"Istae sunt, quae solent dicere" : three Roman vignettes in Jerome's "Libellus de virginitate servanda" (Epist. 22)

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The Rhetorica ad Herennium[1] defines *sermocinatio* as follows: *sermocinatio est, cum alicui personae sermo adtribuitur et is exponitur cum ratione dignitatis* (4, 52, 65)[2]. Quintilian remarks that use of this figure is a marvellously effective way of enlivening the discourse (Inst. 9, 2, 29). He adds that the device is also especially suitable for depicting the attitude of one's opponents (ib. 9, 2, 30). It is not therefore surprising that Jerome should employ *sermocinatio* on three occasions in the Libellus de virginitate servanda in order to describe those elements of contemporary Roman society which were opposed to his own brand of rigorous asceticism. Wiesen has noted that Jerome was uniquely fitted for such description by his 'power keenly to observe the minute details of human behavior'[3]. Do we then have three further examples of this gift for observation here?

The cases of *sermocinatio* in the Libellus are carefully distributed throughout the treatise. The first occurs a third of the way through it when Jerome is describing how lax virgins fall. Here he expresses himself thus:

> *nonnullae, cum se senserint concepisse de scelere,*
> *aborti venena meditantur et frequenter etiam ipsae commortuae*
> *trium criminum reae ad inferos perducuntur, homicidae sui,*
> *Christi adulterae, necdum nati filii parricidae. istae sunt, quae*
> 5 *solent dicere: '"omnia munda mundis". sufficit mihi conscientia mea. cor mundum desiderat deus. cur me abstineam "a cibis, quos deus creavit ad utendum"?' et si quando lepidae et festivae volunt videri et se mero ingurgitaverint, ebrietati sacrilegium copulantes aiunt: 'absit, ut ego me a Christi san-*
> 10 *guine abstineam'.* (13, 2f.)

1 Latin works are cited according to the conventions of *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae: Index Librorum Scriptorum Inscriptionum* (Leipzig 1904). The editions used are those in H. J. Frede, *Kirchenschriftsteller: Verzeichnis und Sigel,* Vetus Latina 1/1 (Freiburg 1981) and its two *Aktualisierungshefte* (1984 and 1988). Citation of Greek patristic works follows the practice of G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford 1961–1968) I, xi–xlv; the editions are those given in M. Geerard/F. Glorie, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* I–V (Turnhout 1974–1987).

2 On the question of terminology cf. G. Calboli, *Cornifici Rhetorica ad C. Herennium. Introduzione, testo critico, commento* (Bologna 1969) 420–422. 424f. (nn. 277. 290).

3 D. S. Wiesen, *St. Jerome as a Satirist: A Study in Christian Latin Thought and Letters,* Cornell Stud. in Class. Philol. 34 (Ithaca 1964) 46.

Duval identified the phrase *Christi adulterae* (line 4) as a borrowing from Cyprian's De habitu virginum (20)[4]. Jerome characteristically incorporates it into an impressive *tricolon crescens*[5]. It is perhaps possible that the final element has also been inspired by one of Jerome's predecessors: *necdum nati filii parricidae*. In Ad uxorem 1, 5, 2 Tertullian had used the very striking phrase *parricidiis expugnantur* of the unborn victims of abortion. Evidence will be adduced below to show that elsewhere in the present work Jerome borrows verbatim from the first book of this treatise. It would not therefore be surprising if his wording here were also an echo of the Ad uxorem[6]. Tertullian has unquestionably contributed to Jerome's phraseology in the sentence which ends two lines above the passage just quoted. This sentence runs: *videas plerasque viduas ante quam nuptas infelicem conscientiam mentita tantum veste protegere, quas nisi tumor uteri et infantum prodiderit vagitus, erecta cervice et ludentibus pedibus incedunt* (13, 1). The arresting paradox *viduas ante quam nuptas* was again identified by Duval as an appropriation from chapter twenty of Cyprian's De habitu virginum[7]. However it has escaped notice that the clause *quas nisi tumor uteri et infantum prodiderit vagitus* has been taken from Tertullian's De virginibus velandis 14, 6: *non enim confitebuntur nisi ipsorum infantium suorum vagitibus proditae*[8]. Jerome has characteristically increased

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4 Y.-M. Duval, *Sur une page de saint Cyprien chez saint Ambroise: 'Hexameron' 6, 8, 47 et 'De habitu virginum' 15-17*, Rev. Et. Aug. 16 (1970) 33, n. 36. The locution was in fact rather more widespread than Duval suggests. Cyprian himself had used it again at *Epist.* 4, 4. It recurs later in Jerome, *Epist.* 147, 11, 3, Ps.-Sulpicius Severus, *Epist. app.* 2, 19 and Augustine, *In psalm.* 83, 4; at *Bon. viduit.* 10, 13 Augustine dissents from the view of those who thought that women who married after a vow of chastity were adultresses in actual fact (cf. J. Saint-Martin, *Œuvres de s. Augustin.* 1ʳᵉ sér., III: *L'ascétisme chrétien²*, Bibl. Aug. 3, Paris 1949, 463f., n. 33). One might compare further Origen, *Comm. in I Cor.* 26: πόρνοι ἐπὶ Χριστόν. For the idea itself cf. also John Chrysostom, *Hom. in I Tim.* 8, 3: Χριστὸν ἔχεις νυμφίον. τί ἐραστὰς ἀνϑρώπους ἐπισπᾶσαι; μοιχείας σε τότε κρινεῖ; Ps.-Chrysostom, *Hom.* 10 p. 40: οὐχὶ συνδούλου κοίτην ἐνύβρισας, ἀλλὰ τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

5 Jerome's *tricolon* is reproduced by Caesarius of Arles, *Serm.* 51, 4. For the combination 'killer of oneself' and 'killer of one's offspring' cf. Basil, *Epist.* 188, 2 (one of the canonical letters: ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἐναποϑνήσκουσι ταῖς τοιαύταις ἐπιχειρήσεσιν αἱ γυναῖκες. πρόσεστι δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ἡ φϑορὰ τοῦ ἐμβρύου, ἕτερος φόνος); *Homiliae Clementinae* 4, 21, 2 (φϑείρουσαν συνφϑαρῆναι). Whereas this pair naturally goes together, Jerome's importation into it of the Cyprianic 'adultress of Christ' might be felt to entail a certain inconcinnity.

6 Thes. Ling. Lat. X 1, 446, 49-51 records two further instances of *parricidium* applied to abortion: Minucius Felix 30, 2 (*parricidium faciant antequam pariant*) and Cyprian, *Epist.* 52, 2 (*in parricidium partus*). Here the word has clearly been chosen for the sake of the *adnominatio*. The *Thesaurus* provides no parallel for the use of *parricida* in this sense.

7 Y.-M. Duval (note 4) 33, n. 36.

8 The borrowing is not recorded by C. Micaelli, *Ricerche sulla fortuna di Tertulliano*, Orpheus n.s. 6 (1985) 118-135, nor by P. Petitmengin, *Saint Jérôme et Tertullien*, in Y.-M. Duval (ed.), *Jérôme entre l'occident et l'orient: XVIᵉ centenaire du départ de s. Jérôme de Rome et de son installation à Bethléem* (Paris 1988) 43-59. Jerome's *infelicem conscientiam ... protegere* would also appear to have been suggested by Tertullian's *ventres tegere coguntur infirmitatis ruina*, which occurs in the same passage (*Virg. vel.* 14, 2).

the stylistic élan of his borrowed material[9]. Recently Deléani has pointed out that the last clause of this passage is an echo if Isaiah 3, 16[10]. Jerome has therefore juxtaposed an imitation of Tertullian with a citation of scripture. He did precisely the same thing just eight lines earlier at 12, 2: *Salomon, per quem se cecinit ipsa sapientia, qui 'disputavit a cedro Libani usque ad hysopum, quae exit per parietem'*[11]. It would accordingly be no surprise if Jerome were to repeat this procedure in the *sermocinatio* which follows.

Tertullian's De cultu feminarum was a work which Jerome knew well. Echoes of it appear early and are frequent[12]. The final pages of this treatise deal with the same topic which occupies Jerome in chapter thirteen of his Libellus: the deportment of Christian women who resemble prostitutes is altogether scandalous. The reasons which such folk use to justify their behaviour are then set out by Tertullian in the following *sermocinatio*: *aliqua fors dicet: 'non est mihi necessarium hominibus probari: nec enim testimonium hominum requiro; deus conspector est cordis'* (2, 13, 1). It would seem that here we have the source of Jerome's own *sermocinatio*: the argument in both is identical. In particular it might be thought that there is a faint verbal echo of *deus conspector est cordis* in Jerome's *cor mundum desiderat deus*: *cor* and *deus* enclose both statements.

In Tertullian this line of reasoning is entirely appropriate. The point at issue is external adornment. Tertullian rebuts his *sermocinatio* by insisting that it is not enough for a Christian woman to be chaste; she must show by her outward appearance that she is (2, 13, 3). In Jerome's *sermocinatio* on the other hand the same argument is not à propos. The *istae* in whose mouths he puts it have just been described as guilty of illegitimate pregnancies, contraception and abortion (13, 1f.). Clearly such people cannot claim a 'pure heart' and a 'clear conscience'. In fact Jerome himself says that they try *infelicem conscientiam mentita tantum veste protegere* (13, 1). The inappropriateness of the argument is convenient verification that it has been borrowed from elsewhere. Such inconcinnity is not uncommon in the Libellus de virginitate[13].

If Jerome has appropriated his argument from the De cultu feminarum, it is significant that he differs from Tertullian in making lavish use of scripture. *Cor mundum* is of course itself a scriptural locution[14]. Jerome also begins and

9 He would seem to have combined the passage from *De virginibus velandis* with another from Tertullian's *De monogamia* 16, 8: *uteros nauseantes et infantes pipiantes*. It may be noted that this sentence of the *De monogamia* continues with the following injunction: *parent antichristo, in quo libidinosius saeviat*. These words are probably the source of Jerome's argument at 21, 5: *quo mihi superbissimo regi servitura coniugia? quo parvulos, quos propheta conploret*.

10 S. Deléani, *Présence de Cyprien dans les œuvres de Jérôme sur la virginité*, in Y.-M. Duval (ed.; note 8) 73.

11 The biblical text is I Kings 4, 33. The preceding clause has been lifted with slight modification from *De carne Christi* 20, 3: *per quem se cecinit ipse Christus*.

12 Cf. P. Petitmengin (note 8) 55.

13 Cf. the present writer, *Some Notes on the Content of Jerome's 22nd Letter*, Graz. Beitr. 15 (1988) 177–186.

14 Cf. Psalm 23, 4 (LXX and Hebr.); 50, 12 (LXX and Hebr.); 72, 1 (Hebr.); Prov. 20, 9; Matth. 5,

ends his *sermocinatio* with a quotation from the bible[15]. The result is again to enhance the rhetorical effect. The same purpose is served by the insertion of the striking expression *sufficit mihi conscientia mea* (lines 5f.). Here Schade compared Cicero, Ad Atticum 12, 28, 2: *mea mihi conscientia pluris est quam omnium sermo*[16]. However Cicero's formulation is rather different. Otto lists Jerome's phrase, although he admits that it is not 'im strengen Sinne sprich-wörtlich'[17]. Häussler adds two further examples from Jerome[18]. Their evidence certainly establishes that this expression was one of Jerome's favourites[19]. The Thesaurus also adduces a parallel from Quintilian and another which occurs a century after Jerome's Libellus in Sidonius Apollinaris[20]. However it is per-haps possible to detect the influence of Tertullian on Jerome here again. In his De carne Christi Tertullian had written: *'sed satis erat illi* (sc. *Christo)', inquis, 'conscientia sua. Viderint homines si natum putabant, quia hominem videbant'* (3, 2). Here the expression forms part of a *sermocinatio*, as it does in Jerome. The same treatise has supplied Jerome with a number of striking phrases in the present work[21]. Perhaps we have another one here[22].

8. On Tertullian's *deus conspector est cordis* M. Turcan, *Tertullien: La toilette des femmes. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et commentaire,* Sources chrét. 173 (Paris 1971) 162, compares I Sam. 16, 7: ὅτι οὐχ ὡς ἐμβλέψεται ἄνθρωπος, ὄψεται ὁ θεός, ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ὄψεται εἰς πρόσωπον, ὁ δὲ θεὸς ὄψεται εἰς καρδίαν. Jerome himself quotes this passage in his attack on just such worldly women at 38, 2 of the *Libellus*: it would therefore have been inappropriate to echo the words here.

15 *cur me abstineam a cibis, quos deus creavit ad utendum?* (ll. 6f.) is an echo of I Tim. 4, 3: *abstinere a cibis, quos deus creavit ad percipiendum.* The allusion is not recorded by I. Hilberg (ed.), *S. Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae* I, Corp. Script. Eccl. Lat. 54 (Vienna/Leipzig 1910). It is also overlooked by the annotated editions which have appeared subsequently. It had however been identified by W. H. Fremantle, *The Principal Works of St. Jerome,* Sel. Libr. of Nic. and Post-Nic. Fathers II 6 (Oxford 1893) 27, n. 4.

16 L. Schade, *Des hl. Kirchenvaters Eusebius Hieronymus ausgewählte Briefe* I. Briefband, Bibl. d. Kirchenv. II 16 (Munich 1936) 75, n. 2. The reference is repeated in *Hieronymus: Briefe über die christliche Lebensführung,* Deutsche Übersetzung v. L. Schade, bearbeitet v. J. B. Bauer, Schrift. d. Kirchenv. 2 (Munich 1983) 44, n. 2.

17 A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer* (Leipzig 1890) 90 s.v. *conscientia* 2. He cites Jerome, *Epist.* 14, 7, 1 and 123, 14, 1, where the wording is the same as in *Epist.* 22; he also compares Cicero, *Att.* 12, 28, 2 and Ovid, *Fast.* 4, 311 (*conscia mens recti famae mendacia ridet*).

18 R. Häussler, *Nachträge zu A. Otto, Sprichwörter und sprichwörtliche Redensarten der Römer* (Hildesheim 1968) 99. The passages in question are *Epist.* 22, 13, 3 and 117, 4, 4.

19 One might add further *Tract. in psalm.* I p. 132, 27f. (*sufficit tibi, o iuste, conscientia tua*).

20 Thes. Ling. Lat. IV 368, 22f.: viz. Quint. *Inst.* 11, 1, 17 (*in veris quoque sufficit conscientia*) and Sidon. *Epist.* 1, 7, 7 (*satis Arvando conscientia sua sufficit*).

21 One was registered in note 11 above. Another occurs at 39, 2 (*blanditiis deridetur,* cf. *Carn.* 4, 2, where Tertullian uses exactly the same expression). Neither borrowing is noticed by Micaelli (note 8) or Petitmengin (ib.).

22 It is clear from the evidence already adduced above that Jerome lifts flashy phrases indis-criminately from a whole range of Tertullian's works. In this particular case the cue was perhaps supplied by *conscientia* in Tit. 1, 15; Jerome quotes the first half of this verse immediately before (*omnia munda mundis*).

These echoes from the De cultu feminarum and De carne Christi would indicate that Jerome's first *sermocinatio* does indeed present the same combination of scriptural citation and borrowing from Tertullian that was observed twice in the immediately preceding section of the Libellus. Hagendahl has established how Jerome constructs a mosaic of borrowings from the Classics and the bible[23]. It would seem that he also does the same thing with the Fathers and the bible: this tendency has not yet been identified. Any arresting phraseology appealed to Jerome: its source was immaterial. Its suitability too was often of secondary importance.

To this first impressive *sermocinatio* Jerome appends another short one: *absit, ut ego me a Christi sanguine abstineam* (lines 9f.). Labourt explains these words as follows: 'C'est-à-dire: je ne me priverai pas pour cela de communier; l'usage romain de cette époque était que les fidèles pussent communier chez eux tous les jours, s'ils le désiraient'[24]. However this interpretation fails to take account of *sacrilegium* in the preceding clause (line 9)[25]. The correct explanation would seem to have been supplied by Schade: 'So nennen sie den Wein, unter dessen Gestalt das Blut Christi dargestellt wird'[26]. The sacrilege of such people consists in justifying their inebriation by referring to the wine they have drunk as 'Christ's blood'. It would seem that this observation has not been inspired by any literary source. That such a line of argument was in fact current at this period is suggested by two contemporary texts. The first is found in Jerome's own commentary on Galatians[27]. Here he is dealing with criticism of the passage of his Libellus de virginitate which had prescribed that young women should avoid wine 'like poison'[28]. He excuses himself with the following observation: *alioquin sciebamus et in Christi sanguinem vinum consecrari* (5, 19–21, p. 509). The second text comes from Ambrose's Exameron[29]. Ambrose argues that God created wine in the knowledge that moderate use of it was beneficial and that only excess would lead to vice. He continues: *sed dominus et in eo creaturae suae gratiam reservavit, ut eius fructum nobis con-*

23 H. Hagendahl, *Latin Fathers and the Classics: A Study on the Apologists, Jerome and Other Christian Writers*, Acta Univ. Gothoburg. 64, 2 (Göteborg 1958) 136f.

24 J. Labourt, *Saint Jérôme: Lettres* I (Paris 1949) 123, n. 1. The same explanation is found in S. Cola, *San Girolamo: Le lettere* I (Rome 1962) 186, n. 80, and in E. Camisani, *Opere scelte di San Girolamo* I (Turin 1971) 340, n. 69.

25 It may be noted how Jerome's striking phrase *ebrietati sacrilegium copulantes* is copied by Ambrose in his *De Helia et ieiunio* 12, 41: *videmus sacrilegium ebrietati fuisse coniunctum* (on the Golden Calf episode). This work was written shortly after Jerome's *Libellus*; cf. F. H. Dudden, *The Life and Times of St. Ambrose* (Oxford 1935) 685.

26 L. Schade (note 16) 75, n. 3.

27 It belongs to 386 according to P. Nautin, *La date des commentaires de Jérôme sur les épîtres pauliniennes*, Rev. d'Hist. Eccl. 74 (1979) 5–12. The *Libellus de virginitate servanda* was of course composed in 384.

28 *Epist.* 22, 8, 1.

29 The work is dated to 387 by G. Banterle, *Sant'Ambrogio. Opere esegetiche* I: *I sei giorni della creazione. Introduzione, traduzione, note e indici* (Milan/Rome 1979) 13.

verteret ad salutem ac per eum nobis peccatorum remissio proveniret (3, 17, 72)[30]. Here the reference is to the Eucharist. These passages of Jerome and Ambrose accordingly indicate that in the 380's it was indeed customary to justify the consumption of wine on the grounds that Christ's blood took this form. The twofold *sermocinatio* which Jerome employs in chapter thirteen of his Libellus would therefore seem to consist of both literary imitation and of observation from life.

The second passage of the Libellus in which Jerome uses *sermocinatio* to characterize the enemies of extreme asceticism occurs immediately after the middle of the work. Jerome is warning against ribald conversation:

> *si libenter audias,*
> *virgo, quod dicitur, si ad ridicula quaeque solvaris, quidquid*
> *dixeris, laudant; quidquid negaveris, negant. facetam vocant*
> *et sanctam et in qua nullus sit dolus, 'ecce vera Christi*
> 5 *ancilla' dicentes, 'ecce tota simplicitas, non ut illa horrida,*
> *turpis, rusticana, terribilis et quae ideo forsitan maritum in-*
> *venire non potuit'.* (24, 1)

It has been argued elsewhere that *quidquid dixeris, laudant; quidquid negaveris, negant* (lines 2f.) is an echo of Terence, Eunuch 251f.: *quidquid dicunt laudo; id rursum si negant, laudo id quoque; / negat quis: nego*[31]. Hilberg's Apparatus fontium records no biblical citation in this passage. In a review of Hilberg's edition however Klostermann tentatively identified the first words of the *sermocinatio* and those immediately preceding it as an allusion to John 1, 47: *ecce vere Israhelita, in quo dolus non est*[32]. The echo has been generally ignored in subsequent annotated editions[33]. However Klostermann was undoubtedly correct: here we have the same combination of scriptural quotation and plagiarism from another author as was observed in the case of Jerome's first *sermocinatio*. This time it is a classical poet that Jerome copies. While making a strong impact in stylistic terms, the borrowing is not particularly felicitous. Terence was describing mindless toadyism; however *quidquid dixeris, laudant; quidquid negaveris, negant* is not an appropriate way to characterize the average person's response to geniality in a virgin. The biblical allusion on the other hand is entirely apt. Jerome reports that ascetics were regularly accused of being impostors; hence *dolus* is the 'mot juste'[34]. It is however noteworthy that Jerome should place an echo of scripture in the

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30 There is nothing comparable in Basil's *Homiliae in hexaemeron*.

31 Cf. the present writer, *A Further Unidentified Citation of Terence in Jerome: Epist. 22, 24, 1 and Eunuchus 251f.*, forthcoming in Rh. M.

32 E. Klostermann, Gött. Gel. Anz. 173 (1911) 194. He places a question mark against the identification.

33 It is recorded in Bauer (note 16) 173.

34 Cf. *Epist.* 38, 5, 2; 45, 2, 1; 54, 2, 2; 54, 5, 2.

mouths of ordinary people who are simply describing someone they like. The fact might be thought to shed more light on Jerome's own compositional technique than on the everyday speech of the period. It would seem that the remainder of the *sermocinatio* has not been inspired by any literary source[35]. Accordingly this *sermocinatio* presents the same amalgam of imitation and independence as the first one.

The final *sermocinatio* in which Jerome attacks his contemporaries is located three quarters of the way through the work. He is describing worldly virgins and widows:

>   'corrumpunt
> *mores bonos confabulationes pessimae'. nulla illis*
> *nisi ventris cura est et quae ventri proxima. istiusmodi hortari*
> *solet et dicere: 'mi catella, rebus tuis utere et vive, dum*
> 5 *vivis', et: 'numquid filiis tuis servas?' vinosae atque lascivae*
> *quidvis mali insinuant ac ferreas quoque mentes ad delicias*
> *molliunt et, 'cum luxuriatae fuerint in Christo, nubere*
> *volunt habentes damnationem, quia primam fidem inritam*
> *fecerunt'. (29, 4f.)*

The present passage resembles the first two in its combination of scriptural citation with striking material that has been lifted from another author. As in the first case the author in question is Tertullian. He has influenced the wording of the sentences immediately before and after the *sermocinatio*. The first of these sentences has been taken with slight modification from the Ad uxorem: *'deus enim illis', ut ait apostolus, 'venter est', ita et quae ventri propinqua* (1, 8, 5)[36]. The same section of this work (1, 8, 4) has also provided Jerome with the impressive collocation *quidvis mali insinuant*[37]. It would not therefore

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35 *Christi ancilla* is found on a number of occasions in inscriptions; cf. E. Diehl, *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres*[2] III (Berlin 1961) 320 s.v. *ancilla*. It may be noted however that the expression had also occurred in Tertullian at *Virg. vel.* 3, 3. For *simplicitas* cf. (e.g.) Jerome, *Epist.* 117, 6, 3 (*omnes te, cum aliquid eorum, quae suadent, retractans feceris, puram, simplicem, dominam et vere ingenuam conclamabunt*); Diehl (op. cit.) no. 3977C (*Iulia ... virgo, annima* [sic] *simp[lex]*). W. Harendza, *De oratorio genere dicendi, quo Hieronymus in epistulis usus sit* (Breslau 1905) 51, records this passage as an impressive example of threefold isocolon (*si ... si, quidquid ... quidquid, ecce ... ecce*).

36 That Jerome uses the end of *Ad uxorem* 1 in this chapter of the *Libellus* was noted by C. Micaelli, *L'influsso di Tertulliano su Girolamo: le opere sul matrimonio e le seconde nozze*, Augustinianum 19 (1979) 426. He did not however register any verbatim borrowings. Six years later (art. cit. [note 8] 125, n. 48) Micaelli cited Jerome, *In Is. lib. 18 praef.* (*post ... ventris ingluviem ea quae sub ventre sunt quaerant*; for 'p. 754' read 'p. 741') to demonstrate the influence on him of Tertullian's *deus enim illis ... venter est, ita et quae ventri propinqua*. As Petitmengin rightly points out (Rev. Et. Aug. 32, 1986, 281), these two formulations are really quite distinct. On the other hand Micaelli ignored the exact parallel that is found in Jerome's *Libellus*. Such indifference to Jerome's penchant for the verbatim appropriation of other people's striking phraseology is common.

37 The arresting phrase *ferreas mentes* would seem however to have been Jerome's own creation;

be surprising if the *sermocinatio* itself were again to reveal the influence of Tertullian.

Jerome's *sermocinatio* opens with the words *mi catella, rebus tuis utere*[38]. Otto and Häussler supply no evidence that this maxim was in any way 'proverbial'[39]. On the other hand Tertullian's De cultu feminarum contains the following dramatic *sermocinatio: 'Non', inquitis, 'utemur nostris?'* (2, 9, 6)[40]. Tertullian puts these words into the mouths of materialistic and carnally-minded women. The context is therefore the same as in Jerome. The latter was thoroughly familiar with the De cultu feminarum[41]. It was argued above that a further case of *sermocinatio* which occurs in the De cultu four chapters after the present one has inspired Jerome's first example of this figure in the Libellus. He has apparently also borrowed his *rebus tuis utere* from the same work[42].

To *rebus tuis utere* Jerome adds a further exhortation: *vive, dum vivis*. The juxtaposition is extremely impressive. As regards this second expression, Otto merely adduced in a footnote the following half-line from Terence's *Hecyra: vixit, dum vixit, bene* (461)[43]. Here the addition of *bene* sets the expression apart from the pregnant use of *vivere* found in Jerome. Sutphen then proceeded to identify a new 'proverbial' application of *vivere*[44]. The evidence he adduced was the following: Martial 1, 15, 12 (*sera nimis vita est crastina; vive hodie*); Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum II, no. 391 (*vivite victuri moneo; mors omnibus instat*); Orelli, no. 4807 (*dum vivimus, vivamus*); Orelli, no. 4806 (*vive in dies et horas*); Peter Damian, Epist. 2, 13, 76[45] (*a quibus [sc. blandientibus] scilicet haec saepe dicuntur: 'vive dum vivis'*). Only the second, third and fifth passages are relevant to Jerome's *sermocinatio*. Of these only the last one

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cf. Thes. Ling. Lat. VI 1, 574, 49. Jerome repeats it in *Epist.* 117, 6, 4. The combination in this relatively short sentence of biblical quotation, striking phraseology from Tertullian and an impressive formulation of Jerome's own is characteristic.

38 For *catellus* as a term of endearment cf. Thes. Ling. Lat. III 603, 35–37 (read '2, 3, 259'). C. C. Mierow/T. C. Lawler, *The Letters of St. Jerome* I, Anc. Chr. Wr. 33 (Westminster, Md./ London 1963) 164, oddly render *rebus* as 'charms'. Jerome's phrase means of course 'geniesse doch deinen Reichtum' (L. Schade [note 16] 99).

39 Opp. citt. (notes 17 and 18).

40 There is no comment on this sentence in W. Kok, *Tertullianus: De cultu feminarum. Met inleiding, vertaling en commentaar* (Dokkum 1934) 180, or in M. Turcan (note 14) 140.

41 Cf. note 12.

42 This passage of the *De cultu feminarum* is also the source of Cyprian, *Hab. virg.* 7 (*sed sunt aliquae divites et facultatum ubertate locupletes, quae opes suas praeferant et se bonis suis uti debere contendant*) and 11 (*locupletem te dicis et divitem et utendum putas his quae possidere te deus voluit*); cf. A. E. Keenan, *Thasci Caecili Cypriani De habitu virginum. A Commentary, with an Introduction and Translation*, Cath. Univ. of Am. Patr. Stud. 34 (Washington 1932) 16 and 19. Jerome characteristically retains Tertullian's arresting *sermocinatio*.

43 A. Otto (note 17) 376.

44 M. C. Sutphen, *A Further Collection of Latin Proverbs*, A. J. Ph. 22 (1901) 389 (*vivere* 6); reproduced in R. Häussler (note 18) 228.

45 *PL* 144, col. 279.

presents the same wording as Jerome: this eleventh century text is clearly itself an echo of the Libellus de virginitate[46].

There is however one passage which does provide an exact parallel. Once again it comes from Tertullian. Near the beginning of De resurrectione mortuorum he had remarked: *utar et conscientia populi contestantis deum deorum; utar et reliquis communibus sensibus, qui deum iudicem praedicant: 'deus videt' et 'deo commendo'. at cum aiunt: 'mortuum quod mortuum' et 'vive dum vivis' et 'post mortem omnia finiuntur, etiam ipsa', tunc meminero et cor vulgi cinerem a deo deputatum* (3, 2f.). We accordingly have Tertullian's own testimony that in his day the sentiment to which Jerome gives expression in his *sermocinatio* had been a 'widely held attitude'[47]. His statement is evidently borne out by the passages cited above. While however in these other cases the idea is the same, its formulation is not. Tertullian alone exhibits precisely the same form of words as recurs later in Jerome. The De resurrectione was already well known to Jerome when he wrote his Libellus[48]. It can moreover be shown that when Jerome uses a 'proverbial' expression elsewhere he specifically selects the particular wording which had been used by a canonical author with whom he was deeply familiar[49]. It would therefore appear that the second component in this *sermocinatio* has, just like the first, been inspired by a passage of Tertullian[50].

After *rebus tuis utere* and *vive, dum vivis* Jerome appends a third element: *numquid filiis tuis servas?* This idea does not seem to have been taken from any

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46 Very similar wording is found in E. Diehl (note 35) I, no. 900: *dum vibes, homo, vibe; nam post mortem nihil est.* However Diehl notes ad loc. that the inscription is evidently not ancient.

47 Nothing is said on this passage in E. Evans, *Tertullian's Treatise on the Resurrection. The text edited with an Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (London 1960) 203.

48 Cf. P. Petitmengin (note 8) 55.

49 At *C. Ioh.* 37 Jerome says: *in portu, ut dicitur, naufragium.* A. Otto (note 17) 284 s.v. *portus* 1 and R. Häussler (note 18) 78. 115. 202. 284 list various other instances of this particular proverbial expression. Of all these examples only Ps.-Quintilian, *Decl.* 12, 23 has the same wording: *in portu naufragium.* This work is also the only one of those cited which Jerome knows well; cf. A. Luebeck, *Hieronymus quos noverit scriptores et ex quibus hauserit* (Leipzig 1872) 218–220. It would seem therefore that even though Jerome qualifies his phrase with *ut dicitur,* it is rightly regarded as an echo of *Decl.* 12, 23 by Luebeck (op. cit.) 219 and H. Hagendahl (note 23) 168. One further instance of this feature of Jerome's compositional method may be cited. Jerome says at *C. Lucif.* 13: *uno, ut aiunt, digitulo.* Again several more cases of this 'proverbial' locution are adduced by Otto (note 17) 115 s.vv. *digitus, digitulus* 4 and Häussler (note 18) 156. However only the wording of Terence, *Eun.* 284 is identical. Jerome quotes from this same scene of the *Eunuch* on three further occasions; cf. the present writer (note 31). Accordingly Luebeck (op. cit.) 112 is evidently correct in identifying the passage from *C. Lucif.* 13 as another echo of this Terentian play.

50 P. Petitmengin (note 8) 49f. observes that Jerome uses several 'proverbial' expressions which had already occurred in Tertullian; none of the passages cited is from the *Libellus.* In this connection Petitmengin asks: 'Y a-t-il là influence, ou simple rencontre?' It would seem that each instance has to be judged individually. The evidence adduced above appears to indicate that at least in the present passage we have a case of 'influence'.

literary source. That it was current in this period is perhaps indicated by an undatable sermon of Saint Augustine, which expresses the opposite view: *quod dicunt homines, 'filiis meis servo'* (9, 13, 21)[51]. Jerome's words are of course quite inappropriate to Eustochium: as someone who had devoted her life to virginity she could not 'save for her children'[52]. The inconcinnity is characteristic.

It accordingly appears that the third *sermocinatio* which Jerome uses in order to present contemporary Roman *mores* involves the same combination of literary imitation and independent observation of life which characterized the other two. In particular it has been noted that Jerome repeatedly chooses to imitate Tertullian. Recent studies have begun to show the extent of Jerome's debt to Tertullian[53]. Petitmengin has referred in this connection to Mohrmann's view that there was a temperamental affinity between the two men[54]. It is perhaps more significant that Tertullian had an incomparable flair for striking phrases. Jerome shared the same taste: we have seen how in his use of *sermocinatio* he juxtaposes arresting formulations of his own with ones that have been lifted from Tertullian. The latter can now be added to the growing dossier of Jerome's borrowings from this author[55].

51 Cf. ib. 9, 12, 20: *'filiis meis servo': magna excusatio, 'filiis meis servo'.*
52 As the passage stands, *tuis* refers perforce to Eustochium. Jerome has just given her the following specific advice in regard to women who say such things: *quasi quasdam pestes abice* (29, 4). Cf. also 29, 7: *referam tibi meae infelicitatis historiam.*
53 Cf. C. Micaelli (notes 8 and 36); P. Petitmengin (note 8).
54 P. Petitmengin (note 8) 56, citing C. Mohrmann, *Saint Jérôme et Saint Augustin sur Tertullien,* V. Chr. 5 (1951) 111–112.
55 Cf. R. Braun's review of Petitmengin (note 8) in Rev. Et. Aug. 35 (1989) 342: 'ce matériel non encore totalement répertorié'; also the present writer's forthcoming *Tertullian's 'De ieiunio' and Jerome's 'Libellus de virginitate servanda' (epist. 22),* which provides evidence to correct Petitmengin's assertion that the *De ieiunio* is not cited before 386.