

suggest to Jewish Christians that the temple sacrifices and atonements had been rendered useless by the death of Jesus; and the resurrection of many bodies of the saints and their appearance in the *holy* city would be looked on as the firstfruits of the high priesthood of Christ, and as a proof of the cleansing life-giving power of His atoning sacrifice.

The parallel narratives are thus traceable back to *καὶ ἰδοὺ* (viii 2 and xxvii 51), a phrase often employed to mark an important off-start; and the following entry falls to be inserted at the beginning of the Table of Contents:—Relation of Jesus to the priesthood, Mt. viii 2-4; xxvii 51-3.

By a selection of incidents from the earlier part of Christ's ministry paralleled with the incidents in the narrative of the Resurrection the evangelist has shewn that the ministry of our Lord before death and His ministry after death were harmonious parts of one great work; and that Jesus the miracle worker of Galilee was already preparing the way for the final victory of the Christ. In each of the companion pictures where Jesus is the central figure His nimbus is brighter in the 'Later' than in the 'Earlier' section. Matthew was not content merely to place over against one another paragraphs having a common subject; he worked up his materials—in both sections—so as to bring out clearly the greater power and increased influence of the *risen* Lord.

THOMAS MILNE.

## REASONS FOR REGARDING HILARIUS (AMBROSI- ASTER) AS THE AUTHOR OF THE MERCATI- TURNER ANECDOTON.

IN reading over the anonymous commentary on part of St Matthew published by Mr C. H. Turner in the *Journal of Theological Studies* for January, 1904<sup>1</sup>, and by Dr G. Mercati in *Studi e Testi* (Rome, 1903)<sup>2</sup>, I was struck by the numerous resemblances which the language of the document bears to the commentaries and *Quaestiones* of Ambrosiaster, to the style of which I have had occasion to give attention for some time past.

<sup>1</sup> An 'Exegetical Fragment of the Third Century' (pp. 218-41). I have to thank the author for a copy of the article.

<sup>2</sup> No. 11 (= *Varia Sacra*, Fasc. 1). Of the two appended treatises, I am very doubtful about the *de tribus mensuris*, but the *de Petro Apostolo* may very well emanate from the same author.

Being disposed at first to attribute my observation of these resemblances to the prolonged study I had given to Ambrosiaster, I wrote a paper to prove that Ambrosiaster, who once mentions Victorinus (of Pettau), was a very close student of that author; and this opinion I still hold, believing that it best explains some phenomena noted below. Thinking it advisable, before going to press, to make some acquaintance with the already existing works of Victorinus, I read through the *De Fabrica Mundi*, which has been preserved to us in a solitary Lambeth manuscript. I was astonished to find that the numerous points of contact I had found between the new document and the works of Ambrosiaster were not shared by the tract on Creation in the slightest degree. The same result was arrived at from a perusal of the concluding part of his commentary on the Apocalypse, published by Dr Haussleiter in the *Theologisches Literaturblatt* of 1895. It would have been premature to extend the examination to the commentaries on the Apocalypse itself, though I have examined the Hieronymian revision even in MSS. We must first have Dr Haussleiter's Vienna edition before us. But enough remains in the *De Fabrica Mundi* and the last part of the commentary to shew that the style of the real Victorinus is all that Jerome called it. Notwithstanding the fact that the new work is a running commentary, and is therefore at a disadvantage when compared with a formal treatise like that on Creation, I claim that its style is far too good for Victorinus, whose training was more Greek than Latin, that it is in fact the work of Hilary (the Ambrosiaster), one of the truest Romans of the fourth century, a writer in whose elevation to his rightful position I hope to take some part.

Mr Turner's arguments in support of a date in the late third, or the early fourth century, lack neither learning nor ingenuity, but cannot, I am afraid, be allowed to stand. The explanation of Apoc. xiv 9 ADORAVIT QVIS BESTIAM ET SIGNVM EIVS ACCEPIT IN FRONTE AVT IN MANV SVA given in ch. xix l. 8 does not necessarily prove that the document 'emanates from the age of persecutions'. If it does, I should attribute it to the later years of Julian, being quite willing to regard it as earlier in time than either the Pauline commentaries or the *Quaestiones*. But surely this is unnecessary. The recollection of persecutions must have been vivid enough to the Christians for long after they had ceased, as were the sufferings of the Scottish Covenanters to their descendants. Further, Ambrosiaster's comment on 2 Thess. i 6-9 speaks as if persecutors were alive even at the time of writing. This is what he says: 'quid tam iustum quam ut hi, qui in saeculo deprimunt bonos et extorres eos faciunt persecutionibus, in futuro eadem patiantur quae faciunt . . . cum coeperit (dominus) uenire . . . ad dandam uindictam in paganos' cet. See also on verse 7 the reference to Julian:

'qui arte quadam et subtilitate coeptam persecutionem implere non potuit'. The division of humanity into 'iusti', 'peccatores', and 'impii' is shewn below to be found in the *Quaestiones*<sup>1</sup>, and I quite admit that 'this prominence of the heathen as a separate class in the eschatological conception of the writer points us back to the time when heathenism was still dominant', if for 'dominant' some milder word be substituted. Heathenism was still a great force in Ambrosiaster's day<sup>2</sup>. Witness his two most powerful writings, the *Contra Paganos* (Qu. cxiv) and the *De Fato* (Qu. cxv), and the letters of Symmachus. A further argument is drawn by Mr Turner from the fact that 'Chiliasm is still an absorbing topic of interest'. The passages printed below destroy this argument completely, as we find that about the year 380 chiliasm expressed itself in almost the identical words of the new tract.

I have no hesitation whatever in regarding the new document as a Latin original, not a translation from the Greek. I think it most probable that the author used Victorinus of Pettau himself, and the parallels produced below will at least prove that, if this document is not a Latin original, then neither are the commentaries on the Pauline epistles, nor the *Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, in spite of the hostility shewn to Greeks by their author and the notoriously Roman characteristics of his works.

The argument drawn from the character of the biblical text would lose its force if it could be shewn that in Rome in the latter part of the fourth century a form of text was employed which is much closer to that of the third century than is generally supposed. There is need of a systematic examination, based on carefully collected manuscript evidence, of the biblical quotations in all the Roman writers between the times of Novatian and Jerome. The result of such an examination would, I think, go to shew that this text is in many ways nearer to that used by Cyprian than it is, say, to that of Lucifer. I have been much struck with this fact in working on the text of the Pauline epistles. It is unfortunate that the gospel quotations in the commentaries and *Quaestiones* are brief, and that only three are available for our present purpose. Those which do occur shew striking agreements with the text presented by the Ambrosian MS, and point to a biblical text at least as ancient as it shews. Where the two differ, it is by no means certain that the Ambrosian MS is right, and my MSS of the commentaries and *Quaestiones* wrong. The MS, in spite of its early date, is very carelessly written. The text I print below is that of the

<sup>1</sup> Dom Morin informs me it is not uncommon in Latin Christian authors.

<sup>2</sup> See especially Prof. F. Cumont in the *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses* viii (1903), 417 ff.

Ambrosian MS. In the critical notes, which owe much to Mr Turner's collections, appear all differences between Ambrosiaster's text and that of the Ambrosian MS. The other symbols in the notes explain themselves.

Math. xxiv 20

orate autem ne fiat fuga uestra hieme uel sabbato  
autem *om* Cypr. Ambrst.

Math. xxiv 23

ecce hic est Christus aut illic ne credatis  
est *om. a b d* Cypr. Auct. rebapt. Ambrst. aut ecce illic *a* Cypr.  
Ambrst. nolite credere *a b d e* Cypr. Auct. rebapt. Ambrst.

Math. xxiv 43

uigilate itaque<sup>1</sup> quia nescitis qua hora uel die dominus  
uester uenturus est

ergo *a b ff*<sub>1</sub> uel die *om. a b ff*<sub>1</sub> Ambrst.

Let me now set side by side several passages from the known works of Ambrosiaster and the *anecdoton*. These will convince every person who reads them attentively that they all come from the same author. I would in particular direct attention to the passage from *Quaestio* cvi, where the numerous readings recovered from the old MSS shew at once the great liberties which the first editor took with the text, and also a much closer approximation to the *anecdoton* than does the printed text.

in Math. c. 12 pr.  
saluator ergo inpleto sexto  
millesimo anno uenturus est,  
ut septimum millesimum an-  
num hic regnet. cuius sabba-  
tum habet figuram, id est  
requiei imaginem, ut quantum  
distat umbra a ueritate tantum  
distet et requies a requie et  
uita a uita, quia illa aeterna  
erit haec temporalis est. ideo  
requies illa totius mundani  
operis cessatio est. nam con-  
siderandum quia unus dies

Ambrst. *Quaest.* cvi. DE LIBRO GENESIS  
(ante finem)

praeterea quia sex diebus opus con-  
summatum est, totius mundi aetatem  
in se continet, ut sex dierum opera sex  
miliū annorum haberent figuram . . .  
ut autem ante hominem pecora fierent 5  
. . . sexto autem die homo fieret, haec  
res fecit, quia sexto millesimo anno  
aduentus Christi hominem fecit ne  
morti esset obnoxius. . . . illud uero  
quod septimo die requieuit ab operibus 10

1 que *Migne* 2 *om* est *Migne* 7 in  
sexto millenario annorum *Migne*

<sup>1</sup> This precious *itaque*, which is not in the printed text (2 qu. N. T. 62 *Migne P. L.* xxxv 2410), I have recovered from MS Paris *B. N. lat.* 12223, which is a splendid MS, though of the twelfth century. The same verse ap. 1 Th. 5, 1 is different, being there a quotation from memory.

mille annorum figura est: tantum ergo intererit inter requiem *et requiem*. haec utique requies in saeculo data est ad momentum uel diem, illa requies in regno Christi aeterno aeterna.

c. 13, 7.

sex enim dies sex milia annorum habent figuram quibus agitur mundus. septimus uero, id est sabbatum, septimi millesimi umbra est, qui cessationem mundanis operibus futuram septimo millesimo anno incipiente significat.

in Math. c. 14, 14 seq.

(cf. p. 220).

post mille annos resurgent quidem, . . . non tamen uno in loco PECCATORES et IMPII erunt DONEC CONSUMMENTVR  
 5 MILLE ANNI (ps. i 1, 5) . . . non enim potest ut PECCATORES RESVRGANT IN CONSILIO IVSTORVM, quia iusti resurgent ut mille annis regnent cum  
 10 salbatore: ideo IN HOC CONSILIO PECCATORES esse non possunt. aut si IMPII simul resurgent cum sanctis, quanto magis peccatores? . . . ideo  
 15 nec PECCATORES RESVRGENT cum iustis, quia post mille annos iudicium erit omnium mortuorum, ut impii pereant, peccatores autem pro modo  
 20 delictorum poenas expendant.

c. 19, 5

nunc enim tria genera hominum sunt, impiorum, peccatorum, sanctorum.

suis, hoc significavit, quia impleto sexto millesimo anno in septimo millesimo requiesceret, cessante iam mundo ab omni opere saeculari.

11 significat *Migne* 12 millenario annorum *Migne* millenario requiescet *Migne*

*Quaest.* CXV. DE FATO

certe hoc factum a mundi conditione est numquam, nisi in Scytia tantum; ne forte dicerent quia cum mundus innouatur post annos mille quadringentos sexaginta sic haec eueniunt, quippe cum mundus iam sexto millesimo anno agatur.

Ambrst. *Quaest.* CX. DE PSALMO PRIMO.

*Migne* xxxv p. 2330, 8 seq.

BEATVS VIR QVI IN VIA PECCATORVM NON STETIT. si autem 'steterit', non iam 'beatus', sed reus dignus plagis. ad emendationem aliquam enim uideatur habere spem, quia non impius, sed 'peccator' est. si autem unus fuerit qui NON ABIIT IN CONSILIO IMPIORVM, ET IN VIA PECCATORVM NON stat, duplici genere beatus est. nec enim potest esse beatus, si in consilio peccatorum non eat, et in uia peccatorum stet: quia si non perditioni, poenae tamen obnoxius est. dehinc adiecit ET IN CATHEDRA PESTILENTIAE NON SEDIT. hanc dicit beatitudinem esse, quae his tribus gradibus constat, et triplici ratione munitur: id est, ut neque in consilio impiorum eatur, neque in uia peccatorum stetur, neque in cathedra pestilentiae sedeatur. sed cum duo genera tantum habeantur impiorum et

4 enim aliquam *Migne* 9 stetit *Migne*  
 11 consilium *Migne* 18 consilium *Migne*

peccatorum in reprehensione, quae supra memorata sunt, hoc tertium cui adscribi uoluit quod adiecit dicens ET 25  
IN CATHEDRA PESTILENTIAE NON SEDIT:  
impiorum aut peccatorum?

Migne p. 2332, 19.

in hoc psalmo tria genera hominum significat, impiorum et peccatorum et iustorum<sup>1</sup>. 30

23 comprehensione eorum Migne 24 cui]  
+ generi Migne 27 -ne an Migne 28  
psalmista ante in Migne trium hominum  
genera Migne 29 om pr et Migne

in Math. c. 1.

ORATE AVTEM NE FIAT FVGA VESTRA HIEME VEL SABBATO, id est ne cum fuga fit impedimentum patiamini. ORARE autem est semper sollicitum esse et auxilium dei implorare, ne impedimentis constrictus tempore quo fugiendum est terrenis nexibus obligetur. semper autem impedimenta fugienda sunt: idcirco sic nos constituere debemus ut cum fugae dies uenerit liberi et ad fugam apti inueniamur. HIEME autem et SABBATO cum dicit, quid aliud significat quam tempus quo fugere non potest, id est ne cum fuga fit impedimenta et hiemis et sabbati in nobis inueniantur, quibus impediti fugere non possumus? hiems autem ad fugiendum uel latendum intuta et minus utilis est: sabbatum uero ultra iter facere quam lex iubet secundum Iudaeos

2 Qu. N. T. 19 (Migne P. L.  
XXXV 2396).

QVARE SALVATOR ORATE AIT NE FIAT FVGA VESTRA HIEME VEL SABBATO, CVM TEMPVS PERSECVTIONIS HVIVS DIFFERRI NON POSSIT, DICENTE APOSTOLO QVI REVELABITVR IN SVO TEMPORE, ET IN ACTIS APOSTOLORVM DEFINIENS INQVIT TEMPORA ET TERMINOS HABITATIONIS EORVM, ET CVR HIEME FVGIENDVM VEL SABBATO EXIRE NON LICEAT SIGNIFICAT?

Hieme tuta fuga non est: frigora enim sunt, imbres assidui, ninguit, gelat, flumina exeunt: ideoque fugientibus pergrauae est. latere enim in siluis non possunt neque in montibus neque in speluncis. sabbato autem iuxta Iudaeos longius a ciuitate exire non licet, nec altum ascendere, ac per hoc fugere sabbato non potest. quo modo autem haec tempora fugam tutam non faciunt propter impedimenta supra dicta; ita et fuga nostra tuta non erit, si nos obligatos impedimentis carnalibus inuenerit praedicta persecutio. detinent enim homines quasi compedes desideria saecu-

<sup>1</sup> All these passages are edited from the MSS. I have not thought it necessary to give Migne's readings in the case of 2 qu. N. T. 19.

non sinit. non ergo sabbati lege uti nos praecipit, quod iam solutum est, sed ne actus nostri cum fuga fit hiemi et sabbato comparentur, sicut PRAEGRANTIVM ET NVTRIEN- TIVM. potest et sic intellegi, quia 'nouissima persecutio est' in HIEME VEL SABBATO significata sit: sabbatum enim nouissimus dies est et hiems nouissimum tempus est.

in Math. c. 8, ll. 17 ff.

(cf. c. 2, ll. 11-13).

qui rapti (Mercati's *raptu* is confirmed by the other passage) ipso terrore mortem sicut soporem patientur † cum portati dum † ad dominum perueniunt reuiuiscetes resurgentes. pseudoprophetae autem cum principe suo antichristo et qui sponte adorauerunt eum olim perfidi iussu domini capti, hoc est SPIRITV ORIS EIVS, cui se putauerunt posse RESISTERE, VIVI MISSI SVNT IN STAGNV M IGNIS ARDENTIS. ceteri uero, qui seducti ab eis fuerant, GLADIO domini QVI EX ORE EIVS PROCEDIT confodientur, id est uerbo domini sine uoluntate morientur per ignem, animabus eorum receptis in tartarum. iustus enim dominus eos qui non sunt

laria et facultates mundanae, nec seductionem diaboli possunt effugere. ideo ergo orandum est ne tempore quo fugiendum est hiemis et sabbati in nobis ratio inueniatur, sed ut liberos nos ab his impedimentis dei praestet auxilium, ut non sit quod nos desiderio sui captos mancipet mundo. quoniam ergo de nouissima persecutione loquebatur saluator, quae futura est tempore antichristi, ideo hiemem posuit, quia nouissimum tempus est, et sabbatum similiter, quia postremus dies est, ut sicut his temporibus aspera et difficilis fuga est, ita significaret illo tempore tam graues futuras persecutiones et pressuras, ut uix aliquis eas possit effugere.

in 1 Cor. 15, 53.

in aduentu tamen domini et sancti resurgent, et qui uiui fuerint inuenti, OBVIAM RAPIENTVR domino in aera (*an legendum aere?*), mortem quasi soporem passuri; in ipso enim raptu et mortem et resurrectionem habebunt, sicut ad Thessalonicenses idem apostolus scribit. tempore enim antichristi aut apostatae erunt, aut rei, aut in latibulis aut in poena positi ceteri gentiles, quos dominus Iesus cum duce ipsorum antichristo in aduentu suo interficiet SPIRITV ORIS SVI id est iussu eius igni exurentur per angelos uirtutis eius.

in 1 Thess. 4, 14-17.

'resurgentibus' ergo 'primis qui in Christo mortui sunt, deinde nos qui uiuimus rapiemur una cum illis,' baiulis nubibus, 'obuiam Christo in aera', ut cum domino omnes ueniant ad proelium, et quos occiderat uideat uiuos; quia, sicut domino famulatae sunt

seducti sed olim eiusdem uoluntatis fuerunt, uehementius poenas perpeti facit.

in Math. c. 14, l. 20.  
uiui enim quasi soporem mortem passi statim reuiuiscunt, et hoc erit resurrexisse.

nubes, ita et his quos fratres suos dignatus est appellare. 'et sic semper cum domino erimus.' in ipso enim raptu mors proueniet et quasi per soporem, ut egressa anima in momento reddatur cet.

Let me now deal with the language of the document. The method adopted is to go through it from beginning to end, selecting expressions in the order of their occurrence, and illustrating them from the works of Ambrosiaster. Where the same expression occurs more than once, the additional occurrences are given under the first instance. Interspersed are some notes on the text. In two cases proposed emendations are shewn to be unnecessary, in a third the text is successfully defended from the suspicion of corruption. I have little doubt that the instances could be increased, but I have no wish to crowd too many pages. If, however, my conclusions are not accepted, I am prepared, for example, to investigate the uses of particles fully, for, as Wölfflin says, 'aus diesen sogen. unschuldigen und sich massenhaft wiederholenden Wörtlein die Identität eines Autors zu beweisen gewohnt ist'<sup>1</sup>. I have confined myself here to the occurrence of *qui* (adv.), *quippe cum*, *si quo minus, quanto magis, quid est ut?*, *porro autem, quo modo ergo, ac per hoc, simili modo, aliquando—aliquando, numquid?*, all of which were selected by me years ago as expressions specially characteristic of Ambrosiaster.

*impedimentis constrictus*: 1, 3: I have not noted it with *impedimentis*, but with similar words it occurs 69 B, 81 D, 230 B, 236 B, 489 B<sup>2</sup>; qu. 59, 112 &c.

*actus* (not *acta*): 1, 12: in Ambrosiaster *actus* is, I think, invariable, except sometimes in the abl. of the title of the *Acts of the Apostles*.

*humana fragilitas*: 2, 2: *fragilitatis humanae* qu. 108 &c.; *fragilitatem humani generis* qu. 102; *fragile genus humanum* 302 A; qu. 102; 126.

*iugis pressura*: 2, 7; *iugis* and *pressura* both occur, perhaps not in combination.

*diabolus—malignitatis suae apostasiam*: 3, 5; *Lucifer casum et apostasiam significans* 157 B; (*diabolus*) *participes apostasiae suae uolens efficere homines* 454 A; *adsentientes apostasiae eius (i. e. diaboli)* 506 C;

<sup>1</sup> *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie* xi (1900) p. 577.

<sup>2</sup> The numbers refer to the columns of Migne *P. L.* xvii (comm.) and xxxv (Quaest.).



diaboli apostasiam qu. 2 ; diabolus apostasiae suae *auctorem non habere* qu. 98.

*multos uult socios perditioni acquirere*: 3, 9 (cf. 3, 28) (*diabolus*) *hoc solacium aestimauit si perditioni suae acquireret plurimos socios* qu. 110 (the new Padova portion, to be published in the next number): *granditer homines (diabolus) suadet peccare, magnum ex eo quaerens solacium, dum criminis sui socios multos ostendit leuem poenam aestimans ac si grauis sit, si secum multos uideat in gehenna cet.* qu. 127 (p. 2380). Gaudentius serm. 18 (Migne xx 978 A) has imitated our author: *magnum siquidem supplicii sui diabolus putat hoc esse remedium, si poenarum socios multos adquirat.*

*contrariam* (absolutely: *sibi* must not be added) *ut rem quam contrariam scit non praetermittat* 3, 15 ; *negans quod si non neget sciat contrariam* 2 qu. N. T. 62, and often.

*propositum*: 3, 16 ; ll. 21-22: very often in both commentaries and *Quaestiones*; I have noted fifteen examples in the former, and four in the latter. Ambrosiaster never has the plural. There is a close parallel to this passage in qu. 115 (p. 2348) *ut mali propositi impleant uoluntatem.*

*compressus* (perhaps suggested by Eph. 6, 16): 3, 17 ; *sciens (anti-christus) uenturum dominum ad se comprimendum* 482 A ; *omnium aduersariorum comprimit tela* qu. 92 ; *ad comprimendos eos quibus cet.* 469 C ; qu. 113 *ter* ; 115 *ter*.

*in eadem uoluntate perdurat*: 3, 17: *in opere sibi decreto perdurant* 60 A ; *in coepto malo perdurant* 145 D ; *in fide eius perdurat* 371 C ; *in (sententia) perdurantes* qu. 65, &c.

*hi qui in latibulis degunt*: 3, 26: *aut in latibulis aut in poena positi ceteri gentiles* 286 C.

*oculata fide*: 4, 3: I am glad to be able to confirm Mr Turner's conjecture by appeal to Ambrosiaster, qu. 68 (*b*) pr.: *apocalypsis cum futura mala et tribulationes . . . testaretur, exemplare etiam poenarum unius cuiusque peccati oculata fide demonstrans.*

*spirituali uigore*: 4, 12 ; cf. 5, 2 ; *intellectum nostrum spiritali erigentes uigore* qu. 107 ; *infirmans spiritalem suum uigorem* 219 C ; *potentia spiritali uigentes* qu. 20.

*officium*, of the sun or moon: 6, 1 ; 9, 2: *lux quae in officio dies est* qu. 3 ; 106 (p. 2319) &c.

*apertum est . . . quia*: 6, 5 ; 140 A ; 157 C ; 214 A ; 266 A ; 296 C ; 350 B ; 352 D ; 356 B ; 361 A ; qu. 44 (col. 2242).

*nulli dubium (est)* (Hier. Aug.): 6, 6 ; 12, 11 ; with *quia* 81 D ; otherwise 58 A ; 86 A ; qu. 120 and often.

*qui enim fieri potest ut . . . decidat*: 6, 9: the MS reads *quin*, as my MSS of the *Quaestiones* also do almost invariably, while the elder Bodleian MS of the *Commentaries* has *qui* at least once. There are

two alternatives: either *quin* had so changed its meaning, that it now meant practically the opposite of what it used to mean, or the scribes were ignorant of the old instrumental abl. *qui*, common in classical authors = 'how', and supposed it an error. It is safer to hold the latter view, especially as the same expression occurs as late as Boetius (e. g. *Cons. Phil.* IIII 7 pr. v 3 (Peiper)). Examples of this use are:—*qui enim fieri potest ut . . . sit* 509 D; *qui fieri potest ut . . . non habeat* qu. 102 (p. 2306); *qui enim fieri potest ut . . . sit* qu. 84.

*quippe cum sciant*: 6, 11; *quippe cum—sit* 17, 15; so forty-five times in the Commentaries, and thirty-three times in the *Quaestiones*; also in Hier.

*cessare*: 6, 11; 9, 3; 9, 9; 9, 14, &c. This is one of the most frequent words in Ambrosiaster. Examples are 49 B; 55 D; 67 B; 85 B; C *quater*; qu. 44 *passim*; 50 *bis*; 69 *bis*.

*si quominus*: 6, 22; 10, 36. This expression has hitherto been produced only from the Old Latin of the Bible. It occurs, however, fifteen times in the Commentaries, and four times in the *Quaestiones*.

*inanius fides*: 6, 22. Ambrosiaster is specially fond of *inanio* (metaph.); examples are:—*ne gratiae beneficium inanire uideamur* 113 B; *hic inanit fatum* qu. 115 (p. 2356); *ut gloriam diaboli inaniret* 103 D (codd.) cet.

*dominus . . . cui famulantur caelorum nubes*: 7, 3; *sicut domino famulatae sunt nubes* 475 C; *post crucem enim manifestata persona et uirtute sua saluator palam, famulantibus nubibus, ascendit gloriosus in caelos* 498 D.

*supra memuratis*: 7, 7; 16, 12; 144 D; 287 D; 444 C; 471 D; qu. 95 pm.; 102 am, and with extraordinary frequency, while *supra dictus* is almost entirely absent.

*subreptor*: 7, 9; *subreptionem* 9, 20; *commonet eos ne aliqua subreptione ad illicita deducantur* 473 D; *potest aditum habere subreptio* qu. 113; cf. *de eis in quibus subreptum est illis ut delinquerent* qu. 111; *quo modo subreptum est satis ut . . . decreuerit* qu. 115 (p. 2356).

*morti gehennae adiudicetur* (certainly right): 8, 9; *non utique sine corpore adiudicabitur bono aut malo* 311 C; cf. 98 A; qu. 34; 127 pm.; 2 qu. mixt. 6.

(On 1 Thess. iv 16–17) *id est a ministris nubibus*: 8, 11; (*Christum cum carne adsumptum in caelos ministra nube* 468 B (in 1 Thess. ii 9–10).

*inter cetera* (before a scripture quotation): 9, 1; 10, 14; 11, 2. This use, found sporadically in other authors, is almost wearisome by its constant recurrence in Ambrosiaster: examples are 65 A; 76 A; 129 C; qu. 91 *quater*; qu. 97 *septiens*.

*contuendum est*: 9, 1; *contuendum est unum esse sensum* 102 A;

contuendum itaque est quia non a Pilato . . . crucifixus est qu. 65; contuendum etenim est quo modo dictum sit qu. 125 (p. 2375).

quanto magis: 9, 11; 10, 13; 14, 24; 17, 14; 60 C; 67 A; 90 A; 94 C; 96 A bis; qu. 27; 38; 45; 46; 91; 97 quater, and very frequently. I have thirty-one examples from the *Quaestiones*: there must be about fifty, at least, in the Commentaries.

gloriosos: 9, 18; Rom. 8, 21 ap. 12, 12; there are a number of instances in combination with *apparere*, as well as others, e. g.: *gloriosi uidentur et honorati* 68 C; *hoc est uere diuitem fieri et gloriosum* qu. 81.

quid ergo est ut . . . uideatur . . . cum constet Moysen . . . non esurisse? 10, 1 (cf. 10, 4). The build of this sentence is like that of the titles of various *Quaestiones*, e. g. 37 *quid est ut missa mors in Iacob uenerit in Israhel, cum Iacob ipse dictus sit Israhel*, 57 *quid est ut cum in Malachia scriptum sit, Marcus hoc . . . scriptum adserat*, 85 *quid est ut cum constet . . . euangelista quattuordecim dicat. si in lege nemo iustificatur, quid est ut maledicatur*, cet. 374 B; cf. 213 B; 306 A; 363 A; 366 C; qu. 61 (tit.); 112 ex.; 115 (p. 2354): *cum constet* occurs altogether eleven times in the Commentaries, fourteen times in the *Quaestiones*.

quibusdam uideatur: 10, 1; *sicut quibusdam uidetur* 16, 8; *quod quibusdam impossibile uidetur* 16, 11 (cf. 91 B; 205 C; qu. 6; 97); *quibusdam iterum uidetur quia qui fornicatur* cet. 227 B; *quibusdam tamen uidetur* qu. 106, cet. This is our author's way of referring to those from whom he differs.

corpore morti obnoxio: 10, 11; cf. 11, 25 (the whole of this line is reproduced in Ambrst., but I cannot find the exact reference); *factum obnoxium morti inferni* 108 B (codd.); (*homo*) *iam obnoxius erat* morti infernae 493 C; *hominem fecit ne morti esset obnoxius* qu. 106 ex.

porro autem (Cypr., Boet. *Cons. Phil.* III 11 p. 79, 74 Peiper): 10, 20; four times in the Commentaries, twelve times in the *Quaestiones*.

auidi . . . ad bona terrae edenda: Ambrst. has *auarus ad bonum*.

cum domino certe futuri sunt eius praesentia inlustrati: 10, 27-28: (Christus) *non solum praesentia sua inlustrauit eas (nuptias) uerum etiam* cet. qu. 127 (p. 2379); *mundus . . . signis ac prodigiis inlustratus* qu. 117; literally qu. 97 (p. 2291); cf. *aspersio enim hyssopi inlustratio quaedam est* qu. 112.

examen: 10, 21; 17, 7; *ut examen circa se iudicis mitiget* qu. 112; also 67 B, 151 A, 166 B, 193 B; 257 B &c., generally of the judgement to come; *omnia dicta examinari et sic iudicari* 478 A; *cum coeperit ante tribunal (Christi) examinatio singulos adprobare* 473 B. These are judicial terms.

passioni et infirmitati subiacere: 10, 31; *uitiis et peccatis subiacebamur* 112 C (*cum ipse . . . periculis cottidie et morti subiaceat* 291 A); *iniuriis subiacent* qu. 176 cet.

*dignum deo*: 10, 33; 75 B; 208 C; qu. 46; 77; 112; 117.

*rations ipsi congruum*: 10, 34; congruum . . . *creaturae* 71 C; *perfidiae suae congruas poenas exsoluant* qu. 126; *congruum est . . . deuotissime dei sacerdotem . . . exhortari populum* qu. 120 cet.

*exclusa est edendi ratio*: 10, 37; *exclusa est ergo Nouatiani impie composita adsertio* qu. 102 (p. 2304, 26); *exclusa est adseueratio tua* qu. 102 (p. 2307); *ratio fatorum . . . exclusa est* qu. 115 (p. 2357); cf. 88 B; 104 C; 221 B; 229 A; qu. 100; 122; 127 cet.

*quo modo ergo . . . habebunt . . . cum constet*: 11, 6; *quo modo idem Salomon . . . inquit . . . , cum alio loco dicat* qu. 34 tit.; cf. qu. 43 tit., 49 tit., 58 tit., 61 tit., 63 tit., 67 tit. cet.

*nullius egere*: 11, 11; twice at least of God: *inaestimabilis, infinitus, perfectus, nullius egens, aeternus* cet. qu. 1 (p. 2215); *deus certe perfectio est et nullius egens* qu. 48 tit.: so also 127 D; 163 A; 400 D; qu. 81; 92; 123 &c., where indic. and subj. occur.

*ac per hoc*: 11, 27; this expression, which Hier., Aug. and others use occasionally, is very characteristic of Ambrosiaster, as Dom Morin pointed out in the *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses* for 1899 p. 102. The fact that it occurs once only in this document need be no bar to the acceptance of my theory of authorship: the phrase does not occur once between 205 B and 217 C, a part which I turned up at random as a test.

*usibus humanis proficiunt in corruptelam* 12, 18; *quae usibus omnium concessit communiter* 417 C; *ut ad eius iniuriam proficiant, ab eis, quae usibus nostris instituit, abstinendum docent* 499 C; *annua munera quae elementorum ministerio humanis usibus exhiberi decreuit* qu. 83; *omnia semina usibus necessaria, nisi dissoluta fuerint, renasci rursus non poterunt* qu. 114 (p. 2345, 37-38): *proficere* used of a down-grade course is specially characteristic, e. g. in *peius, ad iniuriam, in iniuriam, ad exitium, ad perditionem, ad detrimentum, in interitum*, cet. all occur in Ambrst.

*diabolo . . . se commouente*: 13, 3; *cum se commouerit lex* qu. 115 (p. 2354).

*meliorabuntur* 13, 4; 95 B; 282 C *bis*; 527 B; 440 B; qu. 1 *bis*; 12; 60; 116; 123 *bis*; 127 *septiens*. It is used intransitively in 422 D, a use unknown to any lexicon, and comparable to the same author's use of *corrigere, deteriorare, emendare, and reformare*. For details on such matters, I must refer to chapter iii of my forthcoming *Study of Ambrosiaster*.

*ut omnia ad pristinum statum . . . redderentur* 13, 15; *ad pristinum redditus statum* qu. 123 pr.; *ut reddamur ad pristinum statum Adae* qu. 127 m; *ad pristinum statum redditus est* qu. 102. So also with *redire, reformare, reparare, reuocare*.

*unum enim diem fecit deus ex quo ceteri curricula sortirentur* 13, 17;

unum enim (eum *Migne*) diem fecit ex quo ceteri curricula sortirentur qu. 95 (p. 2289, 31-32); *dominicus dies . . . semper in se conuersus per curricula impleta septimana primus est* qu. 107 pr; *iuxta numerum et curricula dierum septem* qu. 29; *effectus curriculum eius (i. e. lunae)* qu. 84; *tempora unius hebdomadae curriculum numerantur* qu. 84; *post curricula dierum septem* qu. 95; *Curriculis* in qu. 106 (p. 2319, 2) should be *titulis*.

*simili modo* (beginning a clause): 14, 8; 99 A; 102 C; 104 A; 127 B; 141 B; 163 A cet.; qu. 7; 20; 37; 52; 91; 97; 102 cet.

*uerbis nudis credentes* 14, 15: *cum nudis uerbis credidimus aut cum rebus* qu. 114 (p. 2344); *hi non uerbis nudis, sed uirtute operum spiritualium dignos se ostenderent ab apostolo uisitari* 218 C; *nudis uerbis* also 201 C; qu. 3 (p. 2218); 111 (p. 2335); 114 (p. 2342) (p. 2344).

*ut finiatur malum illorum in gehenna quae est mors secunda*: 14, 35; *est et alia mors quae secunda dicitur in gehenna* 97 B &c.

*uas electionis* (as a substitute for *apostolus Paulus* in introducing quotations) 14, 36; 419 C; qu. 2; 106; 115 (p. 2348) cet. This is found at least once in Augustine, and oftener in Ambrose.

*congruum est* (followed by the accusative and infinitive) 15, 7; *congruum est . . . dei sacerdotem exhortari populum* qu. 120, and doubtless oftener.

*sub nomine dei et patris*: 15, 9; cf. 15, 10; 15, 11; this author uses *sub nomine* regularly; never, or hardly ever, *nomine* simply.

*sollicitos semper et uigilantes* 17, 6; *solliciti et parati* 19, 33; the word *sollicitus* is commonly strengthened by another adjective, e. g. *sollicitos et uigilantes* 2 qu. N. T. 62; *sollicitis et deuotis* qu. 95; *sollicitus et fidelis* qu. 111; *diligentes et sollicitos* qu. 102.

*aliquando—aliquando* 17, 10; 50 A; 126 A, B; 194 D cet.; qu. 1; 66; 80; 97; 99 cet.

*de eius accipit* 17, 11: also in Ambrst.

*numquid* 17, 15. Ambrosiaster never has *num* or *numquidnam*, but always *numquid*. It is unnecessary to give examples, in the face of this rule.

*pigros et segnes* 18, 2. Such combinations, especially with adjectives expressing praise or blame, are a feature of our author. I have three pages of examples.

*diligentes et studiosos* 18, 2; *diligentibus ac sedulis* qu. 10; *diligentes et sollicitos* qu. 102.

*unius fuerant professionis* 19, 13; *cum sint unius professionis* 191A; *mundis hic diuersae professionis continet homines* qu. 102 (p. 2310), *ut . . . alterius essent et professionis et conuersationis* qu. 108, etc.

*ut nemo sibi de hoc blandiretur* 19, 20: *physica ratione de qua sibi blanditur* 282 B; *ne sibi uel de eo ipso blandiatur iniquitas* qu. 97.

*ut meritum conlocetur* 19, 23 (there is nothing wrong with the text here): *sic meritum quis conlocat, dum in tribulationibus patiens inuenitur* 133 A; *non quia mala sunt, sed quia parua sunt ad meritum conlocandum* 440 A; *uti maius meritum conlocares* 2 qu. mixt. 6. There are in Ambrosiaster twelve other examples of this phrase, most of which are in the full form *meritum sibi conlocare apud deum* (e.g. 98 B; 150 B; 168 A). The phrase is unknown to any dictionary, like many others of the usages here alluded to. It means to 'pile up (deposit) credit for ourself with God (by doing good deeds)', and suggests the Roman trader.

A. SOUTER.

### THE TEACHING OF CHRIST ABOUT DIVORCE.

THE object of this paper is to determine (1) the difference in sense in *μοιχεία* (and the allied words) in the New Testament and 'adultery' in our English modern use of the word. (2) How far modern ecclesiastical legislation is based on Christ's teaching. (3) Whether any light is thrown by these verses on the composition of the Sermon.

In order to appreciate the difficulty of seizing the meaning of Christ's teaching on this subject it is advisable to range the versions of the principal sentence side by side<sup>1</sup> (R. V.)—

Mt. v 32. A.	Mt. xix 9. B.	Mk. x 11, 12. C.	Lk. xvi 18. D.
But I say unto you that everyone that putteth away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, maketh her an adulteress; and whosoever shall marry her when she is put away committeth adultery.	And I say unto you whosoever shall put away his wife, except for fornication, and shall marry another committeth adultery; and he that marrieth her when she is put away committeth adultery.	Whosoever shall put away his wife, and marry another, committeth adultery against her. And if she herself shall put away her husband and marry another, she committeth adultery.	Everyone that putteth away his wife and marrieth another committeth adultery; and he that marrieth one that is put away from a husband committeth adultery.

<sup>1</sup> I have thought it best to leave questions of textual criticism on one side, for the reason that where the principal MSS differ the main drift of the teaching is not seriously modified: e.g. when B omits the words of the T. R. in Mt. xix 9 *καὶ γαμήσῃ ἄλλην*, Dr. Gore is surely right in saying (*Sermon on the Mount* p. 216) that the sense remains the same. There remains however the kind of criticism which would delete the important excepting-clause in the two Matthew passages,