

TERTULLIAN'S TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT
OUTSIDE THE GOSPELS

by

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ABSTRACT

This study examines Tertullian's references to the New Testament outside the Gospels, in order to determine whether he was citing from a Greek or Latin copy of these writings. A new collection of these references was undertaken and is explained in the Appendix. The conclusion of the analysis is that Tertullian was quoting the New Testament writings using Greek exemplars and translating anew in most instances. Tertullian was one of the first Christians to have undertaken such translation work. It is proposed that Tertullian was participating in and influenced by a broad cultural-linguistic movement called the Second Sophistic. Latin writers like Cicero, Quintilian, Varro, and Apuleius were also participants, and their translation of Greek works into Latin likely formed Tertullian to become a literary translator. A contribution to textual criticism is offered in a textual analysis of selected references. The conclusion that Tertullian's references are translations rather than copies of an extant Latin text is evidenced by the large proportion of singular readings which match no other known Latin version. Several readings among these references suggest an affiliation with a particular Greek manuscript and thus present a very early form of the Greek text.

To Celina, Aidan, and Noah

quae instituit Deus, etiam ipse custodit ...

ut maritus sim, habeam oportet uxorem ...

ut pater sim, filium habeo ...

quae enim me faciunt

Aduersus Praxean 10.3–4

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CONTENTS

Chapter One: Introduction: Literature Review and Methodology

1.1	Introduction	1
1.2	Literature Review	7
1.3	Need for a New Study	37

Chapter Two: Tertullian's Cultural Background

2.1	Introduction	41
2.2	Tertullian's Education	43
2.3	Tertullian and the Issue of Class	50
2.4	Translation Practices in Carthage and Rome	56
2.5	Tertullian's Cultural, Linguistic, and Translation Practices	69
2.5.1	Tertullian's Comments on Language	69
2.5.2	Tertullian's Comments on Translation	75
2.5.3	Tertullian's Practice of Translation	76
2.5.4	Tertullian and Greek Code-Switching	80
2.6	Conclusion	99

Chapter Three: Tertullian and the Bible

3.1	Introduction	101
3.2	Tertullian's Attitude toward the Scriptures	104
3.3	Tertullian's Material Bible	110
3.3.1	The Format of Tertullian's Scriptures	111
3.3.2	Tertullian and the Canon	118
3.3.3	Tertullian's Knowledge of Textual Variants	121
3.4	Tertullian the Exegete	124

Chapter Four: Characteristics of Tertullian's Text of the NT in Each of His Works

4.1	Introduction	133
4.1.1	Methodology for Collecting References	134
4.1.2	Sources for Identifying References	136
4.1.3	Explanation of Appendix	137
4.1.4	Cautions for Using the Appendix and Data Tables	138
4.1.5	The Principal Manuscripts of Tertullian	140
4.1.5.1	Codex Agobardinus (A)	141
4.1.5.2	Codex Trecensis (T)	141
4.1.5.3	Codex Ottobonianus (O)	143
4.1.5.4	Codex Paterniacensis (P)	143

4.1.5.5	Codex Montepessulanus (M)	144
4.1.5.6	Codex Florentinus Magliabechianus (N)	144
4.1.5.7	Codex Florentinus Magliabechianus (F)	145
4.2	Early Works	146
4.2.1	Ad nationes (TE nat) 197 [CPL 2]	146
4.2.2	Ad martyras (TE mart) 197 [CPL 1]	147
4.2.3	Aduersus Iudaeos (TE Jud) 197 [CPL 33]	150
4.2.4	Apologeticum (TE ap) 197 [CPL 3]	153
4.2.5	De testimonio animae (TE test) ca. 198 [CPL 4]	158
4.3	Middle period works	159
4.3.1	De spectaculis (TE spec) 197-202 [CPL 6]	159
4.3.2	De idololatria (TE id) 198-202 [CPL23]	162
4.3.3	De oratione (TE or) 198-203 [CPL 7]	164
4.3.4	De baptismo (TE ba) 198-203 [CPL 8]	166
4.3.5	Ad uxorem (TE ux) 198-203 [CPL 12]	171
4.3.6	De praescriptione haereticorum (TE hae) 198-203 [CPL 5]	172
4.3.7	Scorpiace (TE sco) 203/04 [CPL 22]	173
4.3.8	De patientia (TE pat) pre-204 [CPL 9]	174
4.3.9	De paenitentia (TE pae) 204 [CPL 10]	175
4.3.10	Aduersus Hermogenem (TE Her) 204/05 [CPL 13]	176
4.3.11	De pallio (TE pall) 205 [CPL 15]	177
4.3.12	De cultu feminarum (TE cul) Bk 1: 205/06, Bk 2: 196/97 [CPL 11]	178
4.4	Montanist Writings	179
4.4.1	De carne Christi (TE car) 206 [CPL 18]	179
4.4.2	Aduersus Ualentinianos (TE Val) 206/07 [CPL 16]	180
4.4.3	De anima (TE an) 206/07 [CPL 17]	181
4.4.4	De resurrectione mortuorum (TE res) 206/07 [CPL 19]	182
4.4.5	Aduersus Marcionem (TE Marc) 207/11 [CPL 14]	184
4.4.6	De corona (TE cor) 208 [CPL 21]	187
4.4.7	De fuga in persecutione (TE fu) 208/09 [CPL 25]	188
4.4.8	De uirginibus uelandis (TE vg) 208/09 [CPL 27]	189
4.4.9	De exhortatione castitatis (TE cas) 208/09 [CPL 20]	190
4.4.10	Aduersus Praxean (TE Pra) 210/11 [CPL 26]	191
4.4.11	De pudicitia (TE pud) 210/11 [CPL30]	193
4.4.12	De ieiunio aduersus psychicos (TE je) 210/11 [CPL 29]	194
4.4.13	De monogamia (TE mon) 210/11 [CPL 28]	195
4.4.14	Ad Scapulam (TE Sca) 212 [CPL 24]	195
4.5	Conclusion	196

Chapter Five: Tertullian's New Testament References Outside the Gospels

5.1	Introduction	203
5.1.1	Determining Biblical References	204
5.1.2	Translating Greek or Copying Latin?	205
5.1.3	Analyzing Translation Practices	206

5.1.4	Tools for Analysis	213
5.2.1	Acts	214
5.2.2	Romans	221
5.2.3	1 Corinthians	231
5.2.4	2 Corinthians	254
5.2.5	Galatians	259
5.2.6	Ephesians	263
5.2.7	Philippians	268
5.2.8	Colossians	271
5.2.9	1 Thessalonians	273
5.2.10	2 Thessalonians	275
5.2.11	1 Timothy	276
5.2.12	2 Timoty	281
5.2.13	Titus	282
5.2.14	Philemon	283
5.2.15	Hebrews	283
5.2.16	James	287
5.2.17	1 Peter	287
5.2.18	2 Peter	290
5.2.19	1 John	290
5.2.20	2 & 3 John	292
5.2.21	Jude	293
5.2.22	Apocalypse	293
5.3	Conclusion	297

Chapter Six: Conclusion

6.1	Summary	299
6.2	Avenues for Further Research	301

Appendix	303
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Bibliography	305
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION & LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1 Introduction

Diese *communicatio* göttlicher und menschlicher *idiomatum* ist ein Grundgesetz und der Hauptschlüssel aller unsrer Erkenntnis und der ganzen sichtbaren haushaltung. ... Weil, der höchsten philosophischen Wahrscheinlichkeit gemäs, der Schöpfer dieser künstlichen Werkzeuge (die Sprache) auch ihren Gebrauch hat einsetzen wollen und müssen: so ist allerdings der Ursprung der menschlichen Sprache göttlich. Wenn aber ein höheres Wesen, oder ein Engel, wie bey Bileams Esel, durch unsre Zunge wirken will; so müssen alle solche Wirkungen, gleich den redenden Thieren in Aesops Fabeln, sich der menschlichen Natur analogisch äussern, und in dieser Beziehung kann der Ursprung der Sprache und noch weniger ihr Fortgang anders als menschlich seyn und scheinen.¹

Johann Georg Hamann, the contemporary, interlocutor, and occasional disputant of Kant and Herder, once asked whether language had a divine or human origin. He answered in the affirmative on both accounts. Healthy debate and discussion of this timeless question continues on even into our day.² And yet, Hamann reached all the way back to the early Christian writer Tertullian for an intellectual advocate.³ He added as a footnote this quote from *Apologeticum* 11.7: *inuenisse dicuntur necessaria ista uitae, non instituisse; quod antea⁴ inuenitur, fuit, et quod*

¹ "This commutation of divine and human attributes is foundational and the main key to all our knowledge and to the entire visible economy. ... Since, in accordance with the highest philosophical probability, the Creator of these artistic tools (of language) has also wanted and was required to employ their use, the origin of human language must therefore certainly be divine. If a higher being or an angel, as in the account of Balaam's donkey or even the talking animals in Aesop's Fables, wants to work through our tongue, so must all such working be expressed analogically according to human nature. In this respect, the origin of language, and even less its continuation, must be and appear to be nothing other than human." (translation mine)

Johann Georg Hamann, "Des Ritters von Rosenkreuz letzte Willensmeinung über den göttlichen und menschlichen Ursprung der Sprache," in *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Josef Nadler, vol. 3 (Wien: Thomas-Morus-Presse im Verlag Herder, 1949), 27.

² Most recently Charles Taylor has pointed back to Hamann and others to ground his discussion of language's origins. Charles Taylor, *The Language Animal: The Full Shape of the Human Linguistic Capacity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press: An Imprint of Harvard University Press, 2016).

³ Werner Jaeger also refers to this age-old debate in the introduction to his *Early Christianity and Greek Paideia*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 3.

⁴ This word is Hamann's adaptation or perhaps a reading of the edition he was using which has since been abandoned. Dekkers, however, lists no textual variant for this word in his apparatus. Dekkers' critical edition of *Apologeticum* has *autem* rather than *antea* here. CCSL 1:108. Tertullian goes on to write after Hamann's quoted section, *erat enim antequam inueniretur*.

*fuit, non eius deputabitur qui inuenit, sed eius qui instituit.*⁵ Hamann's reading of this statement included language itself as one of those things which had been created prior to the creation of humanity, and he therefore asserted its divine origin. Hamann must have known that Tertullian would also come to his side in affirming the other half of the assertion. After all, Tertullian had elsewhere argued: *quomodo repudiamus saecularia studia, sine quibus diuina non possunt* (*De idololatria* 10.4). Though many human things were stained with idolatry, Tertullian conceded that Christians must be permitted to receive instruction from fellow human beings, even from non-Christians, because human language is needed for the study of divine language.⁶ The paradox for Hamann was that if God spoke to humans in language they could understand, then this language could be said to be both of divine and human origin. This ability to hold language's source as divine and human, and as a corollary to hold revelation and natural theology together, was a unique position in Hamann's day. Debate about these matters has often been fierce and taken up by some of the most renowned theologians of their day: Barth and Brunner,⁷ Hauerwas and Williams.⁸

That Tertullian, of all theologians, was for Hamann one who stood in such a middle ground is perhaps surprising when many contemporary conceptions of Tertullian have held him to be decidedly one-sided, that is, antagonistic to non-Christian culture or the human side of the

⁵ Hamann 1949, 27 n. 1. Hamann also added *De testimonio animae* 5 as another locus where Tertullian argues that all language is of divine origin. To this could also be added Tertullian's dismissal of the tale of Psammetichus who attempted to discern which nation had spoken the first language as the first race (*Ad nationes* 1.8).

⁶ Tertullian develops a similar position at *De corona* 8.

⁷ Emil Brunner and Karl Barth, *Natural Theology: Comprising Nature and Grace by Professor Dr. Emil Brunner and the Reply No! By Dr. Karl Barth*, Reprint of 1946 Edition (Eugene, Or: Wipf & Stock Pub, 2002).

⁸ Stanley Hauerwas has been skeptical of 'theological translation' and has instead called for Christians to learn the church's language. Stanley Hauerwas and William H. Willimon, *Resident Aliens: Life in the Christian Colony: A Provocative Christian Assessment of Culture and Ministry for People Who Know That Something Is Wrong* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1989), 21, 97; Stanley Hauerwas, *Working with Words: On Learning to Speak Christian* (Eugene, Or: Cascade Books, 2011). Williams on the other hand has held out hope for a natural theology which embraces the humanity of language. Rowan Williams, *The Edge of Words: God and the Habits of Language* (London: Bloomsbury Continuum, 2014).

equation. Richard Niebuhr may have been the most popular denizen of this position when he chose Tertullian to be his archetype for ‘Christ Against Culture’.⁹ Charles Cochrane’s assessment was similar in his renowned study *Christianity and Classical Culture* in which Tertullian is portrayed as singularly hostile to the classical world and its culture, to reason and ‘science’.¹⁰ For many students of early Christianity, Tertullian is known and understood by his oft quoted but ill understood quip ‘What has Athens to do with Jerusalem’? If these views accurately described the early Christian theologian and philosopher, we might conclude that his ideology would lead him to treat the text of the Bible in very particular ways. He should be highly suspicious of any human or cultural influence on divine writings. We might expect to see him protecting divine wording with every care possible. We might even conclude that he would oppose translating biblical books from their inspired original language into the vulgar tongues of non-Christian cultures.¹¹

Though many may view Tertullian in this light and use him simplistically either as a model or foil for life today, this study seeks better to understand Tertullian within his own culture and as answering perhaps timeless questions but within his unique and particular world. A number of Tertullianists have taken up a similar project in the last 50 years. In his review of the work of Fredouille, Frend contextualized Fredouille’s work on Tertullian among a number of other similar studies:

⁹ H. Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture*, Reprint edition (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1975).

¹⁰ Charles Norris Cochrane, *Christianity and Classical Culture: A Study of Thought and Action from Augustus to Augustine* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), 213–260.

¹¹ Neuschäfer began his investigation of Origen the philologist by reminding the reader of the popular conception of Origen as a theologian who was *too much* given to philosophy and thus became a heretic. Tertullian the montanistic anti-philosophy theologian is just the opposite. Like Neuschäfer’s investigation of Origen and his use of Greco-Roman literary culture, this study will seek to dispel the popular understanding of Tertullian and his use of the same. Bernhard Neuschäfer, *Origenes als Philologe*, Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft, Heft 18/1–2 (Basel: Friedrich Reinhardt Verlag, 1987), 11–12.

Fredouille's study may be placed alongside the recent work of R. Klein, T. D. Barnes, and R. D. Sider, all of whom have contributed towards establishing the classical background of Tertullian's thought. Like Barnes, Fredouille has set out to demonstrate that Tertullian did indeed take his classical inheritance into the Christian Church and thereby sought to resolve the antithesis between Athens and Jerusalem, the Academy and the Church. This is a most valuable contribution to the study of Latin Christianity at the turn of the third century. One would hesitate only in suggesting that the last word on the subject had been spoken.¹²

The eschatological word has, of course, not been spoken. To this list can also be added the work of Geoffrey Dunn to continue the rhetorical studies of Tertullian's writings begun by Sider.¹³ Many additional studies will be engaged throughout these pages. These studies explored the topic of Tertullian's relationship to the classical Greco-Roman world through a number of different lenses: by examining his overt statements on the subject of the classical world (Klein), through linguistic and literary analyses (Fredouille and Barnes), and rhetorical analyses (Sider and Dunn). These studies have concluded that Tertullian carefully and critically but nevertheless constructively used Greco-Roman culture to communicate the Christian faith, a theme which is now found throughout many early Christian approaches to the Bible. Lewis Ayres, following the work of Frances Young among others, has argued that the earliest Christians adopted and adapted Greco-Roman literary cultural practices into their use of the Bible.¹⁴ This general conclusion will be examined, explored, and tested throughout this study.

¹² W. H. C. Frend, review of *Tertullien et la conversion de la culture antique*, by Jean-Claude Fredouille, *The Journal of Theological Studies* 24, no. 1 (1973): 249–51. The works referenced by Frend are the following: Jean Claude Fredouille, *Tertullien et la conversion de la culture antique* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1972); Richard Klein, *Tertullian und das römische Reich*, Bibliothek der klassischen Altertumswissenschaften, neue Folge, 2. Reihe, Bd.22 (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1968); Timothy David Barnes, *Tertullian: A Historical and Literary Study* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971); Robert D. Sider, *Ancient Rhetoric and the Art of Tertullian*, Oxford Theological Monographs (London: Oxford University Press, 1971).

¹³ Geoffrey D. Dunn, *Tertullian's Aduersus Iudaeos: A Rhetorical Analysis*, Patristic Monograph Series / North American Patristics Society, v. 19 (Washington, D.C: Catholic University of America Press, 2008).

¹⁴ Lewis Ayres, "Irenaeus vs. the Valentinians: Toward a Rethinking of Patristic Exegetical Origins," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 23, no. 2 (2015): 153–187; Lewis Ayres, "Continuity and change in second century Christianity : a narrative against the trend" in James Carleton Paget and Judith Lieu, eds., *Christianity in the Second Century: Themes and Developments* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 106–121; Lewis Ayres, *Nicaea and Its Legacy: An Approach to Fourth-Century Trinitarian Theology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press,

Indeed, some earlier studies of Tertullian's use of the Bible have not considered his relationship to the wider culture of early Christians or even less to that of non-Christian authors. Literary theorists of the late 20th century invited renewed attention to the intertextuality of texts. Elizabeth A. Clark has noted that "Roland Barthes, Jacques Derrida, and Julia Kristeva, among others, understand texts as 'tissues of quotations' ('citations, references, echoes, cultural languages ... antecedent or contemporary ... cut across [them] through and through in a vast stereophony'), as dialogues among various 'voices.'"¹⁵ In New Testament studies, Richard Hays has pioneered a rich hermeneutical methodology which takes seriously the "complex intertextual relations with Scripture."¹⁶ These hermeneutical innovations in related fields are an invitation to read Tertullian again in order to hear even more his vast dependence not only on the Scriptures but also on other early Christian writers and their own scriptural use. It is also an invitation to listen again for Tertullian the exegete's dependence on Jewish, Greek, Roman and African writers who either pre-dated Christ or were not followers of him.

These more general approaches to Tertullian and to early Christian use of Greco-Roman culture for interpreting the Bible will be utilized to explore a particular research question which has vexed scholars for centuries. Did Tertullian use a Latin or Greek copy of the New Testament and how did his cultural background shape him in handling the text of the New Testament? What follows is a technical analysis of Tertullian's use of the Bible's text and language. Questions of textual criticism, translation theory, biblical exegesis, and linguistics will be addressed as we explore over three thousand individual uses of some portion of the New Testament writings.

2004), 31–40; Frances M. Young, *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

¹⁵ Elizabeth A. Clark, *History, Theory, Text: Historians and the Linguistic Turn* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2004), 132. Cf Clark, 285 n. 8–10 for bibliography on these theorists.

¹⁶ Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), xi.

What will emerge at the end of this study is a new way of understanding how Tertullian wrestled with some of the biggest questions of humanity and divinity. Its goal is to present a richer understanding of the enigmatic, paradoxical, and eminently quotable Tertullian and his use of the New Testament.

This first chapter presents the history of research on the question of Tertullian's New Testament citations and whether he used Greek or Latin copies of the New Testament writings. Particular attention is given to text critical methodology and methodological issues in studying linguistic phenomena.

The second chapter examines Tertullian's writings for his general attitudes and statements on the New Testament writings. Attention will be given to Tertullian's stated awareness of issues including the material culture of the Bible, biblical textual variation, the process of textual production, issues of canonicity, and the nature of communal reading culture among early Christians and non-Christians in Roman North Africa.

In the third chapter, attention will also be given to Tertullian's textual and linguistic practices including his use of citations as they varied among his numerous works, his use of the Latin language, and his appropriation of textual practices which were present in ancient Roman culture. "Code-switching" is proposed as a strategy Tertullian employed in order to navigate the intersection between Greek and Latin textual cultures.

The fourth chapter summarizes issues related to the dating, genre, textual transmission, its effect on biblical references, and the number of biblical references in each work. Each of

Tertullian's 31 extant treatises are briefly discussed according to these issues in order to lay a solid foundation for the following chapter's analysis.

The fifth chapter presents the analysis of the primary data collection. This is the most substantial chapter of the dissertation. A text critical and linguistic analysis of Tertullian's biblical references to New Testament writings outside the Gospels is presented as a verse-by-verse textual commentary using current methodology. This commentary seeks to answer the primary research question, whether Tertullian used Greek or Latin manuscripts of the New Testament, by including the linguistic significance of Tertullian's quotations and any interesting parallels in surviving Greek and/or Latin biblical manuscripts. Contributions toward the field of textual criticism are noted.

The concluding sixth chapter presents an overview of the results of the study and suggests further avenues for research.

1.2 Literature Review

In his recent biography of Tertullian, Geoffrey Dunn summarized the research question of this dissertation and commented briefly on the history of its research.

The question of what version of the Scriptures (Tertullian) used has long been debated. Did he translate from Greek to Latin himself or did he make use of an already existing Latin text? If he had a Latin text, are we able to detect it in one of the surviving later versions of the Old Latin? Finding the answer requires the highly specialized skills of textual critics, and the conclusions that they have reached are painstaking, complex, difficult to follow and, not surprisingly, not uniform.¹⁷

¹⁷ Geoffrey D. Dunn, *Tertullian*, Early Church Fathers (London; New York: Routledge, 2004), 20.

The following literature review attempts to chart the history of these answers and conclusions. Though Dunn is correct to say that there have been many and diverse attempts to answer the research question, a coherent history of scholarship on the issue still seems possible and certainly necessary as a foundation for a new study. The puzzle of Tertullian's text of the New Testament has been raised numerous times throughout the history of scholarship. Recently though, new approaches in cognate fields have opened up possibilities for a new study. In fact, in the most recent survey of the use of Latin Christian writers for New Testament textual criticism Hugh Houghton comments, "A reassessment of Tertullian's citations, drawing on the linguistic insights of these (recent) studies, is long overdue."¹⁸ This dissertation then will answer the call for such a reassessment by drawing on said linguistic studies of the history of Latin along with insights from modern translation theory, the social, cultural, and theological context of Tertullian's biblical citations. Once this has been done, an exhaustive and properly informed analysis of Tertullian's use of the New Testament text will be undertaken.

Although numerous topics and seemingly disparate approaches have been employed in the history of scholarship on the issues at hand, it still seems best to proceed in this review in a basically chronological manner. In many ways, the approach that has been taken in collecting specimens for this chapter has been a reverse chronological process. Recent studies of Tertullian's language and text have provided a starting point. Histories of scholarship, bibliographic reviews, and handbooks contributed a number of helpful references.¹⁹ Working

¹⁸ H.A.G. Houghton, "The Use of the Latin Fathers for New Testament Textual Criticism" in B.D. Ehrman and M.W. Holmes (edd.), *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis* (second edition; NTTSD 42), Leiden: Brill, 2012, 375.

¹⁹ Ibid.; *Chronica Tertulliana et Cyprianea 1975–1994* (edd. Braun, Chapot, Deléani, Dolbeau, Fredouille, Petitmengin. Paris, 1999); Robert D. Sider, 'Approaches to Tertullian : A Study of Recent Scholarship, *The Second Century: A Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 2 (1982), 228–260; Roger Pearse, "The Tertullian Project" <http://www.tertullian.org>.

backward from the most recent studies has led to the identification of their interlocutors and predecessors back to the seventeenth century.

The history of modern scholarship on Tertullian's use of Greek or Latin copies of the New Testament starts with Dom Pierre Sabatier.²⁰ His *Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinae Versiones Antiquae seu Vetus Italica* was published posthumously in 1749 and was thereby the first to critically examine the Latin tradition. In this milestone of scholarship, Sabatier presented an edition of the Latin Bible with the Vulgate text in one column and the text of an Old Latin witness in the other with an apparatus of variant readings at the bottom.²¹ This critical work on the Latin versions prior to the Vulgate created a thread of scholarship that continues today in the work of the *Vetus Latina* project which will be discussed later in this chapter.

The prodigious philologist Karl Lachmann who set the course for textual scholarship on Homer, German philology, several Latin authors, and Shakespeare also devoted himself to a study of the text of the New Testament. In an 1830 article explaining his methodology for reconstructing the early history of the Latin New Testament, he mentioned the importance of early Christian writers as witnesses and that he himself gave them more attention than had Sabatier. He especially saw Cyprian, Hilary, and the Latin translation of Irenaeus as critical for his project, since their text closely matched the early manuscripts in his opinion. Though acknowledging the important witness of the fathers, he admits, 'I have not risked working on

²⁰ For more on Sabatier, cf H. A. G. Houghton, *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to Its Early History, Texts, and Manuscripts*, First edition (Oxford, United Kingdom ; New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2016), 113–15.

²¹ Pierre Sabatier, Bonifatius Fischer, and Vincent de La Rue, eds., *Bibliorum Sacrorum latinae versiones antiquae: seu vetus italica, et ceterae quaecunque in codicibus mss. & antiquorum libris reperiri potuerunt: quae cum Vulgata latina, & cum textu graeco comparantur. Accedunt praefationes, observationes, ac notae, indexque novus ad Vulgatam e regione editam, idemque locupletissimus*, 3 vols. (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepolis, 1981). Cf also Thomas O'Malley, *Tertullian and the Bible: Language, Imagery, Exegesis* (Nijmegen, 1967), 4; Gerhard Jean Daniël Aalders, *Tertullianus' Citaten uit de Evangeliën en de oud-latijnsche Bijbelvertalingen* (Amsterdam: H. J. Paris, 1932), 2.

Tertullian.’²² Whether because of the inconsistent nature of Tertullian’s text or simply the vast number of Scripture references within his writings, scholarship would have to wait another 40 years for an exhaustive study of Tertullian’s text.

In the introduction to *Das Neue Testament Tertullians*, Hermann Rönisch acknowledged that his study was the first exhaustive treatment of its kind.²³ Unfortunately his analysis did not have the benefit of the best critical editions. He lamented that *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* had not finished work on Tertullian (the first volume would not be published until 1890). Thus he depended primarily on Franz Oehler’s critical edition of Tertullian’s works, although he notes that he examined several earlier printed editions as well.²⁴ He also highlighted Semler’s appended dissertation on Tertullian’s citations in which it was argued that Tertullian did not use any Greek New Testament manuscripts at all (especially based on an examination of John 1:13; Gal. 2:5; Rom. 5:14; Heb. 6:5; and John 3:6).²⁵ Rönisch thought however that Semler was completely wrong. As for Rönisch’s presentation of the evidence, he gave the New Testament citations of Tertullian in two columns. On the left were what he saw as direct citations and on the right those that he believed were allusions. He presented the data for the most part according to the normal canonical ordering of the books of the NT with some discussion of what Tertullian’s canon might have looked like in the introductions to each biblical book. After presenting the citations, he then included notes on the citations as a sort of commentary. It will become increasingly clear that the commentary approach seems preferable

²² ‘An Tertullian habe ich mich nicht gewagt.’ Karl Lachmann, “Rechenschaft über seine Ausgabe des Neuen Testaments,” *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* 3, no. 3 (1830): 837.

²³ Hermann Rönisch, ed., *Das Neue Testament Tertullian’s* (Leipzig: Fues, 1871).

²⁴ Franz Oehler, ed., *Quinti Septimii Florentis Tertulliani quae supersunt omnia*, 3 vols. (Leipzig: T.O. Weigel, 1853).

²⁵ Rönisch 1871, 38; Johann Salomo Semler and Christian Gottfried Schütz, eds., *Q. Septimii Florentis Tertulliani opera* (Halle Magdeburg: Joh. Christian. Hendel, 1770).

to a presentation of raw data easily divided into pure citations and allusions. This will be further discussed in the chapter on methodology. Having thoroughly examined Tertullian's evidence, Rösensch came to some conclusions which have since been debated. Rösensch did not doubt that Tertullian used a Latin edition in many cases and perhaps even preserved in his citations the earliest form of the Latin translation of the NT. In a footnote on this opinion, he notes the potential relation between Irenaeus' and Tertullian's texts of the NT but admits that because little work had been done on Irenaeus' text that the questions could not be sufficiently resolved.²⁶ A thorough study of Irenaeus' text would not be completed until 1923 which enabled some provisional comparative work.²⁷ It was in Rösensch's other significant tome *Itala und Vulgata*, that he laid out some arguments for his belief that Tertullian had Latin versions of the New Testament at his fingertips. In order to support this thesis, he cites two passages from Tertullian.²⁸ These passages along with several others will be treated later in the dissertation. At this point, it is enough to say that these two passages have not been convincing enough to assure subsequent scholars of the correctness of his thesis. Rösensch also argued that Tertullian's inconsistent citations were due to faulty memory. This position too will be examined critically later.

²⁶ Rösensch 1871, 43.

²⁷ William Sanday, Cuthbert Hamilton Turner and Alexander Souter eds., *Nouum Testamentum Sancti Irenaei Episcopi Lugdunensis: Being the New Testament Quotations in the Old-Latin Version of the Elegchos Kai Paratropē Pseudōnymos Gnōseōs*, Old-Latin Biblical Texts, no. 7 (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1923). Cf. also F. C. Burkitt, "Dr Sanday's New Testament of Irenaeus, with a Note on Valentinian Terms in Irenaeus and Tertullian". *The Journal of Theological Studies* 25, no. 97 (1923): 56–64, 64–67.

²⁸ TE Marc 2.9 *Inprimis tenendum quod Graeca scriptura signavit aflatum [Genes 2:7] nominans non spiritum. Quidam enim de Graeco interpretantes non recogitata differentia nec curata proprietate verborum pro afflatu [πνοή] spiritum ponunt.* TE Marc 5.4: *haec sunt enim duo testamenta sive "duae ostensiones" [Gal. 4:24] sicut invenimus interpretatum.* Hermann Rösensch, *Itala und Vulgata. Das Sprachidiom der urchristlichen Itala und der katholischen Vulgata, unter Berücksichtigung der römischen Volkssprache, durch Beispiele Erläutert* (Marburg; Leipzig: N. G. Elwert'sche Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1869), 2 n. 3.

Rönsch's study also had an index of Tertullian's Latinity. This early exploration into the language of Tertullian as an addition or complement to the study of his text is a theme which we will see again. In order to explain the complex, often controversial, and still renowned sayings of Tertullian and their reception, Rönsch found the cause of their complexity 'theils der Sprache seiner Heimath theils den Irrthümer seiner Abschreiber zur Last fällt und welch bedeutende Schwierigkeiten ihm, der dem Christentum aus punischem Latein eine Literatur errang sich entgegenstemmen'.²⁹ Rönsch went on to say that much can be learned from Tertullian's eloquent style, especially if his readers will not take his pithy statements out of context but read them as part of the larger whole of his writings. He further noted that the Latinity of Commodian's *Carmen* is nearly identical to that of the Latin translations of the Scriptures.³⁰ In attempting to characterize Tertullian's style, Rönsch saw three genres of writing: the juridical, the ecclesiastical, and the popular. He held Tertullian to have been a lawyer, a position which scholarship has subsequently dismissed.³¹ Whether this is true or not, Rönsch argued that Tertullian must have known expressions from Roman law, buzzwords from the Forum, and from his own learned register. In regards to his biblical writings (namely the biblical, dogmatic, and ethical writings), he argues that Tertullian knew the texts of the Old and New Testaments and the apocryphal writings so well that he could paraphrase them and in so doing create all kinds of innovative expressions.³² Rönsch held that Tertullian was so at home with the people of his hometown that he was able to speak the register of popular Latin, which he argued was spoken all over the ancient Roman world but is often referred to as African Latin.³³

²⁹ Rönsch, *Das NT Tertullian's*, 1–2.

³⁰ Rönsch, *Das NT Tertullian's*, 31.

³¹ Barnes, *Tertullian* (1971), 22–29.

³² Rönsch, *Das NT Tertullian's*, 32.

³³ Rönsch, *Itala und Vulgata*, 471–482.

In 1896, F.J.A. Hort built upon the research of Röscher and others when he noted that “The statements of Tertullian leave no doubt that when he wrote, near the beginning of the third century, a Latin translation of the New Testament was already current in North Africa.”³⁴ When Hort laid out the classification of three main Old Latin text types, the first type, the African, was defined as that group of texts which most closely resembles Tertullian and Cyprian.³⁵ This alignment between the text of these two early African Christian writers will appear below as conversation and debate concerning Tertullian’s text continued into the new century.

This theme of regionality and its influences on the biblical text and its language would be picked up at the turn of the century by Monceaux. He remarked that Tertullian was anything but consistent in his citation of the Scriptures: “Souvent, dans des ouvrages différents, il se réfère aux mêmes versets: deux fois sur trois, ses citations présentent de notables variantes.”³⁶ He argued, however, that it was only in Tertullian’s apologetic and disciplinary works that he quoted from memory and mixed his personal reflections with the text which he was more informally producing.³⁷ In his theological and polemical treatises, though, Monceaux argued that Tertullian was much more careful.

Further, he put forward some evidence that appeared to demonstrate that Tertullian used both Greek and Latin copies of NT writings. He argued that Tertullian had Latin translations of the four great prophets, Psalms, Proverbs, Luke, John, Acts, and the Paulines but that he regularly checked Greek manuscripts too. His proof that Latin copies existed was that Tertullian

³⁴ Brooke Foss Westcott and Fenton John Anthony Hort, eds., *The New Testament in the Original Greek*, Second Edition (Cambridge: Macmillan, 1896), 78.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Paul Monceaux, *Histoire littéraire de l’Afrique Chrétienne depuis les origines jusqu’à l’invasion Arabe*, vol. 1 Tertullien et les Origines (Paris, Bruxelles: Culture et Civilisation, 1901), 107.

³⁷ Ibid., 109.

sometimes supposedly corrected Latin texts with the Greek (*Adu. Marc.* 2.9, 4.14, *Mon.* 11). Like Hort before him, Monceaux also compared Tertullian's text to Cyprian's. When there was agreement, this was proof for Monceaux that Cyprian was using the same Latin text which had been used by his predecessor.³⁸ This similar text of Tertullian and Cyprian was the basis of the African text of the Latin NT. Building on Monceaux's earlier use of Tertullian's own comments to prove that Tertullian had a Latin text which he was correcting with the Greek, De Labriolle listed ten places in Tertullian's works, primarily in *Aduersus Marcionem*, in which he found evidence of a Latin version of the NT.³⁹

Meanwhile, a theological battle was raging between Theodor Zahn and Adolf von Harnack over a number of issues in New Testament studies. A number of rejoinders and counter-volumes were produced during this lively, sometimes *ad hominem*, but nevertheless productive exchange over the history of earliest Christianity. Harnack argued vigorously for the historical evolution of early Christianity and critiqued Zahn's position as ahistorical and far too traditional. For Harnack, Zahn's position on the general stability and antiquity of the παράδοσις ἑγγραφος smacked of as much unhistorical reliance on tradition as the Roman Catholic teaching of the stability of the παράδοσις ἄγραφος.⁴⁰ Harnack argued for a late date for the canonization of the New Testament. In support of this, he said Montanism could never have risen up if there had been a definitive understanding of a normative canon.⁴¹

³⁸ Ibid., 109–118.

³⁹ Pierre De Labriolle, "Tertullien a-t-il connu une version latine de la Bible?," *Bulletin d'ancienne littérature et d'archéologie chrétienne*, 1914, 210–13.

⁴⁰ I am following here the analysis of Kurt Nowak, "Historische Einführung," in *Adolf von Harnack als Zeitgenosse: Reden und Schriften aus den Jahren des Kaiserreichs und der Weimarer Republik* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1996), 30.

⁴¹ Adolf Harnack, "Das muratorische Fragment und die Entstehung einer Sammlung apostolisch-katholischer Schriften," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 3 (1879): 406. Cf also Zahn's response: Theodor Zahn, *Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*, vol. 1 (Erlangen: A. Deichert, 1888), 12.

In 1888 Zahn brought forth the first volume of his *Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanons*. In the introduction, he asserted that the development of the canon and the state of the text of its writings had been sufficiently researched. The second century, however, still lay in the dark awaiting further research.⁴² It was especially the last two decades of the second and the first decade of the third century that formed the biggest puzzle.⁴³ Because the issue of Bible translation and particularly which books were being translated had been overlooked as evidence for this early history of the canon, Zahn interested himself in issues surrounding the Latin translation of what would become New Testament books.⁴⁴ He surmised from the evidence that Tertullian must have been translating rather freely from Greek manuscripts of the NT and that a true African Latin NT only first appeared with Cyprian.⁴⁵

Adolf von Harnack responded in 1904 in his *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* that he held the first Latin translation of the NT to have already been available by around 180 AD and subsequently was used by Tertullian.⁴⁶ He argued that Zahn's position had surprised those studying the history of the Latin New Testament and put forward a number of examples to demonstrate his position. First, since there were parallels between Tertullian's and Cyprian's NT text, and since it was not possible for Cyprian to use Tertullian's citations, therefore they must have both been dependent on a common Latin translation.⁴⁷ Second, Tertullian seems to show

⁴² Theodor Zahn, *Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*, vol. 1 (Erlangen: A. Deichert, 1888), 1.

⁴³ "Es bilden die letzten Jahrzehnte des zweiten und die ersten des dritten Jahrhunderts, etwa die Zeit der Amtsverwaltung der drei römischen Bischöfe Eleutherus, Victor, und Zephyrin (174–217), eine Periode, in welcher wir aus den vergleichsweise reichlich fließenden Quellen die begründete Vorstellung einer wesentlich Gleichmässigkeit und Abgeschlossenheit in Bezug auf die kirchlichen Zustände überhaupt und die Geltung der neutestamentlichen Schriften insbesondere schöpfen." Zahn, *Geschichte*, vol. 1, 3.

⁴⁴ Zahn, *Geschichte*, vol. 1, 32.

⁴⁵ Zahn, *Geschichte*, vol. 1, 51–60.

⁴⁶ Adolf von Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius*, vol. 2.2 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1904), 296–302.

⁴⁷ "Erwiesen ist es und die Nachweise werden immer zahlreicher daß umfangreichere Schriftzitate bei Tertullian in einigen Fällen auch kürzere so enge und wörtliche Parallelen in den Schriftziten späterer lateinischer Autoren von Cyprian ab (doch s. schon Acta Perpet.), sowie in alten lateinischen Bibelhandschriften haben, daß an Zufall nicht

evidence that he had a Latin Bible text which he had not produced himself which he sometimes argued with and reverted back to the Greek to make his point.⁴⁸ Capelle⁴⁹ and Vogels⁵⁰ agreed that Tertullian must have known a Latin New Testament. Capelle nevertheless argued that Tertullian regularly looked back to the Greek as well.⁵¹ Vogels explored Tertullian's references to the Apocalypse.

Hermann Von Soden further developed this thesis when he argued that Tertullian was the first witness to an African translation. He was less certain, however, about comparing Tertullian's text with Cyprian's because there was as yet no critical text of Tertullian. In a footnote, Von Soden hoped for an updated reworking of Rönisch's work based on critical texts.⁵² An exhaustive study never came to be. Von Soden did contribute a brief study of 18 Greek words which were translated in different ways between the African and European Latin text types.⁵³

In addition to the regionality of the textual witness of Tertullian and the Old Latin copies of New Testament writings, Hort was also interested in how Tertullian's text of the NT might have related to the Latin translation of Irenaeus. Prior to Hort, Massuet had argued that Tertullian

gedacht werden kann. Da aber auch die Annahme, jene Autoren hätten Tertullians Zitate abgeschrieben, ausgeschlossen ist, so ist der Schluß unvermeidlich, daß dem Tertullian – mindestens für eine beträchtliche Anzahl biblischer Bücher – bereits lateinische Übersetzungen vorgelegen haben und er sie ausgeschrieben hat." Adolph von Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, 300.

⁴⁸ Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius*, 299.

⁴⁹ Paul Capelle, *Le texte du Psautier latin en Afrique*, Collectanea Biblica Latina, v. 4 (Rome: F. Pustet, 1913), 5. Capelle lists the following examples where he argues that there are too many similarities for it to be pure coincidence that Tertullian and some Latin version agree: Gal 3:26 cited in Marc 5.3; Dan 7:14 in Marc 4.39; Ps 71:17–19 in Marc 5.9; Prov 9:2 in Scorp 7; Matt 27:9 in Marc 4.40; Ps 77 in Marc 4.11.

⁵⁰ Heinrich Joseph Vogels, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der lateinischen Apokalypse-Übersetzung* (Düsseldorf: L. Schwann, 1920), 125.

⁵¹ Capelle, *Le texte*, 20. "Les variations du texte biblique de Tertullien peuvent s'expliquer par le recours au grec et l'emploi de plusieurs versions latines, mais le plus souvent par la négligence propre aux citations de mémoire. La proportion suivant laquelle tous ces facteurs ont agi est évidemment impossible à déterminer."

⁵² Hans Soden, ed., *Das lateinische Neue Testament in Afrika zur Zeit Cyprians: nach Bibelhandschriften und Väterzeugnissen mit Unterstützung des Kgl. Preussischen Historischen Instituts*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur. Reihe 3, Bd.3. Der ganzen Reihe, Bd.33 (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1909), 6 n. 1.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 66–77.

used the Latin Irenaeus in his *Adversus Valentinianos*.⁵⁴ Had the Latin translator of Irenaeus depended on an Old Latin translation and if Massuet was right, this would have identified a Latin New Testament translation prior to Tertullian. Massuet's theory, however, was completely dismantled by Hort in his introductory chapter to Sanday, Turner, and Souter's study of Irenaeus' text of the New Testament.⁵⁵ What had looked like convincing similarities to Massuet between Latin Irenaeus and Tertullian, Hort showed to be only common translation decisions. He further showed that there were significant differences between the two which proved that Tertullian was translating Greek Irenaeus for himself rather than depending on a Latin translation. Merk would later dispute Massuet's claim that Tertullian used Latin Irenaeus, following the later date found by Hort, though he thought that the end of the fourth century was too late.⁵⁶

The next major work on Tertullian was undertaken by G.J.D. Aalders who argued in his 1932 book and his 1937 article that Tertullian did not use the African version of the Old Latin but rather was translating from Greek. Aalders stated that 'in an inquiry into Tertullian's quotations of Holy Scripture the accent falls on the translation of the separate words'.⁵⁷ Though he made this remark, Aalders was able to say repeatedly that Tertullian had a 'better sentence' than surviving OL mss which slavishly followed the word order of the Greek. He proceeded with caution stating that on the one hand, this does not prove that Tertullian was always translating on his own from the Greek without any knowledge of Latin translations but on the other, it certainly

⁵⁴ Renatus Massuet, *Irénée contra haereses libri V* (apud Franciscum Pitterium, 1734), 89–90.

⁵⁵ Fenton John Anthony Hort, "Did Tertullian Use the Latin Irenaeus?," in *Nouum Testamentum Sancti Irenaei Episcopi Lugdunensis: Being the New Testament Quotations in the Old-Latin Version of the Elegchos Kai Paratropē Pseudōnymos Gnōseōs*, ed. W. Sanday, Alexander Souter, and C. H. Turner, *Old-Latin Biblical Texts*, no. 7 (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1923), xxxvi–lvi.

⁵⁶ August Merk, "Der Text des neuen Testaments beim hl. Irenaeus," *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* 49, no. 2 (1925): 303.

⁵⁷ Gerhard Jean Daniël Aalders, 'Tertullian's Quotations from St Luke' *Mnemosyne*, Third Series, vol. 5, fasc. 4 (1937), 251; Aalders, *Tertullianus' Citaten uit de Evangelien en de oud-latijnsche Bijbelvertalingen* (Amsterdam: H. J. Paris, 1932).

did not argue in favor of Tertullian's use of a Latin manuscript. Aalders gives an example of how and why he disagreed with von Soden when he discussed Luke 12:22 and Tertullian's translation of τί φάγητε. Von Soden had argued that Tertullian only uses the 'vulgär' expression *manducare* when he is citing Scripture and otherwise does not use it in his writings. Aalders concludes: 'So according to von Soden and Wobbermin there is a difference between Tertullian's own language and the language of his bible-quotations, which is not his own speech. And their conclusion is: Tertullian uses a Latin Version of the bible.' Aalders then discussed the evidence throughout Tertullian's NT citations and did not find the consistency that led von Soden to his conclusion.⁵⁸ Aalders concluded that Tertullian mostly used a Greek text, perhaps with some affiliation to the Greek base of the Syriac text. He did not rule out the possibility that Tertullian may have known of a Latin translation but was confident that he did not cite directly from it. He also highlighted Tertullian's supposed faulty memory in several places where Tertullian seems to conflate, harmonize, or flatten Synoptic variants.⁵⁹

Higgins used his disagreement with Aalders to re-examine the issue. As he argues,

It is a pity that Aalders deliberately leaves out of account the quotations Tertullian supplies from Marcion's version of Luke in Adv. Marc. IV. This is a mistake. The proper method is the one adopted by von Soden in LPMT. While Tertullian often quotes in an allusive and indirect way, it is usually possible to distinguish the Catholic translation from his own paraphrases, with the Marcionite quotations as the starting point.⁶⁰

The key, then, for analyzing Tertullian's use of biblical material is to include both overt citations and allusions or paraphrases in order to process all of them.

⁵⁸ See Hans von Soden, *Das lateinische NT in Afrika zur Zeit Cyprians*, (1909) and Hermann von Soden, "Der Lateinische Paulustext Bei Marcion Und Tertullian," in *Festgabe für Adolf Jülicher zum 70. Geburtstag 26. Januar 1927* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1927), 229–81.

⁵⁹ G. J. D. Aalders, "Tertullian's Quotations from St Luke," *Mnemosyne* 5, no. 4 (1937): 282.

⁶⁰ A. J. B. Higgins, "The Latin Text of Luke in Marcion and Tertullian," *Vigiliae Christianae* 5, no. 1 (1951): 4.

The research question concerning Tertullian's Latinity in his own writing versus that of his biblical references was significantly developed in the early 1930's. Joseph Schrijnen posited that early Christian Latin was a so-called *Sondersprache*, a special Christian language with its own vocabulary, syntax, and idiom.⁶¹ Following Schrijnen's research, Christine Mohrmann took up a similar position but did not hold Tertullian to have been the earliest proponent of such a language. Instead, she argued that there was an early Christian Latin which preceded Tertullian.⁶² Their project was primarily to understand the beginnings of this language and thus they were not so interested in Tertullian's text of the Bible. They wanted, rather, to discern the earliest stages of Christian Latin as it was reflected in Tertullian's biblical citations. When Tertullian used words in his biblical citations which were also present in early Latin manuscripts, that was evidence for Mohrmann that Tertullian was using a Latin version of the Scriptures. And yet, she was well aware of the novel vocabulary and syntax of his other citations. She then listed a number of words which were innovative and those which were supposedly borrowed from an early Latin version of the biblical writings.⁶³ This approach to understanding Tertullian's use of the Bible, that is, through studying Tertullian's Latinity versus his biblical citations is a theme which garnered interest through much of the rest of the twentieth century as will become evident below. Schrijnen and Mohrmann's approach was influenced by the then *en vogue* theory of structural linguistics as developed by Ferdinand de Saussure.⁶⁴ Saussure's structural linguistic approach has been superseded or at least has been paired with cultural studies.⁶⁵ The cautions of

⁶¹ Joseph Schrijnen, *Charakteristik des altchristlichen Latein*. Nijmegen: Dekker & van de Vegt, 1932.

⁶² Christine Mohrmann, "Inleiding," in *Apologeticum en andere geschriften uit Tertullianus' voor-Montanistischen tijd*. (Utrecht & Brussel: Het Spectrum, 1951), LXXXVI–LXXXVIII.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, LXXXIX, n. 1.

⁶⁴ Denecker has noted that Schrijnen studied under Saussure and was influenced by his structural linguistic theory. Timothy Denecker, "The Nijmegen School and Its 'Sociological' Approach to the So-called 'Sondersprache' of Early Christians: A Preliminary Historiographical Study," in *Latomus*, vol. 77 (Peeters Publishers, 2018), 335–357, esp. 336, 339, 349.

⁶⁵ For more on Saussure, cf. Clark, *History, Theory, Text*, 44–47.

late twentieth and early twenty-first century philosophers and theorists toward such Saussurean approaches will encourage new paths of research in the chapter on methodology.

Gilles Quispel thought that Tertullian was translating from both a Greek copy of Marcion's Antitheses and also from a Greek copy of Luke and Paul's epistles. Early in his study of the sources of Tertullian's *Adversus Marcionem*, Quispel alludes to this position.⁶⁶ Then in Chapter 6 he lays out the evidence from Book 5 that Tertullian's translations stem from a Greek source rather than as copies of a Latin text.⁶⁷ Later, Quispel introduced a number of helpful cautions and careful methodologies which will be useful for this new study.⁶⁸ For example, he argues that more attention must be paid to textual variants between Tertullian, Marcion, and the testimony of D, F, and G as witnesses of the "Western Text".⁶⁹

In 1949, a massive new publishing project officially began with the publication of the first volume of introductory material by Bonifatius Fischer for the *Vetus Latina* edition of the Latin Bible.⁷⁰ Study of the Old Latin manuscripts of the New Testament and the citations of early Christian writers had previously been taken up by Joseph Denk in preparation for a "new Sabatier".⁷¹ This work resulted in the creation of thousands of index cards, now housed at the Vetus Latina-Institut of the Archabbey in Beuron, Germany. In Fischer's introductory volume

⁶⁶ "Volgens Tertullian (IV, 1) bestond er een nauwe samenhang tusschen de 'Antithesen' en den Marcionitischen Bijbel: dus mag, tendzij het tegendeel bewezen wordt, ook aangenomen worden, dat Tertullian dezen laatzen in het Grieksch las." Gilles Quispel, *De Bronnen van Tertullianus' Adversus Marcionem* (Leiden: Burgersdijk & Niermans, 1943), 83 n. 2.

⁶⁷ Quispel, *De Bronnen*, 104–42.

⁶⁸ Cf. Chapter 5.

⁶⁹ Gilles Quispel, "Marcion and the Text of the New Testament" in *Gnostica, Judaica, Catholica: Collected Essays of Gilles Quispel*, ed. J. van Oort, Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies, v. 55 (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2008), 271–83; originally published in *Vigiliae Christianae* 52 (1998): 349–60.

⁷⁰ Bonifatius Fischer, *Verzeichnis der Sigel für Handschriften und Kirchenschriftsteller*, Vetus Latina 1 (Freiburg Breisgau, Germany: Herder, 1949).

⁷¹ Houghton, *The Latin New Testament*, 116.

after preliminary research, Fischer's view was, like Billen, that Tertullian's text often looks more like the European recension than the text form of Cyprian.⁷² This view, that Tertullian's and Cyprian's biblical references do not have much in common, is a view that has only been more confidently asserted as the project has progressed.

Walter Thiele produced the first New Testament volume of the *Vetus Latina* edition, on the Catholic Epistles.⁷³ Thiele did not assign a specific siglum to Tertullian's text. Rather, he argued that Tertullian's text was too independent and was thus not helpful for understanding the earliest history of the Latin version of the Bible. For Thiele, Tertullian's textual citations went back to his own translations.⁷⁴ Thiele was dependent on Lagrange who had studied the citations of 1 John in *De Pudicitia* and concluded that the vocabulary of the citations had matched Tertullian's own vocabulary. He thus argued that Tertullian was not citing from memory but from a Greek version of 1 John which was in front of him as he cited.⁷⁵ This insight led Thiele to pay less attention to Tertullian's 1 John citations for the purposes of establishing the earliest Latin New Testament. Thiele argued that while Tertullian was aware of an African Old Latin manuscript, he regularly disagreed with it and sided instead with a text that had fewer Western additions than Cyprian's Bible had.⁷⁶

⁷² Fischer, *Vetus Latina* 1/1, 17.

⁷³ Walter Thiele, ed., *Epistulae Catholicae*, *Vetus Latina: die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel*, 26/1 (Freiburg: Herder, 1956).

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 67*, 79*.

⁷⁵ Marie-Joseph Lagrange, *Introduction à l'étude du Nouveau Testament. Deuxième Partie, Critique Textuelle (II, La Critique Rationnelle)* (Paris: Librairie Lecoffre, 1935), 540–42.

⁷⁶ Walter Thiele, *Die lateinischen Texte des 1. Petrusbriefs*, *Vetus Latina. Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel. Aus der Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel* 5 (Freiburg: Herder, 1965), 34–37; Thiele, *Epistulae Catholicae*, 79*.

Prior to his work on the *Vetus Latina* project, Frede wrote his dissertation on the textual history of Ephesians.⁷⁷ From the years 1962 through 1991, Frede produced critical editions of the *Vetus Latina* versions of Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, 1 and 2 Timothy, Titus, Philemon, and Hebrews – totalling 2,641 pages.⁷⁸ In the introduction to his first *Vetus Latina* volume on Ephesians, Frede asserted that there was possibly one early translation of the entire Latin NT already in the 2nd century, probably made in Rome. He was astounded by the uniformity of the translation of the Pauline letter collection and cites as evidence the translation of λόγος in Eph. 1:13; 5:6 vs. 4:29; and 6:19 and the translation of γυνή in Eph. 5:22, 23, 24, and 33b vs. 5:25, 28a, 28b, 31, and 33a. He also argues as “fact” that all forms have at their base a foundation of typical terminology which lay in the coming together of a Christian *Sondersprache*. Nevertheless, Frede recognized that even if there was such a thing as a Christian *Sondersprache*, it did not act as a rule for early biblical translation activity nor prevent different readings from cropping up.⁷⁹

Frede marked Tertullian’s text in his edition with the siglum **X** and in his text block put it always as the top line of Latin text-types just under the Greek original.⁸⁰ Included in the introduction is also a one page description of the basic state of research on Tertullian’s text.⁸¹ There, he admits that Tertullian’s text often goes in unilateral directions and is probably evidence

⁷⁷ Frede, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der lateinischen Übersetzung des Epheserbriefes* (Unpublished Dissertation; University of Bonn, 1958). This work has now been superseded by his *Vetus Latina* volume on Ephesians.

⁷⁸ Hermann Josef Frede, ed., *Epistula ad Ephesios*, *Vetus Latina* : die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel, 24/1 (Freiburg: Herder, 1962–64); Ibid., ed., *Epistulae ad Philippenses et ad Colossenses*, *Vetus Latina* : Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel ; Bd. 24/2 (Freiburg: Herder, 1966–71); Ibid., *Epistulae ad Thessalonicenses, Timotheum, Titum, Philemonem, Hebraeos*, *Vetus Latina* : Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel 25 (Freiburg: Herder, 1975–91).

⁷⁹ Ibid., 29*.

⁸⁰ For an overview of the *Vetus Latina* editions and especially for a discussion of bold letters to indicate text types, cf. Philip Burton, “The Latin Version of the New Testament,” in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research : Essays on the Status Quaestionis*, ed. Michael W. Holmes and Bart D. Ehrman, New Testament Tools, Studies, and Documents (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 167–200; Houghton, *The Latin New Testament*, 120–25.

⁸¹ Ibid., 30*.

for translation direct from Greek copies. He nuanced this position when he argued that Tertullian translated the longer portions himself while the shorter passages seem to be sourced from some other foreign text source. Likewise, on the question of Tertullian's text and his use of Marcion's in *Adversus Marcionem*, Frede argues that scholars did not achieve their goal in trying to prove that Tertullian's and Marcion's texts were Latin translations. Further, he distrusted the many arguments which had tried to isolate Tertullian's virtuosic manner of writing from the style of vocabulary and syntax used in his biblical references. Frede said that these arguments conflicted with the facts of the matter. Finally, Frede disputed the already waning thesis that Marcion was the creator of the so-called Western text. Rather, he argued that Marcion's famous changes to the text were omissions and trimmings which appear nowhere else in the tradition.

A few years later, Thomas O'Malley, following in the footsteps of Mohrmann, tied the question of Tertullian's New Testament text to issues of Tertullian's Latinity. He states, "It is of considerable interest to know what Tertullian owed to the world of translation in the church of his time and area, and what is due to his innovation, in order to place him more accurately in the development of Christian Latin".⁸² O'Malley's treatment of Tertullian fits well into the project of Schrijnen, Mohrmann, and the Nijmegen School's opinion on the development of how Latin was used by the earliest Christians. He lays out his thesis thus:

This chapter, then, would do two things; examine the classic texts which have been thought to show Tertullian's awareness of Latin renderings which were not of his own making, and to show his reflex awareness that the language and style of the Bible, and the language of the Christian community was different, other than the Latin of non-Christian contemporaries'.⁸³

⁸² O'Malley 1967, 2.

⁸³ O'Malley 1967, 3.

How are we to think of the language and style of the Bible itself? One of the strong arguments in favor of O'Malley's thesis that Tertullian is dependent on Latin renderings is that Tertullian argues a polemical point based on Latin wording as if the Latin wording is authoritative, in and of itself. 'It is striking how he carries on the argument of his Latin works almost as if the original text of the Scripture was in that language. He does, of course, appeal to the Greek. But arguments from Latin words are very frequent'.⁸⁴ O'Malley is right to hazard an answer to the research question by setting Tertullian in the wider context of the African church and their use of Latin in the late second and early third centuries. This approach was not taken as comprehensively in earlier studies. One side item in O'Malley's study worth noting is the link he makes between citational practice and the presumed attitude toward the Scriptures which the practice embodies. He notes Tertullian's predilection to cite and allude to Scripture with "great freedom and variety" and ties such an attitude suggestively to his supposed view of Scripture.⁸⁵ The suggestion seems to be that Tertullian must have had a looser view of the Bible, especially when O'Malley follows this up with a comment that the canon had not yet been sharply defined. To corroborate his position, he cited Capelle who said, "En réalité c'est à un certain mépris des détails, si bien d'accord avec sa fougue et son emportement, qu'il faut attribuer cette anomalie du grand lutteur africain".⁸⁶ The view that Tertullian did not take seriously the details of the Scriptures does not hold in the face of the evidence which will be presented later. A new explanation, one that still links Tertullian's citation practice and his views of the Bible, is needed to make better sense of the evidence and will be provided later in the study.

⁸⁴ He cites as examples of this at *de praescr.* 25.8–9; *de spect.* 3.4–6; *de orat.* 21ff. O'Malley 1967, 4.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁸⁶ Capelle, *Le texte*, 19.

In 1972 Kurt Aland published a volume on the old translations of the New Testament, patristic citations, and lectionaries. Two essays touched on Tertullian's text of the New Testament. In his report on the Latin New Testament, Fischer reported that Tertullian definitely used a fixed Latin version of the NT but that its wording was not authoritative for him.⁸⁷ Fischer, aware of Mohrmann's approach, points to the need for a full analysis of language in translation technique. This insight also depends on the earlier methodological developments pioneered by Vogels. He discussed the variety of translation possibilities and referred to these possibilities as *Übersetzungsfarbe*.⁸⁸ As applied to the early history of the Latin Bible, Fischer remarks,

Hier müsste man eigentlich auf die Sprache der lateinischen Bibelübersetzung eingehen. Aber wir unterlassen das, weil dieses schwierige Gebiet noch ganz ungenügend beackert ist. Selbst Christine Mohrmann hat bisher diesen speziellen Teil der christlichen Latinität nicht so ausführlich behandelt wie andere Aspekte. Es wäre allerdings ein mehrbändiges Werk notwendig, um den alten Hermann Rönisch in einer Form wieder entstehen zu lassen, die der modernen Sprachwissenschaft entspräche.⁸⁹

Fischer renews the call for a revision of Rönisch but this time requests an exhaustive treatment of Tertullian's language along the lines of Mohrmann. Such study has since taken place but with necessary revision to Mohrmann's approach. This will be discussed below. Also in this volume, Frede was able to summarize much of his initial work on the Latin biblical citations.

Tatsächlich zitieren die lateinischen Kirchenschriftsteller den Bibeltext mit bemerkenswerter Treue, genauer als die Griechen; Tertullian und Hieronymus sind mit ihrer freien Zitationsweise Ausnahmen. Im allgemeinen lässt sich, liegt

⁸⁷ "Um 200 liegen Tertullian in Afrika sicherlich fixierte lateinische Bibeltexte vor, die für ihn aber keine Autorität sind."

⁸⁸ Heinrich Joseph Vogels, "Übersetzungsfarbe als Hilfsmittel zur Erforschung der Neutestamentlichen Textgeschichte," *Revue Bénédictine* 40 (1928): 123–29.

⁸⁹ Bonifatius Fischer, "Das Neue Testament in lateinischer Sprache" in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Lateinischen Bibeltexte*, Freiburg, 1986, 175–6; originally published in Kurt Aland, ed., *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments: Die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare; Der gegenwärtige Stand ihrer Erforschung und ihre Bedeutung für die griechische Textgeschichte*, Arbeiten zur Neutestamentlichen Textforschung, Bd. 5 (Berlin, New York: De Gruyter, 1972), 1–92.

nur genügend Material vor, ziemlich sicher feststellen, was echter Bibeltext ist und was auf das Konto freien oder gedächtnismässigen Zitierens geht.⁹⁰

The likening of Tertullian's citation methods to Jerome's because of their similar free approach to citation is interesting and will prove helpful later in this study. The differentiation that Frede found between Tertullian's "free" citations or "slips of the memory" and his original Bible text will be called into question so as to destabilize the certainty Frede had found concerning such differences. This will be re-conceptualized in Chapter Five.

The next major study of Tertullian was René Braun's *Deus Christianorum: Recherches sur le Vocabulaire Doctrinal de Tertullien*. He argued that the Latin Bible was already in existence by 180 (the date of the Scillitan martyr trial) and that Carthage had by that point been swept up by latinization. Without doubt, Tertullian was catechized in Latin and later preached in Latin.⁹¹ Depending on the work of Gustav Bardy, Braun asserts that Carthage was probably also the first to have a Latin liturgy.⁹² On the other hand, Barnes notes that Carthage was at Tertullian's time a city familiar with the Greek language. He observes that a quarter of the magical tablets found there were written not only in Greek letters but in the Greek language. He also notes the high proportion of Greek inscriptions in Carthage. He concludes that a "substantial part of the populace" spoke Greek "habitually".⁹³ He also noted that Apuleius' declamations which were delivered in Carthage after 160 demonstrate a "high degree of learning" in both Latin and Greek in the city at that time. Tertullian must have benefited from this highly educated

⁹⁰ Hermann Josef Frede, "Die Zitate des Neuen Testaments bei den lateinischen Kirchenvätern," in *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments: Die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare; Der gegenwärtige Stand ihrer Erforschung und ihre Bedeutung für die griechische Textgeschichte*, ed. Kurt Aland and Matthew Black, *Arbeiten zur Neutestamentlichen Textforschung*, Bd. 5 (Berlin, New York: De Gruyter, 1972), 462.

⁹¹ René Braun, "*Deus Christianorum*": *Recherches sur le vocabulaire doctrinal de Tertullien*, Publications de la Faculté Des Lettres et Sciences Humaines d'Alger 41 (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1962), 20.

⁹² Braun, *Deus Christianorum*, 20. Gustave Bardy, *La question des langues dans l'Église ancienne*, Études de Théologie Historique (Paris: Beauchesne, 1948), 60.

⁹³ Barnes, *Tertullian* (1971), 68.

town. Following Harnack, Labriolle and others, Braun believed that there was enough evidence to demonstrate that Tertullian knew and used Latin versions of the biblical writings. Braun undertook a study of Tertullian's terminology and found that he was not the innovator some have thought him to have been. Instead, Braun argued that Tertullian was drawing on a larger tradition of Latinization which had already occurred in his hometown.⁹⁴

In connection with the *Vetus Latina* edition, Pierre Petitmengin undertook a study of Tertullian's use of an Old Testament book. He concluded from his research on Tertullian's Isaiah citations that Tertullian seems to have been more informal when quoting the text from memory but then re-translated in a detailed manner when it was an extended quotation.⁹⁵

Pierre-Maurice Bogaert put forward an interesting biblical reference by Tertullian to 2Tm 2:17. Tertullian wrote *et sermones serpentes uelut cancer* (TE hae 7.7) which Bogaert took to be a biblical reference, though misunderstood, to ὡς γὰρ γράσται νομὴν ἔξει. The Latin tradition had *ut cancer serpit* which seems to be evidence for Bogaert that Tertullian must have been using a Latin version of 2Tm here.⁹⁶ This will be further explained and addressed later.⁹⁷

In 2000 a study of the Old Latin Gospels was published which examined various Old Latin traditions or text types. Philip Burton helpfully points out the complicated nature of the study of evidence for the Latin text of the New Testament and its potential correspondence to the

⁹⁴ Braun, *Deus Christianorum*, 547.

⁹⁵ Petitmengin, P, "Recherches sur les citations d'Isaïe chez Tertullien" in *Colloque organisé à Louvain-la-Neuve pour la promotion de H. J. Frede au doctorat honoris causa en théologie le 18 avril 1986*. Ed. par R. Gryson et P. M. Bogaert. Recherches sur l'Histoire de la Bible 19. Louvain-la-Neuve 1987, 28–30.

⁹⁶ Pierre-Maurice Bogaert, "La Bible latine des origines au moyen âge. Aperçu historique, état des questions (Première partie)," *Revue Théologique de Louvain* 19, no. 2 (1988): 143.

⁹⁷ Cf. Chapter 5.2.12.

original Greek.⁹⁸ Burton's methodology for examining citations of the Old Latin Gospels is threefold:

By considering variations in the rendering of certain Greek terms *within* each Gospel; by considering variations in the rendering of certain Greek terms *between* the Gospels; by considering instances where all the Latin texts agree upon a reading that is found in few or none of the extant Greek texts.⁹⁹

This methodology for examining Latin citations and their translation methodology will be helpful in constructing a similar study for Tertullian.¹⁰⁰

Burton uses Palmer to demonstrate the traditional view of the Latinity of early Christians. In his overview of *The Latin Language*, Palmer described the development of Christian Latin as follows:

These two facts are of prime importance for the understanding of Christian Latin: the new religion came in Greek guise and to the simple folk of the back streets... The language would have been vulgar, studded with Greek technical terms, and distorted by the pull of the original; for accurate and idiomatic translation is a skilled business.¹⁰¹

Burton calls much of this into question by pointing out the assumptions and circular reasoning inherent in the traditional view. "The literal and vulgar character of the Latin is explained as being the work of proselytizers with an imperfect command of Latin – whose existence is inferred from the literal and vulgar character of their language."¹⁰² Burton argues that it is often the first translations which are the least literal to "avoid confusing converts entirely unfamiliar with the historical background of the New Testament, and later revisions have reduced the interpretative element".¹⁰³ He then gives several examples of later translations being more literal

⁹⁸ Philip H. Burton, *The Old Latin Gospels: A Study of Their Texts and Language*, Oxford Early Christian Studies (Oxford, UK ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 3–13.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 31.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 77.

¹⁰¹ L. R. Palmer, *The Latin Language* (London: Faber and Faber, 1954), 184.

¹⁰² Burton, *The Old Latin Gospels*, 78.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 78, n. 2

than earlier ones. For this reason, Burton does not support the thesis that the earliest translations of the New Testament were made for missionary purposes. In a brief footnote, Burton makes a brief reference to Tertullian noting that the earliest translations were most likely piecemeal like Tertullian mentions in *Adu. Marc.* 2.9. He also notes that the oldest of the extant Old Latin Gospel texts cannot be dated earlier than Cyprian because they are so unlike Tertullian's.¹⁰⁴

Burton's main thesis seems to be the reversal of the vulgar Christian *Sondersprache* hypothesis by demonstrating the OLG's complex Latinity, its higher register than previously thought, and its use of rather than insulation from Latin secular culture. Since it is typically argued that missionary activity proceeds from an uneducated background, he therefore does not equate translation with missionary activity. According to Harris, "We should not see writing and the book as the main means of propaganda in the first three centuries...The illusion that Christianity was spread mainly by means of the written word is possible only for those who exaggerate the literacy of the high Empire".¹⁰⁵ Burton found that the earliest Old Latin Gospels were evidence of Latin-speakers who had Latin as their mother tongue, with Greek only as a second language. This fits well with Braun's earlier findings of a pervasive Latin culture, but it puts Tertullian into the era prior to organized translation of entire books or corpora.

In addition to establishing more clearly the picture of early translation activity, Burton has also provided much preliminary work in linguistic theory that will aid in understanding Tertullian's biblical citations. Hugh Houghton's study of Tertullian's language, based on the

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 30.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 78–9, quoting W. V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1989), 299.

work of Philip Burton, carefully applied these linguistic approaches to the Carthaginian's corpus of writings.¹⁰⁶

Another study, by Matthias Wellstein, examined Tertullian's linguistic practices by identifying a number of innovative uses of vocabulary. He concluded by establishing two principles. First, Tertullian always looks for the most formal, exact translation, even if his own solution does not fully satisfy him. In this case, he may end up later using a different translation in an attempt to be more exact. Second, Tertullian wants his interpretation of a citation to shine through already in the translation, in order to use it maximally in his argumentation.¹⁰⁷ Besides investigating biblical citations and allusions, Wellstein also analyzes how Tertullian cited and translated philosophical, gnostic, and Marcionistic texts.¹⁰⁸

In 2003 another monumental volume in the *Vetus Latina* series was published by Roger Gryson on the Apocalypse of John. Though this book produced controversy and was held to be non-canonical for centuries after its writing, Gryson pointed out that it was utilized authoritatively by the early Christian writers Tertullian and Cyprian.¹⁰⁹ He presented Tertullian's text with the siglum **X**, like Frede before him. Gryson also realized the problems which Tertullian's text posed in relation to the rest of the Latin tradition, especially in relation to other

¹⁰⁶ Houghton, "Defining Christianity? Words and Meanings in Tertullian" and "A study in the Latin of some early Acts of the Christian Martyrs", Unpublished MPhil essay (1998), Library of Cambridge University Classics Department.

¹⁰⁷ Matthias Wellstein, *Nova Verba in Tertullians Schriften gegen die Häretiker aus montanistischer Zeit* (Stuttgart u. Leipzig: Teubner, 1999).

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 56.

¹⁰⁹ Roger Gryson, ed., *Apocalypsis Johannis*, *Vetus Latina : die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel*, 26/ 2 (Freiburg: Herder, 2000), 78.

authors like Latin Irenaeus.¹¹⁰ This volume along with those of Frede and Thiele will be extraordinarily helpful in analyzing Tertullian's NT references outside the Gospels.

Besides Tertullian's language and its interaction with his citations, there is another complicating issue which will need to be taken into consideration for a proper evaluation of Tertullian's evidence, that is, Tertullian's text of the New Testament and its relationship to Marcion. The issue of Tertullian's and Marcion's text and the battles it had provoked between Harnack and Zahn, Aalders and Higgins had lain long dormant until about twenty years ago. In 1995, a major study of these issues was brought forth by Ulrich Schmid. He takes up a rigorous examination of Tertullian's and Marcion's text of the Pauline epistles. He first studies Tertullian's own citation practices outside of *Adversus Marcionem*. Important for Schmid was the principle that the best evidence of a certain Christian writer's text of a verse is determined by multiple citations of the same verse. Schmid found a surprising independence in Tertullian's citations.¹¹¹ After establishing Tertullian's own citation practices, he compared these to those of Marcion, according to Tertullian's own witness. Schmid also examined the evidence of Epiphanius and the Adamantine Dialog. Schmid compared basic translation vocabulary between Tertullian and Marcion in the translations of a given Greek word which each writer put forth in his citations. This study led Schmid to conclude that the most likely possibility was that Tertullian and Marcion had Greek copies of the Pauline epistles and that Tertullian translated both his text and Marcion's from the Greek.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 82.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 77.

¹¹² Ibid., 58.

One especially helpful issue which Schmid discusses is the challenge of isolating Tertullian's text from that of Marcion's. He deals first with those citations which Tertullian also makes outside his Marcionite works. By doing so, Schmid argues that he has identified with most certainty when Tertullian presents a text of Marcion.¹¹³ These will be commented upon later, but one problem with this approach may be Tertullian's general inconsistency in citing texts. If it is true that he was translating from the Greek and anew for each subsequent work and even throughout the course of each work, it seems quite plausible that Tertullian would be inconsistent in his translation. Next and perhaps more reliably, Schmid identifies specific citations in which Tertullian explicitly notes a textual variant in Marcion's text.¹¹⁴ He then examines Tertullian's glosses and citations which are nowhere else attested outside the marcionite writings.¹¹⁵ These studies of individual citations began a textual commentary of sorts. This study will later adopt this method to give as full account as possible of Tertullian's citations of the NT writings outside the Gospels.

Dieter Roth has the most recent discussion of Tertullian and Marcion's text of the Gospels. In many ways, Roth followed the methodology of Schmid and applied it to the specific corpus of the four evangelists. In his study, he found Schmid's arguments convincing that Tertullian must have been working from Greek exemplars rather than Latin. He argues thus:

On the one hand, the agreement of Latin terminology between Marcion's Gospel and Tertullian's text against the attested readings in Old Latin witnesses becomes an argument against Tertullian working from a Latin copy of Marcion's Gospel, and, on the other hand, differences in the terminology between Marcion's Gospel and Tertullian's text, where neither reading is attested in the extant witnesses,

¹¹³ Ibid., 98–105.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 105–114.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 114–121, 121–149.

may also confirm that the variation is due to Tertullian's own translations rather than his working from a Latin copy of Marcion's Gospel.¹¹⁶

Roth also summed up four characteristics of Tertullian's citation practice gleaned from his examination.¹¹⁷ First, Tertullian is said to have varied regularly his rendering of conjunctions. Second, Tertullian regularly altered word order, especially the position of pronouns. Third, when the original biblical text was in the past tense, Tertullian would sometimes alter it to the future. Finally, though only pertinent for Tertullian's Gospel citations and thus out of the scope of this study, Roth found that Tertullian had a general inclination to Matthean versions of a text. These first three will be directly applicable and will need to be tested in this study. The final finding may also prove useful because it demonstrates that Tertullian had occasional memory slips.

Though the studies of Ulrich Schmid and Dieter Roth were definitive in examining Tertullian's witness of Marcion's Apostolikon and Gospel, they only gave partial analyses of Tertullian's citation methodology based on a smaller control group of readings.¹¹⁸ In order to collect Tertullian's citations, Roth used Rönsch's study. He also mentions Kroymann's CCSL index and *Biblia Patristica* as updated indices.¹¹⁹ Roth notes that Tertullian's Lukan citations had drawn considerable attention from Aalders, Tenney, Higgins, and Williams, but he issues a caution to users of all of these studies: "several articles and a doctoral dissertation by Tenney, are valuable aids in evaluating the citations of Luke by Tertullian, even if they all must be used with

¹¹⁶ Dieter T. Roth, *The Text of Marcion's Gospel* (Boston: Brill, 2015), 85. Cf also Dieter T. Roth, "Did Tertullian Possess a Greek Copy or Latin Translation of Marcion's Gospel?" *Vigiliae Christianae* 63, no. 5 (2009): 429–67.

¹¹⁷ Roth, *Marcion's Gospel*, 89–90.

¹¹⁸ Schmid, 62–105; Roth 2009, 66. See also Dieter Roth, "Marcion and the Early Text of the New Testament" *The Early Text of the New Testament* (ed. Charles Hill and Michael Kruger), Oxford (2012).

¹¹⁹ Roth 2009, 41 n. 11

caution due to both incomplete and inaccurate data”.¹²⁰ Because the aim of his study is not only Tertullian’s text, he himself admits that his study is only a sample of Tertullian’s citations.¹²¹

The two studies of Schmid and Roth provide the added benefit of already established recent methodologies which they used to determine what version of Marcion Tertullian had in front of him. These methodologies will now be instructive for answering the question of what version of the NT, whether Latin or Greek, Tertullian himself used. Schmid and Roth lay out the following methodological principles which shaped their study:

- 1) An author’s citation of any given text is best understood by comparing it with the same author’s other citations of the same text throughout their entire corpus.
- 2) It is also necessary to examine the citation based on the author’s language and style used throughout the author’s writings, especially when that author is not citing a biblical text. (This argument was critical for Gilles Quispel’s thesis that Tertullian frequently used the same Latin constructions found in his Marcion citations as were used throughout the rest of his writings.)¹²²
- 3) It is important to note the background of non-Christian uses of language and style which may nevertheless have influenced the Christian author.¹²³

¹²⁰ Roth, *Marcion’s Gospel*, 84. He references the following studies: G. J. D. Aalders, “Tertullian’s Quotations from St Luke,” *Mnemosyne* 5 (1937): 241–82; Tenney, “The Quotations from Luke in Tertullian as Related to the Texts of the Second and Third Centuries” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1944); A. J. B. Higgins, “The Latin Text of Luke in Marcion and Tertullian,” *VC* 5 (1951): 1–42; and David S. Williams, “On Tertullian’s Text of Luke,” *SecCent* 8 (1991): 193–99.

¹²¹ Roth, *Marcion’s Gospel*, 88.

¹²² Gilles Quispel, *De Bronnen van Tertullianus’ Adversus Marcionem* (Leiden: Burgers-dijk & Niermans Templum Salomonis, 1943), 104–42. Roth calls this insight a “significant contribution.” Dieter Roth, “Did Tertullian possess a Greek copy or a Latin translation of Marcion’s Gospel?” (*Vigiliae Christianae* 63), 434. Quispel’s other valuable insight was that Tertullian and Marcion were actually sometimes in agreement in their text against the rest of the Latin tradition. Quispel, *Bronnen*, 112–114.

¹²³ Schmid is dependent on these principles. Schmid, *Marcion und Sein Apostolos*, 26. But they were originally developed by Barbara Aland in “Die Rezeption des neutestamentlichen Textes in den ersten Jahrhunderten,” in *The*

Using these three principles, Roth only admits as evidence those citations of Tertullian which are attested more than once, in order to disambiguate Tertullian's text from his citations of Marcion. This follows Barbara Aland's established methodology that multiple citations develop the most convincing case for establishing an author's text.¹²⁴

Especially pertinent to the research question of this dissertation are Ulrich Schmid's and Dieter Roth's additional methodological insights which they used to determine whether Tertullian's copy of Marcion's Gospel was Latin or Greek. Roth criticises von Soden and Higgins because they had stressed the dissimilarity of Tertullian's and Marcion's vocabulary rather than also examining the similarities.¹²⁵ Schmid further notes "Schließlich sehen sich bloße *Differenzen* in der Übersetzungsterminologie bei einem Autor mit der Sprachkompetenz eines Tertullian einer Vielzahl von Erklärungs-möglichkeiten ausgesetzt, wenn sie nicht auf dem Hintergrund der *Gemeinsamkeiten* bewertet werden" (his emphases).¹²⁶ Schmid is right to examine not only the differences but also the similarities between Tertullian and Marcion. Nevertheless, his insight into Tertullian's linguistic competence and the potential for him to translate by re-wording the text will be crucial in my explanation of the phenomena we will see below in the case study.

Some have tended to argue just the opposite from Tertullian's differences with the Latin tradition and from differences among his own citations, that is, he is of little value at all for NT

New Testament in Early Christianity (ed. Jean-Marie Sevrin; BEThL 86; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1989), 38.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Roth, *Marcion's Gospel*, 436.

¹²⁶ Schmid, *Marcion und Sein Apostolos*, 46. Roth, *Marcion's Gospel*, 437 notes that Bonifatius Fischer had already made this same point in "Das Neue Testament in lateinischer Sprache: Der gegenwärtige Stand seiner Erforschung und seine Bedeutung für die griechische Textgeschichte," in *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare: Der gegenwärtige Stand ihrer Erforschung und ihre Bedeutung für die griechische Textgeschichte* (ed. K. Aland; ANTF 5; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972), 31, n. 88.

textual criticism. Frede's comment earlier concerning the differentiation between Tertullian's certain biblical texts and what Frede considered free adaptations, perhaps having to do with failure of memory, is one such extreme position.¹²⁷ As will be demonstrated in Chapter Five, this need not be the case. Tertullian does indeed give evidence of some early and interesting readings even in what Frede had considered "free" uses of the text.

Though Schmid's and Roth's studies of Tertullian allowed them to make useful comparisons to Marcion's text, their studies did not exhaustively study Tertullian's text. Schmid himself reminds us, 'Um hier plausible Ergebnisse zu erzielen, müssen wir das Zitierverhalten unserer Quellen möglichst präzise beschreiben, und das geschieht am überzeugendsten, indem man sämtliche Bibelzitate in allen Schriften eines Kirchenvaters untersucht'.¹²⁸ This insight is based on Hort's famous dictum 'knowledge of documents should precede final judgments upon readings'.¹²⁹ This study is an attempt to further the work of these two careful textual scholars.

Further groundwork for this study was laid in Hugh Houghton's 2013 article describing the collection of evidence for the forthcoming *Vetus Latina* edition of the Gospel of John, two fascicles of which have already appeared.¹³⁰ Houghton is more willing than Frede had been to use even allusions and seemingly freely cited material for the purpose of reconstructing early readings. In describing the presentation of evidence from early Christian writers Houghton also

¹²⁷ H. J. Frede, "Die Zitate des Neuen Testaments bei den lateinischen Kirchenvätern" in Aland, *Die Alten Übersetzungen*, 462.

¹²⁸ Schmid, 26.

¹²⁹ Westcott and Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek*, 31.

¹³⁰ Philip H. Burton, Hugh A.G. Houghton, Rosalind F. MacLachlan, David C. Parker, eds., *Evangelium secundum Iohannem, Fasc. 1 (Jo 1,1–4,48) & Fasc. 2 (Jo 4,49–9,41)*, *Vetus Latina: die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel* 19 (Freiburg: Herder, 2011). There is also an online version: <http://www.iohannes.com/vetuslatina/>.

includes “allusions which, despite their freedom, may nonetheless provide information about the text of this verse.”¹³¹

Nevertheless, in his analysis of a whole range of early Christian writers, Tertullian’s evidence for the Latin text of John was particularly challenging. According to Houghton, “The problem of multiple forms of a single biblical verse is particularly acute in Tertullian, who rarely quotes the same text twice”.¹³² After examining several examples, Tertullian’s potential use of Greek manuscripts to explain these multiple forms is compared to the similar activity of Marius Victorinus who sometimes left Greek words untranslated in his citations.¹³³ Later in the essay, Jerome and Latin Irenaeus are also compared to Tertullian in their unique forms thought to stem from *ad hoc* translations from the Greek.¹³⁴ Though Houghton is aware of O’Malley’s argument that Tertullian had known several Latin copies of biblical writings, Houghton’s own study finds in Tertullian’s Johannine readings a “surprisingly high” departure from the entire Latin tradition.¹³⁵ This leads him to conclude that Tertullian must have been translating from Greek and recommends caution in the use of Tertullian’s evidence for reconstruction of early Latin editions of the New Testament.

1.3 Need for a New Study

In addition to supplementing the foregoing work with a more exhaustive data collection and analysis, new approaches in cognate fields have opened up possibilities for a new study. A

¹³¹ Hugh A.G. Houghton, “Patristic Evidence in the New Edition of the *Vetus Latina Iohannes*,” in *Biblical Quotations in Patristic Texts*, ed. Laurence Mellerin, Hugh A.G. Houghton, and Markus Vinzent, *Studia Patristica*, 54; International Conference on Patristic Studies Held in Oxford 2011, vol. 2 (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 69–70.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 81.

¹³³ Houghton recommends further Frederick F. Bruce, ‘The Gospel Text of Marius Victorinus’, in Ernest Best and Robert McL. Wilson (eds), *Text and Interpretation: Studies in the New Testament presented to Matthew Black* (Cambridge, 1969), 69–78.

¹³⁴ Houghton, “Patristic Evidence,” 83.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 81–82.

number of scholars have called for such a study. A number of additional developments in the field have prepared the way for this work.

First, better critical editions of Tertullian's writings have appeared subsequent to many of these studies. In the introduction to *Das Neue Testament Tertullians*, Hermann Rönisch himself acknowledged that his study was the first exhaustive treatment of its kind. As was mentioned earlier, his analysis did not have the benefit of the best critical editions. In the present study, the latest critical editions will be used throughout. Additionally, some of the manuscripts of Tertullian's writings have now appeared online and will be useful for further checking.

Second, a number of studies have found additional citations of the New Testament in Tertullian's writings which have not yet been incorporated into a full textual study. Dieter Roth, in his treatment of Tertullian's text of the Gospel of Luke and its relation to Marcion's text, suggested that one of the contributions of Rönisch was an index of Tertullian's citations.¹³⁶ This study will expand this original list by incorporating the additional entries of the Scriptural index of the Tertullian CCSL volumes, those listed in Biblindex¹³⁷ (the online descendant of the very helpful *Biblia Patristica*¹³⁸ series), as well as the Tertullian material compiled for the *Vetus Latina* volumes by Frede, Thiele, and Gryson. Even if many of the allusions from these indices are "loose" or not exact word-for-word citations, they nevertheless provide important data for an exhaustive treatment of Tertullian's textual practices. For example, Tertullian's *Apologeticum* has only loose scriptural allusions, probably because of its genre and intended audience. Many

¹³⁶ Roth, *Marcion's Gospel*, 41, n. 11.

¹³⁷ <http://www.biblindex.mom.fr/> Much thanks to Laurence Mellerin and her team for this important work and especially for her assistance with the Tertullian data.

¹³⁸ Allenbach, J. *Biblia Patristica: Index des citations et allusions bibliques dans la littérature patristique* (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1975).

lists of Tertullian's citations have therefore not included this material. The *Vetus Latina* project, however, has collected these allusions, and their inclusion in this project will contribute to the most exhaustive collection of Tertullian citations to date. Because Laurence Mellerin, the lead of the Biblindex project, generously shared a spreadsheet of Tertullian's citations, this study's updated list of citations with all of its additions will be shared with her for potential adoption into the database.

Third, a new study of the Latin New Testament has just been published.¹³⁹ Among its numerous overviews of a vast field, this work renews Houghton's earlier call for a full study of Tertullian's text. In this introduction to the Latin New Testament, Houghton provides a standard history of the discipline. He also gives some good background on the study of Tertullian's text and even gives a few examples of Tertullian's citations which will be examined in further detail later. Further, he provides a thorough and practical introduction to the *Vetus Latina* editions of the Latin versions of the New Testament writings. He also provides a catalogue of the Latin New Testament manuscripts and recommends the proper abbreviations and sigla which are nearly universally recognized in the field. Having an up-to-date introduction to the comparative Latin New Testament data will ensure that this study is based on the latest research. Along with Houghton's latest publication surveying the field of research, the work of the University of Birmingham's Institute for Textual Scholarship and Electronic Editing has provided comparative *Vetus Latina* material for Galatians, Romans, and 1 and 2 Corinthians.

This dissertation will answer the call for such a reassessment by drawing on linguistic studies of the history of Latin along with insights from the field of biblical textual criticism and

¹³⁹ H.A.G. Houghton, *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to its Early History, Texts, and Manuscripts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

the many previous studies of Tertullian's biblical citations. Once this has been done, an exhaustive and properly informed analysis of Tertullian's use of the Pauline and Catholic Epistles will be undertaken. The results of the study aim to be of use to a variety of academic disciplines including patristics and biblical studies, especially textual criticism.

CHAPTER TWO

TERTULLIAN'S CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC BACKGROUND

2.1 Introduction

quomodo repudiamus saecularia studia, sine quibus diuina non possunt (De idololatria 10.4)

Tertullian argued that without secular studies, divine studies would not be possible. Indeed, his own knowledge of languages, literary criticism, philosophy, and other cultural practices prepared him to use the Bible in innovative ways. These were resources he began to acquire prior to his conversion to Christianity, even if his progress in such secular matters also continued after he was baptized. Indeed, “Christians in the Roman Empire placed a premium on words.”¹ Thus began the influential lectures of Averil Cameron on the importance of historically analyzing Christian rhetorical discourse as an influence, possibly one of the most important, in the rise of Christianity. Cameron’s work has been influential for subsequent work on the early Christian use of language and rhetorical strategies. Frances Young depends on Cameron in her introduction in her *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture*. While some scholars have gone to great lengths to bracket out the cultural influence of Jerusalem, Greece, Rome, and beyond on Christianity, others like Cameron have explored the influence of Greek philosophy on Christianity. Meanwhile, Cameron has also resisted the temptation to discern either a Hellenic or a Hebraic approach to the formation of Christian discourse, as if only one could have been formative.²

¹ Averil Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire: The Development of Christian Discourse*, Sather Classical Lectures, v. 55 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 15.

² Frances M. Young, *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 4.

Tertullian lived at the confluence of many languages and many cultures. He surely participated in what Cameron described:

If ever there was a case of the construction of reality through text, such a case is provided by early Christianity. Out of the framework of Judaism, and living as they did in the Roman Empire and in the context of Greek philosophy, pagan practice, and contemporary social ideas, Christians built themselves a new world.³

This recognition of a “construction of reality” is not a judgment that the beliefs of Christians were or are fictional or untrue but is rather a profound appreciation for the role of rhetoric, discourse, and especially the text of the Scriptures in the shaping of the new beliefs and practices of earliest Christianity. What is more it is an acknowledgment that early Christian discourse arose in contact with and in distinction to an extremely diverse mix of cultures, religions, beliefs and practices.

In the past, scholarship has attempted studies of Tertullian’s use of the Bible as if in a vacuum with little to no attention given to the culture in which Tertullian was swimming.⁴ Tertullian was, of course, swimming in the baptismal waters of Christianity. *Sed nos pisciculi secundum ἰχθὺν nostrum Iesum Christum in aqua nascimur nec aliter quam in aqua permanendo salui sumus.*⁵ He was well aware of the competing waters of Greco-Roman culture and their various idols, yet his was not a culture-less Christianity nor one that was hostile to every last practice of that particular culture.⁶ Fredouille summed it up well when he wrote the following: “Sa culture offre aussi à Tertullien des arguments, de références, des schèmes de pensée, qui’il

³ Cameron, 4.

⁴ David Foster Wallace suggested that culture was the water in which people swim. David Foster Wallace, *This Is Water: Some Thoughts, Delivered on a Significant Occasion, about Living a Compassionate Life* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2009).

⁵ TE ba 1.3.

⁶ Annemieke D. ter Brugge has argued similarly. “Between Adam and Aeneas: Tertullian on Rejection and Appropriation of Roman Culture,” in *Studia Patristica Vol 46 Tertullian to Tyconius, Egypt before Nicaea, Athanasius and His Opponents*, Studia Patristica 46 (Louvain: Peeters, 2010), 3–8.

adapte à ses polémiques contre les païens, les juifs, les hérétiques ou les ‘psychiques’, mais qui l’aident également à formuler et à défendre sa foi.”⁷ Allen Brent, in his study on Ignatius and the Second Sophistic argued similarly: “We cannot confront the mind of Ignatius of Antioch...We need rather to play the language game of both him and his contemporaries in order to see the various moves that both he and others made in order to express agreements and disagreements...”⁸ This chapter is about Tertullian’s relationship to various cultures and how those relationships prepared him for particular uses of the Bible.

2.2 Tertullian’s Education

*uideamus igitur necessitatem litterariae eruditionis (De idololatria 10.5)*⁹

While Tertullian found the vocation of teaching idolatrous because of the necessity of offering incense and prayers to Roman gods, learning literature on the other hand was allowable. Christoph Marksches’ most recent discussion of Christians and their relations toward pagan education in the second and third centuries comes to the same conclusion.¹⁰ A Christian could be absent for any actual religious ceremonies connected to non-Christian literature. Though Tertullian offered here no autobiographical reflection, it is at least plausible that Tertullian has his own experience in mind. Even if this is not necessarily a comment about Tertullian’s own educational experience, it certainly means that he did not see it as idolatrous to retain any

⁷ Jean Claude Fredouille, *Tertullien et la conversion de la culture antique* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1972), 361.

⁸ Allen Brent, *Ignatius of Antioch and the Second Sophistic: A Study of an Early Christian Transformation of Pagan Culture*, Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum; Studies and Texts in Antiquity and Christianity, 36 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 6.

⁹ Note that there is a variant reading though it does not significantly alter the meaning: [litterariae; litteraturiae: A B]

¹⁰ Christoph Marksches, *Christian Theology and Its Institutions in the Early Roman Empire: Prolegomena to a History of Early Christian Theology*, trans. Wayne Coppins, English edition, Baylor-Mohr Siebeck Studies in Early Christianity (Waco, Texas: Baylor University Press, 2015), 41. For a broader discussion concerning second and third century Christians and their relations toward pagan education in general, cf. Ibid., 31–51.

learning of Roman literature he had already gained. In Chapter Four, the pagan sources used in each of Tertullian's 31 works are listed. It is clear that Tertullian had read many pagan authors, even if he read their works in compendia. It must also mean that Tertullian was not opposed to Christians reading Roman literature after their conversion.

From Tertullian's ability to read and write and at the level he did, it is clear that he had received formal education. Not only had he learned Latin grammar, but he also learned rhetoric.¹¹ From his use of Greek words and discussions of their etymology and also his mentioning that he wrote treatises in Greek, it is clear that he also learned to read and write in the language of Greece. It will also become clear later in this chapter that Tertullian was well-acquainted with the Greco-Roman literary guild and could cite abundantly from their writings.¹² One scholar even noted that Tertullian "succeeds as one of the most outstanding translators of elite pagan culture into a Christian vernacular."¹³ This may have been a product of Tertullian's hometown. Marrou notes that Carthage was "the second capital city – intellectually, and in every other way."¹⁴ Elaine Fantham has documented the sociology of literary culture and especially noted the sophistication and bilingualism of North Africa.¹⁵

One of the most important cultural events during Tertullian's life was the Second Sophistic movement. This literary movement occurred during the first three centuries of the Roman empire but especially from the end of the first to the beginning of the third. It has been

¹¹ Geoffrey D. Dunn, *Tertullian*, Early Church Fathers (London; New York: Routledge, 2004), 5. Robert D. Sider, *Ancient Rhetoric and the Art of Tertullian*, Oxford Theological Monographs (London: Oxford University Press, 1971).

¹² For a list of all the classical authors used in each work of Tertullian, see Chapter Four.

¹³ Sara Rappe, "The New Math: How to Add and to Subtract Pagan Elements in Christian Education," in *Education in Greek and Roman Antiquity*, ed. Yun Lee Too (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2001), 410.

¹⁴ Henri Irénée Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, trans. George Robert Lamb (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1956), 297.

¹⁵ Elaine Fantham, *Roman Literary Culture: From Cicero to Apuleius*, Ancient Society and History (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 252–63.

primarily characterized as nostalgia for Greece's glory years of the fifth and fourth centuries BC.¹⁶ Much of what follows in this chapter will explore Tertullian's relationship to this literary movement as a way of understanding one of the cultural currents which influenced Tertullian and formed him especially in his use of the Bible.

Timothy Barnes, in his historical and literary study of Tertullian, notes that Tertullian's connection to the sophistic movement of the second century has long provoked scholarly debate.¹⁷ Answers have been attempted first through analysis of his learning and secondly, through his interaction with philosophy.¹⁸ Barnes provides a third rationale for discussing the relationship of Tertullian and the sophists: the use of stylized encomium or vituperation of a theme. Several examples of such panegyrics or literary flourishes in praise of something are provided by Barnes to demonstrate that Tertullian owed much to this common sophistic literary practice.¹⁹ Though Barnes cautions students of Tertullian against too eagerly demonstrating his knowledge of and dependence on classical authors of antiquity, he nevertheless argues that Tertullian was indeed a learned man (surpassing Jerome and Augustine according to Barnes) and certainly knew the "more fashionable authors."²⁰

Another example of Tertullian's use of Second Sophistic literary techniques has been identified. Waszink notes in his study of *Ad Scapulam* the following: "We should cease at last to

¹⁶ Graham Anderson, *The Second Sophistic: A Cultural Phenomenon in the Roman Empire* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 11–13.

¹⁷ For a negative answer to this question, cf Konrad Vössing, *Schule und Bildung im Nordafrika der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Collection Latomus, v. 238 (Bruxelles: Latomus, 1997), 467–69.

¹⁸ Robert Ayers, for example, found that Tertullian was far from anti-philosophical and instead was a quite accomplished philosopher. Robert H. Ayers, *Language, Logic, and Reason in the Church Fathers: A Study of Tertullian, Augustine, and Aquinas*, *Altertumswissenschaftliche Texte Und Studien*, Bd. 6 (Hildesheim; New York: Olms, 1979), 27.

¹⁹ Barnes 1971, 214–15.

²⁰ Barnes 1971, 196–204.

regard (Tertullian's idiom) as 'one of the sources for our knowledge of Vulgar Latin'."²¹ He is able to come to such a conclusion after examining closely the manuscript tradition and rejecting those readings which vulgarized Tertullian's literary prose. If Tertullian's prose was not composed in vulgar Latin, was it literary? In another study, Waszink examines the *clausulae* in Tertullian. He concluded that Tertullian's use of metrical *clausulae* was more like Cicero's than Arnobius' or Cyprian's.²²

This has been further confirmed by the studies of Oberhelman and Hall who studied the development of various prose rhythms in early Latin literature. There were three basic styles: *clausulae* (the metrical ending of phrases and sentences), *cursus* (the accentual ending of phrases and sentences), or the *cursus mixtus* (the combination of the two).²³ Cicero developed the *clausulae*, and they were later employed in literary works by Apuleius and Augustine's *Confessiones*. Latin authors after Tertullian demonstrate the rise of the *cursus mixtus* (Cyprian, Augustine's *De ciuitate dei*, and Jerome), but Tertullian has been shown to have only used Ciceronian *clausulae*. This has been attributed to his literary ambition.²⁴ Tertullian's use of *clausulae* is yet another demonstration of his use of Second Sophistic literary methods even if, as Fredouille has noted, he used them to attack the very foundations of the sophist way of life.

At *Apologeticum* 11.16 Tertullian asks this question: *Quis sublimior Pompeio, felicior Sylla, copiosior Crasso, eloquentior Tullio?* Karl Sittl commented on this passage by noting that Cicero was held as the highest rhetor of Rome and was therefore studied by and held in high

²¹ J. H. Waszink, "Some Observations on Tertullian 'Ad Scapulam,'" *Vigiliae Christianae*, no. 1 (1959): 52–53.

²² J. H. Waszink, "The Technique of the Clausula in Tertullian's *De Anima*" *Vigiliae Christianae* 4 (1950), 212–245.

²³ Ralph G. Hall and Steven M. Oberhelman, "Internal Clausulae in Late Latin Prose as Evidence for the Displacement of Metre by Word-Stress," *The Classical Quarterly* 36, no. 2 (1986): 508–26.

²⁴ S. J. Harrison, *Apuleius: A Latin Sophist* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 179–180.

regard among the most eminent latinists of early Christianity.²⁵ Even though Sittl retracted some of his earlier work on the so-called *Africitas*, he still pointed out a number of similarities between Cicero and early Christian writers: “Beachtung verdient, dass *non – saltem* statt *ne – quidem* zuerst bei Quintilian 1.1.24 und dann bei feineren Stilisten Apuleius, Tertullian, Cyprian in der rhetorischen Schrift *ad Demetrianum*, Augustin in der *Civitas dei*, und Hieronymus, vorkommt.”²⁶ One might question whether the phrases *non ... saltem* and *ne ... quidem* can be used interchangeably. Ordinarily, *non ... saltem* is used intra-clausally, while *ne ... quidem* is only used to modify singular words or phrases.²⁷ However, *ne ... quidem* can sometimes be used to modify clauses.²⁸

Sittl did not give any examples, but the following can be identified. Tertullian uses *ne...quidem* 125 times in his writings.²⁹ For example, *De uirginibus uelandis* 17.1 (*ne quidem in momento horae*). Sittl suggested that this was in use prior to *non...saltem*. However, Pinkster argues concerning *ne...quidem* the following: “Although it is found from Early Latin onwards, it only becomes common in prose afterwards, especially in Cicero, and then also in Livy, Seneca, Pliny, and Tacitus. If later authors use it, it is a literary or learned phenomenon.”³⁰ In other words, both phrases are characteristic of classical literary Latin. Tertullian uses *non* (or *nec*)...*saltem* three times in his writings, once in *Apologeticum* 34.4 (*Si non de mendacio erubescit adulatio eiusmodi, hominem deum appellans, timeat saltem de infausto*), once in *Adu.*

²⁵ Karl Sittl, “Jahresbericht über Vulgär- und Spätlatein 1884–1890,” in *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. 68 (S. Calvary & Company, 1892), 234.

²⁶ Sittl, 235.

²⁷ Gianollo, Chiara. “Focus-Sensitive Negation in Latin.” *Catalan Journal of Linguistics* 16 (2017): 60.

²⁸ Devine, A. M., and Laurence D. Stephens. *Latin Word Order: Structured Meaning and Information*. Oxford University Press, 2006, 268-72.

²⁹ “ne+quidem” in Tertullian, LLT.

³⁰ Harm Pinkster, *The Oxford Latin Syntax: Volume 1: The Simple Clause* (Oxford University Press, 2015), 695–96.

Marc. 5.12.8 (*nec proprium saltem*), once in *De carne Christi* 7.10 (*nec sustinent saltem*) and once in *De pud.* 13.9 (*ut nec hunc saltem habitum legatum paenitentiae*).

Sittl argues that *inde est quod* is first encountered in Pliny (*epist.* 7.5) before Cyprian uses it (*Ad Demet.* 17).³¹ With the aid of modern databases, we are able to improve the results of such a claim, and they shed further light on early Christian uses of literary Latin. While the phrase occurs in Pliny, it occurs even earlier in Seneca, and it occurs seven times. In the second century, Pliny, Quintilian, and Apuleius all attest to the phrase before it is used by Tertullian in the rhetorical flourish of the second to last sentence of *Apol.* 50.16 (*inde est, quod ibidem sententiis uestris gratias agimus*). Minucius Felix and Lactantius also use the phrase, but Tertullian is the first Christian writer to do so.

Even though we have found positive examples of classical literary phrases used by Christian writers and especially Tertullian, it is critically important that we note Sittl's larger point. These examples are not proof of an *Africitas*, some special African Latin dialect. Rather, they are examples of the influence of literary Latinists on early Christians. This is the point that Adams makes when he points out Sittl's withdrawal of his earlier "proof" of *Africitas*. Sittl says, "das sogenannte afrikanische Latein ist grösstenteils apuleianische Rhetorik".³² Adams also explicitly acknowledges that the appearance of an odd form in an African writer does not prove an Africanism but may instead demonstrate literary dependence on another writer regardless of region.³³

³¹ Sittl, 235.

³² Sittl, 236.

³³ J. N. Adams, *The Regional Diversification of Latin 200 BC – AD 600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 519.

Tertullian must have read Cicero because he was standard reading in ancient education.³⁴ There is clear evidence in Tertullian's writings that he did. In *Apologeticum* 11 in a long list of noble human beings from Greece and Rome, Tertullian quips: *quis...eloquentior Tullio?* In this chapter, Tertullian is trying to deflate the idea of Rome's pantheon because they are just humans elevated to the place of God. In order to attack this notion, Tertullian points to other supposedly decent human beings who have not been deified. Naming well-known figures like Socrates, Aristides, Demosthenes, Cato and others but ultimately Cicero, Tertullian says: *Sed, ut omittam huius indignatis retractatum, probi et integri et boni fuerint.* Such upright, sound, and good people the Roman gods evidently did not deify. Though the paragraph, like the entire section, is filled with sarcasm, nevertheless, his point about these figures is that it is common knowledge to all, even to Tertullian, that these people are good. Here is praise for the excellent eloquence of Cicero. Notice especially that it is particularly Cicero's skill with language that is praised. Tertullian references Cicero by name also at *Apologeticum* 50, *De pallio* 5.5, and *De anima* 24.3, 33.4, 46.2, 46.11.

Thus it is entirely plausible and even likely that Tertullian learned how to interact with Greek texts and how to render them into literary Latin from authors like Cicero and Quintilian.³⁵ From Tertullian's own discussion of Roman literature and education as well as the secondary literature's stance on the question of Tertullian's education, we can conclude that Tertullian learned interpretation, translation, and literary critical procedures in the schools of Greco-Roman culture. Elaine Fantham has come to similar conclusions.³⁶ As we will see in the following

³⁴ Barnes 1971, 196.

³⁵ Barnes notes that Quintilian would also have been common educational material, especially for an orator in his appendix. Barnes 1971, 254–55.

³⁶ Elaine Fantham, *Roman Literary Culture: From Plautus to Macrobius*, Second edition, Ancient Society and History (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 247–55.

chapters, there are other examples that demonstrate well Tertullian's debt to the sophistic movement.

2.3 Tertullian and the Issue of Class

There is, of course, a wide variety of different levels of education. Later the question will be posed and evidence given whether Tertullian and his audience were elite or non-elite bilinguals. From Tertullian's writings and the assumptions he makes about his audience, it is clear that he and they both had some knowledge of Latin and Greek. In order to understand Tertullian's bilingual and literary practices later in this chapter, it is important first to explore the question of the extent of his education and his social class.

There is general agreement that there were four basic levels of Greco-Roman society based the following characteristics: senatorial (approximately one percent of the population; those possessing over one million sesterces from which senators were chosen), equestrian or knights (those possessing over 400,000 sesterces from which military officers and provincial administrators were chosen), decurion or civic elites (approximately ten percent of the population; those possessing some wealth and active as benefactors of cities and local leaders), and plebeians (around ninety percent of the population; those who were slaves, freed slaves, artisans, and the like).³⁷ It had been the assumption, based on the work of Deissmann, that early Christianity was primarily a movement made up of the lower classes.³⁸ A number of studies from the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries have reversed this position, however.³⁹

³⁷ Philip A. Harland, "Connections with Elites in the World of Early Christians," in *Handbook of Early Christianity: Social Science Approaches*, ed. Anthony J. Blasi, Paul-André Turcotte, and Jean Duhaime (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2002), 387.

³⁸ Adolf Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten: Das Neue Testament und die neuentdeckten Texte der Hellenistisch-Römischen Welt*, 4th ed. (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1923), 6–8.

³⁹ For a list of such studies, cf Harland, "Connections with Elites in the World of Early Christians," 393.

It is likely that, because of the literary proficiency he attained, Tertullian belonged to an elite class. He reached at least a tertiary level of education in rhetoric beyond secondary education in grammar. Though Tertullian himself argues that the majority of Christians are “simple” or uneducated (though not imprudent or idiots), this should not lead to the conclusion that Tertullian’s writings are addressed to the lowest class.⁴⁰ In fact, that Tertullian writes this way must mean that these ordinary (*simplices*) people are not his intended or primary audience, at least not for *Aduersus Praxean*, nor for several other works. It has been estimated that there were between 100 and 250 elite Christians living in Carthage when Tertullian was writing.⁴¹ If so, Tertullian was not an oddity, and it should not be surprising then that Tertullian sometimes assumes that his audience is educated.

For example, in *Ad Scapulam* 4.5 as he is discussing people of rank (*honesti uiri*) and how many of them have been freed from demons or made well, Tertullian adds an aside to remind Scapula of his audience. “For I am not talking about commoners”⁴² Tertullian is writing to an elite audience in this work and as such wanted specifically to remind his reader that those freed from demons and made physically well were like his readers from the elite class. That this was the case for Tertullian’s intended audience for this work will become even more clear below in the discussion of Tertullian’s code-switching and how he employed that strategy a number of times in *Ad Scapulam*.

Schöllgen addressed the possibility of Christians inhabiting each of the four levels of society. From his reading of Tertullian, there was at least one member of the Carthaginian church who was about to become a member of the senatorial class and a number of other possible

⁴⁰ *Simplices enim quique, ne dixerim imprudentes et idiotae, quae maior semper credentium pars est...* TE Pra 3.1.

⁴¹ Dunn, *Tertullian*, 5.

⁴² *de uulgaribus enim non dicimus*. TE Sca 4.5. On *honesti uiri* as a class signification, cf.

though not clear references to Carthaginian Christians being members of the highest social order.⁴³ He further demonstrates that there were certainly Carthaginian Christians in the equestrian class and that Tertullian himself was such a knight.⁴⁴ Though he was less certain that there were Carthaginian Christians among the decurion class, he demonstrates ample evidence that there were Carthaginian Christians in the upper classes. Further, there were citizens in Carthage who were able to attend events at the theater which were conducted in Greek. These knew Greek not because they had come from the east but rather simply because they were well-educated Carthaginians.⁴⁵ Dennis Groh had earlier come to similar conclusions.⁴⁶

David Wilhite also came to similar conclusions about the social class of Tertullian and his fellow Christians. Building on the work of Michele Renee Salzman and Peter Brown among others, Wilhite also resisted the older thesis that Christians were poor and uneducated in the earliest centuries.⁴⁷ Wilhite's particular contribution to this topic is his interest in the particular class struggles of Africans versus Romans. He argues that while North Africans were at first seen as barbaric to the Romans, they quickly displayed their literary erudition as "new elites". Fronto and Apuleius exhibited the wealth and education necessary to perform this status, especially as

⁴³ TE id 17.2, 18.9 provides the certain reference. Possible references include TE ap 1.6–7 and 37.5; TE Sca 3–5; TE cor 13.1, 4. Georg Schöllgen, *Ecclesia Sordida? Zur Frage der sozialen Schichtung frühchristlicher Gemeinden am Beispiel Karthagos zur Zeit Tertullians*, Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum. Ergänzungsband 12 (Münster Westfalen: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1984), 155–75.

⁴⁴ TE cor 13 provides proof for Carthaginian Christians and the entire TE pall but especially 6.3 demonstrates that Tertullian was himself a knight. Ibid., 175–189.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 197–224 and esp. 219–20 on the upper classes' knowledge of Greek.

⁴⁶ Dennis E. Groh, "Upper-Class Christians in Tertullian's Africa," in *Studia Patristica*, vol. XIV, 3, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 117 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1976), 41–47.

⁴⁷ Michele Renee Salzman, *The Making of a Christian Aristocracy: Social and Religious Change in the Western Roman Empire* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2002); Peter Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity, A.D. 200–1000*, 2nd ed, *The Making of Europe* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2003).

members of the second sophistic movement.⁴⁸ Wilhite places Tertullian within this cultural milieu and describes him as one of North Africa's "new elite".⁴⁹

In Chapter One of this dissertation, it was noted that Rönsch held that Tertullian was so at home with the people of his hometown that he was able to speak the register of popular Latin, which he argued was spoken all over the ancient Roman world but is sometimes referred to as African Latin (or *Africitas*).⁵⁰ This assertion, however, that "African Latin" was plebeian speech may have had more to do with Rönsch's colonialist estimation of Africa than a careful examination of the evidence. Some scholars contemporaneous to Rönsch and writing shortly thereafter blamed the climate, the supposed African "exuberant temperament" or even that Africans had semitic blood running through their veins for the uniquenesses of their Latin register.⁵¹

Silvia Mattiacci has recently presented a clear summary of the history of *Africitas*. Several scholars in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries attempted to isolate some distinctive characteristic of African Latin, whether vocabulary, syntax, style, or speech. Of course, not all such scholars did so with racist or classist motives. Sometimes this data was merely used to suggest the provenance of a work. If it had what scholars had isolated as "Africanisms" it was concluded to have been composed in Africa. This data was particularly used by NT textual critics to create the Latin text-type theory based on regions.

⁴⁸ On Apuleius and his relationship to the Second Sophistic, cf Vössing, *Schule und Bildung*, 436–67.

⁴⁹ David E. Wilhite, *Tertullian the African: An Anthropological Reading of Tertullian's Context and Identities*, Millennium-Studien zu Kultur und Geschichte des ersten Jahrtausends n. Chr.; Millennium Studies in the Culture and History of the First Millennium C.E., v. 14 (Berlin; New York: De Gruyter, 2007), 103–119.

⁵⁰ Rönsch, *Itala Und Vulgata*, 471–482.

⁵¹ J. N. Adams, *The Regional Diversification of Latin 200 BC – AD 600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 517.

Mattiacci captures an important critique from Einar Löfstedt's *Late Latin*: "The theory of African Latin now has no more than an historical interest, but it is instructive from the standpoint of methodology, as showing how easily one can generalize from a number of peculiarities in certain writers and be led thereby to false conclusions."⁵² In an important study Mattiacci notes Eduard Norden's conclusions on the matter, "(he) does not deny that the Latin spoken in Africa had its own phonetic and morphological features (and perhaps, but with less likelihood, also lexical and syntactic ones), but he denies the existence of an African style."⁵³ These studies provide ample caution against simplistic uses of the theory of *Africitas*.

James Adams has also completely dismissed the notion that *Africitas* could be identified with a certain language register.⁵⁴ Though Adams recognizes that there has been a general pessimism concerning attempts to locate a literary text in a specific region (he asserts that this has been most eloquently maintained by Einar Löfstedt's *Late Latin*), Adams does uphold the possibility of such an endeavor. This is partially to be found by analyzing what he calls "metalinguistic data" or *testimonia* (that is, the explicit comments of Latin writers concerning their own linguistic practices).⁵⁵ The other primary way Adams locates *Africitas* is lexically.⁵⁶ In doing so, he identifies *Africitas* in both educated and non-educated Latin users.

While there may be occasional uses of some *Africitas* in some authors who were less educated, deviation from classical or Ciceronian Latin need not mean that this is uneducated or plebeian Latin. Adams is, on the one hand, able to locate what he calls a standardized, largely

⁵² Silvia Mattiacci, "Apuleius and Africitas," in *Apuleius and Africa*, ed. B.T. Lee, E. Finkelpearl, and L. Graverini (New York-London: Routledge, 2014), 91.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 89–90.

⁵⁴ Adams, *Regional Diversification*, 516–18.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 4–5.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 516–76.

Ciceronian, Latin among literate writers and yet on the other hand, he notes some later literary writers who occasionally depart from this standardized Latin with localized forms. Adams argues that “Varro, for example, often departs from accepted late republican educated usage as that emerges from the practice of Cicero and Caesar.”⁵⁷ Thus, regionalisms like *Africitas* do not necessarily mean these deviations from standard form constitute a lower register. Since Tertullian references both Cicero’s and Varro’s writings a number of times, it is possible that Tertullian was influenced not only by standardized Ciceronian Latin but also by the localized and yet literary Latin forms such as those found in Varro.

Adams distinguishes two ways that these practices spread from one Latin speaker or author to another.⁵⁸ “Contagious diffusion” happens when they gradually spread through social networks and private contact. “Hierarchical diffusion” happens when linguistic practices jump or “parachute” from one major urban to another, presumably through written materials. Adams further notes that this phenomenon happened primarily in cities. “It is generally agreed that ‘[u]rban centres play a prominent part in the spatial diffusion of linguistic phenomena’.”⁵⁹ He points out, however, that this does not just mean from Rome to other cities in the empire. The linguistic connection between Rome and other cities like Carthage was a two way thoroughfare.

Tertullian was from the upper ranks of Carthaginian society, and at least some of his works were addressed to well-educated people like himself. This will be important later in the analysis of his literary practices. First, however, it is important to discern how other well-educated elites in society were interacting with languages, literatures, and philosophical learning.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 16.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 18–20.

⁵⁹ For more on this, Adams recommends J. Tældeman, “The influence of urban centres on the spatial diffusion of dialect phenomena,” in (eds.) *Dialect Change: Convergence and Divergence in European Languages*, ed. P. Auer, F. Hinskens, and P. Kerswill (Cambridge: CUP, 2005), 263–83.

2.4 Translation Practices in Carthage and Rome

One of the ways in which Roman authors and rhetors participated in the Second Sophistic was to translate Greek works into Latin. Siobhan McElduff has most recently described Latin translation of Greek works going back to the days of Cicero but also including many of Tertullian's near contemporaries in the Second Sophistic movement. What follows is a summary of and critical reaction to her work which will serve to contextualize Tertullian's sophisticated literary practices.

McElduff situates and justifies her work by saying the following about older approaches to translation studies, "Both are landmark studies of translation in Rome and have much that is extremely valuable to say on how Roman translation worked; however, both are primarily philological approaches to Latin texts and their manipulation of Greek literature, and rarely integrate the translations they discuss into their cultural moment."⁶⁰ Similar things could be said of previous studies of Tertullian's practices; they focused on linguistic issues without any or with little recognition of the socio-cultural context. As she notes, most translation studies in the past had focused solely on linguistic concerns, but today it is important to recognize that translation is "deeply intertwined with cultural, political, and historical concerns on an individual and societal level."⁶¹

As opposed to the sometimes assumed goal of translating whereby the translator attempts to be invisible and to let the source text come through unhindered (the assumption here is that the reader cannot read the original and so requires the translator and the translation), McElduff points out that many Roman translations were actually made precisely for those who were able to

⁶⁰ Siobhan McElduff, *Roman Theories of Translation: Surpassing the Source*, Routledge Monographs in Classical Studies 14 (New York; Oxford: Routledge, 2013), 3.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 13.

read the original Greek. In these cases, the audience was particularly astute and interested in how the translator rendered various well-known phrases. Here, McElduff cautions that we should not “map our own thoughts about translation, or about original and copy or free and literal, onto Roman translation.”⁶²

The word most often used for a “translator” was the Latin *interpres* which according to McElduff had as its Greek equivalent ἑρμηνεύς.⁶³ She notes that some Greeks explained the etymology of this term by pointing to the division of languages and the role that Hermes played as a creative linguist. Others explained that ἑρμηνεύς worked for Hermes in disseminating a message and thus took his name for their activity. In this way, the human translators are in some way participating in the divine even while communicating such divine messages in human language.⁶⁴ McElduff argues that Greeks did very little translating compared to the Romans and never theorized about it. An exception was the birth of the Septuagint which will be discussed below.

From her study of nonliterary Roman translation, McElduff asserts the following conclusions. First, she shows that Romans understood and utilized the power which comes with the act of translating. They especially privileged Greek, which was important for Roman elites. Second, these elite Romans who spoke Greek themselves still sometimes employed official translators to create cultural distance. Third, Roman translation was often controlled by the benefactor/-ress of the translator. Sometimes there was even a committee who oversaw translation. These translators are to be seen in contradistinction from the literary translators like Cicero or Livius Andronicus who were afforded more independence and thus could be more

⁶² Ibid., 15.

⁶³ Ibid., 24.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 201 n. 34.

creative and free with their translational efforts. McElduff shows then that these non-elite translators were both real figures and yet also straw men for elite translators like Cicero and Horace among others.⁶⁵

In contrast to the more popularizing translators, McElduff argues that literary translators like Livius Andronicus and several other epic and dramatic poets had at least five commonalities. First, the translated work generally dealt freely with the source text rather than woodenly or closely. Second, Roman literary translations incorporated Roman cultural elements. Third, such translated works used Roman rather than Greek names for the gods. Fourth, they appealed to a Roman nymph rather than a muse in the beginning of the work. Finally, these translations drew their material from more than one Greek source.⁶⁶ While these characteristics of literary translation will be helpful in contextualizing Tertullian's work among general literary translators, the most apt Roman translator to compare and thus contextualize Tertullian's translational activity is Marcus Tullius Cicero.

Cicero's most well-known though perhaps least understood comment concerning translation is a short quip about his own translation work in *On the Best Type of Orator* 14: that he translated "not as an interpreter but as an orator".⁶⁷ McElduff is quick to point out that though this quote appears in nearly every introduction to the history of translation, it is too simplistically used to characterize Cicero's translation efforts as free and therefore unconcerned with language or the challenges which come with translation. McElduff provides a much more nuanced understanding of how and why Cicero used translation. First, the orator was for Cicero a translator of people from one state to another. This larger "translation" from one culture to

⁶⁵ Ibid., 38.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 43.

⁶⁷ *Nec converti ut interpretes, sed ut oratores* Ibid., 96.

another or from allegiance to one community to another was first discussed in the early work *De Inuentione*. In section 1.2–3, Cicero likens this kind of conversion to the rendering of a text from one language to another. He writes:

By some system he drove together and gathered into one place men who had been scattered in the fields and buried in woodland homes, leading them into a useful and honorable state. Although at first they protested because of this situation's unfamiliarity, they later listened more enthusiastically because of reason and oratory, and he rendered (*reddidit*) them gentle and tame although they were a wild and savage people. But I do not think it possible that a silent wisdom without richness in speech could have converted (*conuerteret*) men suddenly from their familiar ways and turned them towards different ways of living.⁶⁸

She notes that Cicero will later use the terms *reddere* and *conuertere* later in the same work to describe the translation of texts from one language to another. This larger or figural use of the word “translation” is important for understanding how central the work of translation was for Cicero to the work of oratory. With his rhetoric, he sought to translate texts into the language of his audience in order to translate his audience to his own way of thinking.

Cicero's oft-discussed theorizing on translation leads many to believe that Cicero is speaking to our modern debate concerning literal versus dynamic translation. In *On the Best Type of Orator* 14, Cicero says,

I translated (*conuerti*) the most famous orations of the two most eloquent orators from Attica, Aeschines and Demosthenes, orations which were ranged on opposite sides; I did not translate (*conuerti*) them as an interpreter, but as an orator...In this I did not think it necessary to render (*reddere*) word for word, but instead preserved every category and the force (*uim*) of the words. For I did not

⁶⁸ *Qui disperos homines in agros et in tectis siluestribus abditos ratione quadam compulit unum in locum et congregauit et eos in unam quamque rem inducens utilem atque orationem studiosius audientes ex feris et immanibus mites reddidit et mansuetos. Ac mihi quidem hoc nec tacita uidetur nec inops dicendi sapientia perficere potuisse ut homines a consuetudine subito conuerteret et ad diuersas rationes uitae traduceret.* As quoted and translated by McElduff. Ibid., 98.

think that I should dole them out piece by piece to the reader, but rather, shall we say, pay them out by weight.⁶⁹

Though some students of translation have used this Ciceronian comment to illustrate the difference between the modern translation approaches of literal versus dynamic translation, McElduff will have none of it. Instead of the debate being about literal versus dynamic translation theory, she argues that the debate is between Greek and Roman culture. When a Roman translated a Greek text, they were adding value to the source text by further enriching it with literary expression sometimes not found in the original text. Cicero was concerned not only with translating the content of a Greek treatise but also in bringing across the rhetorical force or power (*uim*) of the original with equally powerful language and expression in the translation.

In another writing, *On Moral Ends* 3.15, Cicero further discusses the connection of translation and rhetoric.

It is not necessary to squeeze out [a translation] word by word, as ineloquent interpreters do, when there is a more familiar word conveying the same meaning. Indeed, I usually use several words to expose what is expressed in Greek by one, if I am unable to do anything else.⁷⁰

These examples have sometimes been used in the past to argue that Cicero had little regard for the fine wording of the text and even that he fits into the modern-day camp of dynamic translation theory. But McElduff notes that this is not about literal versus dynamic translation theory but about Cicero bringing Greek philosophy into Latin so that

⁶⁹ *Conuertere enim ex Atticis duorum eloquentissimorum nobilissimas orationes inter seque contrarias, Aeschini et Demostheni; nec conuertere ut interpres, sed ut orator...In quibus non uerbum pro uerbo necesse habui reddere, sed genus omne uerborum uimque seruauit. Non enim ea me adnumerare lectori putavi oportere, sed tamquam appendere.* As translated and quoted by McElduff. Ibid., 112.

⁷⁰ *Nec tamen exprimi uerbum e uerbo necesse erit, ut interpres indiserti solent, cum sit uerbum quod idem declaret magis usitatum; equidem soleo etiam quod uno Graeci, si aliter non possum, idem pluribus uerbis exponere.* As translated and quoted by McElduff 2013, 115.

Cicero's own writings might become the standard, rather than some bland translation. He intended his works to become themselves a *regula* to replace the Greek originals rather than encouraging with his translations the practice of reading the translated text alongside the source text. His quotation in *On the Best Type of Orator* 14 goes on to say:

This work of mine will bring this about: our people will know what to ask from those who wish to be Atticists and to what – just as if it were a pattern for speech – they ought to call them back.⁷¹

At the end of this work, Cicero concludes about his own work that it “will be a rule (*regula*), by which the speeches of those who wish to speak in the Attic fashion may be regulated (*dirigantur*).”⁷²

From these remarks, it becomes clearer that although Cicero did not translate word for word, he nevertheless understood and cared about textual controls and matters of vocabulary. McElduff insists with many arguments that Cicero would “not allow one to color outside the lines” when it came to translating Greek thought. Rather, his sometimes less than word-for-word translation was aimed at the best rendering possible. She concludes, “Through translation, Cicero directs and guides one to proper understanding, unlike the faux Atticists, who fixate on one limited orator, import unsuitable models such as Thucydides into oratory, or produce flabby, impotent translations.”⁷³

Since McElduff only considered Cicero's own discussion of his translation, Jonathan Powell's consideration of Cicero's actual translation practices is instructive. Powell lists five

⁷¹ *Hic labor meus hoc adsequetur, ut nostri homines quid ab illis exigant, qui se Atticos uolunt, et ad quam eos quasi formulam dicendi reuocent intellegant.* McElduff 2013, 112–13.

⁷² McElduff 2013, 114.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 115.

categories of translation activity in Cicero: (1) entire translations (*Timaeus*, and the now fragmentary *Protagoras*), (2) quotations explicitly acknowledged as his own translations where accuracy of translation is key, (3) other such quotations which are more or less accurate, (4) passages which have been adapted or summarized, and (5) passages which are translations but concerning which Cicero does not give a source or say that he himself translated them.⁷⁴

Powell's detailed analysis of Cicero's grammar and vocabulary provides a number of clues that might explain why Cicero embarked on these various translations. Sometimes, Cicero is carrying phrases or short passages from other writers to support his point. At times, he may even be trying to mimic the poor style of a Greek writer with "less than elegant Latin" as is possibly the case in his rendering of Epicurus (Cic., *Tusculanae Disputationes* 3.41) and Torquatus (Cic., *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum* 2.21). Cicero's point, however, in both of these is his insistence that he is rendering the sources accurately. When it comes to the debate about whether Latin has the wherewithal to support abstract, philosophical thought, Cicero at times will even assert Latin's advantage over Greek. Powell notes the following examples where Cicero noted specific instances of such advantage: *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum* 1.10; 3.5, 51; *Tusculanae Disputationes* 2.35; 3.10; 4.10.⁷⁵ In some places, it is clear that Cicero is striving for clarity and to be explicit about the meaning of a certain word or phrase. In his analysis of *Timaeus* 38, Powell argues that Cicero's translation is due to his need stylistically to give more emphasis to a phrase or sentence.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ J. G. F. Powell, ed., *Cicero the Philosopher: Twelve Papers* (Oxford ; New York: Clarendon Press, 1995), 279–80.

⁷⁵ Ibid, 283.

⁷⁶ Ibid, 287.

A large part of Powell's analysis of Cicero's translation practice is wrapped up in analysis of vocabulary. While some of Cicero's contemporaries were deploring Latin's inability to carry Greek philosophical thought, Cicero was combatting them vigorously. Powell notes that in *De Legibus* 1.27 Cicero grabs a hold of the Latin word *uultus* ("facial expression") and victoriously reminds his opponent that there is no Greek equivalent. In another place, he points out that Latin is able to make a distinction between "pain" and "toil" for which Greek only has one word, *πόνοϋς*. Powell's study, therefore, upholds McElduff's findings.⁷⁷

Another literary translator whom Cicero himself held up as one worthy of the task was Marcus Terentius Varro. In Cicero's *Academica*, he related that Varro criticized translators who brought words and works into common or popular language (*vulgari sermone*). Amafinius and Rabirius had brought Epicurean philosophy into the Roman language but without any sense of artistic arrangement or understanding of what they were really dealing with according to Varro.⁷⁸ Instead, Varro reasoned that if someone were to be interested in philosophy which itself was a Greek matter, then either the interested person would rely on their education in Greek or else the person would not be interested in such matters. From there he reasoned that he need not involve himself with translation. And yet, McElduff notes the irony that Varro had indeed written a work entitled *De Philosophia* in Latin which discussed Greek philosophy.

It seems that the point Varro was making is that anyone intent on studying Greek philosophy would rely not on pedestrian and artless translations like Amafinius and Rabirius but would rather consult the original Greek. The conclusions drawn here are that Roman literary elites expected their peers to know Greek well enough to read the philosophical work in its

⁷⁷ For more on Cicero's translation practices, cf. R. Poncelet, *Cicéron traducteur de Platon* (Paris, 1957). Cf also M. Puelma, "Cicero als Platonübersetzer", *Museum Helveticum*, Vol. 37, No. 3 (1980), pp. 137–178.

⁷⁸ Cicero, *Academica*, 1.5 as discussed in McElduff, 104–6.

original language and therefore that the Greek text would remain the authoritative version of the text.⁷⁹

Seneca the Younger practiced a similar approach to philosophical and literary translation. In *On the Tranquility of the Mind* 2.3, he discusses Greek terms in a way that presumes his audience's knowledge of Greek. He then discusses the challenges of translating a particular concept into Latin and like Cicero and other literary translators, does not seem at all bothered by choosing a freer approach to translation in order to capture not just the words but the force of the concepts.

This steadiness of mind which the Greeks call *euthumia* – the work on this by Democritus is exceptional – I call *tranquillitas* (calmness). For it is not necessary to imitate or transfer the form (*formam*) of words; the thing itself, which is the topic of discussion, must be designated by some name which should have the force (*uim*), not the appearance (*faciem*), of the Greek term.⁸⁰

Here he is deciding against a kind of translation which would transliterate or even translate the Greek word small part by small part, sometimes called “isomorphic translation”.⁸¹ McElduff notes that other Latin writers like Apuleius, Seneca the Elder, and Gellius also participated in the activity of translation and saw the use of Greek as key for demonstrating their status as ideal Romans and thus their participation in the Second Sophistic.⁸²

The ability to go back and forth between languages, all the while negotiating their differences in syntax and vocabulary, was a badge of honor for the Roman educated elite and

⁷⁹ McElduff, *Roman Theories of Translation*, 104–5.

⁸⁰ *Hanc stabilem animi sedem Graeci euthumian uocant, de qua Democriti uolumen egregium est, ego tranquillitatem uoco; nec enim imitari et transferre uerba ad illorum formam necesse est: res ipsa, de qua agitur aliquo signanda nomine est, quod appellationis Graece uim debet habere, non faciem.* Ibid., 161.

⁸¹ Ibid., 234, n. 15.

⁸² Ibid., 157. On Apuleius as a Greek speaker and writer with skills on the same level as his Latin abilities, cf Silvia Mattiacci, “Apuleius and Africitas,” in *Apuleius and Africa*, ed. B.T. Lee, E. Finkelpearl, and L. Graverini (New York-London: Routledge, 2014), 87–111, 98.

merited creative metaphors to describe such translation activity. The African writer Apuleius describes switching back-and-forth between Greek and Latin as leaping from horse to horse (*Metamorphoses* 1.1.5–6).⁸³ Mattiacci has noted “the complexity of the African environment, with its constant network of relations with the Mediterranean world and the consequent mix of different cultures (Greek and Latin, Libyan and Punic), which more recent studies in various fields (literary, historical, epigraphic and archaeological) have called attention to.”⁸⁴ Seneca the Elder (50 BC – 40 AD) used the toga as a metaphor for speaking Latin, while taking up the pallium meant to speak in Greek (*Controversia* 9.3.13). “If to don the toga was to play the Roman, then to speak Latin was to some degree to perform Romanness, and was best done in appropriate costume.”⁸⁵

Aulus Gellius in his *Attic Nights* was also interested in demonstrating his ability to switch back and forth between languages and noticing when other authors were doing the same. He noticed that some of the best authors do not translate word for word and even leave certain Greek words untranslated in their texts as a demonstration of their education level and membership in the cultural elite. In chapter 9.9 of *Attic Nights*, Gellius writes:

Whenever we have to translate (*uertendae*) and imitate famous passages from Greek poets, people always say that we should not try to translate every single word in the original. Many works lose their charm if they are transferred too violently, like unwilling and reluctant [texts?]. So Virgil when he refashioned (*effingeret*) passages from Homer, Hesiod, Apollonius, Parthenius, Callimachus, and other poets was clever and thoughtful when he left some sections and translated others (*effingeret*).⁸⁶

⁸³ McElduff, *Roman Theories of Translation*, 20.

⁸⁴ Mattiacci, “Apuleius and Africitas”, 91.

⁸⁵ McElduff, *Roman Theories of Translation*, 20.

⁸⁶ *Quando ex poematis Graecis uertendae imitandaeque sunt insignes sententiae, non semper aiunt enitendum ut omnia omnino uerba in eum, in quem dicta sunt, modum uertamus. Perdunt enim gratiam pleraque, si quasi inuita et recusantia uiolentius transferantur. Scite ergo et considerate Uergilius, cum aut Homeri aut Hesiodi aut Apollonii aut Parthenii aut Callimachi aut Theocriti aut quorundam aliorum locos effingeret, partem reliquit, alia expressit.* As quoted and translated by McElduff. Ibid., 182.

Later in this chapter it will be demonstrated that Tertullian did this very thing, leaving some Greek words untranslated in his writings. This activity will be further defined and labelled as code switching. What may have seemed like accidental behavior or a signal that Tertullian did not know a Greek word and so left it untranslated, is seen in a new light when understood as a regular practice of literary writers and orators who sought to communicate extra information when leaving just the right word untranslated in their writings.

Finally, having discussed a number of Roman authors who incorporated translation into their own literary activity, we should consider the place of translation work in Roman education, especially the education of an orator. It has already been argued that Tertullian was heavily shaped by Carthage's sophisticated educational system which sought to induct advanced students into the second sophistic. Translating a Greek text into Latin was a common educational activity for such students. Seneca the elder in his *Controuersiae* describes the pedagogical aims of declamations. In one place, Seneca discusses the declaimer Fuscus and specifically notes that translation work was a form of *exercitatio*.

I remember that when Fuscus was challenged with this *sententia* of Adaeus he did not deny that he had brought it into (*transtulisse*) Latin; he also said he did not do it to recommend himself or as a theft but for exercise. 'I work to compete with the best *sententia*,' he said, 'and I try not to pervert (*corrumpere*), but to conquer (*uincere*) them. There are many Roman orators, historians, and poets who have not stolen, but challenged, the sayings of the Greeks.'⁸⁷

McElduff points out that calling translation an exercise can also be seen in Cicero, Quintilian, and Pliny the Younger. For Seneca, these exercises were not solitary regurgitation of correct

⁸⁷ *Memini deinde Fuscum, cum haec Adaei sententia obiceretur, non infitiri transtulisse se eam in Latinam; et aiebat non commendationis id se aut furti, sed exercitationis causa facere. Do, inquit, operam ut cum optimis sententiis certem, nec illas corrumpere conor sed uincere. Multa oratores, historici poetae Romani a Graecis dicta non subriperunt sed prouocauerunt.* As quoted and translated by McElduff. Ibid., 159–60.

answers but instead provided opportunities for sparring with a declamatory opponent. The language of *corrumpere* and *uincere* show how seriously students took this competitive translation work. This kind of language is similar to Seneca the Younger's argument that the force rather than the form of the words is most important when translating. These translators attest that there is much more involved in translation than just linguistic accuracy. How one translated could form one's reputation and even help to decide a literary battle between polemicists.

In one place, Quintilian remarks that "past Latin orators considered that turning (*uertere*) Greek into Latin was the best exercise."⁸⁸ If future orators were drilled and practiced regularly the translation of texts from a source language to their own, it should be no surprise that many such students continued these practices in their professional career. The question is what kind of translation they were encouraged to produce. Some students of Latin, especially those in Egypt, were taught to rely heavily on lexica and often produced very wooden translations. They were trained to render consistently a word the same way every time they saw it no matter the context.⁸⁹ There is some evidence that glossaries were used in Rome for the translation of technical writings. McElduff also argues that some students who never graduated beyond translating individual words from one language to another would also have a propensity to translate literalistically. Yet another example of such a literal translator is the professional translator whose job it was to produce a spontaneous translation of what was being read aloud or proclaimed in the provinces or in the Senate. These spontaneous translations evaporated as soon as they were spoken and thus depended on a word-for-word rather than literary translation.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ Quintilian, *Institutes* 10.5.2 as translated by McElduff. Ibid., 171.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 117.

⁹⁰ McElduff, 117–18.

These are the kinds of translators and translations which Cicero opposed. His aim was to produce a literary translation which translated both linguistic content and the rhetorical force of the language.

Innovation in translating is even encouraged because of its necessity. Not all Greek phrases are able to be rendered into Latin and so, new renderings must be considered. Even further from the idea of a rigid word-for-word translation is Quintilian's assumption that an orator would translate a text the way Cicero did with Plato, that is, drawing from its "linguistic richness" to make it one's own. McElduff further argues that Quintilian must have been controversial in his admonition toward paraphrase because he presses the subject so forcefully in book ten of the *Institutes*.⁹¹ Seneca also encouraged paraphrastic translation.⁹²

McElduff reminds us that there was no one fixed approach to translation for Romans, but she concludes her study with some unifying considerations. Though many translations of source texts altered or added to what they were translating, this does not mean that those translators lacked respect for the original. "Many translators highly respected the authors they translated even as they reshaped them." Their approaches stemmed "from a lack of interest in one of the prevailing concerns of modern translation: whether one should translate closely or freely, and how one should respect the source text and best transfer it into a new language and culture."⁹³ The great concern of the Roman translators centered according to McElduff on their desire to be seen as controlling the source text and sometimes its Greek cultural baggage rather than being controlled by it. Elite literary translators desired to imprint their own identity on the material and to create a translation which intentionally contained the finger prints of the translator rather than

⁹¹ Ibid, 171–2.

⁹² Ibid, 166–7.

⁹³ Ibid., 187.

the translator attempting to lurk in the shadows. “Roman translation theory, in all of its complexity, was born out of a need to deal with (social and cultural) pressures and turn them to the Romans’ advantage.”⁹⁴

2.5 Tertullian’s Cultural, Linguistic, and Translation Practices

The reader, here, might recall the judgment of Aalders from Chapter One. Aalders argued that Tertullian’s Latin text of the New Testament differed from the Old Latin translations because they slavishly held to the Greek word order.⁹⁵ Perhaps Tertullian’s creative and free word order which will be extensively discussed in Chapter Five is not so much due to his “low view” of the Scriptures or because the Scriptures had not yet been fully canonized or because of a careless approach to their language. Instead, it seems more likely given the many other parallels to Tertullian and the Second Sophistic that Tertullian was playing the part of a Ciceronian translator of the Greek New Testament. The following section seeks to demonstrate the plausibility that Tertullian was aware of, in conversation with, and even shaped by the many cultures and practices which have just been discussed.

2.5.1 Tertullian’s Comments on Language

Tertullian’s peers and predecessors engaged the topics of language, literature, and translation in a variety of ways. Were their approaches influential on Tertullian’s own activity in these realms? The rest of this chapter seeks to demonstrate how Tertullian himself was influenced by and thus employed their approaches.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Chapter 1, 17–18.

In order to understand Tertullian's approach to language in general, it is important to understand his views on the origins of language. In *Ad Nationes* 1.8, Tertullian is debating the moniker given to Christians by his opponents, *tertium genus*. In order to confront and contradict the notion that Christians are such a "third race" he deconstructs the idea of a first and second race by recounting the story of the Egyptian Psammetichus. This Egyptian King embarked on an experiment to determine the original language. Some children were separated from their parents and from all society and raised by a nurse whose tongue had been removed. According to the story, the first word of these children was *beccos*, Phrygian for "bread". Tertullian then debates the conclusion that Phrygia was the first nation and likewise the first language by asserting the unbelievability of the account.

It is noteworthy that Tertullian makes his point by appealing to a non-Christian literary account. While one may question Tertullian's source since it is not explicitly stated, Timothy Barnes has proposed rationale that the source was a literary account.⁹⁶ Barnes notes that Tertullian does not mention his source but merely introduces the anonymous account with *dicitur*.⁹⁷ Tertullian's account matches, for the most part, the version of Herodotus with only one error noted by Barnes, a conflation of two varying accounts in Herodotus. In Herodotus' preferred account of the story, the children are raised by a shepherd who was requested by Psammetichus not to speak.⁹⁸ In the other account which the Greeks had been telling but which

⁹⁶ Barnes, 198.

⁹⁷ *Dicitur enim infantes recenti e partu seorsum a commercio hominum alendos tradidisse nutrici, quam et ipsam propterea elinguauerat, ut in totum exules uocis humanae non auditu formarent loquellam, sed de suo promentes eam primam nationem designarent, cuius sonum natura dictasset. Prima uox beccos renuntiata est; interpretatio eius panis apud phrygas nomen est: phryges primi genus exinde habentur.* Tertullian, *Ad nationes* 1.8.

⁹⁸ *παιδιά δύο νεογνά ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων δίδωσι ποιμένι τρέφειν ἐς τὰ ποιμνία τροφήν τινα τοιήνδε, ἐντειλάμενος μηδένα ἀντίον αὐτῶν μηδεμίαν φωνήν ἰέναι.* Herodotus, II.2.2.

Herodotus rejected, the children are raised by women whose tongues had been removed.⁹⁹

Barnes noted the shift in Herodotus' two versions from a singular shepherd who raised the infants to plural women whose tongues had been removed. Barnes then suggests that Tertullian's version of the tale with a singular nurse was a conflation of Herodotus' two accounts. Barnes is able to conclude that Tertullian was dependent on Herodotus' literary account because no other account of the story occurs in ancient literature outside of Herodotus and quotations of him. Such a conclusion presumes that Tertullian did not hear the story directly from Greeks which is reasonable since as Barnes notes Herodotus was the only author to mention the oral version. Further corroboration is found when Tim Denecker notes that he is unable to find another use of the Psammetichus narrative in any other early Christian writer.¹⁰⁰ It seems most likely that Tertullian is here making use of Herodotus and thus using a non-Christian literary account in order to make his defense.

In addition to Tertullian's disagreement with the Psammetichus tale, he also deflects the *tertium genus* charge by asking which nation was first and second. Even if Phrygia is the first (*sint nunc primi Phryges*), which is the second? Romans, Jews, Greeks, and Egyptians are all possibilities. Tertullian's goal is not actually to determine which were first and second but rather to negate the *tertium genus* label by proving that there were not just two original people groups. Nevertheless, he makes a final interesting point about language and Christianity. *Sed de superstitione tertium genus deputamur, non de natione*. What is clear even in these early days of Christianity is that Christians do not have a common language and thus do not have exclusive

⁹⁹ Ἕλληνες δὲ λέγουσι ἄλλα τε μάταια πολλὰ καὶ ὥς γυναικῶν τὰς γλώσσας ὁ Ψαμμήτιχος ἐκταμὼν τὴν διαίταν οὕτω ἐποιήσατο τῶν παιδῶν παρὰ ταύτῃσι τῇσι γυναιξί. Herodotus II.2.5.

¹⁰⁰ Tim Denecker, *Ideas on Language in Early Latin Christianity from Tertullian to Isidore of Seville*, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae; Volume 142 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2017), 60.

loyalties to any one nation.¹⁰¹ This does not mean, on the other hand, that Christianity transcended all culture and that Tertullian never interested himself in such matters. David Wilhite has demonstrated that Tertullian embraces at times the particular ethnic identity of the new elite of North Africa in his writing *De pallio*.¹⁰²

Tertullian was well aware of claims about the origins of language and writing as stemming from the Romans' gods. When discussing Saturn as an entity of Roman worship in *Apologeticum* 10, Tertullian attributes to Romans the belief that Saturn invented the art of writing and gave the people the first images on coins.¹⁰³ Tertullian does not agree with this, of course. His rhetorical point is that though the Romans acclaim Saturn as a god, he is actually nothing more than a man. Hermes, known to the Romans as Mercury, was also held to be a giver of language. Tertullian refutes this belief in *De testimonio animae* 5.5–6.¹⁰⁴ He argues likewise at *De corona* 8.2.¹⁰⁵

As far as the Babel account is concerned, Denecker has identified among early Latin authors three differing views on God's actions. One group described God's activity at Babel which gave rise to a multiplicity of languages in neutral terms. Another group identified God's action and the subsequent variety of languages as a punishment. The third group identified something positive about God's actions, for example, as a way of protecting humanity from itself.¹⁰⁶ Denecker attributed the neutral view to Tertullian in his reading of *Adversus Praxean*

¹⁰¹ On this cf Denise Kimber Buell, *Why This New Race: Ethnic Reasoning in Early Christianity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 154–157.

¹⁰² Wilhite, *Tertullian the African*, 120–45.

¹⁰³ *Tota denique Italia post Oenotriam Saturnia cognominabatur. Ab ipso primum tabulae et imagine signatus nummus, et inde aerario praesidet.* Apol. 10.8 (CCSL 1:106)

¹⁰⁴ Denecker, *Ideas on Language*, 37–8.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 355 n. 14.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 102–07.

16.2.¹⁰⁷ Upon another reading of Tertullian's text, there seems to be evidence of a rather negative view.¹⁰⁸ Tertullian gives the tearing down of the tower and the dispersion of languages as evidence of the Son's judgment, likening these activities to God's actions in bringing violent floodwaters and the fire and sulphur of Sodom and Gomorrah. For Tertullian, the Babel event was clearly a punishment.

This leads to a consideration of Tertullian's overall philosophy of language. Charles Taylor uses the terms "designative" and "constitutive" to describe two main views of language.¹⁰⁹ Denecker compares Aristotle's "non-relativistic" view of language in which thought and ideas precede language (Taylor's designative view) to the Humboldtian/Sapir-Whorf hypothesis view of language in which people's perceptions and ideas are themselves shaped by their distinct spoken language (Taylor's constitutive view). In relation to early Latin Christians, Denecker argues that none of them embraced the latter relativistic (constitutive) view of language.¹¹⁰ His example from Tertullian is *De testimonio animae* 6.3. This is for Denecker "a first clear instance" of a reference to "the futility of language diversity".¹¹¹ Later, Denecker notes that Tertullian in this same section of *De test.* argued that Latin and Greek are similar (*propinquae inter se*).¹¹²

Houghton, however, has also analyzed this same section and noted, "This passage also serves to highlight the problem of disentangling information from rhetoric in Tertullian, which

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 102–03 n. 10.

¹⁰⁸ *Filius itaque est qui et ab initio iudicavit, turrem superbissimam elidens linguasque disperdens, orbem totum aquarum uiolentia puniens, pluens super Sodom et Gomorram ignem et sulphurem, Deus a Deo.*

¹⁰⁹ Charles Taylor, *The Language Animal: The Full Shape of the Human Linguistic Capacity* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press: An Imprint of Harvard University Press, 2016).

¹¹⁰ Denecker, *Ideas on Language*, 123.

¹¹¹ *Omnium gentium unus hommo, uarium nomen est, una anima, uaria uox, unus spiritus, uarius sonus, propria cuique genti loquela, sed loquelae materia communis.*

¹¹² Denecker, *Ideas on Language*, 244 n. 19.

will recur constantly.”¹¹³ For Houghton, the similarity between Latin and Greek is not so much evidence of Tertullian’s view of the structural similarities between the eternal forms of the two languages as much as a recognition of “the remarkable similarity in the development of both languages in the post-classical period.”¹¹⁴

Houghton’s remark about the rhetoric of this passage draws attention to Tertullian’s larger argument. In *De testimonio animae* 5.4 Tertullian gives the designative view of language by stating that the soul is earlier than language (letters), and initially it seems that this is his position.¹¹⁵ Ever the polemicist, Tertullian then sarcastically takes up the opposite view with a number of questions.¹¹⁶ He further suggests in 5.6 that the soul has its views because it took them from the Jewish or Christian Scriptures or even from a pagan book which had earlier stolen its ideas from the *diuinae scripturae*. This should be seen as representative of the constitutive view of language in which the person or soul is formed and shaped by the language it is given. Contra to Denecker, it seems more plausible that Tertullian’s preferred view of language is the constitutive. Nevertheless, after embodying and employing both the designative and constitutive views of language, Tertullian finishes in 5.7 rather agnostically concerning these two views: *quod cum ita sit, non multum refert, a deo formata sit animae conscientia an a litteris dei*. The main point for Tertullian is that God was the one who gave language, whether directly to the soul in a natural way or through the Scriptures by revelation.

¹¹³ Hugh A. G. Houghton, “Defining Christianity? Words and Meaning in Tertullian,” in *Five Studies in the Language of the Early Church: A Study in the Latin of Some Early Acts of the Christian Martyrs* (Unpublished Dissertation, Faculty of Classics, Cambridge University, 1998), 2.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ *Certe prior anima quam littera, et prior sermo quam liber, et prior sensus quam stilus et prior homo ipse quam philosophus et poeta*. CCSL 1: 181.

¹¹⁶ *Numquid ergo credendum est ante litteraturam et diuulationem eius mutos ab huiusmodi pronuntiationibus homines uixisse? Nemo deum et bonitatem eius, nemo mortem, nemo inferos loquebatur?* Ibid.

2.5.2 Tertullian's Comments on Translation

Now that Tertullian's general views of language have been discussed, the following is an examination of Tertullian's explicit statements and his demonstrated practice of translation from one language to another.

Tertullian uses the same term that Cicero was fond of for speaking of word-for-word interpreters, *interpretes*. In *Apologeticum* 18.6–8, he says:

Now in ancient times the people we call Jews bare the name of Hebrews, and so both their writings and their speech were Hebrew. But that the understanding of their books might not be wanting, this also the Jews supplied to Ptolemy; for they gave him seventy-two interpreters (*interpretibus*)—men whom the philosopher Menedemus, the well-known asserter of a Providence, regarded with respect as sharing in his views. The same account is given by Aristæus. So the king left these works unlocked to all, in the Greek language. To this day, at the temple of Serapis, the libraries of Ptolemy are to be seen, with the identical Hebrew originals in them.¹¹⁷

Here Tertullian shows knowledge of the *Letter of Aristeas*. Though modern scholarship has referred to this letter as *Pseudo-Aristeas* or as the *Letter to Philocrates*, Rajak says, “The more straightforward *Letter of Aristeas* is a perfectly good name” and backs this up with a brief analysis of the titles given to the work in antiquity.¹¹⁸ Tertullian says that this translation of the Hebrew scriptures was done *in Graecum stilum*. He does not seem to have a negative a view of a popularizing translation which allows those who could not formerly read the book an opportunity to understand it. We saw earlier that Cicero mightily strove against such pedestrian projects. Tertullian argues that the translation of

¹¹⁷ As translated in the Antenicene Fathers series. ANF 3: 32. *Hebraei retro, qui nunc iudaei; igitur et litterae hebraeae et eloquium. Sed ne notitia uacaret, hoc quoque a iudaeis ptolemaeo subscriptum est, septuaginta et duobus interpretibus indultis, quos menedemus quoque philosophus, prouidentiae uindex, de sententiae communione suspexit. Adfirmavit haec uobis etiam aristaeus. Ita in graecum stilum exaperta monumenta hodie apud serapeum ptolemaei bibliothecae cum ipsis hebraicis exhibentur.*

¹¹⁸ Rajak 2009, 31. For an example of modern scholarship using *Pseudo-Aristeas* or *Letter to Philocrates*, cf Bagnall 2002, 349–50. Cf also John M. G. Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora: From Alexander to Trajan (323 BCE–117 CE)* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1995), 138–50.

the Hebrew Scriptures put them into a common language for all to read who could. This democratizing approach to translation so that the masses can understand a work is not, however, Tertullian's practice.

2.5.3 Tertullian's Practice of Translation

Having examined some of Tertullian's explicit discussion concerning translation in general, time must now be given to an exploration of a few places where Tertullian is clearly engaging in the practice of translation. When discussing Tertullian's knowledge of Plato, Barnes examines *De anima* 18 as an example of his ability to "translate accurately long passages of philosophical importance."¹¹⁹ Barnes also noted translated portions of Plato's *Phaedo* in *Apologeticum*.¹²⁰ Earlier, this translation of Plato for the purpose of oratory (as opposed to creating a full translation for non-Greeks) was characteristic of Cicero. Here Tertullian takes up this Ciceronian activity.

One early study examined this issue by asking whether Tertullian used a Greek or Latin version of Irenaeus in his work *Adversus Valentinos*. As mentioned in chapter one, F.J.A. Hort compared Tertullian's quotations from Irenaeus to the Latin version of Irenaeus in order to answer this question.¹²¹ Hort provided an example that sometimes there are similarities between Tertullian (*Ual* 37.1) and Latin Irenaeus (1.11.3) like when they translate Epiphanius' (*Haer.* 32.5.4) δύνάμις as *uirtus* and λόγος as *sermo*. Far from demonstrating that Tertullian is dependent on Latin Irenaeus here, Hort notes that these similarities are actually just "usual

¹¹⁹ Barnes, Tertullian (1971), 205.

¹²⁰ "e.g., *An.* 18.1 f. translating *Phaedo* 65a 1 ff." Ibid., 205 n. 10.

¹²¹ Hort, "Did Tertullian Use the Latin Irenaeus?" in Sanday, Turner and Souter, eds., *Nouum Testamentum Sancti Irenaei Episcopi Lugdunensis: Being the New Testament Quotations in the Old-Latin Version of the Elegchos Kai Paratropē Pseudōnymos Gnōseōs*, Old-Latin Biblical Texts, no. 7 (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1923), xxxvi–lvi.

renderings” of common words.¹²² More telling for Hort are a string of verbs (καλέω,¹²³ ὀνομάζω, καλέω, ὀνομάζω) which are all translated with *uoco* in the Latin Irenaeus. Tertullian, however, translates these four verbs nearer to the their Greek originals than Latin Irenaeus. Tertullian translates them as *nomino*, *appello*, *uoco*, and *appello*.¹²⁴ In another place (TE *Ual* 7; Iren-lat. 1.1.1; Epiph. *Haer* 31.10.5), Hort comments, “Iren-lat., as we so often find, has the vague *uocant*: Tert.’s *nominant* is close to the Greek.”¹²⁵ Finally, both Tertullian and Latin Irenaeus include in their translations transliterated Greek words or perhaps even Greek words in Greek script. However, Hort writes, “Tertullian and Iren-lat. are both somewhat capricious as to translating Greek Gnostic terms or simply transcribing them: it can hardly be surprising, however, that both alike should leave untranslated terms which are evidently not epithets but names.”¹²⁶

Since Hort’s study was published posthumously and without a conclusion, I will summarize his findings as they relate to Tertullian’s translation methodology. First, like all translators, Tertullian renders common words in common ways. There will thus be many similarities between other translations and those of Tertullian. Second, he retains variety in

¹²² Hort, xxxvii.

¹²³ Hort originally printed ἀριθμέω here, but this is a textual corruption as explained in the following footnote.

¹²⁴ Hort, xxxviii. “It would indeed be enough to refer to the series ἀριθμέω, ὀνομάζω, καλέω, ὀνομάζω, expressed by Tertullian as *nomino* [?? *numero*], *appello*, *uoco*, *appello*, while Iren-lat. obliterates all distinctions by using *uoco* throughout.” Hort conjectures in his square brackets a possible copyist error where a copyist may have read *nomino* where Tertullian had originally written *numero* as a translation of ἀριθμέω. This is a possibility, but there is no evidence in the manuscript tradition of Tertullian. The error is not to be found in Tertullian’s text or translation but rather more likely in Epiphanius’ manuscript tradition. The most recent edition of Epiphanius prints καλεῖ, even though the manuscript tradition of Epiphanius has ἀριθμῶ. Karl Holl, and Marc Bergemann, *Epiphanius I: Ancoratus und Panarion Haer. 1-33*, Die griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der Ersten Jahrhunderte, Neue Folge Band 10 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), 445. The recent judgment of Epiphanius’ editors is confirmed by Hippolytus’ copying of this place in Irenaeus which reads καλεῖ (Hippolytus, *Refutatio*, 38.2). Paul Wendland, *Refutatio omnium haeresium*, Die griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der Ersten Jahrhunderte, Band 3 (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2016), 168. That Epiphanius and Hippolytus may have changed Irenaeus’ first person singular καλῶ to third person singular καλεῖ is not surprising since they are reporting Irenaeus’ words.

¹²⁵ Hort, xlviii.

¹²⁶ Hort, xxxix, xlviii.

vocabulary when there are a string of similar words. When other translators might opt for the same word and thereby “flatten” the translation, Tertullian avoids this.¹²⁷ Third, like other translators of Greek, Tertullian will sometimes retain Greek words or transliterate them. This final characteristic of Tertullian’s translation practice which Hort noticed in his short study deserves extended attention which it will be given below in section 2.5.4. Ernest Evans also argued for such a position, “The treatise *Against the Valentinians* is a translation of parts of the first book of Irenaeus *Against the Heresies*.”¹²⁸

Another example of translation activity can be seen at *Ad nationes* 2.12.17.

“They call in also the witness of (Saturn’s) name; for they say that he is called Κρόνος in Greek, meaning the same thing as χρόνος (*Kró<vov dict>um graece ut Xróvov*). His Latin name also they derive (*deducunt*) from seed-sowing (*sationibus*); for they suppose him to have been the actual procreator — that the seed, in fact, was dropt down from heaven to earth by his means. They unite him with *Ops*, because seeds produce the affluent treasure (*Opem*) of actual life, and because they develop with labour (*Opus*). Now I wish that you would explain this translation (*translationis*). It was either Saturn or Time. If it was Time, how could it be Saturn? If he, how could it be Time?”¹²⁹

Tertullian uses *deducunt* to describe how the Latins rendered Saturn’s name from other Latin words like *satio*. This deduction or rendering is in keeping with Tertullian’s use of etymology to explain words and concepts, a practice which he learned from Varro.¹³⁰ After naming the Greek word and specifically noting how it was written in the Greek language (*Kró<vov dict>um graece ut Xróvov*) and explaining the possible etymological roots of the Latin *Saturnus*, he

¹²⁷ I am borrowing Houghton’s use of “flatten” here which he originally used to describe citations. I am using it in a similar way to describe translations. Hugh A.G. Houghton, “‘Flattening’ in Latin Biblical Citations,” in *Studia Patristica*, 2010, 271–76.

¹²⁸ Ernest Evans, *Tertullian’s Treatise on the Incarnation* (London: SPCK, 1956), ix.

¹²⁹ Translation mine, adapted from ANF 3:141. *Nominis quoque testimonium compellunt: Kró<vov dict>um graece ut Xróvov. Aequè latini uocabuli a sationibus rationem <deducu>nt [deducunt: Goth;nt: A*], qui eum procreatorem coniectant, per eum seminalia caeli <in terra>m deferri. Opem adiungunt, quod opem uiuendi semina confe<rant, tum et> quod opere semina euadant. Quae, oro, huius translatio<nis ratio>? Nem <pe uelim ex>ponas. Aut Saturnus fuit aut tempus. Quomodo Saturnus, <si tempus? Si Saturn>us, quomodo tempus?*

¹³⁰ For more on etymology, cf Denecker, *Ideas on Language in Early Latin Christianity from Tertullian to Isidore of Seville*, 291–294.

proceeds to pose a rhetorical question about the *translatio*. Here Tertullian demonstrates for his educated audience that he is able to decipher and make sense of not only the etymology of words but the translation from one language to another. Further, Tertullian gives evidence in this passage of what McElduff identified as a key marker of Roman elite, literary translation activity: the use of Roman names for the gods. Not only does he do so, he goes further by investigating etymologically how these names came from Greek to Latin when he asks his reader rhetorically if they could give an explanation of the translation (*translatio*).¹³¹

One other issue regarding Bible translation in Tertullian's era must be mentioned. Gilles Quispel has complained that no modern study has taken seriously the fact that translating the Scriptures orally in public worship was the common occurrence in the ancient synagogue and church.

“Modern research has completely neglected this observation. Gustave Bardy quotes Capelle's book only to show how African the Latin of the *Afra* is, but forgets that the Old Testament must have been translated orally already in the Synagogue of Carthage. Neither in Bruce Metzger's *Early Versions of the New Testament*, nor in Tom O'Malley's book on Tertullian and the Bible or, for that matter, in Michael Andrew Fahey's *Cyprian and the Bible* is the subject even mentioned.”¹³²

This is an important recognition which certainly impacts Tertullian's practices of translation. Brian Wright's work *Communal Reading in the Time of Jesus* does not specifically address this subject other than Aristeas' brief mention of the practice in the synagogue.¹³³ Houghton most recently has also acknowledged the possibility of an oral paraphrasing translation which might

¹³¹ Uwe Fröhlich, *Epistula ad Corinthios: Einleitung*, VL 22, 3 fascicles. (Freiburg: Herder, 1995), 171.

¹³² Gilles Quispel, “African Christianity Before Minucius Felix and Tertullian” in *Gnostica, Judaica, Catholica: Collected Essays of Gilles Quispel*, ed. J. van Oort, Nag Hammadi and Manichaeon Studies, v. 55 (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2008), 398.

¹³³ Brian J. Wright, *Communal Reading in the Time of Jesus: A Window into Early Christian Reading Practices* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2017), 214.

have taken place during liturgical Bible reading.¹³⁴ He argues, however, that the earliest surviving manuscripts of Latin New Testament writings stem from careful and closely followed translation of the Greek text. Burton demonstrated this in his earlier study.¹³⁵

2.5.4 Tertullian and Greek Code-Switching¹³⁶

In 1965, George Kilpatrick published a note in *JTS* entitled “1 Timothy 5:22 and Tertullian De Baptismo 18” in which he commented on two divergent readings in the editions of Tertullian’s treatise on baptism.¹³⁷

*Manus ne facile inposueritis nec amartiis alienis communicaueritis [inposueritis usque ad communicaueritis T; inposueris ne participes aliena delicta B].*¹³⁸

The divergent readings are particularly important because they give varying accounts of Tertullian’s citation of this biblical passage. Kilpatrick asked what word for “sins” Tertullian used. The 12th century copy of *De Baptismo*, Codex Trecensis (T), has the word *amartiis*. The alternative reading in Mesnart’s 1545 *editio princeps* (B) substitutes the word *delicta* and a few other syntactical changes, in place of *amartiis*. How did these two readings arise? Is it more likely that Tertullian borrowed the Greek word for sin, *ἁμαρτία*, or did he use the Latin, *delictum*? Further, did he write the word in Greek or Latin characters? Kilpatrick privileged the reading of Trecensis with its *amartiis*, since it seemed clear to him that the *Vorlage* on which

¹³⁴ Houghton, *The Latin New Testament*, 7–8.

¹³⁵ Burton, *The Old Latin Gospels*, 77–148.

¹³⁶ An earlier version of this section was presented as a paper at the Sixth British Patristics Conference, held at the University of Birmingham in September 2016.

¹³⁷ Kilpatrick, George Dunbar. 1965. “1 Tim 5:22 and Tertullian De Baptismo 18:1.” *The Journal of Theological Studies* 16, no. 1: 127–128. In 1952, Kilpatrick made an early note on this variant reading in Bapt. He says: “Here T with its transliteration from the Greek, *amartiis*, seems to give us the oldest text. Later a scribe may have corrected this to another Old Latin rendering before the Vulgate was made or its influence felt.” G. D. Kilpatrick, Review of *Q. Sept. Florentis Tertulliani libri De patientia. De baptismo. De paenitentia*, (Scriptores Christiani Primaevi IV), by J. W. Ph. Borleffs, *The Journal of Theological Studies* 3, no. 2 (1952): 257.

¹³⁸ The Latin text and the apparatus of alternative readings in Tertullian’s writings in this section are from *Tertullianus*, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina (CCSL), vols. 1–2, Turnhout: Brepols, 1954.

Mesnart's edition was based had conformed the Greek word into Latin.¹³⁹ This seems sensible.

But if this is so, the question remains. Why would Tertullian's Latin citation of 1 Timothy 5:22 use the Greek word *ἀμαρτία* rather than its Latin equivalent *delictum*, or *peccatum* as the Vulgate has?¹⁴⁰ It is Kilpatrick's solution which I want to call into question in this essay. He writes:

The reading of Trecensis may provide a little evidence on Tertullian's practice. It is often hard to tell whether he is quoting from a Latin version of the New Testament or making his own translation of the Greek. The presence of *amartiis* in the text of Trecensis suggests that Tertullian is here quoting a (Latin) translation. If he had been making his own rendering we would have expected him to use *delictum* or another Latin term as he does elsewhere. The version that Tertullian quotes must have been archaic indeed as *amartia* no longer appears in any biblical translation.¹⁴¹

Kilpatrick's suggested interpretation of this evidence seems reasonable enough for this sole case. His expectation was that if Tertullian were indeed translating from Greek manuscripts, then he would always and fully translate from the Greek to the Latin with not a trace of Greek remaining.

Kilpatrick had evidently not read Borleffs' 1948 article which deals with this exact locus. In an essay on the value of Codex Trecensis (T) versus the edition of Mesnart (B), Borleffs argues that Tertullian himself must have written *amartiis* (he does not address the issue of whether in Greek or Latin characters). He reasons that nowhere else in all of Latinity does a text

¹³⁹ T. P. O'Malley, *Tertullian and the Bible*, Nijmegen: Dekker & van de Vegt, 1967, 8–9 agrees with this. He nevertheless points out that some had called into question Trecensis' trustworthiness in regards to biblical citations. Cf. Bruno Luiselli, "Il Codex Trecensis 523 e alcune citazioni scritturali nel De baptismo Tertulliano," *Rivista di Cultura Classica e Medioevale* (1960), 209–216.

¹⁴⁰ T. P. O'Malley also noticed Kilpatrick's note and discussed this question in his *Tertullian and the Bible*, suggesting that since *de Baptismo* is an early catechetical work, Tertullian could have been using an early literal translation which never found currency later in the mainstream Latin translations of the Bible. He withdraws, though, when he concludes "The case is really too isolated for any conclusion to be drawn." O'Malley, 9.

¹⁴¹ Kilpatrick, 128. Kilpatrick is right that this word is no longer extant in any Old Latin New Testament manuscript. In fact, other than this place in Tertullian, no form of *amartia* can be found in any Latin literature, except for two sacramentaries which were transliterating Greek portions of the liturgy (the creed). "Library of Latin Texts - Series A," accessed October 12, 2017, <http://clt.brepolis.net/llta/pages/Search.aspx>. For more on these sacramentaries, cf. Houghton, *The Latin New Testament*, 55. Burton confirms that the phenomenon Kilpatrick suggests is possible and lists several examples of "Christian loan-words" which were borrowed by the translators of the Old Latin Gospels: *anastasis*, *angelus*, *apostolus*, *diaconus*, *evangelium*, *propheta*, *scandalum*, et al. Burton, *The Old Latin Gospels*, 143–44.

re-introduce a Greek expression back into a Latin text as an emendation. He also notes the rarity of the expression *amartiis* based on a search of the TLL.¹⁴² From this, he reasons that Tertullian must have been translating from a Greek manuscript and sometimes transliterating rather than Kilpatrick's conclusion that Tertullian had found *amartiis* in a Latin manuscript. Nevertheless, because of the uncertain nature of other biblical references, Borleffs is cautious here.¹⁴³

In contrast to Kilpatrick's conclusion and thus in line with Borleffs', I will present a number of examples where Tertullian retains Greek words in his Latin writings. This practice will be shown to have been a regular part of his authorial style. When we return to Kilpatrick's case at the end of the paper, it will be suggested that his conclusion is less certain based on this evidence.

There are at least forty Greek words written in Greek letters in the CCSL editions of Tertullian's writings.¹⁴⁴ He also borrows occasionally from Greek by transliterating words from his Greek manuscripts of the NT writings into Latin characters and supplying Latin endings.¹⁴⁵ It is interesting that he does this when citing the Scriptures. This may be a sign that he has not a

¹⁴² "Ici la version B est sans doute une correction postérieure, puisqu'il serait invraisemblable que celui qui avait écrit le texte de B, l'aurait changé plus tard à tel point qu'il aurait introduit le mot d'emprunt grec *amartiis*, qu'on ne trouve presque jamais dans toute la latinité — le *Thesaurus linguae latinae* n'en cite qu'un seul exemple —, au lieu d'un delicta original." J. W. Ph. Borleffs, "La valeur du 'Codex Trecensis' de Tertullien pour la critique de texte dans le traité 'De baptismo,'" *Vigiliae Christianae* 2, no. 3 (1948): 187–88.

¹⁴³ "Nous ne pouvons nous empêcher de faire remarquer que si d'une part notre endroit semble fortement appuyer l'opinion de ceux qui comme G. J. D. Aalders ... et G. Quispel ... croient que Tertullien traduisait directement du grec, d'autre part le même endroit et celui que nous examinerons après nous font regarder avec réserve des recherches pareilles par suite du caractère incertain du texte des citations de la Bible." Borleffs, 188 n. 13.

¹⁴⁴ *Ad martyras* 4.8; *Ad nationes* 1.16.5, 2.4.1–7, 2.12.17; *Apologeticum* 21.10; *De oratione* 22.3 (cf also *De monogamia* 8.5); *De baptismo* 1.3; *Aduersus Hermogenes* 19.5; *Aduersus Marcionem* 4.9.3, 4.23.1, 4.23.2; *Aduersus Valentinianos* 7.3, 16.2; *De anima* 12.1, 14.2, 15.1, 16.3, 21.6, 22.6, 23.6, 25.5, 25.6, 30.2, 31.5; *De carne Christi* 1.4; *De idololatria* 3.4; *Ad Scapulam* 4.1, 5.1; *Aduersus Praxean* 5.3, 8.1, 8.2, 8.5; *De ieiunio aduersus Psychicos* 12.2, 13.4, 16.5; *De praescriptione haereticorum* 30.6; *De pudicitia* 18.3; *De monogamia* 5.1.

¹⁴⁵ *De Res. Mort.* 49.4–10: *qualis ergo choicus, tales et choice, et qualis caelestis, tales et caelestes...sicut portauimus imaginem choice, portemus etiam imaginem supercaelestis...nihil aliud intellegi mandat carnem et sanguinem quam supra dictam imaginem choici.* Tertullian borrows *χοϊκός* from his Greek copy of 1Cor (15:47–49) and renders it here with Latin endings probably in Latin characters since there is no indication from the mss of *De Res* that it was ever written in Greek characters.

Latin but a Greek copy of the NT writings before him. It is well known that Tertullian used a number of Greek loan words rendering them in the characters and endings of his native Latin: *ecclesia*, *baptizare*, *presbyter*, and *spiritualis*. This followed the pagan philosophical practice of Cicero and Lucretius who had themselves brought Greek philosophical language into Latin.¹⁴⁶

Several other scholars have previously noted this phenomenon in Tertullian's corpus, but they were primarily interested in understanding these as examples of "Christian or ecclesiastical Latin."¹⁴⁷ This thesis, that Christian Latin was a *Sondersprache*, has largely been dismissed, even if it has been dismissed with nuance.¹⁴⁸ Rather than seeing Tertullian's use of Greek as a way of building a new Christian vocabulary primarily based on Latin with a few Greek words retained, we will see that Tertullian uses Greek in his writings for precisely the opposite reason. Rather than working to create a closed off new "Christian language," Tertullian uses Greek words in his Latin writings to negotiate his multiple relational identities.

¹⁴⁶ Robert Coleman, "Vulgar Latin and the Diversity of Christian Latin" József Herman, ed., *Latin vulgaire, latin tardif: actes du Ier Colloque international sur le latin vulgaire et tardif, Pécs, 2–5 septembre 1985* (Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 1987), 48.

¹⁴⁷ For a discussion of this phenomenon in general among several Latin writers organized by topic and with a large appendix of Greek words with their Latin transliterations, see Oscar Weise, *Die griechischen Wörter im Latein*, S. Hirzel: Leipzig, 1882. Christine Mohrmann chided Weise for his much too short discussion of this phenomenon among early Christian writers and rights this wrong in her "Les emprunts grecs dans la latinité chrétienne" *Vigiliae Christianae* 4 (1950), 193–211. For a discussion of this phenomenon specifically in Tertullian's writings, see G. R. Hauschild, *Die Grundsätze und Mittel der Wortbildung bei Tertullian*, Leipzig, 1876; Henry Janssen, *Kultur und Sprache: Zur Geschichte der alten Kirche im Spiegel der Sprachentwicklung von Tertullian bis Cyprian*, Dekker & van de Vegt: Nijmegen, 1938; René Braun was interested in the doctrinal content of Tertullian's language and sometimes discusses his use of Greek words. Braun, *Deus Christianorum*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1962.

¹⁴⁸ Burton gives a full account of the shift in consensus in Burton, *The Old Latin Gospels*, 154; Burton, Philip "On revisiting the Christian Latin *Sondersprache* hypothesis" in H.A.G. Houghton & D.C. Parker, ed., *Textual variation: theological and social tendencies? Papers from the Fifth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Pr, 2008, 149–171. Coleman was able to conclude with a flourish, "The concept of a Christian Latin *Sondersprache* or langue spéciale is thus as much a fiction of modern philologists as [sic] the African Latinity that was erected more than a century ago on the linguistic features common to Tertullian and Apuleius." Coleman 1987, 51–52. For a discussion of these issues in the writings of Tertullian, see Hugh Houghton, "Defining Christianity? Words and Meanings in Tertullian" and "A study in the Latin of some early Acts of the Christian Martyrs", Unpublished papers, Cambridge University Classics Library. Waszink also steered the conversation away from *Sondersprache* and toward a certain "idiom". J. H. Waszink, *Quinti Septimi Florentis Tertulliani De Anima*. Leiden: Brill, 2010, xxiii–xxiv.

Before we analyze the occurrences of Greek words in Tertullian's writings, it is important to note that the practice of using Greek words in Latin literary works and inscriptions was actually very common in late antiquity. This phenomenon has most recently been discussed by James Adams in his monograph *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*.¹⁴⁹ Adams cites many examples of what he calls "code-switching" and demonstrates its occurrence in a variety of writers of late antiquity, but he finds this phenomenon especially prevalent in Cicero. This "code-switching" is different than a writer employing what are often referred to as loan words or borrowings. Adams defines code-switching as follows:

Latin was full of Greek loan-words thoroughly integrated into the language, morphologically or phonetically or semantically or in all three ways, and freely used even by monolingual Latin speakers. It would be perverse, for example, to maintain that a Latin writer using the word *machina* was switching codes. The word is integrated morphologically, in that it has a full set of Latin endings, and phonetically, in that it displays in the second syllable the results of a Latin phonetic development (vowel weakening)... If on the other hand someone writing Latin were to refer to his brother as ἀδελφός (using either Greek script or a transliteration), one might reasonably say that a switch of codes had taken place: in no sense had ἀδελφός been accepted into the Latin language. Morphological criteria are revealing in distinguishing a switch of codes from borrowing. If a Greek word is given a Greek inflection in a Latin text, it is usually in my opinion justifiable to refer to the phenomenon as code-switching.¹⁵⁰

He continues by noting what one can conclude from a switch of codes, namely that it is a "skilled performance". It required the user to display "dual competence" in both languages. It was often thus employed to demonstrate erudition and as a subtle plea for a hearing by an educated audience.¹⁵¹ Other possible motivations for code-switching include establishing or

¹⁴⁹ See also Christine Mohrmann, "Les emprunts grecs dans la latinité chrétienne" *Vigiliae Christianae*, 4 (1950), 193–211. She starts her article by arguing that Christian Latin continued the tradition of "secular Latin" in borrowing from Greek a large number of words. Houghton, *The Latin New Testament*, 7.

¹⁵⁰ James Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003, 26. On Latin loan words in New Testament manuscripts, see Houghton, *The Latin New Testament*, 143–153 and Burton, *The Old Latin Gospels*, 129–56.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 69.

maintaining a certain relationship between speaker/writer and audience, forging solidarity with a certain portion of the audience, or alternatively seeking to distance oneself from another tribe in the audience.¹⁵²

Finally, Adams notes how Cicero code-switches more or less depending on the genre of the writing.¹⁵³ Wilhite has similarly observed that Tertullian's performed identities could change depending on his interlocutors in the various genres of his writings.¹⁵⁴ Though all of Tertullian's writings are controversial and polemical, they can still be categorized according to genre.¹⁵⁵ Quasten classified Tertullian's writings into three groups: apologetic,¹⁵⁶ controversial¹⁵⁷ (although Dunn has argued that all of Tertullian's writings are controversial and thus re-named this category doctrinal), and disciplinary.¹⁵⁸ Barnes separated out a few treatises into yet another genre category, homiletic.¹⁵⁹ This will have to be kept in mind as we investigate the examples of code-switching in light of the genres of Tertullian's writings.

Adams' research has already been employed by biblical scholars to explain potential code-switching in the New Testament. In a recent study, Sang-Il Lee found a number of New Testament examples and helpfully built upon Adams' exploration of the code-switching phenomenon by proposing four potential reasons a writer might intentionally switch codes:

¹⁵² Ibid., 300.

¹⁵³ Ibid., 308–9

¹⁵⁴ Wilhite, 61.

¹⁵⁵ Dunn, 9.

¹⁵⁶ *Ad nationes, Apologeticum, Aduersus Iudaeos, Ad Scapulam* and *De testimonio animae*. Johannes Quasten, *Patrology*, vol. 2. Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Press, 1953, 255–69. Barnes, 105–114.

¹⁵⁷ *De praescriptione haereticorum, Aduersus Marcionem, Aduersus Hermogenem, Aduersus Ualentinianos, Scorpiace, De carne Christi, De resurrectione mortuorum, Aduersus Praxean, De anima, and De baptismo* (but Barnes classifies this below as homiletical). Quasten, 269–290.

¹⁵⁸ *Ad martyras, De spectaculis, De cultu feminarum, Ad uxorem, De exhortatione castitatis, De monogamia, De uirginibus uelandis, De corona, De fuga in persecution, De idololatria, De ieiunio aduersus psychicos, De pudicitia, De pallio, and De oratione, De patientia, and De paenitentia* (but these latter three Barnes classifies below as homiletical). Quasten, 290–317.

¹⁵⁹ Barnes, 117 notes that *De oratione, De baptismo, De patientia, and De paenitentia* can be classified as homiletical and plausibly believed to have been delivered.

vividness (demonstrating the writer’s acquaintance with the facts of the situation being discussed), emphasis (clarifying the writer’s message by repeating the word which has a like message in a different language), politeness (signifying the writer’s deference to a particular group by employing the audience’s primary language), and solidarity (expressing the writer’s solidarity with a particular group by using their shared language).¹⁶⁰ We will therefore examine Tertullian’s examples in the same regard in order to better understand why he might employ code-switching as a potentially intentional literary device.

First, I will establish Tertullian’s regular practice of code-switching in his writings and explore some examples before moving on to examples of code-switching while citing a biblical passage which will help to reconsider Kilpatrick’s earlier conclusions.

De Anima 12.1

Therefore, we understand the *animus*, or the mind, which is *νοῦς* among the Greeks, in no other way than suggesting that property which is innate, in-grafted, and inborn in the soul, by which it acts, by which it senses, which possessing it from itself moves with it in itself, and yet it also therefore appears to be moved by it as if it were a difference substance, as it is among those who want to maintain that the soul is likewise the mover of the universe – that god of Socrates, that “only-begotten” from his father *βύθω* and his mother *συγῆ* of Valentinus.¹⁶¹

I first want to establish that Tertullian did in fact write in Greek letters here, and then we will be able to analyze this as a potential case of code-switching. Codex Agobardinus appears to be the only manuscript of Tertullian’s corpus which attests the Greek word *νοῦς* in Greek

¹⁶⁰ Sang-Il Lee, *Jesus and Gospel Traditions in Bilingual Context: A Study in the Interdirectionality of Language*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der Älteren Kirche, vol. 186 (Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 2012), 347–48.

¹⁶¹ *Proinde et animus siue mens est νοῦς apud Graecos, non aliud quid intellegimus quam suggestum animae ingenitum et insitum et natiuitus proprium, quo agit, quo sapit, quem secum habens ex semetipsa secum moueat in semetipsa, atque ita moueri uideatur ab illo tamquam substantia alio, ut uolunt qui etiam uniuersitatis motatorem animum decernunt, illum deum Socratis, illum Valentini Vnigenitum [A; Monogenen B Gel; Monogenem Pam] ex patre ΒΥΘΩΙ [BYΘΩ A; βύθω B Gel; Bytho Rig] et matre ΣΙΓΗΙ [Σιγῆ Ursinius; ΣΕΙΓΗΝΕ A; κείρηνη B; εἰρηνη Gel; ἐννοία Pam; ἡρεμία Iun; Sige Rig]. (CCSL 2, 797–98)*

majuscule characters. Modern scholarly editions retain the Greek letters here as well.¹⁶² It is unclear whether Tertullian originally had *Vnigenitum* or *Monogenem*. It is possible that the scribe of Codex Agobardinus knew the Valentinian term μονογενῆ since it was also a Christological title and therefore translated it into Latin. Equally possible is that Mesnart, following Gagneia, saw the other Greek titles and emended this word back into Greek, albeit transliterated in Latin characters. More interesting are the variants for the Greek words βύθω and σιγῆ. The treatment of these words is typical of scribal confusion in the face of foreign words. In attempting to copy the letters of σιγῆ, Codex Agobardinus (siglum A) has ΣΕΙΓΗΝΕ (a nonsensical reading) which Mesnart (siglum B) attempts to render as κείρηνη (another nonsense reading). Gelenius drops the kappa in order to render εἰρηνη, or peace – finally, a reading which makes apparent sense but is far distant from Tertullian’s discussion of Valentinian divinities. The case for σιγῆ rather than some other Greek word which may have stood behind Agobardinus’ is further strengthened by Waszink’s edition which adds in the apparatus reference to *Aduersus Marcionem* 1.5.1 (*Valentinus, qui simul ausus est duos concipere, Bython et Sigen*).¹⁶³ What is clear is that Tertullian must have had the Greek titles βύθω and σιγῆ in Greek characters because of the confusion over these in the manuscript tradition.

The establishment of this as a case of code-switching is confirmed by Tertullian’s correct declension of the words βύθω and σιγῆ, that is, he put Greek words that followed a Latin preposition taking the ablative in the Greek dative (given the case suppletion of the ablative function in Greek). This combination qualifies as bilingual code-switching. But why retain Greek

¹⁶² Kroymann, E. *Quaestiones Tertullianae Criticae*. Oeniponte [i.e. Innsbruck]: Libraria Academica Wagneriana, 1893, 106.

¹⁶³ Jan Hendrik Waszink, “Tertullian De Anima” (H. J. Paris, 1933), 54. Waszink’s later edition of his dissertation does not contain the reference to *Aduersus Marcionem*. J. H. Waszink, *Quinti Septimi Florentis Tertulliani De anima*, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae, v. 100 (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2010), 16.

characters and correctly declined Greek words in a Latin treatise? In the beginning of this work, Tertullian made it clear that he was writing to Christians but said that he will have to “fight with the philosophers.”¹⁶⁴ *De Anima* is a polemical work, in which Tertullian used the Greek terms of his philosopher interlocutors to demonstrate that he knew and was accurately handling their language and terms. This strategy had already been in employ by Cicero.¹⁶⁵ To use Lee’s previously defined terms, this example of code-switching performs “vividness”, rhetorically establishing Tertullian as a content expert in dealing with the terminology of his opponent. When he followed νοῦς with the words *apud Graecos*, he distanced himself from the term, signaling that it was *their* term, not his.¹⁶⁶ In this way, Tertullian was establishing solidarity with his Christian audience. Tertullian’s use of the Greek Valentinian terms further establishes him as an authority and in solidarity with his audience.

De Anima 16.3

Likewise, when Plato consigns rationality to God alone, he subdivides the two kinds of irrationality: the irascible, which they name θυμικόν, and the concupiscible, which they call ἐπιθυμητικόν...¹⁶⁷

It is curious that Codex Agobardinus, at least according to the critical apparatus in CCSL, has Latin letters for the first Greek word and Greek letters for the second. I think it likely that Tertullian had written Greek letters for both and that Agobardinus’ scribe or an intermediate

¹⁶⁴ De Anima 1.1: *nunc ad reliquas conuersus quaestiones plurimum uidebor cum philosophis dimicaturus*. (CCSL 781)

¹⁶⁵ *Topica* 6, 12, 24, 30–31, 34–35, 38, 42, 45, 48, 55–57, 80, 83, 93, 95; *On Moral Ends* 2.12–15; Cf also McElduff 2013, 108.

¹⁶⁶ See Daniélou, *A History of Early Christian Doctrine*, vol. 3, 379. Daniélou sees only the content of the word at play and does not consider the rhetorical effect of using this word for the audience. Waszink is much more helpful here in elucidating sources. He demonstrates convincingly that Tertullian is following Soranus’ work περὶ ψυχῆς and here at chapter 12 is following Soranus in his disagreement with Aristotle’s and Anaxagoras’ term νοῦς. Waszink, 35. Waszink, 40 says that this section of De Anima 12 is a “literal translation” of Aristotle’s περὶ ψυχῆς.

¹⁶⁷ *Proinde cum Plato soli deo segregans rationale duo genera subdiuidit ex irrationali, indignatium, quod appellant θυμικόν [thymicon A], et concupiscentium, quod uocant ἐπιθυμητικόν [ΕΠΙΘΥΜΗΤΙΚΟΝ A]...* (CCSL 2, 803)

copyist transliterated the first Greek word. What matters most is that it is clear that Tertullian used the Greek terms of his philosopher opponent.¹⁶⁸ Here Tertullian provides us with Plato's terms for two elements of the soul: *indignatium* and *concupiscentium*. What is important to note here is that Tertullian does not provide these two terms in their nominative forms but rather in the accusative, conforming them to the grammar of his sentence. This is what Adams calls code-switching, that is, not just borrowing a term from another language but rather deploying it with its original morphology. This, Adams argues, demonstrates bilingualism. Again, as in the last example, Tertullian seems to use the Greek of Plato, his ideological opponent, for the rhetorical effect of establishing himself as an expert among his Christian audience. Houghton has noted in connection with this passage and others like it in the same work, "Philosophical terminology is used by Tertullian as part of his strategy of argument, particularly in apologetic texts where it is used to stress similarities or differences between pagan and Christian."¹⁶⁹ Further, when Tertullian prefaces the Greek terms with *appellant* and *uocant*, he was recognizing these terms, in a way, as *termini technici*. These two terms functioned in a technical way in Plato's writings. By code-switching, Tertullian established himself the expert by using Plato's technical terms in his discussion.

De Idololatria 3.4

To illustrate this an explanation of the word is necessary. Εἶδος is the Greek word for *forma*; the diminutive εἶδωλον derived from this has in a corresponding way produced the word *formula* in our language.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁸ Cicero also code-switches with this term, though he uses the comparative, θυμικώτερον, in his *Letter to Atticus* 10.11.5.

¹⁶⁹ Houghton, "Defining Christianity?," 5.

¹⁷⁰ Translation from J.H. Waszink and J.C.M. van Winden, *Tertullianus: De idololatria: Critical Text, Translation, and Commentary* (Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 1) Leiden: Brill, 1987, 27.

Ad hoc necessaria est uocabuli interpretatio. Εἶδος [edos A] Graece [grece A] formam sonat; ab eo per diminutionem εἶδωλον deductum; aequè apud nos forma formulam fecit. (CCSL 2, 1103)

In this example, there is hardly any manuscript evidence to note because there are few extant manuscripts of this work, and the editors seem rather confident that Tertullian wrote Greek words since he said so explicitly. We can move quickly to explore the reasons for code-switching. Waszink and Van Winden in their edition and commentary note that, “*De Idololatria* is a treatise on the practice of Christian life in relation to the (often hidden) religious elements in the heathen world.”¹⁷¹ Rebillard clarifies this statement, noting that Tertullian’s very reason for writing was because there was so much disagreement as to what these hidden religious elements were.¹⁷² In *De Idololatria*, Tertullian assumed the role of teacher and etymologist, helping his audience to navigate the idolatrous seas of pagan culture. Though he denounced a vast array of idolatrous cultural practices, there does not seem to be anything inherently evil about the Greek language. It is not as if Greek was the language of his opponents, and so he therefore inherently found the language idolatrous. Though Tertullian referred to Latin as “our language,” this was not to insinuate that Latin is the official language of the Christians but a much more modest recognition of the common language of his local Carthaginian Christian audience, who may not all have known Greek.¹⁷³ Here, it appears that Tertullian code-switches in order to gain a rapport with his hearers as the expert in a language other than their own, especially as he shows the mechanics of both Greek and Latin and their similarities as well as differences.

Ad Scapulam 4.1

We who are not afraid are not trying to scare you, but we want to be able to save all, by warning them not to fight with God (μὴ θεομαχεῖν).¹⁷⁴

¹⁷¹ Waszink, *De idololatria*, 9.

¹⁷² Rebillard, 25.

¹⁷³ Houghton, “Defining Christianity?,” 3.

¹⁷⁴ Non te terremus, qui nec timemus; sed uelim, ut omnes saluos facere possimus, monendo μὴ θεομαχεῖν. (CCSL 2, 1130)

Dekkers, in the CCSL critical edition, attests to our Greek reading and lists the same in majuscule in Codex Florentius Magliabechianus. Oehler notes in his critical apparatus that codices Vindobonensis 4194 (now Neapolitanus, lat. 55) and Leidensis 2 have a space where these two Greek words should appear. It can be presumed that this was because the scribe found these words in Greek script, did not understand them, and thus left a blank. Even more striking, Codex Florentinus Laurentianus XXVI, 12 has the Greek reading in red ink as opposed to the black ink of the rest of the document.¹⁷⁵ We can be certain that here again Tertullian wrote this Greek word in Greek script. With his use of a grammatically distinct phrase, this is further evidence that he has switched codes. But why does Tertullian code-switch here? It hardly makes sense that Tertullian would be alluding to Acts 5:39, the only New Testament usage of this word, since Scapula is unlikely to know the Scriptures well enough to understand the allusion, if he knows them at all. Eberhard Heck has argued that Tertullian did not have Acts 5:39 or 23:9 in mind but possibly 2 Macc. 7:19, where Antiochus is portrayed as θεομαχεῖν ἐπιχειρήσας. Heck also argues that Tertullian wants Scapula to hear allusions to Euripides in this phrase.¹⁷⁶ This makes the most sense, that Tertullian is making reference to a phrase known from another Greek source, such as Euripides or Plutarch.¹⁷⁷ If this is the case, it would seem that Tertullian is making his plea not only in a language but also from a literature which the well-educated bilingual, Scapula, would have fully understood. This example is somewhat different from the other examples we have examined. In the examples above, Tertullian used the Greek term of his opponent to establish his credibility as an author, thereby building a rapport with his Christian

¹⁷⁵ <http://teca.bmlonline.it/ImageViewer/servlet/ImageViewer?idr=TECA0000620078&keywords=terullianus#page/1/mode/1up> Found here: http://www.terullian.org/manuscripts/laur26_12.htm.

¹⁷⁶ Heck, 99–10, 125.

¹⁷⁷ Euripides uses the phrase twice, once in *Bacchae* 45 and once in *Iphigenia Aulidensis* 1408. Plutarch uses the phrase in *De Superstitione*. LSJ online, TLG online.
<http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/ljsj/#eid=49554&context=lsj&action=from-search>

audience as a trusted expert. Here, Tertullian seems to be building a rapport of sorts with his interlocutor, Scapula. If this is a quote from classical literature, or even if it is just a common expression in the Greek world, the assumption is that everyone knows that θεομαχεῖν is bad and a wrong thing to do. Tertullian wants his warning to Scapula to be effective and so he code-switches in order to heighten the rhetorical effect of his plea.¹⁷⁸ Karl Holl wrote in an essay on Tertullian as author: “It must have been astounding, that (Tertullian) could instruct pagans using their own literature in the matter of religion. It must have made a distinct impression on the Christians alike when he could show the meaning of the ancient customs which had been harmlessly taken over by them.”¹⁷⁹ This describes well the rhetorical effect of Tertullian’s code-switching, especially here in *Ad Scapulam*.

De Carne Christi 1.4

Since he (Valentinus) was the first to introduce the notion that Christ’s flesh was only supposed, he could equally have construed the nativity as a fantasy, so that the virgin’s conception, pregnancy, and giving birth, along with the subsequent infancy of the child, might have been held as a mere appearance (τῷ δοκεῖν).¹⁸⁰

It seems evident that Tertullian must have written the phrase *ordo* τῷ δοκεῖν with the latter two words in Greek letters because of the sometimes amusing attempts by copyists to render it in their manuscripts. As we will see below, this may have been because this was a particularly challenging Greek construction. Codex Trecensis (siglum T), already noted for its

¹⁷⁸ Dunn has already demonstrated *Ad Scapulam* to function rhetorically. Dunn, “Rhetorical Structure in Tertullian’s *Ad Scapulam*,” *Vigiliae Christianae* 56 (2002).

¹⁷⁹ Holl, 7. “Es musste verblüffen, wenn er die Heiden aus ihrer eigenen Literatur über ihre Religion belehren konnte, und bei den Christen machte es gewiss Eindruck, wenn er zeigen konnte, welchen Sinn die versteinerten, von ihnen harmlos mitgemachten Bräuche ursprünglich gehabt hatten.”

¹⁸⁰ My translation. *Qui carnem Christi putatiuam introduxit, aequè potuit natiuitatem quoque phantasma confingere, ut et conceptus et praegnatus et partus uirginis et ipsius exinde infantis ordo τῷ δοκεῖν* [ordo τῷ δοκεῖν *R*²*R*³ (*Iun.*): ordo to docin *A*, ordo to αοκεῖν *T*, ordo τὸ δοκεῖν *B*, ordo to coxin *MPR*¹, ordo tecoxin *N*, orthodoxie *F*] *haberentur*. CCSL 2, 873. The CCSL notes that Jerome imitates this in *Epist. ad. Pammachium* which appears to be an incorrect location. Jerome imitates Tertullian’s phrase, including the code-switch, in *Contra Iohannem*, (par. 25, pg. 42, ln. 27): *sed et ipsa natiuitas τῷ δοκεῖν, id est putatiue, uisa magis sit quam fuerit*.

incompetence with Greek, has the nonsensical reading ἀοκεῖν. This will be important in the next two examples as we explore other examples of code-switching in relation to Trecensis. Codices M, P, and N along with the edition of Rhenanus all render these words as some sort of nonsensical Latin. Trying to make sense of δοκ or αοκ, the scribes must have seen an initial letter which approximated a Latin “c” and then rendered the rest of the word in what seemed close enough to their own Latin. The Greek majuscule “O”, “I”, and “N” which they saw that in their *Vorlage* were readily understandable, and the “K” looked close enough to a Latin “X”. It is hard to understand the copyist’s moves here – whether they were copying letter-by-letter and had little thought for the sense of the larger phrase or whether they were copying word-for-word with little sense for the context of the sentence and here thought of the Latin word *coxa*, meaning “hip”, or perhaps *coxi*, meaning “I have cooked”. Neither make any sense. Finally, the last rendering listed, that of Codex Florentinus Magliabechianus (siglum F), is particularly noteworthy. It is ironic that *orthodoxie* flips the entire meaning of the sentence thereby pronouncing the phantom nature of the nativity as orthodoxy. This ends up making Tertullian sound rather unorthodox! At any rate, it is clear that τῷ δοκεῖν is very likely what Tertullian originally wrote. The use of the Greek infinitive with dative article is rare grammatically.¹⁸¹ This is another instance of code-switching since it is not just a borrowing of a term but a precise grammatical construction preserved in the foreign language. The reason for code-switching at this point is probably to use a term which was already an established Greek term for those who devalued the physicality of

¹⁸¹ This grammatical expression occurs only once in the New Testament in 2 Cor. 2:13. According to Blass-Debrunner-Funk it has a causative sense. Blass and Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, trans. Robert Funk, Cambridge: University Press, Chicago: University Press, 1961, § 401, 207.

Christ.¹⁸² Here again Tertullian shows himself to be a vivid writer who is able to use technical terms from Greek and bring them intact into Latin.

De Baptismo 1.3

But we little fishes following after our fish (ἰχθύν) Jesus Christ are born in water, and neither are we saved in any other way than by permanently remaining in water.¹⁸³

We have thus far established that Tertullian had a regular practice of code-switching, that is, employing Greek terms in his Latin writings. This has been demonstrated by looking at manuscripts which give evidence that Latin scribes struggled at times with words in Greek characters. Further, we have seen that Tertullian discussed these terms within his writings and rendered them in grammatically correct ways according to their usage in the sentence. Again with this present example, it is important to establish what Tertullian originally wrote, and thus, some text critical work is needed. As seen in the previous example, Codex Trecensis had the nonsensical reading αοκεῖν rather than the phrase *ordo* τῷ δοκεῖν at *De Carne Christi* 1.4. In the passage under consideration from *De baptismo* 1.3, for which Trecensis is the only surviving manuscript witness, it also has a Greek word but written in Latin script, *ichthun*. Even though all printed editions have the word in Greek letters, the only manuscript evidence for the case of whether Tertullian wrote Greek letters here points in two directions: either Tertullian wrote the word in Latin or a scribe transliterated it. Since we know that the *Trecensis* scribe had trouble with Greek from the example above, it seems possible that upon coming across a Greek word that the scribe transliterated it into Latin, even if the meaning was unknown to the scribe.

¹⁸² For a history of the term δοκεῖν as referring to Docetism, see Ronnie Goldstein, and Guy Stroumsa, “The Greek And Jewish Origins Of Docetism: A New Proposal” *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum* 10 (2006): 423–441 and

¹⁸³ *Sed nos pisciculi secundum ἰχθύν nostrum Iesum Christum in aqua nascimur nec aliter quam in aqua permanendo salui sumus*. The *Antenice Fathers* translation gives IXΘΥΣ, rather than Tertullian’s original, the correctly declined, IXΘΥΝ. It is possible that this change has led some scholars to see incorrectly the acronym here. *Ante-nicene Fathers: The Writings of the Fathers Down to A.d. 325*, vol. 3: Tertullian. Peabody, Mass: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994.

Another possibility along these lines is that if a word was written in Greek in an exemplar, a later user might have written a phonetic Latin representation over the top to assist a reader in pronouncing it, which could then have been incorporated into a later copy, replacing the original Greek. The other option is that Tertullian himself wrote the word in Latin letters, but this will seem increasingly unlikely in the analysis below.

Much has been written about this example as scholars have debated whether or not this is reference to the well-known early Christian acronym Ἰησοῦς χριστὸς θεοῦ υἱὸς σωτήρ.¹⁸⁴ The difficulty with seeing the famous acronym in Tertullian's *De Baptismo* is that his use of the word is not the nominative ἰχθύς which the acronym demands but rather the accusative ἰχθύν with final *nu*. The reason for this is that the word is being used grammatically in the accusative, an indication of code-switching. If Tertullian is referring to the acronym, he sets up an awkward situation for his listeners who supposedly knew the last letter to refer to σωτήρ. Yet, if his use of ἰχθύν does not refer to the famous acronym, why does Tertullian code switch here at all? Why render fish in Greek, whether with Greek or Latin letters, rather than just using the Latin *piscem*? Stroumsa, following Franz Dölger, suggests that prior to the rise of the acronym, Christians had been referring to Christ as a fish because of his baptism.¹⁸⁵ Jean Daniélou also sees this connection and points Tertullian's use of ἰχθύν away from the acronym. He references paintings in the catacombs which depicted a connection between baptism and fish.¹⁸⁶ So, rather than the famous acronym, Tertullian could be alluding to the widely known symbolism of Christ as a fish

¹⁸⁴ Graydon F. Snyder, *Ante Pacem: Archaeological Evidence of Church Life before Constantine*, rev. ed (Macon, Ga: Mercer University Press, 2003), 30–35.

¹⁸⁵ Guy G. Stroumsa, *Messiah and Christos: Festschrift for David Flusser*, Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1992, 199–205. Stroumsa incorrectly follows Evans in seeing Tertullian's use of ἰχθύν as an example of the acronym, but his main point is that before the acronym came into usage, Christ was referred to as a fish because of his baptism. Stroumsa further posits a connection between Jesus (the fish) and Joshua ben Nun since their names were the same in the Septuagint and because *Nun* in Aramaic meant fish.

¹⁸⁶ Jean Daniélou, *Primitive Christian Symbols* (trans. Donald Attwater) Baltimore: Helicon Press, 1964, 50.

in baptismal water. What is important for our purposes is that this tradition was primarily a Greek rather than a Latin tradition.

If this explanation is correct, Greek is used here as an insider code language, perhaps liturgical language, among Christians and helps Tertullian to build a rapport with his audience based on their common knowledge that this Greek word was a reference to Christ. Theodor Zahn long ago demonstrated that the Carthaginian church had retained some Greek words in the liturgical setting.¹⁸⁷

On the other hand, it is still possible that Tertullian made a reference here to the well-known acronym. Ernest Evans, in his commentary on *De Baptismo*, refers to the earlier epitaph of Abercius where he also sees use of the acronym. He notes from this epitaph and from Tertullian's use that the acronym was "already common and generally understood."¹⁸⁸ Given the use of the acronym in early Christianity, Tertullian could have been making a very educated appeal to his readers' understanding, that is, that even though they knew the acronym ended with a *sigma*, he code-switched in order to be grammatically correct in his use of the acronym in predicate position. Whether or not this example serves as proof of the famous acronym, it is certainly an instance of code-switching in which Tertullian used a Greek word, most likely originally in Greek characters, with its correctly declined ending in order to further communicate with his audience.

¹⁸⁷ "In Bezug auf die zahllosen griechischen Wörter in der afrikanischen Kirchensprache gilt, was Tertull. de paenit. 8 von einem einzelnen bemerkt: *Is actus, qui magis graeco uocabulo exprimitur et frequentatur, exomologesis est.* Cf. Marc. V, 8 *donatiua, quae charismata dicimus*, nicht umgekehrt." Zahn, *Geschichte*, vol. 1, 50 n. 1.

¹⁸⁸ Ernest Evans, *Tertullian's Homily on Baptism*, London: SPCK, 1964, 48. It should be noted that the Abercius epitaph also has *ιχθύν*, rather than *ιχθύς* and therefore cannot or can only awkwardly refer to the "well-known" acronym.

De Baptismo 18.1

Do not lay on hands easily, nor take part in the sins (*amartiis*) of others.¹⁸⁹

Finally we return to the example which precipitated our investigation. Kilpatrick assumed that if Tertullian were indeed translating from a Greek copy of 1 Timothy that he would have gone ahead and translated *amartia* as *delictum* or something similar. Since Tertullian left this word untranslated, Kilpatrick argued that it must have been that way in his Latin manuscript. Now that we have seen that Tertullian used Greek words regularly in his writings for a number of different reasons, a much easier explanation to Kilpatrick's dilemma is that Tertullian code-switched here. As in the previous example from *De Baptismo*, Codex *Trecensis* is the only extant manuscript of this treatise. It has been noted from previous examples that the scribe of this manuscript struggled with Greek. It was even suggested that the scribe may have transliterated Greek words into Latin because of struggling with that language or because the scribe saw a transliteration written above the Greek word as a pronunciation guide and subsequently borrowed that rather than attempting to render the Greek letters. Based on the previous examples, it now seems likely that Tertullian allowed a Greek word to remain in his Latin translation of 1 Timothy 5:22.¹⁹⁰

If this was the case, we must analyze why Tertullian code-switches here because at first glance “sin” does not seem to be the operative lexeme which he is discussing in the context.

Tertullian discusses the concept of “sin” in several places earlier and later in this treatise.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁹ *Manus ne facile inposueritis nec amartiis alienis communicaueritis* [inposueritis usque ad communicaueritis *T*; inposueris ne participes aliena delicta *B*]. CCSL 1, 292.

¹⁹⁰ Evans comments, “Evidently Tertullian has made his own translation from the Greek.” Ernest Evans, *Tertullian's Homily on Baptism* (London: S.P.C.K, 1964), 103.

¹⁹¹ According to *Library of Latin Texts*, Tertullian nowhere else uses *amart**. He does use *delict** however several times in *De Baptismo* 1.1, twice 4.5, 5.3, 5.6, 5.7, 6.1, 7.2, 8.4, 8.5, 15.3, 20.1 (and this use is in a scriptural citation – Matt 3:6, Mark 1:5). He is not consistent however in using *delictum* and its cognates to refer to sin. Beginning with a phrase which he repeats several times throughout *De Baptismo* chapters 10–12, *remissionem peccatorum*, he begins to prefer *peccatum* and its cognates to *delictum*. He uses *peccat** twice in 10.3, once in 10.6 (when quoting Mark 1:4), 11.3 (when referring to John the Baptist), 12.4 (also in discussing the Baptizer), 12.8 (when alluding probably to Matt. 9:2), 15.3 (though he also uses *delicta* in this paragraph showing that he can go back and forth

Indeed, in the first sentence of this treatise, he defines baptism as a “washing away of sin” (*De sacramento aquae nostrae qua ablutis delictis ... liberamur*). Throughout the treatise, when the topic of sin comes up, it is usually in this field of meaning. This occurrence in chapter 18, however, is a different usage. The emphasis is not on the removal of sin but rather on the unfortunate partaking in it if the baptizer bestows this gift on someone too hastily. Perhaps the code-switching is a use of a theological *terminus technicus*, the weighty matter of sin, and is thus intended to bring emphasis to the serious nature of baptizing someone hastily. We know from the code-switching example in *De Baptismo* 1.3 that the audience must have been somewhat familiar with Greek. Additionally, Tertullian mentioned in *De Baptismo* 15.2 that he had already written a treatise in Greek with no apologies for it being written in a different language. From these, it can be deduced that Tertullian’s intended audience had some competence in Greek. If this is the case, then code-switching here at *De Baptismo* 18.1 brings extra emphasis to the serious nature of baptizing someone too hastily.

This is especially the case if Tertullian was translating 1 Timothy 5:22 directly from a Greek manuscript as he wrote *De Baptismo*. As was noted in the previous chapter, this has been argued as one of the main explanations for Tertullian’s unique renderings of the Bible. It was established earlier that he did this with Plato, Euripides, and other Greek authors. It seems possible that Tertullian leaves this common theological word because of the bilingualism of his audience.

In the examples examined in this article, we verified by exploration of the extant manuscripts and editions of Tertullian that he often used Greek words in Greek script in his

between these two terms, probably for matters of style), 18.5 (just a few paragraphs after he cites 1 Tim. 5:22 with *amartiis*), and 20.5.

writings. We then explained why he might have used Greek, namely to establish a rapport with his audience, Christian or pagan alike. It was demonstrated that Tertullian was a code-switcher, much like Cicero a few centuries before.¹⁹² In this activity, it appears that Tertullian was performing multiple identities: Greek- and Latin-speaking, Roman and North African, a product of profound classical education and yet also thorough Christian catechization, adept with vast literatures of Christians and pagans alike.

In the face of this evidence, Kilpatrick's explanation is difficult to maintain. It seems more likely that Tertullian actually wrote ἀμαρτίας in Greek letters in *De Baptismo* 18.1 in order to heighten the rhetorical effect of using 1 Tim 5:22 in connection with a warning not to baptize hastily. Contra Kilpatrick, this evidence from 1 Timothy 5:22 does not confirm that Tertullian was using a Latin translation of the New Testament. Rather, based on the examples of code-switching, this example can be interpreted as evidence that Tertullian was translating from the Greek and chose to code-switch into Greek, or put in another way, to retain this Greek word even though he chose to translate the rest. Although a single example is insufficient in itself to answer the question of the language(s) in which Tertullian read the New Testament, the present article has shown that this passage is insufficient to sustain Kilpatrick's argument that it derives from Tertullian's use of a Latin biblical translation.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has presented evidence to demonstrate that Tertullian was swimming in a variety of cultures. Though he is frequently considered to be an archetype of the counter-cultural Christian because of his many extreme views, several examples were considered which

¹⁹² Fredouille concludes "Le premier trait qui se dégage de ces analyses est sans doute la fidélité de Tertullien au classicisme; et son respect de la tradition, celle de Cicéron et de Quintilien, confine parfois au conformisme." Fredouille, 481.

demonstrated the ways he was also engaged with Greco-Roman culture. It seems that he used the cultural and literary practices of the Second Sophistic in order to promote and defend proto-orthodox teachings. Examples were given of Second Sophistic approaches to education, translation, and other literary practices from Cicero, Quintilian, Apuleius, and others. The early modern narratives that Roman North Africa only participated in plebeian Latin were overturned with more recent work arguing that North Africans were part of a new elite and adept in the bilingualism and other literary practices of high Roman culture. Evidence was presented that Tertullian, as well as the audience of some of his works, participated in this culture. Tertullian the African was shown to be a cosmopolitan, lettered individual employing the highest literary ambitions. His ability to code-switch, use the Roman clausula system to compose literary sentences, participate in Greco-Roman philosophical conversation, and even produce learned puns displayed Tertullian's educated social status.

CHAPTER THREE

TERTULLIAN AND THE BIBLE

3.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the influence of Greco-Roman literary culture on Tertullian's discussion of biblical texts, their authority, and their proper interpretation. Instead of imposing anachronistic concepts of Bible, canon, and even book on this second century Christian writer, this chapter will seek to understand how Tertullian used the writings which are today commonly called "The New Testament." In order to do so, Tertullian's reading, citational, and interpretative practices must be situated within the larger Greco-Roman world.

Recently, a number of scholars have been working on developing the thesis that the "proto-orthodox" Christians, as they are sometimes called in modern scholarship, depended on Greco-Roman literary culture as they interpreted the earliest Christian documents, communicated agreements and boundaries among various groups, and developed speculative theological teaching. In a time in which boundaries were being negotiated, robust conversation and debate was occurring among early Christians over how to interpret the documents that would later form the biblical canon. Though such boundaries and canonical lists had not yet been fully developed (for example, the Trinitarian statements of Nicaea, the Christological statements of Chalcedon, or the list of 27 NT books in Athanasius's *Festal Letter* 39¹), we can begin to see "family

¹ Instead of Athanasius' *Festal Letter* 39 being the earliest, recently Michael Kruger has argued contra R. P. C. Hanson that the canonical list of Origen (*Hom Jos.* 7.1) was genuinely translated by Rufinus and should be considered the earliest evidence for the 27 book NT canon. Michael J. Kruger, "Origen's List of New Testament Books in Homiliae in Josuam 7.1: A Fresh Look," in *Mark, Manuscripts, and Monotheism: Essays in Honor of Larry Hurtado*, ed. Chris Keith and Dieter T. Roth, Library of New Testament Studies 528 (London ; New York: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2015), 99–117. R. P. C. Hanson, *Origen's Doctrine of Tradition* (London: S.P.C.K., 1954), 40–47.

resemblances”, as Lewis Ayres has argued, between the literary productions and practices of Christ’s first followers and those of the late second century.² Ayres has argued elsewhere that second century proto-orthodox exegetical practice developed in dialogue with and in order to argue against Valentinian exegetical practices.³

Ayres continues the trajectories of Frances Young’s argumentation in *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture* when he argues that many students of Irenaeus’ exegesis have contributed helpful studies but none singularly focused on “locating Irenaeus’ reading practices within ancient literary critical traditions”.⁴ Ayres laments the dearth of Irenaeus studies focused on the early Christian use of literary-critical approaches. He likewise laments concerning Justin.⁵ Ayres also shows the Jewish roots of Justin’s exegetical approach, likening it to similar approaches used with Mishnaic interpretation.⁶

Christoph Marksches classified Justin as a salon philosopher, as opposed to Origen who was more akin to a professional philosopher. Marksches compared Justin to Tertullian in that they both wore the *pallium*.⁷ He goes on to describe Justin’s activities as an informal or free philosopher and teacher. It may be that Tertullian was similar to Justin in that he was a learned teacher but not attached to an established school.

Origen, however, has long been said to have been the leader of a catechetical school in Alexandria. Marksches agrees with and follows the argument of Scholten, however, who argued

² Lewis Ayres, “Continuity and Change in Second Century Christianity: A Narrative against the Trend,” in *Christianity in the Second Century: Themes and Developments*, ed. James Carleton Paget and Judith Lieu (Cambridge, United Kingdom; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 106–121.

³ Ayres, “Irenaeus vs. the Valentinians,” 155.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 170 n. 52.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 180 n. 92.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 183.

⁷ Marksches, *Christian Theology and Its Institutions*, 71–2.

that Origen should be described more as a formal teacher in a school of higher education rather than just an introductory catechetical school.⁸ Marksches contributes to the argument by pointing to the high level of many of Origen's writings which would have been over the heads of many catechumens.⁹ If this is true of Origen, similar things could be said for some of Tertullian's works. Tertullian seems to have written catechetical literature, for example *De baptismo*, *De oratione*, *De paenitentia*, and *De patientia*. And yet, his works like *De anima*, *De resurrectione mortuorum*, *De pallio*, and *Ad Scapulam*, along with most of his polemical literature were certainly aimed higher than the average catechumen or early convert. In this way, it might be suggested that Tertullian's activities in Carthage like those in Alexandria constitute some kind of higher education institution. The problem of a lack of corroborating evidence means that this can only be a suggestive theory to explain Tertullian's use of the Bible and the sociological institutions which might have constituted his discussion of it. Much of Tertullian's corpus does not seem aimed at the *simplices*, a point made in Chapter Two in the discussion of *Adversus Praxean*.

Building on the previous chapter, I propose in this chapter to explore Tertullian's Greco-Roman reading, citation, translation and interpretation practices as they intersected with his use of the Bible. This chapter will also situate Tertullian within the broader developing Christian school of interpretation. A number of issues will be examined concerning Tertullian and the Bible, including his exegetical practices, his views on canonicity, his use of book culture, his terms for the Scriptures, and also his views on text critical matters.

⁸ Clemens Scholten, "Die alexandrinische Katechetenschule," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 38 (1995): 16–37.

⁹ Marksches, *Christian Theology and Its Institutions*, 82.

3.2 Tertullian's Attitude toward the Scriptures

The previous chapter addressed Tertullian's education under, awareness of, and ongoing discussion with non-Christians from a variety of cultures. Instead of the popular view that Tertullian was rigorously anti-philosophy and hostile to anything non-Christian because of his phrase "what has Athens to do with Jerusalem", it was argued that Tertullian continued to use and learn from non-Christians throughout his life, even if these tools were then used to criticize these same pagan opponents. Special attention was given to his linguistic training and his use of these tools throughout his literary career. It is well-known, however, that Tertullian was also an avid student of the Bible. Several studies have focused on Tertullian's use of the Bible in the past, and those will be engaged extensively below. This section intends, first, to nuance how Tertullian studied the Bible by explaining how he employed the reading practices of the Second Sophistic. The thesis that Tertullian replaced any and all non-Christian cultures and learning with the Bible and its culture will be shown to be an inadequate explanation. Instead, it will emerge in this section that Tertullian's biblical education was his opportunity to work out the continuities and discontinuities between the classical and the biblical worlds. Tertullian became a student of the Prophets and Apostles and then also learned from other early Christian exegetes, but he brought along his tools from Cicero, Quintilian, and others in the process.

Little is known about Tertullian's conversion to Christianity. Barnes has cautioned against much of the psychologizing of such, for example that of Monceaux.¹⁰ One small glimpse is offered in *De paenitentia* 1–2: *Paenitentiam hoc genus homines quod et ipsi retro fuimus, caeci sine domini lumine*. Prior to repentance, Tertullian and his hearers were blind people

¹⁰ Barnes, *Tertullian* (1971), 245–247; Monceaux, *Histoire*, 182.

without the light of the Lord. This is proof that Tertullian was raised as a non-Christian and at some point repented and was baptized.¹¹ By the time he composed his first writings, at least the first of which are still extant, his Christianity was marked by textuality. The text of the Scriptures would play an ever-increasing role in his literary career. Over 3,400 references to the NT writings outside the Gospels demonstrate that Tertullian took the Scriptures seriously and learned a great deal from them. As he used these Scriptures, however, Tertullian still retained much of his rhetorical learning and displayed such learning in his description and elucidation of the Scriptures. The following four examples from early in his career demonstrate how Tertullian used his Greco-Roman training to describe the contents of the Scriptures.

First, Tertullian uses unique terminology to refer to the Scriptures in *Apologeticum*. In order to give an account for the Christians' God, Tertullian says in *Apologeticum* 18 that God had given an *instrumentum litteraturae*, by which all may inquire, discover, believe, and serve God.¹² The referent of this phrase is the Jewish Scriptures.¹³ Braun notes that Tertullian is the first to use the term for the Scriptures.¹⁴ Braun further describes the term as a legal term and notes Quintilian's use of the term, though incorrectly referenced.¹⁵ Quintilian calls the legal document serving as evidence in a case an *instrumentum* and says that it is not enough to have seen it but also must be read: *Ideoque opus est intueri omne litis instrumentum: quod videre non*

¹¹ Dunn, *Tertullian*, 4.

¹² *Sed quo plenius et impressius tam ipsum quam dispositiones eius et uoluntates adiremus, adiecit instrumentum litteraturae, si qui uelit de Deo inquirere, et inquisito inuerire, et inueto credere, et credito deseruire. Apologeticum* 18.1 (CCSL 1:118).

¹³ Joseph Verheyden has suggested that these writings as discussed and used in early Christianity be called "Jewish Scriptures" rather than "Hebrew Scriptures" since they were rarely used in Hebrew language. In the following paragraphs, Hebrew Scriptures will only be used to denote these Scriptures in their original language. Joseph Verheyden, "'Authoritative Texts' and How to Handle Them: Some Reflections on an Ambiguous Concept and Its Use in Second-Century Christian Literature," in *Christianity in the Second Century: Themes and Developments*, ed. James Carleton Paget and Judith Lieu (Cambridge, United Kingdom; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

¹⁴ Braun, *Deus Christianorum*, 463.

¹⁵ Braun points the reader to "Quintilien, *I.O.* XII, 8, 2." Ibid., 463 n. 5. It should be XII, 8, 12.

est satis, perlegendum erit. Braun points to several more uses of the term, but it is enough for the point here that Tertullian used a Roman legal term for the Scriptures.¹⁶

Second, Tertullian stresses repeatedly the characteristic of antiquity, the ancient nature of the Scriptures as central to their importance.¹⁷ In *Apologeticum* 10, as he is setting out to demonstrate that Roman deities were humans rather than gods, Tertullian lets Roman literature make his argument for him. He uses the same term *instrumentum* that was explored in the first example to describe the Greco-Roman books from which he will argue, but he appends an important qualifier: *antiquitatum instrumentis*.¹⁸ He notes that many books by the likes of Greek Diodorus, Thallus, Cassius Severus, Cornelius Nepos, and other antique commentators assert that Saturn was a human.¹⁹ That he illustrates his argument with writers of antiquity may not seem remarkable in and of itself until later when he begins to establish his arguments for Christianity on similar grounds.²⁰ This criteria of antiquity Tertullian asserts is the Romans' own basis for making judgments about their entire way of life. He says they are always praising antiquity, and yet their way of life does not follow the same principle.²¹ At the conclusion of this paragraph, he presents what he sees as the main accusation of the Romans against the Christians, that Christians violate the traditions of antiquity.²²

¹⁶ Braun, *Deus Christianorum*, 463–473.

¹⁷ Braun does not deal with this Term except for a place in *Scorpiace* 9.1.

¹⁸ *Apologeticum* 10.4 (CCSL 1:106).

¹⁹ *Saturnum itaque, quantum litterae, neque Diodorus Graecus aut Thallus, neque Cassius Seuerus aut Cornelius Nepos, neque ullus commentator eiusmodi antiquitatum aliud quam hominem promulgauerunt*. *Apol* 10.7 (CCSL 1:106).

²⁰ On this, cf. Arthur J. Droge, *Homer or Moses? Early Christian Interpretations of the History of Culture*, *Hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur Theologie* 26 (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1989).

²¹ *Laudatis semper antiquos, sed noue de die uiuitis*. *Apol* 6.9 (CCSL 1:98).

²² *Ipsum adhuc quod uidemini fidelissime tueri a patribus traditum, in quo principaliter reos transgressionis Christianos destinatis, studium dico deorum colendorum, de quo maxime errauit antiquitas*. *Apol* 6.10 (CCSL 3:98).

Is Tertullian merely putting words in his opponents' mouths or is there some basis for making antiquity such a norm for powerful argument? This may come from Tertullian's already demonstrated dependence on Cicero gained through his rhetorical training. In *De oratore* 1.18 Cicero is praising the profession of orator. In order to heap up praise, he lists several things that are required of the rhetor, including great knowledge of antiquity: *Tenenda praeterea est omnis antiquitas, exemplorumque vis*. Later in *De oratore* 1.159 in a long list of requirements of the orator Cicero includes: *percipienda omnis antiquitas*. Perhaps most interesting is Cicero's rule that in cases of public appeal, the rhetoric should involve knowledge of antiquity: *sic in causis publicis iudiciorum, concionum, Senatus, omnis haec et antiquitatis memoria, et publici iuris auctoritas, et regendae reipublicae ratio ac scientia, tanquam aliqua materies, eis oratoribus, qui versantur in republica, subiecta esse debent*. Tertullian characterizes his appeal in *Apologeticum* as such a "public" matter in the very first sentence: *si ad hanc solam tantum speciem auctoritas uestra de iustitiae diligentia in publico aut timet aut erubescit inquirere*. If his Roman audience will not conduct such a case, then Tertullian will himself. Tertullian, thus carries out his case using Cicero's stipulated formula.

When he turns to a demonstration of the Christian faith in chapter eighteen, it is not surprising, then, that he does so textually and especially by arguing the antiquity of the biblical texts. In chapter 18 discussed above Tertullian begins to make the case that the *instrumentum litteraturae* is of ancient origin: *Uiros enim iustitiae innocentia dignos Deum nosse et ostendere, a primordio in saeculum emisit spiritu diuino inundatos*. Tertullian stresses that these upright people who would eventually be the first writers of the *instrumentum litteraturae* were sent into the world "from the beginning". Later in the chapter when Tertullian is discussing the Septuagint, he uses the *Letter of Aristeas* to highlight the pagan Greeks who were influential in

bringing about the translation of the Hebrew Scriptures.²³ This discussion of the Septuagint also includes mention of Ptolemaeus Philadelphus, Pisistratus, and Demetrius of Phaleron. Though scholars have called into question the historical veracity of the Aristeas account, Tertullian's rhetorical point seems to be that these figures were working on several kinds of ancient literature.²⁴ In the Letter, Ptolemaeus Philadelphus or King Ptolemy II of Egypt was interested in having a Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible because he was collecting ancient world literature of all kinds; Pisistratus was involved in the collecting and editing manuscripts of the Homeric epics; Demetrius was Ptolemy's librarian who oversaw the project.²⁵ Tertullian must have been deliberately stressing these outsiders' involvement with the Jewish Scriptures in order to set them alongside other literature of antiquity. In order to summarize the discussion of the Hebrew Scriptures and their Greek translation, Tertullian asserts: *Primam igitur instrumentis istis auctoritatem summa antiquitas uindicat*. Finally when summarizing his argument toward the end of the book, Tertullian mentions the antiquity of the Scriptures in Chapter 46: *Constitimus, ut opinor, aduersus omnium criminum intimationem, quae christianorum sanguinem flagitat; ostendimus totum statum nostrum, et quibus modis probare possimus, ita esse sicut ostendimus, ex fide scilicet et antiquitate diuinarum litterarum*. This antiquity of the Scriptures was argued by Tertullian specifically because these were the grounds laid out by Cicero for a public trial. Here we see again Tertullian's Greco-Roman rhetorical skills on display even as he explains the Scriptures of the Christians.

²³ It is noteworthy that Rajak herself has noted the Aristotelianisms present in the *Letter of Aristeas* which may have a similar rhetorical effect there as Tertullian is trying to produce in his explanation, though to a Roman rather than Greek audience. Tessa Rajak, *Translation and Survival: The Greek Bible of the Ancient Jewish Diaspora* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 77–78.

²⁴ Ibid., 38–63. In these pages, Rajak also includes a discussion of Tertullian's use of the Letter.

²⁵ For Ptolemaeus Philadelphus, cf. ibid., 30–34; for Pisistratus, cf. ibid., 239–40; and for Demetrius of Phaleron, cf. ibid., 30–35.

In order that this thesis might be demonstrated beyond the occasional writing of Tertullian's early career apologetic approach, the third example comes from *Scorpiace*. In chapter 12 Tertullian uses the terms *schola*, *discipulos*, *magistros*, and *docturus* to refer to Christ and his apostles. In the first sentence of the paragraph he asks who could know the Scriptures better than those of Christ's schola: *Quis nunc medullam scripturarum magis nosset, quam ipsa Christi schola*. Tertullian says that Christ's disciples have become "our masters". Here Tertullian puts the authors of the New Testament into the terms of classical education and thus portrays the NT writings as classics from the pens of philosophers.

Finally, the fourth example comes in *De spectaculis* 29. Earlier in chapter 5, Tertullian describes what happens at the shows and games by illustrating from non-Christian literature.²⁶ In chapter 19 he then switches to explore what the Christian Scriptures have to say on the subject.²⁷ He has thus set up a comparison and contrast between non-Christian and Christian literature. In chapter 29 he then describes the delights of the Christian Scriptures according to literary terms typically embodied in classical literature. Christian literature has its own letters, verses, sentences, songs, and voice, and yet it is not fabulous but true, not elaborate but simple.²⁸

In these four examples, Tertullian compares the Scriptures to classical literature. Through these examples, one can see how much Tertullian is straining to explain Christian literature in ways that his non-Christian, educated audience can understand it as literature akin to their own. Nevertheless, Tertullian displays also the contrasts between these two bodies of literature.

²⁶ *De originibus quidem ut secretioribus et ignotis penes plures nostrorum artius nec aliunde inuestigandum fuit quam de instrumentis ethncialium litterarum*. TE spec 5.1.

²⁷ *Expectabimus nunc et amphitheatri repudium de scripturis*. TE spec 19.1.

²⁸ *Si scaenicae doctrinae delectant, satis nobis litterarum est, satis uersuum est, satis sententiarum, satis etiam canticorum, satis uocum, nec fabulae, sed ueritates, nec strophae, sed simplicitates*. TE spec 29.4.

3.3 Tertullian's Material Bible

Now that some general attitudes and ways of talking about the Scriptures have been explored, this chapter on Tertullian and the Bible must explore the materiality of the Christian writings Tertullian knew. Roger Chartier is the principal theorist behind the study of the material culture of book-making.²⁹ Kim Haines-Eitzen, in her review of Clark's *History, Theory, Text*, suggests Chartier's essay "Texts, Printing, Readings" as a good summary of the theoretical importance of the material culture of texts.³⁰ In this essay Chartier is interested in "a history of practices of reading."³¹ Chartier innovatively suggests the following:

Thus a sorting out of two types of apparatus becomes necessary, between those entailed by the putting into text, the strategies of writing, the intentions of the "author," and those resulting from the manufacture of the book or publication, produced by editorial decision or through workshop procedures, which are aimed at readers or readings that may not be at all like those the author intended.³²

The former type of apparatus for studying reading practices has already been employed above in order to explain Tertullian's attitudes toward the Scriptures. Later in this chapter, an examination of Tertullian the exegete will conduct further analysis along the lines of Chartier's first approach. It is the second approach which has been more regularly disregarded by scholarship and will form the analysis of this section.

²⁹ For a brief summary of his work and its significance for early Christian studies, cf. Elizabeth A. Clark, *History, Theory, Text: Historians and the Linguistic Turn* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2004), 124–26.

³⁰ Kim Haines-Eitzen, "Reimagining Patristics: Theory's Vital Role in the Study of Premodern Texts," *Church History* 74, no. 4 (December 2005): 819.

³¹ Roger Chartier, "Texts, Printing, Readings," in *The New Cultural History*, ed. Lynn Hunt, Studies on the History of Society and Culture (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 154.

³² *Ibid.*, 161.

3.3.1 The Format of Tertullian's Scriptures

Larry Hurtado has argued that early Christian culture was “bookish”.³³ In his latest work, he continues his earlier argument that early Christians had a clear preference for the codex over the bookroll.³⁴ This is in contrast to the Romans who preferred the bookroll. Hurtado presents statistics that show this for the second century: extant non-Christian literature is 95% on bookrolls, but 75% of all Christian manuscripts are on codices. Similar statistics are presented for the third century: 79% of extant non-Christian literature is on bookroll and 75% of Christian literature is on a codex.³⁵ Hurtado's careful reading of this data results in a number of important cautions in attempting to discern what the data means. After discussing a number of possible conclusions from other scholars, he is able to conclude that the practice may have stemmed from Paul's early letter collection which might have been the first Christian literature to circulate in such a form.³⁶ Further, early Christians must have known that they were taking a counter-cultural approach to the bookform of their earliest documents and thereby intentionally distinguished themselves from other Greco-Roman groups.³⁷

As soon as the descriptor “bookish” is used for early Christianity, we must ask to what extent. John Kloppenborg undertook a study of this issue by surveying many early Christian comments about book culture along with a detailed material cultural study of early manuscripts. He concluded that the elite book culture of Eusebius with its large codices capable of containing the entirety of the Bible made in professional scriptoria by professional and highly literate

³³ Larry W. Hurtado, *Destroyer of the Gods: Early Christian Distinctiveness in the Roman World* (Waco, Texas: Baylor University Press, 2016), 105–141. Cf. also Colin H. Roberts and T. C. Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex* (London ; New York: Published for the British Academy by the Oxford University Press, 1983).

³⁴ Hurtado, *Destroyer*, 133; Larry W. Hurtado, *The Earliest Christian Artifacts: Manuscripts and Christian Origins* (Grand Rapids, Mich: William B. Eerdmans Pub, 2006), 43–93.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 134 n. 97, 98. For a fuller investigation of the data, cf. Hurtado, *Earliest Christian Artifacts*, 44–61, 90–93.

³⁶ Hurtado, *Earliest Christian Artifacts*, 73–80.

³⁷ Hurtado, *Destroyer*, 117–18.

scribes did not exist in the earlier centuries but was rather a luxury afforded by Christians only after the rise of Constantine. Nevertheless, Kloppenborg found a “valorization” of book culture in pre-Constantinian Christianity which sought to project literate culture all the way back to Jesus and his first followers.

The second century Christians responsible for these projections were in his view “sub-literate”, that is, they were not quite at the same level as the elite literary culture of the surrounding Greco-Roman world. Kloppenborg found early Christians to be most strongly influenced by their Judean counterparts and forebears in their literary skills.³⁸ For this conclusion, Kloppenborg drew on the earlier study of Kim Haines-Eitzen. She had argued that though there were many similarities between early Christian and non-Christian literary scribes, the early Christian books did not exhibit the “calligraphic features of the best literary hands”.³⁹ Kloppenborg presented further evidence. One example he gave for this was the attempt made among Christians during Justin’s day to perform elite, literary readings during dinner similar to their Greco-Roman contemporaries but with “Christ groups at a lower rung of the social ladder”.⁴⁰ He did not however explain why Christians reading literary texts together was at a lower rung than other Greeks and Romans doing similar things. He presented further material evidence of the sub-elite origins of Christian literary practice by noting the fewer lines and words on a page of early Christian manuscripts, the diacritical marks to aid lectors not up to the elite task of reading *scriptio continua*, and the sub-elite hands of the scribes as demonstrated by their formation of letters.⁴¹ Kloppenborg concluded that Christians of the 4th Century adopted a full-

³⁸ John S. Kloppenborg, “Literate Media in Early Christ Groups: The Creation of a Christian Book Culture,” *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 22.1 (2014), 52.

³⁹ Kim Haines-Eitzen, *Guardians of Letters: Literacy, Power, and the Transmitters of Early Christian Literature* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 67.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 41.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 48–58.

blown book culture in large part because Christians in the 2nd Century valorized the culture and importance of books for Christ worship, even if the earlier attempts were sub-elite.

Recently another study nuanced the conclusions of Haines-Eitzen and Kloppenborg. Alan Mugridge has found that some papyri from the second and third centuries have characteristics of elite, literary scribes.⁴² In charts differentiating between calligraphic and secretarial or plain hands which were both performed by professional scribes and on the other hand non-professional, untrained hands, Mugridge set out to classify early Christian papyri. Though some clearly fall into untrained category, there are nevertheless second and third century papyri of OT, NT, Apocryphal, Patristic, and other texts which Mugridge classifies as calligraphic hands. One of Mugridge's conclusions is that the majority of early Christian papyri were produced by trained scribes.⁴³ This suggests that early Christians were participating in Greco-Roman literary culture more than had previously been thought. Further, it is clear from the study that there were at least some Christians participating in the highest echelons of Greco-Roman literary culture.

A fuller examination of Tertullian's statements concerning book format is needed. It will be argued in this section that Tertullian does not fit the conclusions that some or most early Christians were sub-literate. It will be argued that Tertullian seems to have preferred the bookroll over the codex and is thus less distinctive than what Hurtado's conclusions about early Christians suggests. Instead, Tertullian will be shown to prefer the bookroll along with Greco-Roman philosophers. In so doing, Tertullian will show himself to be an early proponent of high literary ambition.

⁴² Alan Mugridge, *Copying Early Christian Texts: A Study of Scribal Practice*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 362 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 20–25.

⁴³ Ibid., 144–54.

Ulpian, a contemporary of Tertullian, has been cited as an example of the Roman prejudice for the bookroll and against the codex. He was a jurist in Rome who articulated Latin terms for different kinds of literary artifacts. Though he granted that the codex, whether constructed of papyrus, parchment, or even wax tablets, could be counted as a book (*liber*), the more proper referent for *liber* was the bookroll (*uolumen*) of papyrus or parchment.⁴⁴ Roberts has noted other terminology for various book formats in the time of Tertullian.⁴⁵ *Tabulae* were the forerunners of codices, since they were single tablets used for writing. The first codices stitched multiple tablets together. In Cato and Cicero, the terms *tabula* and *codex* were interchangeable.⁴⁶ This terminology is helpful for exploring ancient writers' evidence toward questions of book forms.

What material format were the copies of biblical writings which Tertullian used, and what formats did he use for his own writings? Harry Gamble has a brief discussion of the editions Tertullian's *Adversus Marcionem* went through during Tertullian's life but nothing on the formats of Tertullian's books.⁴⁷ René Braun studied Tertullian's terminology for the Scriptures including *scriptura*, *litterae*, *litteratura*, *digesta*, *commentarii*, *uoces*, *pronuntiationes*, *instrumentum*, *paratura*, and *testamentum*. In keeping, however, with the limited focus of his study, these are only doctrinal terms and elucidated along doctrinal lines.⁴⁸ Adolf von Harnack makes a brief note that Tertullian did not display a definite and consistent order in which he read the Gospels, and so Harnack conjectures that each of the Gospels may still have had their own

⁴⁴ Hurtado, *Destroyer*, 133–34.

⁴⁵ Colin H. Roberts, *The Codex*, Proceedings of the British Academy 50 (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege Amen House, 1954), 181–82.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 171.

⁴⁷ Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church*, 118–21.

⁴⁸ Braun, *Deus Christianorum*, 454–473.

bookroll in his library.⁴⁹ Is it presumptuous on Harnack's part to assume that the Gospels would have been on rolls rather than codices in Tertullian's library? That is what we will now consider.

Tertullian does not appear to use the word *codex* or its cognates in any of his writings.⁵⁰ That does not, of course, mean that he was using or aware of the codex. Such an argument from silence provides little information for or against his use of codices. Instead, we must examine Tertullian's other terms for the book in order to determine whether he might give evidence of what forms of the book he knew. Words such as *liber* and *uolumen* are used quite frequently throughout Tertullian's corpus. Instead of assuming what form of the books these words refer since they were probably applied at various times to various bookforms, we must understand Tertullian's own use of the terms to discern any patterns.

The sure definition of *liber* as roll as opposed to codex in Tertullian's usage is his use of the term in *Aduersus Hermogenem* 34.1 where he says that the sky will be "rolled up" (*conuoluetur*) as a *liber*.⁵¹ Further, Tertullian uses the word *liber* in *Apologeticum* 16.12 to describe the book held by a figure who was intended to represent the God of the Christians.⁵² The same phrase had already been used in *Ad nationes* 1.14.1.⁵³ Later in *Apologeticum* 18.5 he uses the same word to refer to books from the Jews which makes the word connote the scroll rather than a codex. Birt confirms that *liber* was used in classical Latin for a bookroll.⁵⁴ Tertullian uses this word for Moses' books in *Aduersus Marcionem* 1.10.2.⁵⁵ In *Apologeticum*

⁴⁹ Adolf von Harnack, "Tertullians Bibliothek Christlicher Schriften," *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 10 (1914): 303–34.

⁵⁰ Based on a search of Tertullian's writings for "codex" and similar terms in *Library of Latin Texts* (<http://clt.brepolis.net/llta/pages/QuickSearch.aspx>).

⁵¹ *Siquidem et caelum conuoluetur ut liber.*

⁵² *Cum eiusmodi inscriptione: deus christianorum ONOKOITHΣ. Is erat auribus asininis, altero pede unguatus, librum gestans et togatus.*

⁵³ *In toga, cum libro, altero pede unguato.*

⁵⁴ Birt, *Das Antike Buchwesen*, 17.

⁵⁵ *Nec hoc ullis moysei libris debent.*

18.5, Demetrius of Phaleron requests *libros a iudaeis*, meaning the Hebrew Scriptures as discussed earlier. In *Aduersus Iudaeos* 8.4 Tertullian references Daniel 9:1–2 and uses *libris* to render βιβλοῖς.⁵⁶ In *De corona* 13.1 Tertullian reassures the audience that they are in the “books of life”.⁵⁷ A similar usage can be seen in *De resurrectione mortuorum* 25.1 which is a reference to Apocalypse 20:12.⁵⁸ In *De carne Christi* 22.1 the word is used to refer to the Gospel of Matthew as a rendering for βιβλος in Matthew 1:1.⁵⁹ This expression is also used for the works of non-Christian writers, for example at *De corona* 7.7 when it is said that Claudius Saturninus also had a *liber* entitled *De coronis*.⁶⁰

Tertullian also employs the term *uolumen* to refer to books. First, he uses the term to refer to the Old Testament prophets in *Aduersus Iudaeos* 8.13 with the words *exhibeant iudaei prophetarum post christum aliqua uolumina* and later in the same book at 13.5 with the words *sicuti diuina prophetarum uolumina enuntiant*. His use of the term *uolumen* for these Jewish books which were almost certainly written on rolls gives some evidence of his use of the word. In Book Two of *Aduersus Marcionem*, he refers to this writing as a *uolumen*. This may be a technical term referring to the format of Book Two. In the ancient world, a *uolumen* was a bookroll.⁶¹ Later in *Aduersus Marcionem* 5.10.1 Tertullian uses the word again to refer to the bookroll of *De resurrectione*: *Reuertamur nunc ad resurrectionem, cui et alias quidem proprio uolumine satisfacimus omnibus haereticis resistentes; sed nec hic desumus, propter eos, qui illud*

⁵⁶ *Dicit enim sic: in primo anno sub dario, filio assueri, a semine medorum, qui regnauit super regnum chaldaeorum, ego daniel intellexi in libris numerum annorum.*

⁵⁷ *Illi es, conscriptus in libris uitae.* The plural here is nowhere else attested as a textual variant of Phil. 4:3. The plural is used in The Shepherd of Hermas, Vision 1.3.

⁵⁸ *Dehinc et igni dato uniuersalis resurrectionis censura de libris iudicetur.*

⁵⁹ *Liber generaturae iesu christi, filii dauid, filii abrahamae.*

⁶⁰ *Plura quaerentibus omnia exhibebit praestantissimus in hac quoque materia commentator claudius saturninus. Nam est illi 'de coronis' liber.*

⁶¹ Harry Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History of Early Christian Texts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 44; Birt, *Das Antike Buchwesen*, 14.

opusculum ignorant. Birt reports that this work on the resurrection is 3,547 lines according to the measurement of the Vergilian hexameter, enough to fill nearly an entire bookroll.⁶² In *De resurrectione* 2.5 Tertullian makes reference to his *De carne Christi* with the words, *Propterea et nos uolumen praemisimus de carne christi*. Later also in *De resurrectione* 17.2 he uses the word to refer to his treatise on the soul. In *De anima* 6.6 Soranus is said to have written a treatise on the soul in *quattuor uoluminibus*. Hermippus of Berytus is later said to have written on dreams in *quinione uoluminum satiatissime* in *De anima* 46.11. He uses the word to refer to the format of his work *De spectaculis* at *De cultu feminarum* 1.8.4. In *Apologeticum* 47.1 Tertullian senses that he is coming to the end of the bookroll upon which he is writing and thus complains: *Et si non onus iam uoluminis temperarem, excucurrissem in hanc quoque probationem*. Finally, in *Aduersus Valentinianos* 5.1 he refers to the *instructissimis uoluminibus* of Justin, Miltiades, Irenaeus, and Proculus. That Tertullian's own works and those of fellow post-apostolic Christians would be written on bookrolls rather than scrolls accords with other evidence. Michael Kruger has argued recently that non-canonical works such as Irenaeus' *Aduersus Haereses*, the *Shepherd of Hermas*, *Gospel of Thomas*, *Gospel of Mary* were circulated on rolls, as evidenced by P.Oxy. 405, P.Mich. 130, P.Oxy. 655, and P.Ryl. 463, respectively.⁶³

It appears that Harnack's estimation may be correct. Tertullian's Gospels may have each had their own bookroll. It has been argued in the examination above that Tertullian probably did not have any Christian codices in his library. Further, Tertullian seems to be an outlier according to the early Christians' preference for the codex. It may well be that Tertullian did not seek to be

⁶² Birt, *Das Antike Buchwesen*, 337.

⁶³ Michael J. Kruger, "Manuscripts, Scribes, and Book Production within Early Christianity," in *Christian Origins and Greco-Roman Culture : Social and Literary Contexts for the New Testament*, ed. Andrew W. Pitts and Stanley E. Porter, Early Christianity in Its Hellenistic Context (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 21.

distinctive in his choice of literary materials but rather desired to use those of his Greco-Roman culture, not only to discuss his own writings but even to discuss those of the Bible.

3.3.2 Tertullian and the Canon

Having discussed the formats of Tertullian's scriptural writings and his own works, the next question is which biblical books he knew. It is clear from general studies of the second century NT writings that though some books were being given increasing amounts of recognized authority, there was still not unanimity on which books should be canonical and which not.⁶⁴ Also the technology of the pandect, a single codex containing scores of books, was nascent.⁶⁵ Yet there was by Tertullian's time already a core of approximately 20 documents which were being used extensively as Christian Scripture (including the four Gospels, Acts, thirteen letters of Paul, 1 John, and 1 Peter).⁶⁶ Going back to Zahn and Harnack, debates continue today regarding the dating and implications of the canon.⁶⁷

Tertullian never uses the Greek word κανών nor as a Latin borrowing. He uses, however, the Latin term *regula* 77 times in over half of his works. Tertullian sometimes uses the word like Cicero to mean a rule, measure, or criterion.⁶⁸ Braun argues, then, that the ecclesiastical and biblical sense of the word comes from hellenistic Jews who used κανών for the Jewish Scriptures. Paul picks up on this usage in Galatians 6:16 as does Irenaeus in both *Adversus Haereses* and *Demonstratio*.⁶⁹ How does Tertullian bring the Greek concept into Latin?

⁶⁴ Michael W. Holmes, "The Biblical Canon," in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies*, ed. Susan Ashbrook Harvey and David G. Hunter, Oxford Handbooks (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 416.

⁶⁵ Houghton, *The Latin New Testament*, 13–14.

⁶⁶ Holmes, "The Biblical Canon", 416.

⁶⁷ Theodor Zahn, *Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*, 2 vols. (Erlangen: A. Deichert, 1888); Adolf von Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1893). Most recently, cf Michael J. Kruger, *The Question of Canon: Challenging the Status Quo in TheNew Testament Debate* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2013).

⁶⁸ Braun, *Deus Christianorum*, 447.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

According to Braun, it was an ecclesiastical tradition which Tertullian used. This is an argument from silence but so also would be a positive demonstration that Tertullian was the one who first appropriated the Ciceronian *regula* as a translation for κανών. He uses the word in a number of ways, including *regula fidei*, *regula sacramenti*, *regula doctrinae*, and *regula doctrinarum*. Several studies have pointed to Tertullian's use of *regula* in *De praescriptione haereticorum* 19 to refer to some form of the baptismal creed and to aid the interpretation of Scripture.⁷⁰ It is possible, however, that Tertullian does not pit a *regula fidei* of doctrinal statements which developed as an oral tradition against the κανών of the Scriptures. In *Adversus Iudaeos* 9.29 Tertullian refers to the *scripturarum regula*. Here the Scriptures themselves are a *regula*, rather than being in opposition to an oral *regula*. Further, Tertullian sees the *regula fidei* as arising from the apostolic writings rather than along side or in competition with them in *De pudicitia* 19.3.⁷¹

As to which books Tertullian accepts as normative in a canonical sense, the following can be said. Most broadly speaking, Tertullian discusses the Bible's major divisions: the Law and the Prophets, the Gospels and the Apostles in *De praescriptione haereticorum* 36.5.⁷² Thus, Tertullian sees these four parts on equal footing. The word discussed earlier, *instrumentum*, can be used in some kind of material sense to describe which books should be contained in the Scriptures and in conjunction with the concept of canon.⁷³ Thus, in *De pudicitia* 10.12 Tertullian

⁷⁰ Most recently, Tomas Bokedal, "The Rule of Faith: Tracing Its Origins," *Journal of Theological Interpretation* 7, no. 2 (October 2013): 233–55.

⁷¹ *Bene autem quod apostolis et fidei et disciplinae regulis conuenit.*

⁷² *Legem et prophetas cum euangelicis et apostolicis litteris miscet, inde potat fidem.*

⁷³ Everett Ferguson, "Factors Leading to the Selection and Closure of the New Testament Canon: A Survey of Some Recent Studies," in *The Canon Debate*, ed. Lee Martin McDonald and James A. Sanders (Peabody, Mass: Hendrickson Publishers, 2002), 308 n. 60.

says that the *Shepherd* was not part of the *diuinum instrumentum* because no council of the church had ever deemed it so.⁷⁴

Along similar lines, Hermann Rönsch, depending on the work of Carl August Credner, has noted a number of places where Tertullian seems to use the word *instrumentum* to refer to a body of writings.⁷⁵ After discussing the *instrumentum propheticum* in *De resurrectione mortuorum* 33.1, Tertullian moves on to that of the *euangelicum*.⁷⁶ In *De resurrectione mortuorum* 39.1 Tertullian refers to the *instrumenta apostolica*.⁷⁷ In this section, he seems to be referring to three separate *instrumenta*: *Actorum*, *Pauli*, and *Iohannis*, which he then references in succession.⁷⁸ In *De resurrectione mortuorum* 39.8 Tertullian refers to the Apostle's entire *instrumentum* and proceeds through the rest of the work to reference Paul's writings heavily.⁷⁹ This mention of the *instrumentum* of the Apostle might mean that he had all of Paul's writings on one roll.⁸⁰ He may be using the term likewise to refer to all the writings of John in *De resurrectione mortuorum* 38.4 when he refers to the *instrumentum iohannis*.⁸¹ He follows this up with a reference to the souls under the altar in Apocalypse 6:9–11. Rönsch demonstrated convincingly with six different proofs that this *instrumentum iohannis* contained first the Apocalypse and then after it 1 John.⁸² In addition to demonstrating the contents of Tertullian's

⁷⁴ *Sed cederem tibi, si scriptura "pastoris", quae sola moechos amat, diuino instrumento meruisset incidi, si non ab omni concilio ecclesiarum, etiam uestrarum, inter apocrypha et falsa iudicaretur.*

⁷⁵ Carl August Credner, *Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanon* (G. Volkmar, 1860), 171–74, 364–66.

⁷⁶ *Satis haec de prophetico instrumento. Ad euangelicum nunc prouoco.*

⁷⁷ *Quam christus ediderit resurrectionem, apostolica quoque instrumenta testantur.*

⁷⁸ Hermann Rönsch, ed., *Das Neue Testament Tertullian's* (Leipzig: Fues, 1871), 291.

⁷⁹ *Apostolus* used in the singular in Tertullian's writings consistently refers to Paul. Cf. Tertullian's use of *apostolus* in Chapter 5's references to the following Pauline writings: Rom 1:3–4; 13:3–4; 1Cor 9:25; 10:19–20; 11:5; Eph 1:9–10; Phil 1:23; 1Tim 1:20; 3:1; and 3:2.

⁸⁰ *At ubi iam nationes praeconium resurrectionis inauditae retro ipsa nouitate concussit et digna incredulitas rei tantae quaestionibus fidem torquere coepit, tunc et apostolus per totum paene instrumentum fidem huius spei corroborare curauit ... Nihil autem mirum, si et ex ipsius instrumento argumenta captantur, cum oporteat haereses esse; quae esse non possent, si non et perperam scripturae intellegi possent. Nanta denique haereses duos homines ab apostolo editos...* Rönsch, *Das NT Tertullian's*, 316–20.

⁸¹ *Et tamen sciunt potuisse, si instrumentum iohannis norunt.*

⁸² Rönsch, *Das NT Tertullian's*, 528–530.

“canon” these may also give further evidence of the materiality of the formats of Tertullian’s biblical writings.

Harnack has argued that Tertullian knew the so-called Alexandrian canon of the OT which includes the Apocrypha and almost all of the books in the NT today, except 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, and James.⁸³ He reasoned from a reading of *Scorpiace* 12 that Tertullian should have used James. Tertullian mentions that of all people, those whom were shown the Lord’s glory – Peter, John, James, and then Paul – should know best. Tertullian then proceeds to quote Peter, John, and Paul extensively in that order. Harnack therefore concludes that Tertullian must not have known James’ epistle. He also pointed to Rönsch to show that Tertullian had never referenced these works.⁸⁴ Mark Frisius has recently come to the same conclusion after a fresh examination of the evidence.⁸⁵

3.3.3 Tertullian’s Knowledge of Textual Variants

Another area of exploration related to Tertullian’s material use of the Bible is his awareness of textual variants in his copies of NT writings. This section will highlight first Tertullian’s general statements concerning textual variation. There are several places where Tertullian wrestles with Marcion over textual issues, including what books he had in his NT, the titles for some of those books (Marcion had Laodiceans instead of Ephesians), and a number of places where Tertullian alleges that Marcion left out key words or phrases from the NT text to suit his theological program.⁸⁶ These issues have been extensively discussed elsewhere and are

⁸³ von Harnack, “Tertullians Bibliothek,” 304.

⁸⁴ Ibid., n. 4.

⁸⁵ Mark A. Frisius, *Tertullian’s Use of the Pastoral Epistles, Hebrews, James, 1 and 2 Peter, and Jude*, Studies in Biblical Literature, v. 143 (New York: P. Lang, 2011), 10–20.

⁸⁶ For a brief discussion of the title of Ephesians/Laodiceans, cf. Donaldson, “Explicit References”, vol. 2, 565–67.

thus not treated exhaustively again here.⁸⁷ Amy Donaldson's recent work on the knowledge of variant readings in early Christian writers provides only two brief mentions of Tertullian. The first is when Ambrosiaster names Tertullian and his text of Romans 5:14 and its variant. While it is interesting to note that Ambrosiaster was already checking early Christian writers in order to understand textual variants among their writings in addition to NT manuscripts, this is outside the scope of the present section.⁸⁸ The second example, which is of more use to this study, is Tertullian's discussion of Ephesians 1:1 and the locative title of that Epistle, whether it was originally written to the Ephesians or Laodiceans. Donaldson states that "Tertullian does not dwell on the title but the content of the text that follows."⁸⁹

One place where Tertullian may be discussing textual variation is at *Apologeticum* 47.3.⁹⁰ The rhetorical goal of the section seems to be to demonstrate that the Scriptures, particularly the Jewish Scriptures which the Christians are using, are more ancient than the teachings of the philosophers. If the philosophers found anything in the *diuinae litteraturae* which they did not like, Tertullian says they turned it around (*uerterunt*). This sounds like a hermeneutical change. Tertullian goes on to say, however, that they also re-wrote (*interpolaerent*) things, and the referent must be the *diuinae litteraturae* mentioned at the beginning of the section.⁹¹ Further light is shed

⁸⁷ Ulrich Schmid, *Marcion und Sein Apostolos: Rekonstruktion und historische Einordnung der Marcionitischen Paulsbriefausgabe* (Berlin; New York: de Gruyter, 1995); Dieter T. Roth, *The Text of Marcion's Gospel* (Boston: Brill, 2015); Judith Lieu, *Marcion and the Making of a Heretic: God and Scripture in the Second Century* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2015); *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum / Journal of Ancient Christianity* 21, no. 1 (2017): 1–163.

⁸⁸ Amy M. Donaldson, "Explicit References to New Testament Variant Readings among Greek and Latin Church Fathers" (University Of Notre Dame, 2009), <https://curate.nd.edu/show/5712m615k50>, vol. 1, 138, 210, 252; vol. 2, 453–55.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, 501–02, 566–67, 589, 593, 612.

⁹⁰ *Adhuc enim mihi proficit antiquitas praestructa diuinae litteraturae, quo facile credatur, thesaurum eam fuisse posteriori cuique sapientiae... Dum ad nostra conantur et homines gloriae, ut diximus, et eloquentiae solius libidinosi, si quid in sanctis offenderunt digestis pro instituto curiositatis, ad propria opera uerterunt, neque satis credentes diuina esse, quo minus interpolaerent neque satis intellegentes, ut adhuc tunc subnubila, etiam ipsis iudaeis obumbrata, quorum propria uidebantur.*

⁹¹ Alexander Souter translated *Dum ad nostra...uidebantur* thus: "While they are striving to imitate our doctrines, being both greedy as men with a lust, as we have said, of fame and of eloquence only, anything they took offence at

on Tertullian's use of the word *interpolare* in *De praescriptione haereticorum* 38.⁹² There Tertullian starts the paragraph arguing that heretics adulterate both the Scriptures and their exposition.⁹³ A few sentences later Tertullian asserts that Christians have their beginning from the Scriptures, prior to their interpolation by the heretics.⁹⁴ Further, Tertullian argues that it is unbelievable that Christians would have introduced adulterations into their own Scriptures.⁹⁵ Finally, Tertullian is aware of both physical interpolations of the text of the Scriptures as well as metaphorical interpolations of the exposition of the Scriptures when he says in *De praescriptione haereticorum* 38.7: *Alius manu scripturas, alius sensus expositione interuertit*. He explains that there are concrete examples of each with Marcion guilty of the first, while Valentinus was guilty of the second.⁹⁶ The changes that Tertullian has in mind may be primarily the places where Marcion eliminated a book or a phrase rather than writing something different because he says that Marcion made his changes with the sword (*machaera*) not the pen (*non stilo*).

in the holy scriptures, such is their inquisitiveness, they have at once rewritten it to suit their own fancy, neither sufficiently believing their divine character, which would prevent them from garbling them, nor yet sufficiently understanding them, as being even then somewhat obscure, and darkened even to the Jews themselves, whose property they were believed to be." John E. B. Mayor, *Q. Septimi Florentis Tertulliani Apologeticus*, ed. Franz Oehler, trans. Alexander Souter (Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1917), 133. That *interpolare* can mean to rewrite or change the lettering, cf. Cicero, Verr., 1.158: *Hoc modo iste sibi et saluti suae prospicere didicit, referendo in tabulas et privatas et publicas quod gestum non esset, tollendo quod esset, et semper aliquid demendo, mutando, interpolando*.

⁹² Braun discusses briefly the metaphorical phrase *interpolator ueritatis* as a reference to Satan in a number of places in Tertullian's writings, but none of these seem to discuss writings as the subject of the interpolation. Braun, *Deus Christianorum*, 33, 393.

⁹³ *Illic igitur et scripturarum et expositionum adulteratio deputanda est ubi doctrinae diuersitas inuenitur*.

⁹⁴ *Quod sumus, hoc sunt scripturae ab initio suo. Ex illis sumus, antequam nihil aliter fuit quam sumus; quid denique fuit, antequam a uobis interpolarentur?*

⁹⁵ *Tam incredibile est sapienti cuique ut nos adulterum stilum intulisse uideamur scripturis qui sumus et primi et ex ipsis*.

⁹⁶ *Neque enim si valentinus integro instrumento uti uidetur, non callidior ingenio quam marcion manus intulit ueritati. Marcion enim exerte et palam machaera, non stilo usus est, quoniam ad materiam suam caedem scripturarum confecit*.

3.4 Tertullian the Exegete

Waszink argued in his study of Tertullian's exegesis that it could not benefit from other hermeneutical studies like detailed commentaries on Vergil and Cicero.⁹⁷ Instead, it appears that Tertullian depended on his rhetorical and juridical training. A primary influence on Tertullian's methods was Quintilian's *Institutio oratorio*, according to Waszink.⁹⁸ As noted earlier with Tertullian's use of *instrumentum* as a legal term referring to the Scriptures, Waszink also noted the importance of the legal nature of the expression *testimonium Sacrae Scripturae* in Tertullian's works. Other terms like *praescriptio*, *status*, and *regula* also demonstrate the legal nature of the Scriptures.

In the introduction, it was suggested that Tertullian may have certain affinities with Origen in how he treated the Scriptures. Origen is well-known for his allegorical interpretation of the Bible. Bernhard Neuschäfer's study of Origen takes up as his main interlocutor Hanson's study *Allegory and Event. A Study of the Sources and Significance of Origen's Interpretation of Scripture* and points out that an allegorical approach to the Scriptures and a speculative dogmatics are almost inseparably intertwined.⁹⁹ He states that Origen's allegorical-speculative hermeneutic was adopted from Stoic- and Pythagorean-influenced pagan exegesis of Homer and needs no further clarification. Neuschäfer's primary contribution was to investigate the literary

⁹⁷ J. H. Waszink, "Tertullian's Principles and Methods of Exegesis" in *Early Christian Literature and the Classical Intellectual Tradition: In Honorem Robert M. Grant*, Robert Louis Wilken, William R. Schoedel, and Robert M. Grant, eds., *Théologie Historique* 53 (Paris: Editions Beauchesne, 1979), 17–31.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁹⁹ "Allegory and Event. A Study of the Sources and Significance of Origen's Interpretation of Scripture" wurde darum immer wieder darauf hingewiesen, dass eine allegorisch betriebene Schriftauslegung und eine spekulativ verfahrenende Dogmatik deswegen fast ineinander übergehen, weil die Allegorese das Hineintragen der Spekulation in die Schrift und das Herauslesen der Spekulation aus der Schrift zum Zweck der dogmatischen Darlegung garantiert." Bernhard Neuschäfer, *Origenes als Philologe*, Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft, Heft 18/1–2 (Basel: Friedrich Reinhardt Verlag, 1987), 316 n. 20.

critical and philological methods of Origen as adopted from his pagan contemporaries.¹⁰⁰ He then proceeds to study Origen's commentary prologues in comparison to similar pagan works, Origen's text-critical work in the Hexapla and his commentaries in comparison to pagan philology, and Origen's exegetical methodology with similar comparison to cultural practices. Neuschäfer's exploration of the Hellenistic origins of Origen's allegorizing prompts a similar investigation below of the origins of Tertullian's own allegorical interpretations of the Bible.

Hanson wrote a brief article on Tertullian's use of and attitudes toward allegory. He notes Tertullian's reference to Galatians 4:24 (the only use of ἀλληγορέω in the NT) in *Adversus Marcionem* 5.4.8. Tertullian's reference is *quae sunt allegorica* which is then glossed in his own words with the phrase *id est aliud portendentia*.¹⁰¹ This initial confirmation of allegory and particularly its meaning as connected to prophecy and fulfillment (*portendentia*) is seen as possibly stemming from Heraclitus, *Quaestiones Homericae* 22. The origin of Tertullian's use of allegory will become increasingly important throughout this section.

The other uses of figural exegesis which Hanson notes are Tertullian's remarks in *Marc* 3.5.2–3 in which prophets use enigmas, allegories, and parables as in Joel 3:18; Exod. 3:8; Isa. 41:19, 43:20; Eph. 5:31–32; and Gal. 4:22–25. These Hanson reduces, however, to mere metaphors as opposed to the allegorical exegesis of Philo. Hanson argues in the rest of his article that Tertullian's "writings leave a general impression that he was suspicious of allegory."¹⁰² Hanson then alleges that Tertullian's resistance to "Gnostic allegory" amounts to personal preference. "Gnostic allegory impressed him as dangerous more strongly than Christian allegory struck him as felicitous. Several times he recognizes the possibility of allegorizing a passage but

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 30.

¹⁰¹ R. P. C. Hanson, "Notes on Tertullian's Interpretation of Scripture," *The Journal of Theological Studies* 12, no. 2 (1961): 273.

¹⁰² Ibid., 274.

prefers instead the literal sense.”¹⁰³ A more robust understanding of Tertullian’s use of allegorical interpretation of the Bible is needed which is not so marked by the researcher’s own bias.¹⁰⁴

O’Malley investigated Tertullian’s exegesis through his use of the following terms to explain such: *aenigma*, *allegoria*, *figura*, *portendere*, and *simplicitas*. He argues that Tertullian’s use of these come not from his rhetorical training or from the wider Greco-Roman culture but rather from Paul and thus from the Scriptures themselves.¹⁰⁵ He goes on to argue that “allegory terminology” is not used as often as *figura* and *figurate*. It should be noted, however, the prevalence of the words *allegoria* and *figura* in Tertullian (33 times and 154 times, respectively) are similar to those found in Cicero (0, 84), Varro (0, 36), and Quintilian (13, 156).¹⁰⁶ In fact, Tertullian is the only author of the second and third centuries that appears to have used the word, preceded only by Quintilian’s 13 uses of the term in the first century. Cicero uses the word *ἀλληγορία* as a code-switch written in Greek characters in *De oratore* 27.¹⁰⁷ There, Cicero argues against the use of the word *ἀλληγορίαν*, preferring instead Aristotle’s more general terminology of “translation” (*tralatio*). The only other time Cicero appears to use this Greek term is in another code-switch to Atticus in which he says he will henceforth obscure his letters with allegories.¹⁰⁸ It is thus possible that Tertullian’s preference for terms other than *allegoria* to refer

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ “Hitherto we have had much reason to respect and even to agree with Tertullian’s handling of the place of the law of the Old Testament in the life of the Christian. It may not have been original or brilliant, but it was founded on good sense and good feeling. Unfortunately, Tertullian did make one innovation in his treatment of this subject, and that a deplorable one.” Ibid., 278–79.

¹⁰⁵ “It is interesting to note that *aenigma*, *allegoria*, *figura*, and *simplicitas*, all have relations with the language of rhetoric. But the origin of the terms is not to be sought there. This is most evident for *figura*, which, following his predecessors, Tertullian roots in Paul.” O’Malley, *Tertullian and the Bible*, 172.

¹⁰⁶ Based on searches in each of the authors for *allegor** and *figur** in LLT (November 2018).

¹⁰⁷ *Iam cum fluxerunt continuae plures tralationes, alia plane fit oratio; itaque genus hoc Graeci appellant ἀλληγορίαν: nomine recte, genere melius ille qui ista omnia tralationes vocat.* Cicero, *De oratore* 27 (94).

¹⁰⁸ *De re <publica> breviter ad te scribam; iam enim charta ipsa ne nos prodat pertimesco. itaque posthac, si erunt mihi plura ad te scribenda, ἀλληγορίαις obscurabo.* Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum* 40 (II.20)

to figural exegesis stems more from his rhetorical education as discussed in the previous chapter than for purely theological reasons.

O'Malley, depending on Henri de Lubac, argues that Tertullian's allegorizing stems from the Apostle Paul's use of the word ἀλληγορούμενα in Gal. 4:24.¹⁰⁹ De Lubac had argued, "it is sufficient to read a certain number of texts from the two originators, which here are Tertullian and Origen, to guarantee that, in word and deed, Christian allegory comes from Saint Paul."¹¹⁰ To illustrate his argument, de Lubac noted Tertullian's reference to this passage in *Aduersus Marcionem* 5.4.8, 5.18.5, and 3.5.4 in order to demonstrate an origin from Paul. It is not surprising that Tertullian's use of *allegoria* specifically in *Aduersus Marcionem* 5.4.8 would seek to explain the concept through Paul's own usage. Tertullian, after all, explicitly chose this as his methodology in his argument against Marcion: *probauimus nec a Christo, ex ipsis utique epistolis Pauli*. The use of the word in 5.18.5 is similar. Whether Tertullian's allegorical interpretation throughout his entire corpus originates exclusively from Paul, however, deserves further investigation.

The use of allegory in *Aduersus Marcionem* 3.5.4 begins to present problems for O'Malley and de Lubac's argument. At the beginning of the chapter, Tertullian proposes to give some preliminary remarks on how to interpret the Scriptures. The main point of his contention against Marcion is summarized thus: *Secundum eas enim probaturus christum creatoris fuisse, ut postea christo suo adimpletas, necesse habeo ipsarum quoque scripturarum formam*. In order to defend Christ's relationship to the Creator, he proposes to explain the *formam* of the Scriptures. He thus lays out two principles for understanding prophetic statements: *Duas itaque causas*

¹⁰⁹ O'Malley, *Tertullian and the Bible*, 149.

¹¹⁰ Henri de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis: The Four Senses of Scripture*, trans. E. M. Macierowski, vol. 2, Ressourcement (Grand Rapids, Mich; Edinburgh: W.B. Eerdmans; T&T Clark, 1998), 4–5.

prophetici eloquii adlego agnoscendas abhinc aduersariis nostris: unam, qua futura interdum pro iam transactis enuntiantur. This announcement of future events is a literal foretelling, even if it is not clear in the prophet that these events would literally happen to the Christ. Erich Auerbach calls this approach to interpretation in Tertullian “figural realism” or the approach to figures as foretellings of future events.¹¹¹ The second principle is based on a non-literal trope in the Scriptures: *Alia species erit, qua pleraque figurate portenduntur per aenigmata et allegorias et parabolas, aliter intellegenda quam scripta sunt.* Here, Tertullian strings together four similar words to describe portions of Scripture which require non-literal interpretation to demonstrate the Christ’s relationship to the Creator: *figura, aenigma, allegoria, parabola.*¹¹² Where do these terms come from and where did Tertullian learn to use them as synonyms?

It might be possible to argue with O’Malley and de Lubac, that Tertullian has borrowed *allegoria* from Paul or at least from the NT because this Latin word is itself a true borrowing from the Greek. It has already been established that Tertullian knew of Paul’s use of the word. This does not necessarily mean that Tertullian coined the borrowing. It was noted above that Quintilian was the first Latin writer prior to Tertullian to use the Latin borrowing. It will be demonstrated below that Tertullian must have been dependent on Quintilian for his use of these rhetorical terms.

¹¹¹ Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, 1st Princeton paperback ed (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1968), 196.

¹¹² Prior to this, Tertullian had also used this complex in *Scorpiace* 11.3–4: *etiam in parabola seminis post cespitem arefacti persecutionum figurat ardorem. Haec si non ita accipiuntur, quemadmodum pronuntiantur, sine dubio praeter quam sonant sapiunt, et aliud in uocibus erit, aliud in sensibus, ut allegoriae, ut parabola, ut aenigmata.* Here in this exegetical example the four words are strung together and assigned to a similar category of speech. Tertullian argued similarly earlier in *De resurrectione mortuorum* 20.6: *Quae hic figurae apud esaiam, quae imagines apud dauid, quae aenigmata apud hieremiam, ne uirtutes quidem eius per parabolas profatos?* Though he does not use *allegoria* here, the other three terms are represented and used essentially as synonyms in that they are all non-literal. Later in *De resurrectione mortuorum* 31, however, he uses *allegoria* adverbally along with *figura* and *parabola* again synonymously.

It might also be possible to agree with O'Malley and de Lubac on the Pauline or at least biblical origin of *aenigma* and *parabola* since these are also Latin borrowings of Greek words found in the Bible. The former's Greek original (αἰνιγμα) is used by Paul in 1Co 13:12. Tertullian makes reference to this passage using *aenigma* in *Aduersus Praxean* 14 and 16.¹¹³ The latter word's borrowing from the Greek (παραβολή) is not used in Paul but heavily in the Synoptics and occasionally in Hebrews at 9:9 and 11:19. The way in which Tertullian uses *figura* to refer to rhetorical tropes is rather a semantic extension which was previously used to refer to the body but becomes connected to σχῆμα as a rhetorical term.¹¹⁴ Cicero and Quintilian also precede Tertullian's use of *figura* in this way. O'Malley's conclusion that Tertullian is innovative in using *aenigma*, *allegoria*, and *parabola* as a "complex of terms to describe prophetic language" has now been called into question.¹¹⁵ Rather than producing an innovative set of Latin terms to describe non-literal language, it appears rather that Tertullian borrowed the use of such terms from his rhetorical training and used them to interpret biblical passages.

Further evidence can be deduced that this is the case beyond the origins of these four Latin expressions for non-literal language. As noted above, Tertullian grouped non-literal terms together either as synonyms or at least as similar terms in *Scorpiace* 11.3–4, *De resurrectione mortuorum* 20.6 and 31, and *Aduersus Marcionem* 3.5.4. Nowhere in the Scriptures are these terms grouped together to explain non-literal language. Instead, this listing of Tertullian appears also to stem from his Greco-Roman rhetorical training.

Quintilian used the words *allegoria* and *aenigma* as similar terms for metaphorical language in *Institutio Oratoria* 8.6.14: *Ut modicus autem atque opportunus eius (tralationis)*

¹¹³ Cf appendix.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Braun, *Deus Christianorum*, 402–04.

¹¹⁵ O'Malley, *Tertullian and the Bible*, 161.

usus inlustrat orationem, ita frequens et obscurat et taedio complet, continuus vero in allegoriam et aenigmata exit. Perhaps it is more accurate to say that Quintilian sees *aenigma* as a particular kind of *allegoria*: *sed allegoria, quae est obscurior, aenigma dicitur*.¹¹⁶ An enigma is described as an obscure allegory. It seems that Quintilian further sees *allegoria* as a particular type of *figura* as he seems to say in *Institutio Oratoria* 9.2.92–93: *totum autem allegoriae simile est, aliud dicere, aliud intellegi velle. Quaesitum etiam est, quo modo responderi contra figuras oporteret*. It seems that this listing of the words begins with *figura* as the overarching category under which come figural tropes like *allegoria*, *aenigma*, and *parabola*. This hierarchy of figures must come from Cicero and Quintilian rather than from Paul.

Here, then, is another example of Tertullian’s use of Greco-Roman literary and rhetorical strategies which aid him in interpreting the Scriptures. Erich Auerbach’s detailed study of Tertullian’s uses of *figura* demonstrated frequent but principled uses of the term to explain the contents of the Scriptures.¹¹⁷ While Tertullian uses the term to describe events in the OT, Auerbach notes that “Tertullian expressly denied that the literal and historical validity of the Old Testament was diminished by the figural interpretation”.¹¹⁸ The same can be said of his uses of the term in connection with the NT. Neither the Virgin’s pregnancy, the incarnational birth, the resurrection, nor the Eucharistic body and blood were taken to be imaginary or symbolic. Rather they were embodied, real fulfillments of figures.¹¹⁹ It seems, moreover, that Tertullian is neither for nor against allegory as such. Geoffrey Dunn has recently demonstrated that Tertullian employs this hermeneutical strategy when it is necessary for his rhetorical argument. If the

¹¹⁶ Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 8.6.52.

¹¹⁷ Erich Auerbach, “Figura,” in *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature*, ed. Paolo Valesio, (Minneapolis: Univ Of Minnesota Press, 1984), 28–34.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 30.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 31–32.

opponent used a literal interpretation, Tertullian would use allegory and vice versa.¹²⁰ Like any good rhetor, then, Tertullian appears to employ figural readings as needed.

Another Greco-Roman literary strategy that Tertullian brought to his study of the Bible was the use of *clausulae*. In the previous chapter, it was noted that Tertullian made use of this rhythmic device in his general writings to demonstrate his literary ambitions, but O'Malley has noted that there is even extensive use of them in connection with Tertullian's use of the Bible. He mentions the following examples: *De oratione* 8.6; *Ad uxorem* 2.2.3; *Aduersus Marcionem* 5.7.14; 5.11.11, 12; 5.14.14; *De resurrectione mortuorum* 30.10; 43.9; 44.10; *De idololatria* 4.4; *De pudicitia* 8.8; 14.13; 19.27.¹²¹ O'Malley lists these as evidence of the "meeting of two sources, the classical and the biblical" in Tertullian but gives more weight to the biblical ("the biblical origin and field of meaning is dominant").¹²²

Finally, in *Aduersus Marcionem* 3.15.3–4 Tertullian employs a Greek literary term to describe the error of Marcion in his use of divine titles.¹²³ Catachresis, he explains, is when a term is applied to a subject to which it does not belong. He explicitly notes that this is a Greek term and uses wording similar to that of Cicero and Quintilian to explain the word.¹²⁴

In this chapter, Tertullian's use of the Bible has been presented. It has been argued that Tertullian drew heavily on his Greco-Roman rhetorical training in order to use the Bible in particular ways and to argue for its particular interpretation. Examples were given of Tertullian's attitudes to the Scriptures, his use of the Bible as a material object, including the format of his

¹²⁰ Geoffrey D. Dunn, "Tertullian and Military Service: The Scriptural Arguments in *De Corona*," in *Sacred Scripture and Secular Struggles*, ed. David Vincent Meconi, *The Bible in Ancient Christianity*, volume 9 (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2015), 88.

¹²¹ O'Malley, *Tertullian and the Bible*, 139.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 140.

¹²³ *Nullus enim status differentiarum non nisi proprietatibus appellationum consignatur. Quibus deficientibus, si quando, nunc graeca catachresis de alieno abutendo succurrit.* TE Marc 3.15.3–4.

¹²⁴ Cicero, *De Oratore* 27.94; Quintilian, *De Institutio Oratore* 8.2.6.

Biblical writings, his awareness of canonical issues and his awareness of Textual variation.

Finally, Tertullian's exegesis was examined and shown to have employed figural and allegorical readings of the Bible in accord with his rhetorical training.

CHAPTER FOUR

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NT TEXT IN TERTULLIAN'S WORKS

4.1 Introduction

Having summarized the research question, reviewed previous literature, and discussed pertinent background questions concerning Tertullian's use of language and the Bible, this chapter begins to present the fresh collection of data undertaken for this study. Before Tertullian's individual biblical references are analyzed in Chapter Five, this chapter explores the context of these references within each of his 31 works. At the end of this chapter, the reader will have a greater awareness of the complexities surrounding the evidence of biblical references within a Christian writer. The reader will also emerge with a broad overview of how Tertullian used the NT writings outside the Gospels throughout his writing career. Before each of these 31 works and their biblical references can be explored. There are, however, a few introductory issues to discuss.

First, the methodology for the fresh collection of data must be explained and defended. Next, a variety of sources for identifying Tertullian's biblical references will be given. There follows a brief explanation of the appendix which contains each of these references, in case the reader wants to consult it throughout the chapter. Three cautions will then be offered concerning the quantitative use of this data. These cautions will help the reader to make the best use possible of the material presented.

After these introductory issues, a brief description will be given of each of Tertullian's 31 works (subdivided into his earliest, middle career, and later Montanist writings, 4.2, 4.3, and 4.4, respectively). These descriptions will include first the date and genre of the work. This will help

to show how Tertullian used the biblical text during the course of his career and why he used certain NT books for differing themes. Next, the textual history of each work will be presented in order to ensure that the text of Tertullian's biblical references were not contaminated during the process of being copied. Tertullian's sources (biblical books, other Christians and pagan authors) which were used in the composition of each work will then be presented. Finally, for each of Tertullian's works a table will present the number of references to each NT work outside the Gospels.

4.1.1 Methodology for Collecting References

Prior to collecting data, a methodology had to be established for what would be worth collecting. A broad and all-encompassing approach was needed in order that any possible data which had been considered in the past might be considered for this study. Jennifer Strawbridge has recently developed and discussed such a methodology for collecting and analyzing biblical material in early Christian authors.¹ Instead of the traditional terminology of citation, adaptation, and allusion as developed by Fee for the purposes of textual criticism,² or that of echoes as developed by Hays,³ Strawbridge developed three categories: reference, possible reference, and reference not found. She defines a reference as any combination of words from a few to a couple sentences in which the author signals in some way that they have lifted these words from another

¹ Some of this material has been borrowed and adapted from my earlier study of Tertullian's Pauline references in his apologetic writings. Benjamin Haupt, "Tertullian the Apologist and Paul" in *The Apologists and Paul*, ed. Todd Still and David Wilhite (Bloomsbury T & T Clark: New York, forthcoming). Strawbridge, *The Pauline Effect*, 18–22, 182–85. Stuart Parsons' study of Theophilus' apologetic exegesis argues for a similarly expansive approach to identifying biblical material within early Christian writings. Stuart E. Parsons, *Ancient Apologetic Exegesis: Introducing and Recovering Theophilus's World* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: James Clarke & Co, 2015).

² Gordon D. Fee and Roderic L. Mullen, "The Use of the Greek Fathers for New Testament Textual Criticism," in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research*, eds. Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes (Brill, 2012), 351–73.

³ Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 14–33 and Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels* (Waco, Texas: Baylor University Press, 2016), 10.

text. They need not be verbatim as was the case for the modernist category of citation.

Strawbridge's categories allow us to take into account the distinctly ancient way of using and recapitulating texts without modern conceptions of verbatim citation or consistent methods of making attribution to the original author or source.

In order to steer clear of the hermeneutical problems of authorial intentionality, Strawbridge also follows Candida Moss' suggestion that a reference must at least be discernible to the reader – be they ancient or modern.⁴ If so, such references merit interpretation. Michael Holmes' essay "Intertextual Death: Socrates, Jesus, and Polycarp of Smyrna" signals the challenge of the enterprise of determining intertextuality in ancient texts.⁵ On one side of the debate is the more traditional author-centered, diachronic approach. The other is the postmodern reader-centered, synchronic approach. Holmes suggests that we understand each approach as different rather than somehow in competition with each other. The critique of both approaches is that they tend toward hegemony over against the opposite approach. Though Holmes acknowledges his bias for the first approach over the second, he holds the other approach in high respect as an important voice at the table with which to continue dialogue. Following Moss and Holmes, evidence for this particular study has been gathered not only from Tertullian's explicitly-stated citations but also from those identified in modern secondary literature.⁶

⁴ Candida R. Moss, *The Other Christs: Imitating Jesus in Ancient Christian Ideologies of Martyrdom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 205n11.

⁵ Michael W. Holmes author, "Intertextual Death: Socrates, Jesus, and Polycarp of Smyrna," in *Intertextuality in the Second Century*, *The Bible in Ancient Christianity* (The Netherlands: Brill, 2016), 51–61.

⁶ See also Steven R Harmon, "A Note on the Critical Use of Instrumenta for the Retrieval of Patristic Biblical Exegesis," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 11, no. 1 (2003): 95–107.

4.1.2 Sources for Identifying References

Once a broad methodology was established which would enable the collection of a maximal amount of data, the next step in collecting the data was to identify all known references of Tertullian to the New Testament writings outside the Gospels.⁷ In order to identify these references, several independent lists were consulted. Particular disciplines have in the last several decades developed separate indices of references to the Bible in early Christian writers. The foundation of the data collection was a spreadsheet of all such references which had been collected for the *Biblia Patristica* project, now known online as *Biblindex*. This has been used most heavily by scholars interested in the reception of the Bible. Another source for collecting data which often differed from that of *Biblia Patristica* was the commentary genre. Commentaries have been written for most of Tertullian's writings, and some works have had multiple commentators. Because of the close readings necessitated by commentary work, a number of what might have in the past been called allusions or even echoes were noted. Some commentators were cognizant of the intertextual relationships between Tertullian and the Bible and thus supplied never before noticed biblical references. Additionally, the editors of the critical edition of Tertullian's works in the *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* produced Scriptural indices. Again because of the close readings required of textual editors, the indices produced through their editorial work produced a number of unique references which had not been noticed elsewhere. Finally, a source sometimes neglected among scholars of early Christianity and Biblical reception but nevertheless of prime importance was the *Vetus Latina* editions which have already been created for a good portion of the NT (as noted in Chapter One).⁸ When an

⁷ For a comprehensive overview of sources for the text of the Latin NT, cf. Houghton, *The Latin New Testament*, 113–42.

⁸ *Vetus Latina: die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel nach Petrus Sabatier neu gesammelt und herausgegeben von der Erzabtei Beuron* (Freiburg: Herder, 1949–).

edition had not yet been created, for example the edition of Acts, then the *Vetus Latina* database itself was consulted.⁹ The monks of Beuron were comprehensive in their collection of data, and this study is richer because of their work. Because of the *Vetus Latina* editors' special attention not only to biblical references but particularly to references with alternative readings, the collection of Tertullian material was especially valuable. Finally, Rönsch's previous study of Tertullian's Text of the NT was consulted.¹⁰

4.1.3 Explanation of Appendix

In the appendix, the data collection is presented. Column B gives the secondary source of the biblical reference. Those entries with numbers in column B come from the *Bibindex* database. Otherwise, the author or edition name is given for the source of the reference. Looking to these additional sources beyond *Bibindex* provided almost one thousand additional references. The collation of evidence for this study presents 3,340 total references by Tertullian to the NT writings outside the Gospels. Columns A, C, D, and E give the title of Tertullian's work, the book (if applicable), the chapter, and paragraph according to these divisions in the *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* edition. Columns F and G give the page and line numbers from the same edition. The tabs at the bottom and columns H and I give the biblical book, chapter, and verse of the biblical reference. Column J presents the text of Tertullian's biblical reference or the location where this text can be found in the ITSEE Citation Database.¹¹ Column K presents the Strawbridge classification for the reference when assigned. Parallels to other biblical passages

⁹ <http://apps.brepolis.net/vld/Default.aspx> (subscription required)

¹⁰ Rönsch, *Das NT Tertullian's*.

¹¹ Some of the initial data for this study was entered into the database by me. Other data, especially many of the references to Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, were entered by the ITSEE team. Each of these references was, however, examined by me during the course of data collection and sometimes edited as noted in the database.

<http://www.itsee.birmingham.ac.uk/citations/>

are noted in column L. Finally, column M includes any pertinent notes, including occasional justifications for classifying the reference according to Strawbridge's scheme.

Once the data had been collected, another category in addition to Strawbridge's three categories became necessary. "Potential reference" is used in this chapter to discuss the sum total of the data collected. By looking at the sum total of the data and also how it is spread out through Tertullian's 31 works, the reader gets a general sense for how Tertullian used the Bible. Each of Tertullian's works below includes a chart which presents all potential references in that work to each NT writing outside the Gospels. It may be interesting to know how Tertullian's use of the NT changed over the course of his career. For example, by comparing the incidence of Scriptural reference in his later Montanist works to his earlier works, one can see that Tertullian's reference to the NT did not decrease during his Montanist phase. This corroborates Rankin's argument that the Scriptures did not become less important as Tertullian's career advanced.¹² In fact, even with Tertullian's increasing involvement in Montanism, one can observe that his reference to the NT seems to steadily climb throughout his career.

4.1.4 Cautions for Using the Appendix and Data Tables

There are a few cautions to using this data. First, each time a reference was made to the Scriptures in Tertullian's writing, a reference was noted. Sometimes one paragraph in Tertullian's writing can reference the same verse three times, but in each place it is making reference to different portions of the verse. This has resulted not in one reference but three. Having examined the *Bibindex* material extensively, the approach taken in this study seems

¹² David Rankin, *Tertullian and the Church* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 46–47.

consonant with that of the editors of *Bibindex*.¹³ Though this approach inflates the number of references (thus the caution), for the sake of careful examination of individual references and the particular wording and syntax in each discrete location, it was important to collect the material in this way.

Second, some of these potential references have been analyzed and identified in the appendix as reference not found, hereafter RNF. The most typical reason for moving a reference to RNF status was an argument from the context which suggested a different NT reference than the one given. It was not the aim of this study to classify every potential reference into one of Strawbridge's three categories. In examining each potential reference in its context, however, some were clearly not references to the purported biblical passage. The entries marked RNF were consequently excluded from the textual commentary. They are still included, however, in the presentation of the data in the Appendix.

Third, the textual history of Tertullian's own writings complicates the preservation of his biblical text. Scholars have long been aware of the problem of scribes copying works of early Christian writers and occasionally changing the biblical text they found with what they think the text should be. The potential references which are presented quantitatively in this chapter do not yet include examination into this phenomenon. For each of Tertullian's works in this chapter, I will therefore first establish the stability of its text by examining its own textual tradition. When available journal articles describing modern editors' awareness of these issues or disclosing their own practices involving biblical references will be noted. For example, Gryson notes in the listing of Tertullian's works that the biblical citations in *Adversus Iudaeos* are certainly not

¹³ For more on the methodology of the *Bibindex* editors for collecting references, cf. Jean Allénbach, *Étapes, moyens et méthode d'analyse* (Strasbourg: Faculté de théologie protestante, 1967).

genuine.¹⁴ Further information will be taken from Quasten's *Patrology* along with introductions to the *Sources Chrétiennes* volumes and other English language editions.

If the three cautions above raise questions and provoke concern in the reader concerning the data presented in the tables below, this is in one way a welcomed development. "Big data" must be used responsibly and carefully, lest it lead to exaggerations and false certainties. However, the quantitative approach may also yield insights which were not possible prior to such a data collection. The opportunity to see larger themes such as the use of one part of the NT over another or the use of the Bible over the course of time merits the presentation of such data.

4.1.5 The Principal Manuscripts of Tertullian

The manuscript tradition for most of Tertullian's writings is fairly slim. With the exception of the *Apologeticum*, most of the principal manuscripts of Tertullian contain several of his writings. In order to avoid describing each one separately on each occasion, in this section I describe the seven most important witnesses to Tertullian's works. Each manuscript was studied by textual scholars of previous generations for the creation of the critical editions. Such study provided evidence that copyists of some manuscripts corrected Tertullian's biblical references to the Vulgate text. There is also evidence that other copyists worked to revise the Latin they found in the text they were copying. At times, this may have affected the biblical references. A brief description of each manuscript and its known textual issues will be helpful later in this study as

¹⁴ "Mindestens die Bibelzitate sind sicher unecht." Roger Gryson et al., *Répertoire général des auteurs ecclésiastiques latins de l'antiquité et du haut Moyen Âge*, 5th ed. Vetus Latina 1/1 (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 2007), 791.

we explore variant readings of Tertullian's text and their ramifications for Tertullian's biblical quotations.¹⁵

4.1.5.1 Codex Agobardinus (A)

The shelfmark of Codex Agobardinus is Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 1622. It was copied in the ninth century in Lyons for Archbishop Agobard (814–840).¹⁶ Although it is thought to have contained as many as 21 works, only 13 are extant and some only partially: *Ad nationes*, *De praescriptione haereticorum*, *Scorpiace*, *De testimonio animae*, *De corona*, *De spectaculis*, *De idololatria*, *De anima*, *De oratione*, *De cultu feminarum*, *Ad uxorem*, *De exhortatione castitatis*, *De carne Christi*. The first 111 leaves are water damaged on the outer edges, rendering them sometimes illegible.¹⁷ This manuscript is normally given the siglum A in editions of Tertullian.

4.1.5.2 Codex Trecensis (T)

The shelfmark of Codex Trecensis is Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale 523. It was copied in the twelfth century at Clairvaux and is thought to be the best textual witness of the extant manuscripts of Tertullian.¹⁸ The earlier manuscript from which this was copied may have been commissioned in the fifth century by Vincent of Lérins as an attempt to rehabilitate Tertullian's reputation.¹⁹ It only contains five works: *Aduersus Iudaeos*, *De carne Christi*, *De carnis resurrectione* (an alternate title for the work known throughout this study as *De resurrectione*

¹⁵ Here I must acknowledge my debt to Roger Pearse's extensive bibliographic work on Tertullian's manuscripts. <http://www.tertullian.org/manuscripts/> (accessed January 2019).

¹⁶ Johannes Quasten, *Patrology: Volume II, the Ante-Nicene Literature after Irenaeus* (Westminster, Maryland: Christian Classics, 1990), 252.

¹⁷ Klaus Sallmann, ed., *Die Literatur des Umbruchs: Von der römischen zur christlichen Literatur, 117 bis 284 n. Chr.*, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, 8. Abt., 4. Bd (München: C.H. Beck, 1997), 510.

¹⁸ Quasten, *Patrology*, 251.

¹⁹ Ibid.

mortuorum), *De baptismo*, and *De paenitentia*. This manuscript is normally given the siglum T in editions of Tertullian.

Borleffs observed at least one place where the manuscript tradition of this work affected the biblical reference within its text.²⁰ Based on the contextual understanding of Tertullian's use of Mt 3:2 at *De paenitentia* 2.5, Borleffs argued that Tertullian must have written *appropinquabat* (the reading of O and Preuschen's edition²¹) instead of the Latin tradition's *adpropinquauit*. The text of Codex Trecensis presents an interesting reading: *adp(ro)pinquab^{*i}t* (the * denotes that an "a" was erased and an "i" written above in superscript). This may give evidence that the scribe of T copied Tertullian's original *appropinquabat* but then changed it to conform to the Vulgate text.²²

Ernest Evans also noted that the scribe of Trecensis seems to have altered Tertullian's original words when it came to divine titles like *deus* and *dominus*.²³ Tertullian is reported to have been consistent in using *deus* only to refer to the Father and *dominus* only to refer to the Son, but the Trecensis scribe seems to have exchanged these titles in "several instances" according to Evans. Evans further notes that this scribe may have occasionally altered familiar scriptural quotations in *De carne Christi*. Evans also criticized the scribe in his commentary on *De resurrectione* because of the many sentences and clauses omitted due to homoeoteleuton.²⁴

Another example of this can be found in *De baptismo* 3.2 (as discussed below at 4.3.4). There the scribe seems to have including both Tertullian's original reading of Gen 1:1 *in*

²⁰ J. G. Ph. Borleffs, "Observationes Criticae in Tertulliani De paenitentiae libellum," *Mnemosyne* 60, no. 1 (1932): 77–78.

²¹ Tertullian, *De paenitentia; De pudicitia*, ed. Erwin Preuschen (Mohr, 1891), 2, 76.

²² For another example, cf. 4.4.10.

²³ Ernest Evans, *Tertullian's Treatise on the Incarnation* (London: SPCK, 1956), xxxiv.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, *Tertullian's Treatise on the Resurrection: De Resurrectione Carnis Liber* (London: S.P.C.K., 1960), xxxv–xxxvi.

primordio as well as the Vulgate's *in principio*. Yet another example of this appears to concern Tertullian's reference to Eph. 4:22 as discussed in Chapter 5. The scribe's work of correcting to the Vulgate, however, was not consistent. In Chapter 2.5.4, we saw that the Trecensis scribe left *amartiis* at *De Baptismo* 18.2. Nevertheless, these examples present an important conclusion for the evaluation of this manuscript's biblical references. When Trecensis' text aligns with the Vulgate against the readings of other manuscripts or against conjectural emendations, these Trecensis readings should be viewed with skepticism.

4.1.5.3 Codex Ottobonianus (O)

The shelfmark of Codex Ottobonianus is Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. lat. 25. It was copied in the thirteenth or fourteenth century.²⁵ The manuscript was only found in 1946, far later than most other manuscripts of Tertullian.²⁶ It contains portions of *De pudicitia*, *De paenitentia*, *De patientia*, and *De spectaculis* along with works by other authors. This manuscript has some affiliation with Trecensis, but also contains some independent readings.²⁷ It is given the siglum O in editions.

4.1.5.4 Codex Paterniacensis (P)

The shelfmark of Codex Paterniacensis is Sélestat, Bibliothèque humaniste, 88. The textual ancestor of this manuscript are the lost Codices Cluniacenses, believed to have been copied in the sixth century.²⁸ Paterniacensis is an eleventh century copy of this earlier work. The codex includes *De patientia*, *De carne Christi*, *De resurrectione carnis*, *Aduersus Praxean*,

²⁵ For the thirteenth century date, cf. Pierre Petitmengin, "Chronica Tertulliana et Cyprianea, 1997," *Revue d'Etudes Augustiniennes et Patristiques* 44.2 (1998): §11, 315; François Dolbeau, "Chronica Tertulliana et Cyprianea 2004," *Revue d'Etudes Augustiniennes et Patristiques* 51.2 (2005): §16, 386–87; Pierre Petitmengin, "Chronica Tertulliana et Cyprianea 2005," *Revue d'Etudes Augustiniennes et Patristiques* 52.2 (2006): §13, 439. For the fourteenth century, cf. Jan Willem Philip Borleffs, "Un nouveau manuscrit de Tertullien," *Vigiliae Christianae* 5.2 (1951): 65.

²⁶ Jan Willem Philip Borleffs, "Un nouveau manuscrit de Tertullien," *Vigiliae Christianae* 5, no. 2 (1951): 65–79.

²⁷ Quasten, *Patrology*, 253.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 252.

Aduersus Valentinianos, *Aduersus Iudaeos*, *De praescriptione haereticorum*, the now known to be inauthentic *Aduersus omnes haereses*, and *Aduersus Hermogenem*. It is given the siglum P in the editions. However, it should not be confused with the codex Parisinus lat. 1623 which is also given the siglum P but only in the *Apologeticum* which Paterniacensis does not have.

4.1.5.5 Codex Montepessulanus (M)

The shelfmark of Codex Montepessulanus is Montpellier, Bibliothèque de médecine, H. 54. Like Paterniacensis, Montepessulanus originated in the eleventh century from the so-called Corpus Cluniacense.²⁹ Its contents include *De patientia*, *De carne Christi*, *De resurrectione carnis*, *Aduersus Praxean*, *Aduersus Valentinianos*, *Aduersus Marcionem*, and *Apologeticum*. It is given the siglum M in critical editions.

4.1.5.6 Codex Florentinus Magliabechianus (N)

The shelfmark of this codex is Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conventi Soppressi J.6.9. Kroymann argued that this is a copy of M.³⁰ He dated the work to the fifteenth century.³¹ Its contents include *De patientia*, *De carne Christi*, *De resurrectione carnis*, *Aduersus Praxean*, *Aduersus Valentinianos*, *Aduersus Marcionem*, *Apologeticum*, *De fuga*, *Ad Scapulam*, *De corona*, *Ad martyras*, *De paenitentia*, *De uirginibus uelandis*, *De cultu feminarum*, *De exhortatione castitatis*, *Ad uxorem*, *De monogamia*, *De pallio*, *Aduersus Iudaeos*, the inauthentic *Aduersus omnes haereses*, *De praescriptione haereticorum*, and *Aduersus Hermogenem*. It is given the siglum N.

²⁹ Ibid., 252.

³⁰ Emil Kroymann, "Kritische Vorarbeiten für den III. und IV. Band der neuen Tertullian Ausgabe," in *Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-Historischen Klasse der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, vol. 143 (Vienna: In Kommission bei A. Hölder, 1901), 6.

³¹ Ibid., 2.

Claudio Moreschini identified a number of doctrinal changes made by the copyists of F and N but does not mention any scribal influence on Tertullian's biblical references.³² For example, only Codex A retained the Montanist reference at *De exhortatione castitatis* 10.5. Codices F and N evidently removed the last two sentences of the chapter which reference Prisca and her oracle.

4.1.5.7 Codex Florentinus Magliabechianus (F)

The shelfmark of this codex is Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conventi Soppressi J.6.10. It has been dated to the fifteenth century.³³ This codex also stems from Cluny but is somewhat distinct from M and N. It is thought to be a descendant of the now lost Codex Hirsaugiensis.³⁴ The works F contains are the same as N but in a different order.³⁵ It has the siglum F. This should not be confused, however, with Codex Fuldensis, an important witness to *Apologeticum* and *Aduersus Iudaeos* but now lost. Fuldensis is given the siglum F only in *Apologeticum*.

As mentioned above at 4.1.5.6, this manuscript removed discussion of the Montanist oracle Prisca in *De exhortatione castitatis*. Further, Glaue has pointed out that Codex F changed *sermo* (attested by A and N) to *uerbum* at *De cultu feminarum* 2.11.2.³⁶ Because of this now classic example of the differences of the Old Latin New Testament vocabulary between the so-called Western (*uerbum*) and African (*sermo*) versions, this should be enough to caution any use of codex F as a witness to the original Latin of Tertullian's biblical references.

³² Claudio Moreschini, *Tertullien: Exhortation à la chasteté*, trans. Jean Claude Fredouille, Sources chrétiennes, no. 319 (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1985), 53.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid., 6.

³⁵ Ibid., 3.

³⁶ P. Glaue, "Die Vorlesung heiliger Schriften bei Tertullian," *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der Älteren Kirche*, Berlin 23 (January 1, 1924): 146.

4.2 Early Works

4.2.1 Ad nationes (TE nat) 197 [CPL 2]³⁷

This work was written before the *Apologeticum*. Barnes gives it the date of summer 197 for reasons that will become more clear in the discussion of the two following works.³⁸ There is consensus among scholars that this work belongs to the genre of apologetic.³⁹ The work is addressed to the nations, that is, to non-Christians, who are hostile to Christians and have made a number of accusations. Barnes notes that Tertullian's literary sources for this work are Greek apologies, perhaps especially the lost works of Miltiades and Melito.⁴⁰ The text of the two-book work has come down to us exclusively through only one manuscript, Codex Agobardinus.⁴¹ Book Two is particularly difficult to read because of the manuscript's water damage.⁴²

Tertullian uses the words *nostras litteras* to refer to the Scriptures in *Ad nationes*. Here the reference is specifically to the Old Testament, though he uses the same words to describe New Testament writings in other apologetic works. In 2.8.8 he uses this language to refer to the

³⁷ For each of Tertullian's 31 extant writings, the material in parentheses after the title of the work is the author and work abbreviations used throughout the *Vetus Latina* project. Then an approximate date is given for the writing. The material in brackets represents the CPL numbering. Eligius Dekkers and Emil Gaar, *Clavis patrum latinorum: Qua in novum corpus christianorum edendum optimas quasque scriptorum recensiones a Tertulliano ad Bedam*, Editio tertia, Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina (Brepols : Steenbrugis: Editores Pontificii; In Abbatia Sancti Petri, 1995).

³⁸ Barnes, *Tertullian* (1971), 55.

³⁹ Quasten lists the following as apologetic: *Ad nationes*, *Apologeticum*, *Aduersus Iudaeos*, *Ad Scapulam* and *De testimonio animae*. Johannes Quasten, *Patrology : Volume II, the Ante-Nicene Literature after Irenaeus* (Westminster, Maryland : Christian Classics, 1990), 255–69. Barnes, *Tertullian* (1971), 105–114. Thomas identifies these first four (*Apologeticum*, *Ad nationes*, *De testimonio animae*, *Ad Scapulam*) as Tertullian's main apologetic works, along with *De Pallio*, which he acknowledges for its affinity with the apologetic genre but does not treat in his chapter. Nicholas L. Thomas, *Defending Christ: The Latin Apologists before Augustine*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2011, 69. Simon Price lists these five: *Apologeticum*, *Ad nationes*, *De testimonio animae*, *Ad Scapulam*, *De pallio*. Simon Price, "Latin Christian apologetics: Minucius Felix, Tertullian, and Cyprian" in: M. J Edwards et al., *Apologetics in the Roman Empire: Pagans, Jews, and Christians* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 107.

⁴⁰ Barnes, *Tertullian* (1971), 104.

⁴¹ Cf. 4.1.5.1.

⁴² Hermann Tränkle, "Q. Septimius Florens Tertullianus," in *Die Literatur des Umbruchs: Von der römischen zur christlichen Literatur, 117 bis 284 n. Chr.*, ed. Klaus Sallmann, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, 8. Abt., 4. Bd (München: C.H. Beck, 1997), 444.

story of Joseph whom he argues is the same person as the famed Serapis of the Egyptians. There is little other use of the Bible in this work. This should not be surprising because this work in particular was written to non-Christians and does not include a positive demonstration of the Christian faith which would necessitate reference to New Testament writings.⁴³ There is only one reference to the New Testament books outside the Gospels in *Ad nationes* and that is to Acts 17:22–23. There are two possible references to 1 Cor 8:5–6 and a possible reference to Apc 20:12.⁴⁴ Eight references which other scholars had noted as possible references, I have labelled “reference not found” (RNF). For example, a comment in 1.1.7 has been taken to be a potential biblical reference in secondary sources: *multi bona fide, immo iam plures pro extremitatibus temporum*. Biblindex classified this as a reference to 1Tm 4:1. I have, however, classified this as RNF because the phrase *extremitatibus temporum* is a common Latin expression rather than a biblical allusion. Some form of it shows up 23 times in the *Library of Latin Texts* in writers as diverse as Catullus, Julius Caesar, Cornelius Nepos, Cicero, Seneca, and elsewhere in Tertullian (*De paen.* 2; *Adu. Marc.* 5; *De exhortat. cast.* 6; *De mon.* 7).

	Rm	1Cor	2Cor	Gal	Eph	Phil	Col	1Th	2Th	1Tm	2Tm	Tt	Phlm
TE nat	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0

	Act	Hbr	Jac	1Pt	2Pt	1Jo	2Jo	3Jo	Jud	Apc
TE nat	4	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1

4.2.2 Ad martyras (TE mart) 197 [CPL 1]

Nearly all scholars agree that this work preceded *Apologeticum*. Braun summarized the range of dates scholars had assigned to this work from prior to 19 February 197 (Septimius

⁴³ Quasten, *Patrology*, 256.

⁴⁴ Cf discussion in textual commentary.

Severus' defeat of Albinus at the Battle of Lugdunum) to as late as 203. Most of the positions, however, favor an early date; some even hold *Ad martyras* to be the earliest of all Tertullian's works.⁴⁵ This is due to a historical allusion made at the end of the work in section 6.2 where Tertullian refers to something that had just happened in which many young, healthy, and high-ranking people had died for the sake of another person's cause. Scholars have seen in this a clear reference to the Battle of Lugdunum and thus date *Ad martyras* later.⁴⁶ The traditional view was that *Ad martyras* preceded *Ad nationes*.⁴⁷ Barnes also dated this work to 197, though after *Ad Nationes*. In a journal article published shortly after Barnes' study, Braun argued that more work was needed on the relationship between *Ad martyras*, *Ad nationes*, and *Apologeticum* and thus commenced his study. From numerous examples, Braun established how Tertullian built on *Ad nationes*, his first work among these three, and then carried similar thoughts to greater erudition in each successive work. Describing the development from *Ad nationes* to *Ad martyras*, he says, "Le même matériel se retrouve dans le développement de l'*Ad martyras*, mais enrichi, étoffé et surtout soumis à une élaboration nouvelle."⁴⁸

Quasten assigned this work to what he named the "disciplinary" genre.⁴⁹ Barnes described the genre as a mix of *consolatio* (comfort for those suffering) and *exhortatio* (a call to bravery for those facing danger) along with other elements of philosophical diatribes but done in a new Christian way. He noted literary precursors in Tacitus' *Agricola*, Seneca's *De immatura*

⁴⁵ René Braun, "*Deus Christianorum*": *Recherches sur le vocabulaire doctrinal de Tertullien*, Publications de la faculté des lettres et sciences humaines d'Alger 41 (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1962), 567.

⁴⁶ Barnes, *Tertullian* (1971), 32–33.

⁴⁷ René Braun, "Sur la date, la composition et le texte de l'*Ad martyras* de Tertullien," *Revue d'Etudes Augustiniennes* 24 (1978): 223.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 227.

⁴⁹ Quasten, *Patrology*, 290.

morte, Aristotle's *Protrepticus*, and Plato's *Republic*.⁵⁰ Tertullian addressed this work to an unidentified group of imprisoned Christians who were about to be taken to trial.

The text of the work has been preserved in five codices: (F) Codex Florentinus Magliabechianus, Conv. soppr. I, VI, 10 (15th century), (L) Codex Leidensis 2 (15th century), (N) Codex Florentinus Magliabechianus, Conv. soppr. I, VI, 9 (15th century), (V) Codex Vindobonensis 4194 / Neapolitanus, Mus. Naz. 55 (15th century), and (X) Codex Luxemburgensis 75 (15th century).

There are again only a few scattered references in this early work. In some ways, this is surprising because it was addressed to Christians. The reference to 1Cor is introduced with the typical *inquit apostolus*. Perhaps because of the literary aspirations of the work, many of the references are veiled or at least less than explicit citations. Barnes notes as much in a footnote when he points out that some analogies are clearly owing to 1Cor and Eph but that they “would not be out of place in a pagan exhortation.”⁵¹ It should be noted that there are several borrowings among these biblical references which may show that Tertullian has a Greek form of the text in mind or before him (*agonothetes* at 3.3 in reference to 2Tm 4:7's ἀγῶνα ἡγώνισμαι; *brabium* at 3.3 in reference to Phil 3:14's βραβεῖον; *politia* at 3.3 in reference to Phil 3:20's πολίτευμα; *athletae* at 3.4 in reference to 2 Tim 2:5's ἀθληταί).⁵² With the themes of imprisonment and the games present in this work, Tertullian builds on such analogies which had previously been

⁵⁰ Barnes, *Tertullian* (1971), 225–27.

⁵¹ Barnes, *Tertullian* (1971), 227.

⁵² For more on Latin borrowings from Greek vocabulary and how they differ from Latin uses of Greek through semantic extension or calque, cf H. A. G. Houghton, *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to Its Early History, Texts, and Manuscripts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 7.

developed in the Pauline epistles. As has already been noted, Tertullian also code-switches in this work, though not within a biblical reference.⁵³

	Rm	1Cor	2Cor	Gal	Eph	Phil	Col	1Th	2Th	1Tm	2Tm	Tt	Phlm
TE mart	0	2	3	0	4	3	0	3	0	3	5	0	0

	Act	Hbr	Jac	1Pt	2Pt	1Jo	2Jo	3Jo	Jud	Apc
TE mart	0	6	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0

4.2.3 **Aduersus Iudaeos (TE Jud) 197 [CPL 33]**⁵⁴

There has been much controversy over the integrity of this work, its authenticity, and the implications of its audience.⁵⁵ Semler, Neander, Burkitt, Quispel, Neander, De Labriolle, and Quasten all took a negative stance on at least one of these issues, with all arguing against Tertullian's authorship of the latter chapters 9–14. In opposition, several scholars argued for the work's integrity and authenticity: Noeldechen, Grotemeyer, Williams, Säflund, Tränkle, Fredouille, Aziza, Moreschini, Schreckenburg, and Barnes. Harnack agreed that it stemmed from Tertullian but that it had been pieced together after *Aduersus Marcionem*. The work is sometimes classified as an apologetic writing and at other times a polemical or even missionary-intended writing.⁵⁶ Tertullian addresses this work to a gentile who had become a Jewish proselyte. Dunn reports that Tertullian's use of the first-person plural probably refers to fellow Christians but that there are no second- or third-person references to Christians. From this evidence, Dunn concludes that Christians must have been at least part of Tertullian's imagined readership.⁵⁷ This

⁵³ Cf Chapter Three.

⁵⁴ Gryson notes "mindestens die Bibelzitate sind sicher unecht; n. 9–14 benützt TE Marc 3." Roger Gryson et al., *Répertoire général des auteurs ecclésiastiques latins de l'antiquité et du haut Moyen Âge*, 5th ed, Vetus Latina : die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel, 1/1 (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 2007), 791.

⁵⁵ For a helpful summary, cf. Geoffrey D. Dunn, *Tertullian's Aduersus Iudaeos: A Rhetorical Analysis*, Patristic Monograph Series / North American Patristics Society, v. 19 (Washington, D.C: Catholic University of America Press, 2008), 5–30.

⁵⁶ Dunn argued for multiple genres and literary aims in play at once. Ibid., 50–56.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 47.

is also a possible audience for apologetic since early Christian writers must have aimed both to convert their audiences while also providing an example for later mimesis. The work is therefore assigned to the apologetic genre.

Barnes found that portions of this work were used in the *Apologeticum*. Other portions of this work were used later in *Aduersus Marcionem*.⁵⁸ Dunn conducted a rhetorical analysis of the work and found it to be authentically from Tertullian and though disorganized in the second half, fundamentally cohesive as a literary production. These most recent studies place the work earlier than the *Apologeticum*. The work can then be dated prior to 197. Dunn even dated it as early as 195/96.⁵⁹ The work has been preserved in a number of manuscripts including F, N, P, and T.⁶⁰

As noted by Barnes, Tertullian aims to convert his audience to Christianity through a presentation of Bible passages.⁶¹ Burkitt argued in particular concerning the biblical citations of *Aduersus Iudaeos*. He found that the citations in the first half of the work had more in common with Cyprian's *Testimonia* in using Theodotion rather than the Septuagint (Tertullian's typical practice) for citations of Daniel. In the latter half of *Aduersus Iudaeos*, Burkitt argued that the biblical citations had been taken from *Aduersus Marcionem* and thus from the LXX, with one exception. Tertullian quotes Dan. 9:24–27 in *Aduersus Iudaeos* 9, and it corresponds to Theodotion's Greek rather than the LXX.⁶² Given Tertullian's occasional use of Greek writers, it is possible that he borrowed these references not directly from a Greek manuscript but from

⁵⁸ Barnes, *Tertullian* (1971), 53.

⁵⁹ Dunn, *Tertullian's Aduersus Iudaeos*, 178.

⁶⁰ Cf. 4.1.5.7, 4.1.5.6, 4.1.5.4, and 4.1.5.2 respectively.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 106.

⁶² F. Crawford Burkitt, *The Old Latin and the Itala: With an Appendix Containing the Text of the S. Gallen Palimpsest of Jeremiah*, *Texts and Studies: Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature*, v. 4, no. 3 (Cambridge [U.K.]: The University Press, 1896), 7, 29–30.

another Greek writer. Nevertheless, Burkitt's argument still stands that there seems to be a shift in biblical references and thus a difference between the two parts of the treatise.

Burkitt also found correspondence in the citation of Daniel 7:13–14 between Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 4.39 and Justin, *Dialogus cum Tryphone* 31.⁶³ Williams, however, argued against Tertullian's use of a single testimonia collection of Old Testament passages common to Justin as well as other early Christians.⁶⁴ He asserted this because as he argued, no testimonia collection is ever mentioned and the order of passages in Tertullian and other supposed users of such collections do not match. Williams concludes that both Justin and Tertullian used testimonia collections, though different ones. Though he appears to have examined the order which passages appeared, he did not address the textual affinities between Justin and Tertullian which Burkitt adduced. Dunn was able to conclude about the biblical citations in this work that they followed Tertullian's general pattern of "loose translating of Scripture in both sections of *Adversus Iudaeos*".⁶⁵ Frede identified several references to Hebrews in this work in his *Vetus Latina* edition. Most of them, however, are references to Old Testament passages, perhaps copied into a testimonia collection. Only a few were able to be identified as possible references to Hebrews. For example, the succession of references to Abel, Enoch, and Noah in *Adversus Iudaeos* 2.12–13 follows the order of Heb 11:4–7. Because of the content of Hebrews and how it matched his own literary aims, Tertullian used it extensively and much more than any other work.

⁶³ Ibid., 23.

⁶⁴ A. Lukyn Williams, *Adversus Iudaeos: A Bird's-Eye View of Christian Apologiae until the Renaissance* (Cambridge, [England]: University Press, 1935), 43–52.

⁶⁵ Dunn, *Tertullian's Adversus Iudaeos*, 149.

	Rm	1Cor	2Cor	Gal	Eph	Phil	Col	1Th	2Th	1Tm	2Tm	Tt	Phlm
TE Jud	3	2	0	1	2	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0

	Act	Hbr	Jac	1Pt	2Pt	1Jo	2Jo	3Jo	Jud	Apc
TE Jud	7	28	1	6	0	0	0	0	0	3

4.2.4 Apologeticum (TE ap) 197 [CPL 3]

Braun summarizes the rather narrow range of dates for this work as late summer 197 to spring 198.⁶⁶ The reasons for such confidence are primarily the historical references to the defeat of Albinus at the Battle of Lugdunum and the still ongoing search for his accomplices mentioned in *Apologeticum* 35.9–11. The work is a clear example of the apologetic genre in both title and content.⁶⁷ Quasten further explains the genre as being juridical in the form of its reasoning but more philosophical and rhetorical in its argumentation.⁶⁸ *Apologeticum* is addressed to governors of Roman provinces whom Tertullian is seeking to persuade toward leniency but is also seeking to convert to Christianity. Sider treated extensively Tertullian's use of rhetoric in order to compose this work. He noted especially Tertullian's use of Cicero to construct a speech which would appeal to the judges for a fair trial.⁶⁹ Though Dunn agrees with the forensic element as elucidated by Sider, he also sees a deliberative element in the positive attempt at converting pagans to Christianity.⁷⁰

In addition to the Scriptures, the Christian sources of this work are the works of the Greek apologists Justin, Melito, Theophilus, Tatian, Apollinaris of Hierapolis, and Tertullian's

⁶⁶ Braun, *Deus Christianorum*, 568.

⁶⁷ Barnes, *Tertullian* (1971), 105. Thomas, *Defending Christ*, 69. Price, "Latin Christian Apologetics", 107.

⁶⁸ Quasten, *Patrology*, 256.

⁶⁹ Robert D. Sider, *Ancient Rhetoric and the Art of Tertullian*, Oxford Theological Monographs (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), 22.

⁷⁰ Geoffrey D. Dunn, "Rhetorical Structure in Tertullian's 'Ad Scapulam,'" *Vigiliae Christianae*, no. 1 (2002): 48–51.

own *Ad nationes* and *Ad martyras*, as mentioned earlier.⁷¹ Classical sources included Plato, Varro, Tacitus, Pliny, Virgil, Herodotus, Ctesias, Homer, Tacitus, Cassius Hemina, Cornelius Nepos, Diodorus Siculus and Thallus, Pindar, Pythagoras, Diogenes, Aristeeas, Manetho, Berossus, Hiram, Ptolemy of Mende, Menander of Ephesus, Demetrius of Phalerum, King Juba of Mauretania, Apion, Josephus, Zeno, Cleanthes, Epicurus, Hostilius, Laberius, Lentulus, Cicero, Seneca, Pyrrhon, and Callinicus.⁷²

There are two recensions of the Latin text of *Apologeticum*. One has become known as the Fuldensis recension based on a codex once held at Fulda (believed to be tenth century) and last seen in 1584 but no longer extant.⁷³ The variant readings from this recension are signified in the CCSL apparatus and in the appendix as F.⁷⁴ The variants of this manuscript were preserved by Modius when he collated them and were then published in a few places as marginalia or as an appendix.⁷⁵ Portions of the text of *Fuldensis* are seen in the fragments of the so-called *Fragmentum Fuldense* which contains an additional paragraph at *Apologeticum* 19. The second recension of *Apologeticum* is referred to as the *Vulgata recensio*. This form of the text is preserved in no less than 37 manuscripts, including Codices M and N, described above at 4.1.5.5–6.⁷⁶ It is reported that these two editions (*Fuldensis* and *Vulgata*) differ in more than one thousand places.⁷⁷ Another scholar, however, classifies these as minor.⁷⁸ Havercamp surmised in

⁷¹ Barnes, *Tertullian* (1971), 106. Though Tertullian used portions of *Ad nationes* to construct *Apologeticum*, there does not appear to be any affiliation among their biblical referents. Even if they both have similar material at *Ad nationes* 1.10.9 and *Apologeticum* 12.7, there does not seem to be any identifiable reference to a particular biblical passage like 1 Cor 8:4–6. Robert M. Grant, *Greek Apologists of the Second Century* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1988), 187–88.

⁷² Barnes, *Tertullian* (1971), 105, 196.

⁷³ Quasten, *Patrology*, 260–61.

⁷⁴ As mentioned at 4.1.5.7 the siglum F of Fuldensis which is a textual witness of *Apologeticum* should not be mistaken with the siglum F of Magliabechianus which is used in most other works of Tertullian.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ For a list of these, cf CCSL 1: 78–79.

⁷⁷ Barnes, *Tertullian* (1971), 239.

⁷⁸ Benjamin Garstad, “The Diction of the Fragmentum Fuldense,” *Glotta* 78, no. 1/4 (2002): 102.

1718 that *Fuldensis* was the first edition and the *Vulgata* the second with both stemming from the author himself. Havercamp saw the *Vulgata* recension as the later edition and thus prized more highly its text. Much more recently, a study of the singularly used words in both recensions has come to a similar conclusion, calling *Fuldensis* the rough draft and the *Vulgata recensio* Tertullian's final draft.⁷⁹ Barnes among others has argued that these two recensions must have come from a common, earlier exemplar because they both concur at several "major corruptions".⁸⁰ Callewaert came to a different conclusion in 1902 when he suggested that a Carolingian monk regularized and simplified the Latin in *Fuldensis* thus creating the *Vulgata recensio*.⁸¹

There was also at one time a Greek version of Tertullian's *Apologeticum* as evidenced by Eusebius' use of it in his *Ecclesiastical History*.⁸² When Rufinus translated Eusebius' Greek back into Latin, he sometimes used a Latin copy of Tertullian, and at other times it appears that Rufinus produced his own translation. He even corrected Eusebius' Greek text at times to bring it into line with his knowledge of Tertullian and his work.⁸³ Based on an examination of the style and content of the Greek translation in comparison with Tertullian's Latin, Harnack came to the conclusion that Tertullian was not the translator. Nor did Harnack believe the translator to have been an accomplished Latinist.⁸⁴ Instead, the argument was put forward that the likely translator was Julius Africanus.⁸⁵

⁷⁹ Ibid., 102–109.

⁸⁰ Barnes, *Tertullian* (1971), 240.

⁸¹ Quasten, *Patrology*, 260–62; Camillus Callewaert, "Le codex Fuldensis, le meilleur manuscrit de l'*Apologeticum* de Tertullien," *Revue d'histoire et de Littérature Religieuses* 7 (1902): 322–53.

⁸² Adolf von Harnack, *Die griechische Uebersetzung des Apologeticus Tertullian's; Medizinisches aus der ältesten Kirchengeschichte* (J.C. Hinrichs, 1892), 4.

⁸³ Ibid., 12–14.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 22, 30–31.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 32–36.

The prevalence of biblical references increases considerably from *Ad Nationes* to *Apologeticum*. As was noted above, this may be due to the difference in rhetorical objectives between the two documents. Quasten remarked that *Apologeticum* has a positive strategy attempting to convince its audience of Christianity.⁸⁶ In order to demonstrate the convictions of Christianity, Tertullian turns to the Scriptures even if his audience has never read them. I have argued elsewhere that he may also have Christians in mind as a secondary audience and thus may include biblical references with them in mind in order to gesture toward his Christianity and demonstrate his inclusion in their group.⁸⁷ Though *scriptura* seems to be Tertullian's favored designation for books of either Testament of the Bible, according to Library of Latin Texts, this term only shows up twice in *Apologeticum*, compared with the 270 other occurrences in his other writings. In *Apologeticum* 20, Tertullian makes a defense of the Jewish Scriptures arguing from their antiquity and their prophecies which had come true that they are indeed divine. It is in the context of this discussion that Tertullian uses *scriptura* to describe the Jewish writings. The other use of the word is in 39 where Tertullian is discussing the Christian worship service and uses *scripturis diuinis*, most likely referring to the Psalms. In *Apol.* 31, Tertullian uses the phrase *Dei uoces, litteras nostras* to refer to the Scriptures in general, from which comes his one Pauline reference to 1 Tim. 2:1. This phrase describing the Christian Bible would have been understandable to his non-Christian audience. Many of their authors had referred to the *uox dei*, including Virgil in the *Aeneid*, Cicero, and Seneca.⁸⁸ The word *litterae* is used some 21 times in

⁸⁶ Ibid., 256.

⁸⁷ Barnes, *Tertullian* (1971), 110. Portions of this paragraph draw from Benjamin Haupt, "Tertullian the Apologist and Paul," in *The Apologists and Paul*, ed. Todd D. Still and David E. Wilhite, vol. 4, Pauline and Patristic Scholars in Debate (New York: Bloomsbury, forthcoming).

⁸⁸ The most similar usage is found in Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia* 1.8.7, where Valerius discusses acts and sayings of gods which are recorded in literature. (*Nec me praeterit de motu et voce deorum immortalium humanis oculis auribusque percepto quam in ancipiti opinione aestimatio versetur, sed quia non nova dicuntur, sed tradita repetuntur, fidem auctores vindicent: nostrum sit inclitis litterarum monumentis consecrata perinde ac vana non refugisse.*) Virgil uses the phrase to refer to the 'voice of the gods' as heard in a vision in *Aeneid* 3.172. Cicero

Apologeticum to refer to a number of different kinds of literature. Tertullian hopes even if Christians have not had the opportunity to defend themselves in court, that his readers would permit the truth to come by way of the “silent book (letters)” (*tacitarum litterarum*).⁸⁹ In 5.6 the same word *litterae* is used for the writings of Marcus Aurelius. In 10.7 Tertullian discusses the *litterae* on Saturn by authors like Greek Diodorus, Thallus, Cassius Severus and Cornelius Nepos. He later discusses mythological and dramatic literature in 14.2 and 15.2 referring to them as *litteras uestras*, that is to say, the books of his non-Christian audience. When Tertullian makes the switch from speaking of non-Christian books to Christian books, it is important to note that Tertullian does not alter his terminology. He refers to the Christian Scriptures as *instrumentum litteraturae*.⁹⁰ Further down in the same chapter (18.5) he begins to speak specifically of the Hebrew Scriptures and refers to them as *thesauri litterarum*, treasuries of books left behind by prophets.

	Rm	1Cor	2Cor	Gal	Eph	Phil	Col	1Th	2Th	1Tm	2Tm	Tt	Phlm
TE ap	28	27	5	1	9	6	6	4	4	8	2	3	1

	Act	Hbr	Jac	1Pt	2Pt	1Jo	2Jo	3Jo	Jud	Apc
TE ap	4	6	0	6	4	1	0	0	2	7

gives two examples of people having claimed to have heard the audible voices of the gods in *De diuinatione* 1.102. Ovid uses the phrase to refer to an internal voice of a god in *Ex Pontu* 3.4.91 and to refer to the voice of god in a dream in *Metamorphoses* 15.661. Seneca uses the phrase to refer to content that was thought to be from a god in *De beneficiis* 7.3.3. Sometimes the phrase is used when people are using their own human voices to call to a god as in Virgil’s *Aeneid* 4.680, *ibid.* 5.685, and Ovid, *Ex Pontu* 4.8.21. Cicero also used the phrase *uox diuina* to refer to the voice of god (*diuina* being used as a quasi-genitive) in *De diuinatione* 1.42. Suetonius likewise uses *uox diuina* to refer to the voice of a god in *Vita Terentii* 2.3.10.

⁸⁹ Tertullian appears to be the first to use such a phrase. Contrary to popular belief, however, silent reading is not unknown in the ancient world. For a discussion of Augustine’s well-known praise of Ambrose and a demonstration that this was not unique in antiquity, cf. A. K. Gavrilov, “Techniques of Reading in Classical Antiquity,” *Classical Quarterly* 47, no. 1 (1997): 56–73.

⁹⁰ Hoppe noted a number of other places where Tertullian used *instrumentum* to refer to biblical books or even as a collective singular for a group of books or possibly a canon. Tertullian uses the term in the phrase *totum instrumentum eius* to refer to Paul’s books in *Prax.* 28. Heinrich Hoppe, *Beiträge zur Sprache und Kritik Tertullians*, Skrifter utgivna av Vetenskaps-Societeten i Lund; Publications of the New Society of Letters at Lund. 14 (Lund: Berlingska Boktryckeriet, 1932), 50–51.

4.2.5 De testimonio animae (TE test) ca. 198 [CPL 4]

This work is typically dated from 197 to 200.⁹¹ In *Apologeticum* 17 Tertullian explores the testimony of the soul, and most scholars have thus seen *De testimonio animae* as a development of this short paragraph. It is thus dated after *Apologeticum*.⁹² In this work, Tertullian explicitly says at the beginning that he is not going to make reference to the Christian Scriptures but rather calls in another authority, namely, the soul. The audience of the work is presumably the non-Christian who needs proof of God's existence and majesty over the soul. The genre is thus apologetic. Quasten notes that philosophers such as Poseidonius, Philo, Chrysippus, and Seneca before Tertullian had found knowledge of God not only in the macrocosm of the universe but also in the microcosm of the soul.⁹³ The text of this short work has come down to us exclusively through only one manuscript: Agobardinus as described above at 4.1.5.1. Several editions offer emendations and corrections.

At *De test.* 1.4, he writes: *Tanto abest, ut nostris litteris annuant homines, ad quas nemo uenit nisi iam christianus. Nouum testimonium aduoco immo omni litteratura notius, omni doctrina agitatius, omni editione uulgatius, toto homine maius, id est totum quod est hominis. Consiste in medio, anima.* Since, as Tertullian argues, no one approaches Christian literature unless already a Christian, it is not surprising that this work makes very little reference to the Scriptures.

	Rm	1Cor	2Cor	Gal	Eph	Phil	Col	1Th	2Th	1Tm	2Tm	Tt	Phlm
TE test	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

	Act	Hbr	Jac	1Pt	2Pt	1Jo	2Jo	3Jo	Jud	Apc
TE test	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

⁹¹ Braun, *Deus Christianorum*, 568.

⁹² Quasten, *Patrology*, 265.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 264.

4.3 Middle Period Works

4.3.1 De spectaculis (TE spec) 197–202 [CPL 6]

Gryson dates this work from 197–202 so that it follows *Apologeticum*.⁹⁴ There is an explicit reference to this work which helps us further refine the date of the work and its ordering among Tertullian's other treatises. In *De idololatria* 13.1, the author writes *De spectaculis autem et uoluptatibus eiusmodi suum iam uolumen impleuimus*. Based on this evidence, Waszink said that the priority of *De spectaculis* to *De idololatria* is a certainty.⁹⁵ Tertullian also refers to this work in *De cultu feminarum* 1.8.⁹⁶ As noted below, *De idololatria* post-dates *Apologeticum*. This evidence assigns it to the range given by Gryson. Quasten classifies this treatise in the category of disciplinary, moral, and ascetical works.⁹⁷ Barnes argues that the work seeks to answer the question: "how ought Christians to live out a life of faith in a pagan society?"⁹⁸ Perhaps Tertullian's main pagan source for this work was Suetonius' work on the same matter, now lost but thought to have been titled *De spectaculis et certaminibus* or *De ludis scaenicis et circensibus*.⁹⁹ Another likely source might have been Varro's *Libri rerum diuinarum*.¹⁰⁰ Plato's *Timaeus*, an unnamed work of Stesichorus, and Virgil's *Georgica* are likewise referenced.¹⁰¹ The text of this work is primarily preserved in Agobardinus as described above at 4.1.5.1. There are also annotations in its margins. In 1946 Claesson discovered a 14th century manuscript which

⁹⁴ Gryson et al., *Répertoire*., 793. For a bibliographical excursus on the modern dating of Tertullian's writings, cf Braun, *Deus Christianorum*, 563-577.

⁹⁵ Tertullian, *Quinti Septimi Florentis Tertulliani De anima*, ed. J. H. Waszink, *Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae*, v. 100 (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2010), 13.

⁹⁶ Quasten, *Patrology*, 293.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 292.

⁹⁸ Barnes, *Tertullian* (1971), 93.

⁹⁹ *De spec.* 5.8. Barnes, *Tertullian* (1971), 95. For more on Suetonius' work and suggested titles, cf Tristan Power and Roy K. Gibson, *Suetonius the Biographer: Studies in Roman Lives* (OUP Oxford, 2014), 257.

¹⁰⁰ *De spec.* 5.4.

¹⁰¹ *De spec.* 5.2; 9.2; 9.3.

contained extracts of some of Tertullian's works including *De spectaculis*. It is known today as Codex Vaticanus Latinus Ottobonianus 25 (O).¹⁰² Shortly before this discovery, an archivist in the Netherlands found a fragment dating to the 9th century and originating from the *Corpus Corbiense*, denoted as "K" in the CCSL apparatus but as "L" in Sources Chrétiennes.¹⁰³ It may have been used by Simon Ghelen in creating his edition.¹⁰⁴ A number of editions also preserve readings from manuscripts no longer extant.¹⁰⁵

In *De spectaculis* 29, Tertullian commends the literature of the Christian Scriptures to his readers: *si scaenicae doctrinae delectant, satis nobis litterarum est, satis uersuum est, satis sententiarum, satis etiam canticorum, satis uocum, nec fabulae, sed ueritates, nec strophae, sed simplicitates*. Harnack once saw this as proof that the Scriptures must have already been translated into Latin if Tertullian was able to commend them to his Latin-speaking audience.¹⁰⁶ There are at least four reasons why this locus is not necessarily proof for such. First, the rhetorical nature of Tertullian's statement does not so much invite any and every uneducated reader to peruse the biblical documents but rather demonstrates that such documents exist. Second, recent scholarship has taken much more seriously the reality of multilingualism in Carthage.¹⁰⁷ Thus, if the Scriptures were only in Greek and at least some of Tertullian's readers were multilingual, there should be no expectation for Tertullian to explicitly nuance his

¹⁰² Tertullian and Marie Turcan, *Les spectacles: De spectaculis*, Sources chrétiennes, no 332 (Paris: Cerf, 1986), 9.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 11.

¹⁰⁴ G. I. Lieftinck, "Un Fragment de *De spectaculis* de Tertullien provenant d'un manuscrit du neuvième siècle," *Vigiliae Christianae* 5, no. 4 (1951), 203. This article also contains a facsimile of the fragment which was used by Dekkers for his edition of this work in CCSL. Tertullian, "De Spectaculis" in: *Opera*, ed. E. Dekkers, Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina 1 (Turnholt: Typographi Brepols, 1954), 226.

¹⁰⁵ For more information on these editions and the uniquenesses of their textual witness, cf Turcan 1986, 12–16.

¹⁰⁶ Adolf von Harnack, "Tertullians Bibliothek Christlicher Schriften," *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 10 (1914, accessed 18 July 2018): 306; available from http://www.tertullian.org/articles/harnack_tertullians_bibliothek.htm.

¹⁰⁷ Cf J. N. Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 206–07 n. 381, 216–17, 220, 240–42; Alex Mullen and Patrick James, eds., *Multilingualism in the Graeco-Roman Worlds* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 265–316.

invitation with “if you can read Greek”. Because Tertullian read and suggested his readers consult other Greek works, it is possible that he has the same thing in mind with Greek versions of some of the NT writings.¹⁰⁸ Finally, Harnack’s argument trades on what he calls the *allgemeine Zugänglichkeit*, that is the general accessibility, of the Scriptures, but this is exactly the opposite of Tertullian’s point. Tertullian’s point is that the Christian Scriptures are themselves a high literary form with their own verse, prose, songs, and utterances. Far from offering a pedestrian and everyday account of the Scriptures, Tertullian argues that they are able to satisfy the desires of the highest literary desires. If anything, this evidence points more in the direction of these Scriptures being in the higher literary language of Greek rather than in Harnack’s suggestion of Latin.

Tertullian mentions the Scriptures in a number of places throughout the work. There is a discussion in chapter three concerning the plain sense of the Scriptures and whether there is a clear prohibition of attending shows. Tertullian counters that there are places where the Scriptures are quite applicable to the matter under investigation. After Tertullian demonstrates that the shows are thoroughly imbued with idolatry, he goes on to say in chapter 18, *quodsi stadium contendas in scripturis nominari, sane obtinetis*. He then argues that though *stadium* is mentioned this is no sanction for visiting the activities thereof. There are also a number of clear references to individual passages of the Scriptures.

	Rm	1Cor	2Cor	Gal	Eph	Phil	Col	1Th	2Th	1Tm	2Tm	Tt	Phlm
TE spec	4	8	3	0	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0

	Act	Hbr	Jac	1Pt	2Pt	1Jo	2Jo	3Jo	Jud	Apc
TE spec	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1

¹⁰⁸ For more on his reading of Greek sources, cf Barnes, *Tertullian* (1971), 95.

4.3.2 De idololatria (TE id) 198–202 [CPL23]

The dating of this work fluctuates greatly. The *Vetus Latina* editors date it to 196/7 and therefore classify it as the earliest of Tertullian's works.¹⁰⁹ Quasten on the far other end of the spectrum gives the date as 211 because he sees similarities with *De Corona* in that both seem to him to address the question of whether a Christian can participate in things like the army, offices of the state, or any profession having to do with idol sacrifice.¹¹⁰ Barnes had argued that phrases from *Apologeticum* 35.4 are out of place and therefore most likely borrowed from *De idololatria* 15.11.¹¹¹ This suggested that *De idololatria* was written prior and thus the 196/7 date. However, Barnes withdrew this opinion in his 1985 postscript to his second edition based on an earlier study of René Braun.¹¹² Because Braun had shown that Tertullian often drew on his previous work but with added literary erudition in each subsequent iteration, the phrases Barnes had thought showed *Apologeticum*'s dependence on *Idololatria* actually showed the reverse.¹¹³ Waszink followed Barnes and Braun and thus dated the work between 198 and 208.¹¹⁴ Quasten assigned this work to the category of disciplinary works.¹¹⁵

The text of *Idol.* is only extant in one manuscript, Agobardinus as described above at 4.1.5.1, and only up to the word *euitandum* in 18.9. The printed edition listed in the CCSL edition of *De idololatria* as “editio princeps Martini Mesnartii, Parisiis, 1545 (B)”¹¹⁶ was based

¹⁰⁹ Gryson et al., *Répertoire*, 790.

¹¹⁰ Quasten, *Patrology*, 310.

¹¹¹ Barnes, *Tertullian* (1971), 53–4.

¹¹² René Braun, “Chronologia Tertullianea: Le De carne Christi et le De idololatria,” in *Hommage à Pierre Fargues : Philologie, littératures et histoire anciennes*, Université de Nice. Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines. Annales 21 (Paris: Les belles lettres, 1974), 271–281.

¹¹³ Timothy David Barnes, *Tertullian: A Historical and Literary Study*, Reissued with corrections and a postscript (Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1985), 325.

¹¹⁴ J. H. Waszink, J. C. M. van Winden, and P. G. van der Nat, “Introduction,” in *De idololatria: Critical Text, Translation, and Commentary*, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae, v. 1 (Leiden ; New York: E.J. Brill, 1987), 13.

¹¹⁵ Quasten, *Patrology*, 310.

¹¹⁶ Quintus Septimius F. Tertullianus, *Opera, per B. Rhenanum è tenebris eruta, adiectis singulorum librorum argumentis, adnotationibus[que]. Nunc verò ad fidem veterū exemplarium collata & restituta*. (Paris: Carolam Guillard, 1545). For more bibliographic information, cf “T408” and “T409” in: H. M. Adams, *Catalogue of Books*

upon Agobardinus but also upon other manuscripts which are now lost.¹¹⁷ Waszink summarizes the textual scholarship on this work of Tertullian and argues that when Mesnart corrects Agobardinus, Mesnart is generally wrong. Gelenius also produced an edition in 1550¹¹⁸ which is purported to have used manuscripts though without clear indication when he depended on manuscripts and when he was making his own conjectural emendations.¹¹⁹ Though Waszink did not esteem this edition as highly as others, he still maintained that it is important for establishing the text of *Idol.*

Tertullian first mentions the Scriptures in chapter one: *atque adeo scripturae sanctae stupri uocabulo utuntur in idololatriae exprobatone*. In chapter two he references the words of the Lord (Jesus) and John's first epistle. In chapter four Tertullian returns to the Old Testament to give prohibitions against idolatry. Though discussing someone else's interpretation of Paul, he calls his writings "Scripture" in chapter five: *tum quod et de scripturis audent argumentari, dixisse apostolum*. The text which Tertullian then gives reads: *ut quisque fuerit inuentus, ita perseueret*. This appears to be a reference to 1Cor 7:20. The lexemes *inuentus* and *perseueret* are nowhere attested in the Latin tradition. Tertullian's obscure rendering is listed in the apparatus of the Oxford Vulgate with the preface *Libere*.¹²⁰ It seems likely that Tertullian was not quoting from a known Latin version with this otherwise unknown rendering but rather was discussing a

Printed on the Continent of Europe, 1501–1600, in Cambridge Libraries (London: Cambridge University Press, 1967).

¹¹⁷ J. H. Waszink, J. C. M. van Winden, and P. G. van der Nat, "Introduction," in *De idololatria: Critical Text, Translation, and Commentary*, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae, v. 1 (Leiden ; New York: E.J. Brill, 1987), 3.

¹¹⁸ Quintus Septimius F. Tertullianus, *Q. Septimij Florentis Tertulliani Carthaginensis presbyteri ... Scripta, & plura quàm antè, & diligentius per industriam bene literatorum aliquot, ad complures ueteres è Gallicanis Germanicisq[ue] bibliothecis conquisitos recognita codices, in quibus praecipuus fuit unus longè incorruptissimus in ultimam Usq[ue] Petitus Britanniam: Non omissis accuratis Beati Rhenani annotationibus ... accessit & index copiosior*. (Basileae: Froben, 1550).

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹²⁰ John Wordsworth and H. J. White, eds., *Novum Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi Latine*, v. 2 (Oxonii: e typographeo Clarendoniano, 1889), 209.

hypothetical translation. Immediately after this “free” reference, he retorts: *possumus igitur omnes in peccatis perseuerare ex ista interpretatione*. The word *interpretatione* demonstrates that Tertullian is interacting with someone else’s hypothetical rendering or translation. In other words, Tertullian is aware that that is not the wording of Paul but rather an *interpretatio*. This shows that Tertullian knows the Scriptures in Greek and can comment on the quality of translations being made of Paul’s letter.

	Rm	1Cor	2Cor	Gal	Eph	Phil	Col	1Th	2Th	1Tm	2Tm	Tt	Phlm
TE id	5	12	1	2	3	1	1	1	3	5	0	2	0

	Act	Hbr	Jac	1Pt	2Pt	1Jo	2Jo	3Jo	Jud	Apc
TE id	4	1	1	2	0	2	0	0	0	2

4.3.3 De oratione (TE or) 198–203 [CPL 7]

There is near consensus that this work belongs to the middle period of Tertullian’s literary activity, between 198–203.¹²¹ It is a commonplace in scholarship to refer to this work as a homily, especially a catechetical homily.¹²² Evans provides the following evidence: while most earlier works (those examined above) were well composed, *De oratione* (and like it, *De baptismo*) has sections which Evans calls “unkempt”;¹²³ several sequences of ideas are so hastily introduced and incompletely discussed that the work must have been composed of memory aids for the preacher rather than as a finished work for a reader; finally, the use of the vocative *benedicti* seems more appropriate to hearers than readers.¹²⁴ Monceaux argued, “Plusieurs de ces

¹²¹ Braun, *Deus Christianorum*, 569. More recently Schleyer dated the work from 200–206. Tertullian and Dietrich Schleyer, *De baptismo; De oratione: Von der Taufe; Vom Gebet*, Fontes Christiani, Bd. 76 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 10.

¹²² Ernest Evans, *De oratione liber: Tract on the Prayer* (London: S.P.C.K., 1953), xi–xii. Dietrich Schleyer, *De baptismo; De oratione*, 22.

¹²³ Borleffs notes a number of other studies which also noted evidence of oral composition. J. W. Ph. Borleffs, “La valeur du ‘Codex Trecensis’ de Tertullien pour la critique de texte dans le traite ‘De baptismo,’” *Vigiliae Christianae* 2, no. 3 (1948): 189.

¹²⁴ Evans, *De oratione*, xi.

traités ont la forme de sermons; et peut-être ont-ils, en effet, pour point de départ de véritables homélies, qui auraient été rédigées après coup, remaniées et complétées.”¹²⁵ Schleyer found the arguments of Monceaux “very convincing” in this regard.¹²⁶ If this is true, this work is written for the liturgical setting in which there would have been Scripture reading.¹²⁷ As for sources, Loeschke argued that Tertullian used an earlier Greek work of Theophilus of Antioch for his commentary on the Lord’s Prayer.¹²⁸ It has already been noted that Tertullian used Theophilus in his *Apologeticum* and similar use of this Greek author will again be demonstrated below in *Aduersus Hermogenem*. This argument therefore seems plausible, though it should be noted that Pétré had reservations.¹²⁹ In addition to the New Testament references to works outside the Gospels, it should also be noted that this work draws on the Didache in chapters 11.1, 11.2 and 18.6 according to the CCSL index.¹³⁰

Tertullian’s *De oratione* is attested in two manuscripts, but both only have some portion. As noted earlier Agobardinus contains at least portions of the text. It is, however, damaged at the margins and only contains up to *De oratione* 21.1. The other manuscript is Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, G.58 (Ambrosianus; formerly Bobiensis) and contains *De orat.* 9 – 29. Editions supply a few conjectural emendations.¹³¹ Two important loci (references to 1 Cor 4:7 and 11:4–6

¹²⁵ Paul Monceaux, *Histoire littéraire de l’Afrique chrétienne depuis les origines jusqu’à l’invasion Arabe* (Bruxelles: Culture et Civilization, 1966), 366.

¹²⁶ Schleyer, *De baptismo; De oratione*, 10 n. 2.

¹²⁷ *De anima* 9.4; *Apologeticum* 39.3–5; *De cultu feminarum* 2.11.2 Cf Eligius Dekkers, *Tertullianus en de Geschiedenis der Liturgie, Catholica: VI. Liturgie 2* (Brussel; Amsterdam: Desclée de Brouwer, 1947), 36–39. P. Glaue, “Die Vorlesung heiliger Schriften bei Tertullian,” *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche*; Berlin 23 (January 1, 1924): 141–152.

¹²⁸ Gerhard Loeschke, *Die Vaterunser-Erklärung des Theophilus von Antiochen: Eine Quellenuntersuchung zu den Vaterunser-Erklärungen des Tertullian, Cyprian, Chromatius und Hieronymus*, Neue Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und der Kirche, 4. Stück (Berlin: Trowitzsch, 1908), 36–37.

¹²⁹ Hélène Pétré, “Les leçons du panem nostrum quotidianum,” *Recherches de science religieuse* 40 (1952): 64.

¹³⁰ CCSL 2:1495.

¹³¹ Tertullian and Dietrich Schleyer, *De baptismo; De oratione: Von der Taufe; Vom Gebet*, Fontes Christiani, Bd. 76 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 153–55.

discussed in the next chapter) occur after 21.1 and thus are only attested in Ambrosianus and some editions. There are no apparent textual issues noted for the biblical references in Tertullian's text.

	Rm	1Cor	2Cor	Gal	Eph	Phil	Col	1Th	2Th	1Tm	2Tm	Tt	Phlm
TE or	3	17	1	0	6	0	1	5	1	12	1	0	0

	Act	Hbr	Jac	1Pt	2Pt	1Jo	2Jo	3Jo	Jud	Apc
TE or	11	5	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	8

4.3.4 De baptismo (TE ba) 198–203 [CPL 8]

Most scholars have dated this work between 198 and 203.¹³² Like *De oratione*, this work is commonly thought of as a homily. In chapter one Tertullian addresses both pre-baptismal candidates as well as those who have been baptized but have not thoroughly examined the beliefs concerning baptism. Because of the arguments in the beginning concerning the woman who dissuaged people from Christian baptism, Quasten has classified this as a controversial treatise.¹³³ Though it is true that Tertullian addresses this controversy, the writing seems to have more in common with his other homiletical treatises. The work has therefore been placed in the disciplinary works. This is the first and only Antenicene work on a sacrament in general or on baptism in particular.¹³⁴ It has been noted that a number of Tertullian's early works were Latin re-workings of previous Greek writings on similar themes. These early works, therefore, had fundamental sources upon which they were built even if Tertullian also drew on several ancillary works in addition. Since *De baptismo* has no specific predecessor as a succinct work on baptism, this work is without such fundamental source and can be said to be truly innovative as a new genre. Nevertheless, Tertullian does draw on a number of sources to construct portions of his

¹³² Braun 1962, 570.

¹³³ Quasten, *Patrology*, 278.

¹³⁴ Quasten, *Patrology*, 278. Schleyer, "Einleitung" in: *De baptismo; De oratione*, 26.

argument in this work. As will be seen with much of the work in his middle and later career, the biblical writings are front and center as the primary sources. The number and category of references to New Testament works outside the Gospels are given below, but one additional thing is worth noting. Though there had been some debate, Souter demonstrated that Tertullian made reference to the Acts of Paul and Thecla.¹³⁵

There are a number of issues which complicate the textual tradition of *De baptismo* and which specifically impact its biblical references. In a review of Borleffs' edition of Tertullian's writings, including *De bapt.*, Koch praised Borleffs' careful editorial work and heralded as indispensable his painstaking and close analysis of the variants between the codex known as Trecensis (described above at 4.1.5.2) and Mesnart's 1545 edition of Tertullian's works.¹³⁶ Nevertheless, Koch had a few suggestions especially noting several examples from *De baptismo* in which Borleffs had to make textual decisions which involved biblical citations or referents. In one example, Tertullian references Gen. 1:1 at *De bapt.* 3.2. In his 1931 critical edition, Borleffs presented the text thus: [*in principio*] *in primordio, inquit, fecit deus caelum et terram.*¹³⁷ With *in principio* in brackets, Borleffs was trying to make sense of the reading he found in Trecensis and of the hesitations he had seen in the text's subsequent editors. Codex Trecensis has this version of the text given here (along with a portion of the preceding sentence in order to make sense of the punctuation of the codex): *penes deum quiescebant in principio. In primordio inquit fecit*

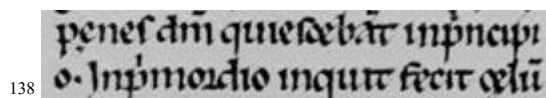
¹³⁵ A. Souter, "The 'Acta Pauli' Etc. in Tertullian," *The Journal of Theological Studies* 25, no. 99 (1924): 292. For more on this work, cf most recently Susan Hylen, *A Modest Apostle: Thecla and the History of Women in the Early Church* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2015) and a critical edition of the Armenian version of the text, Valentina Calzolari, ed., *Apocrypha Armeniaca. I: Acta Pavli et Theclae, Prodigia Theclae, Martyrion Pavli, Corpus Christianorum*. Series Apocryphorum 20 (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2017). Rordorf also has a forthcoming edition of the *Acta Pauli* in CCSA.

¹³⁶ Hugo Koch, "Review of Observationes Criticae in Tertulliani De Paenitentia Libellum 1932," *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1932, 588–91.

¹³⁷ J. G. P. Borleffs, "Quinti Septimi Florentis Tertulliani De baptismo ad fidem codicis Trecensis ueterumque editionum," *Mnemosyne* 59, no. 1 (1931): 17.

*caelum...*¹³⁸ Attempting to deal with the repetition of *in principio* and *in primordio*, Mesnart in his 1545 edition omitted *in principio*, dropped the *n* in *quiescebat* thereby making the verb a third singular rather than plural, and thus has the following: *penes deum quiescebat. In primordio inquit fecit deus...* In his 1932 study Koch, however, suggested that the *in principio* should have been included in the text and not the *in primordio* of *B* because of how highly he held the text of Trecensis. Koch noted that Tertullian had just used *primordio* in 3.1 and would again in 4.2 and 5.4. Koch argued that when Tertullian quoted Gen 1:1 he had to have written *in principio* because in other writings when Tertullian quotes Gen 1:1 he always has *in principio*. In addition to the examples of references to Gen. 1:1 with *in principio* which Borleffs had noted in his apparatus in the 1931 edition (*Hermog.* 3.5 and *Prax.* 5), Koch also gave *Hermog.* 19.2, 20 (*in principio* is used several times in this chapter), and 26.1. In addition to this supposed consistency in biblical citation, Koch also argues that in Tertullian's own speech, i.e. when he is not quoting the Bible, he says *primordio* and gives as examples *Prax.* 5 and 16.¹³⁹

There are a couple of problems with Koch's argument. First, rarely is Tertullian as consistent in his biblical references as Koch seems to have it. As far as the consistency of regular speech and Tertullian's preference for certain words over others, there are problems here too. In *De praescr.* 27.3 Tertullian uses the word *principium* in a general sense referring to the beginning of Galatians.¹⁴⁰ It is true that *primordium* does not carry the sense of the beginning of



138

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¹³⁹ Hugo Koch, Review of "Observationes criticae in Tertulliani De paenitentia libellum 1932," *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1932, 589.

¹⁴⁰ *Tenent correptas ab apostolo ecclesias: o insensati galatae, quis uos fascinavit? et: tam bene currebatis, quis uos impediit? ipsum que principium: miror, quod sic tam cito transferimini ab eo qui uos uocavit in gratia, ad aliud*

a book, but it demonstrates use of *primordium* outside a biblical reference which is contra Koch's argument. Many more examples of Tertullian's use of *primordium* or some cognate thereof could be given. According to LLT, Tertullian uses the word 117 times. The point is that the matter is not as simple as Koch put it. The possibility that Tertullian himself was responsible for both readings was asserted a number of years after the initial publication of Koch's work in a review by Franz Dölger who suggested that both recensions may stem from Tertullian's own hand.¹⁴¹ Borleffs agreed with Dölger's assertion and concluded from his study of the two texts of *De baptismo* that Trecensis' reading must have been prior to that found in Mesnart's edition.¹⁴²

How might these complications be assimilated and understood given the new approaches of this study? It has already been demonstrated that Tertullian regularly paraphrased and glossed biblical references. It has been argued that this paraphrasing and glossing is evidence that Tertullian is translating from a Greek text. The version of the biblical reference to Gen. 1:1 in Codex Trecensis is grammatically sensible and may be evidence that Tertullian was shifting back and forth between *in principio* and *in primordio* for stylistic and paraphrastic translational reasons. Another possibility may be that Tertullian himself wrote *in principio* and then immediately glossed this with *in primordio*. Tertullian regularly paraphrases biblical references in order to bring across a nuanced aspect of the translation. This seems less likely, however, because he typically prefaces his paraphrastic gloss with *id est*. If Tertullian had a Greek version

euangelium; item ad corinthios scriptum quod essent adhuc carnales qui lacte educarentur, nondum idonei ad pabulum qui putarent se scire aliquid quando nondum scirent quemadmodum scire oporteret.

¹⁴¹ "Wahrscheinlich haben wir, wie aus vielen anderen Anzeichen hervorgeht, nicht nur Textvarianten der gleichen Schrift, sondern verschiedene Formulierungen von zwei Ausgaben der Schrift *De Baptismo* vor uns." Franz Joseph Dölger, ed., *Antike und Christentum: Kultur- und Religionsgeschichtliche Studien*, vol. 2, 2. Aufl (Münster: Aschendorff, 1974), 118.

¹⁴² "On voit que les deux leçons, quelque différentes qu'elles soient, se laissent défendre par d'autres endroits de Tertullien lui-même..." J. W. Ph. Borleffs, "La valeur du 'Codex Trecensis' de Tertullien pour la critique de texte dans le traité 'De baptismo,'" *Vigiliae Christianae* 2, no. 3 (1948): 187.

of Genesis before him, perhaps he felt free to translate it as his Latin-speaking listeners were accustomed to hear it in church with *in principio* but then secondarily with the gloss of *in primordio*.¹⁴³

Yet another possibility presents itself. As mentioned above at 4.1.5.2, it is possible that the scribe of Trecensis may have sometimes corrected Tertullian's text to the Vulgate. If so, it is possible that the duplication of *in principio* and *in primordio* is due to the scribe's tendency to copy both what Tertullian originally wrote and also the Vulgate text. Such are the complications of making decisions about Tertullian's textual references in this work. Nevertheless, it will be important in the next chapter's investigation of Tertullian's biblical references that caution is taken when Trecensis presents a textual variant within a biblical reference.

One further example of the complications of the textual history of *De baptismo* and its biblical referents has already been discussed in the previous section on code-switching. It involves the word *amartiis* in *De baptismo* 18.1. The reader will recall that at *De Bapt.* 18.1 Codex Trecensis has *manus ne facile inposueritis nec amartiis alienis communicaueritis*. Mesnart's edition (B) attests *manus ne facile imposueris ne participes aliena delicta*. Borleffs concluded in his study of the tendencies of Trecensis and Mesnart's edition that Mesnart must be correcting and therefore is later than T. He recommends that anyone preparing an edition privilege the readings of T unless it presents a clearly flawed text in which case the later B will suffice.¹⁴⁴ These two examples and the complexities of Tertullian's textual tradition which they

¹⁴³ Borleffs demonstrates that he did the same thing with John 1:1 where he cited the beginning words of the verse as *in principio* in *Adu. Prax.* 13 and 21 but then re-worded the verse to *in primordio* in *Adu. Prax.* 5 and 16.

¹⁴⁴ Borleffs 1948, 200.

represent will be instructive and paradigmatic in the exploration of *De baptismo*'s biblical referents in the following chapter.

	Rm	1Cor	2Cor	Gal	Eph	Phil	Col	1Th	2Th	1Tm	2Tm	Tt	Phlm
TE ba	0	17	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	6	0	1	0

	Act	Hbr	Jac	1Pt	2Pt	1Jo	2Jo	3Jo	Jud	Apc
TE ba	29	1	1	1	1	3	0	0	0	0

4.3.5 Ad uxorem (TE ux) 198–203 [CPL 12]

This work is dated to the middle period of Tertullian's literary activity. It is typically dated between 198 and 203, though Braun preferred slightly later dates of 200–206.¹⁴⁵ Quasten categorizes the genre of this writing as a disciplinary work.¹⁴⁶ The text of the work has been preserved among three primary codices: A, N, F (discussed above at 4.1.5.1, 4.1.5.6, and 4.1.5.7 respectively).¹⁴⁷ Though no longer extant, the codex known as Gorziensis (G) was collated and used by Rhenanus in his third edition.¹⁴⁸ Another lost manuscript known as Hirsaugiensis was utilized in Rhenanus' first edition of 1521.¹⁴⁹ Kroymann also utilized Rhenanus' third edition of 1539 for his critical edition of this text.¹⁵⁰

Fredouille made some general observations about the use of the Scriptures in the works *Ad uxorem*, *De exhortatione castitatis*, and *De monogamia*. By examining the Scriptural indices of CCSL, he found that generally Tertullian used Scripture the most in *Ad uxorem*. Instead of

¹⁴⁵ Braun 1962, 571.

¹⁴⁶ Quasten 1990, 302.

¹⁴⁷ Tertullian and Charles Munier, *A son épouse*, Sources chrétiennes, no 273 (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1980), 65.

¹⁴⁸ CCSL 1: 372.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Tertullian and Beatus Rhenanus, *Opera*, third ed. (Basileae: Mense Martio, 1539).

adding to the amount of Scriptural references in subsequent works, Fredouille notes that Tertullian instead sharpened his exegetical arguments.¹⁵¹

	Rm	1Cor	2Cor	Gal	Eph	Phil	Col	1Th	2Th	1Tm	2Tm	Tt	Phlm
TE ux	3	60	4	1	3	4	2	2	0	6	1	2	0

	Act	Hbr	Jac	1Pt	2Pt	1Jo	2Jo	3Jo	Jud	Apc
TE ux	2	7	0	2	1	0	0	0	1	1

4.3.6 De praescriptione haereticorum (TE hae) 198–203 [CPL 5]

Fredouille and Barnes have argued that the title of this work should actually be *De praescriptionibus haereticorum* instead of that given by Refoulé in the CCSL edition.¹⁵² According to Braun’s summary of the various datings of this work, all are agreed that it was written after the apologetic or early period of Tertullian’s literary career and yet also before his later or Montanist phase.¹⁵³ The dates for the work are therefore similar to those others of the middle period. Quasten lists this as the first of Tertullian’s “controversial treatises”.¹⁵⁴ The name of the work *praescriptiones* refers to a clause in the Roman legal code which allowed a case to be thrown out of court.¹⁵⁵ Schleyer notes that the work must have been aimed at a number of different audiences which are all addressed relatively early in the work (especially *Praes* 3.1), namely less educated Christians who wondered (*miriones*) at some going over to another party, leaders who were influential and highly regarded (*fidelissimi, prudentissimi, usitatissimi* [some mss and edd have *uetustissimi*]), and those who were no longer regarded as such because of their heresy. All three groups are party to Tertullian’s first treatise on heresy.¹⁵⁶ The sources used to

¹⁵¹ Jean Claude Fredouille, *Tertullien et la conversion de la culture antique* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1972), 94.

¹⁵² CCSL 1:185; Fredouille, *La conversion*, 195–218; Barnes, *Tertullian* (1985), 333.

¹⁵³ Braun 1962, 568–69.

¹⁵⁴ Quasten 1990, 269.

¹⁵⁵ Barnes, *Tertullian* (1971), 64.

¹⁵⁶ Schleyer, *De baptismo; De oratione*, 11–13.

compose this work are Aristotle (*Praes* 7.6), 4 Ezra (3.7), Homer (39.5), Hosidius Geta (39.4), Plato (30.1), Virgil (39.4), Zeno (7.4). Scholars have also demonstrated Tertullian's extensive dependence on Irenaeus for his first work on heretics.¹⁵⁷ The work is broken into three parts: a sermon (*Praes.* 1–14), a persuasive essay or thesis (15–37), and a pamphlet (38–44).¹⁵⁸

The CCSL text of the work has been preserved in four of the principle codices: A,¹⁵⁹ P, N, F (discussed above at 4.1.5.1, 4.1.5.4, 4.1.5.6, and 4.1.5.7 respectively) and in two others: Luxembourg, Bibliothèque nationale, 75 (also known as Luxemburgensis [X], end of the fifteenth century); and Leiden, University Library, BPL 2 (also known as Leidensis [L], fifteenth century). Refoulé also depended upon several editions of *Praes*, amassing 18 different sigla for various editions and their marginalia.¹⁶⁰

	Rm	1Cor	2Cor	Gal	Eph	Phil	Col	1Th	2Th	1Tm	2Tm	Tt	Phlm
TE hae	5	26	8	19	5	5	7	3	4	19	18	12	2

	Act	Hbr	Jac	1Pt	2Pt	1Jo	2Jo	3Jo	Jud	Apc
TE hae	18	2	1	1	4	9	0	0	1	1

4.3.7 Scorpiace (TE sco) 203/04 [CPL 22]

Scholars are divided on the dating of this work. The older traditional view is that this work was composed during the persecution of Scapula in 212–13.¹⁶¹ The absence, however, of any hint of Montanism and the employment of apostolic succession as an argument which is opposed to Montanistic teaching are two reasons why some scholars have dated this work earlier. Frend, for example, suggests contra Fredouille that *Scorpiace* should be dated 203–04 rather than

¹⁵⁷ Refoulé and Labriolle, *Prescription*, 58–66; Schleyer, *De baptismo; De oratione*, 211–217.

¹⁵⁸ Monceaux, *Histoire*, 306; Schleyer, *De baptismo; De oratione*, 218.

¹⁵⁹ Refoulé also records some readings from this codex with the siglum *A** which signifies those which appeared under ultraviolet light. CCSL 1:186.

¹⁶⁰ CCSL 1:186.

¹⁶¹ Braun, *Deus Christianorum*, 574.

211–12 because of similar maltreatment of Christians in other large cities at that time and the lack of references to Montanism.¹⁶² The treatise is written to Christians being persecuted in order to defend them against gnostics who were speaking against persecution.¹⁶³ Quasten therefore categorizes this as a controversial writing.¹⁶⁴ The textual tradition of this work depends primarily upon codex Agobardinus and a single reading on folio 47 of Monte Cassino, Abbey Library, 384 (9th – 10th century, Casin.) which contains a citation of *Scor.* 12.10. Earlier editions by Mesnart, Gelenius, Pamelius, Junius, and Rigalt are also used for the modern text.¹⁶⁵ Tertullian made a number of Scriptural references both to the Old as well as the New Testament.

	Rm	1Cor	2Cor	Gal	Eph	Phil	Col	1Th	2Th	1Tm	2Tm	Tt	Phlm
TE sco	19	3	11	0	0	3	1	1	2	0	6	0	0

	Act	Hbr	Jac	1Pt	2Pt	1Jo	2Jo	3Jo	Jud	Apc
TE sco	13	2	0	11	0	4	0	0	0	22

4.3.8 De patientia (TE pat) pre-204 [CPL 9]

Most scholars date this work within the middle period.¹⁶⁶ It is widely accepted to have been written prior to *De paenitentia* which must have been written after 204 as demonstrated below.¹⁶⁷ Along with the treatises on prayer and baptism, this work and the following are thought to have been delivered homiletically.¹⁶⁸ Tertullian used no identifiable non-Christian, classical sources in this work – a marked difference from many of his previous apologetic writings. This is most likely due to the genre of the work. In addition to the 66 commonly acknowledged

¹⁶² W. H. C. Frend, review of *Tertullien et la conversion de la culture antique*, by Jean-Claude Fredouille, *The Journal of Theological Studies* 24, no. 1 (1973): 251. Cf. also Barnes, *Tertullian* (1971), 48, 51, 171–72.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 172.

¹⁶⁴ Quasten, *Patrology*, 281.

¹⁶⁵ CCL 2: 1068, 1093 n. 3/7.

¹⁶⁶ Braun, *Deus Christianorum*, 570.

¹⁶⁷ Tertullian, *De la patience*, ed. Jean Claude Fredouille, Sources chrétiennes, no 310 (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1984), 9–10.

¹⁶⁸ Barnes, *Tertullian* (1971), 117.

canonical Scriptures, he also used the Ascension of Isaiah (*Pat* 14.1). The CCSL text of this work is dependent on a number of codex manuscripts, including O, P, M, N, and F (discussed above in 4.1.5), but Borleffs depended first on the 1545 edition of Mesnart which he listed above the following codex manuscripts.¹⁶⁹ Borleffs also compiled readings from 14 different editions.¹⁷⁰

	Rm	1Cor	2Cor	Gal	Eph	Phil	Col	1Th	2Th	1Tm	2Tm	Tt	Phlm
TE pat	4	8	1	3	4	1	0	4	0	1	0	0	0

	Act	Hbr	Jac	1Pt	2Pt	1Jo	2Jo	3Jo	Jud	Apc
TE pat	1	5	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2

4.3.9 De paenitentia (TE pae) 204 [CPL 10]

This work is dated after January 204 when Vesuvius erupted since Tertullian references a recent volcanic eruption in *De paenitentia* 12.2–4.¹⁷¹ As mentioned above, this work is believed to have been a homily along with those on prayer, baptism, and patience. The intended audience appears to have been twofold : those who were preparing for the sacrament of baptism and those who had already been baptized but had committed a grave sin requiring a second repentance. Barnes remarks that these four ecclesiastical writings are peripheral to the larger concerns of Tertullian’s intellectual work and thus received less of his energy.¹⁷² The text of the work in Borleff’s edition in CCSL is based on the codices with the following sigla: T, O, and N

¹⁶⁹ In a footnote, Borleffs states “*Haec editio codicis uicem habet.*” CCSL 1:298.

¹⁷⁰ CCSL 1: 298.

¹⁷¹ Tertullian, *De la patience*, ed. Jean Claude Fredouille, Sources chrétiennes, no 310 (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1984), 9–10; Quasten, 299.

¹⁷² Barnes, *Tertullian* (1971), 120.

(discussed above at 4.1.5.2, 4.1.5.3, and 4.1.5.6 respectively). He also makes reference to thirteen various editions in the apparatus.¹⁷³

	Rm	1Cor	2Cor	Gal	Eph	Phil	Col	1Th	2Th	1Tm	2Tm	Tt	Phlm
TE pae	9	2	1	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0

	Act	Hbr	Jac	1Pt	2Pt	1Jo	2Jo	3Jo	Jud	Apc
TE pae	3	4	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	7

4.3.10 **Aduersus Hermogenem (TE Her) 204/05 [CPL 13]**

Braun dated this work to the middle period.¹⁷⁴ Dekkers in the CCSL “Tabula Chronologica” lists this work last of the middle period.¹⁷⁵ Quasten notes that this work must have followed *De praescriptione* because Tertullian mentions that work in the first line of *Hermog*.¹⁷⁶ Grant demonstrated that Tertullian made use of Theophilus’ work in this treatise because the text of Genesis used by Tertullian is only found elsewhere in Theophilus’ extant *Ad Autolycum*.¹⁷⁷ Grant found an identical text of Gen. 1:2, 9, 11, 12, 25; and 2:7 in these two works. Though Theophilus’ work against Hermogenes is no longer extant, Bolgiani used Grant’s demonstration and his own demonstration of the inner logic of Theophilus’ work on creation and his scriptural citations to argue that Tertullian’s entire outline for *Aduersus Hermogenem* stemmed from Theophilus’ work of the same title.¹⁷⁸ In addition to Theophilus and the Scriptures, Tertullian also used a quote from Diogenes Laertius in *Herm* 44.1. The textual tradition of this work

¹⁷³ CCSL 1: 320.

¹⁷⁴ Braun, *Deus Christianorum*, 569.

¹⁷⁵ CCSL 2: 1627.

¹⁷⁶ Quasten, *Patrology*, 276.

¹⁷⁷ Grant 1988, 188. Robert M. Grant, “Patristica,” *Vigiliae Christianae*, no. 4 (1949): 228–29.

¹⁷⁸ Franco Bolgiani, “Sullo scritto perduto di Teofilo d’Antiochia ‘Contro Ermogene,’” in *Paradoxos politeia: studi patristici in onore di Giuseppe Lazzati*, ed. Giuseppe Lazzati, Raniero Cantalamessa, and Luigi Franco Pizzolato, Pubblicazioni della Università cattolica del Sacro Cuore 10 (Milano: Vita e pensiero, 1979), 77–118, esp. 105–113.

depends on Codices P, N, and F (discussed above at 4.1.5.4, 4.1.5.6, and 4.1.5.7 respectively) and a number of editions by Rhenanus, Franciscus Junius and Nicolas Rigalt.¹⁷⁹

	Rm	1Cor	2Cor	Gal	Eph	Phil	Col	1Th	2Th	1Tm	2Tm	Tt	Phlm
TE Her	9	12	0	0	1	0	4	0	0	0	1	0	0

	Act	Hbr	Jac	1Pt	2Pt	1Jo	2Jo	3Jo	Jud	Apc
TE Her	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11

4.3.11 De pallio (TE pall) 205 [CPL 15]

Though there has been much debate around the dating of this work with proposals to date it as one of the very earliest of Tertullian's writings and others as one of the latest, Barnes' argument for 205 seems most convincing given the evidence he presents.¹⁸⁰ This work is a speech addressed to a mixed audience of Carthaginians rather than just to those in the church. Hunink classifies its genre as epideictic and in line with other such speeches from the Second Sophistic.¹⁸¹ Many have noted the parallels between this work and the sophist Apuleius' *Florida*.¹⁸² Indeed, this link is one of Barnes' concluding proofs of his thesis that Tertullian was an *ecclesiarum sophista*.¹⁸³ The text of the work is attested in codices F, L, N, V, and a codex denoted as *satis uetustus* in Saumaise's edition.¹⁸⁴ Thirteen other editions were also consulted along with the conjectures of a few other studies.¹⁸⁵ Gerlo noted extreme difficulties in establishing the text when he examined a number of text critical problems in the text of *De pallio*. He did not, however, list any difficulties pertaining to Tertullian's biblical references in

¹⁷⁹ CCSL 1: 396.

¹⁸⁰ Barnes, *Tertullian* (1971), 35–37.

¹⁸¹ Vincent Hunink, *Tertullian, De pallio: A Commentary* (Amsterdam : Gieben, 2005), 17.

¹⁸² The question of whether Apuleius should be understood as a sophist has been much debated. For a work that has argued affirmatively, cf S. J. Harrison, *Apuleius: A Latin Sophist* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

¹⁸³ Barnes, *Tertullian* (1971), 232.

¹⁸⁴ Claude Saumaise, *Claudii Salmasii notae in Q. Sept. Florentis Tertulliani librum De pallio* (Lutetiae Parisiorum: H. Drovart, 1622).

¹⁸⁵ CCSL 2: 732.

the treatise. Gerlo considered one possible source, Heraclitus at *De pallio* 2.4, when arguing that the reading *mortem bibit* should instead be the ironic *mortem uiuit*.¹⁸⁶ Other sources include Aesop (*De pallio* 5.6), Cicero (3.3; 5.5), Laberius (1.3), Lentulus (4.4,9), Varro (2.6–7)¹⁸⁷, Vergil (1.3,31), and Zeno (5.4). Hunink identified two potential references, one each to Rom and Apc.

	Rm	1Cor	2Cor	Gal	Eph	Phil	Col	1Th	2Th	1Tm	2Tm	Tt	Phlm
TE pall	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

	Act	Hbr	Jac	1Pt	2Pt	1Jo	2Jo	3Jo	Jud	Apc
TE pall	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

4.3.12 De cultu feminarum (TE cul) Bk 1: 205/06, Bk 2: 196/97 [CPL 11]

The dating of this work has been a topic of much more discussion than in the case of other works. There are a few scholars (Monceaux, Dekkers, and Koch) who have dated both books of *De cultu feminarum* to the middle period along with the works above. There are two alternative views which have both argued that one of the two books in this work was written earlier than the other. Noeldechen, Mohrmann, Harnack, and Quasten all argued that book one was written earlier (between 197 and 200) than book two. Saeflund argued that the second book was written as much as ten years prior to the first.¹⁸⁸

The text of this work in CCSL is primarily based on codices A, N, and F (discussed above at 4.1.5.1, 4.1.5.6, and 4.1.5.7 respectively). The editions of Rhenanus and Mesnart along with a few modern editions were also used.¹⁸⁹ In addition to the canonical Scriptures, Tertullian

¹⁸⁶ A. Gerlo, “Tekstkritische nota’s bij de ‘Pallio’ van Q. S. Fl. Tertullianus,” *Revue Belge de Philologie et d’Histoire* 18, no. 2 (1939): 397.

¹⁸⁷ J. H. Waszink, *Quinti Septimi Florentis Tertulliani De anima*, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae, v. 100 (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2010), 6.

¹⁸⁸ Braun, *Deus Christianorum*, 570–71.

¹⁸⁹ CCSL 1: 342.

depended on a few additional sources as he assembled these two books, namely the book of Enoch (*Cult.* 2.10.3) and Ovid (2.11.1).

	Rm	1Cor	2Cor	Gal	Eph	Phil	Col	1Th	2Th	1Tm	2Tm	Tt	Phlm
TE cul	7	19	6	1	3	5	2	4	0	4	1	0	0

	Act	Hbr	Jac	1Pt	2Pt	1Jo	2Jo	3Jo	Jud	Apc
TE cul	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	6

4.4 Montanist Writings¹⁹⁰

4.4.1 De carne Christi (TE car) 206 [CPL 18]

Though Gryson dated this work to 206 and the start of Tertullian's Montanist era to 207, most other scholars have seen at least some Montanist influence and therefore dated the work later.¹⁹¹ Monceaux, Dekkers, Mohrmann, and Harnack all gave dates between 207–213.¹⁹² Some date the work even later because Tertullian is believed to have referenced *Aduersus Marcionem* book 4 in *De carne Christi* 7: *Audiat igitur et Apelles, quid iam responsum sit a nobis Marcioni eo libello, quo ad euangelium ipsius prouocauimus...*¹⁹³ Tertullian used the techniques of forensic oratory particularly well in constructing this treatise. Sider notes, “No treatise shows more decisively Tertullian's complete mastery of the traditional rhetorical forms than the *De Carne Christi*.”¹⁹⁴ According to the work's first chapter, the audience of this work was anyone who belonged to or knew of the “Sadducees” of Tertullian's day who had denied the resurrection, namely Marcion, Apelles, and Valentinus.

¹⁹⁰ Barnes developed eight characteristics of a Montanist work and then charted which of Tertullian's writings exhibited these characteristics. Barnes, *Tertullian* (1971), 43–44.

¹⁹¹ Gryson et al., *Répertoire*, 788 give his Montanist date as 207.

¹⁹² Braun, *Deus Christianorum*, 573.

¹⁹³ CCSL 2: 886. The apparatus of CCSL notes that the specific reference is to *Adu. Marc.* 4.19.6–9.

¹⁹⁴ Sider, *Ancient Rhetoric*, 27.

The text of this work is preserved in a number of manuscripts: A (though only chapters 1–9 and part of 10 of *De carne*), T, P, M, N, and F (discussed above at 4.1.5.2, 4.1.5.4, 4.1.5.5, 4.1.5.6, and 4.1.5.7 respectively). The editions of Rhenanus and Mesnart were also utilized by Kroymann for his edition printed in CCSL.¹⁹⁵ In addition to the Scriptures, this work also draws on Ovid’s *Metamorphosis* (*De carne* 9.2) and Clemen of Alexandria’s *Stromata* (23.6).

	Rm	1Cor	2Cor	Gal	Eph	Phil	Col	1Th	2Th	1Tm	2Tm	Tt	Phlm
TE car	9	15	1	6	0	1	0	0	0	5	1	0	0

	Act	Hbr	Jac	1Pt	2Pt	1Jo	2Jo	3Jo	Jud	Apc
TE car	6	6	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	1

4.4.2 Aduersus Valentinianos (TE Val) 206/07 [CPL 16]

There is consensus among scholars that this work should be dated toward the end of Tertullian’s middle period and at the beginning of his Montanist phase.¹⁹⁶ Quasten assigns this work to the genre of “controversial treatises”.¹⁹⁷ The intended audience of this work seems to be fellow Carthaginians who had come under the teaching of Valentinus and his disciples, especially perhaps of a certain Prodicus who was probably a local adherent and promoter of Valentinus’ teaching.¹⁹⁸ The text of this work in CCSL is based on codices M, P, and F and editions by Rhenanus, Franciscus Junius and Nicolas Rigalt.¹⁹⁹ Tertullian’s most significant source in constructing this treatise is Irenaeus’ *Aduersus Haereses*. In a review article of Fredouille’s edition in *Sources chrétiennes*, Braun showed several examples of Tertullian closely reading and recapitulating the Irenaeian argument, especially in book one of *AH*.²⁰⁰ Tertullian

¹⁹⁵ CCSL 2: 872.

¹⁹⁶ Braun, *Deus Christianorum*, 572.

¹⁹⁷ Quasten, *Patrology*, 277.

¹⁹⁸ Barnes, *Tertullian* (1971), 81.

¹⁹⁹ CCSL 1: 752.

²⁰⁰ René Braun, “Notes de lecture sur une édition récente de l’*Aduersus Valentinianos* de Tertullien,” *Revue d’études Augustiniennes et Patristiques* 28, no. 3–4 (January 1, 1982): 189–200.

also made use of Justin, Miltiades, and Proculus whom he names as sources in *Aduersus Valentinianos* 5.1.²⁰¹ Tertullian seems to have depended more on his anti-heretical sources more than the Scriptures themselves in this work.

	Rm	1Cor	2Cor	Gal	Eph	Phil	Col	1Th	2Th	1Tm	2Tm	Tt	Phlm
TE Val	1	2	1	0	1	0	3	0	0	1	0	0	1

	Act	Hbr	Jac	1Pt	2Pt	1Jo	2Jo	3Jo	Jud	Apc
TE Val	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0

4.4.3 **De anima (TE an) 206/07 [CPL 17]**

The most exhaustive study thus far of this work, by Waszink, dates it to 210–13. This is based on several factors but does not take into account the rest of Tertullian’s literary career.²⁰² Barnes fits this work into his larger schema of the total chronology of all the writings. He places it earlier to around 206–7.²⁰³ Waszink counters those claims that this work is primarily philosophical or the first scientific treatise on psychology and the soul. Instead, he argues that the work has as its primary aim to attack heresies and thus belongs to the list of controversial or polemical works like *Aduersus Hermogenem*, *Aduersus Marcionem*, and *Aduersus Praxean*.²⁰⁴ The text of *De anima* in the CCSL edition is based primarily on codex A. A number of other editions, including some which used now lost manuscripts, help to correct scribal errors or lacunae in the one extant manuscript.²⁰⁵ One of Waszink’s chief contributions to the study of this document is his extensive treatment of Tertullian’s sources for this composition. Soranus’ περί ψυχῆς is identified as the source for many of the other classical authors whom Tertullian quotes. Tertullian’s use of Asclepiades, Herophilus, Hippocrates, Erasistratus, Diocles, Andreas,

²⁰¹ Quasten, *Patrology*, 277.

²⁰² Waszink, *Anima*, 5–6.

²⁰³ Barnes, *Tertullian* (1971), 47.

²⁰⁴ Waszink, *Anima*, 7.

²⁰⁵ CCSL 2: 780; Waszink, *Anima*, 1–4.

Praxagoras, Strato, and Chrysippus probably stems from Soranus.²⁰⁶ In addition to Soranus, Tertullian also used Aëtius, Plato, the Stoics, Aristotle, Heraclitus, Democritus, Posidonius, and Arius Didymus of Alexandria.²⁰⁷ Waszink takes special notice of those places where Plato was consulted in the original Greek at *De Anima* 17.12; 18.1–2; 23.5; 23.6; 28.1; and 54.4.²⁰⁸ Another significant source which contained a number of excerpts on the subject of dreams and was used by Tertullian to treat these subjects was Hermippus of Berytus.²⁰⁹ As far as Christian authors, there was clear dependence on Irenaeus and an unnamed Christian source which may have provided scriptural passages on the embryo as an animate being (not Justin or Athenagoras but possibly Tatian or Melito).²¹⁰ The Roman authors Pliny, Lucretius, Varro, Seneca, Suetonius, the Hermetics, and possibly Hermippus.²¹¹

	Rm	1Cor	2Cor	Gal	Eph	Phil	Col	1Th	2Th	1Tm	2Tm	Tt	Phlm
TE an	10	15	3	3	17	1	1	1	2	4	0	2	0

	Act	Hbr	Jac	1Pt	2Pt	1Jo	2Jo	3Jo	Jud	Apc
TE an	7	1	0	3	2	5	0	0	0	6

4.4.4 De resurrectione mortuorum (TE res) 206/07 [CPL 19]

This work shows Montanist influence and has been dated from 208 to as late as 222.²¹² Barnes notes that the fifth book of *Aduersus Marcionem* refers to this work which in turn refers to *De Anima* and *Aduersus Valentinianos*. Barnes thus dates the work to 206/07.²¹³ Quasten classifies this work as a controversial treatise aimed against any who deny the resurrection of the

²⁰⁶ Ibid., 28–29.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 30–34.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 41.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., 44–45.

²¹⁰ Ibid., 45–46, esp. 46 n. 2.

²¹¹ Ibid., 46–47.

²¹² Braun, *Deus Christianorum*, 573.

²¹³ Barnes, *Tertullian* (1971), 40–41, 46–47.

body whether pagans, Sadducees, or heretics.²¹⁴ Evans identifies three groups of texts upon which the manuscript tradition of this work depends.²¹⁵ The primary textual witness is in T (described above at 4.1.5.2). The secondary witnesses include P, M, N, and F (described above at 4.1.5.4, 4.1.5.5, 4.1.5.6, and 4.1.5.7 respectively). The other manuscripts mentioned in the *monitum* at the front of the CCSL edition of this work were judged not to contain a sufficiently different textual witness from those already mentioned.²¹⁶ A third group of codices were thought to have been collected and copied by a Montanist or Novatianist of the fifth century, because the collection of books were Tertullian's Montanist works and Novatian's *De Trinitate*.²¹⁷ This collection no longer exists but was used by Pamelius, Mesnart, and Gelenius in their editions. A number of editions are also noteworthy for producing conjectures.²¹⁸ Evans notes several similarities between the teachings of the apologists Justin Martyr, Theophilus, and Athenagoras, but he attributes the commonality to shared tradition rather than any direct literary dependence.²¹⁹ Fredouille, however, has demonstrated Tertullian's use of Aristotle in *De Res.* 8.2.²²⁰ Pouderon showed that though there are differences between the two, there are sufficient similarities between Tertullian and Athenagoras to attribute use.²²¹ Especially of note for this study is that Pouderon noted similarities between the two authors in their biblical references of 2 Cor 5 :10 (Tertullian, *De Res.* 43.6 and Athenagoras, *De Res.* 18.5) and 1 Cor 15 :32 (Tertullian,

²¹⁴ Quasten, *Patrology*, 283.

²¹⁵ Ernest Evans, *Tertullian's Treatise on the Resurrection: De Resurrectione Carnis Liber* (London: S.P.C.K, 1960), xxxv–xxxvi.

²¹⁶ CCSL 2: 921; J. W. Ph. Borleffs, "Zur Luxemburger Tertullianhandschrift," *Mnemosyne* 2, no. 4 (1935): 307.

²¹⁷ Evans, *Resurrection*, xxxvi.

²¹⁸ CCSL 2: 921.

²¹⁹ Evans, *Resurrection*, xxiv–xxxii.

²²⁰ Jean-Claude Fredouille, "Notes Sur Tertullien, An., 53, 4 et Res., 8, 2," *Revue d'études Augustiniennes et Patristiques* 51, no. 1 (January 1, 2005): 12–16.

²²¹ Bernard Pouderon, "Athénagore et Tertullien sur la résurrection," *Revue d'études Augustiniennes et Patristiques* 35, no. 2 (January 1989): 209–30.

De Res. 49.13 and Athenagoras, *De Res.* 19.3).²²² There are on the other hand several demonstrable literary links between this treatise of Tertullian and Irenaeus' *Aduersus Haereses*.²²³ Tertullian also references Aristotle (*De res.* 2.12), Enoch (32.1), Homer (1.5), Plato (3.2), and Seneca (1.4). Sider has demonstrated the rhetorical structure of this work and narrates several places where scriptural citations or allusions function rhetorically. In the following chapter, this insight may explain at least one of Tertullian's unique renderings of a verse.²²⁴ Sider concludes that Tertullian uses the Scriptures, sometimes even out of sequence whether moving from Romans 8 backwards to chapter 5 or moving from 2Cor to 1Cor, all for the rhetorical effect of highlighting the Christological theme.²²⁵

	Rm	1Cor	2Cor	Gal	Eph	Phil	Col	1Th	2Th	1Tm	2Tm	Tt	Phlm
TE res	53	116	58	12	27	6	16	23	3	5	6	0	0

	Act	Hbr	Jac	1Pt	2Pt	1Jo	2Jo	3Jo	Jud	Apc
TE res	18	0	0	1	0	5	0	0	0	30

4.4.5 **Aduersus Marcionem (TE Marc) 207/11 [CPL 14]**

Tertullian himself dates the writing of book one of this work to the fifteenth year of Severus.²²⁶ This dates the first book to the years 207–208. Barnes argues based on the unity of the five-book work and a profession of Montanism at 1.29.4 that the entire treatise was completed by 208.²²⁷ The dating of this work is complicated by Tertullian's own admission that what we have now is the third edition which has been amended and enlarged.²²⁸ Braun followed

²²² Ibid., 221.

²²³ Evans, *Resurrection*, xxxii–xxxiv.

²²⁴ Cf the discussion of 2Cor 5:4 in the following chapter.

²²⁵ Robert Sider, "Structure and Design in the 'De Resurrectione Mortuorum' of Tertullian," *Vigiliae Christianae*, no. 3 (1969): 177–96.

²²⁶ *Aduersus Marcionem* 1.15.1.

²²⁷ Barnes, *Tertullian* (1971), 37, 46.

²²⁸ *Aduersus Marcionem* 1.1.1–2.

Monceaux and Harnack in dating only book five later than the other books, between 208–211.²²⁹ Quispel argued that the addition entailed books four and five and thus dates those two books later than the first three books.²³⁰ One significant reason for understanding book four as a significant addition which was only completed in the third edition of the overall work is the size of book four. Birt classified books one, two, and three of *Adversus Marcionem* as medium-sized works which would fit on a bookroll of approximately 1700 lines.²³¹ Book four, however, Birt classified as one of the largest formats at approximately 5,000 lines and book five at approximately 2,700 lines. Because of the surprising comparative length of these last two books and because they are both commentaries on Marcion’s New Testament, namely his Gospel and Pauline letters, it makes most sense to date them later than the first three books. Quasten categorizes this along with Tertullian’s other anti-heretical works as a “controversial treatise”.²³²

The textual tradition of this work is primarily based upon extant manuscripts M and F (discussed above at 4.1.5.5 and 4.1.5.7 respectively) and editions which utilized no longer extant manuscripts (Rhenanus, Pamelius, and Rigalt), along with occasional conjectural emendations from Tertullianists (Bill, Corssen, and Thörnell).²³³ Braun noted in the introduction to the *Sources chrétiennes* edition that Pamelius’ edition is noteworthy in regards to its treatment of the biblical references contained within this text. He was the first modern editor to make note of these references and to give them special care.²³⁴ Kilpatrick has drawn attention to Pamelius’ conjectural emendation at *Adu. Marc.* 4.22.8, which was followed by Kroymann, especially with

²²⁹ Braun, *Deus Christianorum*, 572–73.

²³⁰ Gilles Quispel, *De Bronnen van Tertullianus’ Adversus Marcionem* (Leiden: Burgersdijk & Niermans, 1943), 17.

²³¹ Theodor Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen in seinem Verhältniss [sic] zur Litteratur* (Berlin: W. Hertz, 1882), 311–13.

²³² Quasten, *Patrology*, 273.

²³³ CCSL 1: 438.

²³⁴ “Pamelius fut le premier à indiquer, autant que ce lui fut possible, les citations scripturaires contenues dans l’*Adversus Marcionem*.” René Braun, ed., *Tertullien: Contre Marcion livre I*, Sources Chrétiennes, no 365 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1990), 28.

regards to its relation to Tertullian's biblical reference of Acts 13:33. Pamelius made an emendation toward what seemed like a common sense solution to an easily spotted error, but Kilpatrick showed that the supposed textual error can best be explained by the underlying Greek text rather than Tertullian's error. He concludes his note, "In general, editors will do well not to correct the text of biblical quotations away from the reading of the manuscripts before they have made sure that the manuscript reading does not present a form of the biblical text known to be correct in other witnesses."²³⁵ Though Braun noted Pamelius as a relatively helpful editor in regards to the biblical text, Kilpatrick rightly cautions us to be aware of the potential limitations of the emendations of Pamelius and Kroymann, especially when the biblical references correspond to textual variation in the NT text itself.

Tertullian depended on a number of other sources in creating this work. Minor sources include Aesop (*Aduersus Marcionem* 4.23.2), III Esdras (4.16.1), Hostilius Mimographus (1.18.4), Lucretius (4.8.3), Plato (1.13.13), Virgil (1.5.1, 2.13.20), Zeno (1.13.5).²³⁶ Irenaeus' *Aduersus Haereses* was the primary source for *Aduersus Marcionem* book one.²³⁷ Theophilus' *Aduersus Marcionem*, though no longer extant, was the most likely source for book two. Depending on the work of Zahn and Loofs, Quispel reconstructed much of the likely argument of Theophilus' work and demonstrated the parallels with Tertullian's.²³⁸ Justin's *Dialogus cum Tryphone* and Irenaeus were sources for book three.²³⁹ Tertullian self-reports his source for book

²³⁵ G. D. Kilpatrick, "Acts XIII. 33 and Tertullian, 'Adu. Marc.' IV. Xxii. 8," *The Journal of Theological Studies* 11, no. 1 (1960): 53.

²³⁶ CCSL 2: 1495–96.

²³⁷ Quispel, *De Bronnen*, 22–33.

²³⁸ Friedrich Loofs, *Theophilus von Antiochien Adversus Marcionem und die anderen theologischen Quellen bei Irenaeus*, vol. 2, *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* 46 (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrich, 1930); Theodor von Zahn, "Die Dialoge des 'Adamantius' mit den Gnostikern," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 9 (1888): 230–239; Quispel, *De Bronnen*, 34–55.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, 56–79.

four at its beginning: *et ut fidem instrueret, dotem quandam commentatus est illi, opus ex contrarietatum oppositionibus Antithesis cognominatum*.²⁴⁰ In addition to Marcion's Antitheses, Quispel argues that Tertullian must have also used an orthodox Gospel as well.²⁴¹

As just mentioned, Zahn suggested long ago that Tertullian may have depended on Theophilus' work against Marcion as a source for his own Latin version of this work. It is likewise possible that some of the unique readings among Tertullian's biblical references may also stem from Theophilus' Greek work.²⁴² This was shown to be the case earlier in the examination of the biblical text in *Apologeticum* and *Aduersus Hermogenem*. Recent studies by Roth (on Marcion's *Euangelion*) and Schmid (on Marcion's *Apostolicon*) have upheld the view that Tertullian used Greek copies of Marcion and his own Greek copies of New Testament writings as sources for the biblical references in this work.²⁴³

	Rm	1Cor	2Cor	Gal	Eph	Phil	Col	1Th	2Th	1Tm	2Tm	Tt	Phlm
TE Marc	96	213	69	113	83	22	35	17	17	15	3	3	2

	Act	Hbr	Jac	1Pt	2Pt	1Jo	2Jo	3Jo	Jud	Apc
TE Marc	35	40	1	9	1	9	0	0	0	29

4.4.6 De corona (TE cor) 208 [CPL 21]

This work has almost universally been assigned to the year 211, by Monceaux, Harnack, Mohrmann, Koch, Quasten, Noeldechen, Adam, and Marra.²⁴⁴ Because of a brief use of a montanistic phrase and the re-dating of gift-giving by the emperors, Barnes assigned this work

²⁴⁰ *Aduersus Marcionem* 4.1.1.

²⁴¹ "Ook een rechtzinnig evangelie moet hij telkens geraadpleegd hebben, om de afwijkende lezingen in de Bijbel van zijn tegenstander vast te stellen." Quispel, *De Bronnen*, 82.

²⁴² Theodor Zahn, *Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons* (Erlangen: A. Deichert, 1888), 420.

²⁴³ Dieter T. Roth, *The Text of Marcion's Gospel* (Boston: Brill, 2015), 85; Ulrich Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos: Rekonstruktion und Historische Einordnung der marcionitischen Paulusbriefausgabe* (Berlin ; New York: de Gruyter, 1995), 309.

²⁴⁴ Braun, *Deus Christianorum*, 574.

the earlier dating of 208.²⁴⁵ Quasten classifies this work as in the disciplinary genre.²⁴⁶ The text of the CCSL edition of this writing depends on the codices A, N, and F (discussed above at 4.1.5.1, 4.1.5.6, and 4.1.5.7 respectively) and other textual witnesses which Rhenanus used in his edition. Kroymann also used editions by Rhenanus, Mesnart, and Marra.²⁴⁷

According to Quasten, one of Tertullian's main sources for this work was Claudius Saturninus' *De coronis* at *De corona* 7.6.²⁴⁸ Other sources include Diodorus Siculus (*De corona* 7.4), Herodotus (14.4), Hesiod (7.3), Homer (13.8), Leo Aegyptius (7.6), Ovid (7.4), Pindar (7.5), Pliny (7.4, 5), and Plutarch (7.5).²⁴⁹

	Rm	1Cor	2Cor	Gal	Eph	Phil	Col	1Th	2Th	1Tm	2Tm	Tt	Phlm
TE cor	7	36	3	0	8	3	1	2	0	2	5	1	0

	Act	Hbr	Jac	1Pt	2Pt	1Jo	2Jo	3Jo	Jud	Apc
TE cor	3	11	1	3	0	1	0	0	0	17

4.4.7 De fuga in persecutione (TE fu) 208/09 [CPL 25]

This work has traditionally been dated to 211–213, but Barnes re-worked the Montanist period dating and thus gave the date 208/9.²⁵⁰ Barnes classified this work as a Montanist *protrepticus*.²⁵¹ Quasten listed it as a disciplinary work.²⁵² The text of the CCSL edition of this writing depends on the Codex N (discussed above at 4.1.5.6) and others which Rhenanus used in his edition. Kroymann also used editions by Rhenanus, Mesnart, Gelenius, Pamelius, Junius,

²⁴⁵ Barnes, *Tertullian* (1971), 37, 47.

²⁴⁶ Quasten, *Patrology*, 307.

²⁴⁷ CCSL 2: 1038.

²⁴⁸ Quasten, *Patrology*, 308.

²⁴⁹ CCSL 2: 1495–96.

²⁵⁰ Braun, *Deus Christianorum*, 576; Barnes, *Tertullian* (1971), 47.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 46.

²⁵² Quasten, *Patrology*, 309.

Rigalt, Oehler, and Marra.²⁵³ No sources outside of the Scriptures have been identified for this work.

	Rm	1Cor	2Cor	Gal	Eph	Phil	Col	1Th	2Th	1Tm	2Tm	Tt	Phlm
TE fu	7	8	4	2	20	1	2	2	0	2	3	0	0

	Act	Hbr	Jac	1Pt	2Pt	1Jo	2Jo	3Jo	Jud	Apc
TE fu	17	2	0	6	0	5	0	0	0	9

4.4.8 De uirginibus uelandis (TE vg) 208/09 [CPL 27]

There has been a larger date range given for this book from earlier around 203 to as late as 217.²⁵⁴ Barnes gives a date in the middle range and prior to the most Montanistic treatises (*Aduersus Praxean, De monogamia, De ieunio, De pudicitia*).²⁵⁵ The work is addressed to the laity against the clerical hierarchy.²⁵⁶ Quasten classifies this work as disciplinary.²⁵⁷ Codex N (as discussed above at 4.1.5.6) was used along with other codices to establish the text for the CCSL edition. Dekkers also used the results of Pamelius' collation of various unspecified Vatican codices (Vatic.) and a no longer extant codex Diuionensis (Diuion.) as collated by Rigalt. Dekkers also consulted editions from Rhenanus, Gelen, Pamelius, Rigalt, and Oehler.²⁵⁸ Tertullian probably used *De oratione* 20–23 and *De cultu feminarum* 2 and 7 as he was writing this work since he maintains in those places the same argument concerning the veil as he does here.²⁵⁹

²⁵³ CCSL 2: 1134.

²⁵⁴ Braun, *Deus Christianorum*, 574.

²⁵⁵ Barnes, *Tertullian* (1971), 47.

²⁵⁶ Ibid., 46.

²⁵⁷ Quasten, *Patrology*, 306.

²⁵⁸ CCSL 2: 1208.

²⁵⁹ Quasten, *Patrology*, 306.

	Rm	1Cor	2Cor	Gal	Eph	Phil	Col	1Th	2Th	1Tm	2Tm	Tt	Phlm
TE vg	2	41	1	4	3	1	4	3	1	7	1	1	1

	Act	Hbr	Jac	1Pt	2Pt	1Jo	2Jo	3Jo	Jud	Apc
TE vg	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0

4.4.9 De exhortatione castitatis (TE cas) 208/09 [CPL 20]

Most scholars date this work 204–212. Though appeal is made to a Montanist oracle of Prisca,²⁶⁰ the treatise is devoid of many other Montanist characteristics and thus, Barnes dates it earlier than the last four works which show the most evidence of Tertullian’s mindshift.²⁶¹ The treatise is addressed to a fellow Christian who has been recently widowed. Fredouille argues that though it could have been a writing in the genre of consolation because of the circumstances, Tertullian wrote it instead as an exhortation. Fredouille notes further that there was not such a strict difference between these two genres among classical writers like Cicero.²⁶² The CCSL text of this work is based on the codices A, N, and F (discussed above at 4.1.5.1, 4.1.5.6, and 4.1.5.7 respectively). The editions of Rhenanus and Mesnart were also utilized.²⁶³

As far as sources for this work, Moreschini has demonstrated the close parallels between *Ad uxorem* and *De exhortatione*. It is clear that Tertullian used the first as a source for this later exhortation concerning marriage. Moreschini argues, however, that Tertullian’s appropriation of *Ad uxorem* in this work was no “vain repetition” but was rather a new elaboration with its own style.²⁶⁴ Fredouille notices that Tertullian used the Old Testament more than the new in this work.²⁶⁵ Though it was noted earlier in discussion of *Ad uxorem* that Tertullian employed more

²⁶⁰ *De exhortatione castitatis* 10.5.

²⁶¹ Barnes, *Tertullian* (1971), 47.

²⁶² Fredouille, *La conversion*, 110. Cf also Cicero, *De oratore*, 3.118 where, as Fredouille suggests, he lists consolation and exhortation together.

²⁶³ CCSL 2: 1014.

²⁶⁴ Moreschini, *Exhortation*, 26. Cf CCSL 2: 1030.

²⁶⁵ Fredouille, *La conversion*, 95.

scriptural references in that work, that is not to say that *De exhortatione castitatis* is less scriptural. Fredouille argues that in this later work Tertullian is concerned to increase the rigor of his use of Scripture.²⁶⁶ Tertullian uses the following verses in both *Ad uxorem* and *De exhortatione castitatis*: Gen. 1:28; 2:21; 2:24; Mt 10:29; 24:19; 1Cor 7:1; 7:5; 7:9; 7:25; 7:27; 7:28; 7:29; and Phil 1:23.²⁶⁷ Fredouille does not comment specifically on Tertullian's text and whether he used the same text in each work. He does, however, argue that Tertullian probably did not use a testimonia collection of marriage passages.²⁶⁸

	Rm	1Cor	2Cor	Gal	Eph	Phil	Col	1Th	2Th	1Tm	2Tm	Tt	Phlm
TE cas	7	34	0	2	5	1	3	4	0	4	1	4	0

	Act	Hbr	Jac	1Pt	2Pt	1Jo	2Jo	3Jo	Jud	Apc
TE cas	2	2	1	4	1	2	0	0	1	1

4.4.10 **Aduersus Praxean (TE Pra) 210/11 [CPL 26]**

This work has traditionally been dated as one of if not the last of Tertullian's works and around 213.²⁶⁹ Most recently Barnes has argued for an earlier date of 210/211.²⁷⁰ Quasten classifies this work as a controversialist treatise.²⁷¹ This work is preserved in the following manuscripts: P, M, and F (discussed above at 4.1.5.4, 4.1.5.5, and 4.1.5.7 respectively). For the CCSL edition, Kroymann and Evans used no less than 18 editions and emendations from other secondary literature.²⁷² C. H. Turner judged this much-used work to be based on solid textual authority, although he laments the absence of Agobardinus: "No treatise of Tertullian was so

²⁶⁶ Ibid., 96.

²⁶⁷ Ibid., 91–93.

²⁶⁸ Ibid., 98, n. 114.

²⁶⁹ Braun, *Deus Christianorum*, 576.

²⁷⁰ Barnes, *Tertullian* (1971), 41–47.

²⁷¹ Quasten, *Patrology*, 284.

²⁷² CCSL 2: 1158.

much studied in the patristic period; it has better manuscript authority than many of Tertullian's works, though it is unfortunately absent from the earliest and best MS of all."²⁷³

Turner argued that all manuscripts of this work were defective at 12.5 because they corrected the text of Tertullian's citation of John 1:9 in order to align it with the Vulgate. All the manuscripts of *Adversus Praxean* have *uera lux quae illuminat hominem uenientem in hunc mundum*, but Turner proposes that Tertullian must have written *ueniens* in line with Cyprian's citation of the same verse. Turner provides grammatical support for this reading as a legitimate translation of the Greek and also gives contextual evidence from Tertullian's argument why this is the better reading. He flourishes at the end of this explanation thus: "It was just in a familiar phrase like this that the influence of the Vulgate worked havoc with the text of the fathers; and I should be prepared to go behind the evidence of the MSS of Tertullian, and restore the oldest Latin rendering to his text."²⁷⁴ Turner's warning about the possibilities of the influence of the Vulgate on Tertullian's biblical references is a warning also noted by others.²⁷⁵

The CCSL index does not indicate any other sources used by Tertullian for this work other than the Scriptures. Evans and Monceaux, however, both demonstrated Tertullian's dependence on Justin Martyr, Tatian, Theophilus, Athenagoras, and Irenaeus.²⁷⁶ Sider noted, however, the use of the rhetorical schema of classical Latin authors in this work. He found a four-part introduction.²⁷⁷ Chapter 2–10 of the work form a recognizable *praemunitio* or "preliminary defense against the objections to the coming argument". The *confirmatio* or

²⁷³ C. H. Turner, "Tertullianea," *The Journal of Theological Studies* XIV, no. 4 (1913): 556.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 560.

²⁷⁵ Cf. 4.1.5.2.

²⁷⁶ Ernest Evans, *Q. Septimi Florentis Tertulliani Adversus Praxean liber: Tertullian's Treatise against Praxeas* (London: SPCK, 1948), 31–38. Monceaux, *Histoire*, 329–30.

²⁷⁷ Sider, *Ancient Rhetoric*, 23–24.

positive demonstration of his position with the use of biblical references is found in chapters 11–26. An *amplificatio* and *conclusio* finished off the book.²⁷⁸ Chapot sees in *Aduersus Praxean* a dialectic of sorts between a rhetorical organization of the work as taught by schools on the one hand and on the other, an obligatory and decisive recourse to the Bible.²⁷⁹ He then proceeds through the work to show how biblical terminology helps to make sense of the structure of the work. One principle he finds is working from most clear to least clear passages of Scripture. Another is searching for the coherence of a particular biblical book, and finally a third principle is to take into account the order of the revelations of the Old and then the New Testaments.²⁸⁰

	Rm	1Cor	2Cor	Gal	Eph	Phil	Col	1Th	2Th	1Tm	2Tm	Tt	Phlm
TE Pra	13	30	0	3	3	1	7	4	2	9	2	2	2

	Act	Hbr	Jac	1Pt	2Pt	1Jo	2Jo	3Jo	Jud	Apc
TE Pra	16	14	0	2	0	21	0	0	0	2

4.4.11 De pudicitia (TE pud) 210/11 [CPL30]

This work was sometimes dated as late as 217–222 because the bishop of whom Tertullian speaks was thought to be Callistus of Rome. Braun points out that “bishop” does not definitively connote the bishop of Rome.²⁸¹ Barnes goes even further by asserting that Tertullian is referring to the bishop of Carthage and thus dates the work earlier to 210/11.²⁸² Quasten classified the work as a disciplinary work.²⁸³ The text of the work in the CCSL edition is based

²⁷⁸ Ibid., 35–38.

²⁷⁹ “Il nous semble que l’examen de l’*Adu. Praxean* offre un exemple de la tension qui existe chez notre auteur entre, d’une part, une organisation rhétorique du discours, inspirée par les règles du discours judiciaire ou délibératif, transmises par l’école, et, d’autre part, le recours obligé et décisif au témoignage de la Bible.” Frédéric Chapot, “Rhétorique et Herméneutique chez Tertullien: Remarques sur la composition de l’*Adu. Praxean*,” in *The First Two Centuries; Apocrypha; Tertullian and Rhetoric; From Tertullian to Tyconius*, ed. Markus Vinzent, vol. 13, *Studia Patristica* 65 (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 314.

²⁸⁰ Ibid., 330.

²⁸¹ Braun, *Deus Christianorum*, 576.

²⁸² Barnes, *Tertullian* (1971), 31, 44–47.

²⁸³ Quasten, *Patrology*, 312.

upon codex O (discussed above at 4.1.5.3) and other readings from no-longer extant codices which were preserved by Pamelius and seven other editions.²⁸⁴ Tertullian used the Shepherd of Hermas (*Pud.* 10.11) and Juvenal (1.1) in this work.

	Rm	1Cor	2Cor	Gal	Eph	Phil	Col	1Th	2Th	1Tm	2Tm	Tt	Phlm
TE pud	24	114	36	8	16	1	5	4	2	9	2	2	0

	Act	Hbr	Jac	1Pt	2Pt	1Jo	2Jo	3Jo	Jud	Apc
TE pud	17	23	0	2	1	25	0	0	0	12

4.4.12 De ieiunio aduersus psychicos (TE je) 210/11 [CPL 29]

Like the previous two works, *De ieiunio* has been traditionally dated to 213 or even later to 217/18, but Barnes' more recent chronology has argued for an earlier date around 210.²⁸⁵ Quasten has classified this treatise as a disciplinary work which is directed against the laxity of the *psychici*.²⁸⁶ The textual tradition for this work is comparatively thin. The CCSL edition is built upon the no longer extant codex C which was collated by Pamelius and the editions of Mesnart, Gelen, and Rigalt.²⁸⁷ Besides the Scriptures, the only other source identified is Tatian (*De ieiunio* 15.1).

	Rm	1Cor	2Cor	Gal	Eph	Phil	Col	1Th	2Th	1Tm	2Tm	Tt	Phlm
TE je	12	9	4	3	4	2	1	1	0	9	1	0	0

	Act	Hbr	Jac	1Pt	2Pt	1Jo	2Jo	3Jo	Jud	Apc
TE je	7	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0

²⁸⁴ CCSL 2: 1280.

²⁸⁵ Braun, *Deus Christianorum*, 576; Barnes, *Tertullian* (1971), 47.

²⁸⁶ Quasten, *Patrology*, 312.

²⁸⁷ CCSL 2: 1256.

4.4.13 De monogamia (TE mon) 210/11 [CPL 28]

This work was traditionally dated after 213 because this is the classic date given to Tertullian's supposed complete rupture with the majority of the church.²⁸⁸ Rankin has questioned the firm date of such a rupture and whether there was ever a full rupture at all.²⁸⁹ Barnes dated this work to around 210/11 after giving the most thorough explanation of all the evidence.²⁹⁰ Quasten classified the work as a disciplinary treatise.²⁹¹ The text of *De monogamia* is based on codices N and F (discussed above at 4.1.5.6 and 4.1.5.7 respectively) and other codices, including those at the Vatican which were used by Pamelius and denoted with *Vatic*. The editions of Rhenanus, Mesnart, Ghelen, Pamelius, Rigalt, and Oehler were also used.²⁹² As mentioned above in 4.3.5, Fredouille compared the use of the Bible in three different works on marriage: *Ad uxorem*, *De exhortatione castitatis*, and *De monogamia*.²⁹³ It is likely that Tertullian depended on his earlier works on the subject to develop this essay.

	Rm	1Cor	2Cor	Gal	Eph	Phil	Col	1Th	2Th	1Tm	2Tm	Tt	Phlm
TE mon	25	72	1	11	5	0	1	4	0	12	0	6	0

	Act	Hbr	Jac	1Pt	2Pt	1Jo	2Jo	3Jo	Jud	Apc
TE mon	4	9	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	9

4.4.14 Ad Scapulam (TE Sca) 212 [CPL 24]

This work is confidently dated by almost all scholars to just after August 14, 212 for two reasons.²⁹⁴ First, Scapula was proconsul of Africa in the years 211–213. Second, Tertullian references a total eclipse which is externally corroborated to the just referenced date in

²⁸⁸ Paul Mattei, *Tertullien Le mariage unique: De monogamia*, Sources chrétiennes, no 343 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1988), 12.

²⁸⁹ David Rankin, *Tertullian and the Church* (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), xv.

²⁹⁰ Barnes, Tertullian (1971), 47.

²⁹¹ Quasten, *Patrology*, 305.

²⁹² CCSL 2:1228.

²⁹³ Cf n. 111.

²⁹⁴ Braun, *Deus Christianorum*, 575.

August.²⁹⁵ Because of Barnes' dating system for the Montanist writings which moved them earlier than other scholars, Barnes conjectures that this may be Tertullian's final treatise.²⁹⁶ The treatise is addressed to Scapula and its genre is typically classified as apologetic.²⁹⁷ Dunn, however, sees in this work only the deliberative elements of apologetic (the attempt to persuade one toward conversion) but not the forensic (an attempt to convict someone in court).²⁹⁸ Copious examples from Cicero and Quintilian help Dunn to demonstrate this thesis.²⁹⁹ The text of this treatise in CCSL is based on the Codex N (discussed above at 4.1.5.6) along with others. The editions of Rhenanus, Pamelius, Rigalt, Oehler, and Bindley were also utilized.³⁰⁰ One of the sources for this little work is undoubtedly Tertullian's earlier apologetic work *Apologeticum*. Waszink has noted several "reminiscences" of this earlier work in *Ad Scapulam*.³⁰¹ In addition to the Scriptures, Tertullian also draws on Pliny (*Ad Scapulam* 5.1).

	Rm	1Cor	2Cor	Gal	Eph	Phil	Col	1Th	2Th	1Tm	2Tm	Tt	Phlm
TE Sca	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	4	2	1	0

	Act	Hbr	Jac	1Pt	2Pt	1Jo	2Jo	3Jo	Jud	Apc
TE Sca	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0

4.5 Conclusion

The tables and charts below summarize the quantified data presented in this chapter at the end of the description of each work. Tables 1 and 2 present the number of potential references according to the date of their writing. These tables collect quantitatively the information contained in the Appendix which points to the full-text chart of potential references.

²⁹⁵ Quasten, *Patrology*, 267.

²⁹⁶ Barnes, Tertullian (1971), 52.

²⁹⁷ Quasten, *Patrology*, 267.

²⁹⁸ Dunn, "Rhetorical Structure in Tertullian's 'Ad Scapulam,'" 51.

²⁹⁹ Ibid., 51–53.

³⁰⁰ CCSL 2: 1126.

³⁰¹ J. H. Waszink, "Some Observations on Tertullian 'Ad Scapulam,'" *Vigiliae Christianae*, no. 1 (1959): 53.

Chart 1 groups the data into the three distinct periods of Tertullian's literary career: his early period, the middle period, and his Montanist period at the end of his career. Some might think that Tertullian's Montanist phase would have led him to denigrate or neglect the Scriptures and instead prize new prophecy. This position can be seen in Douglas Powell's article on Tertullianists. He argued that, "The threat posed by Montanism (was) not to the apostolic ministry but to the apostolic scriptures."³⁰² As was mentioned in the introduction, Rankin already rebutted this claim that Tertullian's Montanism eclipsed the status of the Scriptures.³⁰³ In agreement with Rankin but now with quantitative evidence, Chart 1 demonstrate that Tertullian's largest use of NT Scriptural references was surprisingly in his Montanist phase. This directly contradicts the earlier position of Powell. Rankin's reminder that Tertullian only references Montanist oracles six times in his entire corpus is even more stark when compared to the 2,354 NT references of his Montanist Period.³⁰⁴

Chart 2 presents Tertullian's potential references in his writings according to their genres. The categorization of genres collects the individual genre classifications in 4.2–4.4.³⁰⁵ One might think that Tertullian's largest amount of references would come in his doctrinal teaching and ethical exhortation to Christians and thus in the disciplinary genre. Surprisingly, though, Tertullian's controversial writings have the primary number of references. That he spends so much time discussing the interpretation of the Scriptures in works concerning heretics is

³⁰² Douglas L. Powell, "Tertullianists and Cataphrygians," *Vigiliae Christianae* 29, no. 1 (March 1975): 33–54.

³⁰³ Rankin, *Tertullian and the Church*, 52.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 47.

³⁰⁵ Apologetic: *Ad nationes*, *Aduersus Iudaeos*, *Apologeticum*, *De testimonio animae*, *Ad Scapulam*; Controversial: *De praescriptione haereticorum*, *Scorpiace*, *Aduersus Hermogenem*, *De carne Christi*, *Aduersus Ualentinianos*, *De anima*, *De resurrectione mortuorum*, *Aduersus Marcionem*, *Aduersus Praxean*; Disciplinary: *Ad martyras*, *De spectaculis*, *De idololatria*, *De oratione*, *De baptismo*, *Ad uxorem*, *De patientia*, *De paenitentia*, *De pallio*, *De cultu feminarum*, *De corona*, *De fuga in persecutione*, *De uirginibus uelandis*, *De exhortatione castitatis*, *De pudicitia*, *De ieiunio aduersus psychicos*, *De monogamia*.

unexpected because it is clear that he does not want to discuss Scripture with them. This is evident, for example, in Tertullian's statement in *De praescriptione haereticorum* 15: *Scripturas obtinent et hac sua audacia statim quosdam mouent...Hunc igitur potissimum gradum obstruimus non admittendi* [admittendos: Pam Rig] *eos ad ullam* [ullam: A Gel Pam Rig; illam: P X R B] *de scripturis disputationem*. This was a strong statement prohibiting heretics from discussing the Scriptures. How can it be then that Tertullian's controversial writings which dispute heretics are the most filled with Scriptural references? Fredouille poses a similar question to *De Praescriptione Haereticorum* 15 and concludes that Tertullian must be writing this work primarily to Christians.³⁰⁶ He comes to this conclusion by noting that Paul himself had argued against discussing the Scriptures with heretics.³⁰⁷

Chart 3 demonstrates how often Tertullian referred to 1 Corinthians compared to all other NT books outside the Gospels. The chart also illustrates how often Tertullian referred to the Apostle Paul in comparison to other apostolic works. The Principal Pauline Epistles (Rom, 1 Cor, 2 Cor, and Gal) make up 52% of Tertullian's NT references outside the Gospels. Ephesians and 1 Tm are also referenced comparatively more than the other epistles. With as little attention as was given to the Apocalypse in early Christianity, it is surprising how much Tertullian make reference to this work.³⁰⁸

³⁰⁶ "C'est bien là une preuve que, en écrivant son traité, Tertullien pensait au moins autant, sinon plus, aux chrétiens eux-mêmes qu'aux hérétiques." Fredouille, *La conversion*, 222.

³⁰⁷ Tertullian makes this point by referencing 1 Timothy 6:4 and Titus 3:10 in *De praescriptione haereticorum* 16.

³⁰⁸ Cf. Josef Schmid, *Studies in the History of the Greek Text of the Apocalypse: The Ancient Stems*, trans. Juan Hernández Jr., Garrick V. Allen, and Darius Müller (SBL Press, 2018); Roger Gryson, ed., *Apocalypsis Johannis*, *Vetus Latina: die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel*, 26/ 2 (Freiburg/Breisgau: Herder, 2000).

Table 1

	Rm	1Cor	2Cor	Gal	Eph	Phil	Col	1Th	2Th	1Tm	2Tm	Tt	Phlm
TE nat	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0
TE mart	0	2	3	0	4	3	0	3	0	3	5	0	0
TE Jud	3	2	0	1	2	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
TE ap	28	27	5	1	9	6	6	4	4	8	2	3	1
TE test	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TE spec	4	8	3	0	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
TE id	5	12	1	2	3	1	1	1	3	5	0	2	0
TE or	3	17	1	0	6	0	1	5	1	12	1	0	0
TE ba	0	17	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	6	0	1	0
TE ux	3	60	4	1	3	4	2	2	0	6	1	2	0
TE hae	5	26	8	19	5	5	7	3	4	19	18	12	2
TE sco	19	3	11	0	0	3	1	1	2	0	6	0	0
TE pat	4	8	1	3	4	1	0	4	0	1	0	0	0
TE pae	9	2	1	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
TE Her	9	12	0	0	1	0	4	0	0	0	1	0	0
TE pall	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TE cul	7	19	6	1	3	5	2	4	0	4	1	0	0
TE car	9	15	1	6	0	1	0	0	0	5	1	0	0
TE Val	1	2	1	0	1	0	3	0	0	1	0	0	1
TE an	10	15	3	3	17	1	1	1	2	4	0	2	0
TE res	53	116	58	12	27	6	16	23	3	5	6	0	0
TE Marc	96	213	69	113	83	22	35	17	17	15	3	3	2
TE cor	7	36	3	0	8	3	1	2	0	2	5	1	0
TE fu	7	8	4	2	20	1	2	2	0	2	3	0	0
TE vg	2	41	1	4	3	1	4	3	1	7	1	1	1
TE cas	7	34	0	2	5	1	3	4	0	4	1	4	0
TE Pra	13	30	0	3	3	1	7	4	2	9	2	2	2
TE pud	24	114	36	8	16	1	5	4	2	9	2	2	0
TE je	12	9	4	3	4	2	1	1	0	9	1	0	0
TE mon	25	72	1	11	5	0	1	4	0	12	0	6	0
TE Sca	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	4	2	1	0
TOTAL	372	924	226	195	239	71	106	94	41	154	63	43	9

Table 2

	Act	Hbr	Jac	1Pt	2Pt	1Jo	2Jo	3Jo	Jud	Apc	TOTAL
TE nat	4	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	13
TE mart	0	6	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	31
TE Jud	7	28	1	6	0	0	0	0	0	3	56
TE ap	4	6	0	6	4	1	0	0	2	7	134
TE test	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
TE spec	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	24
TE id	4	1	1	2	0	2	0	0	0	2	48
TE or	11	5	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	8	76
TE ba	29	1	1	1	1	3	0	0	0	0	62
TE ux	2	7	0	2	1	0	0	0	1	1	102
TE hae	18	2	1	1	4	9	0	0	1	1	170
TE sco	13	2	0	11	0	4	0	0	0	22	98
TE pat	1	5	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	36
TE pae	3	4	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	7	30
TE Her	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	38
TE pall	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
TE cul	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	6	63
TE car	6	6	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	1	55
TE Val	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	11
TE an	7	1	0	3	2	5	0	0	0	6	83
TE res	18	0	0	1	0	5	0	0	0	30	379
TE Marc	35	40	1	9	1	9	0	0	0	29	812
TE cor	3	11	1	3	0	1	0	0	0	17	104
TE fu	17	2	0	6	0	5	0	0	0	9	90
TE vg	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	72
TE cas	2	2	1	4	1	2	0	0	1	1	79
TE Pra	16	14	0	2	0	21	0	0	0	2	133
TE pud	17	23	0	2	1	25	0	0	0	12	303
TE je	7	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	56
TE mon	4	9	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	9	162
TE Sca	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	15
TOTAL	230	177	11	71	17	102	0	0	6	189	3,340

Chart 1 – NT References Outside Gospels According to Date Written

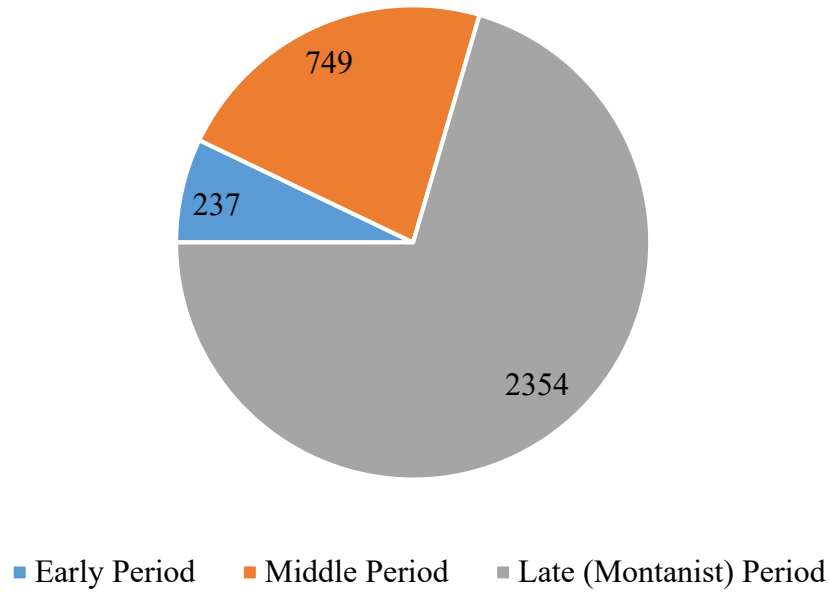


Chart 2 – NT References Outside Gospels According to Genre

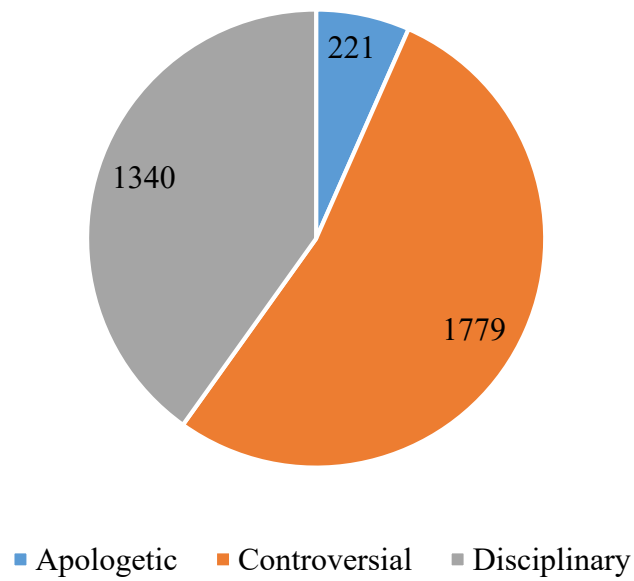
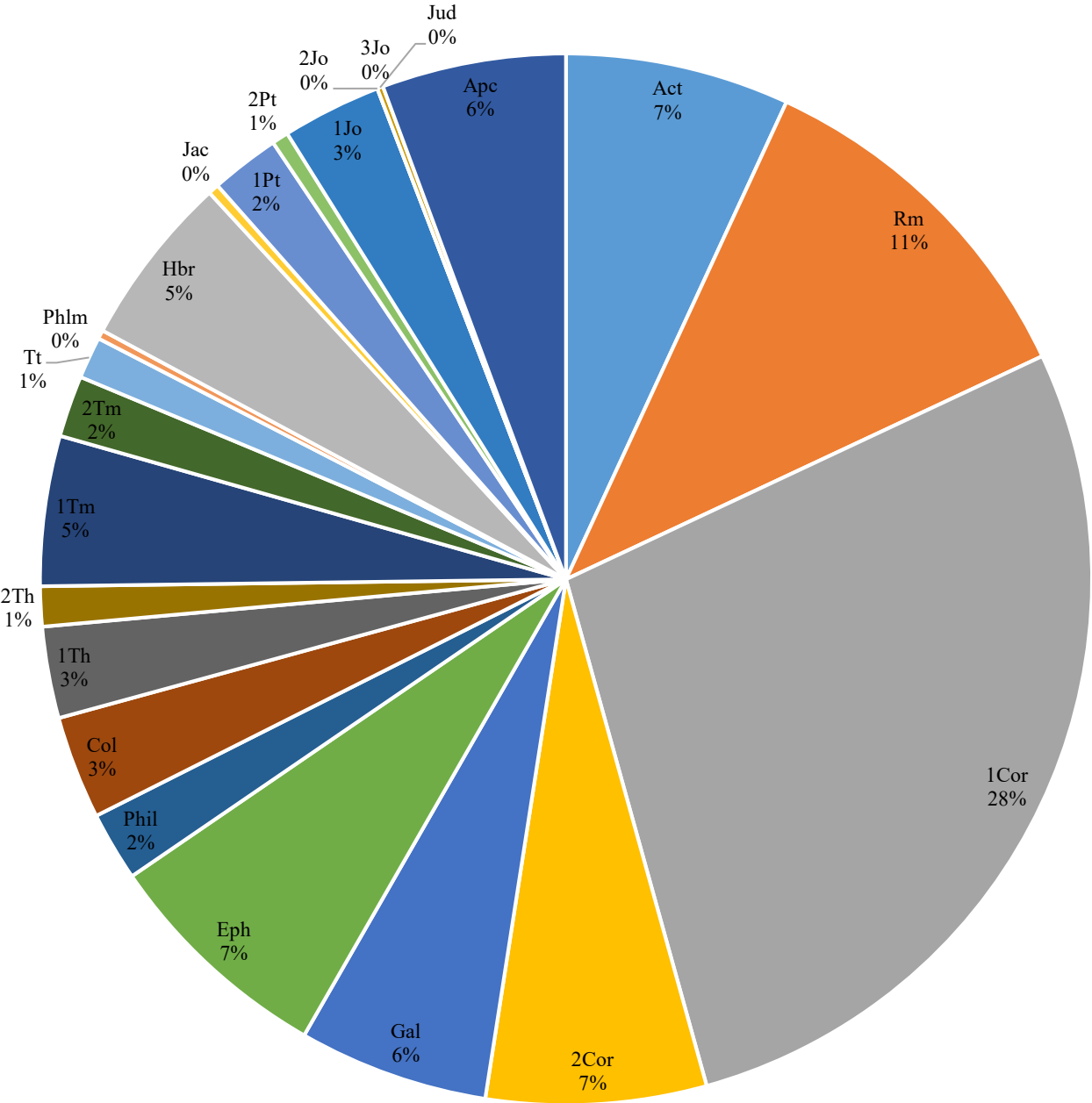


Chart 3 – References per NT Book



CHAPTER FIVE

TERTULLIAN'S CITATIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT OUTSIDE THE GOSPELS

5.1 Introduction

What follows is a textual commentary on Tertullian's references to the New Testament outside the Gospels. The chief aim of this chapter is to demonstrate how Tertullian rendered the text of the NT in his writings and how his text compares to other Greek and Latin witnesses to the NT text. Many arguments have been put forward concerning Tertullian's use of the NT, but most of them have been based on only a small selection of references. The study below analyzes a much larger pool of data in order to arrive at a more solid conclusion. The goal here is to demonstrate the diversity and complexity of Tertullian's references and also to give support for making decisions on the inclusion of Tertullian's text in a critical apparatus of an edition of the NT books under discussion.

As has been noted in Chapter One, past students of Tertullian's use of the NT text have been puzzled by its consistently inconsistent character. Rarely do Tertullian's citations match up with any extant textual witness. This textual commentary seeks to elucidate this mystery. The suggestion will be developed that the reason for such variety in Tertullian's text of the NT is that Tertullian was translating from Greek copies of the scriptural writings. In addition to simple textual comparisons between Tertullian and other witnesses, it will be necessary to examine Tertullian's references as possible translations. The translation analysis developed in the previous chapter will shape these comments. Several conclusions about Tertullian's use of the NT text will be offered in the following final chapter.

Before the textual commentary commences, a few other introductory remarks concerning method of analysis are necessary. Section 5.1.1 discusses how each biblical reference was

selected for inclusion in the textual commentary. Following that is a discussion in 5.1.2 concerning the issue of translating Greek or copying Latin. Some general principles are given for deciding which of these approaches Tertullian is taking. If it is determined that Tertullian seems to be translating on his own independent of other Latin translations, guidelines have been developed in 5.1.3 for analyzing Tertullian's translation technique. Finally, the scholarly instrumenta used in this chapter are briefly discussed in 5.1.4.

5.1.1 Determining Biblical References

The first step in analyzing the data is to decide whether it is or is not a reference to the particular biblical passage. Strawbridge's categories, mentioned in the introduction of the previous chapter, help the scholar to make a judgment based on all the information possible. References in Strawbridge's scheme are those which are clear from the context or explicitly prefaced by the author. The second category of "Possible references" are those in which there are similarities between the original source and the author, and yet there is no signal from the author or no certainty on the part of the reader. These are what some scholars have labelled as reminiscences or echoes. When something is labelled "reference not found" in Strawbridge's work, her third category, this is a commentary on a secondary source's inclusion of the passage in a list. For example, Strawbridge analyzed all the Pauline entries in *Bibindex*. Sometimes, what *Bibindex* included as a potential citation, Strawbridge marked as reference not found, signaling that there is not actually a reference at all – perhaps because it is a reference to a different biblical passage or because the two passages only shared a similar word and thus the identification of the reference was not compelling to another researcher.

Schmid and Roth lay out the following methodological principles which shaped their study:

- 1) An author's citation of any given text is best understood by comparing it with the same author's other citations of the same text throughout their entire corpus.
- 2) It is also necessary to examine the citation based on the author's language and style used throughout the author's writings, especially when that author is not citing a biblical text. (This argument was critical for Gilles Quispel's thesis that Tertullian frequently used the same Latin constructions found in his Marcion citations as were used throughout the rest of his writings.)¹
- 3) It is important to note the background of non-Christian uses of language and style which may nevertheless have influenced the Christian author.²

Using these three principles, Roth only admits as evidence those citations of Tertullian which are attested more than once, in order to disambiguate Tertullian's text from his citations of Marcion. This follows Barbara Aland's established methodology that multiple citations develop the most convincing case for establishing an author's text. Nevertheless, since this investigation will be interested in more than the comparison of Marcion and Tertullian's texts, sometimes a singular citation of a NT text in Tertullian's corpus will merit comment.

5.1.2 Translating Greek or Copying Latin?

As has been noted throughout, one of the main research questions of this study is whether Tertullian was translating from Greek copies of the New Testament writings or copying from already translated Latin versions. Dieter Roth has provided one criterion in his analysis of Tertullian's citations of Luke. He was researching particularly whether Tertullian had a Greek or

¹ Gilles Quispel, *De Bronnen van Tertullianus' Adversus Marcionem* (Leiden: Burgers-dijk & Niernmans Templum Salomonis, 1943), 104–42. Roth calls this insight a "significant contribution." Dieter T. Roth, "Did Tertullian Possess a Greek Copy or Latin Translation of Marcion's Gospel?," *Vigiliae Christianae* 63, no. 5 (2009): 434. Quispel's other valuable insight was that Tertullian and Marcion were actually sometimes in agreement in their text against the rest of the Latin tradition. Quispel, *Bronnen*, 112–114.

² Schmid is dependent on these principles. Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 26. But they were originally developed by Barbara Aland in "Die Rezeption des neutestamentlichen Textes in den ersten Jahrhunderten," in *The New Testament in Early Christianity* (ed. Jean-Marie Sevrin; BEThL 86; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1989), 38.

a Latin manuscript of Marcion. He noted the instances when Tertullian's text departed in any way from the Old Latin codices. When there were similarities between Tertullian's and Marcion's text but against the Old Latin codices, this demonstrated the likelihood that Tertullian was translating *ad hoc* from a Greek manuscript. Even when there were differences between Tertullian's and Marcion's text but both of their texts differed further from the Old Latin, this was also proof of translation work from Greek rather than reliance on an existing Latin version.³ This could also mean, however, that Tertullian was citing from a no-longer extant Old Latin version. While this is not impossible, given the age of the documents involved and Tertullian's specific milieu, it would stand at odds with the rest of the Old Latin tradition, where the different manuscripts all have broadly similar renderings. It may also be that Tertullian was quoting from memory from an Old Latin text, and his memory is responsible for creating the unique reading. When Tertullian's text agrees with no other readings in the Latin tradition, any of these possibilities exist. Extra attention will be given to these unique readings. Some of Tertullian's references diverge little from either Old Latin translations or the Greek New Testament. When they do, divergences will be noted between Tertullian's biblical references and the Old Latin tradition in the following ways: vocabulary, syntax, and word order. This will help to make decisions on the major research question.

5.1.3 Analyzing Translation Practices

Some scholars of translation practices have attempted to find a universal theory to explain them. Jacques Derrida, however, deconstructs any notion of a single translation theory with his use of the biblical narrative of the Tower(s) of Babel.⁴ For Derrida, Babel signifies

³ Roth, *Marcion's Gospel*, 85.

⁴ Jacques Derrida, "Des tours de Babel," *Semeia* 54 (1991): 3–34; originally printed in *Difference in Translation*, ed. and trans. Joseph F. Graham (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 173–75.

multiple meanings. In “Oriental languages” it can mean “Father God”. In Hebrew it connotes confusion. It also takes on wider significations as the “metaphor of metaphor” and the “translation of translation”. In discussing Roman Jakobson’s essay “On Linguistic Aspects of Translation”, Derrida deconstructs Jakobson’s notion that there is just one “proper theory of translation”.⁵ Derrida summarizes Jakobson’s argument thus:

“Everyone understands what (translation proper) means because everyone has experienced it (presumably, regardless of what language is spoken)...If there is a transparency that Babel would not have impaired, this is surely it, the experience of the multiplicity of tongues and the ‘proper’ sense of the word ‘translation’”.⁶

Derrida counters with a “Babelian performance” when he explains the Babel narrative as follows:

In seeking to “make a name for themselves,” to be found at the same time a universal tongue and a unique genealogy, the Semites want to bring the world to reason, and this reason can signify simultaneously a colonial violence (since they would thus universalize their idiom) and a peaceful transparency of the human community. Inversely when God imposes and opposes his name, he ruptures the rational transparency but interrupts also the colonial violence or the linguistic imperialism. He destines them to translation, he subjects them to the law of a translation both necessary and impossible.⁷

While Derrida does not supply much positive theory which might be generative for analyzing various translations, his point must be taken that there cannot be just one translation theory. A less universalizing, particularist theory will have to be sought as Tertullian’s translation is explored.

Frederick Renan sought to understand the approach to translation in antiquity by surveying sources from Cicero to Alexander Fraser Tytler’s 1791 treatise, *Essay on the Principles of Translation*. Renan argued that the theory of translation was the same throughout

⁵ Roman Jakobson, “On Linguistic Aspects of Translation,” in *On Translation*, ed. R. A. Brower (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959), 232–39.

⁶ Derrida, “Des tours de Babel,” 9.

⁷ Ibid.

these 1800 years. “Fragments of the system are scattered over the entire Continent both in terms of time and of place. By assembling the tesserae of this mosaic, a whole manual on translation has been compiled which, though never written, nevertheless existed and was known to all translators and particularly to their critics.”⁸ The basic method or theory of translation, according to Rener, started with grammatical translation and then moved on to rhetorical translation. This two-fold theory of translation set the agenda and structure for Rener’s analysis. Significantly, Rener argues that rhetoric is often forgotten when analyzing a translation: “Knowledge of classical rhetoric has become a rarity even in cases where it is necessary, namely in studies in which translations are compared with their originals.”⁹ The importance of rhetoric for understanding Tertullian has already been significantly noticed throughout this study but must especially be kept in mind in this chapter during the evaluation of Tertullian’s text.

Bruce Metzger charted the course on understanding translations of the NT some forty years ago when he wrote his *The Early Versions of the New Testament*.¹⁰ This book analyzed each of the early translations of the New Testament and summarized the field of research into how these translations related to the text of the Greek New Testament. Peter Williams has recently described this handbook on the versions as a “considerable advance” for the study of New Testament Textual Criticism.¹¹ Metzger relied on experts to supplement his work on each of the versions, using Bonifatius Fischer to supply material on the Latin translation. Fischer noted a number of limitations upon a translator when attempting to bring Greek texts into

⁸ Ibid., 7.

⁹ Rener, *Interpretatio*, 182.

¹⁰ Bruce M. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament: Their Origin, Transmission, and Limitations* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977).

¹¹ Peter Williams, “‘Where Two or Three Are Gathered Together’: The Witness of the Early Versions,” in *The Early Text of the New Testament*, ed. Charles E. Hill and Michael J. Kruger (Oxford, U.K: Oxford University Press, 2012), 241.

Latin.¹² For example, Latin cannot differentiate between the aorist and the perfect tense. Perhaps the most obvious example is that Latin does not have the definite article. Latin also lacks the perfect active participle and the present passive participle, and thus in these constructions, Fischer notes that “the time relationship must often be sacrificed.”¹³ Additionally, there are a number of freedoms which Latin allows which translators used in their practice. Sometimes multiple words were acceptable in Latin for translating a Greek particle. *Non* and *nonne* can be used to translate οὐχί. Word order is sometimes changed, as are various particles and pronouns. Sometimes stronger expressions are preferred in Latin, and at other times certain Greek words are left untranslated. These basic linguistic limitations begin to illustrate the variety of translation methodologies needed to describe how two particular languages relate to one another in translation.¹⁴

In his aforementioned essay, Peter Williams has recently lamented the dearth of sophisticated methodology in using versional evidence like Old Latin manuscripts for establishing the Greek *Vorlage* of a particular reading. He repeatedly calls for further study of translation technique and highlights as a positive example Philip Burton’s study of the Old Latin Gospels.¹⁵ Metzger’s study of the versional evidence was a step forward in Williams’ estimation, but he concludes that insufficient attention is paid to the difference between the limitations of the language itself and the particular witness of a version. It is one thing for there to be structural inabilities of Latin to render a Greek phrase but a different thing entirely for a particular Old Latin witness to have unique approaches to translation methodology.

¹² Bonifatius Fischer, “Limitations of Latin in Representing Greek,” in Metzger, *The Early Versions*, 365–74.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 367.

¹⁴ Philip Burton, *The Old Latin Gospels: A Study of Their Texts and Language*, Oxford Early Christian Studies (Oxford, UK ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

¹⁵ Williams, “Where Two or Three Are Gathered Together,” 241.

Williams goes on to demonstrate a number of problems in NA27's use of versional evidence. Sometimes the Sahidic appears to attest to the use of a pronoun, but upon further inspection of the word preceding, Williams shows that a pronoun regularly follows that particular word. Old Syriac witnesses generally append pronouns after verbs. What appeared to be evidence of a pronoun is brought into doubt after further reflection upon the translation technique of the version. He then sets out to explore the alleged genetic relationships of the so-called Syro-Western readings not necessarily to disprove these but to ensure that any possible relationship between Syriac and Western readings is reliable. This is helpful because one scholar found Western characteristics in Tertullian's text.¹⁶ Though it has already been noted that the theory of text-types is problematic, attention must still be paid to known textual relationships as these. Metzger noted in general that "the textual affinities of the Old Latin versions are unmistakably with the Western type of text. Not infrequently noteworthy Old Latin readings agree with the Greek text of codex Bezae and the Old Syriac."¹⁷ Williams' work on the Western text and potential genetic affiliation with the Syriac will be a reminder toward caution and careful work in understanding Tertullian's translation methodology.

Parker in his essay "The Translation of OYN in the Old Latin Gospels" lists the following three canons for evaluating whether and how Latin renderings might contribute to recovering the Greek *Vorlage* on which they are based and especially whether such evidence should be used in the apparatus of a Greek New Testament. These criteria will be useful:

¹⁶ Albertus Frederick Johannes Klijn, "A Survey of the Researches into the Western Text of the Gospels and Acts" (Rijks-Universiteit Utrecht, 1949). 158. Cf. also the recent study, Georg Gäbel, "'Western Text,' 'D-Text Cluster,' 'Bezan Trajectory,' Or What Else? – A Preliminary Study" in Holger Strutwolf et al., eds., *Die Apostelgeschichte: Acts of the Apostles, Novum Testamentum Graecum, Editio critica maior*, Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung, III/3 (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2017), 97-134.

¹⁷ Metzger, *The Early Versions*, 325.

1. There must be grounds for believing that a var. lect. was known either to the author or to the reviser of the Latin text in question, from the Greek copy before him or in some other way.
2. There must be grounds for the belief that the Latin word translates the source word adequately. Such grounds will be harder to find if the word is *autem* in r¹, or *et* in e, when corroboration is sought for a reading like δέ or καί in John.
3. Citation without certainty is worse than silence. And where there are many Greek variants, and the Old Latin manuscripts translate in a number of ways, leave them out.¹⁸

These criteria and cautions will be instructive for evaluating Tertullian's text in order to recover the Greek text he had in front of him.

Philip Burton's survey of ancient and modern translation theory reaches approximately the same conclusion that the ending of the paragraph on Derrida reached earlier. "There is much intelligent writing on translation, but no consensus on any sophisticated theory or nomenclature. Indeed, much of the best writing on translation may be found not in general works but in studies of specific translations, or in the writings of translators on their own work."¹⁹ Burton resists the temptation to refer to translation and its analysis as "scientific", opting instead to describe his approach as "flexible and eclectic", comparable to a discipline which may be methodical and draw on science but does not operate according to general laws.²⁰ He references the work of some scholars who differentiated translation *verbum e verbo* and *sensus e sensu*. This differentiation is too simplistic to explain the evidence of the OLG according to Burton.²¹ For this reason, he develops his own translation analysis criteria based on the individual translation practices as seen in OLG manuscripts. Further, Burton suggests in the conclusion to his study of

¹⁸ D. C. Parker, *Manuscripts, Texts, Theology: Collected Papers 1977–2007*, Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2009), 184; originally printed in *New Testament Studies* 31 (1985), 252–76.

¹⁹ Burton, *The Old Latin Gospels*, 83.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 84 n. 14.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 81.

Jerome's translation practices that the "translation technique" of an author be gathered from their practices rather than just from their own statements.²²

Much of Burton's analysis of the translation of the Old Latin Gospels and Jerome takes for granted that both are literal translations. He defines literalism as "the pursuit of exact correspondences between source- and target-language, with resulting distortions of natural usage and idiom".²³ He then proceeds to analyze the OLG translations based on the following criteria: contextual sensitivity, derived forms, rare/obscure/technical terms, count- and mass-nouns, size- and quantity-adjectives, semantic extensions, calques, and loan-words. These criteria help Burton assess the degree of literalism in the OLG and Jerome. Burton further classifies what he calls "focused" and "unfocused" renderings. Unfocused renderings are those in which "the usual rendering has not been altered in view of the context" or "a blander and more general term has been preferred".²⁴

Most recently, Houghton's *Latin New Testament* has given some principles for examining Latin renderings as witnesses to the Greek New Testament. He notes that "Latin and Greek are relatively similar in their linguistic structure, both being inflected languages."²⁵ Further, because these two languages had a lengthy relationship, they often influence each other. Houghton argues that the earliest Latin translations of the Greek NT tended to be loose, paraphrasing, and even omitted material sometimes.²⁶ Houghton cites the consensus in the field that there was one initial translation from which all subsequent translations descend, and yet he notes that pandects post-

²² Ibid., 199.

²³ Ibid., 85.

²⁴ Ibid., 193.

²⁵ H. A. G. Houghton, *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to Its Early History, Texts, and Manuscripts*, First edition (Oxford, United Kingdom ; New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2016), 143.

²⁶ Ibid., 144.

dated such translation. It is thus possible that different portions of the Latin NT were translated in different places.²⁷ Some have attempted to chart *Übersetzungsfarben* or “translation colors” by noticing which of two lexical possibilities the Latin translator chose.²⁸ This has proven helpful in classifying Old Latin Gospel manuscripts.²⁹ Houghton observes, however, that it is rare for Greek words to have more than two possible common Latin renderings.³⁰

He also cautions against making too much of occasions when Latin changes Greek word order since inflected languages can easily accommodate such changes.³¹ While this caution will be helpful in analyzing Tertullian’s rendering of Greek phrases, word order may still play a role in differentiating Tertullian’s renderings from other Latin renderings. When Tertullian’s word order differs from other Latin translations, this serves as evidence that Tertullian is translating independently. Further, as argued in Chapter 2.4 and 2.5.3, translators with literary ambitions often used lexical and syntactical *uariatio* in their renderings. Fröhlich was cited there to note that scholars had already noticed examples of this in their examination of Tertullian’s references.³² Several further examples of this practice below will show Tertullian to be a translator in line with Cicero, Apuleius, and other Latin literary writers.

5.1.4 Tools for Analysis

In order to compare Tertullian’s NT references to other textual witnesses, Nestle-Aland 28 has generally been used for Greek evidence, except in the case of Acts and the Catholic

²⁷ Ibid., 14.

²⁸ Heinrich Joseph Vogels, “Übersetzungsfarbe als Hilfsmittel zur Erforschung der neutestamentlichen Textgeschichte,” *Revue Bénédictine* 40 (1928): 123–29.

²⁹ Burton, *The Old Latin Gospels*, 14–74.

³⁰ Ibid., 146.

³¹ Ibid., 148.

³² Uwe Fröhlich, *Epistula ad Corinthios: Einleitung*, vol. VL 22, 3 fascicles (Freiburg: Herder, 1995), 171–73.

Epistles where the *Editio Critica Maior* is now available.³³ The Weber-Gryson Vulgate along with the *Vetus Latina* editions for Old Latin served as comparanda for Latin. In the case of the first four Pauline Epistles, I used the new collation produced by the COMPAUL project.³⁴ While this commentary is primarily about textual issues, exegetical and hermeneutical questions of how Tertullian understood certain passages are also sometimes in view along with cross-references to some of the most pertinent secondary literature.

5.2.1 Acts

Acts 1:3

*ad quinquaginta [quinquaginta: F; quadraginta: Uulg.] dies egit docens eos quae docerent. dehinc ordinatis eis ad officium praedicandi per orbem circumfusa nube in caelum est ereptus [ereptus F; receptus Uulg].*³⁵ (TE ap 21.23)

In *Apologeticum* 21 as Tertullian is relating the events of the life of Christ, he summarizes the days between the resurrection and ascension thus: With these words reference is made to Acts 1:2–3, 9 though Tertullian does not say so explicitly. It must first be decided whether Tertullian wrote *quinquaginta* or *quadraginta*. *Quinquaginta*, the reading of Codex Fuldensis of Tertullian, is the more difficult reading since it is nowhere found in the the Greek or Latin manuscript tradition of Acts 1:3 according to the *Editio Critica Maior* and Blümer's *Vetus Latina* collations.³⁶ *Quadraginta*, the reading of the *Vulgata* recension, is the smoother reading and thus fits into Callewaert's account of the *Vulgata recensio* as a corrected, later edition.³⁷ On

³³ Barbara Aland et al., eds., *Novum Testamentum Graece: Novum Testamentum Graece*, 28., rev. Aufl (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2012); Barbara Aland, Universität Münster, and Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, eds., *Novum Testamentum Graecum: editio critica maior* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1997–2017).

³⁴ H.A.G. Houghton et al, edd., *The Principal Pauline Epistles: A Collation of Old Latin Evidence*. NTTSD 59. Leiden: Brill, 2019.

³⁵ Material in square brackets indicates variant readings from the critical apparatus of the CCSL edition of *Apol.*

³⁶ Strutwolf, *Die Apostelgeschichte: Acts of the Apostles*, 3. Wilhelm Blümer, "Kollationsdateien: Acts 1_3," accessed June 7, 2018, http://nttf.klassphil.uni-mainz.de/197.php?folder=Act+01&file=Act+1_03.pdf.

³⁷ Quasten, *Patrology*, 260–62; Camillus Callewaert, "Le codex Fuldensis, le meilleur manuscrit de l'*Apologeticum* de Tertullien," *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses* 7 (1902): 322–53.

these grounds, in addition to what follows, it seems most likely that Tertullian wrote *quinguaginta*.³⁸ Tertullian's statement that Jesus taught his disciples for *quinguaginta* rather than *quadraginta* days is possibly a memory failure on Tertullian's part. After all, Tertullian's text differs from all extant witnesses whether Greek or Latin. Perhaps the faulty memory is a mental conflation of the later account of Pentecost in Acts 2:1. The word πεντηκοστῆς in Acts 2:1 is rendered as *pentecostes* with only minor spelling variation in every known copy of Latin manuscripts of Acts. No surviving Latin version has a translation of this term, but it is possible that Tertullian had this word in mind when he referred to 50 days in *Apol.* 21.

The explanation that seems to make the best sense of the evidence, however, is an understanding of Acts 1:5. As will be seen below, Tertullian's text of Acts sometimes has similarities to textual irregularities in Codex Bezae.³⁹ Jacobus Petzer noted this in his examination of Tertullian's text of Acts. Long before him, Rendel Harris also noted Tertullian's sometimes "Western" textual affiliation.⁴⁰ It is possible that Tertullian's *quinguaginta* in *Apol.* 21 might be based on his exegetical understanding of Acts 1:2–5. If Tertullian had the textual addition at the end of 1:5 ἕως τῆς πεντηκοστῆς as attested by Codex Bezae and as *usque ad pentecosten* in VL 5; AU fu, Fel, Cre, s 71,19, ep 265,3; AU Pet, this would explain Tertullian's variant text.⁴¹ Ropes remarks in his textual commentary that the textual addition of Bezae and others makes the rest of Acts 1:5 which precedes it parenthetical. Undoubtedly the Bezan phrase makes the passage difficult to understand. It is because of this difficulty that Ephraem and the

³⁸ Rönisch and Ropes both choose *quadraginta* but without explanation. Hermann Rönisch, ed., *Das Neue Testament Tertullian's* (Leipzig: Fues's Verlag, 1871), 293. James Hardy Ropes, *The Beginnings of Christianity: The Acts of the Apostles — The Text of Acts*, ed. F. J. Foakes-Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, vol. 3 (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1979), 3.

³⁹ Jacobus Hendrik Petzer, "Tertullian's Text of Acts," *Second Century* 8 (1991): 213.

⁴⁰ James Rendel Harris, *Four Lectures on the Western Text of the New Testament* (C.J. Clay, 1894), 55–58, 75.

⁴¹ Wilhelm Blümer, *Vetus Latina: die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel*, vol. 20 Actus Apostolorum, http://nttf.klassphil.uni-mainz.de/Dateien/EndproduktAct1_5.pdf.

Sahidic version insert a contrastive conjunction into their text just before the Bezan phrase.

Perhaps Tertullian took the Bezan phrase as making verses 4–5 together as parenthetical. In this case, then the actions of 1:3 would be taken to have happened ἕως τῆς πεντηκοστῆς. This may seem improbable, but Tertullian has the same understanding in *De baptismo* 19. There he writes,

exinde pentecoste ordinandis lauacris laetissimum spatium est, quo et domini resurrectio inter discipulos frequentata est et gratia spiritus sancti dedicata et spes aduentus domini subostensa, quod tunc in caelos recuperato eo angeli ad apostolos dixerunt sic uenturum quemadmodum et in caelos conscendit, utique in pentecoste.

After that, Pentecost is a most auspicious period for arranging baptisms, for during it our Lord's resurrection was several times made known among the disciples, and the grace of the Holy Spirit first given, and the hope of our Lord's coming made evident: because it was at that time, when he had been received back into heaven, that the angels said to the apostles that he would so come in like manner as he had also gone up into heaven, namely at Pentecost.⁴²

This again seems to indicate that Tertullian thought the activity of the resurrected Lord continued right up to the fiftieth day or Pentecost when the Lord ascended into heaven. Evans takes the “namely at Pentecost” to refer to the Lord's return.⁴³ It makes more sense to take *pentecoste* not as the liturgical season of Pentecost (which, at any rate, comes after the day of Pentecost not before as the events which Tertullian is discussing here) but rather as the fifty days after Easter. This would bring his statement here in line with his earlier *quinginta* in *Apol.* 21. The clause *utique in pentecoste* describes the time in which all the activities of the Lord happened, including his ascension, which Tertullian believed to have happened on the fiftieth day. This is made all the more plausible considering that the Montanists, Ambrose, and Eusebius all give some indication that they thought Jesus ascended on the fiftieth day.⁴⁴

⁴² Evans' translation. Ernest Evans, *Tertullian's Homily on Baptism* (London: S.P.C.K., 1964), 41.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 107.

⁴⁴ Urban Holzmeister, “Der Tag der Himmelfahrt des Herrn,” *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 55, no. 1 (1931): 61–64.

It should be noted that the editors of the *Editio Critica Maior* of Acts have recently invited fresh examination of issues surrounding the Bezan or “Western” text of Acts. Far from being the final word, the editors have encouraged a “new wave” of study on this long puzzling issue for scholars.⁴⁵ Pertinent to this study is Gäbel’s proposed second avenue for further research: “to study the textual relationships between variants in quotations in 2nd century works and corresponding variants in later witnesses of the Bezan trajectory.”⁴⁶ In the Acts references below, the issue of Codex Bezae and Tertullian’s relationship to its text will therefore be a special matter of investigation.

Acts 2:9–11

parthi et medi [et medi ϕ; medi T P N F R uulgo] et elamitae [et elamite ϕ T; elamite P N F] et qui habitant [habitant: ϕ T N F; inhabitant P R] mesopotamiam armeniam phrygiam [phrygiam; secl. Kroymann] cappadociam, et [et: om. ϕ] incolentes pontum et asiam, phrygiam et pamphyliam, inmorantes aegyptum et regiones africae, quae est trans cyrenen, inhabitantes romani et incolae, tunc et in hierusalem iudaei, et ceterae gentes (TE Jud 8.4)

Tertullian is nearly alone in attesting *armeniam* instead of *iudaeam* in this list of places. Augustine is the only other witness for this insertion.⁴⁷ Nikolai Kiel has recently explained why this variant has been included as a new variant in the *Editio Critica Maior*. He argues that Tertullian and Augustine may witness a lost reading from an early Greek copy of Acts.⁴⁸ The *phrygiam* following *armeniam* is also unique, perhaps dittography due to the word’s occurrence later in the list. Manuscripts *P* and *R* attest *inhabitant*, rather than *habitant*. The rare *inhabitant* is attested by VL 5, 50, and 72. The rest of the Vetus Latina manuscripts as well as the Vulgate

⁴⁵ Georg Gäbel, “‘Western Text,’ ‘D-Text Cluster,’ ‘Bezan Trajectory,’ Or What Else? – A Preliminary Study” in Strutwolf, *Die Apostelgeschichte: Acts of the Apostles*, 83–84.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 93.

⁴⁷ *Contra epistulam Manichaei quam uocant fundamenti* 9.

⁴⁸ Nikolai Kiel, “‘Neue’ Varianten in den Kirchenväterzitaten” in Strutwolf, *Die Apostelgeschichte: Acts of the Apostles*, 48–49.

have *habitant*. Tertullian inserts *incolentes* and *immorantes* perhaps as stylistic synonyms for *habitant(es)*. Instead of *regiones africae*, the Latin tradition unanimously has *partes lybiae*, though with some divergence in spelling Libya. Another unique rendering in Tertullian's list is *trans cyrenen*. The Vetus Latina manuscripts attest rather *secus* or *circa*. The last line of the reference is so unique in both vocabulary and syntax that it must be described as a loose paraphrase. With all the unique readings of this reference, Tertullian is likely translating from the Greek but rather loosely.

Acts 2:22

item Petrus in actis apostolorum, Iesum Nazarenum uirum uobis a deo destinatum, utique hominem (TE car 15.1)

uiri Israelitae, auribus mandate quae dico, Iesum Nazarenum uirum a Deo uobis destinatum, et reliqua (TE pud 21.11)

Petzer has discussed the singular readings of Tertullian in this verse; no other Latin version has *auribus mandate, quae dico, uobis* without a preposition, or *destinatum*.⁴⁹ Blümer's collation corroborates this.⁵⁰ These singular readings along with other evidence led Petzer to conclude that Tertullian must have been translating on his own. Even if he may have also known a Latin version of Acts, Tertullian translates from the Greek.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Petzer, "Tertullian's Text of Acts," 204–09.

⁵⁰ Wilhelm Blümer, "Kollationsdateien Act 2_22" *Vetus Latina: die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel*, vol. 20 Actus Apostolorum, http://nttf.klassphil.uni-mainz.de/197.php?folder=Act+02&file=Act+2_22.pdf

⁵¹ Petzer, "Tertullian's Text of Acts," 209–10.

Acts 13:33

ad quem in secundo [secundo: Pam; primo: M R] psalmo: filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te (TE Marc 4.22.8)

Kilpatrick brought this quotation to the attention of scholars in 1960 when he criticised the editors of CCSL for choosing Pamelius' conjectural emendation (*in secundo psalmo*) even though the variant reading *in primo psalmo* had been known from other manuscripts of Acts 13:33 for a long time.⁵² This is another agreement between Tertullian's text and that of 05 or Codex Bezae which has τῷ πρῶτῳ ψαλμῷ and *in primo psalmo*.⁵³ The only other Greek witness is an apparent reference in Origen. The only other Latin witness to this reading is VL 51, Codex Gigas.⁵⁴

Acts 15:29

abstineri, a sacrificiis et a [et; om. O] fornicationibus et [et; a O] sanguine. a quibus obseruando recte agetis uetante [agetis uetante Urs. R W; agitis uetante B; agitis uetante O; agetis uetante Pr. Rau.] uos Spiritu sancto (TE pud 12.4)

In *De pudicitia* 12.4 Tertullian makes clear and explicit reference to Act 15:29. Tertullian has the present passive infinitive *abstineri* as a rendering of ἀπέχεσθαι, a middle/passive infinitive. He is alone among all Latin witnesses as such. Only Codex Bezae's Latin has the present active infinitive *abstinere*, also a possible translation of ἀπέχεσθαι. The rest of the Latin tradition has *abstineatis*, the second plural subjunctive. Further, only Codex Bezae's Latin has *fornicationibus*; all other Latin witnesses have the singular *fornicatione*. Lest one begin to think that Tertullian might be copying from the Latin ancestor of Codex Bezae, the following differences between Tertullian and Latin Bezae demonstrate that this is not the case. First,

⁵² G. D. Kilpatrick, "Acts XIII. 33 and Tertullian, *Adu. Marc.* IV. xxii. 8," *The Journal of Theological Studies* 11, no. 1 (1960): 53.

⁵³ Strutwolf, *Die Apostelgeschichte: Acts of the Apostles*, 469.

⁵⁴ For more on this manuscript, cf. Houghton, *The Latin New Testament*, 167–68; 233.

Tertullian's ordering of the three things to avoid (*sacrificiis, fornicationibus, sanguine*) do not follow the order of any known Latin witness including Latin Bezae, all of which have the latter two items in reverse order. Tertullian is also alone among the Latin tradition in rendering ἐξ ὧν διατηροῦντες with *a quibus obseruando*, with all others having the participle in plural though divided among a number of different lexemes (*custodientes, conuersantes, obserbantes*).

Tertullian also includes a rarely attested textual variant here with the phrase *agetis uetante uos Spiritu sancto*. Greek Bezae is the only Greek witness that has παῖξτε φερομενοι εν τω αγιω πνευματι.⁵⁵ Latin Bezae, Latin Irenaeus (A.H. 3.12.14), perhaps VL 67 are the only other Latin witness that have an approximation of this phrase with *ferentes in spiritu sancto*.⁵⁶ This still differs from Tertullian's unique rendering. Here again, it seems that Tertullian is translating freely from a Greek version which appears to have been a relative of Greek Bezae.

Acts 17:23

nam et Athenis ara est inscripta ignotis deis colit ergo quis quod ignorat (TE nat 2.9.4)

In *Ad nationes* 2.9.4 Tertullian refers to Acts 17:23. It is surprising that Tertullian has *ignotis deis* in the plural rather than in the singular as is normally attested. He also quotes this well-known verse in *Aduersus Marcionem* 1.9.2, again with the plural *ignotis deis*. No extant

⁵⁵ The Vetus Latina database card for this entry makes note of this.

⁵⁶ For a discussion of Irenaeus' version of this variant, cf Holger Strutwolf, "Der Text der Apostelgeschichte bei Irenäus von Lyon und der sogenannte 'Westliche Text,'" in Holger Strutwolf et al., eds., *Die Apostelgeschichte: Acts of the Apostles*, Novum Testamentum Graecum, Editio critica maior / herausgegeben vom Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung, III/3 (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2017), 170. Cf also the earlier essay, Christopher Tuckett, "How Early is the 'Western' Text of Acts?" in Tobias Nicklas and Michael Tilly, eds., *The Book of Acts as Church History: Text, Textual Traditions, and Ancient Interpretations = Apostelgeschichte als Kirchengeschichte: Text, Texttraditionen, und antike Auslegungen*, Beihefte Zur Zeitschrift Für Die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft Und Die Kunde Der Älteren Kirche, Bd. 120 (Berlin ; New York: W. de Gruyter, 2003), 69–86. Tuckett's aim is to explore the state of the "Western" text prior to the third century, the date assigned to it in Barbara Aland, "Entstehung, Charakter, und Herkunft des Sogenannt Westlichen Texte: Untersucht an der Apostelgeschichte," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 62, no. 1 (April 1986): 5–65.

Greek or Latin witness has the plural.⁵⁷ The plural may be attributed to Tertullian's memory failure when referencing this verse, though this seems unlikely because the narrative is itself so memorable. It is more likely that Tertullian refers to the actual inscription in Athens which was purported to be in the plural: Jerome argued that Paul's speech had adapted the inscription *diis ignotis* to the singular for the purposes of the narrative.⁵⁸ He wrote in his *Commentarius in Epistolam ad Titum* 1.12, *inscriptio autem arae non ita erat, ut Paulus asseruit ignoto deo sed ita diis Asiae et Europae et Africae diis ignotis et peregrinis*. This need not be a "mistake" on Paul's part as Rothschild contends but simply an adaptation of an inscription which may have been well known to people in the ancient world.

5.2.2 Romans

A few introductory remarks can be made concerning Tertullian's text of the Pauline epistles. Metzger points to Molitor's study of the Pauline epistles in the quotations of Ephraem and noted similarities with Marcion and especially Tertullian.⁵⁹ Further, he found that Ephraem's citations were often in agreement with the Greek text of Codices Claromontanus (D) and Augiensis (G).⁶⁰ The other manuscript often cited with these two is Codex Boernerianus (F). As noted in Chapter 1, Quispel called for careful attention to textual variants among Tertullian's references and D, F, and G.⁶¹ Günther Zuntz asserted that there were three witnesses to the "Western" text of the Pauline epistles: (1) the Greek ancestor of the bilingual manuscripts D, F,

⁵⁷ Strutwolf, *Die Apostelgeschichte: Acts of the Apostles*, 653. Wilhelm Blümer, "Kollationsdateien Act 17_23" *Vetus Latina: die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel*, vol. 20 Actus Apostolorum, http://nttf.klassphil.uni-mainz.de/197.php?folder=Act+17&file=Act+17_23.pdf.

⁵⁸ Cf Clare K. Rothschild, *Paul in Athens: The Popular Religious Context of Acts 17* (Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 57.

⁵⁹ Joseph Molitor, *Der Paulustext des hl. Ephräm aus seinem Armenisch erhaltenen Paulinenkommentar*, Monumenta Biblica et Ecclesiastica 4 (Rome: Päpstliches Bibelinstitut, 1938).

⁶⁰ Bruce M. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament: Their Origin, Transmission, and Limitations* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), 44.

⁶¹ Gilles Quispel, "Marcion and the Text of the New Testament" in *Gnostica, Judaica, Catholica: Collected Essays of Gilles Quispel*, ed. J. van Oort, Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies, v. 55 (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2008), 271–83; originally published in *Vigiliae Christianae* 52 (1998): 349–60.

and G, (2) Tertullian, and (3) “the archetype of d and the non-Vulgate quotations in Latin Fathers”.⁶² In regards to the first two witnesses, though these witnesses often aligned against non-Western witnesses, they were nevertheless not exactly the same. Zuntz judged that Tertullian differed from D, F, and G based on differences in their texts of 1Cor 7:39 and 8:2.⁶³ This theory will be slightly modified in the course of examining these two references to 1Cor as well as references to Rom 6:4-5, 1Cor 5:6, Gal 5:1, Phil 1:23, and 1Tim 1:17 below. Parker’s overall judgment of Zuntz’s theory nevertheless remains, that the “Western text is the fourth-century archetype of a group of bilinguals”.⁶⁴ In regards to the second and third witnesses of the Western text, it should be noted that the difference Zuntz found between Tertullian’s text and other early Latin non-Vulgate witnesses is strong evidence that Tertullian was not dependent on any extant Latin NT manuscript. This supports the main research question of this dissertation, that Tertullian was translating from Greek manuscripts rather than depending on extant Latin translations. This will be further substantiated below.

Romans 1:3–4

Sic et apostolus de utraque eius substantia docet: qui factus est, inquit, ex semine David (hic erit homo et filius hominis), qui definitus est Filius Dei secundum Spiritum (hic erit Deus et sermo Dei filius) [sermo dei filius: codd. Rh Evans; sermo: secl. Kroy; sermo <dei,> dei filius: Engelbrecht] (TE Pra 27.11)

The introduction to this biblical reference includes mention of the *apostolus* and the interjection *inquit* after the first phrase of the reference. This is Tertullian’s common practice for

⁶² Günther Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles: A Disquisition upon the Corpus Paulinum*, The Schweich Lectures 1946 (London: Published for the British Academy by Oxford Univ. Press, 1953), 85.

⁶³ Ibid., 249.

⁶⁴ Parker, *An Introduction to the New Testament Manuscripts and Their Texts*, 174, 279—82.

referencing Pauline material as will be seen throughout this commentary.⁶⁵ Tertullian's rendering of verse 3 does not include the *ei* after *qui factus est* like many Latin witnesses. Only VL 51 also omits *secundum carnem* after *ex semine David*, but VL51 also omits *ex semine David*.

Tertullian's exclusion of *secundum carnem* may be due to his tendency to omit portions of references. He likewise omits *in uirtute* or anything similar as a rendering for ἐν δυνάμει after *qui definitus est Filius Dei*. Like Houghton concerning early Latin translation in general, Schmid argued that Tertullian regularly omitted short phrases in his translation practice.⁶⁶

A unique portion of Tertullian's reading is *qui definitus est* in verse 4. That is nowhere else attested as a rendering of ὁρισθέντος. All of the Vetus Latina manuscripts have *qui praedestinatus est*, a strange rendering in some respects since ὁρισθέντος would more naturally be rendered as *qui destinatus est* without the sense of it having happened prior to something.⁶⁷ Perhaps this rendering protected against adoptionism.⁶⁸ Only Rufinus has *qui destinatus est*. Tertullian's *qui definitus est* seems to be a unique rendering. Schmid has noted such changes in vocabulary because of translation choices as another characteristic of Tertullian's text.⁶⁹ There are at least two meanings possible for ὁρίζω, "to set limit, define, explain" and "to make a determination about an entity, determine, appoint, fix, set".⁷⁰ The reference begins with *sic et apostolus de utraque eius substantia docet*. This is at least how he uses the reference in context.

⁶⁵ Cf also Petzer, "Tertullian's Text of Acts," 203–204. On these introductory formalisms as a criterion for determining a useful citation of an early Christian writer, cf most recently Nikolai Kiel, "'Neue' Varianten in den Kirchenväterzitaten" in Strutwolf, *Die Apostelgeschichte: Acts of the Apostles*, 39.

⁶⁶ Houghton, *The Latin New Testament*, 144; Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 62–63.

⁶⁷ For the principal Pauline epistles, all textual evidence of the *Vetus Latina* manuscripts can be found in Houghton et al., *The Principal Pauline Epistles*.

⁶⁸ Cf Bart D. Ehrman, *The Orthodox Corruption of Scripture: The Effect of Early Christological Controversies on the Text of the New Testament* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 71–72.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 74–5.

⁷⁰ Frederick W. Danker et al., eds., *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, 3rd ed (BDAG) (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 723.

Romans 6:4–5

consepulti [compsepulti: T] ergo illi sumus per [post: C] baptismum in mortem [morte: X] uti quemadmodum surrexit Christus a mortuis. ita et nos in nouitate uitae incedamus [incendamus: T]. si enim consati fuerimus simulacro mortis Christi ita et resurrectionis erimus (TE res 47.10)

consepulti ergo sumus per baptismum in mortem ut sicut Christus resurrexit a mortuis ita et nos in nouitate uitae incedamus. si enim consepulti sumus simulacro mortis eius sed et resurrectionis erimus (TE pud 17.6)

Both of these are extended references of the same verses without paraphrastic interjections. The length of the two references suggests verbatim citation, whether from an extant Latin translation or by careful translation from Greek, rather than loose paraphrase. There are differences between the two references: *uti quemadmodum* / *ut sicut*, *baptisma* / *baptismum*, *surrexit* / *resurrexit*, *consati* / *consepulti*, *fuerimus* / *sumus*, and issues of word order. Most of these are minor issues, except for *consati*. This word is a calque of σύμφυτοι. It might be argued that these are examples of flattening in the otherwise verbatim citation of an extant Latin translation. It is possible that Tertullian is conversant with Latin oral or written translations which are not yet standardized or authoritative but yet are known among his community.

On the contrary, however, it appears more likely that Tertullian himself is responsible for the translation and perhaps for unique translations for each of the works. Wellstein has discussed Tertullian's coining of the expression *consepultos* in *De resurrectione* 23 as a translation of συνετάφημεν.⁷¹ Though the Greek word had currency among earlier pagan and Jewish Greek writers (Aeschylus, Herodotus, Josephus, et al.), no extant Latin writings prior to Tertullian attest *consepelire*. This is therefore a “calque”, a new word created by rendering each portion of the

⁷¹ Matthias Wellstein, *Nova Verba in Tertullians Schriften gegen die Häretiker aus montanistischer Zeit*, Beiträge Zur Altertumskunde, Bd. 127 (Stuttgart: B.G. Teubner, 1999), 59–60.

word in the source language with known morphological elements in the target language.⁷² *Consepel-ire* is a calque of συν-θάπτ-ειν. It should be noted, however, that Tertullian is not creating new specifically Christian terminology here. Burying something with something else was a known practice. For example, Cicero cites the law concerning burying gold teeth with their owner: *at cui auro dentes vincti escunt, ast im cum illo sepeliet uretve, se fraude esto*.⁷³ Thus, Tertullian is not creating Christian *Sondersprache* here but instead demonstrating his linguistic creativity. This is a common literary practice throughout Tertullian's writings, and more examples will be cited below. This becomes evidence that Tertullian is translating from the Greek.

Another Graecism in the *De resurrectione* reference is the lone attestation of *baptisma*. The lemma is not present in any Latin writer prior to Tertullian. Wellstein notes that Tertullian has not only brought βάπτισμα into Latin, in the *De resurrectione* use of *baptisma* the Greek morphology is retained.⁷⁴ Tertullian's first use of this word displays Greek morphology in *Aduersus Iudaeos* 8: *id est sanctificante aquas in suo baptismate* and in *Aduersus Iudaeos* 13: *ligni passionis christi per aquam baptismatis*. This displays clear evidence of Tertullian's use of Greek. Is this an example of an attempt to create a Christian *Sondersprache* by retaining a Greek term? Burton demonstrates that for the Old Latin Gospels, "in the case of the specifically Christian words it is generally true that the more central a term is to the gospel message the harder it will be to translate."⁷⁵ He includes *baptisma/us* as such an example, though with the caveat of *intingo* used for the non-sacramental renderings of βάπτω at Luke 16:24 and John 13:26. Tertullian, however, uses *tinguere* regularly as a synonym for *baptisma/us*. Just prior to

⁷² Burton, *The Old Latin Gospels*, 129–36; Houghton, *The Latin New Testament*, 7.

⁷³ Cicero, *De legibus*, 2.24/60; *Leges XII Tabularum* 10.6.

⁷⁴ Wellstein, *Nova Verba*, 60.

⁷⁵ Burton, *The Old Latin Gospels*, 144–45.

the reference of Romans 6:4 in *De resurrectione* 47, Tertullian references Romans 6:3 using *tincti sumus* rather than *baptizati sumus* to render ἐβαπτίσθημεν. This may be due to Tertullian's literary ambitions and his preference for *uariatio* over consistency.

There are a few noteworthy text-critical variants to mention. The first difference between the two references is the absence of the pronoun *illi* in *De pudicitia*. No other witness attests an omission. The phrase *uti quemadmodum* is also found in VL 64, 86, and the writers Ambrosiaster, Rufinus, and Pelagius. Besides both of Tertullian's references, Irenaeus also omits *per gloriam patris*, as does the *Speculum*.⁷⁶ The *Speculum* has a block quotation of Romans 6:3–11 like Tertullian, but there are too many significant textual differences for them to be related.⁷⁷ Tertullian alone has *incedamus* in both references where all the rest of the Latin tradition has *ambulemus*.

Finally, in the *De res.* reference, Tertullian has *ita et resurrectionis erimus*. The *ita* is nowhere else attested in any known Latin witness. The *ita et* here in Tertullian's rendering of Rom 6:5 is parallel to his earlier *ita et* in his rendering of οὕτως καὶ at Rom 6:4. The problem is that the Greek text of Romans 6:5 does not have the same parallel οὕτως καὶ. Instead, most Greek witnesses have ἀλλὰ καὶ, except Greek Codices F and G (and the Greek re-construction of Ephraem's commentary text⁷⁸) which have ἅμα καὶ. The scribe of these two manuscripts mistook the ΑΛΛΑ for ΑΜΑ, a common problem in majuscule script. The entire Latin tradition follow F and G in the latter reading (ἅμα) rendering it as *simul*, except for Rufinus who had *etiam*. The

⁷⁶ Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses* 3.16.9; Sanday, Souter, and Turner, *Nouum Testamentum Sancti Irenaei Episcopi Lugdunensis*, 120; Houghton et al., *The Principal Pauline Epistles*, 76.

⁷⁷ Augustine and Franciscus Wehrich, *S. Aureli Augustini Hipponensis episcopi liber qui appellatur Speculum: Et liber de Divinis Scripturis sive Speculum quod fertur s. Augustini*, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 12 (Vindobonae: C. Geroldi Filium Bibliopolam Academiae, 1887), 627.

⁷⁸ Joseph Molitor, *Der Paulustext des hl. Ephräm aus seinem armenisch erhaltenen Paulinenkommentar*, *Monumenta Biblica et Ecclesiastica* 4 (Rome: Päpstliches Bibelinstitut, 1938), 40*.

Latin following F and G supports Zuntz's overall thesis that these witnesses, while not always consistently, still largely side together against non-Western Greek manuscripts.

It is important to note here that Greek Codex D departs from F and G and has ἀλλὰ καὶ on the verso. However, its Latin translation on the recto (also known as VL 75) sides with the Latin reading of F and G, *simul*, a translation not of its own Greek text of ἀλλὰ but rather in line with the Greek reading of F and G, ἅμα. It is clear that Tertullian did not use a Latin manuscript here since he does not have the Latin tradition's unanimously attested *simul*.⁷⁹ Instead, he must have read ἀλλὰ καὶ with Greek Codex D. The *ita et* of Tertullian's *De res.* does not give direct evidence of ἀλλὰ καὶ, but it is certainly not a rendering of ἅμα καὶ. In the other reference to this verse in *De pud.* Tertullian has *sed* which gives clear witness to the non-Western reading ἀλλὰ. Thus Tertullian sides with Greek Codex D but against its Latin translation and also against the bilingual Codices F (VL 78) and G (VL 77). Given this evidence, it seems more likely that Tertullian was translating from Greek rather than flattening an already extant Latin translation.

Romans 8:11

Si enim, inquit, spiritus eius, qui suscitauit Iesum, habitat in uobis, qui suscitauit Iesum [habitat – Iesum: om T] a mortuis [a mortuis: om C] suscitabit [suscitabit: M P X; suscitauit: T; uiuificabit: C] et mortalia corpora uestra propter inhabitantem spiritum eius in uobis (TE res 46.6)

qui suscitauit Christum a mortuis, uiuificabit [uiuificabit: R3; uiuificauit: M RI] et mortalia corpora uestra (TE Marc 5.14.5)

qui suscitauit Christum suscitaturus est et mortalia corpora uestra (TE Pra 28.13)

In the reference in *De resurrectione*, codex T's large omission of *habitat* through *Iesum* is likely due to homoeoteleuton, which was a regular occurrence in that manuscript.⁸⁰ *Si enim* is

⁷⁹ Zuntz came to the same conclusion. Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles*, 249 n. 1.

⁸⁰ Cf. Chapter 4.1.5.2.

otherwise present only in Augustine's sermons 153–56 on Romans. Because of the lengthy quote, it is likely that Tertullian had the text of Romans 8 in front of him. Since these first two words differ from the rest of the Latin tradition with the exception of Augustine, this may be further evidence of translating from the Greek. After the first occurrence of *qui suscitauit Iesum*, Tertullian omits *a mortuis* which no other Latin witness omits. It is, however, also omitted by Greek minuscules 424^c, 1319, 1573, 1739, 1881, and 2147.⁸¹

All three references contain some form of the second *qui* phrase. It is not surprising that Tertullian has *Iesum* in the *De resurrectione* reference but *Christum* in the other two. Schmid has identified Christological titles as a problem area in Tertullian's reproduction of the biblical text. He notes in particular that Tertullian is most likely to change Christological titles when he is giving a short reference as opposed to a longer one which would necessitate having the text before him.⁸² Even more problematic is Tertullian's *suscitabit* in the *De res.* reference and *suscitaturus* in the *Prax.* reference. Schmid comments that these renderings may show a Greek text that had ἐγχειρεῖ instead of ζωοποιήσει which is attested in every extant Greek witness, since Tertullian nowhere else renders ζωοποιεῖν with *suscitare*. Schmid further proposes that Tertullian's copy of the Scriptures or perhaps Tertullian himself had been influenced by 2 Cor. 4:14.⁸³ For Schmid, the witness of *De res.* and *Prax.* with a form of *suscitare* as opposed to the witness of *Marc.* with its *uiuificabit* demonstrates that there were differences between Tertullian's text and Marcion's.⁸⁴ These observations of Schmid help to nuance an understanding

⁸¹ Reuben J. Swanson, ed., *New Testament Greek Manuscripts: Variant Readings Arranged in Horizontal Lines against Codex Vaticanus*, vol. 7 (Romans) (Sheffield, England : Pasadena, Calif., USA: Sheffield Academic Press ; William Carey International University Press, 1995), 115.

⁸² Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 64.

⁸³ Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 104.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 98–105.

of Tertullian's citation practice which has previously been explained simply as loose. There are a number of complicating factors which prevent such an estimation.

Romans 12:15

gaudere cum gaudentibus et lugere cum lugentibus de fratribus dictum est ab apostolo ad unanimitatem cohortante (TE id 13.2)

dolere cum dolentibus et ita demum congaudere gaudentibus (TE je 13.8)

In *De idololatria* 13.2 Tertullian makes a clear reference to Rom 12:15. With mention of the apostle, Tertullian signals that he is explicitly referencing Paul, as we have already seen. *Gaudere cum gaudentibus* is the standard rendering of the Greek's universally attested χαίρειν μετὰ χαιρόντων. Tertullian joins this clause to the following with *et* as do the following Greek manuscripts with the conjunction καὶ: A D² L P and many others against manuscripts Ɔ46 & B D F G among others. Most interesting is Tertullian's rendering *lugere cum lugentibus*. The Latin tradition almost universally has *flere cum flentibus*. Rufinus' translation of Origen's commentary on Romans has *gaudere cum gaudentibus et dolere cum dolentibus*. If Tertullian were using a Latin version, it has not survived. It seems more likely that he is translating whether from his own mental text in Greek or from a Greek *Vorlage*. He seems to prefer *lugere* to *flere* in his regular writings. According to the Library of Latin Texts, he uses *lugere* or its cognates 26 times as compared to 21 instances of *flere*. It is also notable that Tertullian only uses *flere* once in his earliest writings, in *Apologeticum* 14.8, but he uses *lugere* nine times in his early writings (four times in *idol.*,⁸⁵ twice in *Apol.*,⁸⁶ three times in *Ad. Iud.*,⁸⁷). In *idol* 13.3 he uses *lugere* to render

⁸⁵ *Idol.* 13.2, 3, 3, 4

⁸⁶ *Apol.* 10.10; 15.2

⁸⁷ *Ad. Iud.* 10.17 (twice); 10.19

John 16:20 (ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι κλαύσετε ... ὁ δὲ κόσμος χαρήσεται) when he writes *saeculum gaudebit, uos uero lugebitis*. Cicero also preferred *lugere*, using it 176 times compared to his 74 times using *flere*. Tertullian does use *flere* to render κλαίω in *De resurrectione mortuorum* 22.10 when he references Apc 18:9 in writing *nemo adhuc Babylonis exitum fleuit*.

However, he also uses yet another word to render κλαίω in his reference of Rom. 12:15 in *De ieiunio* 13.8. Tertullian prefers this word, *dolere*, even over *lugere* or *flere*. He uses the word six times in his earliest writings and 31 times in his third century writings. Cicero, likewise, prefers this word the most using it 228 times. Tertullian rendered the same Greek word in a variety of different ways in his writings. His rendering the same verse (Rom 12:15) in two different ways and his rendering the same word in a variety of different ways is a good example of the literary *uariatio*. Further, Tertullian seems to follow Cicero in the occurrence of words with the general meaning of “mourning”. Since this is a general human experience and not a unique biblical phenomenon and thus not necessitating particular scriptural language, it seems that Tertullian borrows the language of Latin writers who preceded him, especially Cicero.⁸⁸

Romans 13:3–4

principes enim non sunt timori boni operis, sed mali. vis autem non timere potestatem, fac bonum et laudem ab ea referes. dei ergo ministra est tibi in bonum. si uero malum facias, time. et quia non sine causa gladium gestet, et quia ministerium sit dei, sed et ultrix, inquit, in iram ei qui malum fecerit. (TE sco 14.1)

quis non praeferat saeculi iustitiam, quam et apostolus non frustra gladio armatam contestatur, quae pro homine saeuendo religiosa est? (TE an 33.6)

⁸⁸ This phenomenon developed from constant use of the Scriptures over time, though this is not quite the same thing as the earlier *Sondersprache* theory of Schrijnen and Mohrmann. Cf Burton, *The Old Latin Gospels*, 154; Ibid., “On Revisiting the Christian Latin Sondersprache Hypothesis,” in *Textual Variation: Theological and Social Tendencies? : Papers from the Fifth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, ed. H. A. G Houghton and D. C Parker (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2008), 149–171.

The reference in *Scorpiace* is another extended reference which, according to Schmid, provides the best opportunity to be confident that the biblical text lies before Tertullian.⁸⁹ The *principes enim*, which switches the word order of οἱ γὰρ ἄρχοντες because the Latin *enim* is a postpositive requiring the second place, is also attested by Ambrosiaster, Rufinus, and Speculum.⁹⁰ Much of verse 3 is identical to the rest of the Latin tradition except for the final clause, *et laudem ab ea referes*. Most of the Latin tradition renders καὶ ἔξεις ἔπαινον ἐξ αὐτῆς as *et habebis laudem ex illa*. Tertullian's *et laudem ab ea referes* is unique. Instead of translating ἔξεις ἔπαινον straightforwardly with *habebis laudem*, Tertullian chooses a more literary expression. He uses a similar expression in *Aduersus Marcionem* 4.37.1 when he renders Luke 18:43's πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἰδὼν ἔδωκεν αἶνον τῷ θεῷ as *omnis populus laudes referebant deo*. This may be a legal expression. It was used by Cicero in his orations against Verres when he describes the expression as an action of the senate: *refertur ad senatum de laudatione Verris*.⁹¹ Apuleius also uses the expression, though with *laudes* in the dative case, in *Metamorphoses*: *at ego referendis laudibus tuis exilis ingenio*.⁹²

5.2.3 1 Corinthians

1 Corinthians 1:20

ubi sapiens, ubi litterator, ubi conquisitor huius aevi? nonne infatuauit deus sapientiam huius saeculi? (TE id 9.7)

nonne infatuauit deus sapientiam mundi (TE Marc 5.5.7)

deum ... qui ... infatuauerit sapientiam mundi (TE Marc 5.5.8)

qui infatuauerit sapientia mundi (TE Marc 5.6.1)

⁸⁹ Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 64.

⁹⁰ Houghton et al., *The Principal Pauline Epistles*, 138.

⁹¹ Cicero, *In C. Verrem orationes* 2.4.142.

⁹² Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, 11.25.

There are no variants of this biblical reference among the manuscripts or editions of Tertullian's work. Waszink suggested that Tertullian's *litterator* rather than the Latin tradition's universally attested *scriba* for γραμματεὺς was because he considered *scriba* too narrow for the context of the argument.⁹³ Tertullian only uses the word *litterator* in one other place in all his writings, namely in *De idol.* 10.5 (*uideamus igitur necessitatem litteratoriae eruditionis*). Waszink also notes that elsewhere Tertullian translates γραμματεὺς as *scriba* though he gives no specific examples. When the word is paired with φαρισαῖοι Tertullian typically renders that phrase *scribas et pharisaeos* as in *De idol.* 2.5's reference to Mt 5:20 where Tertullian has *scribas* for γραμματέων. Another reference to Mt 5:20 is in *De monogamia* 7.1 where Tertullian has *ut scilicet redundare possit iustitia nostra super scribarum et phariseorum iustitiam*. This can also be seen in his reference to Mt 23:27 in *De resurrectione mortuorum* 19.4 (*quia et dominus scribas et pharisaeos sepulchris dealbatis adaequauerit*). He has the same translation of γραμματεῖς καὶ θαρισαῖοι in his possible reference to Mt 23:27 at *De anima* 16.4 (*quo inuehitur in scribas et Phariseos*).

Perhaps the reason for the unique rendering of γραμματεὺς as *litterator* at *De Idol.* 9.7 is due to the Greco-Roman milieu of this term in Paul's Letter to the Corinthians whereas Tertullian's rendering of the word in Matthean references is due to that work's Jewish milieu.⁹⁴ Tertullian's consistent pairing of *scriba* with *pharisaeos* may point to Tertullian's connotation of the word with the specifically Jewish γραμματεὺς. The other singular or rare readings in Tertullian's version of 1Cor 1:20 include *aeui* instead of the Latin tradition's *mundi* or *saeculi*,

⁹³ Waszink, 176–77.

⁹⁴ For the view that γραμματεὺς in 1Cor 1:20 does not stem from a Jewish but from a mixed or specifically Greco-Roman milieu, cf Anthony C. Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, The New International Greek Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids, Mich. : Carlisle, U.K: W.B. Eerdmans ; Paternoster Press, 2000), 164; Dieter Zeller, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther*, 1. Aufl. dieser Auslegung, Kritisch-Exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament, Bd. 5 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), 108.

infatuauit (only elsewhere attested by Cyprian, *Ad Quir.* 3.59, 3.69) instead of *stultam fecit*, and *saeculi* instead of *mundi*. In his rendering of the same verse in *Ad. Marc.* 5.5.7, Tertullian again employs *infatuauit* but chooses *mundi* over *saeculi* (*nonne infatuauit deus sapientiam mundi*).⁹⁵ Later in the same book (5.5.8) he writes *qui ex retributione aemula et iudice infatuauerit sapientiam mundi*. Here Tertullian does not have a consistent form of this text which he recapitulates but rather seems to be rendering the text from the Greek anew each time he needed the verse. There is a consistent attestation, however, of some form of *infatuauit* rather than the Latin tradition's *stultam fecit* to render ἐμώρπανε. *Infatuauit* is a calqued translation, though perhaps not of Tertullian's invention. The word is used with a similar meaning in *Bellum Africanum* 16 and in Cicero's *Philippicae* 3.22 and *Pro Flacco* 46.

1 Corinthians 4:7

accepisti quid gloriaris inquit quasi non acceperis (TE or 22.9)

accepisti quid gloriaris quasi non acceperis (TE pud 14.10)

et si a deo confertur continentiae uirtus quid gloriaris quasi non acceperis? si uero non accepisti quid habes quod datum tibi non est? (TE vg 13.3)

In *De oratione* 22, Tertullian makes several references to 1Cor 11, and thus it can be confidently asserted that *inquit* here again refers to the Apostle Paul. There are no attested variants among the manuscripts or editions of Tertullian's writing here. This reference matches the Latin tradition in vocabulary, syntax, and word order. Such correspondence between Tertullian and the Latin tradition might lead one to conclude that Tertullian had a Latin version of this text. What is more, Tertullian references this same verse two more times in his writings at

⁹⁵ Schmid also notices that Tertullian has *huius saeculi* in *De idol.* 9.7 and that he seems to lack it in *Marc.* 5.5.7. This possibly demonstrates according to Schmid that Tertullian had κόσμου τούτου in his text (as did D^e F G among others) but that Marcion may have had the shorter text which Tertullian was quoting from Marcion (which is attested among P⁴⁶ A B and others). Schmid, 102.

De pudicitia 14.10 and *De uirginibus uelands* 13.3 and again has a consistent text of this portion of the verse. While this might seem like convincing evidence for the use of a Latin exemplar, it becomes less convincing when one examines the possible variants among Latin versions and patristic citations of the same verse. There are very few variants in either the Greek or Latin traditions for this verse. Because the grammar and vocabulary is so straightforward here, it was evidently easy for translators and copyists to render it consistently. It may be assumed then that the correlation of Tertullian's text with the Latin tradition is only coincidence, especially given the evidence of 1Cor 11:5 earlier in *De orat.* 22, as discussed below.

1 Corinthians 5:6

modicoque exinde fermento totam fidei massam haeretico acore [*acore: R3; acrore: M RI*] *desipuit* (TE Marc 1.2.3)

quod modicum fermentum totam desipiat [*desipiat: Pam; decipiat: B*] *consorsionem* (TE pud 13.25)

fermentum modicum totam desipit consorsionem (TE pud 18.8)

Tertullian consistently has *desipere* in his renderings of 1Cor 5:6. The entire rest of the Latin tradition has either *corrumpit* or *fermentat*, corresponding to the two variants in the Greek, δολοῖ and ζυμοῖ, respectively. Jeffrey Kloha argues for δολοῖ as the original reading, attested only by D*.⁹⁶ Contra many interpreters of this verse, Kloha presents evidence to argue that ζυμοῖ is the corruption. Bruce Metzger states that “several Western witnesses (D* it^d vg Marcion Ireaneus^{lat} Tertullian Origen^{lat} Lucifer Augustine Ambrosiaster) read δολοῖ” as a correction of the original ζυμοῖ.⁹⁷ Regardless of which is the original Greek reading, Tertullian's rendering remains enigmatic. Kloha reports Lewis and Short's given meaning for Tertullian's usage here as

⁹⁶ Jeffrey John Kloha, “A Textual Commentary on Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians” vol. 1 (Dissertation, University of Leeds, 2006), <http://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/296/>, 91–92.

⁹⁷ Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament: A Companion Volume to the United Bible Societies' Greek New Testament (3rd Ed.)* (London ; New York: United Bible Societies, 1971), 551.

“renders insipid”. Rather than “render insipid” it seems that Tertullian’s use of *desipere* is akin to the many other uses among ancient authors who used the word to refer to someone who was irrational, crazy, or insane.⁹⁸ This suggests Tertullian’s *desipere* is his own rendering of δολοῖ rather than the Latin tradition’s rendering of δολοῖ as *corrumpit*. This is another demonstration that Tertullian follows the text of the original hand of D but not F and G.

Tertullian’s rendering of ὅλον τὸ φύραμα is unique for 5:6. In *Aduersus Marcionem* he renders the verse like the rest of the Latin tradition after him, *totam massam*. However, in both references in *De pudicitia*, he renders the phrase *totam conspersionem*, or *conspersionem*, a spelling variant of the same word. Tertullian also uses the word *consparsio* when he renders the parable of leaven from Luke 13:21 in *Aduersus Valentinianos* 31.1 which is itself a reference to Irenaeus’ *Aduersus Haereses* 1.8.3. Tertullian also uses the word to render the same parable in *Aduersus Marcionem* 4.30.3. It should be noted, however, that the Latin tradition also uses *consparsio* in rendering φύραμα in 5:7.

1 Corinthians 6:18

*fugite fornicationem ... omne delictum quod admiserit [admiserit; amiserit: O]
homo extra corpus est; qui [qui: O Gel; quae: B] autem fornicatur, in corpus
suum peccat (TE pud 16.8)*

*omne delictum quod admiserit [admiserit; amiserit: X] homo, extra corpus est;
qui autem adulteratur, in corpus suum delinquit (TE mon 9.6)*

Uwe Fröhlich expresses caution with the reference in *De pudicitia* 16.8 by adding a “V” next to it because he suspects Vulgate influence.⁹⁹ There are no textual variants, however, listed in the critical apparatus of Tertullian’s text. This caution becomes, then, an argument from

⁹⁸ Seneca, *Controversiae* 10.3.7; Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, 1.19.4; Apuleius, *Apologia*, 37.

⁹⁹ Uwe Fröhlich, *Epistula ad Corinthios: Einleitung*, VL 22, (Freiburg: Herder, 1995), 172.

silence. Contra Fröhlich's suggestion that the text may have been tainted by the Vulgate, Tertullian uses *fornicationis* in the next line of the body of his text: *ac ne hoc dictum in licentiam fornicationis inuaderes*. That Tertullian uses *fornicatio* rather than *adulteratio* in the near context when he is not referencing makes it even more likely that the text of Tertullian's *De pudicitia* is stable here. There is an alternative explanation for Tertullian's two different readings, *fornicatur* and *adulteratur*, as follows.

In other places where Tertullian references NT passages containing πορνεύω or πορνεία, Tertullian regularly but not consistently renders the word *fornicor* or *fornicatio*. He renders 1Cor 5:9–11 in this way at *De pudicitia* 18.7; 1Cor 6:9 at *De pudicitia* 16.4; Eph 5:5 at *De pudicitia* 17.16; Apc 2:20 at *De pudicitia* 19.1; Apc 22:15 at *De pudicitia* 19.9. He renders πόρνος as *stuprum* in his reference to 1Cor 10:8 at *De idololatria* 1.2, in his reference to Apc 2:14 at *De praescriptione* 33.10, and in the reference to 1Cor 5:11 at *Ad uxorem* 2.3.1. Further, later in this same passage of *Ad uxorem* he uses *adulterium* and *stuprum* as synonyms. In the context of the *De monogamia* 9 reference, he uses the word *adulterium* some 11 times, including rendering the word πορνείας as *adulterii* in a reference to Mt 5:32. What is more, he also renders μοιχευθῆναι as *adulterari*. With these examples, it is clear that Tertullian does not translate Greek words consistently across his corpus of writings. With synonyms, he sometimes uses different Latin lexemes to render the same Greek term, and at other times he will use the same Latin word to translate differing Greek terms. He may sometimes retain a single term in an extended conversation as is evident in the *De pudicitia* references in chapters 16–19 and in *De monogamia* 9. The larger context of the polemical argument to which the biblical reference contributes seems to determine sometimes what term he will use for his translation.

Further examples of this involve the renderings *peccat* and *delinquit*, the last words in the two references which translate ἀμαρτάνει. Fröhlich again urges caution with *De pudicitia*'s *peccat* because it is the same word the Vulgate uses.¹⁰⁰ Just before the reference in *De monogamia* 9.5, Tertullian uses *delinquit* to make his point. As he proceeds to use 1Cor 6:18, it appears that the vocabulary of his polemics determines how he will translate. These examples should urge us toward greater caution when dealing with patristic citations, at least with Tertullian's. Such references must be understood and examined in connection with the rhetorical purposes for which they are employed.

1 Corinthians 7:28

quod et si duxeris uxorem, et si nupserit uirgo, non peccat (TE pud 16.19)

sed et [et; om.: A (Rig. Oehler)] si duxeris, non delinquis [delinquis: A Rig.; delinques: N F R Oehler] (TE cas 4.1)

si autem acceperis uxorem, non deliquisti (TE mon 11.12)

nam etsi non delinquas renubendo, carnis tamen pressuram subsequi dicit (TE ux 1.7.3)

There is an important textual variant among Greek manuscripts at 1Cor 7:28. Most Greek manuscripts have ἐὰν δὲ καὶ γαμήσῃς at the beginning of the verse. The “Western” (D, F, G) and Syriac reading is rather ἐὰν δὲ καὶ λάβῃς γυναῖκα. This is also the reading of Ephraem.¹⁰¹ Kloha argues that λάβῃς γυναῖκα is the original reading.¹⁰² Tertullian represents a range of different readings and perhaps thus gives further evidence for Kloha's argument. As Kloha notes, Tertullian renders the verse twice with the common Latin expression *duxeris uxorem* at *De pudicitia* and *De exhortatione castitatis* (there, *uxorem* is understood). Since this is a common Latin expression, these two examples do not definitively attest a particular Greek textual variant.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Molitor, *Paulustext des hl. Ephräm*, 37.

¹⁰² Kloha, “A Textual Commentary on Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians.” 154–57.

Both variants could with a certain loss of literalism be rendered with the common Latin expression. The reference in *De monogamia* 11, however, points in the direction of λάβης γυναῖκα since it renders the phrase literally with *acceperis uxorem*.

This sets up great difficulties, though, when analyzing the final reference in *Ad uxorem*. The phrase *renubendo* is an adaptation, but it would seem to favor the other Greek variant reading, γαμήσης rather than λάβης γυναῖκα. Might Tertullian have known both readings? Clarification comes when this reference is understood within the prior context of *Ad uxorem* 1.7.2. The conversation revolves around the word *matrimonium* which is employed twice prior to any biblical reference. Then Tertullian references 1Cor 7:27 thus: *obligatus es, inquit, matrimonio: ne quaesieris solutionem; solutus es matrimonio: ne quaesieris obligationem*. Rather than the conversation revolving around taking a wife, Tertullian is instead discussing the act of marriage. This leads him to render the verse in a unique way to fit his rhetorical context. In all his other numerous references to 1Cor 7:27 he consistently renders γυναῖκα as *uxorem*. Coming back to 7:28 and the use of *renubendo*, it seems that this also is a paraphrasing adaptation to fit the polemical context.

1 Corinthians 7:39

mulier defuncto uiro libera est; cui uult, nubat, tantum in domino (TE ux 2.2.3)

sed ecce rursus mulierem marito defuncto dicit nubere posse, si cui uelit, tantum in domino (TE cas 4.4)

mulier uincta [uincta: C X; iuncta: rel.] est, in quantum temporis uiuit uir eius; si autem mortuus fuerit, libera est: cui uult nubat, tantum in domino (TE mon 11.3)

mulier uincta est, quamdiu uiuit uir eius; si autem dormierit, libera est: cui uolet nubat, tantum in domino (TE mon 11.10)

si autem dormierit uir eius (TE mon 11.11, ln. 83)

sed etsi ita esset, quasi de futuro, si cuius maritus mortuus fuerit, tantumdem et futurum ad eam pertineret cuius ante fidem morietur maritus (TE mon 11.11, ln. 87)

One issue with this reference is how Tertullian discusses it in connection to some kind of textual variant which his opponents had allegedly made: *sciamus plane non sic esse in Graeco authentico, quomodo in usum exiit per duarum syllabarum aut callidam aut simplicem euersionem: si autem dormierit uir eius*. What is clear is that two syllables in 1Cor 7:39 were allegedly changed in the course of common use either by crafty or simple subversion, and this change has led Tertullian's opponents to interpret the text differently. The question of which two syllables has plagued commentators for centuries.

Since Pamelius' 1584 edition of Tertullian, many articles have been written on the textual problem of the two syllables.¹⁰³ Pamelius cautiously conjectured that Tertullian's copy might have read ἐὺν δὲ κεκοιμήται.¹⁰⁴ This appeared to solve the two syllable issue as most manuscripts have ἐὺν δὲ κοιμηθῆ. Pamelius also deleted the word *autem* from the 1Cor 7:39 reference in his edition of the text.¹⁰⁵ Kroymann's solution, following Rigault and Oehler was to back-translate the Latin *dormierit* and to argue that Tertullian read κοιμᾶται instead of κοιμηθῆ. This is all detailed in the Vetus Latina Database, where the card for the "TE mon 11,16" reference to 1Cor 7:39 records the following note for the word *autem*: "*autem del. Pam. recte; haec enim sunt duae illae syllabae, quas usitata uersio non habebat*". *Kr. Pro κοιμηθῆ Tertullianum κοιμᾶται legisse putat post Rigaltium Oehler*".¹⁰⁶ Adolf von Harnack also

¹⁰³ For a report on all the attempted solutions, cf. Johannes Baptist Bauer, "Was Las Tertullian 1 Kor 7:39," *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 77, no. 3–4 (1986): 284–87.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 284.

¹⁰⁵ Jacobus Pamelius, ed., *Q. Septimii Florentis Tertulliani: Opera quae hactenus reperiri potuerunt omnia* (Antverpiae: Christophorum Plantinum, 1584), 1154 n. 96.

¹⁰⁶ *Vetus Latina Database* (Brepols) <http://apps.brepols.net/vld/Default.aspx>.

understood the textual dilemma in this way.¹⁰⁷ Braun conjectured that the text of Tertullian's opponents read κοιμηθείς ἤ.¹⁰⁸

Whereas editors tried to solve the dilemma with conjectural emendations, in a more recent study Johannes Bauer, following Kurt Aland, suggested that what was needed was not conjectural emendation but rather attention to the critical apparatus of the Greek NT.¹⁰⁹ Several possibilities arise from there to aid in solving Tertullian's puzzle. Bauer attempted a solution by noting the exclusion of the word νόμῳ after δέδεται.¹¹⁰ This word is absent from the "Western" non-interpolated text of *Claromontanus* (D), as well as A, B, P⁴⁶, and X.¹¹¹ Bauer argues that by leaving out νόμῳ the Psychici had allegedly changed the text to fit their interpretation which allowed for second marriages. Bauer attempted to find support for his solution by putting the matter into the context of Tertullian's argument when he quotes at length the later discussion in *De monogamia* 13 which does address the issue of the law.

While Bauer's attempted solution should be commended for using the critical apparatus and manuscript evidence, there are at least three problems with Bauer's interpretation. First, there is no discussion of νόμῳ in the context of *De mon.* 11 where Tertullian alleges the textual error. One would think that if νόμῳ were the main issue, Tertullian would have had a discussion of the law right where he alleges the textual corruption. Second, if Bauer were correct that Tertullian's opponents mischievously deleted νόμῳ, one should expect to find evidence of νόμῳ

¹⁰⁷ Adolf von Harnack, "Tertullians Bibliothek christlicher Schriften," *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 10 (1914): 307 n. 3.

¹⁰⁸ René Braun, "Une Crux Philologorum: Tertullien, *De Monogamia* 11,11," in *Texte und Textkritik: eine Aufsatzsammlung*, ed. Jürgen Dummer, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der alchristlichen Literatur, Bd. 133 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1987), 53–56.

¹⁰⁹ Johannes Baptist Bauer, "Was Las Tertullian 1 Kor 7:39," *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 77, no. 3–4 (1986): 284–87.

¹¹⁰ Bauer, "Was Las Tertullian 1 Kor 7", 285.

¹¹¹ Zuntz notes that νόμῳ is attested in Greek Codex D in the hand of the corrector which he denotes as Db. Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles*, 249.

in Tertullian's other references where he is giving not the opponents' but rather his own version of the text. Especially if the inclusion of νόμῳ was critical to Tertullian's argument, it should be everywhere present. However, none of Tertullian's references contain a Latin rendering of the word. Finally, this Chapter has presented evidence that Tertullian's text regularly aligns with the original hand of D and especially when there is variation between it and the text of F and G.¹¹² The νόμῳ which Bauer believes Tertullian's opponents deleted is actually not present in the original hand of D (a descendant of the text Tertullian seems to have used), but is in the texts of F and G (the text that Tertullian seems never to use when it differs from D). From the evidence of Tertullian's textual affiliation with D and the problem that Tertullian himself never attests νόμῳ in his own renderings of the verse, it seems that a new solution is required.

One possible explanation of the emended two syllables which would stem from manuscript evidence rather than conjectural emendation is the Greek and Latin text of Codices F/VL78 and G/VL 77. When these texts differ from Greek Codex D, it seems that Tertullian usually sides with D against F and G.¹¹³ Here, however, is it possible that the text of F and G presents the text of the Psychici which Tertullian condemns? The Greek text in these two manuscripts reads, Γυνὴ δέδετα νόμῳ ἐφ' ὅσον χρόνον ζῆ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς ἐὰν δὲ κεκοιμηθῇ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς¹¹⁴ ἐλευθέρᾳ ἐστὶν ᾧ θέλει γαμήθῃ μόνον ἐν κυρίῳ.¹¹⁵ The Latin text of F and G reads, *mulier alligata e legi*,¹¹⁶ *quanto tempore*¹¹⁷ *uiuit uir eius. Si aut dormierit uir eius liberata*

¹¹² Cf. Tertullian's references to Rom 6:4-5, 1 Cor 5:6, Gal 5:1, Phil 1:23, and 1Tim 1:17.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ The original reading of F here is αὐτῆς but corrected with an η written above the ε to make αὐτῆς.

¹¹⁵ Reuben J. Swanson, ed., *New Testament Greek manuscripts: variant readings arranged in horizontal lines against Codex Vaticanus*, vol. 8 (1 Corinthians) (Sheffield, England : Pasadena, Calif., USA: Sheffield Academic Press ; William Carey International University Press, 1995), 111.

¹¹⁶ The Latin above νομῶ in Codex G is difficult to read here but appears to support *e legi*.

¹¹⁷ Along with *quanto tempore*, Codex G also has *quamdiu* here.

*est. cui uult nubat tantum in domino.*¹¹⁸ The underlined words in the Greek and Latin texts of F and G represent two noteworthy syllable changes from the standard Greek text.¹¹⁹

The first syllable concerns the addition of the two Greek letters, κε. In most Greek texts, the twelfth word in the verse is κοιμηθῇ (aorist, passive, subjunctive, third person, singular) rather than κεκοιμηθῇ. This is a strange grammatical form which seems to resemble the reduplication of the beginning consonant of the perfect, but it has the ending of the aorist subjunctive. The NA²⁸ apparatus reports the text of F and G (along with D², L, Ψ, 614, 629, 1241, 1505, many of the majority texts, and Harklean Syriac) here as attesting καί rather than κε.¹²⁰ This is due to the historic development of the Greek language. Already before 400 B.C.E. the diphthong αι was being pronounced in the same way as the vowel ε.¹²¹ This led to many textual variations in Greek NT manuscripts.¹²² The Latin text of both of these bilingual manuscripts has *dormierit* for κεκοιμηθῇ, a rendering that Tertullian himself sometimes gives as his own rendering and is attested by nearly the entire Latin tradition.

The other syllable concerns the word which is everywhere attested except in F and G, γαμηθῆναι (aorist passive infinitive). Codices F and G drop the last syllable of this word to create γαμήθη (aorist passive subjunctive third singular). Tertullian renders this verb from the Psychics' version as *nubat* (present active subjunctive) in *De mon.* 11.3 and 11.10. This is,

¹¹⁸ Images of this locus in F and G can be found here, respectively: <http://digital.slib-dresden.de/werkansicht/dlf/2966/66/0/>; http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de/en_GB/manuscript-workspace?docID=20010&pageID=730. For more on these manuscripts, cf. Houghton, *Latin New Testament*, 244–45.

¹¹⁹ One difference between these two texts and Tertullian's renderings is that Tertullian's Latin version omits the second *uir eius* following *dormierit*. This, however, is understood from the near context and can be explained as another characteristic omission by Tertullian.

¹²⁰ Aland et al., *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 532.

¹²¹ Chrys C. Caragounis, *The Development of Greek and the New Testament: Morphology, Syntax, Phonology, and Textual Transmission*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 167 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 374.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 514.

however, also the verb at *Ad uxorem* 2.2.3. In *De exhortatione castitatis* 4.4 Tertullian gives an alternate rendering of this word as *nubere* instead of *nubat*.

Although the text of F and G appears to change two syllables, it cannot be demonstrated that these two syllables are significant enough for Tertullian to protest their emendation. The καί is never rendered in any meaningful way in the Latin tradition. Whether it was in Tertullian's text or not, he does not render it in his text. Its omission would thus fall under Houghton's and Schmid's rule that early Latin translators like Tertullian regularly left out small words of insignificant meaning.¹²³ In regards to the second syllable removed from γαμηθῆναι to create γαμήθη, here again Tertullian alternates his rendering of the verb such that it is not possible to discern if he read an infinitive or a subjunctive here. Although an intriguing textual variation, this does not seem to be the solution to the textual problem.

There is another possibility, but it requires some background information. First, it must be noted that Tertullian's renderings of 1Cor 7:39 have multiple variations as has been seen throughout this chapter. In *De monogamia* 11.3 Tertullian gives the text thus: *mulier uincta est, in quantum temporis uiuit uir eius; si autem mortuus fuerit, libera est: cui uult, nubat, tantum in domino*. Later in *De mon.* 11.10 he presents the text again: *mulier uincta est, quamdiu uiuit uir eius; si autem dormierit, libera est: cui uolet nubat, tantum in domino*. These two versions of the text seem to be Tertullian's version or rendering. Notice that in the space of a few paragraphs he can change his rendering from *in quantum temporis* to *quamdiu* and from *mortuus fuerit* to *dormierit*. Later in the two references at *De mon.* 11.11 he will again alternate between these two giving first *dormierit* and then *mortuus fuerit*. Neither of these phrases seem to be problematic to

¹²³ Houghton, *The Latin New Testament*, 144; Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 62–63.

Tertullian and his understanding of the text. There is also variation between *cui uult* and *cui uolet*. This is strong evidence, as has been argued, that Tertullian is translating rather than relying on an extant Latin translation.

Next, it is important more fully to understand Tertullian's discussion of textual variation: *sciamus plane non sic esse in Graeco authentico, quomodo in usum exiit per duarum syllabarum aut callidam aut simplicem euerisionem: si autem dormierit uir eius*. This comment is a classic locus for Harnack to argue that Tertullian must have known Latin translations of the NT, because he assumed that Tertullian meant to correct his opponents' Latin text, in his estimation *si autem dormierit uir eius*, with the "authentic Greek".¹²⁴ Recently, Fröhlich has also interpreted Tertullian's comment concerning the *Graecum authenticum* in the same way as Harnack.¹²⁵ After going through five studies of this reference (including those discussed above), he criticizes all five because they did not recognize this main point. However at the end of his study, he struggles to explain satisfactorily the textual problem which he twice calls a *dunkle Stelle*. O'Malley does not understand this section either but nevertheless sides with the Harnack position that this must be evidence that Tertullian knew a Latin translation.¹²⁶ The evidence presented in the previous paragraph accords with this view. It seems, therefore, that Tertullian himself is using a Greek version of 1Cor, but the version of his opponents which is problematic is in Latin.

At 11.11, he gives the first half of the conditional clause which has caused the problem as *si autem dormierit uir eius*. He then explains the problem with the following words: *quasi de*

¹²⁴ Adolf von Harnack, "Tertullians Bibliothek christlicher Schriften," *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 10 (1914): 307 n. 3.

¹²⁵ Fröhlich, *Epistula ad Corinthios: Einleitung*, 170–171.

¹²⁶ O'Malley, *Tertullian and the Bible*, 13–14.

futuro sonet, ac per hoc uideatur ad eam pertinere quae iam in fide uirum amiserit. Somehow, Tertullian's opponents Latin version of 1Cor 7:39 makes it sound like Paul is talking about the future and of the man having died as a Christian in the faith. Because of this discussion of the future, many interpreters have assumed that the problem concerns the verb tense of *dormierit*. It should be noticed, however, that *si autem dormierit* is exactly as he gives the text earlier in 11.10 when he presents his own version of the text. Further, in all of Tertullian's renderings of this verse in *De mon.*, he always uses the same form of the verb (either future perfect, active, indicative, third, singular or perfect, active, subjunctive, third, singular), even if he alternates between *dormierit* and *mortuus fuerit*. The problem is not the verb here. The word *uir* is present in all Greek and Latin manuscripts. It is also present in Tertullian's earliest rendering of this text at *Ad ux.* 2.2.3.

The word *eius*, however, presents an interesting possibility. It is the last word Tertullian gives in the problematic reference and thereby receives emphasis as the precise problematic portion of text which Tertullian wants to discuss. It is also very clearly not in the *authenticum Graecum*. The Greek has *ἐὰν δὲ κοιμηθῇ ὁ ἀνὴρ* and then continues with *ἐλευθέρα ἐστὶν*. Though many take the *ὁ ἀνὴρ* to be referring to the husband in the previous clause *Γυνὴ δέδεται ἐφ' ὅσον χρόνον ζῇ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς*, it seems that this is precisely the issue of interpretation that Tertullian wants to challenge. Latin translators had either maliciously or simply changed the text by adding two syllables with the word *eius*. This word is present in all Latin versions of 1Cor 7:39, except in VL 89.¹²⁷ The effect of adding these two syllables of *eius* links the two sentences together: "A wife is bound to her husband as long as he lives. But if her husband (meaning the

¹²⁷ Houghton et al., *The Principal Pauline Epistles*, 223.

same husband) dies, she is free to be married to whom she wishes, only in the Lord.”¹²⁸ This has the effect of making the second sentence futuristic, meaning that it is a potential future clause regarding that woman’s right to re-marry a new husband if the first one has died. This is exactly what Tertullian protests in the comment which follows his opponents’ version: *quasi de futuro sonet, ac per hoc uideatur ad eam pertinere quae iam in fide uirum amiserit*. Tertullian’s view is that the first sentence of 1Cor 7:39 is one clause concerning marriage. Just prior to the discussion of the textual problem, Tertullian explains his understanding of the second sentence of the verse. If a woman who is not a Christian becomes a widow and then becomes a Christian, she is allowed to marry once but only “in the Lord”, i.e., only to a Christian.¹²⁹

1 Corinthians 8:2

item ad Corinthios scriptum ... qui putarent se scire aliquid quando nondum scirent quemadmodum scire oporteret (TE hae 27.4)

si quis se putat scire nondum scit quemadmodum oporteat eum scire (TE pud 14.9)

Zuntz argued that the Greek text Tertullian was using differed from Greek Codex D because of his references to 1 Cor 7:39 and 8:2.¹³⁰ It was demonstrated above that at 1Cor 7:39 Tertullian’s Greek text was the same text as Codex D. This was also the conclusion reached after examining Tertullian’s reference to Rom 6:4-5. Here the issue is whether the Greek text Tertullian was using had εἰ τις (the text of \mathfrak{P}^{46} & A B P Cl Or Cyp Ambst et al.) or εἰ δέ τις (the text of D F G K L et al.). Though Zuntz argued that Tertullian did not have δέ in his reference

¹²⁸ *The English Standard Version Bible: Containing the Old and New Testaments with Apocrypha* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 1076. Notice that the English Standard version has also supplied the genitive personal pronoun to the second sentence like the Latin text.

¹²⁹ *Itaque mulier, si nupserit, non delinquet, quia nec hic secundus maritus deputabitur qui est a fide primus, et adeo sic est, ut propterea adiecerit: tantum in Domino, quia de ea agebatur quae ethnicum habuerat et amisso eo crediderat, ne scilicet etiam post fidem ethnico se nubere posse praesumeret; licet nec hoc psychici curent.* (TE mon 11.10).

¹³⁰ Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles*, 249.

and thus differed from D, F, and G, it is not possible to discern whether Tertullian had δέ or not from the reference in *De prae. hae.* 27.4. The reference begins with *qui putarent* leaving out the conditional and the conjunction *if* present. This omission of conjunctions is characteristic according to Schmid.¹³¹ This reference, therefore, cannot serve as proof for Zuntz's distinguishing between Tertullian's text and that of D, F, and G.

1 Corinthians 9:22

omnibus omnia factus sum ut omnes [*omnes: B; omnibus: A*] *lucrificiam* (TE id 14.4)

ipsum Paulum dixisse factum se esse omnibus omnia (TE hae 24.2)

postmodum et ipse usu omnibus omnia futurus, ut omnes lucraretur (TE Marc 1.20.3)

et tamen cum ipse Paulus omnibus omnia fieret, ut omnes lucraretur (TE Marc 4.3.3)

omnibus ... omnia factum ut omnes lucraretur (TE Marc 5.3.5)

Tertullian shows no evidence of the Latin tradition's *faciorem saluos* in the final clause. He only uses the construction once at *Aduersus Iudaeos* 9.30 in a reference to Isaiah 35:4.¹³² There is a textual variant among copies of Tertullian's *De idololatria*. Agobardus (A) has *omnibus*, while Mesnard's edition (B) has *omnes*. While Waszink cautioned against Mesnard's corrections, *omnes* is the only reading that makes sense grammatically.¹³³ The entire Latin tradition, including Tertullian, has *omnes* in the final clause. This follows Greek manuscripts D, F, and G which have πάντας rather than πάντως τινάς. Instead of rendering σώσω (the last word of 9:22) as *faciorem saluos*, Tertullian reuses the verb from the earlier clause, κερδήσω, and renders it as *lucrificiam*. The Latin tradition is divergent on this rendering. Only VL 61 has

¹³¹ Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, .

¹³² *ecce deus noster iudicium retribuet, ipse ueniet et saluos faciet nos.*

¹³³ Cf. Chapter 4.3.2.

lucrifiaciam.¹³⁴ Characteristically, Tertullian is not consistent in his rendering of this last word. Because of adapting the reference to his polemic, he changes the syntax of the word in the *Aduersus Marcionem* references from a present to an imperfect subjunctive and from first to third person. More significantly, he switches from *lucrificio* in *De idol.* to *lucror* in *Aduersus Marcionem*.

1 Corinthians 9:25

et illi inquit apostolus ut coronam corruptibilem consequantur nos aeternam consecuturi (TE mart 3.5)

Tertullian references 1 Cor 9:25 in *Ad martyras* 3.5. With the words *inquit apostolus* the author signals to his hearers/readers that he is citing the Apostle Paul. Tertullian omits *quidem*, the Latin translation of μέν in 1 Cor 9:25, which is omitted nowhere else in the Greek or Latin. He likewise omits the attendant *autem* (δέ) in the following clause *nos aeternam*. These particles, however, may be easily omitted without losing the meaning of the verse. It is, thus, difficult to judge whether they are evidence for Tertullian's translation or a more paraphrastic use of an extant Latin translation. He singularly attests *coronam corruptibilem*. The entire Latin tradition maintains the word order of the Greek: φθαρτὸν στέφανον. This may be attributed to the normal noun-adjective word order in Latin and thus not unique to Tertullian's translation. Tertullian is also on his own with *consequantur* for λάβωσιν which the Latin tradition renders *accipiant*. Finally, Tertullian does not maintain the repetition of φθαρτὸν ... ἄφθαρτον like the Latin tradition with its *corruptibilem ... incorruptam* but has *corruptibilem ... aeternam*. It is clear that Tertullian has some singular readings here, but this reference does not provide conclusive

¹³⁴ Houghton et al., *The Principal Pauline Epistles*, 235.

evidence to determine whether they stem from Tertullian's own translation work or are borrowed from a no longer extant translation made by someone else.

1 Corinthians 10:19–20

non quod idolum sit [sit; om.: A] aliquid, ut apostolus ait, sed quoniam quae [quoniam quae: Dekkers Hildebrand; quod quae B] faciunt daemoneis faciunt consistentibus scilicet in consecrationibus idolorum, siue mortuorum siue, ut putant, deorum (TE spec 13.2)

non quasi aliquid sit idolum, sed quoniam quae idolis ab [ab: Kroy; om.: rell.] aliis [aliis: A²; alii: N F R B uulgo] fiunt [fiunt: A N F; faciunt: R B uulgo] ad daemones pertinere [pertinere: A; pertinent: N F R uulgo]. Porro si quae alii idolis faciunt ad daemones pertinere (TE cor 7.8)

Tertullian makes reference to 1 Corinthians 10:19 in *De spectaculis* 13.2 with no explicit indication whether he is quoting from a text or from memory. Röscher confidently asserted that he had the Greek text before him and was citing word for word.¹³⁵ This could be a reference either to 8:4 (ὅτι οὐδὲν εἶδωλον) or 10:19 (ὅτι εἶδωλον τί ἐστίν) which is a rhetorical question expecting a negative response. The use of the indefinite pronoun *aliquid* instead of the zero quantifier *nullus* points to 10:19.¹³⁶ Tertullian's *sit aliquid* reverses the word order of most of the Greek tradition, but Röscher was confident that Tertullian had a form of the Greek text in front of him with its ἐστίν τί which is extant in Greek Codices D, F, and G. It should be noted that the phrase ὅτι εἶδωλον τί ἐστίν is omitted by several Greek manuscripts (P⁴⁶ & A C* 6. 945. 1881) which Tertullian either omits as part of his characteristic shortening of biblical references, or it may not have appeared in his biblical text. That this section of *Spec.* is a reference to 1 Cor. 10 is made more certain by Tertullian's references to verses 20 and 21 in the following lines.

¹³⁵ Hermann Röscher, ed., *Das Neue Testament Tertullian's* (Leipzig: Fues's Verlag, 1871), 680.

¹³⁶ Schmid also sees this as a reference to 10:19. Ulrich Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos: Rekonstruktion und Historische Einordnung der Marcionitischen Paulsbrieftausgabe* (Berlin ; New York: de Gruyter, 1995), 68.

His reference to 10:20 follows directly after his reference to 10:19. Codex Agobardinus' text of *De spec.* has *sed quo*, but then the text which continues on the next line is damaged.¹³⁷ Dekkers and Hildebrand think *sed quoniam quae* is the most probable reading which seems to make best sense of Agobardinus.¹³⁸ Mesnart's *sed quod quae* seems less likely because the scribe of Agobardinus regularly separates words by syllable but never separates letters of a single syllable.¹³⁹ Since he also has *sed quoniam quae* in *De corona*, we know that Tertullian used this construction. If this is indeed Tertullian's biblical reference, it is a rare construction among Latin biblical references. No Latin witness has *quoniam* after *sed*, though Tertullian's phrase *sed quoniam* translates ἅλλ' ὅτι closely.

The phrase *faciunt consistentibus scilicet...* appears to be a gloss on the idiosyncratic rendering *faciunt*. This glossing may signal translation work rather than copying from a Latin *Vorlage*. Tertullian is also alone among Latin witnesses in his reading *faciunt*, usually rendered elsewhere as *immolant* or *sacrificant*. Perhaps he mistook θύουσιν as a form of τίθημι. However, it is also possible that he understands the Greek word and renders it as *facere* in the classical sense of offering a sacrifice. Livy, Plautus, Cicero, and Virgil all used the word to connote divine sacrifice.¹⁴⁰ The other occurrence of θύω in 1 Cor. is at 5:7. In Tertullian's later work *Adversus*

¹³⁷ An image of Agobardinus, folio 97v which contains *De spectaculis* 12.5–14.1 can be found here:

<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b85722380/f210.image.r=1622+tertullianus.langEN>

¹³⁸ Yves-Marie Duval understood this to be a simple conjecture and noted surprise at the divergence among editors here: "J'ai été davantage surpris par quelques discordances entre les lectures de l'Agobardinus par les différents éditeurs (par ex. 13,2 «quod quae», donné ici sans justification, mais attribué à Mesnart par Dekkers, ou «quoniam quae» d'Hildebrand." Duval, "Tertullien, Les spectacles (De spectaculis). Introduction, texte critique, traduction et commentaire de Marie Turcan, 1986.(Sources Chrétiennes, 332)," *Revue des Études Anciennes* 90, no. 1 (1988): 227–227. The water damage suffices to explain the conjecture.

¹³⁹ For example, on folio 89v the scribe writes *uero obse* and apparently continues *quio erga* on the next line and later *sibi fec* and presumably continuing with *erunt ut hoc consilio*. No examples could be found of a syllable like *quod* split in two.

¹⁴⁰ This was Rönisch's explanation based on research by Fabri. Rönisch, 680. Fabri glosses *Ioui fieri* in Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 22.10.3 with the following other uses of *facere* to connote sacrifice to a divinity: Plaut. Stich. 1.3.97 *quot agnis fecerat*; Cic. Att. 1.12 *quum pro populo fieret*; Verg. Ecl. 3.77 *Quum faciam uitula pro frugibus*. Livy, Ernst Wilhelm Fabri, and Heinrich Wilhelm Heerwagen, *Titi Livii Ab urbe condita libri XXI et XXII* (J.L. Schrag, 1852), 262.

Marcionem 5.7.3, he has *immolatus* for ἐτόθη, but this is complicated by the matter of Marcion's text and its relation to Tertullian's in this particular work.

Tertullian also references 1 Cor. 10:19 at *De Corona* 7.8 and may have *faciunt* there as well. He adapts but nevertheless recapitulates much of the reference in the following question: *porro si quae alii idolis faciunt ad daemones pertinent, quanto magis quod ipsa sibi idola fecerunt cum adiuuerent?* There are a number of textual difficulties with the codices of Tertullian's writings here. In the case of *faciunt* or *fiunt*, whether active or passive, it is clear that Tertullian has a form of *facio/fio*. This construction instead of *immolant* is found nowhere else in the extant Latin tradition.

1 Corinthians 11:5

quid, quod graeco sermone, quo litteras apostolus fecit, usui est mulieres uocare quam feminas, id est γυναικας quam θηλείας igitur si pro sexus nomine uocabulum istud frequentatur, quod est interpretatione pro eo quod est femina, sexum nominauit dicens γυναικα (TE or 22.3)

omnis, inquit, mulier adorans et prophetans intecto capite dedecorat caput suum (TE or 22.4)

In *De oratione* chapter 22 Tertullian makes reference to 1Cor 11:4–6. Tertullian has either memorized this portion of 1Cor 11 or he has it in front of him in Greek. Here, Tertullian specifically references the translation (*interpretatione*) of the Greek word θηλείας as being *femina*.¹⁴¹ Whether he means “the translation” as in a written one which lies before him or simply “translation” in general as in the equivalence of the word in another language is not possible to discern. He continues to reference 1Cor 11:5 at *De orat.* 22.4. This is another

¹⁴¹ It was noted earlier in chapter 1.3 (“Translation Practices in Carthage and Rome”) that the most common word for “translation” in Latin was *interpretatio*.

example of the postpositive *inquit* with the implied subject *apostolus* whom Tertullian mentioned in 22.1. The Oxford Vulgate notes that codex S (Cambridge, Trinity College B.10.5) omits *autem* after *omnis*.¹⁴² It would not be surprising for an ad hoc translation and perhaps an occasional Vulgate copy to omit the rendering of δὲ. Tertullian alone has *adorans* where the rest of the Latin tradition has *orans*. This may be a calque of προσευχόμενος where *ad-* is attempting to mimic προσ-. Tertullian uses a cognate of *adoro* at least 12 times throughout this homily. *Adoro* is extensively used in classical Latin prior to Tertullian in the sense of worshipping or praying to a deity.¹⁴³ Tertullian's unique rendering *intecto capite* for ἀκατακαλύπτω τῇ κεφαλῇ rather than the Latin tradition's *non uelato capite* is also used in classical Latin, though only twice.¹⁴⁴ Finally, Tertullian is also alone in his rendering *dedecorat* for καταισχύνει. Again, this expression is often used in classical literature and far more often than the Latin tradition's *deturpat*. Since none of these unique renderings of Tertullian were preserved at all in the Latin tradition, this verse makes it clear how great a distance there is between Tertullian's citations and all other Latin evidence.

1 Corinthians 15:47

legimus plane: Primus homo de terrae limo, secundus homo de caelo (TE car 8.5)

primus, inquit, homo de terra, choicus, id est limacius, id est Adam, secundus homo de caelo, id est sermo dei, id est Christus (TE res 49.2)

et rursus primus homo de terra et secundus de caelo; quia etsi de caelo secundum spiritum, sed homo secundum carnem (TE res 53.15)

primus, inquit, homo de humo terrenus, secundus dominus de caelo (TE Marc 5.10.9)

¹⁴² For more information on this codex of Pauline epistles, cf Houghton, *The Latin New Testament*, 276–77.

¹⁴³ Laevius, *poet.* 26; Vergil, *Aeneid* 10.677; Ovid, *Fasti* 5.449; Ovid, *Tristia* 1.3.41; et. al. For other examples, cf “adoro” meaning 2, *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford ; London: Clarendon Press, 1968), 53.

¹⁴⁴ Cornelius Tacitus, *Annales* 3.41.3, 13.25.4.

The first issue with this verse involves the word choice to render ἐκ γῆς χοϊκός. Tertullian renders it as *de terrae limo*, *de terra choicus id est limacius*, *de terra*, and *de humo terrenus*. His earliest rendering of the verse in *De carne* 8.5 uses *limo*, a word which he had already employed as an author at *Ad. Iud.* 2.5 and *De bapt.* 3.5.¹⁴⁵ At *De res.* 49.2 it is clear that he is quoting verbatim from the text in front of him because he cites several individual verses from 1Cor. 15 over several chapters of *De res.* taking one verse at a time, largely in order of their occurrence. At this place, it is also clear that Tertullian is reading from a Greek copy of Corinthians because of the borrowing of *choicus*, nowhere else attested among Latin witnesses. With no evidence among Tertullian's manuscripts of Greek letters here, it appears that Tertullian transliterated the Greek word, though with Latin morphology. The reason this word is omitted from the *De res.* 53.15 reference is that it is not needed for Tertullian's rhetorical point and is thus omitted. The rendering of *Ad. Marc.* 5.10.9 with its *de humo terrenus* is also unique to the Latin tradition, most Latin renderings preferring *de terra terrenus*.

The other variant in this verse involves differentiating Tertullian's from Marcion's text. In the first three references listed, it is clear that Tertullian's own text does not have *dominus* in the second half of the verse, but it is present in the version Tertullian gives in *Ad. Marc.* Further, just after this reference at *Ad. Marc.* 5.10.9 Tertullian asks how the second cannot be a man if the first one is or whether the first was also *dominus* if the second is. This is clear evidence that Tertullian knew that Marcion's text was different than his, namely that there had been a swap of *dominus* for *homo*.¹⁴⁶ Schmid also found positive evidence that Marcion had indeed altered the text of this verse by adding κύριος because Adamantius (Dial. 2.19) attested the same textual

¹⁴⁵ *qui eos de limo terrae quasi ex utero matris figurauerat (Ad. Iud. 2.5); scilicet ante quartum diem segregatae aquae in stationem suam superstite humore limo temperarant (De bapt. 3.5).*

¹⁴⁶ *quare secundus, si non homo, quod et primus? aut numquid et primus dominus, si et secundus? (Ad. Marc. 5.10.9).*

problem as Tertullian had accused Marcion of making.¹⁴⁷ A number of Greek witnesses attest κύριος in some way. Only 630 omits ἄνθρωπος and has ὁ κύριος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ.

5.2.4 2 Corinthians

2 Corinthians 2:6

satis est talis [*tali: Kroy Rau*] *inrepatio quae a multis fit* (TE pud 13.2)

sufficiat eiusmodi homini inrepatio ista quae a multis (TE pud 14.1)

Heinrich Zimmermann once identified similarities between Tertullian's text of this verse and that of the Latin tradition.¹⁴⁸ Indeed, VL 64 and Ambrosiaster also have *satis est*, and Ambrosiaster has a further likeness with *talis*.¹⁴⁹ Nevertheless, Zimmermann also admits these might be simple coincidences.¹⁵⁰ One additional piece of evidence lends support to the possible conclusion that Tertullian is translating independently from the Greek. In order to understand better Tertullian's two references which appear within a few paragraphs and yet have some differences, it is important to understand them in their polemical context. The reference at *De pud.* 13.2 appears to be a verbatim reference from a written text. After discussing the Apostle Paul and *secunda ad Corinthios*, Tertullian introduces the block quote of 2Cor. 2:5–11 with *scribens*. The reference at *De pud.* 14.1 is adapted to the syntax of the polemical context. While there are syntactical differences between these two references, both use *inrepatio*, which is nowhere else used in the Latin tradition of this verse. Among extant Latin corpora, Tertullian appears to be the first to use this lexical concept as a noun.¹⁵¹ Earlier writers used *inrepto*

¹⁴⁷ Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 210.

¹⁴⁸ Heinrich Zimmermann, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altlateinischen Überlieferung des zweiten Korintherbriefes* (Bonn: Hanstein, 1960), 130.

¹⁴⁹ Houghton et al., *The Principal Pauline Epistles*, 312.

¹⁵⁰ Zimmermann, *Untersuchungen*, 131.

¹⁵¹ Prior to these two uses of the noun in *De pudicitia*, the word was also employed at *Ad. Marc.* 4.6.15: *quodsi uerisimiliorem statum non habet inrepatio nisi quem nos interpretamur, iam ergo et daemon nihil mentitus est, non ob mendacium inrepatitus*.

regularly but never *increpatio*. At the end of his study, Zimmermann acknowledges that when such renderings of biblical texts appear and then disappear with Tertullian this is strong evidence that he was translating.¹⁵² While Zimmerman's conclusion may lend support in this direction, it is likewise possible that Tertullian knew of the rendering from another translation and borrowed it for his purposes.

2 Corinthians 4:7

habeatur thesaurus in fictilibus uasis (TE Marc 5.11.14)

in fictilibus uasis ... thesauri haberi (TE Marc 5.11.14)

in testaceis ... uasculis (TE res 7.5)

habere nos thesaurum istum in testaceis uasis (TE res 44.2)

Tertullian uses three different expressions to render ἐν ὀστρακίνοις σκεύεσιν: *in fictilibus uasis*, *in testaceis uasis*, and *in testaceis uasculis*. The phrasing used in *Ad. Marc.* is also used in all other Latin manuscripts, even if only VL 77 has the same word order.¹⁵³ The word *testaceus* is rarely attested in Latin literature, only 21 times prior to Tertullian. There is an intriguing use of it in Pliny's *Naturalis historia* where he transliterates into Latin letters the same Greek word as in 2Cor 4:7 ὀστράκινοϛ and glosses it as *testaceus*: *Ostracias sive ostracitis est testacea*.¹⁵⁴ Might Tertullian have looked up this geological term which he found in his New Testament and translated it with the help of Pliny?

¹⁵² Zimmermann, *Untersuchungen*, 135.

¹⁵³ Houghton et al., *The Principal Pauline Epistles*, 323.

¹⁵⁴ Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, 37.178.

2 Corinthians 5:4

uti deuoretur mortale a uita (TE res 42.2)

ut deuoretur [deuoraretur: T] mortale a uita (TE res 42.5)

postremo etsi tunc deuoratum inuenietur mortale in omnibus mortuis (TE res 42.9)

*ergo cum a uita habeat deuorari quod mortale est, id exhiberi omnifariam
necesse est, ut deuoretur, et deuorari, ut demutetur [et deuorari, ut demutetur: ;
om: T] (TE res 42.11)*

uti deuoretur mortale a uita (TE res 54.1)

quomodo ergo [ergo: P M X; autem: T] capit? dum deuoratur a uita (TE res 54.4)

uti deuoretur mortale hoc a uita (TE Marc 5.12.3)

At *De resurrectione mortuorum* 42 and 54, Tertullian consistently renders καταποθῆ as *deuoretur*, whereas the rest of the Latin tradition has *absorbeatur*. Jerome is the only other Latin author known to the editors of the Oxford Vulgate to attest *deuoretur*.¹⁵⁵ This comes in *Contra Iohannem* 29 and may suggest that Jerome was dependent on Tertullian here.¹⁵⁶ Harnack once said that a study of Jerome's dependence on Tertullian was still needed.¹⁵⁷ Andrew Cain, in his work on *Jerome's Commentary of Galatians*, has argued that Jerome was quite dependent on Tertullian, Cyprian, and Lactantius.¹⁵⁸ However, Jerome also attests *absorbeatur* in Epistle 59.3.¹⁵⁹ Sider has shown in his examination of the rhetorical structure of *De resurrectione* that *deuoretur* is crucial to the development of Tertullian's rhetorical argument which he introduces

¹⁵⁵ John Wordsworth and H. J. White, eds., *Novum Testamentum Domini nostri Jesu Christi latine: Epistulae Paulinae*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889), 313.

¹⁵⁶ "Vetus Latina Database (Brepols)", <http://apps.brepols.net/vld/Default.aspx>.

¹⁵⁷ Adolf von Harnack, "Tertullian in der Litteratur der alten Kirche," in *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, Zweiter Halbband (Berlin: Verlag der Königlich Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1895), 554 n. 2.

¹⁵⁸ St. Jerome, *Commentary on Galatians*, trans. Andrew Cain, The Fathers of the Church series, p. 20. See also Andrew Cain, "Tertullian, Cyprian, and Lactantius in Jerome's Commentary on Galatians," *REAug* 55 (2009): 23–51.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

in chapter 7 and then brings to full use in his rendering of 2Cor 5:4 in chapter 42.¹⁶⁰ Here is another example where Tertullian's rhetorical language may have influenced how he rendered a Greek word.

2 Corinthians 5:10

omnes enim manifestari nos oportet pro [pro; om.: T] tribunali Christi Iesu [Iesu; om. Gel.] ... uti unusquisque ... reportet quae [quae: T (add. gessit al. m. in mg.) X; om. M P] per corpus secundum quae gessit, bonum siue malum (TE res 43.6)

omnes ait uos oportere manifestari ante tribunal Christi, ut recipiat unusquisque quae per corpus admisit siue bonum siue malum (TE Marc 5.12.4)

As noted in Chapter 4.4.4, Pouderon noticed that Athenagoras and Tertullian both use 2Cor. 5:10, along with many other similarities, in their treatises on the resurrection of the flesh.¹⁶¹ Leslie Barnard states that other than this and an allusion to 1Cor. 15:52 there are no exact citations of the New Testament in this work and only five certain quotations in Athenagoras' other works.¹⁶² Tertullian has far more NT references than Athenagoras. However, is it still possible that Tertullian used Athenagoras' reference to 2Cor 5:10 instead of looking it up in his own copy of the Scriptures? Athenagoras' text of 2Cor. 5:10 reads thus: ἕκαστος κομίσεται [κομήσεται: *N (Mutinensis 126)*] δικαίως ἃ διὰ τοῦ σώματος ἔπραξεν εἴτε ἀγαθὰ εἴτε κακά.¹⁶³ This version of the text matches Greek manuscripts D, F, and G with ἃ διὰ τοῦ σώματος ἔπραξεν. Tertullian, however, with *quae per corpus secundum quae gessit* seems to witness to the reading of the rest of the Greek tradition: τὰ διὰ τοῦ σώματος πρὸς ἃ ἔπραξεν. Even with the textual problems between the manuscripts of Tertullian's writings over the first *quae*, the

¹⁶⁰ Robert Sider, "Structure and Design in the 'De Resurrectione Mortuorum' of Tertullian," *Vigiliae Christianae*, no. 3 (1969): 184, 189.

¹⁶¹ Pouderon, "Athénagore et Tertullien sur la résurrection," 221.

¹⁶² Leslie William Barnard, *Athenagoras: A Study in Second Century Christian Apologetic* (Editions Beauchesne, 1972), 71–2.

¹⁶³ Athenagoras, *Supplique au sujet des chrétiens et sur la résurrection des morts*, ed. Bernard Pouderon, *Sources chrétiennes*, no 379 (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1992), 290.

secundum quae is clear. Tertullian's text sides with the rest of the Greek tradition against Athenagoras. Athenagoras is also unique among all witnesses of the Greek tradition with plurals at the end of the reference: εἴτε ἀγαθὰ εἴτε κακά. Though many Greek manuscripts including B, D, F, G, K, L, P, and several minuscules have κακόν instead of the majority reading's φαῦλον, none have either lexeme in the plural. These textual differences suggest that Tertullian was not dependent on Athenagoras for his biblical references.¹⁶⁴

Among Tertullian's two clear references to this verse, there are also differences again demonstrating the likelihood of ad hoc translation. The first words of the reference appear in a totally different order. One uses the preposition *pro*, while the other uses *ante*. The main verb of the subordinate clause he renders in *De res.* as *reportet* and in *Ad. Marc.* as *recipiat*. The Vulgate has *referat* here. Other Latin witnesses have one or the other or both of Tertullian's renderings. Pelagius, Ambrosiaster, and the *testimonia* collection of *Ad Quirinum* attest *recipiat*.¹⁶⁵ Pelagius and *Ad Quirinum* also attest *reportet*. VL 77 has both with *ut recipiat uel reportet*.

2 Corinthians 11:14

angelum seductionis, transfigurantem se in angelum lucis (TE hae 6.6)

ipse satanas transfiguretur in angelum lucis (TE an 57.8)

et ipse satanas, cum in angelum lucis transfiguratur (TE res 55.12)

satanas transfiguratur in angelum lucis (TE Marc 5.12.7)

In his first reference to this verse in his writings, Tertullian rendered the middle verb, μετασχηματίζεται, with a participle and reflexive pronoun: *transfigurantem se*. In the other three references to this verse, he uses the Latin passive verb, *transfiguror*, and the emphatic pronoun

¹⁶⁴ For a similar conclusion to a comparison of biblical references of Tertullian and Athenagoras', cf. Benjamin Haupt, "Tertullian the Apologist and Paul," in *The Apologists and Paul*, ed. Todd D. Still and David E. Wilhite, vol. 4, Pauline and Patristic Scholars in Debate (New York: Bloomsbury, forthcoming).

¹⁶⁵ Houghton et al., *The Principal Pauline Epistles*, 331.

ipse. Among Latin witnesses, Ambrosiaster is the only other writer also to employ the passive, but Ambrosiaster is not thought to have read Greek, which likely means he is not responsible for his own translation here.¹⁶⁶ It is certain that Ambrosiaster knew Tertullian's writings since he twice mentions the Carthaginian.¹⁶⁷ Thus, readings attested only by Ambrosiaster and Tertullian suggest that Ambrosiaster is quoting Tertullian.

5.2.5 Galatians

Galatians 1:6

ab eo qui uos uocauit in gratia, ad aliud euangelium (TE hae 27.3)

qui uellent galatas ad aliud euangelium transferre (TE Marc 1.20.4)

ab eo qui uos uocauit in gratiam, ad aliud euangelium (TE Marc 5.2.4)

ut uiderentur sic ad aliud euangelium transferri (TE Marc 5.2.5)

In these references, Tertullian is careful in his use of prepositions – *in gratia* or *gratiam* and *ad aliud euangelium*.¹⁶⁸ The Greek has *ἐν χάριτι* and *εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον*. The Latin tradition, other than Ambrosiaster who has the same text as Tertullian, attests *in gratiam* and *in aliud euangelium*. This is further evidence of Ambrosiaster's dependence. Tertullian preserves the Greek's use of two different prepositions.

¹⁶⁶ "Zum griechischen Text hat Amst keine Verbindung, da er dieser Sprache nicht mächtig ist." Heinrich Josef Vogels, *Das Corpus Paulinum des Ambrosiaster*, Bonner Biblische Beiträge, Bd. 13 (Bonn: Peter Hanstein Verlag, 1957), 15.

¹⁶⁷ Alexander Souter, *A Study of Ambrosiaster*, Texts and Studies: Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature, v. 7, no. 4 (Cambridge: University Press, 1905), 38–39.

¹⁶⁸ This material on Gal. 1:10 and 2:14 (below) has been adapted from an earlier conference paper which was published as Benjamin D. Haupt, "Tertullian's Text of Galatians," in *From Tertullian to Tyconius: Papers presented at the seventeenth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 2015*, ed. Markus Vinzent, vol. 20, *Studia Patristica* 94 (Leuven: Peeters, 2017), 23–28.

Galatians 1:10

Si hominibus, inquit, uellem placere, seruus christi non essem (TE id 14.3)

Tertullian's reference to Gal. 1:10 has *uellem placere* which is not attested in any other extant Latin witness. Tertullian seems to have conflated the two phrases in Gal. 1:10 ζητῶ ἀνθρώποις ἀρέσκειν and εἰ ἔτι ἀνθρώποις ἡρεσκον to create his own version of the text. This is may be a memory error. Cyprian has a similar text, but not exactly the same. He renders it, however, consistently as *si hominibus placere uellem, christi seruus non essem* both at *Ad Quirinum* 3.55 and *De habitu uirginum* 5. There appears to be no correspondence between Tertullian's chain of Pauline references (Gal. 1:10; 1Cor 10:33; 1Cor 9:22; 1Cor 5:10) in this section of *De idololatria* and the chain of testimonia references in *Ad Quirinum*.

Galatians 2:14

non recto pede incederent ad euangelii ueritatem (TE Marc 1.20.2)

non recto pede incedentes ad ueritatem euangelii (TE Marc 4.3.2)

non recto pede incedentem ad euangelii ueritatem (TE Marc 5.3.7)

In *Adversus Marcionem* 1.20.2, 4.3.2, and 5.3.7, Tertullian has *non recto pede* and then some form of *incedere* as adapted to the context of his polemic, followed by *ad euangelii ueritatem*. The Latin tradition has several variants at this place. It seems that there was great confusion among Latin translators over the Greek construction οὐκ ὀρθοποδοῦσιν. Vetus Latina 61, Ambrosiaster, the Latin version of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Pelagius have some form of *incedere*, with the rest of the early Latin witnesses choosing *ambulare*. Some of them also include *uia* where Tertullian has *pede* (ablative of manner), but most Latin witnesses leave *pede* or *uia* out altogether. Only Jerome's commentary on Galatians (*non recto pede incedunt ad*

euangelii ueritatem) concurs with Tertullian's *non recto pede incedere*.¹⁶⁹ Jerome consistently cites the text this way, both in his lemma and in allusions and adaptations. Based on this concurrence with Jerome, some might argue that Tertullian's citations were dependent on a similar Latin exemplar, which would thus potentially show Tertullian to be using a Latin version of Galatians. However, this need not be the case. As argued earlier in the discussion of 2Cor 5:4, it is possible that Jerome knows this rarely attested reading from his own interaction with Tertullian. If this is the case, that Jerome was dependent on Tertullian for this rare form of Galatians 2:14, what does it mean for Tertullian's citation? It seems to be a calqued translation, unique to Tertullian the innovative translator. The Greek word ὀρθοποδοῦσιν is a compound word, and each of its component parts are translated separately. The Greek word form ὀρθο- is translated into Latin as *recto*, ποδ- is translated into the Latin lexeme *pes* or *pede*, and thus οὔσιν, more enigmatically, seems to bring Tertullian to *pede incedere*. Our translator therefore renders this challenging word in a rather wooden way as *recto pede incedere*, "to walk with a straight or right foot".

Galatians 5:1

qua libertate christus nos manumisit (TE Marc 5.4.9)

nondum enim caro a christo manumissa (TE pud 20.13)

Tertullian renders ἡλευθέρωσεν with *manumisit* in *Ad. Marc.* and his paraphrase in *De pud.* with *manumissa*. This lexeme is far less frequently used in Tertullian's corpus and among Latin writers generally than *liberare*. No other Latin writer appears to attest *manumittere* for Gal. 5:1. Numerous scholars have discussed Tertullian's reading of Gal. 5:1 at *Ad. Marc.* 5.4.9 in

¹⁶⁹ Houghton et al., *The Principal Pauline Epistles*, 402.

order to solve the textual dilemma over whether the first phrase in the verse employs the relative pronoun ἥ prior to ἐλευθερία (as in F and G) or whether it should be a dative definite article τῇ ἐλευθερία (as in D, P⁴⁶, and nearly all other manuscripts). Schmid argues that Tertullian along with nearly all Latin manuscripts have *qua libertate* since there is almost no other option for translating the emphatic dative article τῇ than with a relative pronoun. For this reason, neither Tertullian nor the Latin NT manuscripts with their *qua libertate* can be said to be evidence of the F and G reading.¹⁷⁰ Schmid is dependent here on Tjitze Baarda's earlier essay on the subject.¹⁷¹ Stephen Carlson has recently argued contra Schmid and Baarda that Tertullian's Latin can be taken either way and would more likely stem from its closer relatives in F and G than in the Byzantine and Harklean texts.¹⁷² It should be noted, however, that the Byzantine and Harklean reading τῇ ἐλευθερία is also found in codex *Claromontanus* (D) which has been demonstrated to have similarities to Tertullian's text. Further, it has also been argued that Tertullian in other places sides with codex D against F and G.¹⁷³ Tertullian is not consistent enough in his textual witness to be exclusively aligned with any one Greek manuscript.

¹⁷⁰ "Die überwältigende Mehrzahl der lateinischen Zeugen liest hier auch *qua libertate*, und zwar aus dem einfachen Grund, weil sie kaum eine andere Möglichkeit haben, die Emphase des – mit Artikel vorangestellten – Dativ τῇ ἐλευθερία anders als mit dem relativischen Anschluss wiederzugeben." Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 74.

¹⁷¹ Tjitze Baarda, "Gal. 5,1a: ἡ ἐλευθερία... Over de 'Westerse Tekst' en de Tekst van Marcion," in *Christologische perspectieven: exegetische en hermeneutische studies*, ed. Heinrich Baarlink (Kampen: Uitgeversmaatschappij J.H. Kok, 1992), 173–93. I was not able to access this.

¹⁷² Stephen C. Carlson, *The Text of Galatians and Its History*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen Zum Neuen Testament. 2. Reihe 385 (Tübingen, 2015), 199 n. 64.

¹⁷³ Cf. discussion of Rom 6:4-5, 1 Cor 5:6, 1 Cor 7:39, Phil 1:23, and 1Tim 1:17.

5.2.6 Ephesians

Ephesians 1:9–10

quam proposuerit in sacramento uoluntatis suae, in dispensationem adimpletionis temporum, ut ita dixerim, sicut uerbum illud in graeco sonat, recapitulare, id est ad initium redigere uel ab initio recensere, omnia in christum, quae in caelis et quae in terris (TE Marc 5.17.1)

dicit et apostolus scribens ad ephesios deum proposuisse in semetipso ad dispensationem adimpletionis temporum ad caput id est ad initium reciprocare uniuersa in christo quae sunt super caelos et super terras in ipso (TE mon 5.2)

Tertullian renders the Greek word ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι in no less than four different ways in these two references (*recapitulare, redigere, recensere, reciprocare*). Notably, none of these are attested in VL 75, 77, or 78 which have *restaurare* or *instaurare*. The first rendering, *recapitulare*, is a Latin calque of the word. He explains as much when he prefaces the strange word with the following: *sicut uerbum illud in graeco sonat*.¹⁷⁴ Perhaps he did this because *recapitulare* had never before appeared in Latin. In the *De mon.* reference he also uses a shortened calque and gloss (*ad caput id est ad initium reciprocare*). Further evidence that Tertullian is translating rather than copying from a Latin text can be seen in the other unique renderings of these verses. He renders εἰς οἰκονομίαν as *in dispensationem* in *Ad. Marc.* and *ad dispensationem* in *De mon.* His rendering of πληρώματος with *adimpletionis*, while consistent between the two references, is only elsewhere attested by Ambrosiaster.¹⁷⁵ This is again evidence that Ambrosiaster may be dependent on Tertullian for some readings.¹⁷⁶

Harnack's earliest comment on the glossing of ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι here also argued that it is evidence of a translation by Tertullian himself.¹⁷⁷ In Harnack's later *magnum opus* on

¹⁷⁴ The word also appears in *Adu. Iud.* 8.8 in a discussion of Daniel 9:25–26.

¹⁷⁵ Frede, *Epistula ad Ephesios*, 21.

¹⁷⁶ Cf. 2Cor 11:14, Gal 1:6.

¹⁷⁷ Harnack, "Tertullians Bibliothek christlicher Schriften," 307 n. 3.

Marcion, however, he reversed his opinion and argued that Tertullian had found *recapitulare* in what he presumed to be Marcion's Latin text.¹⁷⁸ Harnack reasoned that Tertullian seemed to be embarrassed by the Graecism and thus glossed it. Had he not read the word in Marcion's text, Tertullian would not have created such a new word and would have gone right to *ad initium redigere*. Contra Harnack, Quispel saw this as clear evidence that Tertullian was not only translating from some Greek manuscript but specifically that Marcion's text before Tertullian was Greek.¹⁷⁹ O'Malley struggled to find new evidence that would sway the balance between these two positions.¹⁸⁰ Most recently, Wellstein agreed with Quispel's position explaining that Tertullian was driven to gloss the passage because the Greek word carried such a variety of meaning.¹⁸¹

Further evidence for Quispel's position that Tertullian is translating might be found in the other calquing translations we have seen from Tertullian in his references to Rom. 6:4–5, 1 Cor. 11:5, and Gal. 2:14. It seems most likely that Tertullian calques rare or long Greek words (ὀρθοποδοῦσιν, ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι) when he comes to them and then adds a gloss to explain. Further, this may be a literary practice he learned from his Greco-Roman rhetorical training. Quintilian explains that it is helpful to explain foreign or rare words in as many ways as possible.¹⁸² He calls these words *glossemata*, a code-switching word from Greek, which he proceeds to “gloss” with an *id est* phrase.¹⁸³ This rhetorical instruction may explain Tertullian's calquing practice followed by an *id est* gloss.

¹⁷⁸ Adolf von Harnack, *Marcion: Das Evangelium vom Fremden Gott: Eine Monographie zur Geschichte der Grundlegung der katholischen Kirche: Neue Studien zu Marcion* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1960), 53* n. 1.

¹⁷⁹ Quispel, *De Bronnen*, 108–09.

¹⁸⁰ O'Malley, *Tertullian and the Bible*, 61.

¹⁸¹ Wellstein, *Nova Verba*, 50–53.

¹⁸² *Id quoque inter prima rudimenta non inutile demonstrare, quot quaeque verba modis intellegenda sint.* Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, 1.8.15.

¹⁸³ *Circa glossemata etiam, id est voces minus usitatas, non ultima eius professionis diligentia est.* *Ibid.*

Ephesians 4:8

ascendit in sublimitatem, id est in caelum; captiuam duxit captiuitatem, id est mortem uel humanam seruitutem; data dedit filiis hominum, id est donatiua, quae charismata dicimus (TE Marc 5.8.5)

There are three glosses in this reference which make clear that Tertullian is translating.¹⁸⁴ First is the rendering of εἰς ὕψος as *in sublimitatem* and glossed as *id est in caelum*. *Sublimis* was regularly employed as an adjective, but *sublimitas* the noun was rarely used.¹⁸⁵ Quintilian attests the noun seven times in a literary sense to describe the height of words. Pliny used it in his *Naturalis historia* to describe the place of Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, and Venus.¹⁸⁶ He also used it once with a gloss similar to Tertullian.¹⁸⁷ Apuleius also used it to describe the abode of the gods.¹⁸⁸ Though there was some precedent among Latin writers, it appears that the rarity of *sublimitas* to refer to the heavens required a gloss.

Next he glosses, perhaps more for exegetical understanding than for linguistic clarification *captiuitatem* with *id est mortem uel humanam seruitutem*. The third occurrence is a gloss of *data dedit* and involves a double gloss, first with *id est donatiua* and then a secondary gloss with *quae charismata dicimus*. The word *donatiua* is war terminology and only first appears in the Latin literary record with Tacitus, Suetonius, and Pliny Minor in the second century.¹⁸⁹ The word *charismata* is a Graecism and does not appear in any extant literary work prior to Tertullian. He may have coined the word given his penchant for code-switching. He also

¹⁸⁴ Harnack, "Tertullians Bibliothek christlicher Schriften," 307 n. 3.

¹⁸⁵ "LLT - Library of Latin Texts," <http://clt.brepolis.net/llta/pages/Search.aspx>.

¹⁸⁶ Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 2.65

¹⁸⁷ Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 7.91: *nec virtutem constantiam que nunc commemoro nec sublimitatem omnium capacem quae caelo continentur*.

¹⁸⁸ Apuleius, *De deo Socratis*, 4 ln. 3 and 13; *De mundo*, 33 ln. 14.

¹⁸⁹ Library of Latin Texts - Series A.

employs the word in a number of earlier writings which may explain *quae charismata dicimus*, or perhaps it was a well-known Graecism in the Carthaginian bilingual Christian community.¹⁹⁰

Ephesians 4:22

monente apostolo deponere nos ueterem hominem, qui corrumpitur per concupiscentias [*concupiscentias*: T; *concupiscentiam*: M P X] *seductionis* (TE res 45.1)

atque ita pariter agnoscimus hominem, qui secundum pristinam conuersationem uetus fuerit, eundem et corrumpi ita dictum secundum concupiscentias [*concupiscentias*: T; *concupiscentiam*: M P X] *seductionis* (TE res 45.16)

In both of these references there is a textual problem among the copies of Tertullian's work. Codices M, P, and X attest the singular *concupiscentiam*, while only codex T has the plural. In Chapter 4 there was already evidence presented that codex T may have been correcting to the Vulgate in some places. Thus the singular looks more plausible. This is even more so considering that the singular is attested, though rarely, in the Greek (τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν) and yet precisely in the manuscript which Tertullian seems to have some affiliation, Greek NT Codex Claromontanus. Though the Latin side of the bilingual Claromontanus (VL 75) has *concupiscentiam* like Tertullian, the reference to Eph 1:9–10 above demonstrated that Tertullian was not using a Latin manuscript affiliated with the Latin translation of VL 75.

Ephesians 5:8

habet tenebras, sed lumen estis ipsi (TE mart 2.4)

It is possible that Tertullian has passages from the latter portion of Ephesians in mind as he writes the introduction of *Ad martyras*. When he writes *inprimis ergo, benedicti, nolite contristare Spiritum sanctum*, he may be borrowing from Eph. 4:30. Though his *nolite*

¹⁹⁰ Prior to this occurrence he uses the *charismata* or its cognate in the following works: TE Jud 8.14, 13.26; TE ba 20.5; TE hae 29.3; TE Val 4.4; TE an 9.3, 9.4, 58.8; TE Marc 3.23.3.

contristare Spiritum sanctum matches the Latin tradition in vocabulary, syntax, and word order this does not necessarily mean that Tertullian is citing from a Latin version of Ephesians. There is near unanimous agreement of these four words in the Latin tradition. The range of translators all found these words relatively straightforward to bring into Latin. Tertullian may also make reference to Eph 5:2 with his *triste illic expirat, sed uos odor estis suauitatis*. Thus, his statement *habet tenebras, sed lumen estis ipsi* looks to be a reference to Ephesians 5:8. It is important to note all three of these possible references because taken together they become stronger evidence that Tertullian has the language of this portion of Ephesians either before him or at least in mind as he writes. If that is the case, his use of *lumen* rather than *lux* for Eph 5:8's φως is noteworthy. As mentioned previously, this is a characteristic of African use of the Bible.¹⁹¹ Only rarely does Tertullian use the lexeme *lux* in his earliest writings. He uses it twice in *Ad Nationes* both at 1.16, three times in *Apologeticum* once at 39 and twice at 48, twice in *De idololatria* at 49 and 53, and twice in *Aduersus Iudaeos* at 12 and 13. He begins to use the word far more in the third century – 23 times in *Aduersus Marcionem* and 12 times in *De anima*. He prefers the lexeme *lumen* though not significantly more. He uses it five times in *Apologeticum* and three times each in *Ad nationes*, *De idololatria*, and *Aduersus Iudaeos*. The use of *lumen* at *Ad Martyras* 2.4 is the only use of the word in the work.¹⁹²

¹⁹¹ Burton, *The Old Latin Gospels*, 18–19.

¹⁹² “LLT - Library of Latin Texts,” <http://clt.brepolis.net/llta/pages/Search.aspx>.

5.2.7 Philippians

Philippians 1:23

nam quod et aliud uotum nostrum quam quod et apostoli [apostolo: K], exire de saeculo et recipi apud Dominum (TE spec 28.5)

cupidi et ipsi iniquissimo isto saeculo eximi et recipi apud dominum, quod etiam apostolo uotum fuit (TE ux 1.5.1)

bene properatis [N F R; festinatis A] ad dominum, bene festinatis excedere de isto [om. A] iniquissimo saeculo (TE cul 2.6.4)

cupio, inquit apostolus, recipi iam et esse cum domino. quanto melius ostendit uotum (TE pat 9.5)

In *De spectaculis* 28.5 Tertullian is discussing pleasures (*uoluptates*) and comparing those of the philosophers (*quieti et tranquillitati*) to what Christians should be seeking, namely *nam quod et aliud uotum nostrum quam quod et apostoli, exire de saeculo et recipi apud Dominum*. This is a reference either to Phil. 1:23 or to 2Cor 5:8. Though similar themes also appear in 1Cor 5:10, here the meaning of *exire de saeculo* does not refer to separation from others living on earth but rather what happens upon death. The sentence directly preceding our reference gives this meaning: *non possumus uiuere sine uoluptate, qui mori cum uoluptate debemus*. We thus have a reference to Phil 1:23. Here again Tertullian makes reference to the apostle. He gives no indication that he is quoting from a codex which lay before him. Rönsch asserts that this is a freely cited text.¹⁹³ The rendering *exire de saeculo* is nowhere attested in the Latin tradition.¹⁹⁴ It seems to be Tertullian's translation of ἀναλῦσαι. He renders the word similarly in his reference to the same verse in *Ad uxorem* 1.5.1 with *isto saeculo eximi*. Likewise,

¹⁹³ Rönsch, 707. Schmid makes no reference to Tertullian's use of Phil 1:23.

¹⁹⁴ Agobardinus (A), a manuscript of *Spec.*, omits *exire de saeculo et*. Since it is retained in other manuscripts and editions and because it is not attested in other Latin versions of Phil 1:23, it seems most likely to be original rather than a Scriptural interpolation.

he uses a similar expression in *De cultu feminarum* 2.6.4: *bene festinatis excedere de isto inquissimo saeculo*.

Tertullian implies that his hearers and the Apostle share the same *uotum*. This seems to be a rendering of the Greek tradition's ἐπιθυμίαν. No other Latin witnesses use this lexeme in Phil 1:23. Tertullian also uses the nominalization *uotum* to rephrase or gloss *cupio* at *De patientia* 9.5, likewise at *Ad uxorem* 1.5.1. Tertullian's phrase *recipi apud Dominum* is also unique to the Latin tradition. He has this same rendering in *Ad uxorem* 1.5.1, though the preceding phrase *saeculo eximi* differs. Similar but not identical (*recipi iam et esse cum domino*) is his rendering of this phrase in *De patientia* 9.5. Tertullian often differs in vocabulary, syntax, and word order from the Latin tradition and even among the references to this same verse throughout his other works.

In *De Pat.* 9.5, Tertullian uses *cupere* rather than *desiderium habere* to cite Phil 1:23 and *recipi* rather than *dissolui*. Further, Tertullian's text seems to have affiliation with the text of Greek codices D, F and G. These manuscripts have πόσω μᾶλλον κρεῖσσον as opposed to that of the rest of the Greek tradition, πολλῶ [γάρ] μᾶλλον κρεῖσσον. Tertullian's *quanto melius* best renders D, F, and G's πόσω μᾶλλον κρεῖσσον.

Philippians 3:20

politia in caelis (TE mart 3.3)

*et quidem de terra in caelum, ubi nostrum municipatum [municipatum expect.: T]
Philippenses quoque ab apostolo discunt, unde et salutificatorem nostrum
expectamus Iesum Christum* (TE res 47.15)

*et politeuma nostrum, id est municipatum, in caelis esse pronuntians, alicui utique
caelesti ciuitati eum deputat* (TE Marc 3.24.3)

noster, inquit, municipatus in caelis (TE Marc 5.20.7)

noster, inquit, municipatus in caelis (TE cor 13.4)

There is only one textual variant among Tertullian's own manuscripts of these references at *De res* 47.5.¹⁹⁵ Tertullian has a brief reference to this verse in one of his earliest writings, *Ad martyras*. There he uses *politia*, perhaps with reference also to the Latinized title of Plato's πολιτεία. The only other uses of the word prior to Tertullian are in Cicero's *De diuinatione* at 1.60 and 2.59 and have Plato's work in mind.¹⁹⁶ In the *Ad. Marc.* 3.24.3 reference, Tertullian gives the Greek word πολίτευμα, though apparently with Latin letters. There is no use of this word in writings prior to Tertullian. He then glosses his transliteration with *id est municipatum*. He is consistent in this rendering in other references, but this word is not used in any other Latin manuscripts of Phil, nor is it attested in any Latin writings prior to Tertullian. Here, Tertullian's penchant for linguistic innovation are on display.

¹⁹⁵ In the reference at *De res.* 47.15 the scribe of codex Trecensis 523 added *expect* after *municipatum*, probably due to homoioteleuton, but after writing *expect*, the scribe seems to have gotten back on track and also has *expectamus* where all other manuscripts have it. For an image of this manuscript, cf.

https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?VUE_ID=363783.

¹⁹⁶ *quid Socrates in Platonis Politia loquatur* (1.60); *Platonis Politian* (2.59).

5.2.8 Colossians

Colossians 2:4

at cum monet cauendum a subtililoquentia et philosophia, ut inani seductione, quae sit secundum elementa mundi, non secundum caelum aut terram dicens, sed secundum litteras saeculares et secundum traditionem, scilicet hominum subtililoquorum et philosophum, longum et quidem et alterius operis ostendere hac sententia omnes haereses damnari, quod omnes ex subtililoquentiae uiribus et philosophiae regulis constant (TE Marc 5.19.7)

This reference to Col. 2:4 comes amidst an extended examination of the Pauline epistles in which he walks through each one in sequence. Because of the triple use of the underlined expression, it is clear that Tertullian rendered the Greek word *πιθανολογία* with the innovative construction *subtililoquentia*. This word is only elsewhere in Latin Irenaeus' *Ad. Haer.* 3.14.4.¹⁹⁷ The expression may be inspired by the term *uaniloquentia* which is attested twice prior to Tertullian.¹⁹⁸

Colossians 2:8

scribens ad Colossenses: uidete ne qui [qui: A Kroy; quis: rell.] sit circumueniens [circumueniat: C Pam Rig] uos per philosophiam et inanem seductionem, secundum traditionem hominum (TE hae 7.7)

Here again as in references to 2Cor 2:5–11 and Eph. 1:9–10, Tertullian introduces a closely cited quotation with *scribens* and then names the addressees of the letter. As in the other references, this signals that he has the text directly in front of him, especially since the other two references are to multiple verses and are thus extended citations. No other Latin witness to this verse employs the expression which Tertullian uses. Only Cyprian also has the indefinite pronoun *qui* along with Tertullian. All others have *quis*. As noted in the reference, some

¹⁹⁷ *hi uero qui a Valentino sunt cessabunt a plurimo uaniloquio suo: ex hoc enim multas occasiones subtililoquii sui acceperunt, interpretari audentes male quae ab hoc bene sunt dicta.*

¹⁹⁸ Plautus, *Rudens* 905; Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 34.24.1.

manuscripts of Tertullian's writings have *quis*, but these may be correcting toward the Vulgate. Tertullian employs *ne qui* 16 times in his writings but *ne quis* only 13 times.¹⁹⁹ Only Tertullian has here the calqued participle *circumueniens*, whereas all other witnesses render the participle συλαγωγῶν with a subjunctive verb using some other lexeme (*depraedetur*, *suadeat*, *decipiat*). This singular reading is thus further evidence of ad hoc translation.

Colossians 2:13

et uos cum mortui essetis in delictis et praeputatione carnis uestrae, uiuificauit cum eo, donatis uobis omnibus delictis (TE res 23.2)

The syntax of Tertullian's reference is nearly identical to all other Latin witnesses with only a few lexical differences. Latin witnesses unanimously attest *praeputatio*. Tertullian may have invented *praeputatio* to describe a state of being rather than using the anatomical term *praeputium* in a figurative sense. He uses the word six other times throughout his writings of this same period.²⁰⁰ Hilary also attests the word once in his reference to the same verse in *De Trinitate*. Tertullian also uniquely reads *eo* instead of the otherwise unanimously attested *illo*. Yet another unique rendering is the phrase *donatis uobis omnibus delictis*. This ablative absolute employs a perfect passive participle, *donatis*, instead of the unanimously attested present participle *donans*. Because of the ablative absolute, Tertullian also uniquely has *omnibus delictis* rather than the elsewhere attested accusative *omnia delicta* (or *peccata*). Therefore, even when Tertullian's version of a verse looks predominantly like others in the Latin tradition, the unique or singular readings still suggest ad hoc translation.

¹⁹⁹ "LLT - Library of Latin Texts," <http://clt.brepolis.net/llta/pages/Search.aspx>.

²⁰⁰ TE Marc 5.4.10; 5.4.11; 5.17.12; three times in TE mon 6.2.

5.2.9 1 Thessalonians

1 Thessalonians 1:9–10

quae haec tempora, cum Thesalonicencibus [thesalonicensibus: T (s suprascr. al. m.); P (corr. R); thessalonicensibus: M X] disce. legimus [(in mg add.) uel Scimus: T] enim, qualiter conuersi sitis ab idolis ad seruiendum uiuo et uero deo et [om. T] ad expectandum a caelis filium eius, quem suscitauit ex mortuis, Iesum (TE res 24.1)

Tertullian prefaces this reference by naming the source and then writing *legimus enim*.

This suggests that he has the text of 1Thess. in front of him. Tertullian alone has *qualiter* for πῶς instead of the unanimity of the Latin tradition's *quomodo*. No Greek or Latin witness besides Tertullian omits πρὸς τὸν θεὸν / *ad Deum*, except for the North African bishop Fulgentius.²⁰¹ Tertullian alone changes the Greek word order of the phrase θεῷ ζῶντι καὶ ἀληθινῷ to put *deo* at the end of the phrase. Only Tertullian and Ambrosiaster have the prepositional phrases with gerundives *ad seruiendum* and *ad expectandum*, rather than the Latin tradition's preference for infinitives. Tertullian alone reverses the Greek word order of the phrase τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν to *a caelis filium eius*, while the rest of the Latin tradition retains the traditional order.

1 Thessalonians 2:19

et rursus: quae enim spes nostra uel gaudium uel exultationis corona, quam ut et uos coram domino nostro in aduentu ipsius? (TE res 24.2)

This reference directly follows the above reference of 1Thess. 1:9–10. The *et rursus* recalls the earlier *legimus enim* and again signals that Tertullian has the text open in front of him. Like the Greek's τίς γὰρ, Tertullian does not have *est* between *quae enim*. A few other Latin witnesses also omit *est*, including VL 86, the Balliol manuscript of Pelagius, Epiphanius Latinus, and Sedulius Scottus. Tertullian alone attests *uel* instead of the rest of the Latin tradition's *aut*.

²⁰¹ Only one version of Fulgentius' ep. 8.11 omits this phrase, *Colb. Frede, Epistulae ad Thessalonicenses, Timotheum, Titum, Philemonem, Hebraeos*, 182.

Rönsch surmises that Tertullian did not have καυχήσεως but rather ἀγαλλιάσεως (also the reading of Greek Codex Alexandrinus) because of his *exultationis* rather than the Latin tradition's *gloriae*.²⁰² The Nestle-Aland edition follows Rönsch in reporting Tertullian as attesting ἀγαλλιάσεως.²⁰³ This is most likely incorrect. In *De cultu feminarum* 2.3.2, Tertullian references Phil. 3:3 with its καυχόμενοι and renders the word as *gloriari* but then glosses *gloria* with the lexeme *exultatio*.²⁰⁴ Because Tertullian seems to take these two words as synonyms, his *exultationis* in this reference is just his typical alternate translation rather than evidence of ἀγαλλιάσεως.

1 Thessalonians 4:3

quam autem sanctitatem nostram uoluntatem dei dicat (TE Marc 5.15.3)

uoluntas dei est sanctificatio nostra (TE cas 1.3)

quid denique et Thessalonicensibus scribit...haec est uoluntas Dei, sanctimonia uestra, abstinere uos a fornicatione (TE pud 17.2)

In this reference Tertullian again renders inconsistently. The Greek word ἁγιασμός he renders as *sanctitatem*, *sanctificatio*, and *sanctimonia*. The Latin tradition is unanimous in attesting *sanctificatio*. Tertullian's use of this comes in the adaptation of the verse in *Cas.* 1.3 where he also changes the second person plural pronoun to first person plural. His introduction of the reference in *Pud.* 17.2 is the reference where he is most likely citing with his copy of 1Thess in front of him. There he retains the second person plural pronoun and the word order of the Greek. His rendering of ἀπέχεσθαι with *abstinere* is only paralleled in some of the Latin

²⁰² Rönsch, *Das NT Tertullian's*, 711.

²⁰³ Barbara Aland et al., eds., *Novum Testamentum Graece: Novum Testamentum Graece*, 28., rev. Aufl (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2012).

²⁰⁴ *Uiderit, quem iuuat de carne gloriari. In nobis autem primo quidem nullum gloriae studium, quia gloria exultationis ingenium est.*

tradition (VL 75, 77, 89, Ambrosiaster, Augustine's *De nuptiis*, et al.), while the rest of the Latin witnesses render the word with *ut abstineatis*.

5.2.10 2 Thessalonians

2 Thessalonians 1:4–5

cum de Thessalonicensibus gaudens, uti, inquit, gloriemur in uobis in ecclesiis dei pro tolerantia uestra et fide in omnibus persecutionibus et pressuris, quibus sustinetis ostentamen iusti iudicii dei, ut digni habeamini regno eius, pro quo et patimini (TE sco 13.2)

Tertullian does not render αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς as *nos ipsi* with the rest of the Latin tradition. It could be argued that he includes the first person plural pronoun, though not the emphatic, in the verb *gloriemur*. Tertullian alone translates ὑπομονῆς as *tolerantia*, the rest of the Latin translations rendering it *patientia*. Tertullian may coin the expression *ostentamen* (it is nowhere else attested prior to this only place in Tertullian) to render ἔνδειγμα which is a *hapax legomenon* in the New Testament and only elsewhere attested in Plato and Demosthenes.²⁰⁵ The rendering *regno eius* rather than *regno dei* is also unique to Tertullian. The referent of the pronoun is understood from the earlier use of *iudicii dei*. This paraphrasing approach to translation is a common characteristic seen elsewhere in this chapter.

2 Thessalonians 2:4

qui aduersatur et superextollitur in omne, quod dicitur deus uel religio, uti sedeat in templo dei, adfirmans deum se (TE res 24.15)

extollens se super omne quod deus dicitur et omnem religionem, consessurus in templo dei et deum se iactaturus (TE Marc 5.16.4)

²⁰⁵ Plato, *Critias* 110; Demosthenes, *Orationes* 19.256. Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), 558.

Both of these references have a high probability of stemming from translating a text directly in front of him. The first reference is part of a larger block quote of 2Thess. 2:1–8 and within a wider section in which Tertullian is commenting upon a number of Pauline epistles. The latter reference comes directly after a discussion of the lack of a few words in Marcion's copy of the *Apostolicon*.²⁰⁶ If he was able to spot differences between Marcion's text and his own, this may mean that he had both Marcion's text as well as his own in front of him. In the *De res.* reference Tertullian renders the participles ἀντικείμενος and υπεραϊρόμενος as present passive indicatives. In the second reference he uses a participle and separates the *super-* prefix from the verb to create the prepositional phrase *super omne*. He also does something similar with the renderings of the Greek infinitive καθίσαι, rendering it as a present subjunctive (*sedeat*) in the first reference and as a future participle (*consessurus*) in the latter. Though his renderings differ greatly, it still seems that for both references he has the same underlying Greek text. Further, it does not appear that his Greek text and Marcion's differ at this verse.²⁰⁷

5.2.11 1 Timothy

1 Timothy 1 :17

De Patre autem ad Timotheum, regi autem saeculorum, immortalī, inuisibili, soli Deo (TE Pra 15.8)

This reference matches the Greek text of Codex D, Claromontanus, which is alone among Greek manuscripts in attesting ἀθανάτῳ ἀοράτῳ μόνῳ θεῷ. Most of the Greek tradition has ἀφθάρτῳ ἀοράτῳ μόνῳ θεῷ. Greek Codices F and G mix the text of D and the rest of the tradition by attesting ἀφθάρτῳ ἀοράτῳ ἀθανάτῳ μόνῳ θεῷ. This demonstrates further evidence that Tertullian was using a text closely affiliated to Claromontanus. Though Tertullian's

²⁰⁶ For more on this, cf. Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos*, 89–91, 111.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 53.

reference matches the Vulgate and most of the Latin tradition, this does not mean that Tertullian may have copied this passage from a Latin NT manuscript. The grammar is simple and easily rendered into Latin with little room for innovation.

1 Timothy 1:20

plane idem apostolus Hymenaeum et Alexandrum satanae tradidit, ut emendarentur [emendarentur: Gel; enim darentur: B] *non blasphemare, sicut Timotheo suo scribit* (TE pud 13.15)

sed et si dixit: tradidi eos satanae, uti disciplinam acciperent non blasphemandi (TE pud 13.21)

These two references occur only a few lines apart and yet their text is different. The context of each is of critical importance. The first reference is a hypothetical way to understand 1Tim. 1:20 which Tertullian alleges to be the understanding of his opponents. The greater issue in this section is Tertullian's refusal to allow forgiveness to adulterers or blasphemers. In order to give his opponents' understanding of the verse, he renders the verse as they would.²⁰⁸ Thus, he translates the aorist subjunctive passive third person plural παιδευθῶσιν as *emendarentur*, an imperfect subjunctive passive third person plural. This rendering implies that Hymenaeus and Alexander were to receive the "emendation" or change in character that the turning over to Satan would hopefully produce. Tertullian rejects this interpretation. Instead, he re-translates the verse again later in 13.21 and there gives his preferred interpretation. There he renders παιδευθῶσιν as *disciplinam acciperent*, the same syntax as prior but with different words. He understands the subject of this verb not as Hymenaeus and Alexander but rather as Timothy's congregation who would learn from the example of Hymenaeus and Alexander. Had Tertullian's text and that of his opponents been Latin, this change in wording would not have worked. Tertullian explained the

²⁰⁸ Cf. also 1Cor 7:39 for further discussion of Tertullian's awareness of textual variants among his opponents.

rendering which he alleged of his opponents (13.15) as their “understanding” of the verse rather alleging that they had a different Greek text.²⁰⁹ The problem was an exegetical rather than a text critical problem which must mean they were both using a Greek text.

1 Timothy 2:1–2

orate, inquit, pro regibus et pro principibus et potestatibus, ut tranquillae [F; omnia tranquilla: Uulg] sint uobis (TE ap 31.3)

ut et huic praecepto pareamus orando [orandi X, prob. Evans.] pro omnibus (TE or 3.4)

In the *Apol.* reference Tertullian approximates Paul’s exhortation to the action of prayer in 1Tm 2:1 (παρακαλῶ ποιῆσθαι δεήσεις προσευχάς ἐντεύξεις εὐχαριστίας) with an imperative *orate*.²¹⁰ Tertullian’s *orate* is also a shortening of Paul’s longer string of roughly synonymous actions which the Latin tradition renders as *obsecrationes orationes postulationes gratiarum actiones*. Tertullian has already referred to the *Dei uoces, litteras nostras* in *Apol.* 31.1, which supplies the subject for the interjection *inquit*. He then expands the *omnibus qui in sublimitate sunt* to *pro principibus et potestatibus*. In so doing, Tertullian takes the freedom to name the kinds of leaders which Paul had included in the more general *omnibus in sublimitate sunt*. This fits his general practice throughout the *Apologeticum*, where he only applies the term *rex* sparingly to non-Roman leaders, to Ptolemy in chapter 18 and to Hieromus the Phoenician and Juba in chapter 19. He uses the other two terms *principes* and *potestates* and their cognates however far more frequently especially when discussing Roman leaders. Tertullian expands the meaning of πάντων τῶν ἐν ὑπεροχῇ ὄντων with the gloss *pro principibus et potestatibus*.

²⁰⁹ *Si et hoc tangunt, ut traditos satanae ab illo in emendationem, non in perditionem intellegamus* (TE pud 13.16)

²¹⁰ Some of this information is a revision of the forthcoming essay, Benjamin Haupt, “Tertullian the Apologist and Paul,” in *The Apologists and Paul*, ed. Todd D. Still and David E. Wilhite, vol. 4, *Pauline and Patristic Scholars in Debate* (New York: Bloomsbury, forthcoming).

Tertullian also paraphrases the second half of the verse (ἵνα ἡρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον διάγωμεν ἐν πάσῃ εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ σεμνότητι) which the Latin tradition rendered as *ut quietam et tranquillam uitam agamus in omni pietate et castitate* to the shortened *ut omnia tranquilla sint uobis*. The reference in *De orat.* is likewise a shortening. He simplifies the infinitive plus objects ποιεῖσθαι δεήσεις προσευχὰς ἐντεύξεις εὐχαριστίας with the gerund *orando* (or perhaps *orandi*).

1 Timothy 3:1

dat et apostolus nobis concupiscentiam: si quis episcopatum concupiscit, bonum opus concupiscit; et bonum opus dicens rationalem concupiscentiam ostendit (TE an 16.6)

Most Latin renderings of this verse use *desiderat* instead of *concupiscit*, perhaps because the latter word gains a negative connotation in later Christianity and would therefore be improper for a Christian. Tertullian uses this word throughout chapter 16 of *De anima*. He even code-switches prior to this reference of 1Tim (*concupiscentium, quod uocant ἐπιθυμητικόν*), in order to give the Greek term as found in Plato.²¹¹ Tertullian must have been drawn to this passage from 1Tim, just as he earlier referenced Luke 22:15, because of its use of ἐπιθυμέω.

1 Timothy 3:2

quantam detrahant fidei [A N; fidei detrahant R3 G; detrahant R1; dethauit F] , quantum obstrepant sanctitati nuptiae secundae, disciplina [A R3; disciplinae N F R1] ecclesiae et praescriptio apostoli declarat, cum digamos non sinit praesidere (TE ux 1.7.4)

inde igitur apostolus plenius atque strictius praescribit unius matrimonii esse oportere qui allegantur in ordinem sacerdotalem. usque adeo quosdam memini digamos loco deiectos (TE cas 7.2)

qualis es id matrimonium postulans quod eis a quibus postulas non licet habere, ab episcopo monogamo, a presbyteris et diaconis eiusdem sacramenti, a uiduis, quarum sectam in te recusasti? (TE mon 11.1)

²¹¹ For a possible use of this portion of *De anima* 16, including the code-switches, cf. Jerome, *Commentarii in Ezechielem* 1.1, ln. 209; *Commentarii in euangelium Matthaei*, 2, ln. 899.

si enim suam habent episcopi legem circa monogamiam, etiam cetera quae monogamiae accedere oportebit episcopis erunt scripta (TE mon 12.5)

These references demonstrate the career of one of Tertullian's most famous teachings, that bishops, deacons, and indeed all Christians may only marry once even after the death of a spouse.²¹² In *Ad uxorem* he coins the word *digamus*, a borrowing from the Greek διγαμία, to name what he believes the apostle prohibits. In *De exhortatione castitatis* 1.4, Tertullian lays out three states related to marriage: virginity from birth, virginity after second birth, and *monogamia* which he describes as the renunciation of sex after the death of a spouse.²¹³ The term *monogamia* is, like *digamus*, not attested in Latin literature in any form prior to Tertullian. This seems, again, to be a linguistic innovation based on a borrowing of the Greek μονογαμία. This term, however, is not yet used in *De exhort.* as a rendering for the expression μιᾶς γυναικὸς ἄνδρα in 1Tim. 3:2. Instead at chapter 7.2 he renders the expression with the phrase *unius matrimonii esse*. He understands the term as one marriage in a lifetime rather than the traditional understanding of one marriage at a time. It is in *De monogamia* 11.1 where for the first time he uses *monogamus* as an adjective describing the *episcopus* in an allusion to this verse. Later in chapter 12.5 he more directly uses the term *monogamia* to render Paul's phrase.

²¹² William P. Le Saint and Tertullian, *Treatises on Marriage and Remarriage: To His Wife, An Exhortation to Chastity, Monogamy*, Ancient Christian Writers : The Works of the Fathers in Translation, no. 13 (New York: Newman Press, 1951), 3–9, 39–42, 67–69.

²¹³ *Prima species est uirginitas a natiuitate; secunda, uirginitas a secunda natiuitate, id est a lauacro, quae aut in matrimonio purificato ex compacto aut in uirginitate perseuerat ex arbitrio; tertius gradus superest monogamia, cum post matrimonium unum interceptum exinde sexui renuntiat.*

5.2.12 2 Timothy

2 Timothy 2:17

et sermones serpentes uelut cancer (TE hae 7.7)

Pierre-Maurice Bogaert has argued that this reference of Tertullian suggests his use of a Latin copy of Paul's letters.²¹⁴ He argues that the Latin tradition's *ut cancer serpit* may be a mistranslation of the Greek ὡς γάγγραινα νομὴν ἔξει. Bogaert is right to see this as a reference to 2Tim 2:17. In this section of *De praescriptione* there are also brief references to 1Tim 1:4, Tt 3:9, and Col 2:8. These references all concern things which the Apostle was forbidding or warning against.²¹⁵ However, Tertullian's rendering need not demonstrate dependence on the Latin, nor is the Latin tradition's rendering a mistranslation. The Greek phrase for "spreading gangrene" was common ancient medical terminology, many examples of which can be found throughout the Pastoral Epistles.²¹⁶ Malherbe argues that though such medical terminology was present in medical manuals, much of it was also used in common speech about medical issues.²¹⁷ If Tertullian came to a Greek expression which he knew was common medical terminology, it should be expected that he would render such language with matching Latin medical language, and this is what he does. *Cancer* is a Latin borrowing from γάγγραινα. It is used in a number of Latin authors with the verb *serpere* to describe "spreading gangrene".²¹⁸ Tertullian and the rest of the Latin tradition render the common Greek medical terminology with similar Latin medical

²¹⁴ Pierre-Maurice Bogaert, "La Bible latine des origines au moyen âge. Aperçu historique, état des questions (Première partie)," *Revue Théologique de Louvain* 19, no. 2 (1988): 137–59.

²¹⁵ *a quibus nos apostolus refrenans...* (TE hae 7.7)

²¹⁶ Abraham J. Malherbe, "Medical Imagery in the Pastoral Epistles," in *Texts and Testaments: Critical Essays on the Bible and Early Church Fathers: A Volume in Honor of Stuart Dickson Currie*, ed. W. Eugene March and Stuart Dickson Currie (San Antonio: Trinity University Press, 1980), 19–35, esp. 33 n. 16.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 31.

²¹⁸ *utque malum late solet inmedicabile cancer serpere* (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 2.822); *Omnis autem cancer non solum id corrumpit, quod occupavit, sed etiam serpit* (A. Cornelius Celsus, *De medicina*, 5.26); *ac nihilo minus serpere is cancer* (*Ibid.*).

terminology which was probably as equally common knowledge to Latins as 2 Timothy's terminology was to Greeks. Neither 2 Timothy nor *De praescriptione* were aimed at a technical medical audience but rather sought to use common medical terminology in a metaphorical way. Further, Tertullian's renderings are sufficiently different from the Latin tradition to suggest here again that he was rendering on his own. Only Tertullian puts the participle *serpentes* prior to the comparative *uelut* and connects it to the *sermones* rather than the *cancer*.

5.2.13 Titus

Titus 3:10–11

Paulus...scribens ad Galatas et qui Tito suggerit hominem haereticum post primam correptionem recusandum [correctionem recusari dum N] quod peruersus sit eiusmodi et delinquat ut a semetipso damnatus. Sed et in omni paene epistula (TE hae 6.1)

Tertullian's introduction to this reference once again points to the use of a written source rather than a memorized text. Several Latin witnesses join Tertullian in omitting καὶ δευτέραν (or καὶ δύο) prior to (or after) νοουθεσίαν (the readings of D, F, and G). This is a rare instance where Tertullian diverges from the Greek text of Claromontanus. Tertullian renders παραίτου as *recusandum* or possibly *recusari* if the alternate reading is correct, but it is clear that the lexical choice is *recusare*. Only the Latin text of the Council of Constantinople, translated in 553, also attests this rendering.²¹⁹ The rest of the Latin tradition prefers *euita* or *deuita*.

²¹⁹ Hermann Josef Frede, ed., *Epistulae ad Thessalonicenses, Timotheum, Titum, Philemonem, Hebraeos*, Vetus Latina: Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel, vol. 25.2 (Freiburg: Herder, 1975), 936–37; Roger Gryson et al., *Répertoire général des auteurs ecclésiastiques latins de l'antiquité et du haut Moyen Âge*, 5th ed, Vetus Latina: Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel, 1/1 (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 2007), 402.

5.2.14 Philemon

Philemon 10

*in nymphone Pleromatis ab angelo ... forsitan pariat [pariat Krm; parias P M F]
aliquem Onesimum Aeonem [Onesimum aeonem P M F; nouissimum Pam; unum
et tricensium Oehlerus (in notis); onesimum eonum X] (TE Val 32.4)*

Matthew Novenson has recently argued along with Oehler and others that this is not a reference to Phlm 10.²²⁰ Novenson may be right that Tertullian was describing the Valentinian aeon with a number or some comparative adjective with an *-issimum* ending.²²¹ The Onesimus reference might be plausible though, given the similarity between the Tertullian's Valentinian Onesimus who is conceived in a bridal chamber by an angel (*in nymphone Pleromatis ab angelo*) and Paul's giving birth to Onesimus in his jail cell (ὄν ἐγέννησα ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς). The context in which this reference appears is a sarcastic, jesting scenario, and Tertullian says as much after this reference.²²² Even if Tertullian does refer to Onesimus here, this possible allusion does not aid in establishing Tertullian's text. It is clear from his reference to it at *Aduersus Marcionem* 5.21.1 that Tertullian knew of this epistle.

5.2.15 Hebrews

Hebrews 6:1

*et utique receptior apud ecclesias epistola Barnabae illo apocrypho Pastore
moechorum. monens itaque discipulos omissis omnibus initiis ad perfectionem
magis tendere nec rursus fundamenta paenitentiae iacere ab operibus mortuorum
(TE pud 20.3)*

Though there are many "possible references" listed in the appendix, there are few references which are of use in establishing Tertullian's text of this epistle. Frede does not assign

²²⁰ Matthew V. Novenson, "The Pauline Epistles in Tertullian's Bible," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 68, no. 4 (2015): 471–483.

²²¹ Ibid., 476 n. 20.

²²² sed ne ego temerarius, qui tantum sacramentum etiam inludendo prodiderim. (TE Val 32.5)

Tertullian his own line of text (marked with the *siglum* “X”) in the Vetus Latina edition of Hebrews until this verse.²²³ The more reliable references also appear only at the end of Tertullian’s writing career. Recently, E. A. de Boer has suggested that Tertullian may not have known this epistle until late in his life.²²⁴ The other reason for his relative neglect of it compared to the Pauline and Catholic Epistles may be that he did not see Hebrews as authoritative as those others. This can be seen in his comparison of the letter to the Shepherd of Hermas in *De pud.* 20.3. Hebrews is better or more received by the churches than Hermas (*receptior apud ecclesias*) but perhaps only slightly more with the comparison to the letter which belongs to adulterers (*illo apocrypho Pastore moechorum*). It is clear that Hebrews was secondary to the clear authority of the apostolic letters from *De pud.* 20.1. After arguing from the epistles he considered Pauline and then from those of John, Tertullian introduces this chapter dealing with arguments from Hebrews.²²⁵

Tertullian alone renders the Greek aorist active participial phrase ἀφέντες τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς ... λόγον as *omissis omnibus initiis*, a perfect passive participial phrase meaning “laying aside all beginnings”.²²⁶ Characteristically, he simplifies the reference by gathering the list of *initia* from verses 1–2 with the phrase *omnibus initiis*. He renders the present passive subjunctive φερώμεθα as the infinitive *tendere*, because of the way he has inserted the reference into the syntax of its polemical context. Tertullian alone renders ἀπὸ νεκρῶν ἔργων as *ab operibus mortuorum*. The

²²³ Hermann Josef Frede, ed., *Epistulae ad Thessalonicenses, Timotheum, Titum, Philemonem, Hebraeos*, Vetus Latina: Die Reste der Altlateinischen Bibel, 25.2 (Freiburg: Herder, 1975), 1259.

²²⁴ E. A. de Boer, “Tertullian on ‘Barnabas’ Letter to the Hebrews” in *De Pudicitia* 20.1–5,” *Vigiliae Christianae* 68, no. 3 (July 2, 2014): 243–63, esp. 245–47.

²²⁵ *Disciplina igitur apostolorum propie quidem instruit ac determinat principaliter ... volo tamen ex redundanti alicuius etiam comitis apostolorum testimonio superducere, idoneum confirmandi de proximo iure disciplinam magistrorum.* (TE pud 20.1)

²²⁶ This participle with the dative / ablative takes this meaning according to Lewis and Short’s translation of a similar phrase in Caesar: *omnibus omissis his rebus*, “laying aside all those things” (Caesar, *Belli Gallici* 7.34.1). Charlton Thomas Lewis and Charles Short, eds., *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 1264.

rest of the Latin tradition translates the phrase as *ab operibus mortuis*, understanding νεκρῶν as an adjective modifying ἔργων. Both are valid translations of the Greek.

Hebrews 6:4–8

impossibile est enim, inquit, eos qui semel inluminati sunt et donum caeleste gustauerunt et participauerunt Spiritum sanctum [et participauerunt usq. gustauerunt C; om. B Gel. (per homoiotel. Dekkers)] et uerbum Dei dulce gustauerunt, occidente iam aevo; cum exciderint, rursus reuocari [renouari Lat] in paenitentiam, refigentes cruci in semetipsos filium Dei et dedecorantes terra enim quae bibit saepius deuenientem in se humorem et peperit herbam aptam his propter quos et colitur, benedictionem Dei consequitur proferens autem spinas reproba et maledictioni proxima, cuius finis in exustionem hoc qui ab apostolis didicit et cum apostolis docuit, numquam moecho et fornicatori secundam paenitentiam promissam ab apostolis norat (TE pud 20.3)

This block quote suggests that Tertullian was copying from a text in front of him rather than briefer references which may be attributed to memory. Much of 6:4 is similar to the Latin tradition. One clear place where he differs is his rendering of the Greek participial phrase μετόχους γενηθέντας. Most Latin witnesses translate this literally as *participes sunt facti*, but Tertullian uses his characteristically economical style of shortening and renders the phrase as *participauerunt*. However, this shortening also made an active verb out of a passive construction. Further, Tertullian puts πνεύματος ἁγίου into accusative unlike the rest of the Latin tradition which keeps the genitive case. Dekkers explained the omission on the part of B and Gel. as homoioteleuton because of the identical endings of *participauerunt* and *gustauerunt*.²²⁷ Tertullian's version of 6:5 also has differences from the Latin tradition. No other witness has the accusative neuter adjective *dulce* for καλόν, others opting instead for the simpler *bonum*.

The rendering *occidente iam aevo* is also unique to Tertullian and difficult to explain textually. Schäfer explained it by suggesting that a row of letters may have been passed over

²²⁷ CCSL 2: 1324.

(whether by Tertullian himself or the scribe of his Greek copy of Hebrews): ΔΥΝΑ[ΜΕΙΣ ΤΕ ΜΕΛΛΟ]ΝΤΟΣ ΑΙΩΝΟΣ.²²⁸ Schäfer's suggestion was that the material in brackets had dropped out leaving ΔΥΝΑΝΤΟΣ ΑΙΩΝΟΣ. Because δύναντος is not a standard form of the present active participle masculine singular genitive, a slight revision is in order. Moving the brackets thus, ΔΥΝ[ΑΜΕΙΣ ΤΕ ΜΕΛΛ]ΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΙΩΝΟΣ, would produce δύνοντος αἰῶνος. This is the same form of the participle of δύνω as found in Luke 4:40: δύνοντος δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου as the common way of referring to the "setting sun". If Tertullian saw δύνοντος αἰῶνος it is clear why he rendered the ending of Heb 6:5 as *occidente iam aevo*. This is further evidence that Tertullian is rendering from the Greek rather than copying a Latin text since no other Latin witness has this error.

Rather than the other, rather wooden renderings of the participle παραπεσόντας in Latin tradition (*prolapsi sunt* or *lapsos*), Tertullian supplies a temporal conjunction (*cum*) plus subjunctive (*exciderint*). The rendering *reuocari* for ἀνακαίνιζειν is likewise unique among Latin witnesses (the variant reading *renouari* seems most likely to be a correction toward the Vulgate). It seems that Tertullian's idiosyncratic rendering may come about less as a close translation of ἀνακαίνιζειν (like the calqued translation *renouari*) and instead be an approximation of the meaning of the word using a preferred phrase. In a number of places earlier in *De pud.*, Tertullian uses the lexeme *reuocare* for calling a sinner back to the Christian faith.²²⁹ Yet another unique translation is Tertullian's *dedecorantes* for παραδειγματίζοντας. The word *dedecorare* is

²²⁸ Karl Theodor Schäfer, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der lateinischen Übersetzung des Hebräerbriefs.*, Römische Quartalschrift für Christliche Altertumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte; 23. Supplementheft (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1929), 99.

²²⁹ TE pud 7.6, 16, 17; 15.9; 22.12.

not often used throughout Latin literature, but it is attested twice in Apuleius' *Apologia* and twice in Fronto's epistles meaning to dishonor or shame someone.²³⁰

5.2.16 James

Earlier in Chapter 3, a number of scholars were marshalled to suggest that Tertullian did not definitively reference James. Walter Thiele argues similarly concerning Tertullian's text of James in the introductory pages of his *Vetus Latina* edition.²³¹ The appendix assigns each potential reference as either reference not found (RNF) or possible reference (PR) and for those gives the more likely other reference in the "parallels" column.

5.2.17 1 Peter

In his *Vetus Latina* edition, Thiele says that Tertullian's citations of the Catholic Epistles do not play nearly as important a role as his Pauline citations which were important for his confrontation with Marcion.²³² He says further, "Im Wortschatz und im Verhältnis zum griechischen Text nimmt Tertullian eine Sonderstellung ein. Bestimmte Formulierungen verraten Bekanntschaft mit dem Text **K**, andere gehen mit dem Text **T**."²³³ In taking all of his many citations of 1 Peter together, they look for Thiele like those of 1 John, that is, independent translations from the Greek.

²³⁰ Apuleius, *Apologia* 15, 100; Fronto, *Epistularium*, 2.7.13, 2.7.15.

²³¹ "Tertullian bietet ebenfalls nichts, was als sicheres Zitat in Anspruch genommen werden könnte. Seine zu 1,13; 2,1.23; 4,10; 5,16–17 genannten Texte sind ganz allgemein." Walter Thiele, ed., *Epistulae Catholicae*, *Vetus Latina*: die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel, 26/1 (Freiburg: Herder, 1956), 58*.

²³² Thiele, *Epistulae Catholicae*, 67*.

²³³ Ibid.

1 Peter 2:20–21

Petrus quidem ad Ponticos, quanta enim inquit [inquit om. A], gloria, si non delinquentes ut [delinquentes ut: Reifferscheid et Wissowa; ut delinquentes: A B; si <ut delinquentes et colaphizati sustinetis? Sed si> non ut delinquentes punimini et sustinetis, haec gratia: Harnackius] puniamini sustinetis? Haec enim gratia est, in hoc et uocati estis, quoniam et Christus passus est pro nobis, reliquens uobis exemplum semetipsum, uti adsequamini uestigia ipsius (TE sco 12.2)

Tertullian paraphrases here. Tertullian is unique in rendering ποῖον as *quanta*, the rest of the Latin tradition preferring the simpler translation *quae*. Tertullian combines the two conditional clauses of 2:20 into his own unique version. The conjectural emendation by Harnack attempts to understand what Latin text Tertullian might have read.²³⁴ Given Tertullian's citational practices, this is not a fruitful approach, especially because Tertullian gives no evidence for including *colaphizati* in his text. Tertullian's characteristic economy and shortening is again evident here. What can be said about Tertullian's text is that he is alone in translating ἀμαρτάνοντες as *delinquentes* instead of *peccantes*. Tertullian is also alone in attesting the present passive subjunctive *puniamini* instead of the present passive indicative *punimini* which is present in the rest of the Latin witnesses, except perhaps in Ambrose.²³⁵ Tertullian's rendering *Christus passus est pro nobis, reliquens uobis exemplum semetipsum* gives evidence that he read the pronouns ἡμῶν and ὑμῖν in that order, along with the Greek manuscripts 025 (P), 33, 307, 436, and the Byzantine tradition, along with the Latin tradition. Tertullian alone has the reflexive pronoun *semetipsum*.

²³⁴ I have not been able to locate any of Harnack's commentary on this conjectural emendation. Reifferscheid and Wissowa thank Harnack for his conjectural emendations in their earlier CSEL edition of *Scorpiace*: denique non mediocriter adiuti sumus Adolphi Harnack Berolinensis beneficio qui plagulis perlectis adnotationes quasdam suas et coniecturas comiter nobiscum communicauit. August Reifferscheid and George Wissowa, eds., *Quinti Septimi Florentis Tertulliani opera*, vol. 1, CSEL 20 (F. Tempsky, 1890), vi.

²³⁵ Thiele, *Epistulae Catholicae*, 115–16.

1 Peter 3:20–21

ubi ecclesia est arcae figura [arcae figura; arche figura T; arca figurata B]. Sed mundus rursus delinquit [delinquit B], quo male [male B; mage T (sed ge in rasura ab alia manu)] comparetur baptismum diluio (TE ba 8.4)

This clear reference to 1Pt 3:20–21 is not a block quote and is more likely to stem from Tertullian’s memory instead of a text in front of him. Following again the advice of Borleffs to privilege the reading of T over B here, it seems that Tertullian calls the ark a *figura*.²³⁶ This is a rendering of 3:21’s ἀντίτυπον. The rest of the Latin tradition prefers the translation *similiter* or *simili forma*.

1 Peter 4:12

*et rursus: dilecti, ne expauescatis*²³⁷ [*dilecti, ne epauescatis: Reifferscheid et Wissowa; dilectione expauescatis B*] *ustionem, quae agitur in uobis in temptationem, quasi nouum accidat* (TE sco 12.3)

This extended reference is a block quote following directly after the reference to 2:20–21 discussed above. The *et rursus* recalls the introductory information on the author and audience and again points toward the use of a copy of 1Pt in front of him rather than a paraphrased or memorized text. Tertullian alone has *dilecti* instead of *carissimi* for ἀγαπητοί. Likewise, he alone renders μὴ ξενίζεσθε with the jussive subjunctive *ne expauescatis*. Tertullian shortens the phrase τῇ ἐν ὑμῖν πυρώσει πρὸς πειρασμὸν ὑμῖν γινομένη by omitting ἐν ὑμῖν and rendering it more simply as *ustionem quae agitur in uobis in temptationem*. His use of *ustionem* is unique. His use of the present active subjunctive *accidat* to translate the present active participle συμβαίνοντος is likewise unique, though the Latin tradition also uses the present active subjunctive form *contingat*.

²³⁶ Borleffs, “Observationes criticae ad Tertulliani Ad nationes libros,” 200.

²³⁷ The Reifferscheid and Wissowa text of CCSL (*epauescatis*) is wrong here. I checked Agobardinus (<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b85722380/f148.item.r=1622+tertullianus>) and confirmed *expauescatis*.

5.2.18 2 Peter

As Thiele notes, Tertullian does not reference this letter.²³⁸ The appendix classifies each potential reference as either RNF or PR, often giving the more likely reference in the “parallel” column.

5.2.19 1 John

1 John 1:1

recita Johannis testationem, quod uidimus, inquit, quod audiuiimus, oculis nostris uidimus, et manus nostrae contrectauerunt de sermone uitae (TE an 17.14)

quod uidimus, inquit Iohannes, quod audiuiimus, oculis nostris uidimus et manus nostrae contrectauerunt de sermone uitae (TE Pra 15.5)

Tertullian attests a unique rendering of the Greek’s ὁ ἀκηκόαμεν, ὁ ἐώρακάμεν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν, ὁ ἐθεασάμεθα καὶ αἱ χεῖρες ἡμῶν ἐψηλάφησαν (which is universally attested). He switches the order of the first two verbs (*uidimus* then *audiuiimus*) and then renders the third verb in the same way (*uidimus*) as the first “seeing” verb. Further instead of pairing the dative of means τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς with the second verb (ἐώρακάμεν), his switching the order of the first two verbs forces him to pair the dative of means construction with the third verb (ἐθεασάμεθα). He is uncharacteristically consistent in this rendering in two different works. Some Latin witnesses switch the order of the first two verbs like Tertullian, but they diverge from him in their translation thereafter.²³⁹ Sometimes Jerome switches the order of the first two verbs like Tertullian but then leaves out the τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν, ὁ ἐθεασάμεθα altogether.²⁴⁰ At other times, Jerome switches the order of the first two verbs but nevertheless offers a different

²³⁸ Thiele, *Epistulae Catholicae*, 73*.

²³⁹ Thiele, *Epistulae Catholicae*, 245.

²⁴⁰ *quod uidimus inquit quod audiuiimus quod manus nostrae palpauerunt* (HI h2 512.175); *quod uidimus inquit quod audiuiimus quod manus nostrae palpauerunt* (HI h2 513.196).

rendering of the third verb, unlike Tertullian who renders both as *uidimus*.²⁴¹ Once Jerome attests a similar rendering to Tertullian's with only one exception in the way he renders the fourth verb (ἐψηλάφησαν).²⁴² Jerome consistently renders the fourth verb as *palpauerunt* rather than Tertullian's *contrectauerunt*. Perhaps because of the poetic nature of the original Greek, Latin authors struggled to discern to which verb τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς should be connected and thus were motivated to give what they may have seen as a more balanced rendering.

1 John 3:3

sed et Ioannes monens sic nos incedere debere quemadmodum et Dominus...adeo manifestius, et [et; ut V L] omnis, inquit, qui [qui; quae V L] spem istam in illo [illo; ullo V L] habet, castificat se, sicut et ipse castus est. nam et alibi, estote sancti, sicut et ille sanctus fuit (TE mon 3.7)

Here Tertullian references 1Jo 3:3 and then directly after that with *nam et alibi* references most likely 1Pt 1:15. The Vulgate translates the main verb of 1Jo 3:3 (ἀγνίζει) as *sanctificat* and the main word in 1Pt 1:15 (ἅγιον) with the same lexical root *sanctum*. Though they are synonyms Tertullian offers unique renderings in each (*castificat* and *sancti*, respectively). Tertullian's differentiation of these two words is similar to those witnesses of the Latin tradition which Thiele groups under the siglum "T" (VL 67, VL 55, Jerome, Augustine, and Epiphanius Scholasticus).²⁴³ Tertullian's word order and other verbal renderings differ from this group. Tertullian puts *habet* at the end of the relative clause (*qui spem istam in illo habet*), whereas all other Latin witnesses including those of the T group, retain the word order (*qui habet*) of the Greek (ὁ ἔχων).²⁴⁴

²⁴¹ *quod uidimus quod audiuius quod oculis nostris perspeximus et manus nostrae palpauere* (HI Mt4 184B).

²⁴² *quod uidimus et audiuius (+ uidimus 3 mss.) oculis nostris et manus nostrae palpauerunt* (HI Am 1 991D).

²⁴³ Thiele, *Epistulae Catholicae*, 304.

²⁴⁴ Thiele, *Epistulae Catholicae*, 303.

1 John 4:18

timor, inquit, non est in dilectione. Sed enim perfecta dilectio foras mittit timorem, quia timor supplicamentum habet utique ignem stagni qui autem timet, non est perfectus in dilectione, Dei scilicet (TE fu 9.3)

at qui pati non timet, iste erit perfectus [erit perfectus N Ma.; perfectus erit rell.] in dilectione, utique Dei. Perfecta enim dilectio foras mittit timorem (TE fu 14.2)

hortatur negans timorem esse in dilectione. Perfecta enim dilectio foras abicit timorem, quoniam timor poenam habet, et qui timet non est perfectus in dilectione (TE sco 12.4)

From all three of these references in two different works it is clear that Tertullian prefers *dilectio* to *caritas* for ἀγάπη in 1Jo 4:18. Other writers also prefer *dilectio* over *caritas*, but all of these differ from Tertullian's text in other ways.²⁴⁵ Tertullian's rendering *abicit* for βάλλει in *Scorpiace* is unique to him. His other renderings of *mittit* for the same word in *De fuga* are much preferred in the Latin tradition. This inconsistency in word choice in his translations of the same verse is similar to the ways he has rendered passages from other biblical books.

5.2.20 2 & 3 John

There are no references to these books in Tertullian's works. Frisius' recent study came to the same conclusion.²⁴⁶ Thiele says that the Latin version of 2 John was only first cited in the report of the Carthaginian Synod of 1 September 256.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁵ Thiele, *Epistulae Catholicae*, 349.

²⁴⁶ Frisius, *Tertullian's Use of the Pastoral Epistles, Hebrews, James, 1 and 2 Peter, and Jude*, 10–20.

²⁴⁷ Thiele, *Epistulae Catholicae*, 87*.

5.2.21 Jude

There is one clear reference to this letter at *De cultu fem.* 1.3.3, but it is not helpful for commenting on Tertullian's text of the epistle. The other possible reference at *Ad ux.* 1.1.2 may be reference to a common liturgical benediction. Thiele argued similarly.²⁴⁸

5.2.22 Apocalypse

Apocalypse 1:8

interim hic mihi promptum sit responsum aduersus id quod et de Apocalypsi Iohannis proferunt: Ego Dominus, qui est et qui fuit et qui uenit, omnipotens, et sicubi alibi Dei omnipotentis appellationem non putant etiam Filio conuenire: quasi qui uenturus sit omnipotentis Filius, non sit omnipotens cum et Filius omnipotentis tam omnipotens sit Dei Filius, quam Deus Dei Filius (TE Pra17.4)

sic et duas Graeciae litteras, summam et ultimam, [litteras, summam et ultimam V L; summas litteras et ultimas N; summa littera et ultima X Rh] sibi induit Dominus, initii et finis concurrentium in se figuras, uit quemadmodum A ad [ad Gel; et cet] Ω usque uoluitur et rursus Ω ad A replicatur, ita ostenderet in se esse et initii decursum ad finem et finis recursum ad initium (TE mon 5.2)

sed et si initium transmittit ad finem, ut A ad Ω [ut A ad Ω Gel; ut A et Ω Nun; ut Alpha et Ω X Rh], quomodo finis remittit ad initium, ut Ω ad A [ut Ω ad A Gel; om. Cet.] (TE mon 5.5)

In his most straightforward reference to this verse (*Ego Dominus, qui est et qui fuit et qui uenit, omnipotens*) at *Aduersus Praxean* 17.4, there is an omission of the verb εἰμι, the Greek letters, and no evidence of θεός, rendering κύριος ὁ θεός simply as *Dominus*. This may be characteristic shortening, although the introduction to the reference may indicate that this is his opponents' rendering (*proferunt*) of the verse. The choice of the perfect *fuit* rather than the imperfect *erat* is rare among Latin witnesses and only elsewhere attested by Quodvultdeus,

²⁴⁸ "Die im Zeugenapparat stehende Anspielung Tertullians auf Jud 14–15 sagt über den Wortlaut des Textes nichts aus; die Anspielung auf Jud 25 ist unsicher." Thiele, *Epistulae Catholicae*, 92*.

Pseudo-Vigilius, and Cerealis.²⁴⁹ The initial rendering of ἐρχόμενος as *uenit* is atypical of the Latin tradition, except for Codex Ardmachanus (D) which also attests *uenit*.²⁵⁰ Later, though, in his discussion Tertullian uses *uenturus* and greatly emphasizes that *omnipotens* and *Filius Dei* is also *Deus*. It appears that Tertullian is taking issue with his opponents' version of this text and discussing their unique rendering of Apc 1:8. Tertullian's own rendering must then be something like *Ego Dominus Deus, qui est et qui fuit et qui uenturus, omnipotens*.

In his references to this verse in *De monogamia*, Tertullian shows evidence of the Greek letters which he omitted in the earlier reference and even signals that he understands their use as *Graeciae litteras*. He consistently attests *initium* and *finis* rather than the Vulgate's *principium* and *finis*, although it is not clear whether Tertullian actually had these in his text or whether they are merely his explanations of the Greek letters. It seems that he is glossing the Greek letters and describing their meaning when he writes *initii et finis concurrentium in se figuras*.

Apocalypse 2:7

exinde uictoribus quibusque [uictoribus quibusque; uictorib: qu A; uictori cuique B Oehlerus; quibusque A hauisse intellexit] promittit nunc arborem uitae (TE sco 12.8)

edere de ligno uitae corporalis dispositionis fidelissima indicia sunt (TE res 35.13)

These are both references to Apc 2:7. Though there are other “tree of life” references in Apc 22:2, 14, and 19, only at 2:7 is there discussion of *uictori* and the action *edere*. This means that Tertullian renders ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς in two different ways, first as *arborem uitae* and second

²⁴⁹ Gryson, *Apocalypsis Johannis*, 124.

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

as *ligno uitae*. The tree is regularly a *lignum* in most of the Latin tradition. Only Tertullian also has *arbor*.

Apocalypse 2:14–15

Iohannes uero [uero om. L F] in [in om. R3 B] Apocalypsi idolothyta [idolothyta; adolothica N L F] edentes et stupra committentes iubetur castigare, sunt et nunc alii Nicolaitae, Caina haeresis dicitur (TE hae 33.10)

This is a reference to 2:14–15 rather than 2:20 because of the reference to the *Nicolaitae* immediately after *idolothyta edentes et stupra committentes*. Only Tertullian has the borrowing *idolothyta* here (the nonsense reading *adolothica* may stem from Tertullian's original use of Greek letters here which would make this an instance of code-switching).²⁵¹ There are, however, uses of *idolothyta* by the Latin tradition in other places.²⁵² Other Latin translations either separate εἰδωλόθυστα into two parts and render it as *sacrificio idolorum* or *immolata idolis* or simplify it as *de sacrificiis* or the more enigmatic *delibata*.²⁵³ This is another reference which presents solid evidence that Tertullian is translating directly from a Greek version of NT documents.

Apocalypse 6:2

accipit et angelus uictoriae coronam procedens in candido equo, ut uinceret (TE cor 15.1)

The question in this reference concerns the color of the horse. The Latin tradition unanimously renders ἵππος λευκός as *equus albus*. Tertullian is alone in attesting a rider on the brighter, whiter *candido equo*.

²⁵¹ For more on code-switching, cf. Chapter 2.5.4. There is another instance of code-switching at *De praescriptione haereticorum* 30.6. The copyists of witnesses that attest *adolothica* struggle with and create nonsense readings there as well.

²⁵² Cf. 1Cor 8:7, 8:10 and Rev. 2:20.

²⁵³ Gryson, *Apocalypsis Johannis*, 177.

Apocalypse 6:4

nam et Apocalypsis...russeo [russeo Gel; roseo B (cfr De spect. 9.5)] autem praeliatorem imposuit (TE pud 20.10)

Here again, Tertullian is unique in his rendering of ἵππος πυρρός. Most of the Latin tradition describes the horse's color as *rufus* or *rubeus* or *roseus* (Dekkers demonstrates based on a listing of horse colors in *De spect.* 9.5 that the scribe of codex B regularly changed the color *russeus* to *roseus*). Tertullian's *russeo* is only attested elsewhere attested by Jerome.²⁵⁴

Apocalypse 20:2–3

prius in puteum abyssi relegatus [relegatus X R2; religatus αγ; uindicat Iun] (TE Her 11.3)

atque ita diabolo in abyssum interim relegato [relegato Eng; religato T M P X] primae [primae; primi X] resurrectionis (TE res 25.2)

Tertullian twice says that *diabolus* was *relegatus* into the abyss. Although neither of these references are extended quotations nor do they show evidence of the presence of a text before him, these two references still attest how Tertullian referenced Apc 20:2–3. His rendering of ἔβαλεν seems to be *relegatus*. All other Latin witnesses attest *misit*.

Apocalypse 21:7

denique eadem Apocalypsis in posterioribus ... qui uicerint, hereditate habebunt ista [hereditate habebunt ista C prob. Gomperz; hereditatem istam B], et ero illis Deus, et illi mihi in filios (TE pud 19.8)

This chapter of *De pudicitia* is filled with references to the Apocalypse. Early in the chapter he references Apc 2. It seems that he has the text directly in front of him because he introduces a number of references toward the end of the Apocalypse with the words *denique eadem Apocalypsis in posterioribus*. Tertullian renders the present active singular participle

²⁵⁴ HI Apc 6.2. Gryson, *Apocalypsis Johannis*, 302.

νικῶν and the future active indicative third singular verb κληρονομήσει both as future active indicative third plural verbs, *uicerint* and *habebunt*, respectively. The Latin tradition renders νικῶν either as a present indicative third singular, *uincit*, or as a future perfect indicative third singular, *uicerit*.²⁵⁵ Only Tertullian renders κληρονομήσει with two words, *hereditate habebunt*, whereas the rest of the Latin tradition unanimously attests *possidebit*. He is consistent in carrying the plural throughout the rest of the verse, uniquely attesting *illis* and *illi*, when the rest of the Latin tradition keeps these pronouns in the singular.

5.3 Conclusion

Tertullian was a creative translator.²⁵⁶ This chapter has examined Tertullian's references to the New Testament writings outside the Gospels. Knowledge from Chapter 4 concerning the scribal habits of the copyists of Tertullian's works helped to resolve textual dilemmas in Tertullian's corpus.²⁵⁷ Several references demonstrated Tertullian's lack of consistency in rendering passages suggesting that he did not have a single Latin source for his NT references.²⁵⁸ These references demonstrated Tertullian's ambitions to be a literary translator through his use of *uariatio*. Tertullian's references were then compared to extant Greek and Latin witnesses (both biblical manuscripts as well as early Christian writers) using critical sources. The evidence consistently presented evidence to support the theory that Tertullian was working from a Greek NT and translating independently and anew in each work. It was suggested in a few places that later Latin Christian writers may have been dependent on Tertullian's textual renderings because

²⁵⁵ Ibid., 711.

²⁵⁶ The term "creative translator" is borrowed from a previous study of another Christian writer and translator. Heinz Bluhm, *Martin Luther, Creative Translator* (St. Louis: Concordia Pub. House, 1965). Tertullian has been deemed creative elsewhere. Barnes declared, "Tertullian was a creative writer." Barnes, *Tertullian* (1971), 219. Osborn concluded "Tertullian, more than Augustine, is the innovator." Osborn, *Tertullian, First Theologian of the West*, 255.

²⁵⁷ Cf. Acts 1:3; 1Cor 9:22; 10:19–20; 1Pt 3:20–21.

²⁵⁸ Cf. Rm 6:4–5; 12:15; 1Cor 1:20; 6:18; 9:22; Gal 5:1; 1Th 4:3; 1Jn 4:18.

of unique readings.²⁵⁹ There were a few places where Tertullian explicitly alleged textual variation and attributed it to his polemical opponents.²⁶⁰ Further, a number of previously examined but unresolved textual dilemmas among Tertullian's references were explained through a rigorous grammatical and text critical examination.

Finally, two major theories concerning Tertullian's text were revised in the course of this chapter. The long-debated problem of two syllables in 1Cor 7:39 was discussed and previous attempted solutions were explored. A possible solution was attempted from textual variation between D and that of F and G. These variants did not solve the puzzle. A second attempt suggested that Tertullian was aware that some were inserting *eius* into the text, even though it was not in the *authentico Graeco*. Zuntz argued that Tertullian's text was sufficiently different from that of D, F, and G that it constituted a different witness to the Western text.²⁶¹ Several references provided evidence that this thesis needs to be revised.²⁶² Tertullian's text regularly aligns with Codex D and against F and G when the original scribe of D presented singular readings. This suggests that Tertullian's readings which match Codex D are very early.

²⁵⁹ For references where Jerome's text coincides with Tertullian's, cf. 2Cor 5:4; Gal 2:14; 1Tm 3:1; 1Jn 1:1; Apc 6:4. For references where Ambrosiaster's text coincides, cf. 2Cor 11:14; Gal 1:6; Eph 1:9–10; 1Th 9–10.

²⁶⁰ Cf. 1Cor 7:39; 1Tm 1:20; Apc 1:8.

²⁶¹ Cf. 5.2.2.

²⁶² Cf. Rom 6:4–5; 1 Cor 5:6; 1 Cor 7:39; Gal 5:1; Phil 1:23; 1Tim 1:17.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

6.1 Summary

One of the challenges of studying Tertullian's references to the New Testament is the matter of identifying and classifying them. Chapter One drew on the work of other scholars' use of a new system for classifying biblical quotations. In the recent past, research on the biblical text of early Christian writers had primarily relied on the classifications of citation, adaptation, and allusion. Instead, Chapter Five employed the newer methodology of reference, possible reference, and reference not found. Many of Tertullian's references and even potential references would not have been included based on the traditional classification of textual criticism. Nevertheless, several of these references were useful in establishing Tertullian's text of the NT and his citation practices.

This reference system was also used in bringing together several different indices which listed Tertullian's references along with older studies of Tertullian's text which also contained such lists. Information was gathered from the BIBLINDEX project, the Vetus Latina Database, the ITSEE database, the printed indices in the *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* critical edition, commentaries on Tertullian's works, and Rösner's study of Tertullian's text. All of this information resulted in 3,340 individual entries in the spreadsheet described in the appendix. Never before had all this information been brought together in one resource. The classification of most of these references into one of three categories helped to consolidate the list of potential references to include in the textual commentary of Chapter Five.

In Chapter Two, it was argued that Tertullian belonged to a "new elite" social status as a North African Christian. He thus used the cultural and literary practices of the Second Sophistic

and its adherents (especially Cicero, Quintilian, and Apuleius). This movement encouraged Romans to become fluent in Greek so as to use it in fully appreciating the cultural heritage of Hellenistic civilization. Adherents to the Second Sophistic were active in translation and code-switching as they negotiated bilingualism. Further, a particular literary approach to translation was shown to value *uariatio* and style over wooden or literal renderings. Chapter Three argued that Tertullian employed these practices in his general use and discussion of the Bible. His citation, translation, interpretation and use of the Bible as a material object were shown to bear the distinct mark of the Second Sophistic. Chapter Five argued that these same literary practices could be seen in Tertullian's textual references to NT passages throughout his works.

Chapter Four presented a timeline of Tertullian's literary career and discussed the use of the NT works outside the Gospels in each of his works. It was important to be clear on the dating of Tertullian's works, the manuscript tradition of each of these works themselves, and the way they used the biblical text before comparing Tertullian's biblical references to the Greek and Latin NT's own manuscript tradition. Charts and tables at the end of this chapter demonstrated how Tertullian's biblical references were spread out over the course of his literary career.

These charts led to a particularly surprising conclusion. Tertullian referenced the Bible and the NT in particular more during his so-called Montanist phase than he did at any point earlier in his life. Some had argued in the past that Montanists had a low regard for the Bible and relied much more heavily on mystical experience and ongoing revelation. The quantitative study of Tertullian's references across time demonstrated that in fact he only quoted the Bible more and more throughout his life.

Chapter Five, as the longest chapter of the dissertation, developed several important conclusions. It was seen that though Tertullian was aware of very early Latin translations of the

NT, he nevertheless did not make use of them. Instead as a literary translator, taught by the example of Cicero, Quintilian, Varro, and Apuleius, Tertullian rendered the NT references from his own Greek copy of the Scriptures. Although Tertullian could not be shown to have used all the books of the standard 27 book NT, examples were given of biblical references to most NT books outside the Gospels in which Tertullian could be seen to be translating ad hoc from the Greek.

Though early scholars pronounced Tertullian's NT references too wild for the use of textual criticism, several examples were given in Chapter Five which demonstrated that Tertullian's Greek NT had a certain affiliation with the original hand of Greek Codex Claromontanus (D). This recognition helps to isolate Tertullian's textual witness as a very early testimony to the text of the NT.

6.2 Avenues for Further Research

In the last three decades, there has been a proliferation of text critical studies particularly of early Christian writers. Greek authors have been studied more than Latin ones, but it is hoped that such scholarly activity will continue to increase. Online databases and international projects have contributed to a new generation of textual criticism and the study of the use of the Bible in early Christianity. One desideratum is the further growth of databases. The results of my collection of Tertullian's references and their classification will be shared with the BIBLINDEX project. Lists of biblical references in early Christian writers deserve the work of classifying potential references into the categories of reference, possible reference, and reference not found. Further, databases like that of ITSEE seek to include not only the reference but also the pertinent text and any variant readings. As study of the early Latin NT grows, such full text databases will be helpful to compare the textual witness of Tertullian to other early Christian authors.

Further study of Tertullian's textual references to the Gospels will be important. This is particularly challenging work because it involves clarification on two fronts. On the one hand, it is not always clear which of the Synoptics Tertullian was referencing. Scholars also continue to debate how Tertullian's text related to that of Marcion. Tertullian's use of the Old Testament is also still without an exhaustive study. It is hoped that this study has laid the groundwork for such explorations.

Throughout this dissertation, a number of intriguing examples of later Christians' potential use of Tertullian's text have been highlighted. Literary critical scholars of earliest Christianity have begun to explore the network nature of early Christianity based on the shared use of the Bible. Careful study of NT textual variants can contribute to the study of the early Christian network. Whether and how Latin Irenaeus, Cyprian, Ambrosiaster, Augustine, Jerome, and others relate to Tertullian's text of the NT might provide a fascinating look into the literary, theological, and social use of the Bible in early Christianity.

APPENDIX

The potential references were collected into a spreadsheet and database as a first step in this dissertation. The spreadsheet is downloadable here: <http://purl.org/itsee/haupt/spreadsheet>. Each book of the NT from Acts to the Apocalypse has its own sheet with labelled tabs at the bottom. Column A gives the title of Tertullian's work in which the potential reference is found. Column B presents the location in which the potential reference was originally located. The numbers in this column indicate those assigned by the Biblindex project. Since this spreadsheet began with information from the Biblindex project, any yellow highlight indicates changes to the original information provided. New entries which were not previously included in Biblindex have the location highlighted in Column B. Columns C, D, and E give the book, chapter, and paragraph numbers as assigned by the CCSL edition. Columns F and G give the CCSL page number and line where the reference begins. Columns H and I give the chapter and verse of the NT book being referenced. Column J presents the text of the reference. When a code such as 060103_TE_car_1 is given, this indicates that the text of the reference has been entered into the ITSEE database, accessible here: <http://www.itsee.birmingham.ac.uk/citations/citation/>.

The code should be explained. The first two numbers of the code represent the number 1–27 of the NT writings (in the example, 06 designates Romans). The next two numbers represent the chapter, and the following two give the verse (in the example, the reference is to Rom 1:3). The capital letters after the first underscore indicate the author. The letters after the next underscore indicate the author's work. The final number of the code is the number of references made to that Biblical chapter and verse in that work. In the case of the example 060103_TE_car_1, this is the first reference that Tertullian's *De carne Christi* makes to Rom 1:3.

Those cells in Column J which are highlighted in green are the references discussed in Chapter 5. Column K presents my classification of reference, possible reference, or reference not found. Column L gives any parallel passages. Sometimes when a judgment of possible reference is given, Column L lists the parallel passage which is another possible reference. In the case of reference not found, it is the more likely reference.

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