REQUIRAM; et iterum QUANDO VENIAM ET PAREBO ANTE FACIEM DEI?
 et SICUT CERVUS DESIDERAT AD FONTES AQUARUM, ITA DESIDERAT
 125 ANIMA MEA AD TE, DEUS. horum, fratres, sanctorum Domini amicorum
 sollemnia celebrantes, semper patri per filium gratias agamus, CUI EST
 GLORIA IN SAECULA. AMEN.

A. SPAGNOLO.

C. H. TURNER.

Introduction to the Sermons printed above.

THE Verona MS from which these fifteen Homilies have been printed is catalogued as li (49) in the Chapter Library. It was written in the sixth century, perhaps towards the end of it, and has suffered terribly from damp, as the too numerous *lacunae* in the transcription of the text sufficiently testify. It is labelled with the name of Maximus of Turin, a noted preacher of the middle of the fifth century; and the first 132 leaves (there are altogether 157) appear to constitute a homogeneous collection of sermons and treatises by a single writer. We may dismiss altogether from our purview the miscellaneous appendices which follow: an Arian Sermon (printed in the JOURNAL for Oct. 1911); a Sermon of St Augustine; a fragment of the eighth book of the *Apostolic Constitutions* and, continuous with this, the Apostolic Canons, the whole in an unknown version¹: and we may concentrate our attention on the group of writings which can plausibly be attributed to Maximus.

Most of the matter was transcribed from this MS for the Roman edition of the works of St Maximus (1784: reprinted in Migne *P. L.* vol. lvii), namely, rather more than twenty Homilies on the liturgical Gospels, and two tracts *contra Iudaeos* and *contra Paganos*. Intervening between these Homilies on the one side and the two Tracts on the other is the present set of fifteen Homilies on the chief festivals of the Christian year, which Dr Spagnolo copied out and I have edited in the JOURNAL for January and April 1915, and in the present number. But the tracts against Jews and Pagans have also been transcribed by the same indefatigable hand, and we hope some day soon to be able to publish them in a form very much more complete and satisfactory than that hitherto known in print. It seemed worth while to make such an

123. Ps. xli (xlii) 2, 1

¹ The fragment of the eighth book of the *Constitutions* was published in *J. T. S.* xiii 492, July 1912: and re-edited together with the 85 Apostolic Canons in *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima* I iii (1913) pp. 32 a-nn. The conclusion (whether or no it is an integral part of the work) about the preaching and death of the different apostles was first published in *J. T. S.* for October 1913, pp. 63-65.

attempt, in view of the stress laid by M. Franz Cumont on the evidence of St Maximus (among others) as to the real state of pagan beliefs in the later empire.¹ In any case it may be confidently asserted that the author of the two tractates and the author of the little Homiliary, the publication of which is now being completed and concluded in this number of the JOURNAL, are one and the same person.

That he wrote neither before nor after the fifth century A.D. is also demonstrable. Not before, since in the 15th Sermon (p. 228 *supra*) he quotes a passage from 'quidam sanctorum' which is found among the sermons of St Augustine printed by cardinal Mai in the first volume of his *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, while in the *contra Paganos* he makes extensive use of Rufinus's translation of the Clementine *Recognitions*, made somewhere about the year 400. Not after, since in the same treatise he speaks of pagans still flocking to the representations of heathen mythology on the stage, which can hardly have continued as late as the sixth century, while the practically exclusive use of the Old Latin Bible tells in the same direction. If there are any traces of the use of St Jerome's Vulgate, they are few and far between; alike in the Old and the New Testament, where the versions diverge our Homilist reproduces the older forms.² The fathers with whom he seems to be found most frequently in company are Ambrose, Hilary, Ambrosiaster,

¹ *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain* (ed. 1909) p. 302 'certains ecclésiastiques que leur ministère pastoral mit en contact avec les derniers idolâtres, comme l'auteur d'homélies attribuées à saint Maxime de Turin', p. 409 n. 8 'nous ne possédons encore qu'une édition très défectueuse des traités *contra Paganos* et *contra Iudaeos*'.

² Compare the following: Ps. viii 2 (VIII 23) 'inimicum et defensorem'; Ps. xlvii (xlviii) 5 (V 17) 'ascendit in strepitu'; Ps. lxxii (lxxiii) 28 (V 48) 'adiungi Deo' with Auct. de promiss.; Ps. cxvii (cxviii) 24 (III 3) 'iste dies' with Cypr.; Cant. v 10 (I 78) 'fraternus meus candidus et rubeus' with Amb.; Mic. v 2 (I 7), the whole very like Hil.; Is. liii 7 (XII 38, XIV 42), just as in Novatian; Mt. iii 15 (II 29) 'sic enim oportet' with Amb. (*semel*) Chromat. Hil. *Op. imperf. in Mt.*; Mt. v 14-16 (XI 4-9) 'lux huius mundi', *supra* candelabrum, 'luceat lumen vestrum', 'videntes... magnificent' with Leo; Mt. x 16 (XI 32) 'astuti sicut serpentes' with Amb. Aug.; Mt. x 32 (XI 15) 'confessus fuerit'; Mt. xix 14 (VIII 11) 'nolite prohibere infantes'; Mt. xxv 34 (XV 100) 'ab origine mundi'; Mk. i 3 (IX 27) 'semitas Dei nostri'; Lk. ii 10 (I 4) 'adnuntio vobis gaudium... omni plebi'; Lk. iii 21 (II 69) 'cum baptizatus esset'; Jn. i 15 (IX 52) 'qui post me venit'; Jn. i 29 (II 51) 'qui tollit peccata mundi' with Cypr. Amb. Zeno; Jn. iii 32 (IX 44) 'haec testificatur' with Ambst.; Jn. xiv 16, xvi 7 (V 23, 25) 'advocatum' 'advocatus' with Tert. Novatian Hil. Lucif.; Jn. xix 37 (V 44) 'compunxerunt' with Iren. Hil.; Jn. xx 22 (V 65) 'inspiraret', cf. Cypr.; Acts i 3 (V 59) 'docens de regno Dei'; Acts i 11 (IV 22) 'receptus est'; Acts vii 59 (X 32) 'accipe spiritum meum'; Rom. viii 35 (XII 32, XIII 26), order of the nouns; 1 Cor. ii 9 (XII 24) 'diligentibus se' with Lucif. Vict-Af. Aug.; 1 Cor. xv 22 (III 34) 'vivificantur' with Hil. Amb. (*semel*) Faustinus; 1 Cor. xv 55 (III 17) 'ubi est mors aculeus tuus'; 2 Cor. viii 9 (I 18) 'pro nobis pauper... ut... nos dilamur', cf.

Leo: where his citations agree with Cyprian, he may have derived them from that father's works, and not from his own Bible.

For we light here on one of the most marked characteristics of the Sermons and Tracts, their literary dependence on St Cyprian. Many references have already been recorded in the apparatus to the Sermons above: I have since noted that V 14 'ut hominem ipsum quem induit, quem dilexit, quem a morte protexit, ad patrem victor inponeret' is from Cyprian's *Quod idola* 14 (Hartel 31. 2). Exactly the same feature recurs in the tract *contra Paganos*, which has one quotation from the *ad Demetrianum* and half a dozen from the *Quod idola*, while the *contra Iudaeos* depends certainly on Cyprian's *Testimonia ad Quirinum* and possibly on the pseudo-Cyprianic *de montibus Sina et Sion*. Both in the Homilies and in the Tracts the borrowing is sometimes acknowledged, sometimes unacknowledged.¹

Now what we know about Maximus of Turin is all favourable to our acceptance of the attribution of these Homilies to his authorship. Gennadius of Marseilles in the 41st chapter of his *de viris illustribus* catalogues a number of his Homilies, and notes that he had written on St Cyprian: 'Maximus, Taurinensis ecclesiae episcopus, vir in divinis scripturis satis intentus et ad docendam ex tempore plebem sufficiens, composuit in laudem apostolorum tractatus et Iohannis baptistae et generalem omnium martyrum homiliam . . . fecit et duos de sancti Eusebii vita, Vercellensis episcopi et confessoris, tractatus et de sancti Cypriani . . . homiliam de natali Domini, homilias et de Epiphania et de Pascha et de Pentecosten multas'. We cannot say that other preachers of the fifth century did not choose the same themes: but the coincidence of the internal indications of these Homilies with all that we know of the bishop of Turin, and especially

Paulinus *Vit. Ambrosii*; Eph. vi 12 (XV 18) 'adversus principatus et potestates' with Amb.; Eph. vi 16, 17 (XI 49, XV 24) 'omnia iacula maligni ignita extinguere' 'galeam salutaris',—'maligni' with Amb. Ambst. Leo; Phil. ii 11 (XIV 9) 'in gloria est dei patris' with Novatian Hil. Amb.; 1 Pet. i 12 (VII 55) 'in quo concupiscunt angeli prospicere'. [But it seems possible that the quotations from the Psalms in the *contra Iudaeos* may depend on St Jerome.]

¹ The following is a list, though I have no doubt it could be made more complete, of the passages of St Cyprian used in these fifteen Homilies and in the *contra Paganos* (an asterisk is attached to the passages where St Cyprian's name is given by the writer): 1-5. *Quod idola* 2, *3, 6, 6, *8 all in the *contra Paganos*; 6. *Quod idola* 14 = Sermon. V 14; 7. *ad Demetrianum* *14 in the *contra Paganos*; 8. *de bono patientiae* *6 = Sermon. III 58; 9. *de opere et elemosynis* 1 = Sermon. I 25, X 11, XV 65; 10. *Testimonia ad Quirinum* i tit. 15-17 = Sermon. IX 15; 11. *ad Fortunatum* tit. 10 = Sermon. VIII 27, XV 83; 12. *Ep. x 2* = Sermon. XIII 19, XIV 22; 13. *Ep. x 3* = Sermon. XII 8; 14. *Ep. lviii 6* = Sermon. VIII 50; 15. *Ep. lviii 9* = Sermon. XV 44; 16. *Ep. lxxvi 7* = Sermon. VIII 2? (the common words are only 'ad impetrandum . . . facilius oratio'); 17. *Acta Proconsularia* 1 = Sermon. XV 76.

the common indications of a special interest in St Cyprian, suffice to give us fair warrant for adhesion to the traditional ascription. The first two parts of the collection (*J. T. S.* January and April 1915) were published under the anonymous title of 'An ancient Homiliary': that now seems to me an excess of caution,¹ and this final section might claim the name and authorship of St Maximus.

C. H. TURNER.

¹ I was partly influenced in the direction of caution by the phraseology used about the Holy Spirit at the end of Sermon VII (*J. T. S.* xvi 176), which seemed to me to be barely orthodox: 'Spiritus sanctus tertia ora venit ut vere sese tertium et tertiam gerentem personam et *tertiam habentem substantiam* demonstraret'. But comparing the wording of Augustine *de civ. Dei* xi 24 'non amborum quasi qualitatem, sed ipsum quoque substantiam et tertiam in trinitate personam', it need not (especially if we read 'tertium') be interpreted in an Arian sense.