

THE TEXT OF THE APOSTOLOS IN
ATHANASIUS OF ALEXANDRIA

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Edited by
Roderic L. Mullen

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Gerald J. Donker

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Atlanta

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SERIES EDITOR'S FOREWORD

Athanasius of Alexandria stands as one of the great figures among patristic writers, important not only as a theologian and bishop but also as a witness to the developing canon of the New Testament. His quotations from the *Apostolos* have much to teach us about the state of the text in fourth-century Egypt. Because the quotations derive from detailed theological and controversial works and from several of Athanasius' letters setting forth his positions, contexts in which patristic authors are generally believed to have taken special care with their biblical references, they have added value as witnesses to the nature of the New Testament text current in his day.

The Society of Biblical Literature's series entitled *The New Testament in the Greek Fathers* has often presented ground-breaking works in the analysis of patristic references. With the publication in this series of Gerald Donker's study on the text of the *Apostolos* according to Athanasius, the analysis of patristic witnesses to the New Testament has taken a significant methodological leap ahead. For some years the present editor has believed that the New Testament textual data can more easily be understood if it is displayed in more than two dimensions, and the figures in Donker's work now demonstrate some of the potential of a more spatially-oriented display of the results derived from patristic material. We are, therefore, proud to present a much more detailed analysis of patristic references than has been possible heretofore in this series and also to be able to present the supporting data online. Insofar as the author received his doctorate in Australia and now teaches in Africa, this is also the first time that a work in this series has been both written and prepared for press by an author outside of North America.

One of the advantages of studying patristic references to the New Testament is that scholars can gain an understanding of the text over time. Various earlier works in this series on the texts used by Clement of Alexandria, Origen and Didymus have also focused on Alexandria. Now, with the addition of a study of Athanasius, our picture of the New Testament as known and used in that city becomes yet clearer. While the classic notion of text-types has been challenged recently, the ability to identify and visually represent textual streams perduring over some centuries adds greatly to our understanding both of the text itself, broadly construed, and of the community that produced and transmitted it. In that light, the present work demonstrates that the Athanasian text may be seen as standing within the Alexandrian textual stream, though not always at the center of it.

It will be noted that the present volume, number 8 in the series, appears some years later than volume 9. The work necessary to prepare a manuscript for the press can be time consuming, and the dissertation originally scheduled to appear as number 8 in the series has not as yet become available for publication.

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It is to be hoped that in future more scholars will be able to present the results of their work in this series.

Roderic L. Mullen,
Editor, *The New Testament in the Greek Fathers*

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

The journey from my initial interest in New Testament text-critical issues during undergraduate theological studies in the early 90's to the completion of a doctoral research project and this subsequent monograph has been somewhat convoluted, spanning a little over two decades. My first exposure to and interest in textual criticism of the New Testament was as a result of attending some lectures given by Gordon Fee, the original editor of the SBLNTGF series, during a visit he made to Australia in 1990. After completing a BTh in 1994 I was involved in pastoral ministry, further study to complete an MA and, alongside my wife and (then) two small daughters, preparing for missions work in Africa. We arrived in Sudan in late 1999 and lived there for 6 and a half years while I taught at Nile Theological College in Khartoum. During these years my interest in text-critical research was somewhat muted but not forgotten. Events in Sudan following the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement between North and South provided the opportune time to finally pursue doctoral studies and after some initial enquiries I eventually narrowed my research interest to the New Testament in the Greek Fathers and particularly Athanasius of Alexandria (our mutual connection from having lived in Africa a not inconsiderable factor). This monograph, which presents a slightly revised version of a PhD thesis submitted and accepted at Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia in October 2009 is the culmination of that journey.

This journey however has not been undertaken alone and while the writing of a thesis and subsequent editing for presentation in a revised form such as this may sometimes be a lonely task it can never be considered an isolated endeavour. Many people have provided inspiration, encouragement and practical help to enable completion. While the list is ultimately too long, I would like here to acknowledge some especially: Ted Woods for suggesting I contact Macquarie University as a suitable location in Australia to conduct my research. Alanna Nobbs, Head of the Department of Ancient History, Macquarie University who was helpful and encouraging from the outset. Grateful appreciation goes to my Doctoral Supervisors: Don Barker who provided judicious oversight and guidance throughout the whole process and Stephen Llewelyn whose advice was particularly helpful in the latter stages of compilation and editing. Special thanks are due to Tim Finney without whose inspiration, concerning the use of multivariate analysis, this project would not have found focus and final form. He willingly made available his computer programs for use in my analysis. Our ongoing dialogue has also helped refine my approach. I am grateful for his indications that this contact has been mutually beneficial.

A number of individuals and institutions were involved in providing other resources: Rod Mullen for supplying a number of manuscript resources, the Ancient Biblical Manuscript Centre, Claremont, California for providing

microfilms of manuscripts, and the Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung in Münster, Germany where I was able to access some microfilms that were otherwise difficult to obtain. Klaus Wachtel, Ulrich Schmid and other staff there were most welcoming and helpful. Special thanks are due to the Society for the Study of Early Christianity at Macquarie University and Tyndale House for arranging a visit to Cambridge in 2009. The Warden, Peter Williams and staff provided a congenial atmosphere for concentrated writing and completion of a number of chapters. I have appreciated the encouragement of James Libby, another fellow scholar utilizing three-dimensional multivariate analysis in biblical studies. Julian Leslie of the Statistics Department, Macquarie University gave valuable advice concerning statistical aspects that have been integrated into the methodology outlined herein. Greg Baker was most helpful in providing his programming expertise for the Python script which enabled me to produce the initial output data. Peter Costigan gave willing and specific help in understanding the intricacies of technical German. Carlingford Baptist Church, Sydney was a supportive and stimulating church home during the years 2006-2009 when most of the research and writing was undertaken

A few comments concerning the presentation of the data are in order. There are a significant number of tables and figures associated with the analysis presented in this study. All tables and figures specifically referred to in the text are presented immediately or as close as possible to the relevant references or (where noted) located in the Appendices. Refer to the Lists of Tables and Figures following for further details. Since most of the data analysis and output was completed using computing facilities the electronic source data and output files associated with this study have been made available and can be accessed online from the SBL website: <http://www.sbl-site.org/assets/pdfs/pubs/Donker/Athanasius.zip>. Other tables not specifically referred to in the text have been relegated to a supporting document: *Addenda to the Book. Donker-Apostolos in Athanasius* which is available as a PDF document within the .zip file located on the website. The *Addenda* also contains information related to the installation and use of various programs and scripts used in this study.

Finally, to my children Bethany, Jessica and Nathan and my wife Kathryn especially, I give thanks for their willingness to accept my absence during long hours of research and writing. Their understanding enables all my efforts. Thanks also be to God, the three in one, who is the inspiration and ultimate focus of the Apostolos.

Gerald J. Donker
Melut, Southern Sudan
May 2011

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABMC	American Biblical Manuscript Centre (Claremont, California)
<i>AJT</i>	<i>American Journal of Theology</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
ANTF	Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung
AW	Athanasius Werke (Series; de Gruyter)
<i>BJRL</i>	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester</i>
CBGM	Coherence Based Genealogical Method
<i>CPG</i>	<i>Clavis patrum graecorum</i>
<i>HSCP</i>	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
INTF	Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung (Münster, Germany)
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JP</i>	<i>Journal of Philology</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
LCV	Lower Critical Value
LXX	Septuagint (the Greek OT)
MDS	Multi-Dimensional Scaling
NA ²⁷	Nestle-Aland Greek New Testament, 27 th ed.
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NPNF	Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
NTTS	New Testament Tools and Studies
PG	Patrologia Cursus Completus: Series Graeca
PO	Patrologia orientalis
<i>RBL</i>	<i>Review of Biblical Literature</i>
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBLNTGF	Society of Biblical Literature The New Testament in the Greek Fathers
SC	Sources chrétiennes
SD	Studies and Documents
<i>SacEr</i>	<i>Sacris erudiri</i>
StPatr	Studia Patristica
TR	Textus Receptus (Stephanus, 1550)
TS	Texts and Studies
<i>TS</i>	<i>Theological Studies</i>
UCV	Upper Critical Value
UBS ⁴	United Bible Societies Greek New Testament, 4 th ed.
VC	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>

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ZAC

Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum

ZNW

*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde
der älteren Kirche*

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INTRODUCTION

Within the field of New Testament textual-criticism the evidence of patristic citations, particularly those of the Greek Fathers, has been traditionally seen as the ‘third class’ of witness after the Greek manuscripts and versions.¹ This may indeed be an unfortunate historical anomaly since the distinct advantage of the Fathers is that they can be ‘located’ both chronologically and geographically. Therefore they have the potential to supply valuable evidence as ‘fixed’ points of reference which can help elucidate the complex history of the New Testament text.² The nature of patristic citations as a hitherto under-utilized resource can be attributed to the difficulty and effort required to extract reliable data from the writings of the Fathers. References to the New Testament vary from accurate citations to loose adaptations to remote allusions and care needs to be taken when attempting to accurately reconstruct a Father's New Testament text.³

¹ Bruce Manning Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption and Restoration* (2d ed.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 36.

² Fee notes that when “properly evaluated” the evidence of the Fathers can be of “primary importance”. Gordon D. Fee, “The Use of the Greek Fathers for New Testament Textual Criticism,” in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis* (SD 46; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 191; See also M. Jack Suggs, “The Use of Patristic Evidence in the Search for a Primitive New Testament Text,” *NTS* 4 (1957–8); Robert Pierce Casey, “The Patristic Evidence for the Text of the New Testament,” in *New Testament Manuscript Studies* (ed. Merrill M. Parvis and Allen P. Wikgren; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950), 69. In the Editor's Foreword of the 2008 addition to the Society of Biblical Literature New Testament in the Greek Fathers (SBLNTGF) series, Holmes states; “In contrast to the earliest New Testament manuscripts, which can often be dated only rather generally and about whose geographical provenance frequently nothing is known, citations of the New Testament by Christian writers of late antiquity can be located, often with some degree of precision, with respect to both time and space.” Carl P. Cosaert, *The Text of the Gospels in Clement of Alexandria* (SBLNTGF 9; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008), ix; also Michael W. Holmes, “The Case for Reasoned Eclecticism,” in *Rethinking New Testament Textual Criticism* (ed. David A. Black; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2002), 97.

³ A further issue is the generally fragmentary nature of a Father's biblical text, coming as it does from often scattered quotations of only one verse or just part of a verse, found within the Father's writings. Major exceptions to this are commentaries written by the Fathers on portions of Scripture in which extended passages of the text are quoted, though these are relatively rare. Origen for example wrote commentaries on a number of Old and New Testament books. See Bart D. Ehrman, Gordon D. Fee and Michael W. Holmes, *The Text of the Fourth Gospel in the Writings of Origen* (SBLNTGF 3; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 18–19, 31–35. There are also minor ‘exceptions’ in the form of quotations that encompass a number of verses together though even these too must

Over the last few decades it has become increasingly clear that, despite the difficulties, the evidence of the Fathers is worthy of further research and has led to calls for more effort to be expended in this area.⁴ Having been described as “one of the most imposing figures in all ecclesiastical history and the most outstanding of all Alexandrian bishops”, it may seem surprising that the fourth century Greek Church Father, Athanasius of Alexandria has not received more attention as a pivotal witness to an early form of the New Testament text.⁵ Apart from the plethora of studies on Athanasius' theology and ecclesiology, only relatively few have focussed on his use of the Scriptures from a text-critical perspective.⁶ The most directly relevant study is that of Brogan's unpublished

be considered only fragmentary. For example Athanasius cites Heb 2:1–3 (46 words), 2:14–3:2 (103 words), Phil 2:8–11 (47 words).

⁴ See Fee, “Use of the Greek Fathers,” 199–200; Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament: An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism* (trans. Erroll F. Rhodes; 2d ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), 173. The fruit of these calls has been especially realised in the publication of a number of significant volumes in the Society of Biblical Literature New Testament in the Greek Fathers (SBLNTGF) series.

⁵ Johannes Quasten, *Patrology* (4 vols.; Utrecht: Spectrum Publishers, 1960), 3:20. Athanasius' status as one of the four great Fathers of the Eastern Church clearly establishes his importance for theology, church history and ecclesiology. Up to approximately the beginning of the twentieth century the hagiographical attitude towards Athanasius was almost unbounded; he was seen as essentially the singlehanded defender of the true church during the theological controversies of the fourth century. But with the rise of critical scholarship the attitude toward Athanasius was almost reversed with studies such as those by Seeck, Schwartz, Bell and Barnes in particular portraying him as a “violent tyrant” and the equivalent of a modern gangster. Barnes, for example, states that “Athanasius may often disregard or pervert the truth, but he is a subtler and more skilful liar than Schwartz realised.” See Timothy D. Barnes, *Athanasius and Constantius: Theology and Politics in the Constantinian Empire* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993), 3; also James D. Ernest, *The Bible in Athanasius of Alexandria* (The Bible in Ancient Christianity 2; Boston: Brill, 2004), 2–3; See also Eduard Schwartz, *Zur Geschichte des Athanasius* (vol. 3 of *Gesammelte Schriften*; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1959); Harold Idris Bell, ed. *Jews and Christians in Egypt: The Jewish Troubles in Alexandria and the Athanasian Controversy* (London: Oxford University Press, 1924). With the recognition that both these perspectives may have fallen victim to the ‘flaw of the excluded middle’, a more balanced view has since been achieved in recent studies such as those by Arnold who claimed that some of the earlier critical studies misconstrued the evidence of the papyri. Duane W. H. Arnold, *The Early Episcopal Career of Athanasius of Alexandria* (Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity 6; Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991), 11–23.

⁶ The following bibliographies provide information on a wide range of Athanasian research: Christel Butterweck, *Athanasius von Alexandrien: Bibliographie* (Abhandlungen der Nordrhein-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 90. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1995); Charles Kannengiesser, “The Athanasian decade 1974–84: A Bibliographical Report,” *TS* 46 (1985); Johan Leemans, “Thirteen Years of Athanasius Research (1985–1998): A Survey and Bibliography,” *SacEr* 39 (2000). Only a few of the studies conducted on the biblical text of Athanasius within the last half-century can properly be classed as text-critical and even then, in the case of both Nordberg and Zervopoulos' studies, are hampered by a number of methodological deficiencies. Refer to Henric Nordberg, “On the Bible Text of St. Athanasius,” *Arctos* 3 (1962): 119–141; Gerassimos Zervopoulos, “The Gospels-Text of Athanasius” (Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1955). The deficiencies of Nordberg's study are discussed in Chapter 2. Ernest's recent study on the Bible text of Athanasius is not text-critical but rhetorical and exegetical. Refer to the following footnote for bibliographic details concerning the closest relevant study by Brogan which also includes a critique of Zervopoulos' study.

dissertation on the Gospels text of Athanasius.⁷ However the results of Brogan's research on the Gospels cannot be reliably assumed for describing the character of Athanasius' text in the remainder of the New Testament which is here referred to as the Apostolos.⁸ Careful work on patristic sources over the last quarter of a century has highlighted the potential presence of 'mixed' texts.⁹ Indeed failure to take such factors into account in some previous studies has led to faulty conclusions as has been ably demonstrated by Fee.¹⁰ For this reason a lacuna has existed until now within text-critical research concerning the Apostolos of Athanasius. With this study on Athanasius' text of the Apostolos, a chapter in the analysis of Patristic New Testament texts can be drawn to a close.

This study has another related focus by seeking to advance discussion concerning methodology. The combination of a quantitative and group profile analyses has been used almost exclusively in studies on the texts of the Fathers for more than two decades.¹¹ While this methodology has been utilised successfully

⁷ John Jay Brogan, "The Text of the Gospels in the Writings of Athanasius" (Ph.D. diss., Department of Religion, Duke University, 1997). Brogan discusses in detail the deficiencies of Zervolopoulos' study since it focuses, as he does, specifically on the text of the Gospels. *Ibid.*, 57–77.

⁸ The 'Apostolos' refers to the contents of the New Testament apart from (sans) the Gospels. The meaning of the term is derived from its usage by Basil of Caesarea in his work *On the Holy Spirit*, 27 where he states, "We do not content ourselves with what was reported in the Apostolos and in the Gospels, but, both before and after reading them, we add other doctrines, received from oral teaching and carrying much weight in the mystery." Quoted by Carroll D. Osburn, *The Text of the Apostolos in Epiphanius of Salamis* (SBLNTGF 6; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2004), 1.

⁹ E.g., Codex Alexandrinus (A 02) witnesses to a Byzantine text-type in the Gospels but an Alexandrian text-type in Acts, the Pauline and Catholic Epistles and Revelation and Codex Angelicus (L 020) witnesses to an Alexandrian text in the Gospels but a Byzantine text in the Pauline Epistles. See J. Harold Greenlee, *Introduction to New Testament Textual Criticism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964), 39, 117–118. Fee notes that Codex W makes a "distinct change from a Neutral to a Byzantine type of text at Luke 5:12 and is Western in Mark 1:1–5:30". See Gordon D. Fee, "Codex Sinaiticus in the Gospel of John: A Contribution to Methodology in Establishing Textual Relationships," in *Studies in the Theory and Method of New Testament Textual Criticism* (SD 45; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993). There are various reasons why this might have occurred. For example, though a Father may predominantly use a form of text common to one particular location, he may also have had access to and used other text-types as a result of travel or permanent relocation and hence the need to analyse carefully the data gathered. Origen for example began his career in Alexandria but subsequently relocated to Caesarea. Ehrman, Fee and Holmes, *Text of the Fourth Gospel*, 8–9; Cf. Fee, "Use of the Greek Fathers," 193. For an introduction and discussion of text-types refer to Metzger, *Text of the New Testament*, 169ff; also Greenlee, *New Testament Textual Criticism*, 86ff.

¹⁰ Fee, "Text of John in Origen and Cyril," 302ff.

¹¹ See Ernest C. Colwell and Ernest W. Tune, "The Quantitative Relationships Between MS Text-Types," in *Biblical and Patristic Studies in Memory of Robert Pierce Casey* (ed. J. Neville Birdsall and Robert W. Thompson; Frieburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1963), 25–32; Ernest C. Colwell, "Method in Classifying and Evaluating Variant Readings," in *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (NTTS 9; Leiden: Brill, 1969), 96–105; Bart D. Ehrman, "Methodological Developments in the Analysis and Classification of New Testament Documentary Evidence," *NovT* 29, no. 1 (1987); Bart D. Ehrman, "The Use of Group Profiles for the Classification of New Testament Documentary Evidence," *JBL* 106, no. 3 (1987). The monograph in the SBLNTGF series by Cossaert was published in 2008. Cossaert, *Text of the Gospels in Clement*. The previous studies in the series are (in order of publication); Bart D. Ehrman, *Didymus the Blind and the Text of the Gospels* (SBLNTGF

in that time, it cannot be assumed there is no room for improvement or that no weaknesses are evident. Indeed, certain deficiencies have been identified by various scholars who have applied the methodology in numerous analyses of texts of the Fathers or critiqued its use. For example, in one of the more recent studies in the SBLNTGF series, *The Text of the Apostolos in Epiphanius of Salamis*, Osburn notes difficulties in how certain categories of readings are obtained in the Comprehensive Profile Method and concludes with the comment, "Clearly, a revision to the method is necessary to provide accurate data."¹²

Meanwhile, in the last few decades there have been significant developments in potentially advanced alternative methodologies which utilise computer technology. A particularly suitable methodological 'toolset' referred to as 'multivariate' analysis and specifically the technique of 'multidimensional scaling' which produces useful graphical output can be successfully applied to text-critical analysis of the New Testament in the Greek Fathers.¹³ This study conducts a text-critical analysis on the Apostolos of Athanasius utilizing the 'traditional' methodology of a quantitative analysis and a Comprehensive Profile Method as well as the proposed alternative of multivariate analysis and specifically multidimensional scaling.

Since a Father's biblical text can be located both geographically and chronologically, we can place it within an appropriate historical context. In so doing we are able to examine the relationship and role of people, places and events in terms of the transmission history of the text.¹⁴

Therefore in Chapter 1 a brief outline of Athanasius' life along with a review on the influence of his educational background and hermeneutical outlook will

1; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986); James A. Brooks, *The New Testament Text of Gregory of Nyssa* (SBLNTGF 2; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991); Ehrman, Fee and Holmes, *Text of the Fourth Gospel*; Darrell D. Hannah, *The Text of 1 Corinthians in the Writings of Origen* (SBLNTGF 4; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997); Roderic L. Mullen, *The New Testament Text of Cyril of Jerusalem* (SBLNTGF 7; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997); Jean-François Racine, *The Text of Matthew in the Writings of Basil of Caesarea* (SBLNTGF 5; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2004); Osburn, *Text of the Apostolos in Epiphanius*.

¹² Osburn, *Text of the Apostolos in Epiphanius*, 181–183; Mullen had earlier discovered similar difficulties and modified his use of the Group Profile Method to circumvent the problem; Mullen, *Text of Cyril*, 378; Cosaert also provided an "Adjusted Group Profile Analysis"; Cosaert, *Text of the Gospels in Clement*, 276, 300 ff; See Broman for a perceptive critique of the 'traditional' methodology; Vincent Broman, *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* 2 (1997): n.p. [cited 12th April 2007]. Online: <http://ros.etta.reltech.org/TC/vol02/Mullen1997rev.html>. See also Wasserman's review of Osburn's monograph; Tommy Wasserman, review of Carroll D. Osburn, *The Text of Apostolos in Epiphanius of Salamis*, *Review of Biblical Literature* [<http://www.bookreviews.org>] (2005).

¹³ Multivariate analysis, and specifically the technique of multidimensional scaling, has previously been applied in a study on the Greek text of the epistle to the Hebrews in an unpublished dissertation by Finney. See Timothy J. Finney, "The Ancient Witnesses of the Epistle to the Hebrews: A computer-assisted analysis of the papyrus and uncial manuscripts of *προς εβραιους*" (Ph.D. diss., Murdoch University, 1999).

¹⁴ Brogan's analysis of the Gospels text of Athanasius is particularly insightful here as he (Brogan) was able to demonstrate that the historico-political context in which Athanasius found himself influenced both his use of the biblical text and his role in its transmission. Brogan, "Text of the Gospels," 292ff.

provide an appropriate context for the discussion which follows, concerning the writings from which his quotations of the Apostolos are drawn.¹⁵ In Chapter 2 an overview of the Alexandrian text-type is provided as the context for a review of previous studies on the text of Athanasius. Then the schema used to classify Athanasius' quotations of the Apostolos is discussed, followed by an explanation of the arrangement of the textual data and apparatus which appear in Chapter 3. In Chapter 4 the methodology used in the analysis of the textual data is discussed. This includes reviews of both a quantitative and group profile analysis commonly used in studies on the texts of the Fathers as well as an introduction to, and explanation of, multivariate analysis. In Chapters 5, 6 and 7 a quantitative, group profile and multivariate analysis of Athanasius' text of the Apostolos are presented. A final conclusion is then presented in Chapter 8.

¹⁵ Despite his importance for ecclesial history no definitive modern biography of Athanasius has yet been published in English. Though see Annick Martin, *Athanase d'Alexandrie et l'Eglise d'Egypte au IVe siècle : (328-373)* (Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 1996). See also Thomas G. Weinandy, *Athanasius: A Theological Introduction* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2007), 1; Henric Nordberg, *Athanasius and the Emperor* (Helsinki: Helsingfors, 1963), 7. For brief biographies of Athanasius see, Khaled Anatolios, *Athanasius* (London: Routledge, 2004), 1-33; Alwyn Pettersen, *Athanasius* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1995); Quasten, *Patrology*; Arnold, *The Early Episcopal Career of Athanasius of Alexandria*; Charles Kannengiesser, *Arius and Athanasius: Two Alexandrian Theologians* (Hampshire: Variorum, 1991); Justo L. Gonzalez, *A History of Christian Thought* (3 vols.; Nashville: Abingdon, 1970).