

Q. S. F. TERTULLIANI
ADVERSUS IUDAEOS

MIT EINLEITUNG UND KRITISCHEM KOMMENTAR

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON

HERMANN TRÄNKLE



FRANZ STEINER VERLAG GMBH · WIESBADEN

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est et tamquam agnus coram tondente se non apernit os suum. si neque contendit neque clamavit neque audita est foris vox eius, qui atundinem contusam, Israelis fidem, non comminuit, qui linum ardens, id est momentaneum ardorem gentium, non restinxit, sed lucere magis fecit ortu luminis sui, non potest alius esse quam qui praedicabatur. oportet itaque actum Christi eius qui venit ad scripturarum regulam , recognosci; duplice enim, nisi fallor, operatione distinctum cum legimus, praedicationis et virtutis.

Sed de utroque titulo sic (sit) dispositum, itaque specialiter dispungamus ordinem coepit docentes praedicatorem adnuntiatum Christum, ut per Iesalam: Exclama, inquit, in vigore et ne peperciris, exalta ut tuba vocem tuam et adnuntia plebi 10 meae facinora ipsorum et domini Jacob delicta eorum, me de die in diem querunt et cognoscere vias meas eripiunt, quasi populus qui iustitiam fecerit et iudicium dei non reliquerit et reliqua – virtutes autem facturum a patre: Ecce deus noster iudicium retribuet, ipse veniet et salvos faciet nos; tunc infirmi curabuntur et oculi caecorum videbunt et aures surdorum 15 audient et mutorum linguae solventur et claudus saliet velut cervus et cetera. quae operatum 20 Christum nec vos diffitemini, utpote qui dicebatis, quod non propter opera cum lapidaretis, sed quoniam ista sabbatis faciebat.

X. De exitu plane passionis eius ambigitis negantes passionem crucis in Christum praedicatam et argumentantes insuper non esse credendum, ut ad id genus mortis exposuerit deus filium suum, quod ipse dixit: Maledictus omnis qui pependerit 20 in ligno, sed huius maledictionis sensum antecedit rerum ratio, dicit enim in Deuteronomio: Si autem fuerit in aliquo delictum ad iudicium mortis et morietur et suspendetis in ligno, non manebit corpus eius in ligno, sed sepultura sepelietis eum ipsa die, quoniam maledictus a deo est omnis qui suspensus fuerit in ligno, et non inquinabitis terram quam 25 dominus deus tuus dabit tibi in sortem, igitur non in hanc passionem Christum maledixit, sed distinctionem fecit, ut, qui in aliquo delicto iudicium mortis habuisse et moreretur suspensus in ligno, hic maledictus a deo esset, qui propter merita delictorum 4 suorum suspenderetur in ligno, alioquin Christus qui dolum de ore suo locutus

1 cf. Es. 42, 2-4 10 Es. 58, 1-2 13 Es. 35, 4-6 17 cf. Ioh. 5, 16 20 Deut. 21, 23
22 Deut. 21, 22-23 28 cf. Es. 53, 9

1 tamquam quod sic Θ si Q sic Θ 4 restinxit T (cf. Pat. 3, 4) extinxit Θ (cf. Marc. 3, 17, 4 al.: *Vetus Lat. Es. 42, 3 [Cypr. Test. 2, 13] Vulgata*) lucere QT lucernam Θ esse τα om. β 6 distinctum eum legitim Θ est distinctum T praedicationis Θ operationis T 8 titulo QT populo Θ sit alldi* dispositum T (u in ras.) dispositum 9 esaiam QT esaiam dixit Θ 10 tuam et T (σου καὶ Septuaginta) tuam τα om. β 12 meas τα om. β reliquerit T dereliquerit Θ (*Vetus Lat. [Hier. in Es.] Vulgata*) 13 ecce Q esaias dicit ecce Θ esaias dicit T 14 infirmi Θ infirma T 15 solventur Θ resolventur T (cf. p. 20, 11; 22, 1) 16 non propter T propter Θ cum T eum non Θ 19 et Θ om. Q 20 dixit Θ dixerit T omnis QT omnis homo Θ pependerit QT pependit Θ 21 ratio Q probatio Θ (cf. Marc. 3, 18, 1) 22 delictum T (-ū in ras. supra -α) et delicto QT delicta X ad iudicium mortis Q ita ut iudicium mortis sit Θ* et morietur Θ (καὶ ἀποθάνη Septuaginta) morietur T (et erat)* 23 non (et non T) manebit corpus eius in ligno QT om. Θ sed QT sed et Θ eum Tβ om. α 24 et non – 27 in ligno om. Q 25 tibi τα om. β 26 qui T Rhen.³ om. Θ

non est quique omnem iustitiam et humilitatem exhibuit, et ut supra de eo praedictum memoravimus, non pro meritis suis in id genus mortis expositus est, sed ut ea quae praedicata sunt a prophetis per vos ei obvertura implerentur, sicut in psalmis ipse spiritus Christi iam canebat dicens: Retribuebant mihi mala pro bonis, et: 5 Quae non rapueram tunc excolvebam, et: Exterminaverunt manus meas et pedes, et: Miserunt in potum meum fel et in siti mea potaverunt me aceto, et: Super vestem meam miserunt sortem, sicuti cetera quae in illum commissuri essetis praedicta sunt. quae quidem omnia ipsa perpessus non pro actu suo aliquo malo passus est, sed ut scripturae implerentur de ore prophetarum. et utique sacramentum passionis ipsius figurari in praedicationibus oportuerat, quantoque incredibile, tanto magis scandalum futurum si nude praedicaretur, quantoque magnificentum, tanto magis obumbrandum, ut difficultas intellectus gratiam a deo quaereret.

Itaque imprimis Isaac, cum a patre hostia duceretur lignum[que] ipse sibi portans, Christi exitum iam tunc denotabat in victimam concessi a patre lignum 15 passionis suaे baulantis. Ioseph et ipse Christum figuratus vel hoc solo, ne cursum demoreret, quod persecutionem a fratribus passus est et venumdatus in Aegyptum ob dei gratiam, sicut et Christus ab Israele, carnaliter a fratribus venumdatus, a Iuda cum traditur, nam et benedicitur a patre in haec verba Ioseph: Tauri decor eius, cornua unicornis cornua eius; in eis nationes ventilabit pariter ad summum usque terrae. 20 non utique rhinoceros destinabatur unicornis nec minotaurus bicornis, sed Christus in illo significabatur, taurus ob utramque dispositionem, aliis ferus ut iudex aliis mansuetus ut salvator, cuius cornua essent crucis extima – nam et in antennae navis quae crucis pars est hoc extremitates eius vocantur –, unicornis autem medio stipite palus. hac denique virtute crucis et hoc more cornutus universas gentes et 25 nunc ventilat per fidem auferens a terra in caelum et tunc ventilabit per iudicium deiciens de caelo in terram. idem erit et alibi taurus apud eandem scripturam, cum

4 Ps. 34, 12 5 Ps. 68, 5 8 Ps. 21, 17 10 Ps. 68, 22 11 Ps. 21, 19 13 cf. Gen. 22, 6
16 cf. Gen. 37, 18 ss. 18 Deut. 33, 17

1 et ut Θ* praedictum Θ praedicta T 3 praedicta Θ praedicta T 4 canebat Θ clamabat T (clama in ras.) 5 et exterminaverunt T (et add. m. 2) exterminaverunt Θ 7 sicuti Θ sicuti et T (et add. m. 2) sunt quac Θ (ε T¹ in ras.; quid ante scriptum fuerit, cognosci non potest) 8 ipsa Q ista Θ iste T (-ε ex-a m. 2) actu suo aliquo malo Θ malo aliquo actu suo T 10 magis Θ maius T² si nude praedicaretur N sinu depraedicaretur P (corr. Rhen.) si non deprecaretur X si non precaretur F signum praedicaretur T 11 quantoque Tβ quanto α obumbrandum Θ subumbrandum T difficultas Θ difficultatem T (-tatem in ras.) 12 gratiam Θ gratia T a deo T (a add. m. 2) deo Θ 13 lignumque Tβ lignum quem α -que deleri* 14 victimam T victima Θ lignum Θ et lignum T (cf. Marc. 3, 18, 2) 15 ipse Θ T² ipsum T figuratus QβN figuratum P figuratum T (post t duea litterae erasae) figuravit Rhen.* 16 demorer T demorer ipse Θ venumdatus T venumdatus est Θ 17 Israele, carnaliter distinxī* carnaliter QT om. Θ venumdatus Θ (T primo litteram r incipiebat, sed postea s scripsit) 19 usque τα usque ad β 20 nec QT vel Θ 21 ut iudex Θ et iudex T 22 crucis QT om. Θ extima Pam. (cf. Marc. 3, 18, 3) aestimata Qθ extrema T* et in θ om. T 23 eius T huius Θ medio QT media Θ 25 a θ de T ventilabit per iudicium (-am β) Θ per iudicium ventilavit T 26 deiciens QT descendens Θ

Jacob in Simeonem et Levi porrexit benedictionem, de scribis et pharisaeis propheta⁹ tūt; ex illis enim deducitur census illorum, interpretatur enim spiritualiter sic: *Simeon et Levi perfecerunt iniuriam ex sua secta, qua scilicet Christum sunt persecuti; in concilium eorum ne veniat anima mea et in stationem eorum ne incubuerint viscera mea, quoniam in indignatione sua interfecerunt homines, id est prophetas, et in concupiscentia sua subnervaverunt taurum,* id est Christum quem post necem prophetarum interfecerunt et nervos eius suffigendo clavis desaevierunt. ceterum vanum, si post homicidia iam ab eis commissa talis et non ipsi exprobrat carnificinam. iam vero Moyses quid utique tunc tantum, cum Jesus adversus Amelech proelabatur, expansis manibus orabat residens, quando in rebus tam attonitis magis utique genibus positis et manibus caedentibus pectus et facie humi volutante orationem commendare debuisset, nisi quia illic, ubi nomen domini Iesu dicebat dimicaturi quandoque adversus diabolum, crucis habitus quoque erat necessarius, per quam Jesus victoriam esset relaturus? idem rursus Moyses post interdictam omnis rei similitudinem cur aereum serpentem ligno impositum pendentis habitu in spectaculum, Israeli salutare proposuit eo tempore quo a serpentibus post idolatriam exterminabantur, nisi quod hic dominicam crucem intentabat, qua serpens diabolus designabatur et laesus quisque ab eiusmodi colubris id est angelis eius a delictorum peccantia ad crucis istius sacramenta intentus salvus efficiebatur? nam qui in illam tunc respiciebat a morsu serpentium liberabatur.

11 Age nunc, si legisti penes prophetam in psalmis: *Dominus regnavit a ligno*, expecto quid intellegas, ne forte lignarium aliquem regem significari putetis et non Christum qui exinde a passione ligni superata morte regnavit, proinde et Esaias: *Quoniam puer, inquit, natus est vobis et datus est vobis filius*: quid novum, si non de filio dei dicit? – et datus est vobis cuius imperium [initium] factum est super humerum ipsius.

3 Gen. 49,5-6 9 cf. Ixod. 17,10ss. 14 cf. Num. 21,6ss. 21 Ps. 95,10 (ἅποδος ξύλου cod. Veron., Barnab, Iustin. al.) 23 Ies. 9,5

1 in simeonem QT cum simeone β simeon α porrexit Q porrigit T exporrigit θ (cf. p. 26,17)*
 3 ex θ (Ἑκ Septuaginta) in T 5 et in QT in θ 7 ceterum θ certe T 8 homicidia QT homocidium θ alii et non ipsi Θ alicuius bovis ipsi Pam. alicuius bovis illis et non Christi Krym. (cf. Marc. 3,18,5)* 9 tunc tantum T tantum tunc θ expansis QT extensis θ 11 et manibus ΤΡ et genibus et manibus β geminis et manibus N volutante P voluntate T (in post e erat) voluntatem β voluntate N voluntata Rben.^{1*} 12 ubi θ om. T domini QTβΝ θ, P dicebat QβΝ dicebatur P dimicabat Ι' (cf. Marc. 3,18,6) 13 habitus quoque θ quoque habitus T quam Θ quem Q* 15 aereum T (τινα ras.) βΝ acneum P 17 qua ει qua T quas β 18 laesus quisque scripti laeso cuique Θ (cf. Marc. 3,18,7)* id est θ om. T 19 crucis QT christi crucis Ρ christi crucem βΝ sacramenta Qθ sacramentum T intentus Qθ intento Rben.² salvis efficiebatur Qθ solvus T salus efficiebatur Rben.² (cf. Marc. 3,18,7)
 20 serpentum θ serpentis unus T (unus exp.) 21 legisti θ legistis T in psalmis θ om. T dominus P (κύριος Septuaginta; cf. I. 22; p. 29,1) deus QTβΝ 22 intellegas θ intellegatis T ne θ nisi T (cf. Marc. 3,19,1)* 23 passione Θ passionis Q* ligni QT christi θ et θ om. T 24 vobis QTαF nobis X Rben.¹ datus T Rben.¹ natus θ vobis QTαF nobis X Rben.¹ 25 datus TβΝ natus P vobis TαF nobis X Rben.¹ imperium initium Θ initium imperii Q initium del. Rben.² (ἢ ἀρχὴ Septuaginta) factum est Τα est factus β

quis omnino regum insigne potestatis suae humero praefert et non aut capite dia- 12 dema aut manu sceptrum aut taliqua proprietate usus novat? sed solus novus rex aevorum Christus Iesus novam gloriam et potestatem et sublimitatem suam in humero extulit, crucem scilicet, ut secundum superiorem prophetiam exinde dominus regnaret a ligno. de hoc enim ligno etiam deus per Hieremiam insinuat quod essetis dicturi: *Venite, immittamus in pane eius lignum et conteramus eum a terra vivorum et nomen illius non memorabitur amplius*. utique in corpus eius lignum missum est. sic enim Christus revelavit panem corpus suum appellans, cuius retro corpus in pane prophetes nuntiavit. si adhuc quaeris dominicae crucis praedicationes, satis 13 iam poterit tibi facere vicesimus primus psalmus totam Christi continens passionem canentis iam tunc gloriam suam: *Foderunt, inquit, manus meas et pedes, quae propria est atrocitas crucis. et rursus, cum auxilium patris implorat: Salvum me fac, inquit, ex ore leonis, utique mortis, et de cornibus unicorniorum humilitatem meam, de apicibus scilicet crucis, ut supra ostendimus. quam crucem nec ipse David passus 14 est nec ullus regum Iudeorum, ne putetis alterius alicuius prophetari passionem quam eius qui solus a populo tam insigniter crucifixus est.*

Nunc si omnes istas interpretationes respuerit et inriserit duritia cordis vestri, probabimus sufficere posse mortem Christi prophetatam, ut ex hoc quod non esset edicta qualis mors intellegatur per crucem evenisse nec alii deputandam fuisse 20 passionem crucis quam cuius mors praedicabatur. nam mortem eius et passionem et sepulturam una voce Esaiae volo ostendere: *A facinoribus, inquit, populi mei perductus est ad mortem et dabo malos pro sepultura eius et divites pro morte eius, quia scelus non fecit nec dolus in ore eius inventus est: et deus voluit eximere a morte animam eius et cetera.* dicit etiam adhuc: *Sepultura eius sublata est e medio*. nec sepultus enim est nisi mortuus nec sepultura eius sublata est e medio nisi per resurrectionem eius. denique subiungit: *Propterea ipse multos in hereditatem habebit et multorum dividet*

6 Hier. 11,19 8 cf. Ioh. 6,51 11 Ps. 21,17 12 Ps. 21,22 21 Ies. 53,8-10 24 Es. 57,2
 26 Es. 53,12

1 humero P humerum TβΝ capite Qθ in capite T (in s.l. add. m. 2) 2 manu Θ in manu Θ aliqua proprietate usus nova Qθ aliquam propriam vestis notam Pam. (cf. Marc. 3,19,2)* 3 aevorum Q saeculorum θ om. T 4 superiorem QT Pam. priorem α om. β 6 essetis Τα ceteris β immittamus Q (εὑθάλωμεν Septuaginta) mittamus Θ (Vetus Lat. [Cyprian Test. 2,1]; 20 Vulgata) pane QT panem θ (fortasse recte; εἰς τὸν ἄρπον Septuaginta)* 9 pane Q panem Θ queraris Τ quereres θ prædications θ prædicacionem Ι' 11 canentis α canenti β canens T 12 rursus Τα rursum β implorat QT imploraret θ me fac inquit θ inquit me fac T (me s.l. add. m. 2) 14 crucis QT christi crucis θ 15 alicuius QT om. θ 17 nunc θ nam T (-am in ras.) 18 istas interpretationes TβΝ interpretationes istas P probabimus Q probavimus Θ prophetatam ut θ non prophetarum vim T (non s.l. add. m. 2) 19 edicta Q edita Θ (cf. Marc. 3,19,7)* 20 deputandam TNX deputanda F deputandum P et passionem QT et passionem eius θ 21 esaiæ volo ostendere QT esaias dicit θ 22 est θ om. T et θ (καὶ Septuaginta) om. T 24 sublata TβΝ ablata P e Qθ (ἢ Septuaginta) de T nec sepultus enim est (est enim β') nisi mortuus nec sepultura eius sublata est (om. T) e (de T) medio nisi per resurrectionem eius (om. Tβ') QTβ' quomodo nisi per resurrectionem α 26 subiungit QT subiungit idem esaias θ

spolia – quis alias nisi qui †natus† est, ut supra ostendimus? – pro eo quod tradita est in mortem anima eius. ostensa enim causa gratiae eius, pro iniuria scilicet mortis repensandae, pariter ostensum est haec illum propter mortem consecuturum post mortem, utique post resurrectionem, consecuturum. nam quod in passione eius accidit, ut media dies tenebresceret, Amos propheta adnuntiat dicens: Et erit, inquit, in die illa, dicit dominus: occidet sol media die et tenebrescit super terram dies luminis et convertam dies festos vestros in luctum et omnia cantica vestra in lamentationem et imponam super lumbos vestros saccum et super omne caput calvitudinem et ponam eum quasi luctum dilecti et eos qui cum illo quasi diem maeroris. hoc enim et Moyses initio primi mensis novorum facturos vos prophetavit, cum omne vulgus filiorum Israelis ad vesperam agnum esset immolaturum, et hanc sollemnitatem dici huius id est paschae azymorum cum amaritudine manducaturos praecanebat et adiecit pascha esse domini id est passionem Christi, quod ita quoque adimpletum est, ut prima die azymorum interficeretis Christum. et ut prophetiae implerentur, properavit dies vesperani facere id est tenebras efficere, quae media die factae sunt, atque ita dies festos vestros convertit deus in luctum et cantica vestra in lamentationem. post enim passionem Christi etiam captivitas vobis et dispersio obvenit praedicata ante per spiritum sanctum.

XI. Nam et pro istis meritis vestris cladem vestram futuram Ezechiel nuntiat, et non solum in isto saeculo quae iam evenit, sed in die retributionis quae subsequetur. qua clade nemo liberabitur, nisi qui passionem Christi quem respuitis fuerit ohsignatus. sic enim scriptum est: Et dixit ad me: fili hominis, vidisti quae seniores Israelis faciunt, unusquisque eorum in tenebris, unusquisque in cubiculo abscondit? quoniam dixerunt: non videt nos dominus, dereliquit dominus terram. et dixit ad me:

5 Amos 8,9–10 10 cf. Exod. 13,4 ἐν μηνὶ τῶν νέων cf. Exod. 12,3 ss. 22 Ez. 8,12–9,6

1 alias Q^tenim alias θ natus Θ fortasse mortuus scribendum* pro eo Θ (ἀνθρώπῳ Septuaginta) de eo Q^t mortuus Rhen.² (εἰς θάνατον Septuaginta ad mortem Vetus Lat. [Cypr. Test. 2,15]) morte Θ* 3 pariter θ pariterque T haec Θ consecuturum post mortem θ om. T⁴ mortem, utique ... resurrectionem, consecuturum distinxit Thörnell.* 5 dicens θ om. T⁶ in die illa θ (cf. Marc. 4,42,5; Vetus Lat. [Hier. in Amos] Vulgata) in illa die T (fortasse recte: in illo die Vetus Lat. [Cypr. Test. 2,23]) media die θ (cf. l. 5; 15) medidic T (r add. m. 2) et QT om. θ tenebrescit TP tenebrescit βN 7 lamentationem θ (cf. l. 16; Vetus Lat. [Cypr. Test. 2,23]) planetum T (Vetus Lat. [Hier. in Amos; Weing.] Vulgata) 9 dilecti Q (ἀγαπητοῦ Septuaginta) delicti Θ maeroris θ doloris T (Vetus Lat. [Hier. in Amos; Weing.]) 10 novorum* vos TP suos βN vulgus θ vulgus synagogae T 11 esset θ esse T (post se una littera erasa) immolaturum T (in post u in ras.) P immolatus βN paschae θ phase T (in ras.) 12 manducaturos θ manducaturum T (um in ras.) praecanebat θ praccinebat T 13 prima die θ die prima T 14 et ut QTβ' ut et α prophetiae θ prophetia T implerentur θ impleretur T (ras. inter e et t) properavit Tβ' properabit α prophetabit Rhen.¹ 16 lamentationem θ planetum T (cf. l. 7) 17 enim passionem TβN passionem enim P praedicta T praedicta θ 18 ante QT om. θ 20 sed θ sed et T* retributionis QT tribulationis θ 21 passionem TβN passione N* quem Qθ quam T respuitis θ respuitis T 22 dixit Q (εἰπεν Septuaginta) dixit dominus α dixit dominus deus Tβ fili θ (cf. p. 31,3: 7) filius Q 23 eorum – unusquisque om. TN

adhuc conversus videbis facinora maiora quae isti faciunt, et introduxit me ad limina iauuae 3 domus domini quae aspicit ad aquilonem, et ecce illuc mulieres sedentes et plangentes Thamuz, et dixit dominus ad me: fili hominis, vidisti? numquid modica domus Iuda, ut faciant facinora quae fecerunt? et adhuc visurus es affectiones maiores eorum, et introduxit me in aedium 4 domus domini interiorem, et ecce in liminibus templi domini inter medium clam et inter medium altaris quasi viginti et quinque viri: posteriora sua dederunt ad templum domini et facies suas contra orientem; hi adorabant solem, et dixit ad me: vides, fili hominis? numquid pusilla domus Iuda, ut faciant facinora quae fecerunt hic? quoniam impleverunt impietas suas, et ecce ipsi quasi subsannantes, et ego faciam eum indignatione mea; non parcer 6 oculus meus, sed neque miserebor; et clamabunt ad aures meas voce magna et non exaudiam eos, sed neque miserebor, et exclamavit in aures meas voce magna dicens: adproximavit 6 vindicta civitatis huins, et unusquisque habuit vas extermi in manu sua, et ecce sex viri veniebant a via portae altae quae aspiciebat ad aquilonem, et unusquisque bipennis dispersionis erat in manu eius. et unus vir in medio eorum indutus podere et zona saphiri 7 circa lumbos eius, et introierunt et steterunt proximi altaris aerei, et claritas dei Israelis ascendit a Cherubin quae fuit super ea in subdivi domus, et vocavit hominem qui indutus 8 erat podere, qui habuit super lumbos suos zonam, et dixit ad eum dominus: transi mediam Hierusalem et scribe signum in frontibus virorum qui gemunt et dolent super omnia facinora quae fiunt in medio eorum, et in his dixit ad {me} audientem: ite post eum in civitatem et 9 concidite et nolite parcere oculis vestris, et ne misereamini senioris aut iuvenis aut virginis, et parvulos et mulieres interficide omnes ut perdeleantur, ad omnes autem super quos est [Tau] signum ne accesseritis, et a sanctis meis incipite. huius autem signi sacramentum, 9 2 aspicit θ respiciebat T (Vulgata) plangentes Θ (θρηνοῦσσαι Septuaginta lamentantes Vetus Lat. [frg. Tur.]) plangentib[us] Q Thamuz Rben.¹ (Θαμουζ Septuaginta Thamuz Vetus Lat. [frg. Tur.]) thamur TaF thamar X humum Q 3 domus QTβN domui P 5 domus Θ in TaC om. β templi Θ (τοῦ νεκοῦ Septuaginta) domus Q (cf. l. 1) 6 et Q om. Θ quinque QTβ' om. α viri θ viri qui T (qui s. l. add. m. 2) dederunt θ dederant T (a in ras.) 7 contra θ ad T (Vulgata) 8 domus TβN domui P hic TβN hi P 9 et ego T (καὶ ἔγώ Septuaginta) ego θ 10 sed neque TβN neque P et clamabunt T (καὶ καλέσουσιν Septuaginta) exclamabunt θ voce magna τα voices magnas β 11 miserebor θ (θλήσω Septuaginta) miserebor eorum T exclamavit T (ἀνέκραγεν Septuaginta) exclamabit θ 12 vasa θ (τὰ σκεύη Septuaginta) was T (Vulgata) 13 a via Θ (ἄπό τῆς ὁδοῦ Septuaginta) ad viam Q aspiciebat T respiciebat θ (Vetus Lat. [frg. Tur.]) respicit Vulgata) 14 unius vir θ (εἰς ἀνθρό Septuaginta) unus fuit vir T podere Qβ pondere N podere TP (fortasse recte: ποδήρη Septuaginta) 15 circa lumbos Q in lumbis Θ proximi T (ἐχόμενοι Septuaginta coniuncti Vetus Lat. [frg. Tur.]) proxime Q in proximis θ 16 en T (quaes littera post a erata sit, cognosci non potest; επ' τὸν θάνατον Septuaginta super ea Vetus Lat. [frg. Tur.]) cum θ* in subdivi βN (εἰς τὸν εἰδόποιον Septuaginta) in subdivi P ad limen T (in ras.; Vulgata) 17 podere Qβ pondere N podere TP (cf. l. 14) medium QTβN per mediām P 18 signum Q (τὸ σημεῖον Septuaginta signum Vetus Lat. [Cypr. Test. 2,22; ad Dem. 22]) signum tau θ tau signum T (cf. Marc. 3,22,5; signa tau Vulgata)* virorum θ (Vetus Lat. [Cypr. Test. 2,22; ad Dem. 22]) virorum eorum T (cf. l. 11) dolent θ dolens T (in ras.; -tes erasim) 19 in his θ illis T (Vulgata) ad me audientem scripsi (ante me audiente Vetus Lat. [frg. Tur.]) ad audientem θ me audiente T (audiente me Vulgata)* post eum in civitatem τα in civitatem post eum β 20 senioris θ senioris T iuvenis θ (juvēne Vetus Lat. [frg. Tur.]) iuniores T virginis θ virgines T 21 ad omnes T (ἔπι δὲ πλάνης Septuaginta) ad eos omnes βN omnes P 22 tau θ delebi (cf. l. 18; τὸ σημεῖον Septuaginta signum Vetus Lat. [Cypr. Test. 2,22])

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*TRANSLATIONS OF
THE WRITINGS OF THE FATHERS
DOWN TO A.D. 325.*

EDITED BY THE
REV. ALEXANDER ROBERTS, D.D.,
AND
JAMES DONALDSON, LL.D.

VOL. XVIII.
THE WRITINGS OF TERTULLIAN, VOL. III.
WITH THE
EXTANT WORKS OF VICTORINUS AND COMMODIANUS.

EDINBURGH:
T. & T. CLARK, 38, GEORGE STREET.
MDCCCLXX.

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THE WRITINGS
OF
QUINTUS SEPT. FLOR. TERTULLIANUS.

VOL. III.

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I demand, again—granting that He who was ever predicted by prophets as destined to come out of Jesse's race, was withal to exhibit all humility, patience, and tranquillity—whether He be come? Equally so [in this case as in the former], the man who is shown to bear that character will be the very Christ who is come. For of Him the prophet says, “A man set in a plague, and knowing how to bear infirmity;” who “was led as a sheep for a victim; and, as a lamb before him who sheareth him, opened not His mouth.”¹ If He “neither did contend nor shout, nor was His voice heard abroad,” who “crushed not the bruised reed”—Israel's faith, who “quenched not the burning flax”²—that is, the momentary glow of the Gentiles—but made it shine more by the rising of His own light,—He can be none other than He who was predicted. The action, therefore, of the Christ who is come must be examined by being placed side by side with the rule of the Scriptures. For, if I mistake not, we find Him distinguished by a twofold operation,—that of *preaching* and that of *power*. Now, let each count be disposed of summarily. Accordingly, let us work out the order we have set down, teaching that Christ was announced as a *PREACHER*; as, through Isaiah: “Cry out,” he says, “in vigour, and spare not; lift up, as with a trumpet, thy voice, and announce to my commonalty their crimes, and to the house of Jacob their sins. Me from day to day they seek, and to learn my ways they covet, as a people which hath done righteousness, and hath not forsaken the judgment of God,” and so forth:³ that, moreover, He was to do acts of *POWER* from the Father: “Behold, our God will deal retributive judgment; Himself will come and save us: then shall the infirm be healed, and the eyes of the blind shall see, and the ears of the deaf shall hear, and the mutes' tongues shall be loosed, and the lame shall leap as an hart,”⁴ and so on; which

¹ See Isa. liii. 3, 7, in LXX.; and comp. Ps. xxxviii. 17 (xxxvii. 18 in LXX.) in the “Great Bible” of 1539.

² See Isa. xlvi. 2, 3, and Matt. xii. 19, 20.

³ See Isa. lviii. 1, 2, especially in LXX.

⁴ See Isa. xxxv. 4, 5, 6.

works not even you deny that Christ did, inasmuch as you were wont to say that, “on account of the works ye stoned Him not, but because He did them on the Sabbaths.”¹

CHAP. X.—*Concerning the passion of Christ, and its Old Testament predictions and adumbrations.*

Concerning the last step, plainly, of His passion you raise a doubt; affirming that the passion of the cross was not predicted with reference to Christ, and urging, besides, that it is not credible that God should have exposed His own Son to that kind of death; because Himself said, “Cursed [is] every one who shall have hung on a tree.”² But the *reason* of the case antecedently explains the sense of this malediction; for He says in Deuteronomy: “If, moreover, [a man] shall have been [involved] in some sin incurring the judgment of death, and shall die, and ye shall suspend him on a tree, his body shall not remain on the tree, but with burial ye shall bury him on the very day; because cursed by God is every one who shall have been suspended on a tree; and ye shall not defile the land which the Lord thy God shall give thee for [thy] lot.”³ Therefore He did not maledictively adjudge Christ to this passion, but drew a distinction, that whoever, *in any sin*, had incurred the judgment of death, and died suspended on a tree, *he* should be “cursed by God,” because his own sins were the cause of his suspension on the tree. On the other hand, Christ, who spake not guile from His mouth,⁴ and who exhibited all righteousness and humility, not only (as we have above recorded it predicted of Him) was not exposed to that kind of death *for His own deserts*, but [was so exposed] in order that what was predicted by the prophets as destined to come upon Him through your means⁵ might be fulfilled; just as, in the Psalms, the Spirit Himself of Christ

¹ See John v. 17, 18, compared with x. 31–33.

² Comp. Deut. xxi. 23 with Gal. iii. 18, with Prof. Lightfoot on the latter passage.

³ Deut. xxi. 22, 23 (especially in the LXX.).

⁴ See 1 Pet. ii. 22 with Isa. liii. 9.

⁵ Oehler's pointing is disregarded.

was already singing, saying, "They were repaying me evil for good;"¹ and, "What I had not seized I was then paying in full;"² "They exterminated my hands and feet;"³ and, "They put into my drink gall, and in my thirst they slaked me with vinegar;"⁴ "Upon my vesture they did cast [the] lot;"⁵ just as the other [outrages] which you were to commit on Him were foretold,—all which He, actually and thoroughly suffering, suffered not for any evil action of His own, but "that the Scriptures from the mouth of the prophets might be fulfilled."⁶

And, of course, it had been meet that the mystery⁷ of the passion itself should be figuratively set forth in predictions; and the more incredible [that mystery], the more likely to be "a stumbling-stone,"⁸ if it had been nakedly predicted; and the more magnificent, the more to be *adumbrated*, that the difficulty of its intelligence might seek [help from] the grace of God.

Accordingly, to begin with, Isaac, when led by his father as a victim, and himself bearing his own "wood,"⁹ was even at that early period pointing to Christ's death; conceded, as He was, as a victim by the Father; carrying, as He did, the "wood" of His own passion.¹⁰

Joseph, again, himself was made a figure of Christ¹¹ in this point alone (to name no more, not to delay my own course), that he suffered persecution at the hands of his brethren, and was sold into Egypt, on account of the favour of God;¹² just as

¹ Ps. xxxv. (xxxiv. in LXX.) 12.

² Ps. lxix. 4 (lxviii. 5 in LXX.).

³ Ps. xxii. 16 (xxi. 17 in LXX.).

⁴ Ps. lxix. 21 (lxviii. 22 in LXX.).

⁵ Ps. xxii. 18 (xxi. 19 in LXX.).

⁶ See Matt. xxvi. 56, xxvii. 34, 35; John xix. 23, 24, 28, 32-37.

⁷ *Sacramentum*.

⁸ See Rom. ix. 32, 33, with Isa. xxviii. 16; 1 Cor. i. 23; Gal. v. 11.

⁹ *Lignum* = ξύλον; constantly used for the "tree."

¹⁰ Comp. Gen. xxii. 1-10 with John xix. 17.

¹¹ "Christum figuratus" is Oehler's reading, after the two MSS. and the Pamelian ed. of 1579; the rest read "figurans" or "figuravit."

¹² Manifested, e.g., in his *two dreams*. See Gen. xxxvii.

Christ was sold by Israel—[and therefore,] "according to the flesh," by His "brethren"¹—when He is betrayed by Judas.² For Joseph is withal blest by his father³ after this form: "His glory [is that] of a bull; his horns, the horns of an unicorn; on them shall he toss nations alike unto the very extremity of the earth." Of course no one-horned rhinoceros was there pointed to, nor any two-horned minotaur. But Christ was therein signified: a "bull," by reason of each of His two characters,—to some fierce, as Judge; to others gentle, as Saviour; whose "horns" were to be the extremities of the cross. For even in a ship's yard—which is part of a cross—this is the name by which the extremities are called; while the central pole of the mast is a "unicorn." By this power, in fact, of the cross, and in this manner horned, He does now, on the one hand, "toss" universal nations through *faith*, wasting them away from earth to heaven; and will one day, on the other, "toss" them through *judgment*, casting them down from heaven to earth.

He, again, will be the "bull" elsewhere too in the same scripture.⁴ When Jacob pronounced a blessing on Simeon and Levi, he prophesies of the scribes and Pharisees; for from them⁵ is derived their⁶ origin. For [his blessing] interprets spiritually thus: "Simeon and Levi perfected iniquity out of their sect,"⁷—whereby, to wit, they persecuted Christ: "into their counsel come not my soul! and upon their station rest not my heart! because in their indignation they slew men"—that is, prophets—"and in their concu-

¹ Comp. Rom. ix. 5.

² Or, "Judah."

³ This is an error. It is not "his father." Jacob, but Moses, who thus blesses him. See Deut. xxxiii. 17. The same error occurs in *adv. Marc.* 1. iii. c. xxiii.

⁴ Not strictly "the same," for here the reference is to Gen. xl ix. 5-7.

⁵ i.e. Simeon and Levi. ⁶ i.e. the scribes and Pharisees.

⁷ Perfecerunt iniquitatem ex sua secta. There seems to be a play on the word "secta" in connection with the outrage committed by Simeon and Levi, as recorded in Gen. xxxiv. 25-31; and for *αυτέλεσαν αδικίαν* *ἰξιρότας αὐτῶν* (which is the reading of the LXX., ed. Tisch. 3, Lips. 1860), Tertullian's Latin seems to have read, *αυτέλεσαν αδικίαν οἱ απίστως αὐτῶν*.

piscence they hamstrung a bull!"¹—that is, Christ, whom—after the slaughter of prophets—they slew, and exhausted their savagery by transfixing His sinews with nails. Else it is idle if, after the murder already committed by them, he upbraids others, and not them, with butchery.²

But, to come now to Moses, why, I wonder, did he merely at the time when Joshua was battling against Amalek, pray *sitting* with hands expanded, when, in circumstances so critical, he ought rather, surely, to have commanded his prayer by knees bended, and hands beating his breast, and a face prostrate on the ground; except it was that there, where the name of the Lord Jesus was the theme of speech—destined as He was to enter the lists one day singly against the devil—the figure of the *cross* was also necessary, [that figure] through which Jesus was to win the victory?³ Why, again, did the same Moses, after the prohibition of any "likeness of anything,"⁴ set forth a brazen serpent, placed on a "tree," in a hanging posture, for a spectacle of healing to Israel, at the time when, after their idolatry,⁵ they were being exterminated by serpents, except that in this case he was exhibiting the Lord's *cross*, on which the "serpent" the devil was "made a show of,"⁶ and, for every one hurt by such snakes—that is, his angels⁷—on turning intently from the peccancy of sins to the sacraments of Christ's *cross*, salvation

¹ See Gen. xlix. 5-7 in LXX.; and comp. the margin of Eng. ver. on ver. 7, and Wordsworth in *loc.*, who incorrectly renders ταῦπον an "ox" here.

² What the sense of this is, it is not easy to see. It appears to have puzzled Pam. and Rig. so effectually that they both, conjecturally and without authority, adopted the reading found in *adv. Marc.* I. iii. c. xviii. (from which book, as usual, the present passage is borrowed), only altering *illis* to *ipsis*.

³ See Ex. xvii. 8-16; and comp. Col. ii. 14, 15.

⁴ Ex. xx. 4.

⁵ Their sin was "speaking against God and against Moses" (Num. xxi. 4-9).

⁶ Comp. Col. ii. 14, 15, as before; also Gen. iii. 1, etc.; 2 Cor. xi. 3; Rev. xii. 9.

⁷ Comp. 2 Cor. xi. 14, 15; Matt. xxv. 41; Rev. xii. 9.

was outlawed? For he who then gazed upon *that* [*cross*] was freed from the bite of the serpents.¹

Come, now, if you have read in the utterance of the prophet in the Psalms, "God hath reigned *from the tree*,"² I wait to hear what you understand thereby; for fear you may perhaps think some carpenter-king³ is signified, and not Christ, who has reigned from that time onward when He overcame the death which ensued from His passion of "the tree."

Similarly, again, Isaiah says: "For a child is born to us, and to us is given a son."⁴ What novelty is that, unless he is speaking of the "Son" of God?—and one is born to us, the beginning of whose government has been made "on His shoulder." What king in the world wears the ensign of his power *on his shoulder*, and does not bear either diadem on his head, or else sceptre in his hand, or else some mark of distinctive vesture? But the *novel* "King of ages," Christ Jesus, alone reared "on His shoulder" His own *novel* glory, and power, and sublimity,—the *cross*, to wit; that, according to the former prophecy, the Lord thenceforth "might reign *from the tree*." For of this tree likewise it is that God hints, through Jeremiah, that you would say, "Come, let us put *wood*⁵ *into his bread*, and let us wear him away out of the land of the living; and his name shall no more be remembered."⁶ Of course on His *body* that "*wood*" was put;⁷ for so Christ has revealed, calling His body "*bread*,"⁸ whose body the prophet in bygone days announced under the term "*bread*." If you shall still seek for predictions of

¹ Comp. *de Idol.* c. v.; *adv. Marc.* I. iii. c. xviii.

² A ligno. Oehler refers us to Ps. xcvi. 10 (xcv. 10 in LXX.); but the special words "a ligno" are wanting there, though the text is often so quoted by the Fathers.

³ Lignarium aliquem regem. It is remarkable, in connection herewith, that our Lord is not only called by the Jews "*the carpenter's son*" (Matt. xiii. 55; Luke iv. 22), but "*the carpenter*" (Mark vi. 3).

⁴ See Isa. ix. 6. ⁵ Lignum. ⁶ See Jer. xi. 19 (in LXX.).

⁷ i.e. when they laid on Him the crossbeam to carry. See John xix. 17.

⁸ See John vi. *passim*, and the various accounts of the institution of the Holy Supper.

the Lord's cross, the twenty-first Psalm will at length be able to satisfy you, containing as it does the whole passion of Christ; singing, as He does, even at so early a date, His own glory.¹ "They dug," He says, "my hands and feet,"²—which is the peculiar atrocity of the cross; and again, when He implores the aid of the Father, "Save me," He says, "out of the mouth of the lion"—of course, of death—"and from the horn of the unicorns my humility,"³—from the ends, to wit, of the cross, as we have above shown; which cross neither David himself suffered, nor any of the kings of the Jews: that you may not think the passion of some other particular man is here prophesied than His who alone was so signally crucified by the People.

Now, if the hardness of your heart shall persist in rejecting and deriding all these interpretations, we will prove that it may suffice that the *death* of the Christ had been prophesied, in order that, from the fact that the *nature* of the death had not been specified, it may be understood to have been effected by means of the *cross*,⁴ and that the passion of the *cross* is not to be ascribed to any but Him whose *death* was constantly being predicted. For I desire to show, in one utterance of Isaiah, His *death*, and *passion*, and *sepulture*. "By the crimes," he says, "of my people was He led unto death; and I will give the evil for His sepulture, and the rich for His death, because He did not wickedness, nor was guile found in His mouth; and God willed to redeem His soul from death,"⁵ and so forth. He says again, moreover: "His sepulture hath been taken away from the midst."⁶ For neither was He buried except He were dead, nor was His sepulture removed from the midst except through His resurrection. Finally, he subjoins: "Therefore He shall have many for an heritage, and of many shall He divide

¹ It is Ps. xxii, in our Bibles, xxi. in LXX.

² Ver. 16 (17 in LXX.).

³ Ps. xxii. 21 (xxi. 22 in LXX., who render it as Tertullian does).

⁴ i.e., perhaps, because of the extreme ignominy attaching to that death, which prevented its being expressly named.

⁵ Isa. liii. 8, 9, 10 (in LXX.).

⁶ Isa. lvii. 2 (in LXX.).

spoils:"¹ who else [shall so do] but He who "was born," as we have above shown?—"in return for the fact that His soul was delivered unto death?" For, the *cause* of the favour accorded Him being shown,—in return, to wit, for the injury of a *death* which had to be recompensed,—it is likewise shown that He, destined to attain these rewards *because of* death, was to attain them *after* death—of course after *resurrection*. For that which happened at His passion, that mid-day grew dark, the prophet Amos announces, saying, "And it shall be," he says, "in that day, saith the Lord, the sun shall set at mid-day, and the day of light shall grow dark over the land: and I will convert your festive days into grief, and all your canticles into lamentation; and I will lay upon your loins sackcloth, and upon every head baldness; and I will make the grief like that for a beloved [son], and them that are with him like a day of mourning."² For that you would do thus at the beginning of the first month of your new [years] even Moses prophesied, when he was foretelling that all the community of the sons of Israel was³ to immolate at eventide a lamb, and were to eat⁴ this solemn sacrifice of this day (that is, of the passover of unleavened bread) "with bitterness;" and added that "it was the *passover of the Lord*,"⁵ that is, the *passion of Christ*. Which prediction was thus also fulfilled, that "on the first day of unleavened bread"⁶ you slew Christ;⁷ and (that the prophecies might be fulfilled) the day hastened to make an "eventide,"—that is, to cause darkness, which was made at mid-day; and thus "your festive days God converted into grief, and your canticles into lamentation." For after the passion

¹ Isa. liii. 12 (in LXX.). Comp., too, Bp. Lowth. Oehler's pointing again appears to be faulty.

² See Amos viii. 9, 10 (especially in the LXX.).

³ Oehler's "esset" appears to be a mistake for "esse."

⁴ The change from singular to plural is due to the Latin, not to the translator.

⁵ See Ex. xii. 1-11.

⁶ See Matt. xxvi. 17; Mark xiv. 12; Luke xxii. 7; John xviii. 28.

⁷ Comp. 1 Cor. v. 7.

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of Christ there overtook you even captivity and dispersion, predicted before through the Holy Spirit.

CHAP. XI.—*Further proofs, from Ezekiel. Summary of the prophetic argument thus far.*

For, again, it is for these deserts of yours that Ezekiel announces your ruin as about to come: and not only in this age¹—a ruin which has already befallen—but in the “day of retribution,”² which will be subsequent. From which ruin none will be freed but he who shall have been frontally sealed³ with the passion of the Christ whom you have rejected. For thus it is written: “And the Lord said unto me, Son of man, thou hast seen what the elders of Israel do, each one of them in darkness, each in a hidden bed-chamber: because they have said, The Lord seeth us not; the Lord hath relinquished the earth. And He said unto me, Turn thee again, and thou shalt see greater enormities which these do. And He introduced me unto the thresholds of the gate of the house of the Lord which looketh unto the north; and, behold, there, women sitting and bewailing Thammuz. And the Lord said unto me, Son of man, hast thou seen? Is the house of Judah *moderate*, to do the enormities which they have done? And yet thou art about to see greater affections of theirs. And He introduced me into the inner shrine of the house of the Lord; and, behold, on the thresholds of the house of the Lord, between the midst of the porch and between the midst of the altar,⁴ as it were twenty and five men have turned their backs unto the temple of the Lord, and their faces over against the east; these were adoring the sun. And He said unto me, Seest thou, son of man? Are [such deeds] trifles to the house of Judah, that they should do the enormities which these have done? because they have filled up [the measure of] their impieties, and, behold, [are] themselves, as it were, grim-

¹ Saeculo.

² Comp. Isa. lxi. 2.

³ Or possibly, simply, “sealed”—*obsignatus*.

⁴ Inter medium claram et inter medium altaris; i.e. probably = “between the porch and the altar,” as the Eng. ver. has.

acing; I will deal with mine indignation,¹ mine eye shall not spare, neither will I pity; they shall cry out unto mine ears with a loud voice, and I will not hear them, nay, I will not pity. And He cried into mine ears with a loud voice, saying, The vengeance of this city is at hand; and each one had vessels of extermination in his hand. And, behold, six men were coming toward the way of the high gate which was looking toward the north, and each one’s double-axe of dispersion was in his hand: and one man in the midst of them, clothed with a garment reaching to the feet,² and a girdle of sapphire about his loins: and they entered, and took their stand close to the brazen altar. And the glory of the God of Israel, which was over the house, in the open court of it,³ ascended from the cherubim: and the Lord called the man who was clothed with the garment reaching to the feet, who had upon his loins the girdle; and said unto him, Pass through the midst of Jerusalem, and write the sign Tau⁴ on the foreheads of the men who groan and grieve over all the enormities which are done in their midst. And while these things were doing, He said unto an hearer,⁵ Go ye after him into the city, and cut short; and spare not with your eyes, and pity not elder or youth or virgin; and little ones and women slay ye all, that they may be thoroughly wiped away; but all upon whom is the sign Tau approach ye not: and begin with my saints.”⁶ Now the mystery of this “sign” was in various ways predicted; [a “sign”] in which the foundation of life was being forelaid

¹ So Oehler points, and Tischendorf in his edition of the LXX. points not very differently. I incline to read: “Because they have filled up the measure of their impieties, and, behold, [are] themselves, as it were, grimacing, I will,” etc.

² Comp. Rev. i. 13.

³ “Quæ fuit super eam” (i.e. super domum) “in subdivisi domis” is Oehler’s reading; but it differs from the LXX.

⁴ The ms. which Oehler usually follows omits “Tau;” so do the LXX.

⁵ Et in his dixit ad audientem. But the LXX. reading agrees almost *verbatim* with the Eng. ver.

⁶ Ezek. viii. 12-ix. 6 (especially in the LXX.). Comp. *adv. Marc.* l. iii. c. xxii. But our author differs considerably even from the LXX.