

A NOTE ON THE DATE OF PACIAN OF BARCELONA'S *PARAENESIS AD PAENITENTIAM**

Jerome's debt to the Classics has long been recognized¹. In recent years scholarship has also begun to document echoes of the Church Fathers; this indebtedness is especially marked in Jerome's early works. Tertullian in particular has been heavily plagiarized². However other Fathers are also laid under contribution: borrowings have been identified from such authors as Cyprian, Ambrose, Lactantius, Ambrosiaster and Evagrius of Antioch³. Above all it is arresting turns of phrase that Jerome takes over. Since the works which provide these formulations are frequently unconnected with Jerome's own subject-matter, they cannot have been specially consulted: Jerome relies solely on his magpie mind and vast memory. The purpose of the present note is to argue for one such borrowing from Pacian of Barcelona's *Paraenesis ad paenitentiam*: the identification provides a *terminus ante quem* for this work.

The letter which Jerome wrote to Rufinus from Antioch contains an ecstatic description of the anchoritic life embraced by their mutual friend Bonosus (*epist.* 3.4). The chapter in question is full of borrowings from other writers. Petitmengin has identified two phrases which have been taken

(*) Citation of works follows the method of *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae: Index librorum scriptorum inscriptionum*, 2nd ed., Leipzig 1990.

(¹) Cfr. E. Lübeck, *Hieronymus quos noverit scriptores et ex quibus hauserit*, Leipzig 1872; H. Hagendahl, *Latin Fathers and the Classics: A Study on the Apologists, Jerome and Other Christian Writers* (Acta Univ. Gothob. 64.2), Göteborg 1958.

(²) Cfr. P. Petitmengin, *Saint Jérôme et Tertullien*, in Y.-M. Duval (ed.), *Jérôme entre l'Occident et l'Orient*, Paris 1988, 43-59; the present writer, *Tertullian's 'De ieiunio' and Jerome's 'Libellus de virginitate servanda' (Epist. 22)*, "WS" 104, 1991, 149-160; id., *Tertullian in Jerome (Epist. 22.37.1f)*, "SO" 68, 1993, 129-143; id., *Tertullian's 'De idololatria' and Jerome, "Augustinianum"* 33, 1993, 11-30.

(³) For Jerome's debt to Cyprian cfr. S. Deléani, *Présence de Cyprien dans les oeuvres de Jérôme sur la virginité*, in Duval, *op. cit.* 61-82. For Ambrose cfr. Y.-M. Duval, *L'originalité du 'De virginibus' dans le mouvement ascétique occidental: Ambroise, Cyprien, Athanase*, in Y.-M. Duval, *Ambroise de Milan: XVIe centenaire de son élection épiscopale*, Paris 1974, 64-65. For Lactantius and Ambrosiaster cfr. the present writer, *Jerome as Centoist: Epist. 22.38.7*, "RSLR" 28, 1992, 461-471. For Evagrius cfr. id., *An Echo of Evagrius of Antioch in Jerome*, forthcoming in "SIFC" 3a ser. 11, 1993. Jerome also borrows from Greek authors; cfr. (e.g.) the present writer, *Gregory of Nazianzus and Jerome: Some Remarks*, in M. A. Flower and M. Toher (edd.), *Georgica: Greek Studies in Honour of George Cawkwell*, London 1991, 23; id., *Athanasius' 'Letter to virgins' and Jerome's 'Libellus de virginitate servanda'*, forthcoming in "RFIC".

from different works of Tertullian: Jerome's *paradisi colonus* (4.2) has been suggested by *De patientia* 5.13, while the phrase *totus de apostolo armatus* (4.4) comes straight from *De corona* 1.3⁴. There would also appear to be an echo of a third work by Tertullian: the sentence *videt gloriam dei, quam etiam apostoli nisi in deserto non viderant* (4.3) would seem to have been inspired by *Ad martyras* 2.8 *gloriam denique suam discipulis in solitudine demonstravit*⁵. The chapter ends with a borrowing from Cyprian: the *Ad Donatum* (ch. 15) is the source of Jerome's *nunc deum audit, cum divina relegit, nunc cum deo loquitur, cum dominum rogat* (4.4)⁶. In view of such extreme derivativeness it would accordingly be no surprise to find that the chapter also contains an echo of Pacian.

Pacian's works enjoyed as much celebrity as the man himself. In the notice which Jerome devotes to him in *De viris illustribus* he reports that Pacian was *tam vita quam sermone clarus* (ch. 106). It was in fact to Pacian's son Dexter that the *De viris illustribus* was dedicated; Dexter in turn addressed a *Universal History* to Jerome (*vir. ill.* 132). Above all it was Pacian's rhetorical finesse which Jerome admired: he commends his *castigata eloquentia* (ib. 106). It would seem that the phrase is intended to denote a style similar to Tertullian's: Pacian was deeply influenced by him⁷. In particular the *Paraenesis ad paenitentiam* is eminently "Tertullianesque" in both subject-matter and language⁸. It was noted above that in the early stages of his career Jerome was an enthusiastic student of Tertullian. Throughout the same period he was also a voracious reader⁹. It is therefore natural to assume that during this time he read Pacian's *Paraenesis* as well.

In Jerome's letter to Rufinus the echo of Tertullian's *Ad martyras* which

(⁴) Cfr. Petitmengin, *art. cit.* 49 with n. 42.

(⁵) Jerome plagiarizes the adjacent passage (*mart.* 2.9) in the following year at *epist.* 14.10.3; cfr. Y.-M. Duval, *L'influence des écrivains africains du III^e siècle sur les écrivains chrétiens de l'Italie du Nord dans la seconde moitié du IV^e siècle*, in S. Tavano (ed.), *Aquileia e l'Africa* (Antichità altoadriatiche 5), Udine 1974, 213, n. 85 (for "3.9" read "2.9"). On the passage from the letter to Rufinus E. Klostermann, rev. of I. Hilberg, *S. Eusebii Hieronymi epistulae*, I, Vienna-Leipzig 1910, "GGA" 173, 1911, 194, had merely compared Mt. 17.1-2: *post dies sex adsumpsit Iesus Petrum et Iacobum et Iohannem fratrem eius et ducit illos in montem excelsum seorsum; et transfiguratus est ante eos*.

(⁶) Cfr. the present writer, '*Oras: loqueris ad sponsum; legis: ille tibi loquitur*' (Jerome, *Epist.* 22.25.1), "VChr" 46, 1992, 141-150. In the letter to Rufinus this borrowing is juxtaposed with the phrase appropriated from Tertullian, *coron.* 1.3.

(⁷) Cfr. L. Rubio Fernández, *San Paciano: Obras*, Barcelona 1958, 30: "Tertuliano es también 'el maestro' de Paciano".

(⁸) Cfr. Rubio Fernández, *op. cit.* 31.

(⁹) Cfr. (e.g.) *epist.* 5.2.

was identified above is followed by a triad of arresting antitheses. The second one runs as follows: *horrent sacco membra deformi, sed sic melius obviam Christo rapietur in nubibus* (epist. 3.4.3). The antithetical form of expression would seem to have been inspired by passages from Cyprian's *Letters* (76.2) and Tertullian's *De idololatria* (12.2); Jerome borrows *verbatim* from both in the following year¹⁰. One of the Cyprianic antitheses does in fact contain the term *membra*¹¹. However Jerome's striking formulation *horrent sacco... deformi* would appear to have come from Pacian's *Paraenesis ad paenitentiam: sacco... horrente deformis* (9.4). No other example of this collocation is attested¹². Such use of multiple sources in the same passage is entirely characteristic of Jerome¹³.

The chronology of Pacian's life is very obscure¹⁴. He died at some time between 379 and 392; according to Jerome he was then *iam ultima senectute* (vir. ill. 106). Rubio Fernández surmises that he was born in the first decade of the fourth century; he became bishop after 343. Similarly conjectural is the chronology of his *oeuvre*. In particular it has hitherto proved impossible to adduce evidence that sheds any light at all on the date of the *Paraenesis ad paenitentiam*. The foregoing enquiry would seem however to provide a clue. Identification of Jerome's borrowing from this work now supplies a *terminus ante quem*. Jerome's letter to Rufinus was written in the summer of 375¹⁵. Pacian's *Paraenesis ad paenitentiam* must accordingly have been composed before that date.

Three further points may be made in conclusion. The first is that Jerome repeats the same formulation nine years later: *horrebam sacco membra deformis* (epist. 22.7.1). It is not in fact unusual for Jerome to redeploy at a later date phraseology which had originally been appropriated from another author¹⁶.

(¹⁰) Cfr. Duval, *art. cit.* (n. 6) 213, n. 85.

(¹¹) Viz: *squalent sine balneis membra situ et sorde deformia, sed spiritualiter intus abluitur quod foris carnaliter sordidatur*.

(¹²) Cfr. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 5.1 coll. 367.66–369.62 (s.v. *deformis*); ib. 6.3 coll. 2976.22–2983.42 (s.v. *horreo*). One might also compare the article on *membrum* (ib. 8 coll. 633.80–645.50); that on *saccus* has not yet appeared. Similarly no other instance of the collocation outside Jerome is to be found on the electronic disk of *CETEDOC Library of Christian Latin Texts*, Turnhout 1991.

(¹³) Cfr. the present writer, *art. cit.* (n. 7) 149–150, n. 44.

(¹⁴) Cfr. Rubio Fernández, *op. cit.* 14–16. He begins by observing that “no podemos precisar ninguna fecha en la vida ni en la obra de Paciano”.

(¹⁵) Cfr. F. Cavallera, *Saint Jérôme: Sa vie et son oeuvre*, I.2 (Spic. Sacr. Lovan. 2), Louvain-Paris 1922, 14–15; and most recently J. H. D. Scourfield, *Jerome, Antioch, and the Desert: A Note on Chronology*, “JThS” n.s. 37, 1986, 121.

(¹⁶) Two further instances may be cited from the letter to Rufinus itself. The phrase

Secondly it may be noted that on both occasions the borrowing from Pacian is combined with a citation of scripture¹⁷. Such juxtaposition of a biblical text with a striking formulation that has been taken from another author is a further characteristic of Jerome's method of composition¹⁸. The final point concerns the text of the twenty-second letter. Here the manuscripts show some uncertainty: in particular the ending of *deformis* varies. Pacian had said *sacco... horrente deformis*. Since this text has now been identified as Jerome's source, it would seem that Hilberg's choice of reading is right: *horrebam sacco... deformis*.

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paradisi colonus (epist. 3.4.2) comes from Tertullian, *patient*. 5.13. Jerome employs it again at epist. 10.1.1 and 52.5.4; cfr. Petitmengin, *art. cit.* 49, n. 42. Similarly the formulation which Jerome borrows from Cyprian, *ad Donat.* 15 (epist. 3.4.4: *nunc deum audit, cum divina relegit, nunc cum deo loquitur, cum dominum rogat*) is repeated at epist. 22.25.1; cfr. the present writer, *art. cit.* (n. 7) 141-142. For a detailed examination of an example from a work other than the letter to Rufinus cfr. P. Lardet, *S. Jérôme: Apologie contre Rufin. Commentaire du livre troisième*, IV, unpubl. diss. Paris 1980, 714-720.

(¹⁷) In the letter to Rufinus Jerome says: *horrent sacco membra deformi, sed sic melius obviam Christo rapietur in nubibus*. The second half of the sentence paraphrases I Thess. 4.17: *rapiemur... in nubibus obviam domino* (Hilberg, *op. cit.* 16 erroneously refers to 4.16). The full context in the twenty-second letter is the following: *sedebam solus, quia amaritudine repletus eram. horrebam sacco membra deformis*. In the first sentence Hilberg, *op. cit.* 153, detected an allusion to Ruth 1.20 *quia valde me amaritudine replevit Omnipotens* (Vulg.); LXX has ὅτι ἐπικράνθη ἐν ἐμοὶ ὁ ἱκανὸς σφόδρα. A. Vaccari, rev. of Hilberg, *op. cit.*, "Biblica" 1, 1920, 389, then suggested Lam. 1.20 *quoniam amaritudine plena sum* (Vulg.; LXX ὅτι παραπικραίνουσα παρεπίκρανα). In fact however Jerome's sentence is simply the LXX version of Jer. 15.17: κατὰ μόνας ἐκαθήμην, ὅτι πικρίας ἐνεπλήσθην.

(¹⁸) Cfr. the present writer, *Some Features of Jerome's Compositional Technique in the 'Libellus de virginitate servanda' (Epist. 22)*, "Philologus" 136, 1992, 239-251.