis populus crucifige crucifige AUJul im 2.175.6 (ms P omnes)

**<19:7> responderunt ei iudaei nos legem habemus et secundum legem debet mori quia filium dei se fecit**

[Jn 19:6] responderunt ei iudaei nos legem habemus et secundum legem debet mori quia filium dei se fecit AUEv 3.8.35/318.1 (mss H A E1 L iudaei **dicentes**, ms C1 debet)

[Jn 19:6] responderunt ei iudaei nos legem habemus et secundum legem debet mori quia filium dei se fecit AUEv 3.13.46/330.16 (mss C P V N om.**ei**, ms B1 muri, mss A1 E1 om.**se**)

responderunt ei iudaei nos legem habemus et secundum legem debet mori quia filium dei se fecit AUJo 116.3.4 [CT]

Adaptation: [Ps 34:21] hoc est totum quod se iactabat quod se filium dei dicebat AUPs 34.s2.11.26

**<19:8> cum ergo audisset pilatus hunc sermonem magis timuit**

sequitur itaque iohannes et dicit cum ergo audisset pilatus hunc sermonem magis timuit AUEv 3.8.35/318.7

[Jn 19:7] cum ergo audisset pilatus hunc sermonem magis timuit AUEv 3.13.46/330.18

cum ergo audisset pilatus **hoc uerbum** magis timuit AUJo 116.4.1 [CT]

**<19:9> et ingressus est praetorium iterum et dicit ad iesum unde es tu iesus autem responsum non dedit ei**

[Jn 19:8] et ingressus est praetorium iterum et dicit ad iesum unde es tu iesus autem responsum non dedit ei AUEv 3.8.35/318.8 (mss A1 E1 L om.**iterum**, ms R et iterum, mss r v **dixit**)

[Jn 19:8] et ingressus est praetorium iterum et dicit ad iesum unde es tu iesus autem responsum non dedit ei AUEv 3.13.46/330.19 (mss C P V om.**iterum**, ms p iterum **om.et**, mss H A E L g iterum ad iesum et dicit, ms B1 unde ostum iesus, ms p om.**ei**)

et ingressus est praetorium iterum et dicit ad iesum unde es tu iesus autem responsum non dedit ei AUJo 116.4.2 [CT]

**<19:10> dicit ergo ei pilatus mihi non loqueris nescis quia potestatem habeo crucifigere te et potestatem habeo dimittere te**

[Jn 19:9] dicit ergo ei pilatus mihi non loqueris nescis quia potestatem habeo crucifigere te et potestatem habeo dimittere te AUEv 3.8.35/318.10 (ms r **dixit**, mss M L om. **ergo**)

[Jn 19:9] dicit ergo ei pilatus mihi non loqueris nescis quia potestatem habeo crucifigere te et potestatem habeo **dimittendi** te AUEv 3.13.46/330.21 (mss g r om. **ergo**, mss B1 R1 om. crucifigere... habeo, mss C P **crucifigi**, ms Engelbrecht [verc] crucifigendi, ms p et potestatem om. habeo, ms B1 dimittendi, ms cet., edd. v dimittere) dicit ergo ei pilatus mihi non loqueris nescis quia potestatem habeo crucifigere te et potestatem habeo dimittere te AUJo 116.5.1 [CT]

*dicenti* nescis quia potestatem habeo **dimittendi et occidendi** te *abstulit typhum infantis et tamquam reddens exultationem qua detumeresceret* AUPs 29.s2.7.5

*pilato...dicenti ad christum* mihi non **respondes** nescis quia potestatem habeo **occidendi** te et potestatem habeo **dimittendi** te [in Ps 73:5] AUPs 73.8.36

*et inflavit se homo iudex uidens ante se christum et ait* nescis quia potestatem habeo **occidendi et dimittendi** te [in Ps 103:21] AUPs 103.s3.22.28

*cum iudicaretur ab homine inflavit se homo.* **non mihi inquit respondes** nescis quia potestatem habeo **occidendi** te et **dimittendi** te AUUs 299E.2

*pontium pilatum cum ille diceret inflammatus* nescis quia potestatem habeo **dimittendi** te et potestatem habeo **occidendi** te AUUs 313D.4

**<19:11> respondit iesus non haberes potestatem aduersum me ullam nisi tibi esset datum desuper propterea qui tradidit me tibi maius peccatum habet**

[Jn 19:10] respondit iesus non haberes potestatem aduersum me ullam nisi tibi esset datum desuper propterea qui tradidit me tibi maius peccatum habet AUEv 3.8.35/318.12 (ms R aduersus me potestatem, mss C P V r a e l m aduersus, ms B1 illam, ms edd. praeter g v datum esset, ms B propterea quia, ms C1 habit, mss a e l habet et)

[Jn 19:10] respondit iesus non haberes potestatem aduersum me ullam nisi tibi **datum fuisset** desuper propterea qui tradidit me tibi maius peccatum habet AUEv 3.13.46/331.1 (mss B p g aduersum, mss cet. aduersus, mss B R D datum fuisset, mss V γ r a e l m v datum esset, ms cet. esset datum, ms N1 **magis**)

*ipse dominus martyrur [Rom 8:32] apertissime pilato dicat* non haberes **in me** potestatem **nisi data** tibi esset desuper AUFau 22.20/609.20

respondit iesus non haberes **aduersum** me potestatem ullam nisi tibi **datum esset** desuper propterea qui **me tradidit** tibi maius peccatum habet AUJo 116.5.3 [CT]

non haberes **aduersum** me potestatem ullam nisi tibi esset datum desuper propterea qui tradidit me tibi maius peccatum habet AUJo 116.5.16

qui me tradidit tibi maius **habet peccatum** AUJo 116.5.26

[Ps 9:5] *siue filius patri dicat qui etiam illud dixit* non haberes **in me** potestatem **nisi tibi datum fuisset** desuper AUPs 9.6.2

[Jn 19:10] non haberes *inquit in me* potestatem **nisi data** tibi esset desuper AUPs 29.s2.7.7

[Rom 13:1] *unde deus homo stans ante hominem* non haberes *inquit in me* potestatem **nisi data fuisset tibi** desuper. *ille iudicabat ille docebat cum iudicabatur docebat ut iudicaret quos docuerat.* non haberes *inquit in me* potestatem **nisi esset data tibi** desuper [in Ps 32:9] AUPs 32.2.s2.12.25

*cum superienti respondit* non haberes **in me** potestatem **nisi data fuisset** desuper [in Ps 49:2] AUPs 49.5.23

[Jn 19:10] *et dominus ad inflatum tamquam uesticam reflandam pungens* non haberes *inquit in me* potestatem **nisi data** tibi esset desuper *sic et hic* [Ps 73:5] AUPs 73.8.38

[Ps 73:5] *quid non cognouerunt? quia* non haberes **in me** potestatem **nisi tibi data** esset desuper AUPs 73.8.6

[Jn 19:10] *at ille qui uenerat et eum docere a quo iudicabatur* non haberes *inquit in me* potestatem **nisi esset tibi desuper data** [in Ps 103:21] AUPs 103.s3.22.30

*ita subiectus est potestatibus ut diceret homini* non haberes **in me** potestatem **nisi data tibi** esset desuper AUq 69.225 (ms C **potestatem in me**, mss H I **aduersum me potestatem ullam**, ms Z **potestatem aduersus me ullam**, mss Cvl L T Flor **esset tibi**, mss H I **nisi tibi datum esset desuper**, ms E **nisi tibi data esset desuper**, ms Z **nisi tibi desuper data esset**, ms Cit om. **tibi**)

*quod enim ipse dominus agens hominem pontio pilato dixit hoc et iob diabolo posset dicere* non haberes **in me** potestatem **nisi data tibi** esset desuper AUq 79.129 (mss A V maur **data esset tibi**, ms H **tibi data esset**)

non haberes *inquit in me* potestatem **nisi data** tibi esset desuper AUqSi 2.1.146 (ms F **tibi data**)

*Adaptation: neque in his habent aliquam potestatem nisi quantum desuper permittuntur* AUUs 198.63/140.1518 (AUUs Dol 26)

*quid ergo ait* non haberes **in me** potestatem **nisi datum** tibi esset desuper. *non dixit non habes sed non habuisses nisi accepisses* AUUs 299E.2

[Jn 19:10] respondit ei uerax et ueritas non haberes **in me** potestatem **nisi tibi data** esset desuper AUUs 313D.4

[Rom 1:24, 28] *hinc et dominus pilato* non haberes *inquit in me* potestatem **nisi data tibi** esset desuper AUsp 31.54/212.6 (mss K C d **in me inquit**, ms O om. **inquit**, mss O b d **esset tibi**, ms K **tibi fuisset**)

*Adaptation: ne ipsos quidem transgressores...ualere aliquid nisi* datum desuper **potestate** AUtri 3.7.13

[PETI] *sicut pontio pilato respondit dominus iesus christus* non haberes **in me** potestatem **nisi esset tibi desuper data** et iterum dicente iohanne [Jn 3:27] AUPet 2.31.70/60.11

**<19:12> exinde quaerebat pilatus dimittere eum iudaei autem clamabant dicentes si hunc dimittis non es amicus caesaris omnis qui se regem facit contradicit caesari**

[Jn 19:11] exinde quaerebat pilatus dimittere eum iudaei autem clamabant dicentes si hunc dimittis non es amicus caesaris omnis qui se regem facit contradicit caesari AUEv 3.8.35/318.15 (ms r **eris**, mss r a e l v omnis **enim**)

[Jn 19:11] exinde **pilatus quaerebat** dimittere eum...*ita enim sequitur* iudaei autem clamabant dicentes si hunc dimittis non es amicus caesaris omnis qui se regem facit contradicit caesari AUEv 3.13.46/331.4

exinde quaerebat pilatus dimittere eum AUJo 116.6.1 iudaei autem clamabant dicentes si hunc dimittis non es amicus caesaris omnis **enim** qui se regem facit contradicit caesari AUJo 116.7.1 [CT]

exinde quaerebat **eum dimittere** AUJo 116.6.9

**<19:13> pilatus ergo cum audisset hos sermones adduxit foras iesum et sedit pro tribunali in locum qui dicitur lithostrotus hebraice autem gabbatha**

[Jn 19:12] pilatus ergo cum audisset hos sermones adduxit foras iesum et sedit pro tribunali in locum qui dicitur lithostrotus hebraice autem gabbatha AUEv 3.13.46/331.12 (mss B R D sedit **foris**, mss C P V N edd v **loco**, mss D C P e lithostratus, mss R V lithostratos, mss V N M E2 L edd hebraice)

[Jn 18:30] *sequitur ergo iohannes et dicit* pilatus ergo cum audisset hos sermones adduxit foras iesum et sedit pro tribunali in locum qui dicitur lithostrotus hebraice autem gabbatha AUEv 3.8.35/319.2 (mss R r a e l pilatus **autem**, mss l m audiisset, mss B R O M Q H1 A1 E1 L in locum, ms cet edd v in loco, ms B lythostratus, mss O N2 A E1 L m lithostrotos, mss R2 C P N1 Q r a e lithostratus, mss V R1 g lithostratos, hebraice varie.)

*iohannes diceret hora quasi sexta pilatus sedisse* pro tribunali in locum qui dicitur lithostrotus hebraice autem gabbatha AUEv 3.13.40/324.6 (mss B R O N M H A1 E1 L locum, mss cet edd loco, lithostrotos uarie, hebraice uarie)

pilatus **autem** cum audisset hos sermones adduxit foras iesum et sedit pro tribunali in locum qui dicitur lithostrotus hebraice autem gabbatha AUJo 116.8.1 (ms P *pylatus cum audisset*, ms Z *licostratus hebraice autem golgotha* (alii aliter)) [CT]

**<19:14> erat autem parasceue paschae hora quasi sexta et dicit iudaeis ecce rex uester**

[Jn 19:13] erat autem parasceue **pascha** hora quasi sexta et dicit iudaeis ecce rex uester AUEv 3.8.35/319.5 (mss B R C P N1 H A E1 L pascha, ms cet edd v paschae)

*iohannes diceret* hora quasi sexta *pilatus sedisse pro tribunali* [Jn 19:13] AUEv 3.13.40/324.6

[Jn 19:13] *sequitur enim* erat autem parasceue **pascha** hora quasi sexta et dicit iudaeis ecce rex uester AUEv 3.13.40/324.8 (mss R O N Q om. erat autem, ms B1 erat **enim**, mss N2 H E2 S2 γ ψ ω edd v **paschae**)

*si ergo* hora quasi sexta *pilato sedente pro tribunali traditus est crucifigendus iudaeis* AUEv 3.13.40/324.14

*iohannis locutus est ut non diceret sexta sed* quasi sexta AUEv 3.13.41/325.8

[Jn 19:13] erat autem parasceue **pascha** hora quasi sexta AUEv 3.13.46/331.14 (ms B parasceue parascha, mss R N2 M2 E2 γ χ edd v **paschae**)

[Jn 19:14] *peracta quinta iam de sexta aliquid coeperat* dicit ergo iudaeis ecce rex uester AUEv 3.13.46/331.20 *quam iohannes commemorauit dicens* erat autem parasceue **hora fere** sexta AUEv 3.13.50/336.4 (mss χ ω edd. praeter p parasceue paschae, ms B1 om. hora fere sexta)

erat autem parasceue paschae hora quasi sexta **dicit** iudaeis ecce rex uester AUJo 116.8.4 (ms V *quasi hora*) [CT]

erat autem parasceue paschae hora quasi sexta AUJo 117.2.3

*Allusion: quidam euangelista dicit hora sexta crucifixum dominum et quidam hora tertia* AUPs 63.5.3

**<19:15> illi autem clamabant tolle tolle crucifige eum dixit eis pilatus regem uestrum crucifigam responderunt pontifices non habemus regem nisi caesarem**

[Jn 19:14] illi autem clamabant **tolle** crucifige eum dixit eis pilatus regem uestrum crucifigam responderunt pontifices non habemus regem nisi caesarem AUEv 3.8.35/319.7 (mss B R H A E1 L tolle *semel*, cet edd v *bis*, edd praeter r v **dicit**)

[Jn 19:14] illi autem clamabant tolle tolle crucifige eum dixit eis pilatus regem uestrum crucifigam responderunt pontifices non habemus regem nisi caesarem AUEv 3.13.40/324.10

[Jn 19:14] illi autem **clamauerunt tolle** crucifige eum AUEv 3.13.46/331.20 (mss B R D clamauerunt tolle, ms cet edd v clamabant tolle tolle)

[Jn 19:15] *pilatus ne quid proficeret* dixit eis regem uestrum crucifigam responderunt pontifices non habemus regem nisi caesarem AUEv 3.13.46/332.5

*ipsi iudaei publice clamarent aduersus christum* **nos** non habemus regem nisi caesarem AUFau 22.84/688.19 (mss S G M aduersum)

illi autem clamabant tolle tolle crucifige eum dixit eis pilatus regem uestrum crucifigam AUJo 116.8.11

responderunt **enim** pontifices non habemus regem nisi caesarem AUJo 116.9.1 [CT]

*indignati sunt iudaei dicentes* **nos** non habemus regem nisi **solum** caesarem AUPs 55.2.15

[Ps 63:6] regem uestrum crucifigam *dixerunt* non habemus regem nisi **solum** caesarem [Ps 63:6] AUPs 63.8.12



*pilatus...dixit ipsis iudaeis regem uestrum crucifigam?...et illi repellentes christum dixerunt nos non habemus regem nisi caesarem [in Ps 72:11] AUPs 72.19.10*  
*et ait illis pilatus regem uestrum crucifigam et illi nos non habemus regem nisi caesarem AUPs 75.1.80*

**<19:16> tunc ergo tradidit eis illum ut crucifigeretur susceperunt autem iesum et eduxerunt**

*[Jn 19:15] tunc ergo tradidit eis illum ut crucifigeretur AUEv 3.8.35/319.10 (mss R D illis iesum)*  
*[Jn 19:15] tunc ergo tradidit illis eum ut crucifigeretur AUEv 3.13.46/332.7 (ms B illis eum, mss R D eis eum, ms p illum eis, ms cet v eis illum)*  
*[Jn 19:15] tunc ergo tradidit eis illum ut crucifigeretur AUEv 3.13.40/324.13*  
*iohannes autem sic narrat susceperunt autem iesum et eduxerunt AUEv 3.10.37/321.18 (mss C1 P Q susceperunt, ms B1 iesu, mss C P V1 Q duxerunt, mss R D a e l eduxerunt eum)*  
*tunc ergo tradidit eis illum ut crucifigeretur susceperunt autem iesum et eduxerunt AUJo 116.9.2 [CT]*  
*tradidit ergo eis illum ut crucifigeretur AUJo 116.9.6*  
*susceperunt autem iesum et eduxerunt AUJo 117.3.1*

**<19:17> et baiulans sibi crucem exiuit in eum qui dicitur caluariae locum hebraice golgotha**

*[Jn 19:16] et baiulans sibi crucem exiuit in eum qui dicitur caluariae locum hebraice golgotha AUEv 3.10.37/321.19 (mss B1 R2 exiuit, ms R1 exhibit, ms l exit, mss cet exiit, hebraice uarie, mss a e l hebraice autem)*  
*et baiulans sibi crucem exiit in eum qui dicitur caluariae locum hebraice golgotha AUJo 117.1.3 (ms P exiuit in eum locum qui dicitur caluariae locus hebraice, ms R locus hebraice golgotha) [CT]*  
*baiulans ergo sibi crucem exiit in eum qui dicitur caluariae locum hebraice golgotha AUJo 117.3.16*  
*Allusion: portauit enim dominus crucem suam sicut euangelium loquitur AUJo 9.12.5*  
*Allusion: isaac tamquam filius unicus dilectus figuram habens filii dei portans ligna sibi quomodo christus crucem portauit AUPs 30.2.s2.9.18*  
*Reminiscence: christus crucem propriam baiulabat AU 19.63*  
*Allusion: ac primus quod traditus ut crucifigeretur crucem suam ipse portauit AU 218.2.2/1084*  
*Allusion: quod in loco caluariae crucifixus est AU 218.3.3/1085*

**<19:18> ubi eum crucifixerunt et cum eo alios duos hinc et hinc medium autem iesum**

*[Jn 19:17] ubi eum crucifixerunt AUEv 3.10.37/322.2 (ms B1 om.ubi)*  
*nec iohannes aliquam facit quaestionem quamuis latrones eos non dixerit. ait enim et cum eo alios duos hinc et hinc medium autem iesum. esset autem contrarium si cum illi [sc. synoptici] dixissent latrones iste diceret innocentes AUEv 3.14.51/338.12 (ms B hinc et in hinc)*  
*ubi crucifixerunt eum AUJo 117.1.4 et cum eo alios duos hinc et hinc medium autem iesum AUJo 117.3.19 (mss ubi eum crucifixerunt) [CT]*  
*ubi eum crucifixerunt AUJo 117.3.16*  
*Allusion: quod duo cum illo ab utroque latere crucifixi sunt AU 218.4.4/1085*

**<19:19> scripsit autem et titulum pilatus et posuit super crucem erat autem scriptum iesus nazarenus rex iudaeorum**

*titulo illo qui cruci eius superfixus erat rex iudaeorum AUEv 1.3.5/5.4*  
*Allusion: rex quod etiam in titulo scriptum fuit qui cruci eius adfixum est quem pilatus delere uel emendare non ausus est (in Judg. 11:8-9) AUJdc 49.1313*  
*scripsit autem et titulum pilatus et posuit super crucem erat autem scriptum iesus nazarenus rex iudaeorum AUJo 117.4.1 [CT]*  
*scriptus est enim quidam titulus in dominica passione quando dominus crucifixus est; erat ibi titulus inscriptus hebraice graece et latine rex iudaeorum AUPs 55.2.5*  
*in titulo ubi scriptum erat rex iudaeorum AUPs 57.3.39*  
*in passione domini scriptum fuisse titulum rex iudaeorum AUPs 56.3.24*  
*inscriptus itaque titulus ille est rex iudaeorum...titulus ibi rex iudaeorum...indignati sunt iudaei quia inscriptus erat titulus rex iudaeorum AUPs 56.3.34*  
*Allusion: et magi qui ab oriente uenerunt hoc dixerunt [Matt 2:1-2] et hoc in titulo scriptum erat super crucifixum AUPs 108.18.26*  
*hinc et pilatus nonnulla utique aura ueritatis afflatus est quando in eius passione titulum scripsit rex iudaeorum quem iudaei conati sunt mendosi emendare AU 201.2.2/1031*  
*quod titulus est positus super eius crucem in quo scriptum erat rex iudaeorum AU 218.5.5/1085*

**<19:20> hunc ergo titulum multi legerunt iudaeorum quia prope ciuitatem erat locus ubi crucifixus est iesus et erat scriptum hebraice graece et latine**

*hunc ergo titulum multi legerunt iudaeorum quia prope ciuitatem erat locus ubi crucifixus est iesus et erat scriptum hebraice graece et latine rex iudaeorum AUJo 117.4.3 [CT]*  
*scriptus est enim quidam titulus in dominica passione quando dominus crucifixus est; erat ibi titulus inscriptus hebraice graece et latine rex iudaeorum AUPs 55.2.5*

*Adaptation: [Jn 19:19] posito super crucem domini linguis tribus hebraica graeca latina AUPs 57.3.40*

*Adaptation: quod tribus linguis titulus conscriptus erat hebraea graeca et latina AUs 218.6.6/1085*

**<19:21> dicebant ergo pilato pontifices iudaeorum noli scribere rex iudaeorum sed quia ipse dixit rex sum iudaeorum**

*dicebant ergo pilato pontifices iudaeorum noli scribere rex iudaeorum sed quia ipse dixit rex sum iudaeorum AUJo 117.5.1 [CT]*

*istum titulum cum legissent iudaei indignati sunt et dixerunt ad pilatum noli scribere rex iudaeorum sed quia ipse dixit **se regem esse** iudaeorum AUPs 55.2.9*

*cum ergo indignarentur ex illo titulo adierunt pilatum iudicem cui obtulerant occidendum christum et dixerunt ad eum noli scribere **sic** rex iudaeorum sed **scribe** quia ipse dixit **se regem esse** iudaeorum AUPs 56.3.42*

*illi iudaei suggererunt tunc pilato et dixerunt noli scribere rex iudaeorum sed **scribe** quia ipse **se dixit regem** iudaeorum nam iste titulus inquit confirmavit illum regem nobis AUPs 58.s1.1.29*

*est enim titulus in psalmo [Ps 59:1] signum erat cui contradiceretur. dixerunt enim iudaei noli **facere** rex iudaeorum sed **fac quod** ipse **dixerit regem se esse** iudaeorum [in Ps 80:8] AUPs 80.11.51*

*Adaptation: quod suggererunt **principes** iudaeorum pilato ne **absolute** scriberet quod sit rex iudaeorum sed quod ipse **regem se dixerit** iudaeorum AUs 218.7.7/1085*

**<19:22> respondit pilatus quod scripsi scripsi**

*[Jn 19:19] unde arcano instinctu pilatus respondit quod scripsi scripsi AUEv 1.3.5/5.5 (ms Ns dixit)*

*respondit pilatus quod scripsi scripsi AUJo 117.5.3 [CT]*

*[Ps 56:1] respondit pilatus quod scripsi scripsi AUPs 55.2.12*

*[Jn 19:20] nouerat dicere iudex homo quod scripsi scripsi et deus non nouerat dicere quod scripsi scripsi AUPs 57.3.41*

*[Jn 19:21] et quia iam cantatum erat per spiritum sanctum [Ps 56:1] respondit **eis** pilatus quod scripsi scripsi AUPs 56.3.46*

*[Jn 19:21] uicta est contradictio responsum est quod scripsi scripsi [Ps 80:8] AUPs 80.11.53*

*[Jn 19:19] unde illud mutare uolentibus non frustra respondit pilatus quod scripsi scripsi AUPs 108.18.28*

*[Jn 19:21] et pilatus quod scripsi scripsi et impletum est [Ps 58:1] AUPs 58.s1.1.32*

*[Jn 19:19] quibus ille respondit quod scripsi scripsi AUs 201.2.2/1031*

*quod scripsi scripsi AUs 218.7 (AUs Étaix 5)*

**<19:23> milites ergo cum crucifixissent eum acceperunt uestimenta eius et fecerunt quattuor partes unicuique militi partem et tunicam erat autem tunica inconsutilis desuper contexta per totum**

*iohannes autem distinctius hoc explicat quemadmodum gestum sit. milites ergo inquit cum crucifixissent eum acceperunt uestimenta eius et fecerunt quattuor partes unicuique militi partem et tunicam erat autem tunica inconsutilis desuper contexta per totum AUEv 3.12.39/323.9 (ms L om.ergo, ms C militem partem, mss A E1 L tunicam...tonica, ms H insutilis)*

*Allusion: sed quia sciebat a militibus suspensum dominum non a iudaeis sicut iohannes apertissime dicit AUEv 3.13.42/326.7*

*Allusion: [Mk 15:24] qui hoc nisi milites sicut iohannes manifestat AUEv 3.13.49/335.19*

*erat **ibi** tunica **desuper texta** AUJo 13.13.22*

*milites ergo cum crucifixissent eum AUJo 116.9.24*

*milites ergo cum crucifixissent eum acceperunt uestimenta eius et fecerunt quattuor partes unicuique militi partem et tunicam erat autem tunica inconsutilis desuper contexta per totum AUJo 118.1.3 [CT]*

*[Ps 21:19] erat **ibi** tunica **dicit euangelista** desuper **texta** AUPs 21.s2.19.8*

*merito tunica illa domini desuper **texta** quae significat caritatis aeternitatem cum diuidi a persecutoribus non posset sors super eam missa est [in Ps 30:16] AUPs 30.2.s2.13.19*

*Adaptation: et ibi utique legimus quemadmodum domino crucifixo hii qui eum crucifixerunt uestimenta eius diuiderunt sibi et cum inuenissent in eis tunicam desuper **textam** noluerunt eam conscindere sed sortem super eam miserunt (mss L maur legitur, mss L1 L2 maur **hi**, ms κ in **eo**, ms κ **contextam**, ms Mm1 conscindere, ms Mm1 super eum) AUs 22.29*

*potest diuidere aliquas uestes christi: tunicam illam nemo diuidet quae desuper **texta est** AUs 159B.18/287.539 (AUs Dol 21)*

*[Ps 21:19] et dicit euangelista erat **ibi quaedam** tunica **desuper texta** AUs 159B.18/287.541 (AUs Dol 21)*

*quare praeter diuisionem fuit tunica illa? quia desuper **erat texta**. significatum est quare non meruit diuidi desuper **texta** AUs 159B.18/287.544 (AUs Dol 21)*

*tunica uero illa quae desuper **texta est** AUs 159B.18/288.554 (AUs Dol 21)*

*Allusion: quod in quattuor partes diuisa uestimenta eius milites abstulerunt AUs 218.8.8/1086*

*Allusion: quod unam tunicam inconsutilem desuper **textam** AUs 218.9.9/1086*

*Allusion: sed ille tunicam desuper **textam** nusquam consutilem diuidi noluit: sorte prouenit AUs 265.6.7/1222*

**<19:24> dixerunt ergo ad inuicem non scindamus eam sed sortiamur de illa cuius sit ut scriptura impleatur dicens partiti sunt uestimenta mea sibi et in uestem meam miserunt sortem et milites quidem haec fecerunt**

cf. Ps 21:19

*Allusion: quis tam deuius et absurdus est a diuinis eloquiis qui non ipsum euangelium recognoscat dum cantatur ille psalmus ubi scriptum est foderunt manus meas et pedes dinumerauerunt omnia ossa mea ipsi uero considerauerunt et conspexerunt me **diuiserunt sibi** uestimenta mea et **super uestimentum meum** miserunt sortem quando etiam cum hoc factum euangelista narraret huius testimonii memor fuit AUdO 8.21/254.18 (ms TT **absordum**, ms Pi\* seloquiis, mss TT v **cum cantatur**, ms v **pedes meos**)*

*Allusion: uestem christi et qui **diuiserunt** non uiolauerunt AUep 23.4/67.17*

*quae in euangelio apertissime scripta sunt **diuiserunt sibi** uestimenta mea et **super** uestem meam miserunt sortem AUep 140.13.33/183/16*

*[Jn 19:23] dixerunt ergo ad inuicem non scindamus eam sed sortiamur de illa cuius sit ut scriptura **impleretur** dicens partiti sunt uestimenta mea sibi et in uestem meam miserunt sortem AUEv 3.12.39/323.13 (mss A E1 L ad uicem, mss a e de **ea**)*

*Allusion: tunica domini a persecutoribus non diuisa AUFau 15.6/426.19*

*dixerunt **inter se** non **diuidamus** eam sed **sortem super eam mittamus** AUJo 13.13.26*

*ut scriptura **impleretur** dicens partiti sunt uestimenta mea sibi et **super** uestem meam miserunt sortem AUJo 118.2.30*

*dixerunt ergo ad inuicem non scindamus eam sed sortiamur de illa cuius sit ut scriptura **impleretur** dicens partiti sunt uestimenta mea sibi et in uestem meam miserunt sortem AUJo 118.1.6 et milites quidem haec fecerunt AUJo 119.1.3 [CT]*

*Allusion: ad tunicam domini mei sorte perueni [Ps 30:16] AUPs 30.16.5*

*[Jn 19:23] **diuiserunt inquit sibi** uestimenta mea et **super uestimentum** meum miserunt sortem AU 159B.18/287.540 (AUs Dol 21)*

*[Jn 19:23] **et** dixerunt **inter se** qui crucifixerunt dominum non **eam diuidamus** sed **sortem super eam mittamus** AU 159B.18/287.542 (AUs Dol 21)*

*Allusion: [Jn 19:23] sortiti sunt potius quam partiti AU 218.9.9/1086*

**<19:25> stabant autem iuxta crucem iesu mater eius et soror matris eius maria cleopae et maria magdalene**

*iohannes commemorauit...ita narrans **stabat** autem iuxta crucem iesu mater eius et soror matris eius maria cleopae et maria magdalene AUEv 3.21.58/347.19 (mss D P E2 γ p g m **stabant**, ms B1 om.et maria magdalene) erat illic **circa** crucem **mater iesu** AUJo 8.9.49*

*stabant autem iuxta crucem iesu mater eius et soror matris eius maria cleopae et maria magdalene AUJo 119.1.4 [CT]*

**<19:26> cum uidisset ergo iesus matrem et discipulum stantem quem diligebat dicit matri suae mulier ecce filius tuus**

*[Jn 19:25] cum uidisset ergo iesus matrem et discipulum stantem quem diligebat dicit matri suae mulier ecce filius tuus AUEv 3.21.58/347.20 (ms I uidisset **autem**, mss R D om.mulier)*

*[Jn 19:25] **et ait** iesus matri suae mulier ecce filius tuus AUJo 8.9.50*

*cum uidisset ergo iesus matrem et discipulum stantem quem diligebat dicit matri suae mulier ecce filius tuus AUJo 119.1.6 [CT]*

*Allusion: [Jn 2:4] cum autem uenisset hora qua ut homo moreretur de cruce cognitam matrem commendauit discipulo quem prae ceteris diligebat AUrel 16.27*

*Allusion: tunc enim ut homo crucifixus cognouit hominem matrem et dilectissimo discipulo humanissime commendauit AU 4.9/13.4*

*Allusion: quod in cruce cognitam matrem dilecto discipulo commendauit AU 218.10.10/1086*

*[Paulinus] de cruce admonet dicens de apostolo beato iohanne mulier ecce filius tuus AUep 121.3.17/739.7*

**<19:27> deinde dicit discipulo ecce mater tua et ex illa hora accepit eam discipulus in sua**

*[Jn 19:26] deinde dicit discipulo ecce mater tua et ex illa hora accepit eam discipulus in sua AUEv 3.21.58/347.23 (mss C P M p r **in suam**)*

*[Jn 19:26] **et ad discipulum** ecce mater tua AUJo 8.9.51*

*deinde dicit discipulo ecce mater tua et ex illa hora accepit eam discipulus in sua AUJo 119.1.8 [CT]*

*[Paulinus] [Jn 19:26] itemque illi ibidem consistenti ecce mater tua AUep 121.3.17/739.8*

**<19:28> postea sciens iesus quia iam omnia consummata sunt ut consummaretur scriptura dicit sitio**

*hoc autem de aceto etiam iohannes commemorauit ubi ait postea sciens iesus quia **omnia** consummata sunt ut consummaretur scriptura **dixit** sitio AUEv 3.17.54/342.11 (mss B1 R D r a e v [verc.veron.colb.al] omnia, cet. **iam** omnia, mss E2 γ **dicit**)*

*postea sciens iesus quia **omnia** consummata sunt ut consummaretur scriptura dicit sitio AUJo 119.4.1 [CT]*

*bibere uolebat christus quando dixit mulieri samaritanae [Jn 4:7] dixit in cruce sitio? AUPs 34.s2.4.6*

*et in cruce positus sitio dixit [in Ps 61:5] AUPs 61.9.25*  
*cumque ipse christus dixisset sitio pendens in cruce AUPs 68.s1.1.47*  
*et de cruce cum diceret sitio fidem illorum quaerebat [in Ps 68:11] AUPs 68.s1.14.8*  
*dixit mulieri samaritanae [Jn 4:7] et in cruce ait sitio [in Ps 108:17] AUPs 108.19.11*  
*uide quemadmodum in cruce dixit sitio AUs 300.4.4/1378*  
*ut hoc quod modicum remanserat adderetur dixit sitio AUs 300.4.4/1378*  
*Allusion: quod dixit sitio fidem quaerebat a suis AUs 218.11.11/1086*  
*Allusion: ideoque ante mortem non solum scriptum est quia manducauit et bibit sed etiam quia esuriuit et sitiuit*  
*AUs 362.12.12/1619*

**<19:29> uas ergo positum erat aceto plenum illi autem spongiam plenam aceto hysopo circumponentes obtulerunt ori eius**

*[Jn 19:28] uas autem positum erat aceto plenum illi autem spongeam plenam aceto hysopo circumponentes obtulerunt ori eius. sed quod apud iohannem inuenitur dixisse sitio et quia uas ibi erat aceto plenum non mirum est si ceteri tacuerunt AUEv 3.17.54/342.13 (mss E2 γ v uas ergo, mss A E1 L positum est)*  
*uas ergo positum erat aceto plenum illi autem spongiam plenam aceto hysopo circumponentes obtulerunt ori eius AUJo 119.4.3 [CT]*  
*Allusion: acuit namque in iudaeis et hoc aceto dominum potauerunt AUPs 8.2.15*  
*Adaptation: pro suauitate fidei acetum perfidiae dederunt et hoc in spongia...sane ille potus habebat et hyssopum*  
*AUs 218.11.11/1086*  
*Adaptation: [Jn 19:29] et cum iudaei nescientes quid per eos ageretur quid de nescientium manibus impleretur spongiam cum aceto ligarent cum arundine et ei sorbendam darent AUs 300.4.4/1378*

**<19:30> cum ergo accepisset iesus acetum dixit consummatum est et inclinato capite tradidit spiritum**

*sicuti est et inclinato capite tradidit spiritum ubi et anima necesse est intellegatur AUan 2.2.2/337.7*  
*cum audis uel legis domino moriente quod scriptum est et inclinato capite tradidit spiritum AUan 4.23.37/415.9*  
*euangelista exponit ubi dicit et inclinato capite tradidit spiritum AUci 16.41.32*  
*haec sunt enim uerba iohannis cum ergo accepisset iesus acetum dixit consummatum est et inclinato capite tradidit spiritum. AUEv 3.18.55/343.12 (mss C P om. et, ms C1 tradit)*  
*[Jn 19:30] inter illud quod ait consummatum est et illud quod ait et inclinato capite tradidit spiritum emissa est illa uox magna quam tacuit iste AUEv 3.18.55/343.14*  
*nam et hoc uerbo usus est quando ait consummatum est et inclinato capite tradidit spiritum [in Gen 2:2] AUGn li 4.11/108.3 (ms R1 tradidit, ms P reddidit, mss R2 b reddidit)*  
*perfectum est et inclinato capite reddidit spiritum AUJo 31.6.7*  
*perfectum est inclinato capite tradidit spiritum AUJo 37.9.16*  
*perfectum est et inclinato capite tradidit spiritum AUJo 47.11.32*  
*inclinato capite tradidit spiritum AUJo 47.11.37*  
*cum ergo accepisset iesus acetum dixit consummatum est et inclinato capite tradidit spiritum AUJo 119.4.5 [CT]*  
*unde scriptum est et inclinato capite tradidit spiritum AUMax 2.22.3/795*  
*habes hoc in euangelio dixit [Lk 23:46] et inclinato capite tradidit spiritum [in Ps 30:6] AUPs 30.2.s1.11.5*  
*et cum penderet in cruce emisit spiritum AUPs 33.s2.7.17*  
*[Jn 19:28] et ad hoc uerbum ei acetum in spongia datum esset quo accepto dixit consummatum est et sic inclinato capite tradidit spiritum AUPs 68.s1.1.48*  
*in cruce enim positus accepit acetum ultimum et ait perfectum est et inclinato capite emisit spiritum quid est perfectum est? [in Ps 86:2] AUPs 86.5.11*  
*ut etiam acetum illi darent perfectum est ait et inclinauit caput et dimisit spiritum AUs 5.93 (mss C4 C5 α dimisit, mss C1 C2 demisit, mss C3 D maur emisit)*  
*[Jn 3:14-15] quid est recumbens? et inclinato capite reddidit spiritum (in Gen 49:9) AUs 37.58 (ms γ5 emisit, mss γ1 γ2 γ3 γ4 γ6 γ7 maur tradidit)*  
*Allusion: [Phil 2:6-8] adde adhuc sitiit in cruce accepit potum non a miserante sed ab insultante et bibit acetum in morte fons uitae AUs 41.219*  
*quod ait perfectum est et inclinato capite reddidit spiritum AUs 218.12.12/1087*  
*et reddidit spiritum per humilitatem hoc est capite inclinato AUs 218.12.12/1087*  
*recumbens dormiuit quando inclinato capite tradidit spiritum AUs 223F.2*  
*[Jn 1:1-2] quid didicisti de spiritu hominis? et inclinato capite tradidit spiritum AUs 238.2/1125*  
*[Jn 19:29] ille hausto aceto respondit perfectum est et inclinato capite tradidit spiritum AUs 300.4.4/1378*  
*[Jn 19:28] accepto quod minus erat respondit perfectum est quo dicto inclinato capite tradidit spiritum AUs 300.4.4/1378*  
*[Jn 10:18,17] et hoc maxime mirati sunt sicut euangelium loquitur qui praesentes erant cum post illam uocem in qua figuram peccati nostri edidit continuo tradidit spiritum AUtri 4.13.16 (ms C nostri emisit spiritum)*  
*dicatur et hominis anima spiritus unde est in euangelio et inclinato capite tradidit spiritum AUtri 14.16.25 (ms Ca tradedit, ms P reddidit)*

**<19:31> iudaei ergo quoniam parasceue erat ut non remanerent in cruce corpora sabbato erat enim magnus dies ille sabbati rogauerunt pilatum ut frangerentur eorum crura et tollerentur**

iudaei ergo quoniam parasceue erat ut non remanerent in cruce corpora sabbato erat enim magnus dies ille sabbati rogauerunt pilatum ut frangerentur eorum crura et tollerentur AUJo 120.1.4 [CT]

**<19:32> uenerunt ergo milites et primi quidem fregerunt crura et alterius qui crucifixus est cum eo**

*Allusion: iohannes autem posteaquam narrauit de cruribus fractis eorum qui cum domino crucifixi erant et de latere domini lancea percusso quod totum solus dixit [Jn 19:38] AUEv 3.22.59/349.8*

uenerunt ergo milites et primi quidem fregerunt crura et alterius qui crucifixus est cum eo AUJo 120.2.1 [CT]

*Allusion: latronibus autem adhuc in cruce uiuentibus fregerunt AUPs 33.s2.7.18*

*Allusion: illi qui uiuebant ut deponerentur confracta eis sunt crura AUPs 34.s1.14.17*

*Allusion: et cum missum esset ut corpora deponerentur de cruce propter sabbatum ut sepelirentur inuenerunt illos latrones uiuentes et eis crura fregerunt AUs 5.98*

*Allusion: iam uero quod illis duobus crura confracta sunt illi autem non quia defunctus est; quare factum sunt ipse euangelium declarauit AUs 218.13.13/1087*

*Allusion: unde latronibus ut iam morentur et de ligno ante sabbatum deponerentur crura confracta sunt AUtri 4.13.17*

**<19:33> ad iesum autem cum uenissent ut uiderunt eum iam mortuum non fregerunt eius crura**

ad iesum autem cum uenissent ut uiderunt eum iam mortuum non fregerunt eius crura AUJo 120.2.2 [CT]

*Adaptation: uenerunt illi qui eum suspenderant et inuenerunt eum emisisse spiritum et non illi fregerunt crura AUPs 33.s2.7.16*

*Allusion: [Jn 19:32] latronum autem fregerunt AUPs 33.s2.24.30*

*Allusion: domini ossa non fregerunt AUPs 33.s2.24.31*

*Allusion: expirauit antequam uenirent illi ad crucem et inuenerunt iam corpus exanime et noluerunt crura eius frangere ut impleretur quod scriptum est [in Ps 33:21] AUPs 33.s2.24.13*

*Allusion: inuentus est dominus iam exanimis et non sunt ossa eius comminuta AUPs 34.s1.14.16*

*Allusion: [Jn 19:32] dominum autem iam defunctum AUs 5.99*

**<19:34> sed unus militum lancea latus eius aperuit et continuo exiuit sanguis et aqua**

*Allusion: quando latus crucifixi lancea perforatum est AUci 15.26.24*

*Allusion: christi cuius exanimis in cruce pendentis latus lancea perforatum est atque inde sanguis et aqua **defluxit** AUci 22.17.20*

*Allusion: ecce iniquit de corpore domini aqua **profluxit** AUDo 24.68/314.25*

*Allusion: scriptum est [Ps 15:10] clauis tamen et lancea perrumpi potuit (ms M clausus) AUep 205.2.9/330.13*

*Allusion: iohannes autem posteaquam narrauit de cruribus fractis eorum qui cum domino crucifixi erant et de latere domini lancea **percusso** quod totum solus dixit [Jn 19:38] AUEv 3.22.59/349.8*

*Allusion: fit christo morienti ecclesia de sacramento sanguinis qui de latere **profluxit** AUFau 12.8/336.22*

*Allusion: nam **percussum** latus eius lancea sanguinem et aquam **profudit** [Rom 1:3] (ms Mac profundit, mss S am er fudit) AUGn Ma 2.37.32*

*Allusion: mortuo christo lancea **percutitur** latus ut **profluant** sacramenta quibus formetur ecclesia AUJo 9.10.34*

*Allusion: de latere in cruce pendentis lancea **percusso** sacramenta ecclesiae **profluxerunt** AUJo 15.8.6*

sed unus militum lancea latus eius aperuit et continuo exiuit sanguis et aqua AUJo 120.2.4 [CT]

*Allusion: [Jn 19:30] deinde quando latus eius lancea **perforatum** est sanguinem et aquam AUMax 2.22.3/795*

*Allusion: [in Ps 29:13] compunctus est enim cum in cruce penderet lancea percussus est AUPs 29.s2.22.3*

*Allusion: etiam mortuum in cruce pendentem lancea uulnerauerunt AUPs 56.4.44*

*Allusion: quia dormienti christo in cruce facta est coniux de latere. percussum est enim latus pendentis de lancea et profluxerunt ecclesiae sacramenta [in Ps 56:5] AUPs 56.11.28*

*Allusion: [Matt 27:40] ecce quando uis animam ponis et lancea latus percuteris et sacramenta de latere tuo defluunt AUPs 65.7.51*

*Allusion: nam de latere crucifixi percusso sacramenta ecclesiae profluxerunt AUPs 103.s4.6.29*

*Allusion: sic et domino cum dormiret in cruce latus eius lancea percussum est et sacramenta profluxerunt unde facta est ecclesia [Gen 2:22] [in Ps 126:2] AUPs 126.7.11*

*Allusion: et ista de latere uiri quando latus lancea percussum est et sacramenta profluxerunt [in Ps 127:4] AUPs 127.11.2*

*Allusion: [Gen 2:22 Allusion:] sic ex latere domini dormientis id est in passione morientis et in cruce percusso de lancea manauerunt sacramenta quibus formaretur ecclesia AUPs 138.2.22*

*Adaptation: [Jn 19:33] et tamen unus ipsorum lancea **percussit** latus eius et **profluxit** sanguis et aqua AUs 5.100*

*Allusion: si sanguinem non uerum sed simulatum de uulneribus emanasse AUs 8.129*

*Allusion: denique cum penderet in cruce lancea diruptus est saccus et manauit pretium orbis terrarum AUs 198.5/94.117 (AUs Dol 26)*

*Allusion: quod latus lancea percussum in terra sanguinem et aquam **manauit** AUs 218.14.14/1087*

*Allusion: christus est ianua. et tibi est ostium apertum quando est latus eius lancea perforatum. quid inde manauit recale et elige qua possis intrare. de latere domini pendentis et morientis in ligno posteaquam est lancea perforatum aqua sanguisque **profluxit*** AU<sup>s</sup> 311.3.3/1415

*Allusion: de latere tali percusso liquorem illum omnino fluxisse* AU<sup>tri</sup> 3.9.86

**<19:35> et qui uidit testimonium perhibuit et uerum est eius testimonium et ille scit quia uera dicit ut et uos credatis**

et qui uidit testimonium perhibuit et uerum est **testimonium eius** et ille scit quia uera dicit ut et uos credatis AUJo 120.3.1 [CT]

**<19:36> facta sunt enim haec ut scriptura impleatur os non comminuetis ex eo**

*cf. Exod. 12:46*

*adtestatur euangelista hinc esse dictum os eius non comminuetis* AU<sup>Fau</sup> 12.30/358.23

facta sunt enim haec ut scriptura **impleretur** os non comminuetis ex eo AUJo 120.3.7 [CT]

**<19:37> et iterum alia scriptura dicit uidebunt in quem transfixerunt**

*cf. Zech 12:10*

*quid est quod scriptum est uidebunt in quem **confixerunt**?* AU<sup>1Jo</sup> 4.5/2008

*de quibus dictum est uidebunt in quem **confixerunt*** AU<sup>Ar</sup> 11.35 (ms K U\* **om. in**, ms O **conficerunt**, V ζ Y **transfixerunt**, mss K U **conpunerunt**)

uidebunt in quem **pupugerunt** AUJo 19.16.17

uidebunt in quem **pupugerunt** AUJo 21.13.30

uidebunt in quem **pupugerunt** AUJo 36.12.12

et iterum alia scriptura dicit uidebunt in quem **confixerunt** AUJo 120.3.8 [CT]

*et ubi est uidebunt in quem **pupugerunt** nisi quia apparet formam hominis eos uisuros ut iudicentur* [in Ps 85:16] AU<sup>Ps</sup> 85.21.22

*Reminiscence: audite et intelligite iam hoc propheta dixerat uidebunt in quem **pupugerunt**. ipsam formam uidebunt quam lancea percusserunt.* AU<sup>s</sup> 127.7.10/711

*[Acts 1:2-11]...ut impleatur quod scriptum est uidebunt in quem **pupugerunt*** AU<sup>s</sup> 265.1.2/1219

*quia et qui occiderunt uidebunt in quem **pupugerunt**.* [Luke 3:6] AU<sup>s</sup> 277.17.16/1267

*sicut alibi scriptum est uidebunt in quem **pupugerunt*** AU<sup>tri</sup> 1.13.22 (mss Sa Ka **uiderunt**)

*possit et ab impiis uideri cum et illi uidebunt in quem **pupugerunt*** AU<sup>tri</sup> 1.13.80 (ms R **om.in**)

*inter illos eris qui uidebunt in quem **pupugerunt*** AU<sup>tri</sup> 1.13.164 (mss S Eug (V) **uiderunt**)

**<19:38> post haec autem rogauit pilatum ioseph ab arimathia eo quod esset discipulus iesu occultus autem propter metum iudaeorum ut tolleretur corpus iesu et permisit pilatus uenit ergo et tulit corpus iesu**

*Allusion: et laudabiliter commemorantur in euangelio qui corpus eius de cruce acceptum diligenter atque honorifice tegendum sepeliendumque curarunt.* AU<sup>ci</sup> 1.13.18

*Reminiscence: manducabant **absconse** propter metum iudaeorum sicut eos prodidit euangelium* AU<sup>ci</sup> 18.32.84

*Allusion: et laudabiliter commemorantur in euangelio qui corpus eius de cruce acceptum diligenter atque honorifice tegendum sepeliendumque curarunt* (citing AU<sup>ci</sup> 1.13.18) AU<sup>cur</sup> 3.5/628.9

*iohannes...ita narrans post haec autem rogauit pilatum ioseph ab arimathia eo quod esset discipulus iesu occultus autem propter metum iudaeorum ut tolleretur corpus iesu et permisit pilatus uenit ergo et tulit corpus iesu* AU<sup>Ev</sup> 3.22.59/349.12 (mss B O N1 H arimatia)

*Allusion: cur non sicut illum uerum iesum bonum opus faciens ioseph ille ab arimathia de cruce deposuit ut sepeliret* (ms M1 arismatia) AU<sup>Fau</sup> 20.11/550.7

*Allusion: numquid ioseph ille ab arimathia qui corpus eius a pilato petiit quem iam discipulus eius fuisse iste ipse iohannes euangelista testatur* AUJo 109.2.11

post haec autem rogauit pilatum ioseph ab arimathea eo quod esset discipulus iesu occultus autem propter metum iudaeorum ut tolleretur corpus iesu et permisit pilatus uenit ergo et tulit corpus iesu AUJo 120.4.1 [CT]

*Allusion: hoc etiam pilatum legimus fuisse miratum cum ab illo sepeliendum corpus domini peteretur* (ms μ ab ipso) AU<sup>tri</sup> 4.13.20

**<19:39> uenit autem et nicodemus qui uenerat ad iesum nocte primum ferens mixturam murrae et aloes quasi libras centum**

uenit autem **nicodemus** qui uenerat ad iesum nocte primum ferens mixturam myrrhae et aloes quasi libras centum AUJo 120.4.5 [CT]

*Allusion: quod ioseph et nicodemus eum sepeliunt* AU<sup>s</sup> 218.15.15/1087

**<19:40> acceperunt ergo corpus iesu et ligauerunt eum linteis cum aromatibus sicut mos iudaeis est sepelire**

acceperunt ergo corpus iesu et ligauerunt **illud** linteis cum aromatibus sicut mos **est iudaeis** sepelire AUJo 120.4.15 [CT]

**<19:41> erat autem in loco ubi crucifixus est hortus et in horto monumentum nouum in quo nondum quisquam positus erat**

*Allusion: illud sepulcrum in horto erat AUep 187.2.5/85.7*

*Allusion: hortus quippe illic erat sicut idem iohannes commemorat AUEv 3.24.69/363.2*

erat autem in loco ubi crucifixus est hortus et in horto monumentum nouum in quo nondum quisquam positus erat AUJo 120.5.1 [CT]

*Allusion: sepultura uero illa cum creditur fit recordatio noui monumenti quod resurrecturo ad uitae nouitatem praeberet AUy 5.11/14.21 testimonium sicut nascituro uterus uirginalis (ms M sit recordatio monumenti noui, mss P b noui testamenti)*

*Allusion: ita monumento nouo quo sepultus est ubi nullus erat positus mortuorum (ms T nemo erat) AUtri 4.5.12*

*Allusion: nec monumentum nouum excisum in petra unde ipse resurrexit AUtri 8.5.18*

**<19:42> ibi ergo propter parasceuen iudaeorum quia iuxta erat monumentum posuerunt iesum**

ibi ergo propter parasceuen iudaeorum quia iuxta erat monumentum posuerunt iesum AUJo 120.5.5 [CT]

**<20:1> una autem sabbati maria magdalene uenit mane cum adhuc tenebrae essent ad monumentum et uidet lapidem sublatum a monumento**

*cf. Mark 16:2*

*dies resurrectionis domini prima sabbati a mattheo a ceteris autem tribus una sabbati dicitur AUep 36.12.28/57.18*

*sic ergo narrat iohannes una autem sabbati maria magdalene uenit mane cum adhuc tenebrae essent ad monumentum et uidet lapidem sublatum a monumento AUEv 3.24.68/359.23 (ms r om. autem, mss R C1 P Q1 H uidet, ms B uident, mss cet edd v uidit, ms B lapidem sabbatum, mss C1 P a monumentum)*

*et iohannes mane cum adhuc tenebrae essent AUEv 3.24.65/354.9*

*non repugnat illi [sc. Marco] qui ait cum adhuc tenebrae essent AUEv 3.24.65/354.14*

*Allusion: uenit autem sicut iohannes dicit maria magdalene sine dubio ceteris mulieribus AUEv 3.24.69/362.6*

*uenit ergo [sc. maria magdalene] et uidit lapidem sublatum a monumento AUEv 3.24.69/362.10*

*Allusion: id est una sabbati iam circa noctem sicut lucas iohannesque commemorant AUEv 3.25.75/378.10*

*alius euangelista dicit diluculo factam cum adhuc obscurum esset AUJdc 46.792 (in Judg. 9:32)*

una autem sabbati maria magdalene uenit mane cum adhuc tenebrae essent ad monumentum et uidit lapidem sublatum a monumento AUJo 120.6.1 [CT]

**<20:2> cucurrit ergo et uenit ad simonem petrum et ad alium discipulum quem amabat iesus et dicit eis tulerunt dominum de monumento et nescimus ubi posuerunt eum**

*cf. Jn 20:13, Jn 21:20*

*Reminiscence: nonne uiris resurrectio eius per feminas nuntiata est ut contraria arte serpens uinceretur? AU1Jo 3.2/1998*

*[Jn 20:1] currit ergo et uenit ad simonem petrum et ad alium discipulum quem amabat iesus et dicit eis tulerunt dominum de monumento et nescimus ubi posuerunt eum AUEv 3.24.68/360.1 (mss B R1 O N1 Q H1 A1 E1 L currit, mss cet edd v cucurrit, ms R1 om. et uenit, ms C1 et om. ad)*

*Adaptation: sicut idem dicit iohannes et nuntiavit petro adque ipsi iohanni. ipse est enim discipulus quem amabat iesus AUEv 3.24.69/362.13*

cucurrit ergo et uenit ad simonem petrum et ad alium discipulum quem amabat iesus et dicit eis tulerunt dominum de monumento et nescimus ubi posuerunt eum AUJo 120.6.6 [CT]

*nec errauit quae dixit tulerunt dominum meum de monumento quamuis sola caro ibi posita fuerit AUJul im 2.61.18 (mss P Kal quamuis eius sola)*

*quem resurrecturum non credebat. tulerunt dominum meum de monumento AU 229K.2*

*dixerat enim tulerunt dominum de monumento et nescio ubi posuerunt eum AU 229L.1*

*ipse iohannes (se ipsum enim dicit quem diligebat iesus) cum audisset nuntiantibus mulieribus et dicentibus tulerunt dominum meum de monumento AU 245.1.1/1151*

*[Jn 20:8] quid credidit? quod dixerat mulier tulerunt dominum de monumento. si enim audistis imo quia audistis hoc dixerat illa mulier tulerunt dominum de monumento et nescio ubi posuerunt eum AU 246.2/1154 (SC116 dominum meum x2, AU 246.2.22)*

**<20:3> exiit ergo petrus et ille alius discipulus et uenerunt ad monumentum**

*[Jn 20:2] exiit ergo petrus et ille alius discipulus et uenerunt ad monumentum AUEv 3.24.68/360.4 (mss H1 E1 exit)*

exiit ergo petrus et ille alius discipulus et uenerunt ad monumentum AUJo 120.7.1 [CT]

*Allusion: quod autem uenerunt duo discipuli iohannes ipse euangelista ipse enim intellegitur quem diligebat iesus et cum illo petrus AU 229L.1*

**<20:4> currebant autem duo simul et ille alius discipulus praecurrit citius petro et uenit primus ad monumentum**

[Jn 20:3] currebant autem duo simul et ille alius discipulus **praecurrit** citius petro et uenit primus ad monumentum AUEv 3.24.68/360.4 (mss B H g praecurrit, mss cet edd v **praecurrit**, ms p uenit **prius**)

*Adaptation:* [Jn 20:2] *at illi currere coeperunt ad monumentum et praeueniens iohannes* AUEv 3.24.69/362.15 currebant autem duo simul et ille alius discipulus praecurrit citius petro et uenit primus ad monumentum AUJo 120.7.2 [CT]

*Allusion:* *cucurrerunt duo quorum unus erat petrus alius iohannes* AUs 244.1/1148

*Allusion:* [Jn 20:2] *cucurrit cum petro et attendit in monumentum* AUs 245.1.1/1151

**<20:5> et cum se inclinasset uidet posita linteamina non tamen introiuit**

[Jn 20:4] et cum se inclinasset uidet posita linteamina non tamen introiit AUEv 3.24.68/360.8 (mss B1 C1 Q uidet, mss cet edd v **uidit**, mss V p linteamina posita, mss V x ψ edd praeter g m, v **introiuit**)

[Jn 20:4] *inclinauit se et uidit posita linteamina nec **intrauit*** AUEv 3.24.69/362.16

*cum iohannes dicat se potius ita uidisse hoc est discipulum illum quem diligebat iesus non **intrasse** in monumentum quo prior uenerat sed cum se inclinasset uidisse posita linteamina sed et seipsum postea dicit **intrasse*** AUEv 3.25.70/369.19

et cum se inclinasset **uidit** posita linteamina non tamen introiuit AUJo 120.8.1 [CT]

[Jn 20:4] **uidit sola** linteamina et *credidit* AUs 245.1.1/1151

**<20:6> uenit ergo simon petrus sequens eum et introiuit in monumentum et uidet linteamina posita**

[Jn 20:5] uenit ergo simon petrus sequens eum et introiit in monumentum et uidet linteamina posita AUEv 3.24.68/360.9 (mss ψ edd praeter g m, v **introiuit**, mss B R C1 M1 Q1 H **uidet**, mss cet edd v **uidit**)

[Jn 20:5] *petrus autem consecutus **intrauit** in monumentum et **uidit** linteamina posita* AUEv 3.24.69/362.17 uenit ergo simon petrus sequens eum et introiuit in monumentum et **uidit** linteamina posita AUJo 120.8.2 [CT]

*Adaptation:* [Jn 20:3] *et ingressi sunt et uiderunt linteamina **sola*** AUs 229L.1

*audistis quia **intrauit** in monumentum discipulus eius et **uidit** linteamina posita et *credidit** AUs 246.2/1153

(SC116 AUs 246.2.15 om.in (mss p maur in monumentum, ms P2 inuidit, mss p5 p7 ut uidit, ms p posita creditit (om.et))

[Jn 20:9] *quid ergo est uidit linteamina et *credidit** AUs 246.2/1154 (SC116 AUs 246.2.20)

**<20:7> et sudarium quod fuerat super caput eius non cum linteaminibus positum sed separatim inuolutum in unum locum**

[Jn 20:6] et sudarium quod fuerat super caput eius non cum linteaminibus positum sed separatim inuolutum in unum locum AUEv 3.24.68/360.11 (mss B A E seperatim, mss F p a e l **in uno loco**)

[Jn 20:6] et sudarium quod fuerat super caput eius non cum linteaminibus positum sed separatim inuolutum AUEv 3.24.69/362.18

et sudarium quod fuerat super caput eius non cum linteaminibus positum sed separatim inuolutum in unum locum AUJo 120.8.4 [CT]

*Allusion:* *domini autem linteamina et sudarium qui peccatum non fecit et nihil ignorauit in monumento inuenta sunt* AUq 65.51

**<20:8> tunc ergo introiuit et ille discipulus qui uenerat primus ad monumentum et uidit et credidit**

[Jn 20:7] tunc ergo **introiit** et ille discipulus qui uenerat primus ad monumentum et uidit et credidit AUEv 3.24.68/360.13 (mss p r a e l v introiuit, mss p g **prius**)

[Jn 20:7] *deinde et iohannes **intrauit** et uidit *similiter* et credidit quod maria dixerat sublatum esse dominum de monumento* AUEv 3.24.69/362.20

tunc ergo **introiit** et ille discipulus qui uenerat primus ad monumentum et uidit et credidit AUJo 120.9.1 [CT]

*quid scriptum est de ipso iohanne? si aduertitis **intrauit** ait et uidit et credidit* AUs 229L.1

*in eo quid dictum est uidit et credidit* AUs 229L.1

[Jn 20:9] ergo uidit et credidit AUs 229L.1

*hoc sequentia uerba testantur. sic enim scriptum est quo modo audiuius **attendit** uidit et credidit* AUs 245.1.1/1151

[Jn 20:9] *sic audistis sic lectum est uidit et credidit* AUs 246.2/1154 (SC116 AUs 246.2.18)

**<20:9> nondum enim sciebant scripturam quia oportet eum a mortuis resurgere**

*cf. Acts 17:3*

[Jn 20:8] nondum enim sciebant scripturam quia oportet eum a mortuis resurgere AUEv 3.24.68/360.15 (ms N scieba\*t, mss D A E1 L r a e l **sciebat**, mss H1 A1 E1 L **scriptura**, mss D H2 A2 E2 γ r a e l **scripturas**, mss B C P O N M H A E1 L oportet, mss D R oportuit, mss F N2 p r a e l v **oportebat**, mss E2 γ g m **oporteret**)

[Jn 20:8] nondum enim **sciebat** scripturam quia oportet eum a mortuis resurgere AUEv 3.24.69/362.22 (mss B R D C P V F O N H1 A1 E L S γ ψ r a e l **sciebat**, cet. v sciebant, mss H A E L **scripturas**)

nondum enim sciebant scripturam quia oportet eum a mortuis resurgere AUJo 120.9.7 [CT]

nondum enim sciebant scripturam quia **oporteret** eum a mortuis resurgere AUJo 120.9.12



[Jn 20:8] *non sequeretur scriptura dicens* nondum enim **nouerat scripturas** quia **oportebat iesum resurgere** a mortuis AUs 229L.1

*denique ut sciatis hoc eos credidisse subiecit mox euangelista et ait* nondum enim **nouerant scripturas** quia **oportebat** eum a mortuis resurgere AUs 244.1/1148

[Jn 20:8] nondum enim **sciebat scripturas** quia **oportebat** eum a mortuis resurgere AUs 245.1.1/1151

[Jn 20:6] nondum enim **nouerat scripturas** quia **oportebat** eum a mortuis resurgere AUs 246.2/1154 (SC116 AUs 246.2.16 oportebat **iesum**)

[Jn 20:8] nondum enim **nouerat scripturas**. *ergo debuit dici uidit et non credidit*. nondum enim **nouerat scripturas** AUs 246.2/1154 (SC116 AUs 246.2.18)

*quare?* nondum enim **nouerat scripturas** quia oportebat eum a mortuis resurgere AUs 246.2/1154 (SC116 AUs 246.2.28 oportebat **iesum**)

**<20:10> abierunt ergo iterum ad semet ipsos discipuli**

[Jn 20:9] abierunt ergo iterum ad semet ipsos discipuli AUEv 3.24.68/360.17

[Jn 20:9] abierunt ergo iterum ad semet ipsos discipuli AUEv 3.24.69/362.23

abierunt ergo iterum ad semetipsos discipuli AUJo 121.1.5 [CT]

**<20:11> maria autem stabat ad monumentum foris plorans dum ergo fleret inclinauit se et prospexit in monumentum**

[Jn 20:10] maria autem stabat ad monumentum foris plorans dum ergo fleret inclinauit se et prospexit in monumentum AUEv 3.24.68/360.18

[Jn 20:10] maria autem stabat **foris** ad monumentum plorans AUEv 3.24.69/362.24 (ms B foras, mss B R r *ordo hoc*, ms D foris plorans ad mon., ms cet. ad mon. foris plorans)

*ad haec uerba* maria dum fleret inclinauit se et prospexit in monumentum AUEv 3.24.69/363.13

maria autem stabat ad monumentum foris plorans **cum** ergo fleret inclinauit se et prospexit in monumentum AUJo 121.1.7 [CT]

*Adaptation: mulier stetit et coepit corpus iesu lacrimis quaerere* AUs 229L.1

**<20:12> et uidit duos angelos in albis sedentes unum ad caput et unum ad pedes ubi positum fuerat corpus iesu**

[Jn 20:11] et uidit duos angelos in albis sedentes unum ad caput et unum ad pedes ubi positum fuerat corpus iesu AUEv 3.24.68/360.20 (ms p caput om.**et**)

[Jn 20:11] et uidit duos angelos *sicut dixit iohannes* in albis sedentes unum ad caput et unum ad pedes ubi positum fuerat corpus iesu AUEv 3.24.69/363.14

et uidit duos angelos in albis sedentes unum ad caput et unum ad pedes ubi positum fuerat corpus iesu AUJo 121.1.25 [CT]

**<20:13> dicunt ei illi mulier quid ploras dicit eis quia tulerunt dominum meum et nescio ubi posuerunt eum**

*cf. Jn 20:2*

*mariae magdalenae uerba in euangelio leguntur dicentis* tulerunt dominum meum et nescio ubi posuerunt eum AUci 14.2.29 (mss a b v **abstulerunt**)

[Jn 20:12] dicunt ei illi mulier quid ploras dicit eis quia tulerunt dominum meum et nescio ubi posuerunt eum AUEv 3.24.68/360.23 (ms B om.**ei**, ms p om.**eum**)

[Jn 20:12] dicunt ei illi mulier quid ploras dicit eis quia tulerunt dominum meum et nescio ubi posuerunt eum AUEv 3.24.69/363.16 (mss R H A E1 L om.**ei**)

dicunt ei illi mulier quid ploras dicit eis quia tulerunt dominum meum et nescio ubi posuerunt eum AUJo 121.1.31 [CT]

**sustulerunt** dominum meum AUJo 121.2.14

*an non dictum est de iesu cum in monumento non fuisset caro eius inuenta* tulerunt dominum meum et nescio ubi posuerunt eum AUnu 1.30/246.1

*non dictum est carnem uel corpus domini mei sed* dominum meum AUnu 1.30/246.3

**<20:14> haec cum dixisset conuersa est retrorsum et uidet iesum stantem et non sciebat quia iesus est**

[Jn 20:13] haec cum dixisset conuersa est retrorsum et **uidit** iesum stantem et non sciebat quia iesus est AUEv 3.24.68/361.2 (ms p **hoc**, mss R C1 H1 A E1 **uidet**, mss D M **nesciebat**)

*post haec* conuersa est retrorsum *maria* et **uidit** iesum stantem *sicut dixit iohannes* et non sciebat quia iesus est AUEv 3.24.69/364.2 (mss C Q1 H1 A E1 S1 **uidet**)

haec cum dixisset conuersa est retrorsum et **uidit** iesum stantem et non sciebat quia iesus est AUJo 121.2.1 [CT]

**<20:15> dicit ei iesus mulier quid ploras quem quaeris illa existimans quia hortulanus esset dicit ei domine si tu sustulisti eum dicito mihi ubi posuisti eum et ego eum tollam**

[Jn 20:14] dicit ei iesus mulier quid ploras quem quaeris illa existimans quia hortulanus **est** dicit ei domine si tu sustulisti **illum** dicito mihi ubi posuisti eum et ego eum tollam AUEv 3.24.68/361.4 (mss D C2 P V N2  $\chi$   $\omega$  r a e l v **esset**, mss B1 R om.**ei**, mss B C P O N Q H A E1 g **illum**, mss cet v **eum**)

[Jn 20:14] dicit ei iesus mulier quid ploras quem quaeris illa existimans quia hortulanus **est** dicit ei domine si tu sustulisti eum dicito mihi ubi posuisti eum et ego eum tollam AUEv 3.24.69/364.4 (ms R dicit iesus, mss A1 E1 L dicit eis iesus, ms R **aut** quem, mss B1 D **estimans**, ms R [vind. karol.] **aestimans**, ms p **quod** hortulanus, mss D C2 P V N p l v **esset**, ms B1 dominus)

dicit ei iesus mulier quid ploras quem quaeris illa existimans quia hortulanus esset dicit ei domine si tu sustulisti eum dicito mihi ubi posuisti eum et ego eum tollam AUJo 121.2.3 [CT]

*uidit et iesum non putat iesum hortulanum putauit adhuc corpus mortui exigit* si tu *inquit tulisti* eum **dic** mihi ubi posuisti eum et ego **tollam eum** AUs 229L.1

*primo enim dixerat* quem quaeris? quid ploras? illa *autem putabat eum esse hortulanum* AUs 246.3/1154 (SC116 AUs 246.3.35 (ms p ortulanum))

*ergo merito putauit eum hortulanum et ait illi domine honorificentiae causa quia beneficium petebat ideo dominum uocabat* si tu **abstulisti** eum *inquit ostende* mihi ubi posuisti eum et ego eum tollam AUs 246.3.1154 (SC116 beneficium **poscebat** AUs 246.3.45 (mss p maur ergo merito, mss p2 maur beneficium petebat, mss p mau dominum uocabat, mss p maur eum inquit ostende, ms f posuisti **illum**))

[Jn 20:16] *hortulanus enim potuit dicere* quem quaeris? quid ploras? AUs 246.3/1154 (SC116 AUs 246.3.55 (mss p5 p7 om.enim, ms f **quid** quaeris))

*Allusion: iam qui prius hortulanus putabatur christus uidebatur* (ms f iam christum uidebat) AUs 246.3.60 (SC116)

*maria occurrerat ad sepulchrum et primo dominum stantem putauerat hortulanum et dixerat* domine si tu **eum abstulisti dic** ubi posuisti eum et ego **illum** tollam AUs 375C.1

[Paulinus] *Allusion: et illa dubitauerat de christo quem hortulanum putauerat* AUep 121.3.16/737.11

[Paulinus] *Allusion: nec intellexerat deum cum hortulanum putasset* AUep 121.3.16/737.14

**<20:16> dicit ei iesus maria conuersa illa dicit ei rabboni quod dicitur magister**

[Jn 20:15] dicit ei iesus maria conuersa illa dicit ei rabboni quod dicitur magister AUEv 3.24.68/361.7

[Jn 20:15] dicit ei iesus maria conuersa illa dicit ei rabboni quod dicitur magister AUEv 3.24.69/364.8 (ms r om.**illa**, ms H1 qui dicitur)

dicit ei iesus maria conuersa illa dicit ei rabboni quod dicitur magister AUJo 121.2.6 [CT]

*postea domino appellat eam nomine suo. maria agnouit uocem respexit saluatorem et ipsa illi tamquam ipsi respondit* rabboni quod **interpretatur domine** AUs 229L.1

*quando dominus dixit mulieri maria conuersa agnouit eum et appellauit magistrum* rabboni AUs 244.2/1148

*proprio nomine ipsam appellauit maria et continuo illa nomine suo audito* rabboni *respondit* AUs 246.3/1154 (SC116 **appellabat**, om. *respondit* AUs 246.3.54 (mss p maur appellauit, mss p maur rabboni respondit))

[Jn 20:15] *maria non posset dicere nisi christus* AUs 246.3/1154 (SC116 AUs 246.3.56)

*hoc nomen dixit quod in libro suo ipse scripserat* maria et illa rabboni quod **est** magister AUs 246.3/1154 (SC116 AUs 246.3.58 (ms p2 scripsit ipse))

[Jn 20:15] *respondebat autem illi dominus nomen suum maria...et ipsa respondet quod solet* rabboni AUs 375C.1

**<20:17> dicit ei iesus noli me tangere nondum enim ascendi ad patrem meum uade autem ad fratres meos et dic eis ascendo ad patrem meum et patrem uestrum et deum meum et deum uestrum**

*cf. Matt 28:10*

*propterea et mariam prohibebat se tangere et dicebat ei* noli me tangere nondum enim ascendi ad patrem AU1Jo 3.2/1998

[Jn 20:27]... *quare ergo mariam prohibet et dicit* noli me tangere nondum enim ascendi ad patrem? AU1Jo 3.2/1998

*post resurrectionem suam dixit mariae* noli me tangere nondum enim ascendi ad patrem AUep 120.3.15/717.17 (mss P T1 edd **patrem meum**)

[Ps 21:23]. *fratres illi sunt de quibus in euangelio ait* uade **et dic fratribus meis** AUep 140.17.43/191.22 (no ms var in cit)

*quod autem mariae dixit* noli me tangere nondum enim ascendi ad patrem AUep 149.2.32/378.4 (ms G **patrem meum**)

[Jn 20:16] dicit ei iesus noli me tangere nondum enim ascendi ad patrem meum uade autem ad fratres meos et dic eis ascendo ad patrem meum et patrem uestrum **ad** deum meum et **ad** deum uestrum AUEv 3.24.68/361.9 (ms H1 et **ad** patrem uestrum, mss B R M [mon.ing.al] **ad** deum meum, mss C P V F O N Q H p m **et** deum meum, mss A E L S  $\gamma$   $\psi$   $\omega$  g r a e l v uestrum deum meum, ms B et **ad** deum uestrum, mss cet edd v et deum uestrum)

[Jn 20:16] dicit ei iesus noli me tangere nondum enim ascendi ad patrem meum uade autem ad fratres meos et dic eis ascendo ad patrem meum et patrem uestrum et deum meum et deum uestrum AUEv 3.24.69/364.10 (ms g om.**enim**, mss C P meum et **ad** patrem uestrum uade, ms B et **dicit** eis, mss F O N A E1 L p g et **ad** patrem

uestrum, mss A1 E1 L g r a e l v uestrum deum meum, mss H2 A2 E2 γ uestrum **ad** deum meum, ms p uestrum **et ad** deum meum et **ad** deum uestrum)  
*mariam quoque post resurrectionem mystica altitudine uisitans* noli me *inquit* tangere nondum enim ascendi ad patrem AUEv 4.10.19/415.10 (mss r m **uitans**, mss Q H A L patrem **meum**)  
*inueniamus illo loco ubi ait* **uado** ad patrem meum et patrem uestrum **deum** meum et deum uestrum AUGn q 59.743 (in Gen. 22:15-16) (ms S **deum meum** add. in marg., om. et deum uestrum)  
**uado** ad **deum** meum et deum uestrum **et patrem** meum et patrem uestrum AUJo 21.3.23  
 noli me tangere nondum enim adscendi ad patrem AUJo 26.3.10  
 noli me tangere nondum enim adscendi ad patrem AUJo 26.3.13  
 dicit ei iesus noli me tangere nondum enim adscendi ad patrem meum uade autem ad fratres meos et dic eis adscendo ad patrem meum et patrem uestrum **deum** meum et deum uestrum AUJo 121.3.1 [CT]  
 nondum enim adscendi ad patrem meum uade autem ad fratres meos et dic eis adscendo ad patrem meum et patrem uestrum et deum meum et deum uestrum AUJo 121.3.45  
*quare filius cum sit patri aequalis dicat eum tamen deum suum ubi ait* ascendo ad patrem meum et **ad** patrem uestrum **deum** meum et deum uestrum AUMax 1.7/749  
*uerba ipsa quibus ait dominus* deum meum et deum uestrum AUMax 2.16.1/781  
*cur ergo post resurrectionem non diceret* ascendo ad patrem meum et patrem uestrum **deum** meum et deum uestrum *quando in eadem forma fuerat ascensus* AUMax 2.16.1/781  
*dicit autem* deum meum et deum uestrum AUMax co 14/721  
*[Jn 14:28]. unde dicit* deum meum et deum uestrum AUMax co 14/721  
*resurgens enim dominus ait* uade **et dic fratribus meis** AUPs 7.1.25  
*qui post resurrectionem dixit* uade **dic fratribus meis** AUPs 48.s1.8  
*merito posteaquam resurrexit ait mariae magdalenae cui dignatus est primitus apparere* noli me tangere nondum enim adscendi ad patrem *[in Ps 58:6]* AUPs 58.s1.10.51  
*quid est ergo* noli me tangere nondum enim adscendi ad patrem *[in Ps 58:6]* AUPs 58.s1.10.55  
*humilis enim tibi uideor* nondum enim adscendi ad patrem *[in Ps 58:6]* AUPs 58.s1.10.58  
 nondum enim *inquit* adscendi ad patrem *[Ps 18:7]* *[in Ps 58:6]* AUPs 58.s1.10.65  
*hoc est quod dominus dicit post passionem mulieri quae uolebat illi tenere pedes* noli me tangere nondum enim ascendi ad patrem AUs 5.244 (mss C3 C4 C5 α **om. enim**)  
*quomodo diceretur* noli me tangere nondum **ascendi** ad patrem AUs 5.246 (ms C1 **nondum enim**)  
*et hoc est* noli me tangere AUs 5.251 (ms C41m **nolite**)  
 noli me tangere AUs 5.253 (ms C41m **nolite**)  
*unde et mariae dicitur post resurrectionem* noli me tangere nondum enim ascendi ad patrem AUs 104.6 (webtext; not in Migne)  
*mulieri cum ei post resurrectionem ad pedes caderet* noli me tangere *inquit* nondum enim ascendi ad patrem AUs 143.4.4/787  
*christus mulieri fideli...dixerit* noli me tangere nondum enim ascendi ad patrem meum AUs 229K.1  
*quid est ergo* noli me tangere nondum enim ascendi ad patrem AUs 229K.1  
*quid sibi uult* noli me tangere nondum enim ascendi ad patrem meum AUs 229K.2  
*ut impleat tactum.* noli me *inquit* tangere nondum enim ascendi ad patrem meum AUs 229K.2  
*[Jn 20:16] quid sibi uult quod sequitur* noli me tangere nondum enim ascendi ad patrem meum uade **et dic discipulis meis ascendam** ad patrem meum et **ad** patrem uestrum **ad** deum meum et **ad** deum uestrum *hoc quidem quaestionem non habet ascendam* ad patrem meum *quia unigenitus sum* et **ad** patrem uestrum...et deum meum et deum uestrum AUs 229L.2  
*quid sibi uelit* noli me tangere nondum enim ascendi ad patrem meum AUs 229L.2  
*quid est ergo* noli me tangere nondum enim ascendi ad patrem AUs 229L.2  
 noli me tangere nondum enim ascendi ad patrem. *quid est* noli me tangere AUs 229L.2  
*de resurrectione domini secundum iohannem in illud* noli me tangere nondum enim ascendi ad patrem meum AUs 243 incipit/1143  
*quare dixerit dominus iesus mulieri quaerenti corpus eius et eum iam uiuum agnoscenti* noli me tangere nondum enim ascendi ad patrem meum AUs 243.1.1/1143  
*[Matt 28:9]... quomodo ergo huic nunc dicitur* noli me tangere nondum enim ascendi ad patrem meum AUs 243.1.1/1144  
*maria cui dixit dominus* noli me tangere nondum enim ascendi ad patrem meum AUs 243.2.2/1144  
*[Jn 20:16]...quid sibi ergo uult* noli me tangere nondum enim ascendi ad patrem meum AUs 244.2/1148  
*deinde quia rationem reddens quare se tangi noluerit et prohibuerit ait* nondum enim ascendi ad patrem meum AUs 244.2/1148  
*dixeram enim quid est* noli me tangere nondum enim ascendi ad patrem meum AUs 244.2/1148  
*[Luke 24:39]. ubi est* noli me tangere AUs 244.2/1148  
*quid sibi uelit* noli me tangere nondum enim ascendi ad patrem meum AUs 244.2/1149  
*quid est ergo* noli me tangere AUs 244.3/1149  
*quid sibi ergo uult* noli me tangere nondum enim ascendi ad patrem meum AUs 244.3/1150  
*noli me sic tangere ut hominem tantummodo credas.* nondum enim ascendi ad patrem meum AUs 244.3/1150

*salua eris. noli me tangere nondum enim ascendi ad patrem meum. quod descendi uides quod ascendi nondum uides. nondum enim ascendi ad patrem meum* AUs 244.3/1150  
*in deum non credere. noli me tangere nondum enim ascendi ad patrem* AUs 244.3/1150  
*modo ergo quod audiuius secundum iohannis euangelium quia maria uidit dominum et dixit ad eam dominum* noli me tangere nondum enim ascendi ad patrem *solus euangelista iohannes commemorat* AUs 245.1.1/1151  
*quomodo sit dictum* noli me tangere nondum enim ascendi ad patrem AUs 245.2.2/1151  
*mouet enim hoc quid est* noli me tangere nondum enim ascendi ad patrem AUs 245.2.2/1152  
*quid est ergo* noli me tangere nondum enim ascendi ad patrem AUs 245.2.2/1152  
*quid ergo est* noli me tangere nondum enim ascendi ad patrem AUs 245.2.2/1152  
*quid ergo est* noli me tangere AUs 245.2.2/1152  
*secundum hoc dictum est ad mariam* noli me tangere AUs 245.4.4/1153  
*et dominus ad illam* noli me tangere nondum enim ascendi ad patrem meum *quid sibi hoc uult?* noli me tangere nondum enim ascendi ad patrem meum AUs 246.3/1154 (SC116 AUs 246.3.61)  
*mulieri dicit* noli me tangere nondum enim ascendi ad patrem meum AUs 246.4/1155 (SC116 *dicit mulieri* AUs 246.4.78)  
*[Jn 20:17] quid sibi uult? uiri non eum potuerunt tangere nisi in terra mulieres tunc habebant tangere in caelo* nondum enim ascendi ad patrem meum AUs 246.4.81 SC116 (om. Migne)  
*deinde uerba ipsius audiamus* ascendo ad patrem meum et patrem uestrum deum meum et deum uestrum AUs 246.5/1155 (SC116 uestrum **et** deum AUs 246.5.105)  
*[Jn 20:17] quare non ad patrem nostrum et deus nostrum sed cum distinctione* patrem meum et patrem uestrum AUs 246.5/1155 (SC116 add. et deum meum et deum uestrum AUs 246.5.108)  
*[Jn 20:17] patrem meum quia unicus sum* patrem uestrum *gratia non natura. patrem meum quia hoc semper fuit* patrem uestrum *quia [Jn 15:16] deum meum et deum uestrum* AUs 246.5/1155 (SC116 AUs 246.5.110 (ms f natura om. **patrem meum** quia, ms maur **fui**))  
*quare ergo et ibi distinctio puta* patrem meum et patrem uestrum AUs 246.5.123 (Migne AUs 246.5/1156)  
*debut ergo dicere* ad patrem meum et patrem uestrum *et deum nostrum* AUs 246.5/1156 (not listed in SC116)  
*[Phil 2:7] ait apostolus quare ergo* deum meum et deum uestrum *ibi distincte?* AUs 246.5/1156 (SC116 **et ibi** AUs 246.5.134)  
*ergo et ibi distinctio* deum meum et deum uestrum AUs 246.5/1156 (SC116 AUs 246.5.140)  
*non sic christus. deum meum et deum uestrum: deum meum propter similitudinem carnis peccati* deum uestrum *propter carnem peccati* AUs 246.5/1156 (SC116 AUs 246.5.147 (mss p5 p7 similitudinem peccati carnis, ms f om. deum uestrum propter carnem peccati))  
*Adaptation:* ascendit enim *sicut audistis* ad patrem suum et ad patrem nostrum ad deum suum et ad deum nostrum AUs 265F.1  
*dixit ascendam ad deum* meum et deum uestrum ad **patrem** meum et patrem uestrum. *quibus iussit hoc dici* uade *inquit dic fratribus meis et quia frater sum ascendam* ad patrem meum et patrem uestrum **deum** meum et deum uestrum. *non ait ascendo ad patrem nostrum nec ait ascendo ad deum nostrum. non uacat* patrem meum et patrem uestrum **deum** meum et deum uestrum AUs 265F.2  
*in euangelio dictum est* ad patrem meum et **ad** patrem uestrum **ad** deum meum et **ad** deum uestrum. ad patrem meum et **ad** patrem uestrum *non conturbet* AUs 341.18/187.398 (AUs Dol 22)  
*nemo offendat quod ait* patrem meum et patrem uestrum AUs 341.18/188.424 (AUs Dol 22)  
*recte itaque* patrem meum et patrem uestrum AUs 341.18/188.427 (AUs Dol 22)  
*[Rom 8:23] merito ergo primo singulariter ait* patrem meum *deinde* patrem uestrum. *sed quomodo* deum meum et deum uestrum? AUs 341.18/188.432 (AUs Dol 22)  
*in ea lectione quae superius legitur dicit ad mariam* noli me tangere nondum enim ascendi ad patrem AUs 375C.1  
*[Jn 20:16] iam ergo crediderat maria et dicit dominus ei* noli me tangere nondum enim ascendi ad patrem AUs 375C.1  
*dicitur mariae* noli me tangere *hoc loco ipse dixit causam* nondum enim *inquit* ascendi ad patrem AUs 375C.4  
*dixit causam. noli me tangere. quare?* nondum enim ascendi ad patrem meum AUs 375C.4  
*quomodo uides* noli me tangere AUs 375C.4  
*[Jn 8:25] et [1 Cor 11:3] et [1 Cor 15:28] et uado ad* deum meum et deum uestrum *et nonnulla huius modi* AU<sub>sy</sub> 9.18/22.1 (mss P b d uado ad patrem meum et patrem uestrum et (et om. b d) deum meum et deum uestrum)  
*inde est et illud* noli me tangere nondum enim ascendi ad patrem meum AU<sub>tri</sub> 1.9.9 (mss R1? Eug (G P v) **meum**, cett codd, μ om. **meum**)  
*Reminiscence: in clarificatione domini qua resurgens* ascendit ad patrem AU<sub>tri</sub> 2.17.83  
*postquam resurrexit ait mulieri* noli me tangere nondum enim ascendi ad patrem meum AU<sub>tri</sub> 4.3.77  
*Adaptation: hoc est enim christum non tangere nisi cum ascenderit ad patrem* AU<sub>tri</sub> 4.3.81  
*[Luke 21:18] unde enim primo* noli me tangere nondum enim ascendi ad patrem meum AU<sub>tri</sub> 4.3.97 (ms F primo ait, ms J primo ait)  
  
*[Consentius] cur ergo post resurrectionem dixit* noli me tangere nondum enim ascendi ad patrem AU<sub>ep</sub> 119.3/700.23  
*[MAX] [Tit 2:13]. iste enim magnus deus christus dicit quod* ascendo ad patrem meum et patrem uestrum **deum** meum et deum uestrum AUM<sub>ax</sub> co 13/718

[MAX] ascendo ad deum meum et **ad** deum uestrum *dominum propter formam serui dixisse quam suscepit* AUMax co 16/733

[MAX] isto utitur sermone *dicens* ascendo ad patrem meum et **ad** patrem uestrum AUMax co 16/733

[Paulinus] et quod ad mariam ait noli me tangere nondum enim ascendi ad patrem AUep 121.3.16/737.6

[Paulinus] ideo fortassis audire meruit noli me tangere AUep 121.3.16/737.12

[Paulinus] de quo paulo ante ab angelis audierat [Lk 24:5] noli **ergo** me tangere **quia tibi** nondum ascendi ad patrem cui adhuc tantum homo uideor; postea me tanges cum ad agnoscendam me credendo conscenderis AUep 121.3.16/737.16 (mss A C **non**)

<20:18> uenit maria magdalene adnuntians discipulis quia uidi dominum et haec dixit mihi

[Jn 20:17] uenit maria magdalene adnuntians discipulis quia uidi dominum et haec dixit mihi AUEv 3.24.68/361.13 (ms r uenit **ergo**, mss C P O N1 Q **uidit**)

[Matt.28:10] uenit **ergo** maria magdalene adnuntians discipulis quia **uidit** dominum et haec ei dixit AUEv 3.24.69/365.2 (mss D1 A κ χ g r a e **uidi**, ms p dixit ei, mss D κ g dixit mihi)

uenit maria magdalene annuntians discipulis quia uidi dominum et haec dixit mihi AUJo 121.4.1 [CT]

Allusion: usque adeo contristati ut illa maria magdalene quae primo eum uidit gaudens lugentibus nuntiaret quid uiderit AUPs 68.s2.5.28

<20:19> cum esset ergo sero die illo una sabbatorum et fores essent clausae ubi erant discipuli propter metum iudaeorum uenit iesus et stetit in medio et dicit eis pax uobis

cf. Jn 20:26

Allusion: in domo discipulis constitutis cum **ostia** clausa essent uerus apparuit (ms V hostia) AUep 95.7/512.15  
Reminiscence: ipsa uirtus per inuiolata matris uirginea uiscera membra infantis eduxit quae postea per clausa ostia membra iuuenis introduxit AUep 137.2.8/107.9

iohannes commemorasse sic loquens cum esset ergo sero die illo una sabbatorum et fores essent clausae ubi erant discipuli propter metum iudaeorum uenit iesus et stetit in medio et **dixit** eis pax uobis AUEv 3.25.74/374.20 (ms ω die illa, mss V N2 E2 γ κ χ ω edd v discipuli **congregati**, mss B R D M A E L S γ κ χ p g a e l dixit, mss cet **dicat**)

Adaptation: stetit in medio eorum dominus et ait illis pax **uobiscum** sicut lucas et iohannes. fores autem clausae erant cum ad eos intrauit quod solus iohannes commemorat AUEv 3.25.75/379.4 (mss S1 χ ψ ω r a e l m v **uobis**)

Allusion: siue isti cum illis undecim erant **congregati clausis ostiis** propter metum iudaeorum unde cum exisset thomas uenit ad eos iesus siue post octo illos dies quando libet nihil habet aduersi AUEv 3.25.85/391.6

cum esset ergo sero die **illa** una sabbatorum et fores essent clausae ubi erant discipuli **congregati** propter metum iudaeorum uenit iesus et stetit in medio et dicit eis pax uobis AUJo 121.4.2 [CT]

sermoni christi quem habuit post resurrectionem cum discipulis suis tam pacifico ut inde inciperet dicens pax **uobiscum** AUPet 2.15.35/40.17

Allusion: et tamen illius iuuenilis corporis soliditas non patentibus foribus se ad discipulos intromisit. cur ergo qui potuit per clausa **ostia** magnus intrare... AUs 191.1.2/1016

hodie ergo quod audiuius? quod ipso die quo resurrexit id est dominico die cum sero **factum** esset et essent discipuli in uno loco et **ostia** clausa essent propter **timorem** iudaeorum apparuit dominus in medio eorum AUs 247.1/1157

Adaptation: post resurrectionem in loco uno constitutis discipulis suis subito apparuit **ostiis clausis** AUs 277.12.12/1264

Adaptation: cum sanctum euangelium legeretur dominum et saluatorem nostrum iesum christum post resurrectionem suam **clausis ostiis** introisse ad discipulos suos AUs 376.1.1/1669

<20:20> et hoc cum dixisset ostendit eis manus et latus gauisi sunt ergo discipuli uiso domino

[Jn 20:19] et hoc cum dixisset ostendit eis manus et latus AUEv 3.25.74/375.1

*dicat autem iohannes* gauisi sunt ergo discipuli uiso domino AUEv 3.25.74/375.10

et **cum hoc** dixisset ostendit eis manus et latus gauisi sunt ergo discipuli uiso domino AUJo 121.4.6 [CT]

<20:21> dixit ergo eis iterum pax uobis sicut misit me pater et ego mitto uos

cf. Jn 20:26

sicut misit me *inquit* pater et ego mitto uos AUba 3.18.23/214.23 (mss Nm1 V σ **inquit**, ms L **pater inquit**)

[Jn 20:20] dixit ergo eis iterum pax **uobiscum** sicut misit me pater et ego mitto uos AUEv 3.25.74/375.11 (ms B om.**ergo**, mss B1 R D C P V F O N Q uobiscum, mss cet edd uobis)

dixit ergo eis iterum pax uobis sicut misit me pater et ego mitto uos AUJo 121.4.13 [CT]

sicut misit me pater et ego mitto uos AUJo 122.2.28

*nam illud ex euangelio* sicut misit me pater et ego mitto uos AUPar 2.11.24/73.23

*posteaquam dixit* et ego mitto uos AUPar 2.11.24/73.28

**<20:22> hoc cum dixisset insuflavit et dicit eis accipite spiritum sanctum**

*si enim flatu non posset significari spiritus sanctus non dominus post resurrectionem insufflasset discipulis et dixisset accipite spiritum sanctum neque [Acts 2:2-4] AUan 1.14.18/318.12 (ms E non post resurrectionem dominus)*

*Adaptation: cum insuflante domino datus est discipulis (ms J K insuflante) AUba 1.11.15/160.19*

*[Jn 20:21] hoc cum dixisset inspiravit et ait illis accipite spiritum sanctum AUba 3.18.23/214.24*

*qualiter accipienda sit uel illa insuflatio dei qua primus homo factus est in animam uiuentem uel illa quam*

*dominus fecit dicens discipulis suis accipite spiritum sanctum AUci brev 13.24.64 (ms p q v om. discipulis suis) dominus iesus postea quam resurrexit a mortuis insuflavit dicens discipulis suis accipite spiritum sanctum AUci 13.24.6*

*quod dominus fecit quando insuflavit dicens accipite spiritum sanctum AUci 13.24.59*

*cum enim dixisset discipulis accipite spiritum sanctum AUep 185.11.49/43.2*

*dominus posteaquam resurrexit a mortuis cum sufflauit in eorum faciem dicens accipite spiritum sanctum AUep 265.2/640.1 (ms P postea, ms V surrexit, ms M resurrexisset, ms M insufflauit, Eugippi codd. aut exsufflauit aut insufflauit, mss P1 P2 S V faciem eorum, mss P P5 facie eorum)*

*quando eis post resurrectionem insuflavit dicens accipite spiritum sanctum AUEv 3.1.4/271.11 (mss B H insuflavit, mss cet insufflauit)*

*[Jn 20:21] hoc cum dixisset insuflavit et dixit eis accipite spiritum sanctum AUEv 3.25.74/375.12 (mss B R E insuflavit, mss cet insufflauit)*

*Allusion: discipulis etiam insuflando dedit spiritum sanctum (mss B R H insuflando, mss cet insufflando) AUEv 4.10.19/415.12*

*cum insufflauit in faciem discipulorum dicens accipite spiritum sanctum AUfu 10/205.25 (ms P insuflavit)*

*neque enim flatus ille ex corpore domini substantia erat spiritus sancti quando sufflauit et ait accipite spiritum sanctum AUGn li 10.5/301.21 (ms E sufflauit)*

*accipite spiritum sanctum et insufflauit in faciem eorum AUJo 32.6.28*

*insufflans ait accipite spiritum sanctum AUJo 74.2.15*

*discipulis suis insufflasset dicens accipite spiritum sanctum AUJo 99.7.10*

*hoc cum dixisset insufflauit et dixit eis accipite spiritum sanctum AUJo 121.4.18 [CT]*

*nam nisi procederet et de ipso non diceret discipulis accipite spiritum sanctum eumque insufflando daret AUMax 2.14.1/770*

*[Jn 20:21] haec cum dixisset insufflauit et ait illis accipite spiritum sanctum AUPar 2.11.24/73.24 (ms β hoc, mss M E G I dixit eis, mss H v dixit)*

*[Jn 20:23] cum uero interpositum est haec cum dixisset insufflauit et ait illis accipite spiritum sanctum AUPar 2.11.24/74.3 (ms β hoc, ms D insuflavit, ms G eis)*

*resurgens a mortuis insufflauit in faciem discipulorum dicens accipite spiritum sanctum AUPet 2.32.76/64.19 (ms O insuflavit)*

*posteaquam resurrexit a mortuis cum dixisset discipulis suis accipite spiritum sanctum AUis 71.12.19/454*

*[Jn 3:5] et de quo item dictum est accipite spiritum sanctum AUis 71.13.23/457*

*quodam loco sic ait resurgens a mortuis accipite spiritum sanctum et cum dixisset accipite spiritum sanctum AUis 99.9.9/600*

*primo posteaquam resurrexit dixit discipulis suis accipite spiritum sanctum et insufflauit in faciem eorum AUis 265.7.8/1222*

*audite in alio loco quid dominus dicat omnibus apostolis suis accipite spiritum sanctum AUis 295.2.2/1349*

*nec uideo quid aliud significare uoluerit cum sufflans ait accipite spiritum sanctum AUtri 4.20.105 (mss F K P O3 μ sufflans in faciem (O3 facie) discipulorum)*

*cum resurrexisset a mortuis et apparuisset discipulis suis insufflauit et ait accipite spiritum sanctum AUtri 15.26.15*

*[PETI] dedit sanctum spiritum christus sicut scriptum est sibilavit in faciem eorum et dixit accipite spiritum sanctum AUPet 2.32.72/61.1 (mss P v dedit spiritum sanctum)*

**<20:23> quorum remiseritis peccata remittuntur eis quorum retinueritis detenta sunt**

*respondeant ergo est illic spiritus sanctus quia cum insuflante domino datus est discipulis tunc secutus est et ait [Matt.28:19] si cui dimiseritis peccata dimittentur ei si cui tenueritis tenebuntur AUba 1.11.15/160.22 (mss G Eug cod A remittuntur)*

*[Jn 20:22] si cuius remiseritis peccata remittentur illi si cuius tenueritis tenebuntur illi AUba 3.18.23/214.25 (ms L remittuntur, ms β remittuntur si, ms V tenebunt, mss v Cypr tenebuntur om.illi, ms J s.l. illi)*

*non enim raptoribus et faeneratoribus diceret dominus si cui dimiseritis peccata dimittentur illi si cui tenueritis tenebuntur AUba 3.18.23/216.4 (mss J L β dimittuntur)*

*per illius columbae membra quibus ait si cui dimiseritis dimittentur si cui tenueritis tenebuntur AUba 5.21.29/287.25*

*quia non malignis sed bonis filiis dictum est si cui demiseritis peccata dimittentur ei si cui tenueritis tenebuntur AUba 6.1.1/298.8 (ms J tenueritis)*

*quibus dominus dicit si cui dimiseritis peccata dimittentur ei et si cui tenueritis tenebuntur AUba 6.3.5/301.19*

et illud quod ait dominus [Matt 28:19] non permisit baptizare nisi bonos quia malis non diceret **si cui dimiseritis** peccata **dimittentur ei si cui tenueritis tenebuntur** AUba 6.14.23/19 (ms L **dimittuntur**)  
*non enim talibus dictum est si cui dimiseritis peccata dimittentur ei si cui tenueritis tenebuntur* AUba 7.12.23/351.12  
 [Jn 20:22] continuo subiecit **si cui dimiseritis** peccata **dimittentur ei si cui tenueritis tenebuntur** AUep 185.11.49/43.3 (ms C **dimittuntur**)  
*Adaptation: sicut iohannes de remissione peccatorum quod tenebuntur si cui tenuerint et dimittentur si cui dimiserint post resurrectionem a domino dictum commemorat* (ms B sicut tenuerunt, ms g dimittuntur) AUEv 2.51.119/222.9  
 [Jn 20:22] quorum remiseritis peccata remittuntur [sic] eis et quorum **detinueritis** detenta sunt AUEv 3.25.74/375.14 (ms B remiseris, ms H remittentur, mss R D om.**eis**, mss C P A1 E1 L detinueritis, ms B1 retinetis, mss B2 M g v retinueritis, mss B2 g v retenta, ms g erunt)  
 quorum remiseritis peccata remittuntur eis et quorum retinueritis **retenta** sunt AUJo 121.4.21 [CT]  
 [Jn 20:21] quorum remiseritis peccata remittuntur eis et quorum retinueritis **retenta** sunt AUJo 122.2.29  
 [Jn 20:22] **si cui dimiseritis** peccata **dimittentur et si cui tenueritis tenebuntur** AUPar 2.11.24/73.25 (mss D P om.**si** (1), ms β **retinueritis retinebuntur**, mss D Pm1 **tenebantur**)  
 [Jn 20:21] continuo subiecisset **si cui dimiseritis** peccata **dimittentur et si cui tenueritis tenebuntur** AUPar 2.11.24/74.1 (mss E I **subiecit continuo**, ms β **subiecisset continuo**, ms F **tenueris**, mss E G v **retinueritis**, mss G v **retinebuntur**)  
 [Jn 20:22] continuo subiecit **si cui dimiseritis** peccata **dimittentur illi si cui tenueritis tenebuntur** AUS 71.12.19/454  
 [Jn 20:22] **si cui dimiseritis** peccata **dimittuntur ei** AUS 71.13.23/457  
 [Jn 20:22] **si cui dimiseritis** peccata **dimittuntur ei** AUS 99.9.9/600  
 [Jn 20:22] et continuo **si cui dimiseritis** peccata **dimittuntur ei si cui tenueritis tenebuntur** AUS 295.2.2/1349

<20:24> **thomas autem unus ex duodecim qui dicitur didymus non erat cum eis quando uenit iesus**

*Adaptation: quod autem dicit iohannes non cum illis fuisse tunc apostolum thomam* AUEv 3.25.74/376.14  
*Adaptation: aperte quippe iohannes dicit non cum eis tunc fuisse apostolum thomam* AUEv 3.25.76/379.13  
 thomas autem unus ex duodecim qui dicitur didymus non erat cum eis quando uenit iesus AUJo 121.5.1 [CT]  
*Adaptation: thomas enim apostolus quando se ostenderat dominus discipulis suis absens erat* AUS 145A.1

<20:25> **dixerunt ergo ei alii discipuli uidimus dominum ille autem dixit eis nisi uidero in manibus eius figuram clauorum et mittam digitum meum in locum clauorum et mittam manum meam in latus eius non credam**

*nam et quidam uidendo non credidit et palpare uoluit et sic credere et ait non credam nisi digitos meos misero* in locum clauorum et **cicatrices eius tetigero** AU1Jo 1.3/1980  
 dixerunt ergo ei alii discipuli uidimus dominum ille autem dixit eis nisi uidero in manibus eius **fixuram** clauorum et mittam digitum meum in locum clauorum et mittam manum meam in latus eius non credam AUJo 121.5.3 [CT]  
 [Ps 21:17] tunc facta sunt uulnera quorum uulnerum **cicatrices dubitans discipulus contrectauit ille qui dixit nisi misero digitos meos in cicatrices uulnerum eius** non credam [in Ps 21:17] AUPs 21.s2.17.5  
*adhuc ille tristis est non credit nisi misero inquit manum meam et tetigero cicatrices* clauorum non credam [in Ps 63:11] AUPs 63.17.20  
*Allusion: non sufficebat oculis quod uiderent nisi et manus admoueretur membris et cicatrices recentium uulnerum tangerentur* AUS 88.2.2/540  
 thomas...nisi **misero inquit digitos meos in clauorum et uulnerum loca et nisi** manum meam in latus eius **misero** non credam AUS 112.4.4/645  
*Adaptation: unde et ille discipulus qui se dixerat non crediturum nisi cicatrices eius manu tetigisset* AUS 143.3.3/786  
 thomas...dixit nisi **misero** manum meam in latus eius non credam AUS 145A.1  
 dubitanti discipulo suo praeuit manus palpandas et contrectandas **cicatrices dicenti non credam nisi misero digitos meos** in latus eius AUS 159B.12/282.374 (AUS Dol 21)  
 [Jn 20:29] ait cuidam discipulo suo incredulo qui dixerat non credam nisi **tetigero** AUS 239.7.7/1130  
*numquid non homo erat thomas unus de discipulis quasi homo de turba? dicebant ei condiscipuli eius* uidimus dominum. et dicebat ipse nisi **tetigero nisi digitum misero in latus eius** non credam AUS 258.3.58 (Migne AUS 258.3/1195)  
 dixisti nisi **tetigero nisi digitum misero non credam** AUS 258.3.70 (Migne AUS 258.3/1196)  
*Allusion: ita ut quidam discipulus eius in ipsa specie in qua nouerat non tamen magis fidem haberet uiuentibus membris quam recentibus cicatricibus* AUS 264.2/1212  
*dicunt ei condiscipuli eius coapostoli utique uidimus dominum et respondit ipse nisi misero manus meas in latus eius et tetigero* locum clauorum non credam AUS 375C.1  
 quid audistis dicentem thomam non **credo nisi tetigero** AUS 375C.2  
*fidem seruat ad tactum. nisi tetigero inquit non credam* AUS 375C.2  
 et manichaei adhuc contradicunt de thoma non **credo nisi tetigero** AUS 375C.3

[Valentinus] Allusion: nam et dubitatio beati thomae apostoli foramina clauorum quaerentis confirmatio fuit ecclesiae uniuersalis AUep 216.3/399.10

<20:26> et post dies octo iterum erant discipuli eius intus et thomas cum eis uenit iesus ianuis clausis et stetit in medio et dixit pax uobis

cf. Jn 20:19

Allusion: nec nos moueat quod clausis **ostiis** subito eum apparuisse discipulis scriptum est AUag 24.26/127.4 (mss W B hostiis)

hinc iam iohannes aliam commemorat sui demonstrationem a domino discipulis factam post dies octo ubi erat et thomas qui prius eum non uiderat. et post dies octo inquit iterum erant discipuli eius intus et thomas cum eis uenit iesus ianuis clausis et stetit in medio et dixit pax uobis AUEv 3.25.75/376.22

Allusion: nam post diem primum resurrectionis eius alios octo dies interuenisse dicit iohannes post quos eos rursus apparuit AUEv 3.25.84/390.3

Allusion: [Jn 20:19] siue post octo illos dies quando libet nihil habet aduersi AUEv 3.25.85/391.6

et post dies octo iterum erant discipuli eius intus et thomas cum eis uenit iesus ianuis clausis et stetit in medio et dixit pax uobis AUJo 121.5.7 [CT]

<20:27> deinde dicit thomae infer digitum tuum huc et uide manus meas et adfer manum tuam et mitte in latus meum et noli esse incredulus sed fidelis

Allusion: praebuit se palpandum qui se praebuit crucifigendum AU1Jo 2.1/1989

Allusion: cum se palpandum praebuisset AU1Jo 2.1/1989

[Jn 20:17] quid est hoc? discipulis se palpandum praebuit et mariae contactum uitauit? nonne ipse est qui dubitanti discipulo dixit mitte **digitos et palpa cicatrices**? AU1Jo 3.2/1998

Allusion: loca etiam uulnerum demonstrauit. quas ego cicatrices non ipsa uulnera semper accepi et eas ipsas potestate non necessitate. AUep 95.7/512.11

[Jn 20:26] deinde dicit thomae infer digitum tuum huc et uide manus meas et adfer manum tuam et mitte in latus meum et noli esse incredulus sed fidelis AUEv 3.25.75/376.25 (ms Q1 infert, mss E1 L ditum, ms B1 aufer, ms Q1 adfert, mss H A E1 L affers, ms B1 om.meum, ms B **non** esse)

Allusion: nec cum falsis uulneribus occubuisse nec cum falsis cicatricibus resurrexisse credidisset AUFau 6.9/302.13

Allusion: unde etiam ipsas cicatrices post resurrectionem discipulo minus credulo demonstrauit...si ergo et illa uulnera et illae cicatrices falsae reant falsum est et quod pependit in ligno. AUFau 14.2/404.15

**ueni mitte manum tuam** et noli esse incredulus sed fidelis AUJo 16.4.10

Allusion: quo resurrexit eisque suam carnem cernendam tangendamque monstrauit AUJo 101.5.4

deinde dicit thomae infer digitum tuum huc et uide manus meas et adfer manum tuam et mitte in latus meum et noli esse incredulus sed fidelis AUJo 121.5.9 [CT]

[Jn 20:25] quando ei dixit **ueni mitte** manum tuam **incredule** [in Ps 21:17] AUPs 21.s2.17.7

Allusion: insultat enim cuidam discipulo suo dubitanti et cicatrices palpare cupienti AUPs 48.s2.5.18

Allusion: dubitanti discipulo cicatrices ostendit AUPs 76.4.19

Allusion: unus e numero discipulorum post eius resurrectionem non tam uiuentibus membris quam recentibus cicatrices credidit AUqSi 1.2.395

Allusion: adhuc hic erat palpauit cicatrices discipulus qui non credebat AUs 5.249

Allusion: [Jn 19:34] si falsas eum cicatrices tamquam post falsa uulnera demonstrasse AUs 8.130

Allusion: cum thomas unus de duodecim palpauit cicatrices contrectando AUs 14A.5/72.87 (AUs Dol 20)

Allusion: inde quando post resurrectionem ascendit manus latus et pedes ostendit AUs 16A.336

Allusion: ergo et dubitanti discipulo falsas cicatrices ostendit AUs 37.378

sanctus thomas per iuga noluit dubitare. uideam tangam digitos mittam. **ecce inquit digitos tuos mitte per latus meum et noli esse incredulus** AUs 112.5.5/646

**ueni inquit mitte digitos tuos huc non totum abstuli seruau** unde credas et uide **latus meum et noli esse incredulus sed fidelis** AUs 145A.1

[Jn 20:25] et dominus **ueni tange** et noli esse incredulus AUs 239.7.7/1130

[Jn 20:25] **ueni tange mitte** digitum **et** noli esse incredulus sed fidelis. **ueni mitte digitum. sciebam uulnera tua seruau** tibi cicatricem meam AUs 258.3/1196 (SC116 AUs 258.3.71)

[Jn 20:25] et dominus ad ipsum thomam **ueni tange mitte manus tuas** in latus meum et noli esse incredulus sed fidelis AUs 375C.2

[Jn 20:25] ergo noli esse incredulus AUs 375C.3

<20:28> respondit thomas et dixit ei dominus meus et deus meus

[Jn 20:25] et praebuit se ex tempore palpandum manibus hominum qui semper se praebet uidendum aspectibus angelorum et palpauit ille discipulus et exclamauit dominus meus et deus meus AU1Jo 1.3/1980

Reminiscence: expaui fateor domine meus deus meus (ms S meus **et** deus) AUcf 9.4.106

Reminiscence: et inspira dominus meus deus meus inspira seruis tuis (mss B P dominus om.meus, ms F deus nu) AUcf 9.13.47



*Reminiscence: quo tu adiuueris dominus meus et deus meus* (mss A H B Z  $\mu$  domine, ms V deus....dominus, ms P domine deus) AUcf 13.1.13  
*et ubi thomae uox illa tangentis et clamantis dominus meus et deus meus* AUep 238.3.18/546.17 (mss M F A P R edd. ubi est uox)  
*[Jn 20:27] respondit thomas et dixit ei dominus meus et deus meus* AUEv 3.25.75/377.2 (ms I dixit)  
*ita fit ut et cicatrices discipulis dubitantibus falsas ostenderet nec thomas ueritate confirmatus sed fallacia deceptus clamaret dominus meus et deus meus* AUFau 29.2/745.1  
dominus meus et deus meus AUJo 16.4.12  
dominus meus et deus meus AUJo 66.2.31  
respondit thomas et dixit ei dominus meus et deus meus AUJo 121.5.12 [CT]  
*[Jn 20:27] et misit manum suam et clamauit dominus meus et deus meus [in Ps 21:17] AUPs 21.s2.17.8*  
*[Jn 20:27] et cum palpasset cicatrices et exclamasset dicens dominus meus et deus meus [in Ps 48:16] AUPs 48.s2.5.19*  
*thomas...palpatis enim cicatricibus exclamauit dominus meus et deus meus* AUPs 49.5.35  
*exclamauit qui misit digitos in compunctum latus et ait dominus meus et deus meus [in Ps 56:4] AUPs 56.10.27*  
*[Jn 20:25] praebeatur et corpus tangendum mittit manum contrectat exclamat dominus meus et deus meus [Ps 63:11] AUPs 63.17.22*  
*[Jn 20:27] sed numquid cum ille exclamasset tangens cicatrices uulnerum eius dominus meus et deus meus* AUPs 76.4.20  
*[Ps 68:4] cicatrices palpandas obtulit quas cum tetigisset thomas rediit ad spem quam perdiderat et exclamauit dominus meus et deus meus* AUPs 68.s1.8.30  
*[Jn 20:25] ut ille qui dubitabat discipulus repente tactis et cognitis cicatricibus exclamaret dominus meus et deus meus* AUs 88.2.2/540  
*et quid dominus illi iam confitenti ac dicenti dominus meus et deus meus* AUs 88.2.2/540  
*[Jn 20:25] cum contrectato [sic] corpore domini quasi euigilans exclamasset dominus meus et deus meus* AUs 143.3.3/786  
*exclamauit dominus meus et deus meus* AUs 145A.1  
*cuidam discipulorum suorum tractanti palpanti ueritatem digitis inquirenti et inuenienti exclamanti dominus meus et deus meus* AUs 158.5.5/864  
*[Jn 20:25]...ille autem cum contrectaret cicatrices inuenit expressam ueritatem et exclamauit dominus meus et deus meus* AUs 159B.12/282.376 (AUs Dol 21)  
*exclamauit discipulus dominus meus et deus meus* AUs 159B.12/282.387 (AUs Dol 21)  
*[Jn 20:27] tetigit et clamauit dominus meus et deus meus* AUs 239.7.7/1130  
*incredulus etiam ille discipulus thomas tetigit latus perforatum et exclamauit dominus meus et deus meus* AUs 245.2.2/1152  
*ergo iste discipulus oblati sibi tangendis cicatricibus et membris saluatoris sui at ubi tetigit exclamauit dominus meus et deus meus* AUs 258.3/1196 (SC116 AUs 258.3.80)  
*tangunt exclamant dominus meus et deus meus* AUs 258.3/1196 (SC116 AUs 258.3.93)  
*nam cum exclamasset cicatricum contrectationes conuictus et dixisset dominus meus et deus meus* AUs 361.13.13/1605  
*[Lk 24:39] tangitur a thoma dubitante exclamat dominus meus et deus meus* AUs 375C.4  
*[Luke 24:39] et unus ex discipulis eius etiam cicatrices eius contrectans exclamauit dicens dominus meus et deus meus* AUtri 4.3.93 (mss O S F K P discipulis eius, mss cett Eug (D G P T v)  $\mu$  discipulis om.eius, ms M contractans)

**<20:29> dicit ei iesus quia uidisti me credidisti beati qui non uiderunt et crediderunt**

*[Jn 20:28] quia tetigit hominem confessus est deum. et dominus consolans nos qui ipsum iam in coelo sedentem manu contrectare non possumus sed fide contingere ait illi quia uidisti **credidisti** beati qui non **uident** et **credunt*** AU1Jo 1.3/1980  
*Allusion: si enim propterea illi crediderunt quia tenuerunt et palpauerunt nos quid faciemus?* AU1Jo 2.1/1989  
*Reminiscence: credimus enim quod non uidemus* AUcat 25.38  
*apostolus petrus dicit [1Pet 1:8] et ipse dominus beati qui non uiderunt et crediderunt* AUep 147.3.8/282.14  
*[Jn 20:28] quam christus ipse non reprehendit sed adprobauit dicens quia uidisti **credidisti*** AUep 238.3.18/546.19 (ms M\* corrm1 **qui**, ms R **uidisti me**)  
*[Jn 20:28] dicit ei iesus quia uidisti **credidisti** beati qui non uiderunt et crediderunt* AUEv 3.25.75/377.3 (mss B R uidisti, ms cet edd v uidisti **me**, mss V1 v uidisti **me thoma**)  
*quia uidisti **credidisti** beati qui non **uident** et **credunt*** AUJo 16.4.12  
*beati qui non **uident** et **credunt*** AUJo 24.6.21  
*quia uidisti **credidisti** beati qui non **uident** et **credunt*** AUJo 79.1.12  
*beati **enim** qui non **uident** et **credunt*** AUJo 95.2.41  
*dicit ei iesus quia uidisti me credidisti beati qui non uiderunt et crediderunt* AUJo 121.5.17 [CT]  
*[Is 7:9] et ipse praesens dicens beati qui non uiderunt et **creditori sunt** [Ps 8:3] [Matt 11:25] AUPs 8.6.15*  
*[Jn 20:28] et ille quia uidisti me credidisti beati qui non **uident** et **credunt** [Ps 21:17] AUPs 21.s2.17.5*

[Jn 20:28] uidens dubitantem discipulum et intuens totum orbem terrarum crediturum quia uidisti inquit **credidisti** beati qui non **uident** et **credunt** [Ps 48:16] AUPs 48.s2.5.21  
 quid autem dictum erat thomae palpanti? quia uidisti **credidisti** beati qui non **uident** et **credunt** AUPs 49.5.54  
 [Jn 20:28] et ubi est illa uox domini ad ipsum thomam quia uidisti me credidisti beati qui non uiderunt et crediderunt [in Ps 63:11] AUPs 63.17.20  
 cui tamen ipse dominus ait quia uidisti **credidisti** et nos praenuntians uoce misericordiae suae beati inquit qui non **uident** et **credunt** [Ps 68:4] AUPs 68.s1.8.33  
 [Jn 20:28] nonne audiuit quia uidisti **credidisti** beati qui non uiderunt et crediderunt AUPs 76.4.21  
 Reminiscence: nobis adest credere sed deest uidere. nam secundum hoc quod adest credere et deest uidere AUs 14A.5/72.85 (AUs Dol 20)  
 [Jn 20:28] quia uidisti me inquit credidisti beati qui non **uident** et **credunt** AUs 88.2.2/540  
 [Jn 20:25]...beati inquit qui non **uident** et **credunt** AUs 112.4.4/645  
 [Jn 20:28] ait illi dominus quia uidisti me credidisti beati qui non uiderunt et crediderunt AUs 143.3.3/786  
 [Jn 20:28] ait ipse dominus et deus quia uidisti **credidisti** et nos futuros intuens beati inquit qui non uiderunt et crediderunt. nos uidimus audiuius et credidimus AUs 158.5.5/864  
 [Rom 8:23-5; 35-6] et ubi est beati qui non uiderunt et crediderunt AUs 158.8.8/866  
 non oculis carnis sed oculis fidei. quia uidisti **credidisti** ait cuidam discipulo suo incredulo AUs 239.7.7/1130  
 [Jn 20:28] et dominus quia uidisti me credidisti AUs 239.7.7/1130  
 sed audistis quomodo conclusit euangelium iohannis beati qui non **uident** et **credunt**. et uidere uultis et ego. pariter credamus et simul uidebimus AUs 259.1/1197  
 unde dixit cuidam suo qui tunc erat inter duodecim quia uidisti **credidisti** beati qui non **uident** et **credunt** AUs 301A.1  
 ex euangelio eius hoc audiunt homines...beati qui non **uident** et **credunt** AUs 341.3/173.66 (AUs Dol 22)  
 Reminiscence: beati qui creditis non uidetis sed creditis AUs 360B.16/68.313 (AUs Dol 25)  
 [Jn 20:28] ille contra quia uidisti me inquit **et** credidisti beati qui non **uident** et **credunt** AUs 361.13.13/1605  
 [Jn 20:28] et ad illum dominus quia uidisti **credidisti** beati qui non **uident** et **credunt** AUs 375C.4  
 Reminiscence: [Jn 1:5] fide utique opus erat qua crederetur quod non uidetur (mss B2  $\mu$  uideretur) AUtri 13.1.40  
 [FAU] at inquis **beatiores** appellat qui non uiderunt et crediderunt AUFau 16.8/447.5

**<20:30> multa quidem et alia signa fecit iesus in conspectu discipulorum suorum quae non sunt scripta in libro hoc**

Adaptation: sed non omnia scripta sunt sicut iohannes fatetur AUEv 3.25.84/389.22  
 Adaptation: multa dominum christum et dixisse et fecisse quae scripta non sunt AUJo 49.1.11  
 multa quidem et alia signa fecit iesus in conspectu discipulorum suorum quae non sunt scripta in libro hoc AUJo 122.1.4 [CT]

**<20:31> haec autem scripta sunt ut credatis quia iesus est christus filius dei et ut credentes uitam habeatis in nomine eius**

haec autem scripta sunt ut credatis quia iesus est christus filius dei et ut credentes uitam habeatis in nomine eius AUJo 122.1.6 [CT]

**<21:1> postea manifestauit se iterum iesus ad mare tiberiadis manifestauit autem sic**

Allusion: cum adhuc iohannes tertiam sit eius narraturus demonstrationem ad mare tiberiadis AUEv 3.25.75/377.12  
 Allusion: [Jn 20:26] tertio autem ad mare tiberiadis fortassis continuo consequenti die nihil enim repugnat AUEv 3.25.84/390.4  
 Allusion: iohannes quidem uidetur simile aliquid dicere sed illud longe aliud est quod factum est post resurrectionem domini ad mare tiberiadis AUEv 4.9.10/406.6 [on Luke 5:4]  
 postea manifestauit se iterum iesus ad mare tiberiadis manifestauit autem sic AUJo 122.1.16 [CT]  
 Adaptation: apparuit discipulis suis dominus post resurrectionem suam ad mare tiberiadis AUs 229M.1  
 Adaptation: audiuit nobiscum caritas uestra dominum iesum christum ad mare tiberiadis ostendisse se discipulis suis AUs 248.1.1/1158  
 Adaptation: audiuius euangelium quemadmodum dominus iesus post resurrectionem apparuit discipulis piscantibus ad mare tiberiadis AUs 249.1/1161  
 Allusion: post resurrectionem discipulis suis apparuerit dominus iesus...piscatio ista discipulorum ad mare tiberiadis sumpsit initium AUs 252A.1

**<21:2> erant simul simon petrus et thomas qui dicitur didymus et nathanahel qui erat a cana galilaeae et filii zebedaei et alii ex discipulis eius duo**

Allusion: id quod dicit iohannes ad mare tiberiadis tunc enim septem fuerunt et piscantes inuenti sunt AUEv 3.25.81/386.16

*Allusion: iohannes enim quando commemorauit...ad mare tiberiadis a septem piscantibus uisum esse dominum*  
AUEv 3.25.82/387.24

*Adaptation: iohannes...uoluit tamen etiam tertiam eius repraesentationem discipulis post resurrectionem factam commemorare ad mare tiberiadis septem scilicet discipulis petro thomae natanaheli filiis zebedaei et aliis duobus quos nominatim non expressit cum piscarentur* AUEv 3.25.78/381.19

*erant simul simon petrus et thomas qui dicitur didymus et nathanael qui erat a cana galilaeae et filii zebedaei et alii ex discipulis eius duo* AUJo 122.1.18 [CT]

**<21:3> dicit eis simon petrus uado piscari dicunt ei uenimus et nos tecum et exierunt et ascenderunt in nauem et illa nocte nihil prendiderunt**

*cf. Luke 5:4-5*

*Allusion: nam et post resurrectionem domini legimus eos esse piscatos* AUEv 2.17.41/141.9

*dicit eis simon petrus uado piscari dicunt ei uenimus et nos tecum* AUJo 122.1.21 *et exierunt et adscenderunt in nauem et illa nocte nihil apprehenderunt* AUJo 122.5.2 [CT]

*Adaptation: per totam noctam nihil ceperunt* AUs 248.1.1/1158

*Adaptation: quomodo euangelista narrat. perrexerunt enim discipuli piscatum et tota nocte nihil ceperunt* AUs 252.1.1/1172

**<21:4> mane autem iam facto stetit iesus in litore non tamen cognouerunt discipuli quia iesus est**

*mane autem iam facto stetit iesus in litore non tamen cognouerunt discipuli quia iesus est* AUJo 122.5.4 [CT]

*Adaptation: apparuit dominus piscatoribus stans in litore* AUs 249.1/1161

*Adaptation: [Jn 21:3] dominus autem apparuit eis mane in litore* AUs 252.1.1/1172

**<21:5> dicit ergo eis iesus pueri numquid pulmentarium habetis responderunt ei non**

*dicit ergo eis iesus pueri numquid pulmentarium habetis responderunt ei non* AUJo 122.5.6 [CT]

*Adaptation: [Jn 21:4] et quaesiuit ab eis utrum haberent pulmentarium. dixerunt se non habere nihil enim ceperant tota nocte* AUs 249.1/1161

*Adaptation: [Jn 21:4] interrogauit utrum haberent pulmentarium. illi se dixerunt non habere* AUs 252.1.1/1172

**<21:6> dixit eis mittite in dexteram nauigii rete et inuenietis miserunt ergo et iam non ualebant illud trahere a multitudine piscium**

*cf. Luke 5:4*

*Adaptation: propterea et ipse dominus post resurrectionem iussit discipulis quos piscantes inuenit ut in dexteram partem mitterent retia* (mss R N G B om.et, mss R N discipulis suis, ms L ad dexteram, mss M N dextram) AUag 26.28/128.19

*Adaptation: post resurrectionem autem quando iussit retia mitti in dexteram partem ut post resurrectionem nostram bonos solos in ecclesia futuros intellegeremus ubi ulterius haereses et schismata non erunt quibus modo retia dirumpuntur* (Am Er dirumpuntur, Am fururos) AUbre 3.9.16

*Adaptation: referatur perueniatque ad centum quinquaginta tres pisces quos retia post resurrectionem domini in dexteram partem missa ceperunt* AUdo 2.16.85

*Adaptation: quando iussu eius retia mittentes in dextram partem [Jn 21:11] AUEv 3.25.78/381.24*

*dixit eis mittite in dexteram nauigii rete et inuenietis miserunt ergo et iam non ualebant illud trahere a multitudine piscium* AUJo 122.5.8 [CT]

*Adaptation: item dominus post resurrectionem iubet mitti retia in dexteram partem leuantur pisces centum quinquaginta tres* AUPs 49.9.33

*Adaptation: quia in dexteram partem missa sunt retia* AUq 57.88

*Adaptation: posteaquam iussu domini in dexteram partem missa sunt retia* AUq 57.123

*Adaptation: iussit mitti retia in dexteram partem* AUq 81.77

*mittite inquit retia in dexteram partem* AUs 229M.1

*comprehendite. mittite inquit retia in dexteram partem* AUs 248.3.3/1159

*ecce unde mittite retia in dexteram partem* AUs 248.3.3/1160

*in ipsa piscatione prima non eis dixerat mittite retia in dexteram partem* AUs 249.1/1161

*[Jn 21:5] et ait illis mittite in dexteram partem...et fecerunt et non poterant trahere retia pro multitudine piscium* AUs 249.1/1161

*dominus dicit quo mitterent id est in dexteram partem nauigii* AUs 250.3

*piscationem istam quae hodie recitata est. facta est enim post resurrectionem domini...mittite inquit rete in dexteram partem* AUs 251.2.2/1168

*mittite in dexteram. missa sunt retia in dexteram* AUs 251.2.2/1168

*[Jn 21:5] ait illis mittite retia in dexteram partem et inuenietis* AUs 252.1.1/1172

*non dixit utcumque mittite retia sed mittite in dexteram partem* AUs 252.1.1/1172

*hoc autem dixit mittite retia in dexteram partem* AUs 252.1.1/1172

*hic autem mittite in dexteram* AUs 252.2.2/1172

*quid ergo dixit tunc discipulis post resurrectionem? mittite retia in dexteram partem* AUs 252A.3

tunc autem quid ait? mittite **rete** in dexteram **patrem**. quid est in dexteram **partem**? illos capturi estis in dexteram **partem** qui statuti sunt ad dexteram AU 252A.4

post resurrectionem...iussit idem mitti retia non utcumque et passim...mittite inquit **retia** in dexteram **partem**. missa sunt retia eo iubente in dexteram partem et capti sunt pisces certi numeri. AU 270.7/1244

<21:7> dicit ergo discipulus ille quem diligebat iesus petro dominus est simon petrus cum audisset quia dominus est tunicam succinxit se erat enim nudus et misit se in mare

dicit ergo discipulus ille quem diligebat iesus petro dominus est simon petrus cum audisset quia dominus est tunicam succinxit se erat enim nudus et misit se in mare AUJo 122.5.10 [CT]

<21:8> alii autem discipuli nauigio uenerunt non enim longe erant a terra sed quasi a cubitis ducentis trahentes rete piscium

alii autem discipuli nauigio uenerunt non enim longe erant a terra sed quasi cubitis ducentis trahentes rete piscium AUJo 122.5.14 [CT]

<21:9> ut ergo descenderunt in terram uiderunt prunas positas et piscem superpositum et panem

ut ergo descenderunt in terram uiderunt prunas positas et piscem superpositum et panem AUJo 122.5.16 [CT] uiderunt prunas positas et piscem superpositum et panem AUJo 123.2.5 [CT]

<21:10> dicit eis iesus adferte de piscibus quos prendidistis nunc

dicit eis iesus adferte de piscibus quos **apprehendistis** nunc AUJo 122.5.18 [CT]

adferte de piscibus quos **apprehendistis** nunc AUJo 123.2.15 [CT]

<21:11> ascendit simon petrus et traxit rete in terram plenum magnis piscibus centum quinquaginta tribus et cum tanti essent non est scissum rete

Adaptation: [Jn 21:6] quod cum fecissent ceperunt pisces **qui omnes magni erant** id est iustos significabant quibus dextera promittitur [Matt 25:33] (mss M G V L B coeperunt) AUag 26.28/128.20

nam et euangelium non tacuit in prima piscatione commemorare retia esse dirupta et in nouissima dictum est et cum **tam magni** essent **pisces retia non sunt dirupta** AUBre 3.9.16 (edd **dirupta x2**)

quae tunc non erant quia **retia non sunt dirupta** AUBre 3.9.16/66.12

Allusion: referatur perueniatque ad centum quinquaginta tres pisces [Jn 21:6] AUdo 2.16.85

Adaptation: propterea quinquagenarius numerus ter multiplicatus addito ad eminentiam sacramenti ipso ternario in illis **magnis** piscibus inuenitur quos dominus iam post resurrectionem nouam uitam demonstrans a dextera **parte** leuari imperauit **nec retia rupta sunt** AUep 55.16.31/205.16 (ms B om.numerus, mss P1 P2 ut in illis, ms P quod dominus, ms B om.iam, mss P P1 P2 M **ad dexteram partem**, ms B praecepit, ms K **dirupta**, ms P **retiae ruptae**)

[Jn 21:6] extraxerunt magnos pisces centum quinquaginta tres AUEv 3.25.78/381.24

nam retia illic in dextram partem missa centus quinquaginta tres pisces ceperunt magnos quidem sed pertinuit ad euangelistam dicere quod cum **tam magni** essent **retia non sunt dirupta** AUEv 4.9.10/406.9 (mss B R D H A Es L γ r dextram, ms cet dextram, ms Q CLIII, ms B1 om.cum, ms B tamen magni, mss Q A1 L dirrupta, ms C di\*rupta [r eras], mss P M Es γ dirupta)

adscendit simon petrus et traxit rete in terram plenum magnis piscibus centum quinquaginta tribus et cum tanti essent non est scissum rete AUJo 122.5.19 [CT]

et tot et tanti id est et centum quinquaginta tres et magni AUJo 122.9.1

et cum **magni** essent **retia non esse dirupta** AUJo 123.1.6 [CT]

leuantur pisces centum quinquaginta tres et cum **tam magni** essent ait euangelista **retia non sunt dirupta** [in Ps 49:3] AUPs 49.9.34

centum quinquaginta tres AUPs 49.9.48-89

Allusion: quare ad centum quinquaginta tres multi perfecti AUPs 49.10.4

Adaptation: in illo numero piscium qui capti sunt retibus post resurrectionem missis ad centum quinquaginta additis tribus AUPs 150.1.59

Allusion: de centum quinquaginta tribus piscibus AUq 57.1

Allusion: qui numerus piscium inuenitur quia [Jn 21:6] et ideo **magnos** id est perfectos et regno caelorum aptos habet AUq 57.88

[Jn 21:6] et capti sunt ingentes pisces centum quinquaginta tres mirantibus discipulis quod cum **tam magni** essent **retia non sunt dirupta** AUq 81.78

Allusion: quinquagesima septima de centum quinquaginta tribus piscibus (ref. AUq 57) AUre 1.26.158

quare enim addidit et cum **tam magni pisces** essent **retia non sunt dirupta** AU 229M.1

et omnes quot essent? centum quinquaginta tres essent AU 229M.2

Adaptation: uiso autem domino et eo iubente retia mittentes ceperunt quantum numerum audistis AU 248.1.1/1158

Allusion: centum quinquaginta et tres pisces AU 248.4.4/1160

[Jn 21:6] inuenti sunt pisces centum quinquaginta tres...pertinuit ad curam euangelistae in ista piscatione dicere et cum **tam magni** essent non est scissum rete AU 249.1.1/1161

[Ps 39:6] modo in dexteram non super numerum centum quinquaginta tres sunt **sed magni**. hoc enim dictum est et cum **tam magni** essent non est scissum rete AUs 250.3/1166 (SC116 AUs 250.3.124, sunt **pisces**, om. **tam**) quid ergo? **adduxerunt inquit retia ad littus. petrus attraxit retia ad littus modo cum euangelium legeretur audistis** AUs 251.3.3/1168  
et quot pisces? **attraxerunt inquit retia habentia** pisces centum quinquaginta tres. et adiecit euangelista rem necessariam et cum tanti **id est tam magni** essent non est scissum rete AUs 251.3.3/1169  
[Jn 21:6] deinde pertinuit ad euangelistam dicere et numerum piscium. pertinuit etiam dicere et cum tanti essent **id est tam magni retia non sunt disrupta** AUs 252.1.1/1172  
hic pertinuit ad euangelistam dicere et cum **tam magni** essent **retia non sunt disrupta** AUs 252.2.2/1172  
et quot erant? centum **et** quinquaginta **et** tres AUs 252A.5  
ne subrepat obliuio centum **et** quinquaginta **et** tres ait. *pertinet hoc ad euangelistam dicere cum tam magni inquit* essent non est scissum rete AUs 252A.5  
modo quid? et cum **tam magni** essent *inquit* non est scissum rete AUs 252A.5  
centum quinquaginta tres AUs 250.3  
Allusion: quam significant centum quinquaginta tres illi pisces de quibus iam quantum memini aliquando tractauimus AUs 259.2/1197  
pertinuit ad eum dicere in ista secunda captura et cum **tam magni** essent **retia non sunt disrupta....quid etiam illud retia non sunt disrupta dictum est quia tunc non sunt schismata** AUs 270.7/1244  
Allusion: significat etiam iste numerus centum quinquaginta tres AUs 270.7/1244

**<21:12> dicit eis iesus uenite prandete et nemo audebat discentium interrogare eum tu quis es scientes quia dominus esset**

dicit eis iesus uenite prandete et nemo audebat **discumbentium** interrogare eum tu quis es scientes quia dominus **est** AUJo 123.1.9 [CT]  
[Valentinus] Adaptation: sicut apostoli dominum post resurrectionem prandentem secum non audebant interrogare quis esset sciebant enim quia iesus est (mss G D domini) AUep 216.1/397.8

**<21:13> et uenit iesus et accepit panem et dat eis et piscem similiter**

Allusion: nec tamen eum capere non poterunt ueraciterque consumere potestate non necessitate; alioquin nec dominus eum post resurrectionem accepisset AUep 95.7/512.5  
Allusion: quid sibi uult cibatum fuisse christum et uulnera monstrauisse AUep 102.2/546.9  
et uenit iesus et **accipit** panem et dat eis et piscem similiter AUJo 123.2.1 [CT]

**<21:14> hoc iam tertio manifestatus est iesus discipulis cum surrexisset a mortuis**

[Jn 21:3] hoc iam tertio *inquit* manifestatus est iesus discipulis cum **resurrexisset** a mortuis AUEv 3.25.82/387.25 (mss Q E2 γ κ m v discipulis **suis**)  
hoc iam tertio manifestatus est iesus discipulis **suis** cum **resurrexisset** a mortuis AUJo 123.3.1 [CT]  
quando se tertio manifestauit discipulis AUJo 124.1.1  
Reminiscence: **suscitatus est** a mortuis AUtri 1.13.59 (mss P Eug (V) **suscitatus**, mss cett μ **excitatus**)

**<21:15> cum ergo prandissent dicit simoni petro iesus simon iohannis diligis me plus his dicit ei etiam domine tu scis quia amo te dicit ei pasce agnos meos**

Reminiscence: credo propter quod et loquor domine tu scis. AUcf 1.5.16  
Reminiscence: tumebam typho quamquam longe sedatior domine tu scis AUcf 3.3.17  
Reminiscence: malebam tamen domine tu scis bonos habere discipulos AUcf 4.2.3  
Reminiscence: dicebam talia etsi non isto modo et his uerbis tamen domine tu scis AUcf 9.10.53  
Reminiscence: et tu scis domine tu scis quemadmodum pellibus indueris homines AUcf 13.15.6  
et ipse dominus petrum apostolum interrogans cum dixisset diligis me plus his **ille respondit** domine tu scis quia amo te AUci 14.7.8 (ms V1 **plus is**, mss F I **plus quam hi**)  
cum ergo prandissent dicit simoni petro **simon** iohannis diligis me plus his dicit ei etiam domine tu scis quia amo te dicit ei pasce agnos meos AUJo 123.4.1 [CT]  
de uerbis euangelii iohanni simon iohannis diligis me AUs 146 incipit/796  
dictum esse petro a domino per interrogationem diligis me cui respondebat **ille** scis **domine** quia amo te. hoc secundo hoc tertio et ad singula uerba respondentis dicebat dominus pasce agnos meos AUs 146.1.1/796  
de eisdem uerbis euangelii iohanni simon iohannis diligis me plus his AUs 147 incipit/797  
interrogat eum dominus sicut audistis cum euangelium legeretur et et dicit ei simon iohannis diligis me plus his respondit **ille** et dixit etiam domine tu scis quia amo te...per singula enim dicebat dominus iesus petro dicenti amo te. pasce agnos meas, pasce **ouiculas** meas AUs 147.2.2/798  
fidens respondebat quod ibi uidebat etiam domine tu scis quia amo te AUs 147.2.2/798  
non enim simpliciter dominus dixerat diligis me **sed** plus his diligis me...**ille** non potuit dicere nisi amo te non ausus est dicere plus his AUs 147.2.2/798  
de quod dicitur in euangelio iohannis simon iohannis diligis me AUs 147A/incipit  
dicit ei dominus iam post resurrectionem **petre** diligis me plus his...**et ille** domine **etiam** tu scis quia amo te. quid me interrogas quod scis AUs 229O.2

*Adaptation: lectum est hodie quemadmodum dominus interrogauit apostolum petrum utrum diligeret eum plus ceteris* AUs 229P.1

*interrogatur a domino post resurrectionem quomodo lectum est et dicitur ei simon iohannis simon enim uocabatur a natiuitate sua iohannis filius erat simon iohannis diligis me plus his* AUs 229P.2

*interrogat semel et dicit ei ille **nosti** domine quia amo te et ille pasce agnos meos* AUs 229P.2

*semel dictum est **amas** me responsum est **diligo te** domine tu scis* AUs 253.1.1/1180 (SC116 AUs 253.1.13 (ms p om. **tu scis**))

*ait illi **petre** diligis me et quod nostis non autem tantum dixit diligis me sed addidit plus his...respondens ait domine tu scis quia amo te...tu scis quia amo te* AUs 299B.1

### **Paraphrases of 21:15-17**

*post resurrectionem dominus quid aliud interrogauit petrum nisi **amas me?** et parum fuit semel interrogare et iterum nihil aliud et tertio nihil aliud cum iam tertio ille taedio afficeretur quasi non sibi crederet quomodo qui nesciret quid in illo ageretur tamen et primo et secundo et tertio hoc interrogauit. ter negauit timor ter confessus est amor* AU1Jo 5.4/2014

*hoc dominus dicit petro **petre** **amas me?** et ille amo* AU1Jo 5.5/2014

*quid illi poterat retribuere petrus qui amabat illum? audi quid pasce oues meas* AU1Jo 5.5/2015

*[1Jn 3:16] ecce unde ueniebat **petre** **amas me?** pasce oues meas* AU1Jo 5.11/2018

*[Jn 21:19] ut cui dixerat pasce oues meas doceret eum ponere animam pro ouibus suis.* AU1Jo 5.11/2018

*[1Jn 4:11] **petre** inquit **amas me?** et ille dixit amo. pasce oues meas* AU1Jo 7.9/2033

*aut sic possumus diligere uel amare; hoc enim uerbo etiam usus est dominus cum diceret **petre** **amas me?*** AU1Jo 8.5/2038

*petro...cum ei dicitur ad omnes dicitur **amas me?** pasce oues meas* AUag 30.32/135.2

*nec quod petro dixisti pasce oues meas* AUDo 16.40/285.9

*[Matt 5:14] non sicut petrus cui dicitur pasce oues meas* AUep 93.9.29/475.8

*patris familias illius qui seruo dixit pasce oues meas non pasce oues tuas et de quibus dictum est [Jn 10:16] qui clamat in euangelio [Jn 13:35] AUep 108.6.17/631.10*

*Adaptation: post resurrectionem ter illum interrogat utrum eum amet et ei ter hoc idem respondenti etiam ipse mandatum de pascendis ouibus suis unum idemque ter praecipit* AUEv 3.2.5/273.13

*Adaptation: quando etiam petro ter interrogauit utrum ab illo amaretur et ei pascendas commendauit oues suas et de eius ipsius passione praedixit* AUEv 3.25.78/381.26

*Adaptation: postremo suas oues petro se amanti eumque amorem ter confitenti commendans dicit* AUEv 4.10.20/415.15

*petri apostoli cui pascendas oues suas post resurrectionem dominus commendauit* AUfu 4/196.14

*petri cur ter a domino dictum est **amas me** pasce oues meas* AUGal 15.9 (ms a **si amas**)

***petre** **amas me** pasce oues meas* AUJo 47.2.32

*de quo respondet apostolus petrus domine tu scis quia amo te* AUpat 25.22/687.3 (mss K R S A B N V respondit)

*[Matt 20:22] inde petro **amas me** pasce oues meas pro quibus biberet calicem domini [in Ps 36:18] AUPs 36.s2.8.32*

*Allusion: petrus...audiuit post resurrectionem **amas me?** et dicebat amo...donec trina uoce amoris solueret trinam uocem negationis [Ps 37:12] AUPs 37.17.32*

*resurgens enim a mortuis ait petro **petre** **amas me...** **amas me** inquit et ille amo. sufficebat semel...interrogat iterum et respondet ille amo* AUPs 90.s2.8.73

*in eo quod illi ait pasce oues meas [in Ps 104:1] AUPs 104.1.18*

*petro dixerat pasce oues meas* AUs 46.600

*cum petro commendantur oues non ibi dicit dominus ego pascam oues meas noli tu sed petre **amas me** pasce oues meas* AUs 46.602

*non est cui dicat securus dominus ouium pasce oues meas* AUs 46.605

*multi erant apostoli et uni dicitur pasce oues meas* AUs 46.754

*Adaptation: petre **amas me?** et respondit amo. et iterum **amas me?** et respondit amo. et tertio **amas me?** et respondit amo (mss γ1 γ3 **secundo** pro iterum) AUs 46.768*

*manenti petro dicitur pasce oues meas* AUs 46.1003 (mss β1-5, δ1-2 **om. dicitur**)

*dicit enim petro in quo uno format ecclesiam **petre** **amas me** respondit domine amo. pasce oues meas et tertio*

***petre** **amas me.** contristatus est petrus quod eum tertio interrogauit* AUs 137.3.3/755

*ergo hoc dominus exigit a petro **petre** **amas me*** AUs 137.4.4/756

*dominus noster iesus christus quando dicebat petro **petre** **amas me** quid est **amas me?**...si ergo talis es et **amas me** pasce oues meas* AUs 137.9.10/760

*uideamus si non pastor. **amas me?** tu ei dixisti domine **amas me** et respondit amo. et tu ei pasce oues*

*meas...unde contristatus talia uerba retulit domine tu scis omnia **ipse nosti quoniam te amo*** AUs 138.4.4/765

*nam tu petro non dixisti pasce oues tuas sed pasce oues meas* AUs 138.7.7/767

*tamquam ei diceret **amas me** in hoc ostende quia **amas me** pasce oues meas...et nos cum timore audimus pasce oues meas* AUs 146.1.1/796

*numquid attendunt quod ait dominus petro pasce agnos meos pasce oues meas* AUs 146.2.2/797

*Adaptation: audiuius ergo dominum iesum christum interrogantem apostolum petrum interrogantem utrum diligeret eum* AUs 147A.1  
*sub principe omnium pastorum amas me? amo...hoc solum exigo pasce oues meas* AUs 147A.1  
*confitenti autem amorem suum semel et iterum et tertio oues suas commendauit. diligis me inquit. domine tu scis quia amo te et ille pasce agnos meos. hoc semel hoc iterum hoc tertio* AUs 147A.1  
*Adaptation: interrogat semel respondet ille nec sufficit interrogat iterum nec aliud sed hoc quod interrogauerat hoc idem etiam ille respondet tertio repetitur interrogatio tertio respondet dilectio* AUs 147A.1  
*quid dixit petro amas me? amo. pasce oues meas* AUs 147A.2  
*amas me? amo. pasce oues meas. hoc semel hoc secundo hoc tertio. nihil aliud ille respondit quam amare se nihil aliud dominus interrogat utrum amaret eum nihil aliud respondentem commendauit nisi oues suas* AUs 229N.1  
*quando ergo audis dominum dicentem petre amas me* AUs 229N.2  
*dictum enim erat praesumentem [Matt 26:34] dictum est diligenti amas me* AUs 229O.1  
*dicitur ei pasce oues meas...pasce oues meas pasce agnos meos* AUs 229O.3  
*dictum est illi pasce agnos meos pasce oues meas* AUs 229P.4  
*apparuerit dominus post resurrectionem discipulis suis...et dicebat simon iohannis sic enim appellabatur petrus amas me?* AUs 253.1.1179 (SC116 AUs 253.1.7)  
*dominus iesus respondentem amorem commendat agnos suos et dicit pasce agnos meos pasce oues meas* AUs 253.1.2/1180 (SC116 AUs 253.2.23 (ms f dicit diligo et respondit pasce, ms α dicens))  
*habes ubi exerceas pasce agnos meos* AUs 253.1.2/1180 (SC116 AUs 253.2.28 (ms α exerceas habes))  
*ideo ei dicitur amas me? et respondet amo* AUs 253.2.3/1180 (SC116 AUs 253.3.43 (ms α om.ei))  
*nam si non pastor quomodo ei dicitur pasce oues meas...petro enim dictum est non pasce oues tuas sed meas* AUs 285.5/1296  
*in apostolis petrus est primus. simon iohannis inquit dominus amas me? respondit ille amo et iterum interrogatus iterum respondit* AUs 295.4.4/1350  
*attendite fratres mei. pasce inquit ouiculas meas pasce agnos meos* AUs 295.5.5/1350  
*pasce inquit oues meas* AUs 295.5.5/1350  
*dominus ergo petre amas me et ille amo domine. et dominus....amas me? amo. pasce oues meas. et iterum hoc et tertio hoc* AUs 296.2.3/1354  
*respondenti dicitur pasce oues meas* AUs 296.2.3/1354  
*quid praestabat petrus? totum hoc pasce oues meas* AUs 296.10.11/1358  
*in illo autem amore ostendit dominus petro christum amas me inquit. amo. pasce oues meas. hoc semel, hoc iterum, hoc tertio* AUs 299.7/1372  
*modo recitatum est euangelium modo audiuius dominus dixit ad petrum simon petre amas me et ille amo domine et rursus dominus pasce oues meas interrogat tertio non ad aliud quam hoc quod bis interrogauit* AUs 299A.1  
*Allusion: non sine causa dominus ter addidit oues meas* AUs 299A.2/412.31 (AUs Dol 4)  
*quid respondebimus ei qui dicit pasce oues meas* AUs 299A.2/413.55 (AUs Dol 4)  
*non enim ait illi pasce oues tuas sed pasce oues meas* AUs 299B.2  
*illuminabit te qui dixit petro amas me* AUs 299B.3  
*amabat quippe eum qui petro dixerat amas me? pasce oues meas* AUs 304.2.4/1411  
*ipse etiam dominus loquens post resurrectionem petre amas me respondebat ille amo hoc ille ter dixit hoc ille ter respondit et totum ter dominus pasce oues meas* AUs 340A.3  
*dominus ait pasce oues meas* AUs 340A.3  
*quid ergo facias amando me habes pasce oues meas. hoc semel et iterum et tertio amas me? amo. pasce oues meas* AUs 340A.3  
*quomodo moritur? petre amas me...tertio confiteatur per amorem quia ter negauit per timorem* AUs 352.1.5/1555

**<21:16> dicit ei iterum simon iohannis diligis me ait illi etiam domine tu scis quia amo te dicit ei pasce agnos meos**

*[Jn 21:15] et iterum dominus quaesiuit non utrum amaret sed utrum diligeret eum petrus at ille respondit iterum domine tu scis quia amo te* AUci 14.7.11 (ms β **respondit domine**)  
*dicit ei iterum simon iohannis diligis me ait illi etiam domine tu scis quia amo te dicit ei pasce agnos meos* AUJo 123.4.4 [CT]  
*etiam domine tu scis* AUJo 124.4.24

*[Jn 21:15] et iterum interrogat quasi non sufficeret semel simon iohannis **amas me diligo** domine amo domine iterum hoc. et iterum ille illud pasce agnos meos* AUs 229P.2

*[Jn 21:15] et iterum **amas** me domine **tu** omnia nosti **tu scis quia** diligo te* AUs 253.1.1/1180 (SC116 AUs 253.1.14 om.tu, om. **tu scis quia** (ms α nosti omnia, mss p2 α maur nosti **tu scis quia**, ms α **amo te**)

*Adaptation: et iterum dominus simon petre amas me et ille amo domine et rursus dominus pasce oues meas* AUs 299A.2/412.23 (AUs Dol 4)

*Allusion: [Jn 21:15] et hoc ipsum dominum iterum interrogauit et hoc ipsum iterum petrus respondit* AUs 299B.1

**<21:17> dicit ei tertio simon iohannis amas me contristatus est petrus quia dixit ei tertio amas me et dicit ei domine tu omnia scis tu scis quia amo te dicit ei pasce oues meas**

[Jn 21:16] *tertia uero interrogatione et ipse iesus non ait diligis me sed amas me ubi secutus ait euangelista contristatus est petrus quia dixit ei tertio amas me me cum dominus non tertio sed semel dixerit amas me bis autem dixerit diligis me? unde intelligimus quod etiam cum dicebat dominus diligis me nihil aliud dicebat quam amas me? petrus autem non mutauit huius unius rei uerbum sed etiam tertio domine inquit tu omnia scis tu scis quia amo te AUci 14.7.13 (ms I **contristatus petrus**, ms I **tu nosti quia**)*

dicit ei tertio simon iohannis amas me contristatus est petrus quia dixit ei tertio amas me et dicit ei domine tu omnia scis tu scis quia amo te dicit ei pasce oues meas AUJo 123.4.6 [CT]

[Jn 21:16] *interrogat tertio et iam taedio affectus petrus quasi dubitaret dominus de amore ipsius domine tu inquit scis omnia tu scis quia amo te [in Ps 90:12] AUPs 90.s2.8.81*

contristatus est petrus quod eum tertio interrogauit AUs 137.3.3/755

unde contristatus talia uerba retulit domine tu **scis omnia ipse nosti quoniam te amo** AUs 138.4.4/765

[Jn 21:16] *et tertio...interrogat tertio amas me contristatus est petrus quasi propterea assidue interrogaretur quod de illo dubitaretur et ait domine tu omnia scis scis quoniam amo te...et ille pasce oues meas AUs 229P.2*

[Jn 21:16] *et tertio amas me contristatus est petrus AUs 253.1.1/1180 (SC116 AUs 253.1.15 om. **amas me** (ms f tertia, mss α maur tertio **amas me**))*

[Jn 21:16] *et tertio interrogatus...sic respondit domine tu scis omnia tu scis quia amo te AUs 295.4.4/1350 ad illum tertio interrogare pertinebat petrum tertio respondere iam taedebat. contristatus est enim petrus ait euangelium quia eum tertio dominus interrogauit et ait domine tu scis omnia tu nosti quia amo te. et dominus pasce oues meas AUs 299A.1*

[Jn 21:16] *tertio dominus inter interrogauit et contristatus est petrus quia dixit ei tertio amas me AUs 299B.1 quare putamus contristatum petrum quia dixit ei tertio amas me AUs 299B.1*

**<21:18> amen amen dico tibi cum esses iunior cingebas te et ambulabas ubi uolebas cum autem senueris extends manus tuas et alius te cinget et ducet quo non uis**

[Jn 21:17] [Jn 10:11] *hoc illi continuo dixit cum iuuenis esses praecingebas te et ibas quo uolebas cum autem fueris senior alius te praecingat et tollet te quo tu non uis AU1Jo 5.11/2018*

*Adaptation: sicut petrum alter cinxit et tulit quo noluerat (ms P\* quod) AUep 80.2/348.10*

*quod etiam petro dixit alter te cinget et feret quo tu non uis AUep 140.10.27/178.13 (ms N om. tu)*

cum iunior esses cingebas te et ambulabas ubi uolebas cum autem senueris extends manus tuas et alter te cinget et ducet quo tu non uis AUJo 47.2.37

cum esses iunior cingebas te et ibas quo uolebas cum autem senueris alter te cinget et feret quo tu non uis AUJo 51.10.25

alter te cinget et feret quo tu non uis AUJo 52.3.34

amen amen dico tibi cum esses iunior cingebas te et ambulabas ubi uolebas cum autem senueris extends manus tuas et alius te cinget et ducet quo tu non uis AUJo 123.4.10 [CT]

cum senueris extends manus tuas et alius te cinget et ducet quo tu non uis AUJo 123.5.72

*utquid petro dictum est de ipso glorioso fine alter te cinget et feret quo tu non uis AUJul im 2.186.25*

*diceretur ipsi petro quod audiuius natali apostolorum die quando ei dominus praedixit futuram suam passionem cum esses iunior cingebas te et ibas quo uolebas cum autem senior factus fueris alter te cinget et ducet quo tu non uis AUPs 30.2.s1.3.40*

*petro namque ita praedixit passionem suam cum senueris inquit alius te praecingat et feret quo tu non uis AUPs 68.s1.3.20*

alter te inquit cinget et feret quo tu non uis [in Ps 89:7] AUPs 89.7.5

*praenuntiauit ei passionem suam cum esses inquit iunior cingebas te et ibas quo uolebas cum autem senueris extends manus tuas et alter te cinget et feret quo tu non uis AUs 147.3.3/798*

[Jn 21:19] *id est quia pro christo fuerat crucifigendus; hoc est enim extends manus tuas AUs 147.3.3/798*

*ut beato petro diceretur alter te cinget et feret quo tu non uis AUs 173.2.2/939*

*Allusion: postquam enim petrus impleto legitimo numero trinae responsionis professus est se esse domini dilectorem commendatis sibi ouibus eius audit de sua futura passione AUs 253.2.31*

*annuntiauit ei passionem futuram...cum senior inquit factus fueris alter te cinget et feret quo tu non uis AUs 285.3/1295*

*iam praenuntiat passionem et dicit cum esses iunior cingebas te et ibas quo uelles cum autem senior factus fueris alter te cinget et feret quo tu non uis AUs 296.2.3/1354*

[Matt 26:39] *ecce petro hoc dixit cum senueris alter te cinget et feret quo tu non uis AUs 296.5.6/1355*

*quid tamen dominus petro praenuntiauit unde est festus hic dies cum esses iunior inquit praecingebas te et ibas quo uelles cum autem senueris alter te cinget et feret quo tu non uis AUs 297.1.2/1359*

*Adaptation: et tamen post haec omnia petrum alius praecingit et fert quo ipse non uult. quod uolebas quando dominus praedicebat tunc uelles quando sequi debebas. alter te cingit et fert quo tu non uis. AUs 297.1.2/1360*

*petro sancto primo apostolo dominus ipse iesus in euangelio quod modo cum legeretur audiuius passionem suam praenuntiauit dicens cum esses iunior cingebas te et ibas quo uelles cum autem senex fueris factus extends manus tuas et alter te cinget et feret quo tu non uis AUs 299.7/1372*

*alter inquit te cinget et feret quo tu non uis...huic autem alter te cinget et feret quo tu non uis AUs 299.8/1373*



**alter** te *inquit* cinget et **feret** quo **tu** non uis AUs 299.8/1374  
*praenuntiauit ei passionem quam hodie celebramus* cum esses *inquit* iunior cingebas te et ambulabas ubi uolebas cum autem senueris **alter** te cinget et **feret** quo **tu** non uis AUs 299B.2  
*petro etiam beato* cum **senueris** *inquit* **alter** te cinget et **feret** quo **tu** non uis *etiam cum senueris* AUs 335B.3  
*continuo subiecit* cum **iuuenis esses** cingebas te et **ibas quo** uolebas cum autem **senior factus fueris alter cinget te et feret** quo **tu** non uis AUs 340A.3  
*illa est uoluntas de qua et petro dicitur* cum autem senueris **alter** te cinget et **tollet** et **feret** quo **tu** non uis AUs 344.3/1513

<21:19> hoc autem dixit significans qua morte clarificaturus esset deum et hoc cum dixisset dicit ei sequere me

[Jn 21:18] hoc autem dixit *ait euangelista* significans qua morte clarificaturus **erat** deum AU1Jo 5.11/2018

[Jn 21:18] significans qua morte **glorificaturus erat** deum AUep 140.10.27/178.13 (mss G N T **clarificaturus esset**)

*aut illa qua dictum est* sequere me AUJb 38/613.5 (mss P C om.aut...me)

hoc autem dixit significans qua morte clarificaturus esset deum AUJo 47.2.41

dixit significans qua morte **glorificaturus** esset deum AUJo 51.10.24

qua morte **glorificaturus erat** deum AUJo 52.3.35

hoc autem dixit significans qua morte clarificaturus esset deum AUJo 123.4.13 dicit ei sequere me AUJo 124.1.7

[CT]

hoc **enim ei** dixit significans qua morte clarificaturus **erat** deum AUJo 123.5.74

[Jn 21:18] hoc autem *inquit* dixit significans qua morte **moreretur** AUPs 30.2.s1.3.42

[Jn 21:18] *euangelista nobis exposuit quid dixerit christus*. hoc autem **dicebat** *inquit* significans qua morte clarificaturus esset deum AUs 147.3.3/798

*quid deinde ait illi* sequere me AUs 253.2.3/1180 (SC116 AUs 253.3.53)

*dicit ei* sequere me AUs 253.2.3/1180 (SC116 AUs 253.3.65)

*cum dixisset dominus petro* sequere me AUs 253.2.3/1181 (SC116 AUs 253.4.68 **dixit**)

[Jn 21:18] hoc autem dixit significans qua morte **glorificaturus erat dominum** AUs 285.3/1295

[Jn 21:18] hoc autem **dicebat** *ait euangelista* significans qua morte clarificaturus esset deum AUs 296.2.3/1354

[Jn 21:18] *et ipse euangelista consequenter exposuit nobis quid dictum fuerit* hoc autem *inquit* **dicebat** dominus significans qua morte clarificaturus **erat** deum AUs 299.7/1372

*denique audistis cum euangelium legeretur* sequere me AUs 299B.1

[Jn 21:18] hoc autem dixit significans qua morte **glorificaturus erat** deum AUs 299B.2

[Jn 21:18] hoc autem dixit significans qua morte **glorificaturus erat** deum AUs 340A.3

<21:20> conuersus petrus uidit illum discipulum quem diligebat iesus sequentem qui et recubuit in cena super pectus eius et dixit domine quis est qui tradit te

*cf. Jn 13:25*

*nam circa finem libri sui etiam ipse sic loquitur* conuersus petrus uidit **discipulum** quem diligebat iesus **qui** et **recumbebat** in cena super pectus eius et **dixerat domino** quis est qui **te tradet** AUFau 17.4/487.13 (mss P L1 **petrus ut uidit**, ms S **recubuit**, mss L1 P **qui est qui**, ms S **quis es qui te tradet te**, ms M\* **te tradet**, ms M2 **tradet te**)

conuersus petrus uidit illum discipulum quem diligebat iesus sequentem qui et recubuit in caena super pectus eius et dixit domine quis est qui **tradet** te AUJo 124.1.8 [CT]

[Jn 21:19] *respexit* petrus *ad* discipulum quem diligebat iesus *id est ad ipsum iohannem qui euangelium hoc scripsit* AUs 253.3.4/1181 (SC116 AUs 253.4.68 om.**ad**, om.**hoc** (mss α maur id est **ad**, ms α om.ipsum, ms α iohannem euangelistam)

<21:21> hunc ergo cum uidisset petrus dicit iesu domine hic autem quid

hunc ergo cum uidisset petrus dicit iesu domine hic autem quid AUJo 124.1.11 [CT]

[Jn 21:20] *et ait domino* domine **iste** quid AUs 253.3.4/1181 (SC116 AUs 253.4.70 (ms α **quid iste**))

<21:22> dicit ei iesus si sic eum uolo manere donec ueniam quid ad te tu me sequere

[Jn 21:15] *et de ipso iohanne ait* **sic** eum uolo manere donec ueniam *ad hoc iohannes euangelium suum terminat* AUEv 3.25.78/382.2 ("sic libri omnes" ms I **si** eum)

*Adaptation: [Jn 21:15] commendans dicit eundem iohannem* **sic** *se uelle* manere donec ueniat AUEv 4.10.20/415.16 (mss C1 P iohannem)

*Adaptation: sic manebit donec ueniat* AUEv 4.10.20/417.3

dicit ei iesus **sic** eum uolo manere donec ueniam quid ad te tu me sequere AUJo 124.1.13 [CT]

**uolo eum** manere donec ueniam AUJo 124.5.118

**uolo eum** manere donec ueniam AUJo 124.6.10

[Jn 21:21]...*ait dominus* **sic** eum uolo manere donec ueniam **tu** me sequere AUs 253.3.4/1181 (SC116 AUs 253.4.72 (mss p5 p7 sic **illum**))

[Jn 21:22] *ipse uero euangelista ipse qui scripsit de quo dictum est hoc sic eum uolo manere donec ueniam* AUs 253.3.4/1181 (SC116 AUs 253.4.74 (ms f sic **illum**, ms α om. **donec ueniam**))  
*quod est de passione ut hoc sequere me...crucifixus est enim christus crucifixus est et petrus...iohannes autem nihil eorum expertus est hoc est sic eum uolo manere sine uulnere sine cruciatu dormiat et expectet me tu me sequere* AUs 253.4.5/1181 (SC116 AUs 253.5.91 sic **illum** (mss α maur sic **eum**, ms α om. **me sequere**)  
*uno ergo isto modo exponi potest quod dictum est sic eum uolo manere donec ueniam tu me sequere* AUs 253.4.5/1181 (SC116 AUs 253.5.98 (mss p2 p5 sic **illum**, mss p α maur **uolo manere**)  
*quando uenerit christum. sic eum uolo manere donec ueniam. exposui sicut potui.* AUs 253.4.5/1182 (SC116 AUs 253.5.115 sic **illum** (ms p **eum**))

<21:23> **exiuit ergo sermo iste in fratres quia discipulus ille non moritur et non dixit ei iesus non moritur sed si sic eum uolo manere donec uenio quid ad te**

**exiit** ergo sermo iste **inter** fratres quia discipulus ille non moritur et non dixit ei iesus non moritur sed **sic** eum uolo manere donec ueniam quid ad te AUJo 124.1.14 [CT]  
 non dixit **iesus** non moritur AUJo 124.1.38

[Jn 21:22] *secutus adiunxit uerba sua in euangelio et ait natum fuisse famam inter fratres propter hoc uerbum quia discipulus ille non esset moriturus et ut tolleret istam opinionem adiunxit non autem dixit eum non fuisse moriturus sed tantum dixit sic eum uolo manere donec ueniam tu me sequere* AUs 253.3.4/1181 (SC116 AUs 253.4.76 non **eum fuisse** (ms f **notam**, mss p2 p5 **apud** fratres, ms p non autem dixit **dominus**, mss f p7 maur **eum non fuisse**, ms α **eum non esse**)

<21:24> **hic est discipulus qui testimonium perhibet de his et scripsit haec et scimus quia uerum est testimonium eius**

*et iohannes hic est inquit discipulus qui testimonium perhibet de his et scripsit haec et scimus quia uerum est testimonium eius* AUEv 2.12.25/123.17 (ms B1 est testimonium est [sic])

*sed paulo post dicit hic est discipulus qui testificatur de iesu et qui haec scripsit et scimus quia uerum est testimonium eius* AUFau 17.4/487.18 (ms L\* **quia haec**, ms L2 **qui haec**)

hic est discipulus **ille** qui testimonium perhibet de his et scripsit haec et scimus quia uerum est testimonium eius AUJo 124.8.1 [CT]

<21:25> **sunt autem et alia multa quae fecit iesus quae si scribantur per singula nec ipsum arbitror mundum capere eos qui scribendi sunt libros amen**

*Allusion: certe multae sunt paginae et multi libri hoc habent omnes quod dixit dominus breuiter discipulis suis* AU1Jo 2.2/1989

*Allusion: iohannes autem quamuis fateatur multa se praetermisit quae fecit iesus* AUEv 3.25.78/381.19

*Allusion: sed non omnia scripta sunt sicut iohannes fatetur* AUEv 3.25.84/389.22

*Adaptation: ne sit contrarium iohanni qui ait multa alia fecisse iesum quae si scriberentur mundum totum non potuisset capere illos libros* AUEv 4.8.9/404.24 (ms Ns iesum in conspectu eorum quae, ms C1 capere)

*nonne euangelium suum ita ipse conclusit dicens et alia quidem multa fecit iesus quae si scriberentur singula nec ipsum existimo capere mundum qui scribuntur libros* AUFau 17.3/486.6 (ms G1 **fecisset**, mss C L2 **scribentur**)

sunt autem et alia multa quae fecit iesus quae si scribantur per singula nec ipsum arbitror mundum capere eos qui scribendi sunt **libros** AUJo 124.8.3 [CT]

*non enim omnia quae fecit scripta sunt: iohannes hoc dicit multa alia fecit iesus quae si scripta essent arbitror totum mundum non posse libros capere. multi ergo sunt alii sine dubio suscitati* AUs 98.3.3/592