

# Optatus and the African Old Latin

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## Abstract

The alteration of the “African Old Latin” has been a matter of common remark since the days of Augustine, but we have hardly any historical traditions of the localities in which such changes took place or the people by whom they were made.

The “African Old Latin” is represented only in the Gospels by the fragmentary codex Bobbiensis (k) and codex Palatinus (e). For large parts of the Bible knowledge of the text derives entirely from the quotations that are preserved in the writings of the Fathers. It is mainly by carefully studying these quotations that any fixed criteria can be found for assigning the continuous texts of the MSS to Africa.

This article looks at and analyzes the “African Old Latin” according to Optatus. By examining certain aspects of the quotations within the *Adversus donatistas* (i.e., quotations that appear in two variant forms), the author attempts to establish the context in which a revision took place.

## Introduction

1. We are here concerned with the subject of the Old Latin: the Latin Bible before the time of Jerome. It is from North Africa that the earliest Latin Bible of the Church has come down to us. While it may well be that the preaching of the Gospel in North Africa was first addressed to Greeks, at an early date Latin would have become the official language of the Church of Africa. Indeed in Africa in 180 C.E. the Scillitan Christians possessed at least the Epistles of Paul in the Latin version<sup>1</sup>, and by the time of Cyprian (†258) a Latin version of the whole Bible certainly existed. It is certain that Cyprian employed a version then and there in use, and it is agreed that «his quotations are carefully made and thus afford trustworthy standards of African Old Latin in a very early though still not the earliest stage»<sup>2</sup>.

2. Critical investigation has made it clear that the version used by Cyprian survives in a fragmentary copy of *Mark* and *Matthew*, now at Turin in North Italy, called *Codex Bobbiensis*

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<sup>1</sup> *Acta Scilitanorum* 12, Texts and Studies I/2, 114: *Saturninus proconsul dixit: Quae sunt res in capsula vestra? Speratus dixit: Libri et epistulae Pauli viri iusti.*

<sup>2</sup> B.F. WESTCOTT and J.A. HORT, *Introduction to the New Testament in the Original Greek* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1988), 78. On Old Latin see A. DI BERARDINO, *Patrologia*, Casale Monferrato 1978, III, 189-193; J.K. ELLIOT, «The Translation of the New Testament into Latin: The Old Latin and the Vulgate», *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 2.26.1 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1992), 198-245; R. GAMERSON, *The Early Medieval Bible: Its Production, Decoration and Use*, *Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

(k), and in the fragments of the *Apocalypse* and *Acts* contained in a palimpsest at Paris called *Codex Floriacensis* (h). It has been found that another MS, *Codex Palatinus* (e) at Vienna, has a text closely akin to that exhibited in Cyprian, although there are traces of mixture in it. The text of these MSS, together with the quotations of the so-called *Speculum Augustini* (m), is known among scholars as African Old Latin (*Afra*).

3. It is true that the MSS that have come down to us attest only a part of the NT<sup>3</sup>, but the works of the African authors of the first centuries illustrate many peculiarities of the African Old Latin<sup>4</sup>. By comparing the biblical quotations of Cyprian and of the Donatists with the biblical quotations of the later authors of Proconsular Africa, many researchers have concluded that a substantial revision of the *Afra* occurred. For example, Gribomont asserts,

L'appartenance des livres aux Eglises, comme telles, jette une certaine lumière sur les conditions dans lesquelles se sont opérées les révisions critiques ou littéraires qui ont affecté le texte latin. Il ne s'agit sans doute pas d'une entreprise officielle de la hiérarchie, mais elles n'ont pas non plus un caractère purement privé, culturel, philologique.

He concludes by saying, «Ce n'est pas pur hasard si les donatistes, qui se sentent isolés dans leur province d'Afrique, sont ceux qui conservent le plus fidèlement la vieille tradition de Cyprien»<sup>5</sup>. Instead Moricca, without giving specific biblical quotations, has supported the idea that the revision of the *Afra* for the most part derives from Optatus<sup>6</sup>. I too have concluded that the changes that Optatus introduced into the African Old Latin reflected the evolution of African theology<sup>7</sup>.

4. However it remains still to define what role the bishop of Milevis had and which biblical quotations of his *Adversus donatistas*<sup>8</sup> are really revised. Therefore, in this context we have decided to pay attention to some peculiarities of the biblical quotations of Optatus that are connected with the two editions of the *Adversus donatistas*.

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<sup>3</sup> On *Afra* see A. JÜLICHER, W. MATZKOW, and K. ALAND, *Itala: Das Neue Testament in altlateinischer Überlieferung* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1938-1963), I-IV.

<sup>4</sup> See P. SABATIER, *Bibliorum sacrorum latinae versiones antiquae* (Reims-Paris 1739-1743; Turnhout: Brepols, 1987), I-III; *Vetus latina: Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel* (Freiburg: Herder, 1951ff., 1-2, 10/3, 11-12, 21-22, 24-26).

<sup>5</sup> J. GRIBOMONT, «Les plus anciennes traductions latines», *Bible de tous les temps* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1985) II, 50.

<sup>6</sup> See U. MORICCA, *Storia della letteratura latina cristiana* (Torino: Società Editrice Internazionale, 1925), I, 42.

<sup>7</sup> See P. MARONE, «Ottato e la Scrittura», *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 70 (2004), 35-42; EAD., «L'esegesi biblica di Ottato di Milevi come veicolo della trasformazione della teologia africana», *Annali di Storia dell'Esegesi* 23 (2006), 215-222.

<sup>8</sup> See OPTATUS, *Adversus donatistas*, ed. M. Labrousse, SCh 412-413 (Paris: Cerf, 1995-1996).

## Some peculiarities of the biblical quotations of Optatus

5. St. Optatus, bishop of Milevis, is one of the least known of all the Fathers of the Church. However, it is known that Optatus in the fourth century published two editions of the *Adversus donatistas*, the first edition in six books and the second edition in seven books<sup>9</sup>. Between 364 and 367, after his ascent to the episcopate (361-363), he began by refuting the *Adversus ecclesiam traditorum* of the Donatist Parmenian<sup>10</sup>, and probably when Flavianus, a convinced supporter of paganism, was nominated vicar of Africa (383), he decided to expand upon what he had already written<sup>11</sup>.

**Table 1 – Biblical quotations of the *Adversus donatistas* in two versions**

	Optatus, <i>Adversus donatistas</i>	
Exod. 20,14	<i>non facies adulterium</i> (III,7,5, SCh 413, 54)	<i>non moechaberis</i> (VII,1,4, SCh 413, 194)
Ps. 33,15	<i>inquire pacem et persequere eam</i> (II,5,3, SCh 412, 252)	<i>quaere pacem et consequeris eam</i> (II,5,7, SCh 412, 254; III,6,2, SCh 413, 50; III,7,5, SCh 413, 54; IV,4,1, SCh 413, 88)
Ps. 49,18	<i>videbas furem et concurrebas cum eo</i> (IV,6,1.6.7, SCh 413, 94.98)	<i>videbas furem et currebas cum eo</i> (IV,3,4, SCh 413, 86)
Ps. 49,20	<i>sedens... adversus filium matris tuae ponebas scandalum</i> (IV,3,4, SCh 413, 86; IV,5,3, SCh 413, 90)	<i>sedens adversus filium matris tuae ponebas scandala</i> (IV,5,3, SCh 413, 90)
Ps. 104,15	<i>ne tetigeritis unctos meos neque in prophetas meos manum miseritis</i> (II,23,1, SCh 412, 290; II,25,11, SCh 412, 300)	<i>ne tetigeritis christos meos neque in prophetas meos manum miseritis</i> (IV,4,2, SCh 413, 88)
Ps. 112,3	<i>laudandum nomen domini ab ortu solis usque ad occasum</i> (II,1,9, SCh 412, 240)	<i>laudandum nomen domini et a tota terra et ab ortu solis usque ad occasum</i> (II,1,11, SCh 412, 242)

<sup>9</sup> On the *Adversus donatistas* of Optatus see C. MAZZUCCO, «Ottato di Milevi in un secolo di studi: problemi e prospettive,» Università degli studi di Torino, Dipartimento di filologia, linguistica e tradizione classica, 3 (Bologna 1993).

<sup>10</sup> On the *Adversus ecclesiam traditorum* of the Donatist Parmenian see P. MONCEAUX, *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne depuis les origines jusqu'à l'invasion arabe* (Paris: Leroux, 1920), V, 227-231.

<sup>11</sup> See P. MONCEAUX, *Histoire littéraire*, 248-251.

Cant. 6,8	<i>una est columba mea, una est sponsa mea</i> (II,13,3, SCh 412, 266)	<i>una est sponsa mea, una est columba mea</i> (IV,6,7, SCh 413, 98)
Isa. 22,2	<i>vulnerati tui non vulnerati gladio</i> (III,2,10, SCh 413, 18)	<i>vulnerati in te, non vulnerati gladio</i> (III,8,1, SCh 413, 56)
Isa. 22,4	<i>missum me facite, amare plorabo, nemo poterit consolari me in contritione filiae generis mei</i> (III,2,5, SCh 413, 14)	<i>missum me facite, amare plorabo, nemo me poterit consolari in contritione filiae generis mei</i> (III,2,11, SCh 413, 18)
Ezek. 13,18	<i>vae facientibus velamen...</i> (I,2,2, SCh 412, 174; II,24,2, SCh 412, 292)	<i>vae filiabus Israhel...</i> (II,26,3, SCh 412, 302)
Ezek. 28,2	<i>dic adversus principem Tyri</i> (III,3,10, SCh 413, 26)	<i>loquere adversus principem Tyri</i> (III,3,11, SCh 413, 26)
Ezek. 28,3	<i>numquid sapientior tu quam Daniel</i> (III,3,21, SCh 413, 34)	<i>numquid tu sapientior quam Daniel</i> (III,3,23, SCh 413, 36)
Hag. 2,14	<i>quae tetigerit pollutus, polluta sunt</i> (VI,3,1, SCh 413, 168)	<i>quod tetigerit pollutus, pollutum est</i> (VI,3,7, SCh 413, 172)
Matt. 6,12	<i>dimitte nobis debita et peccata nostra</i> (II,20,5, SCh 412, 282)	<i>dimitte nobis peccata</i> (VII,2,3, SCh 413, 216)
Matt. 28,19	<i>ite, baptizate omnes gentes in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti</i> (V,3,8, SCh 413, 124)	<i>ite, docete gentes, baptizantes eas in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti</i> (V,5,4, SCh 413, 136)
1 Jo.1,8	<i>si dixerimus quia peccatum non habemus, nos ipsos decipimus et veritas in nobis non est</i> (II,20,1, SCh 412, 280)	<i>si dixerimus quoniam peccatum non habemus, nos ipsos decipimus et veritas in nobis non est</i> (VII,2,3, SCh 413, 218)

6. Taking great interest in historical and ecclesiastical issues and of ecclesiological and sacramental theology as well, the bishop of Milevis was a fervent exegete of Scripture and contributed greatly the deepening controversy between Catholics and Donatists<sup>12</sup>. A general

<sup>12</sup> On Donatism see E. ROMERO POSE, «Medio siglo de estudios sobre el donatismo. (De Monceaux a nuestros dias)», *Salmanticensis* 29 (1982), 81-99; B. KRIEGBAUM, *Kirche der Traditoren oder Kirche der Märtyrer? Die Vorgeschichte des Donatismus* (Innsbruck/Wien: Tyrolia, 1986); Ch. PIETRI, «L' échec de l' unité impériale en Afrique: La résistance donatiste (jusqu' en 361)» and «La difficulté du nouveau système en Occident: La querelle donatiste (363-420)», *Histoire du christianisme*, II (Paris: Desclée De Brouwer, 1995), 229-248, 435-451; M.A. TILLEY, *The Bible in Christian North Africa: The Donatist World* (Minneapolis: Augsburg

survey of *Adversus donatistas* leads one to conclude that every topic covered is dealt with from the perspective of biblical exegesis. However, as regards the main characteristics of the *Vetus Latina* of Optatus, we may note that 16 biblical quotations (Exod. 20,14; Pss. 33,15; 49,18.20; 104,15; 112,3; Cant. 6,8; Isa. 22,2.4; Ezek. 13,18; 28,2.3; Hag. 2,14; Matt. 6,12; 28,19; 1 Jo. 1,8) show some variations that regard the addition and the elimination of some words (i.e., *et peccata* in Matt. 6,12); the use of synonyms (i.e., *dic* and *loquere* in Ezek. 28,2); the change of number (i.e., *scandalum* and *scandala* in Ps. 49,20; *quae* and *quod* in Hag. 2,14), or case (i.e., *tui* and *in te* in Isa. 22,2); but also the use of the different phrases (i.e., *baptizate omnes gentes* and *docete gentes, baptizantes eas* in Matt. 28,19)<sup>13</sup>. Table 1 contains these 16 quotations found in the treatise against the Donatists.

7. The situation is really complicated because all the MSS of the *Adversus donatistas* cannot be connected exclusively with the second edition of Optatus. However Labrousse has raised an interesting question<sup>14</sup>. She, in fact, through the list of the Popes mentioned by RVPG<sup>15</sup>, has demonstrated that a direct connection between the two families of MSS (ARBV and PCG)<sup>16</sup> and the two editions of *Adversus donatistas* does not exist.

8. Therefore, the assumption of a perfect correspondence between the two families of MSS and the two editions of the work of Optatus, supported initially by Ziwsa<sup>17</sup> and then refuted by Petschenig<sup>18</sup>, can definitively be discarded. The biblical quotations found in *Adversus donatistas*,

Fortress, 1997); S. LANCEL – J.S. ALEXANDER, «Donatistae», in *Augustinus-Lexikon*, II/3-4 (Basel: Schwabe, 1999), 606-638; E. ZOCCA, «L'identità cristiana nel dibattito tra cattolici e donatisti», *Annali di Storia dell'Esegesi* 21/1 (2004), 109-130.

<sup>13</sup> On this subject in the twentieth century Mazzucco («Note critiche su una nuova edizione», 125) says that Ps. 33,15 «più volte citato da Ottato ma in modi diversi, ora come *inquire pacem et perseguere eam* (II,5, r. 21), ora come *quae pacem et consequeris eam* (II,5, r. 49; III,6, r. 12; III,7, r. 34), viene sempre tradotta con 'recherche la paix et poursuis-la', mentre *consequeris eam* indica piuttosto un 'la otterrai'».

<sup>14</sup> See M. LABROUSSE, *Optat de Milève, Traité contre les donatistes*, «Introduction», SCh 412 (Paris: Cerf 1995), 139-140.

<sup>15</sup> See OPTATUS, *Adversus donatistas* II,3,1, SCh 412, 246, n. 13; II,4,5, SCh 412, 248, n. 33.

<sup>16</sup> See M. LABROUSSE, *Optat de Milève, Traité contre les donatistes*, 127-136; 125-127.

<sup>17</sup> See C. ZIWSA, «Beiträge zu Optatus Milevitanus», *Eranos* 3 (1893), 168-176. See also MONCEAUX, *Histoire littéraire*, 250; H. EMONDS, *Zweite Auflage im Altertum: Kulturgeschichtliche Studien zur Überlieferung der antiken Literatur* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz 1941), 76.

<sup>18</sup> See M. PETSCHENIG, «Besprechung der Ausgabe ZIWSAS», *Berliner philologischen Wochenschrift* 14 (1894), 457-463. See also S. BLOMGREN, «Ad Optatum Milevitanum adnotationes», *Eranos* 37 (1939), 85-120.

quoted multiple times and in two versions, in the same book (II, III), in the same chapter (II,5.1; III,2.3; IV,5), or even in the same paragraph (IV,5,3), are not inaccurate quotations of Scripture<sup>19</sup> but are the result of the mixture of the two editions published by the author. In fact G, which we know to be a copy of C<sup>20</sup>, introduces the readings *inquire* (Ps. 33,15), *in te* (Isa. 22,2), *me* transposed after *nemo* (Isa. 22,4) and *tu sapientior* (Ezek. 28,3) and allows us to reduce the number of the biblical citations quoted in two versions. But the copyist of G seems to have corrected C only in those places where the anomalies were most easily traceable, because they occurred in the same paragraph or in adjacent paragraphs. In fact G places the reading *inquire* of Ps. 33,15 in paragraph II,5,7<sup>21</sup>, whereas the other MSS of the *Adversus donatistas* place the reading *inquire* of Ps. 33,15 in paragraph II,5,3 (see *supra* Table 1). G also places the reading *in te* of Isa. 22,2 in paragraph III,2,10<sup>22</sup>, while the other MSS of the *Adversus donatistas* place the reading *in te* of Isa. 22,2 in paragraph III,8,1 (see *supra* Table 1). Next, G transposes *me* after *nemo* of Isa. 22,4 in paragraph III,2,5<sup>23</sup>, whereas the other MSS of the *Adversus donatistas* transpose *me* after *nemo* of Isa. 22,4 at another point in the same paragraph III,2,5 (see *supra* Table 1). Finally, G introduces the phrase *tu sapientior* of Ezek. 28,3 in paragraph III,3,2<sup>24</sup>, while the other MSS of the *Adversus donatistas* introduce the phrase *tu sapientior* of Ezek. 28,3 in paragraph III,3,23 (see *supra* Table 1).

9. In any case, before passing judgment on the *Vetus* of Optatus, it is opportune to consider the African Old Latin at the time of the Donatist controversy.

## The biblical quotations of Optatus in comparison with contemporary African literature

10. While the biblical vocabulary of Cyprian regularly diverges from Optatus<sup>25</sup>, the biblical vocabulary of Augustine often agrees with Optatus. It is significant that Augustine, in refuting the most illustrious schismatics, proposed some of the changes that the bishop of Milevis had introduced into the African Old Latin. For example, these two authors, differently from their

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<sup>19</sup> See E. BUONAIUTI, «Le citazioni bibliche in Ottato di Milevi», *Rivista di Scienza delle Religioni* 1 (1916), 145-146; O.R. VASSALL-PHILLIPS, *The Work of St. Optatus, Bishop of Milevis, against the Donatists*, with Appendix (London: Longmans, 1917), XXV-XXVI.

<sup>20</sup> See M. LABROUSSE, *Optat de Milève, Traité contre les donatistes*, 134-135.

<sup>21</sup> See OPTATUS, *Adversus donatistas* II,5,7, SCh 412, 254, n. 48.

<sup>22</sup> See OPTATUS, *Adversus donatistas* III,2,10, SCh 413, 18, n. 77.

<sup>23</sup> See OPTATUS, *Adversus donatistas* III,2,5, SCh 413, 14, n. 31.

<sup>24</sup> See OPTATUS, *Adversus donatistas* III,3,21, SCh 413, 34, n. 149.

<sup>25</sup> See P. CAPELLE, *Le texte du psautier latin en Afrique*, *Collectanea biblica latina*, 4 (Roma: F. Pustet, 1913), 78-81

predecessors, quote *Isa.* 66,5 with the phrase *fratres nostri estis*<sup>26</sup>. But it is important to note that the bishop of Hippo, in answering to the ecclesiastics of the dissident Church, sometime gave up the *Afra*<sup>27</sup>. In particular with respect to three biblical quotations, he introduced two versions and connected these versions respectively with the Donatists and with the Catholics. Thus Augustine reported the Donatist and Catholic versions of:

- *Jo.* 13,10: *not habet causam nisi pedes lavendi*<sup>28</sup> (Donatist)  
*qui lotus est not habet necessitatem iterum lavandi*<sup>29</sup> (Catholic);
- *Jo.* 13,35: *in hoc scient omnes quia mei discipuli estis, dilectionem habueritis in invicem*<sup>30</sup> (Donatist)  
*in hoc scient omnes quia discipuli mei estis, vos invicem dilexeritis*<sup>31</sup> (Catholic);
- *Jo.* 14,27: *pacem meam do vobis, pacem meam dimitto vobis*<sup>32</sup> (Donatist)  
*pacem meam do vobis, pacem meam relinquo vobis*<sup>33</sup> (Catholic).

The Catholic versions of these quotations of *John* agree with the *Adversus donatistas*<sup>34</sup>. Therefore we can say that Optatus, after examining the religious tradition of the Donatists,

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<sup>26</sup> On *Isa.* 66,5 with *fratres nostri estis* see AUGUSTINUS, *Contra partem Donati* 35,58, CSEL 53, 160; Id., *Sermo ad Caesariensis ecclesiae plebem* 2, CSEL 53, 169; Id., *Contra Gaudentium* II,11,2, CSEL 53, 270 = OPTATUS, *Adversus donatistas* I,3,1, Sch 412, 176.

<sup>27</sup> See B. QUINOT, «Remarques textuelles sur les citations scripturaires de Petilianus», *Traité anti-donatistes de Saint Augustin*, Bibliothèque Augustinienne 30 (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1967), III, 773-776.

<sup>28</sup> On Donatist version of *Jo.* 13,10 see PETILIANUS, *Ep. ad presbyteros*, in: Augustinus, *Contra litteras Petiliani* II,22,49, CSEL 52, 48; II,24,56, CSEL 52, 55.

<sup>29</sup> On Catholic version of *Jo.* 13,10 see AUGUSTINUS, *Ep. ad catholicos* 22,63, CSEL 52, 310; Id., *Contra Cresconium* I,31,37, CSEL 52, 356.

<sup>30</sup> On Donatist version of *Jo.* 13,35 see PETILIANUS, *Ep. ad presbyteros*, in: Augustinus, *Contra litteras Petiliani* II,75,167, CSEL 52, 105.

<sup>31</sup> On Catholic version of *Jo.* 13,35 see AUGUSTINUS, *De baptismo* III,19,26, CSEL 51, 217.

<sup>32</sup> On Donatist version of *Jo.* 14,27 see PETILIANUS, *Ep. ad presbyteros*, in: Augustinus, *Contra litteras Petiliani* II,22,49, CSEL 52, 48.

<sup>33</sup> On Catholic version of *Jo.* 14,27 see AUGUSTINUS, *Contra ep. Parmeniani* III,2,5, CSEL 51, 105; Id., *Sermo ad Caesariensis ecclesiae plebem* 1, CSEL 53, 167; 5, CSEL 53, 174.

<sup>34</sup> On *Jo.* 13,10 see OPTATUS, *Adversus donatistas* IV,4,2, Sch 413, 88; V,3,7, Sch 413, 122; V,3,8, Sch 413, 124; on *Jo.* 13,35 see OPTATUS, *Adversus donatistas* IV,4,3, Sch 413, 88; on *Jo.* 14,27 see OPTATUS, *Adversus donatistas* I,1,2, Sch 412, 174; II,5,6, Sch 412, 254; ID., Appendix I: *Gesta apud Zenophilum*, CSEL 26, 190 e 192.

decided to modify the African Old Latin. In particular, when a biblical passage seemed to be delineating an aspect of ecclesiological or sacramental theology in accordance with the thought of Cyprian, the bishop of Milevis modified the African Old Latin.

**11.** But the 16 biblical quotations of the *Adversus donatistas* in two versions (see *supra* Table 1) are still similar to the African Old Latin. In particular *Ps.* 49,18, which Optatus cited with *concurrerebas* and with *currebas*, is in Parmenian with *concurrerebas* too<sup>35</sup>; *Ps.* 49,20, which Optatus cited with *scandalum* and with *scandala*, is quoted by Parmenian with *scandalum* too<sup>36</sup>; *Ps.* 104,15, which Optatus cited with *christos* and with *unctos*, appears in Petilian with *christos* too<sup>37</sup>; *Ezek.* 28,2, which Optatus cited with *dic* and with *loquere*, is in Tyconius with *dic* too<sup>38</sup>; *Ezek.* 28,3, which Optatus cited with *sapientior tu* and with *tu sapientior*, appears in Tyconius with *sapientior tu* too<sup>39</sup>; finally, *Matt.* 28,19, which Optatus quoted with and without the words *docete gentes*, is attested in Petilian without the words *docete gentes* too<sup>40</sup>. And since the readings *concurrerebas*, *scandalum*, *christos*, *dic* and *sapientior tu* of *Pss.* 49,18.20; 104,15; *Ezek.* 28,2.3; *Matt.* 28,19, were probably also in the *Adversus ecclesiam traditorum* of Parmenian, it seems obvious that the bishop of Milevis during the first edition of his work followed the same *Vetus* as his adversaries<sup>41</sup>.

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<sup>35</sup> On *Ps.* 49,18 with *concurrerebas* see PARMENIANUS, *Ep. ad Tyconium*, in: Augustinus, *Contra ep. Parmeniani* II,9,18, CSEL 51, 64 = OPTATUS, *Adversus donatistas* IV,6,1.6.7, SCh 413, 94.98; and on *Ps.* 49,18 with *currebas* see OPTATUS, *Adversus donatistas* IV,3,4, SCh 413, 86.

<sup>36</sup> On *Ps.* 49,20 with *scandalum* see PARMENIANUS, *Ep. ad Tyconium*, in: Augustinus, *Contra ep. Parmeniani* II,9,18, CSEL 51, 64 = OPTATUS, *Adversus donatistas* IV,3,4, SCh 413, 86; IV,5,3, SCh 413, 90; and on *Ps.* 49,20 with *scandala* see OPTATUS, *Adversus donatistas* IV,5,3, SCh 413, 90.

<sup>37</sup> On *Ps.* 104,15 with *christos* see PETILIANUS, *Ep. ad presbyteros*, in: Augustinus, *Contra litteras Petiliani* II,20,44, CSEL 52, 45 = OPTATUS, *Adversus donatistas* IV,4,2, SCh 413, 88; and on *Ps.* 104,15 with *unctos* see OPTATUS, *Adversus donatistas* II,23,1, SCh 412, 290; II,25,11, SCh 412, 300.

<sup>38</sup> On *Ezek.* 28,2 with *dic* see TYCONIUS, *Liber Regularum* VII, Texts and Studies III/1, 78 = OPTATUS, *Adversus donatistas* III,3,10, SCh 413, 26; and on *Ezek.* 28,2 with *loquere* see OPTATUS, *Adversus donatistas* III,3,11, SCh 413, 26.

<sup>39</sup> On *Ezek.* 28,3 with *sapientior tu* see TYCONIUS, *Liber Regularum* VII, Texts and Studies III/1, 79 = OPTATUS, *Adversus donatistas* III,3,21, SCh 413, 34; and on *Ezek.* 28,3 with *tu sapientior* see OPTATUS, *Adversus donatistas* III,3,23, SCh 413, 36.

<sup>40</sup> On *Matt.* 28,19 without *docete gentes* see PETILIANUS, *Ep. ad presbyteros*, in: Augustinus, *Contra litteras Petiliani* II,33,77, CSEL 52, 65 = OPTATUS, *Adversus donatistas* V,3,8, SCh 413, 124; and on *Matt.* 28,19 with *docete gentes* see OPTATUS, *Adversus donatistas* V,5,4, SCh 413, 136.

<sup>41</sup> OPTATUS, *Adversus donatistas* V,1,11, SCh 413, 116: Denique et apud vos et apud nos una est ecclesiastica conversatio, communes lectiones...



12. However most biblical quotations of Optatus evidently derive from the second edition of the treatise and diverge from the Donatist literature. It is true that the Donatist writings and the *Adversus donatistas* have many biblical quotations in common and that the exegesis of the bishop of Milevis affected his adversaries. Around 380 Parmenian in the *Ep. ad Tyconium* quoted *Pss.* 49,16-20; 140,5; *Qoh.* 10,1; *Isa.* 66,3; *Jer.* 2,13<sup>42</sup>. At the end of fourth century Petilian, Cresconius and Fulgentius in their treatises used *Pss.* 1,1; 140,5; *Qoh.* 10,1; *Isa.* 66,3; *Hag.* 2,14; *Matt.* 23,15; *Eph.* 5,27<sup>43</sup>. During the Conference of Carthage (411) the bishops of the dissident Church quoted *Isa.* 66,3; *Hag.* 2,14; *Matt.* 22,11-14; *Eph.* 5,27<sup>44</sup>. Many biblical quotations of Optatus are in the writings of the schismatics too (*Num.* 16,1ff; *Pss.* 2,8; 13,3; 104,15; 132,1; *Matt.* 5,9; 13,30; 28,19; *Luc.* 9,49-50; *Jo.* 4,13; 13,10; 14,27; 2 *Cor.* 3,3; *Gal.* 3,27; *Eph.* 4,5)<sup>45</sup>. But in no cases do the biblical quotations of the Donatist literature coincide perfectly with the *Adversus donatistas*<sup>46</sup>.

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<sup>42</sup> On Ps. 49,16-20 see PARMENIANUS, *Ep. ad Tyconium*, in: Augustinus, *Contra ep. Parmeniani* II,9,18, CSEL 51, 63; on Ps. 140,5 see PARMENIANUS, *Ep. ad Tyconium*, in: Augustinus, *Contra ep. Parmeniani* II,10,20, CSEL 51, 66; on Qoh. 10,1 see PARMENIANUS, *Ep. ad Tyconium*, in: Augustinus, *Contra ep. Parmeniani* II,10,20, CSEL 51, 66; on Isa. 66,3 see PARMENIANUS, *Ep. ad Tyconium*, in: Augustinus, *Contra ep. Parmeniani* II,5,10, CSEL 51, 55; and on Jer. 2,13 see PARMENIANUS, *Ep. ad Tyconium*, in: Augustinus, *Contra ep. Parmeniani* II,10,20, CSEL 51, 66.

<sup>43</sup> On Ps. 1,1 see PETILIANUS, *Ep. ad presbyteros*, in: Augustinus, *Contra litteras Petiliani* II,46,107, CSEL 52, 82; on Ps. 140,5 see PETILIANUS, *Ep. ad presbyteros*, in: Augustinus, *Contra litteras Petiliani* II,103,236, CSEL 52, 150; CRESCONIUS, *Ep.*, in: Augustinus, *Contra Cresconium* II,23,28, CSEL 52, 387; IV,16,18, CSEL 52, 518s; on Qoh. 10,1 see FULGENTIUS, *Libellus de baptismo*, in: Ps.-Augustinus, *Contra Fulgentium* 14, *Revue Bénédictine* 58 (1948), 201; on Isa. 66,3 see PETILIANUS, *Ep. ad presbyteros*, in: Augustinus, *Contra litteras Petiliani* II,52,119, CSEL 52, 89; FULGENTIUS, *Libellus de baptismo*, in: Ps.-Augustinus, *Contra Fulgentium* 10, *Revue Bénédictine* 58 (1948), 198; on Hag. 2,14 see FULGENTIUS, *Libellus de baptismo*, in: Ps.-Augustinus, *Contra Fulgentium* 16, *Revue Bénédictine* 58 (1948), 203; on Matt. 23,15 see PETILIANUS, *Ep. ad presbyteros*, in: Augustinus, *Contra litteras Petiliani* II,72,161, CSEL 52, 102; on Eph. 5,27 see FULGENTIUS, *Libellus de baptismo*, in: Ps.-Augustinus, *Contra Fulgentium* 30, *Revue Bénédictine* 58 (1948), 218. Also on Hag. 2,14 and Matt. 23,15 see *Passio SS. Dativi Saturnini presb. et aliorum*, *Studi e Testi* 65, 70.

<sup>44</sup> On Isa. 66,3 and Hag. 2,14, see *Collatio* III,258, CCL 149A, 247; and on Eph. 5,27 see *Collatio* III,75, CCL 149A, 197.

<sup>45</sup> On Num. 16,1ss see *Sententia concilii Bagaiensis*, TU 135, 88; on Ps. 2,8 see FULGENTIUS, *Libellus de baptismo*, in: Ps.-Augustinus, *Contra Fulgentium* 5, *Revue Bénédictine* 58 (1948), 195; on Ps. 13,3 see *Sententia concilii Bagaiensis*, TU 135, 88; on Ps. 104,15 see PETILIANUS, *Ep. ad presbyteros*, in: Augustinus, *Contra litteras Petiliani* II,20,44, CSEL 52, 45; on Ps. 132,1 see PETILIANUS, *Ep. ad presbyteros*, in: Augustinus, *Contra litteras Petiliani* II,104,238, CSEL 52, 152; on Matt. 5,9 see PETILIANUS, *Ep. ad presbyteros*, in: Augustinus, *Contra litteras Petiliani* II,33,77, CSEL 52, 65; II,68,153, CSEL 52, 99; on Matt. 13,30 see TYCONIUS, *Liber Regularum* III, Texts and Studies III/1, 29; on Matt. 28,19 see

## Conclusion

**13.** The biblical quotations of Optatus generally are not found in the writings of Cyprian and of the Donatists. However the quotations of *John* (Jo. 13,10; 13,35; 14,27), reported by Augustine, during the controversy, according to the version of Optatus and according to the version of the Donatists, show that the bishop of Milevis effectively revised the African Old Latin.

**14.** Thus, we can conclude that the revision of the *Afra* occurred between the publications of the first and second edition of the *Adversus donatistas*, that is between 365 and 385. The coincidences between the biblical vocabulary of the Donatists and the biblical vocabulary of the *Adversus donatistas* allow us to say that Optatus in the first edition used the same *Vetus* as Parmenian. About twenty years after the composition of his work, the bishop of Milevis decided to create a second edition, because his adversaries had not still realized the error of their schism. At that time the situation of the African Church had not changed, and the Donatist party, in spite of the aggressiveness of imperial politics, was still flourishing. So Optatus himself said in his seventh book against the Donatists: “The provocations offered by you or your party continue to

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PETILIANUS, *Ep. ad presbyteros*, in: Augustinus, *Contra litteras Petiliani* II,33,77, CSEL 52, 65; on Luc. 9,49-50 see PETILIANUS, *Ep. ad presbyteros*, in: Augustinus, *Contra litteras Petiliani* II,80,177, CSEL 52, 109; on Jo. 4,13 see FULGENTIUS, *Libellus de baptismo*, in: Ps.-Augustinus, *Contra Fulgentium* 2, *Revue Bénédictine* 58 (1948), 192; on Jo. 13,10 see PETILIANUS, *Ep. ad presbyteros*, in: Augustinus, *Contra litteras Petiliani* II,22,49, CSEL 52, 48; II,23,56, CSEL 52, 55; on Jo. 14,27 see PETILIANUS, *Ep. ad presbyteros*, in: Augustinus, *Contra litteras Petiliani* II,22,49, CSEL 52, 48; on 2 Cor. 3,3 see *Passio SS. Dativi Saturnini presb. et aliorum*, *Studi e Testi* 65, 60; on Gal. 3,27 see PETILIANUS, *Ep. ad presbyteros*, in: Augustinus, *Contra litteras Petiliani* II,44,103, CSEL 52, 81; TYCONIUS, *Commentarius in Apocalypsim*, fr. 444, *Texts and Studies* VII, 178; on Eph. 4,5 see PETILIANUS, *Ep. ad presbyteros*, in: Augustinus, *Contra litteras Petiliani* II,27,62, CSEL 52, 57; CRESCONIUS, *Ep.*, in: Augustinus, *Contra Cresconium* I,28,33, CSEL 52, 352; FULGENTIUS, *Libellus de baptismo*, in: Ps.-Augustinus, *Contra Fulgentium* 7, *Revue Bénédictine* 58 (1948), 196.

<sup>46</sup> On Num. 16,1ss see OPTATUS, *Adversus donatistas* I,21,2, SCh 412, 216 ; VI,1,10, SCh 413, 166; on Ps. 2,8 see OPTATUS, *Adversus donatistas* II,1,5.7, SCh 412, 238, 240; on Ps. 13,3 see OPTATUS, *Adversus donatistas* II,18,1, SCh 412, 274; II,25,7, SCh 412, 298; II,26,1, SCh 412, 300; on Ps. 104,15 see OPTATUS, *Adversus donatistas* II,25,9, SCh 412, 298; IV,4,2, SCh 413, 88; on Ps. 132,1 see OPTATUS, *Adversus donatistas* III,6,2, SCh 413, 50; on Matt. 5,9 see OPTATUS, *Adversus donatistas* III,6,2, SCh 413, 50; IV,2,3, SCh 413, 82; on Matt. 28,19 see OPTATUS, *Adversus donatistas* V,3,8, SCh 413, 124; V,5,4, SCh 413, 136; on Luc. 9,49-50 see OPTATUS, *Adversus donatistas* V,7,6, SCh 413, 144; on Jo. 4,13 see OPTATUS, *Adversus donatistas* V,4,10, SCh 413, 132; V,5,2, SCh 413, 134; on Jo. 13,10 see OPTATUS, *Adversus donatistas* IV,4,2, SCh 413, 88; V,3,7, SCh 413, 122; V,3,8, SCh 413, 124; on Jo. 14,27 see OPTATUS, *Adversus donatistas* I,1,2, SCh 412, 172-174; II,5,6, SCh 412, 254; on 2 Cor. 3,3 see OPTATUS, *Adversus donatistas* VII,1,20, SCh 413, 202; on Gal. 3,27 see OPTATUS, *Adversus donatistas* V,10,3, SCh 413, 156; on Eph. 4,5 see OPTATUS, *Adversus donatistas* V,3,10, SCh 413, 126.

burgeon – your argument, as I hear, being that we ought not to have sought unity of communion when you were agreed to be children of collaborators – I shall briefly reply to this”<sup>47</sup>.

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<sup>47</sup> OPTATUS, *Adversus donatistas* VII,1,1, SCh 413, 192: ...video adhuc vestras vel vestrorum provocationes pullulare quas vos audio dicere ad unam communionem non oportuisse quaeri cum filios traditorum vos esse constiterit, ad ea pauca respondeam.