

NOTE

THE *CONTRA JULIANUM* OF ST. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA AND ST. PETER CANISIUS

Among the many works of St. Cyril of Alexandria in need of critical editions is the *Contra Julianum*, his lengthy refutation of Julian the Apostate's earlier polemic against Christianity. An initial problem facing the critical editor of this text is the tracing of its early printed tradition. Such a study might prove that all the early printed editions and translations depend on the *editio princeps* or that some used sources unknown to the editor of the *editio princeps*. Consequently, some printed editions or translations may be valuable in reconstructing the archetype of the text. The first Latin translation of the *Contra Julianum* made in 1528 by John Oecolampadius has proven useful in this way.¹ The Greek manuscript used for this translation no longer exists, but since the Latin of the translation mirrors a codex with different readings from any now extant, the translation of Oecolampadius takes on considerable importance in the study of the text tradition.²

Since St. Peter Canisius also published a Latin translation of the works of St. Cyril, including the *Contra Julianum*, it was felt necessary to find the volume to discover the source or sources of his translation.³ If he based it

¹ *Operum divi Cyrilli* (Basel, 1528), tr. Joannes Oecolampadius, *Contra Julianum apostatam pro religione christiana*, Vol. 3, pp. 1-99. There are two reprints of this translation of Oecolampadius: *Operum divi Cyrilli Alexandrini episcopi* (Basel, 1546), *Contra Julianum*, Vol. 3, col. 1-253; *Divi Cyrilli Alexandrini episcopi theologi clarissimi opera omnia* (Paris, 1573), *Contra Julianum*, Vol. 2, col. 513-680. It is interesting to note that St. Peter, in a letter of June 20, 1546 from Cologne to Frederick Nausea, Bishop of Vienna, mentions the Basel edition of 1546. He cites it under the printer's name, John Herwagen, and says that he judges his edition to be better, although both are worthwhile. Cf. Otto Braunsberger, S.J., *Beati Petri Canisii epistolae et acta* (Fribourg, 1896) p. 205 "... Coloniensis editio uincit (nostro quidem iudicio) Heruagianam operam: licet utraque editio laude sua non sit indigna."

² The manuscript used by Oecolampadius was owned by John Reuchlin and is thought to have been destroyed in 1648 when the French burned Weilerstadt. See C. J. Neumann, *Juliani imperatoris librorum contra christianos quae supersunt* (Leipzig, 1880) p. 139. A tentative textual study has been made of seven columns of the *Contra Julianum*. From this study a critical edition of the entire text seems both feasible and desirable. See William J. Malley, S.J., *A Preliminary Specimen of a Critical Edition of the Contra Julianum of St. Cyril of Alexandria* (Manila: Ateneo de Manila, 1959; privately published).

³ Carolus Sommervogel, S.J., *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus 2* (Brussels, 1891) 617-18. Sommervogel's citation is a reprint of the title pages of St. Peter's two volumes. Philip Alegambe, S.J., also mentions the work of Canisius in his 1643 bibliography of the Society of Jesus. His citation is: "Cyrilli Alexandri Opera tom II (*sic*) Coloniae editit.

entirely on the translation of Oecolampadius published eighteen years earlier, his translation would not be of use in establishing the original text of St. Cyril; but St. Peter could have had access to other sources when he was preparing to publish.

The printed tradition of the *Contra Julianum* presents no problem if the translation of St. Peter is omitted. The earliest complete Greek edition of St. Cyril's refutation of Julian was published by John Aubert in 1638.⁴ Ezechiel Spanheim in his 1696 edition of the works of Julian the Apostate and the Abbé Migne in his *Cursus completus patrologiae* reprint the text of Aubert's edition.⁵ Eight years before Aubert published the *editio princeps*, Nicolaus Bourbon published a Greek text with a Latin translation of the first book of the *Contra Julianum*.⁶ Aubert incorporated the work of Bourbon into his edition; and although he consulted the 1528 Latin translation of Oecolampadius, he made his own translation of the other nine books.

In modern times Karl Neumann renewed interest in the text of the *Contra Julianum* of St. Cyril.⁷ When Neumann published in 1880 his critical edition of Julian the Apostate's *Contra christianos*, he had to produce a critical text of St. Cyril's direct quotations of Julian in the *Contra Julianum*, since these quotations are the sole source for Julian's polemic. The work of Neumann, then, marks the first attempt at a critical text of any section of the *Contra Julianum*. In more recent times, Paul Henry, S.J., has edited St. Cyril's quotations of Plotinus found in the *Contra Julianum*, and A. D. Nock has done a similar study of those sections where Hermes Trismegistus

Adhuc iuvenis." See Philippus Alegambe, S.J., *Bibliotheca scriptorum Societatis Jesu* (Antwerp, 1643) p. 374. If one omits the controversy concerning the attribution of the works of Tauler printed in 1543 the edition of the works of St. Cyril marks the second publication of a member of the Society of Jesus coming only after the letters of St. Francis Xavier published at Paris in 1545. Cf. J. F. Gilmont, S.J., *Les écrits spirituels des premiers jésuites* (Rome, 1961) p. 212, note 8.

⁴ *Opera omnia Cyrilli* (Paris, 1638), ed. Joannes Aubertus, Vol. 6, pp. 1-362. There were originally thirty books written by St. Cyril, but only ten have been preserved. Neumann treats the problem of the lost books quite thoroughly; see Neumann, *op. cit.*, chaps. 1-2, esp. pp. 36-41.

⁵ *Juliani imp. opera et s. Cyrilli contra eundem libri X* (Leipzig, 1696), ed. Ezechiel Spanhemius, pp. 1-362; *Cursus completus patrologiae, Series graeca* (Paris, 1859), ed. J. P. Migne, Vol. 76, col. 489-1058.

⁶ Nicolaus Borbonius, *Poemata exposita* (Paris, 1630) pp. 289-399. The actual date of the dedication of the first book of the *Contra Julianum* is 1619.

⁷ Neumann, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-240. Wilmer C. Wright improved the text of Neumann for the Loeb Classical Library; see Wright, *The Works of the Emperor Julian* 3 (New York, 1923) 312 sq.

is quoted.⁸ Finally, Robert Hespel in his critical edition of the Greek florilegium of Severus of Antioch has published the five short passages of the *Contra Julianum* quoted by Severus.^{8a} With the work of these scholars, the printed tradition of the *Contra Julianum* would seem to be completed.

The translation of St. Peter Canisius remained a mystery for some time. It was mentioned neither by the other editors nor by Fabricius.⁹ Although Otto Braunsberger in his definitive work on St. Peter published the prefaces to the edition and in his masterful fashion furnished detailed notes on the history of the translation, he unfortunately failed to give the source St. Peter used for the *Contra Julianum*.^{9a} Apart from this omission, Braunsberger is helpful in mentioning where he found copies of the edition. The complete edition, according to him, could be found at Constance, in the University Library of Freiburg im Breisgau and in the Archiepiscopal Seminary in Cologne, and the second volume which contains the *Contra Julianum* in the Franciscan Monastery at Weert.^{9b} We do not know whether they still exist there today. The copy of the edition used for this note is located in the library of the Pontifical Gregorian University.¹⁰

The first volume is dedicated to Sebastian von Heusenstaum, Archbishop and Elector of Mainz, while the second, containing the *Contra Julianum* (fol. 162–256v), is dedicated to the young theological students of Cologne.

⁸ Paul Henry, S.J., *Les états du texte de Plotin* (Paris, 1938) pp. 71–74, 125–140. See also *Plotini opera 2: Enneades IV-V*, ed. Paul Henry and Hans-Rudolf Schwyzer (*Plotiniana Arabica ad codicum fidem anglice vertit Geoffrey Lewis*; Paris, 1959) 261–62, 264, 265, 268, 276–77, 280, 282; *Corpus Hermeticum 4*, ed. A. D. Nock and A. J. Festugière, O.P. (Paris, 1954) 124–43. Both Fr. Henry and A. D. Nock have expressed the opinion that a critical edition of the entire *Contra Julianum* is needed because of the importance of the work itself and the lost quotations of ancient authors which it contains.

^{8a} *Le florilège cyrillien réfuté par Sévère d'Antioche*, ed. Robert Hespel (Louvain, 1955) pp. 185–87. For the Syriac text and translation, see *Sévère d'Antioche, le Philalèthe*, ed. Robert Hespel (Louvain, 1952) pp. 79–80, 96–99.

⁹ Johann Albert Fabricius, *Bibliotheca graeca, sive Notitia scriptorum veterum graecorum quorumcumque monumenta integra aut fragmenta edita exstunt* (Hamburg, 1716–40 [irreg.]), Vol. 8, p. 569. In his citation Fabricius wrongly states that Oecolampadius' translation was published at Cologne in 1546 instead of Basel in 1528. This mistake might be an indirect reference to St. Peter's translation published at Cologne in 1546. All the early editions except St. Peter's were quite easily found in various universities in the United States through the National Union Catalog in the Library of Congress.

^{9a} Braunsberger, *op. cit.*, pp. 176–88.

^{9b} *Ibid.*, p. 176.

¹⁰ *Divi Cyrilli archiepiscopi Alexandrini operum omnium* (Cologne: Ex officina Melchioris Novesiani, 1546), Tomus secundus, *Ad pientissimum Theodosium contra Iulianum apostatam haereticum libri X*, fol. 162–256. The text is printed legibly on white paper with black ink, and the pages measure 30 x 20 cm. Francis A. Sullivan, S.J., sent a complete description of the book and Rev. Charles Curran forwarded microfilm for personal study.

St. Peter's purpose in publishing the works of St. Cyril is stated clearly in his two dedications. He said that he wished to make available the works of the early Patriarch of Alexandria to give a model from the ancient Church for the bishops and young seminarians of his own day. Since St. Cyril's age was also an age of heretics, he is an apt example of apostolic piety and zeal for souls for the bishops of the Reformation in their fight against the heretics. The young theologians are encouraged by St. Peter to imitate St. Cyril because of his straightforward style of writing and because he was so imbued with the spirit of the Gospels.

Even before the translation of the *Contra Julianum* itself is studied, St. Peter hints where he fits into the printed tradition of the *Contra Julianum*. On the title page of his second volume he wrote: "Everything [in this volume] has been worked over, prepared, and published more accurately than ever before, and innumerable errors which [the previous edition] had have been removed."¹¹ More significant is a note at the end of the volume where he remarks:

In this volume, dear reader, since the [previous] text was in bad condition, we have so used our own methods for editing that in places we were forced to make conjectures. We have removed innumerable mistakes, but you would not think that we changed the text too much if you should compare our translation with the previous one. If you do find any mistakes or lacunae anywhere, remember that we did not have any Greek manuscript, and it was impossible to reconstruct the text [in this case] without the help of one. We have mentioned this so that you would not accuse us of negligence or incompetence if you happened to come across something like this.¹²

Although St. Peter does not mention Oecolampadius explicitly, he must be referring to his translation in the note above, since Oecolampadius was the only translator to have published the *Contra Julianum* before St. Peter. An examination of the translations of Oecolampadius and Canisius clearly bears this out. Canisius, it is true, corrected many misprints of Oecolampadius, and they both had somewhat different rules for punctuation, capi-

¹¹ "Novo labore omnia nunc exactius multo quam umquam restituta et aucta, atque ab innumeris mendis, quibus scatebant, vindicata."

¹² "Sumus in secundo hoc tomo formulis nostris excudendo exemplari usque adeo depravato usi, candide Lector, ut nobis Delio natatore passim fuerit opus. Sustulimus mendas pene infinitas, idquod non poteris ipse non ingenue fateri, si nostram aeditionem cum priori illa contuleris. Si quid vero hiulcum aut mutilum uspiam deprehenderis, id puta nos non alia de causa intactum relinquisse, quam quod videretur integritati suae restitui non posse citra Graeci exemplaris adminiculum, cuius nobis copia ad manum non fuit. Hoc propterea silentio praeterire noluimus, ne vel inscitiae, vel negligentiae dicam nobis impingeres, si forte in huiusmodi aliquid incideris."

talization, and spelling. But it is the translation of Oecolampadius that we read on the pages of Canisius.

Some examples of the changes made by St. Peter will help to clarify the precise way he improved the translation of Oecolampadius. In the tenth book Oecolampadius, referring to the Blessed Virgin, printed *in ipso* (Vol. 3, fol. 83v), which St. Peter naturally changed to *in ipsa* (Vol. 2, fol. 247). St. Peter also corrected Oecolampadius' translation of St. Cyril's reference to the giants of Genesis. Oecolampadius said *quia non omnes sed gigantes factos ab his dicit* (Vol. 3, fol. 74v); Canisius changed it to *quia non homines sed gigantes factos ab his dicit* (Vol. II, fol. 236v). An instance of St. Peter's changing the grammatical construction is the following. The original of Oecolampadius is *quod autem unigenito homine facto etiam gentium vocationem facturum esset, hisce argumentum ostendit* (Vol. 3, fol. 72); St. Peter changed this passage to *quod autem unigenito homine facto etiam gentium vocationem facturum esset, hisce argumentis ostendit* (Vol. 2, fol. 234v). There are approximately forty such changes or corrections in the ten books of the *Contra Julianum*.

St. Peter's translation of the *Contra Julianum* now is no longer a mystery and can easily be fitted into the rest of the printed tradition. His translation does depend completely on the translation of Oecolampadius and is therefore not of any use to the modern editor of the text. It is also clear why the other editions would not mention his work even if they had known of it. On the other hand, St. Peter did not merely reprint the translation of Oecolampadius but endeavored to improve it by correcting its many mistakes and misprints.

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