

A COMMENTARY
ON THE
DE OFFICIIS OF ST. AMBROSE
(2 VOLUMES)

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Volume One:
Introduction & Commentary
on Book I

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S U M M A R Y

The thesis is a study of the De Officiis of St. Ambrose, bishop of Milan, A.D. 374-397. The study is in two parts: an extensive Introduction, and a Commentary on the Latin text.

The Introduction is in seven sections. Section I introduces the reader to Ambrose the author. It offers an outline of his life, a brief introduction to some of his most important works, and a look at the most celebrated events of his ecclesiastical leadership. Sections II-VII are devoted to De Officiis. Section II commences with an examination of the evidence for the title and date of the work: the correct title is De Officiis, not De Officiis Ministrorum; the text is dated to the period late 388-390. Ambrose's model is introduced: the De Officiis of Cicero, which draws on the Middle Stoicism of Panaetius and Posidonius. Ambrose imitates Cicero's three-Book structure (the honestum, the utile, and the relationship of the two) as well as his title, and just as Cicero writes for his son Marcus, so Ambrose writes for his clerical 'sons', the clergy, and especially the younger clergy, of Milan. A brief synopsis of Cicero's text is given, and the parallels in Ambrose's arrangement are pointed out. Ambrose's techniques and perspectives are considered, as are his widespread replacement of Ciceronian exempla with biblical ones and his utilisation of other sources. His allegorical and typological exegesis of Scripture is outlined.

Section III of the Introduction considers some of the weaknesses in the presentation of Ambrose's argument, and considers whether the work is written or sermonic in provenance. Ambrose originally preached a

large proportion of the text, and the transcripts of his addresses have to some extent been reworked. Section IV examines Ambrose's aims: he seeks first to instruct his clerics, and in the longer term to transform and supersede his classical model, rather than to produce a positive synthesis of pagan and Christian material. There is discussion of the extent to which Ambrose assimilates and dissents from the Stoicism of his source. Section V discusses Ambrose's ideal for his clergy, according to De Officiis: he presents a combination of classical moralism and a pastoral theology that is anchored in the Scriptures. The social insights of the work are also highlighted. Section VI studies the Latinity of De Officiis, and Section VII offers a résumé of the influence of the treatise in subsequent ecclesiastical literature in Europe.

A Latin text is not included in the thesis. The commentary follows the text of Testard for Book I and that of Krabinger-Banterle for Books II-III, with some disagreements in both cases. The two pervasive sources, Cicero and Scripture, are noted throughout, and explanatory comment is given on matters philosophical, historical, theological, and linguistic. The dissertation constitutes the first attempt in English to produce a detailed commentary on the entire text of De Officiis; it is also somewhat fuller than existing studies in other languages.

A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T S

I have incurred a number of debts in the production of this thesis. First of all, I should like to thank all those who offered me hospitality and help during an enjoyable stay in Germany in 1990: the scholars of the Seminar für klassische Philologie in the Johannes Gutenberg-Universität, Mainz, Professors Klaus Sallmann and Andreas Spira, and Herr Christian Pietsch. I was particularly grateful for the assistance of Herr Pietsch and of an undergraduate student, Fraulein Christiane Zilch, in obtaining books. Thanks are due, too, to the Interlibrary loans staff in Mainz, and to the staff of the University Library in Heidelberg.

I should like to acknowledge my gratitude to Professor Maurice Testard of the Catholic University of Louvain. As well as producing some of the most fundamental work on Ambrose's De Officiis, Prof. Testard has courteously answered my personal enquiries. Regrettably, Volume II of his Budé edition, covering Books II and III, published in June, 1992, has only just arrived - too late to be taken into account in my commentary.

In Glasgow, I wish to thank all those with whom I have discussed aspects of my work; my fellow-researcher, Costas Panayotakis, for letting me see the German dissertation on legacy-hunting which is mentioned in III.57n.; my father, whose photocopier has worked overtime on not a few occasions; and, not least, the staff of the Interlibrary Loans Office, who have coped admirably with my seemingly incessant requests for recondite material. The librarians of New College Library, Edinburgh, have been no less kind.

My greatest debt is to my supervisor, Professor

P.G. Walsh, whose wise counsel, careful scholarship, and generosity have been unfailing.

I dedicate the work to my parents, without whose provision its completion would not have been possible; in particular to my mother, whose illness has cast an unexpected shadow over the very last stages of the work - in hope of a speedy restoration to full strength.

A B B R E V I A T I O N S

Throughout the notes to the Introduction and the Commentary, 'A'. means Ambrose and 'Cic.' means Cicero. If no work is specified, the Off. of the author is meant: e.g., 'Cic. I.20' means 'Cic., Off. I.20'; 'A. II.10' means 'A., Off. II.10'. Abbreviations for classical texts follow the conventions of Lewis & Short and Liddell & Scott. The abbreviations for scriptural books should be self-explanatory. For references to A.'s works, see separate list below. Abbreviations to books, periodicals, and versions of Scripture are as follows:

AASS	<u>Acta Sanctorum</u> (Brussels)
AB	<u>Analecta Bollandiana</u> (Brussels)
AC	<u>Antike und Christentum</u> (Münster)
ACW	<u>Ancient Christian Writers</u> (Westminster, MD, & London)
AJP	<u>American Journal of Philology</u> (Baltimore)
Ambr. Episc. I-II	<u>Ambrosius Episcopus: Atti del Congresso internazionale di studi ambrosiani nel XVI centenario della elevazione di Sant' Ambrogio alla cattedra episcopale</u> ed. Giuseppe Lazzati (Milan, 1976)
ANRW	<u>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</u> (Berlin & New York)
BA	<u>Bibliothèque Augustinienne</u> (Paris)
Banterle	<u>Gabriele Banterle, Sant' Ambrogio: Opere Morali I - I Doveri</u> (Sancti Ambrosii episcopi Mediolanensis opera, 13, Milan & Rome, 1977)
Bibl.Zeit.	<u>Biblische Zeitschrift</u> (Paderborn & Freiburg)
BICS	<u>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London</u> (London)
Biondi	<u>Biondo Biondi, Il diritto romano cristiano</u> (3 Vols., Milan, 1952-1954)
BKV	<u>Bibliothek der Kirchenväter</u> ² (edd., O. Bardenhewer, Th. Schermann, C. Weyman, Kempten & Munich)
BLE	<u>Bulletin de littérature ecclés- iastique</u> (Toulouse)
Boll.Stud.Lat.	<u>Bollettino di Studi Latini</u> (Naples)
Cavasin	<u>Antonio Cavasin, Sant' Ambrogio, Dei Doveri degli Ecclesiastici</u> (Turin, 1938)

- CCL Corpus Christianorum, series Latina (Turnhout & Paris)
- CJ Classical Journal (Chicago)
- Cl.Bull. Classical Bulletin (St. Louis, MO)
- Cl.Wk. Classical Weekly (New York)
- Colish I-II Marcia L. Colish, The Stoic Tradition from Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages (I: Stoicism in Classical Latin Literature; II: Stoicism in Christian Latin Thought through the Sixth Century) (Leiden, 1985)
- Courcelle, Recherches Pierre Courcelle, Recherches sur saint Ambroise. "Vies" anciennes, culture, iconographie (Paris, 1973)
- Crouter Richard Earl Crouter, Ambrose's 'On the Duties of the Clergy': A Study of its Setting, Content, and Significance in the Light of its Stoic and Ciceronian Sources (Th.D. thesis, Union Theological Seminary, New York, 1968)
- CSEL Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Vienna)
- CUAPS Catholic University of America Patristic Studies (Washington, D.C.)
- CW Classical World (Pittsburgh, PA)
- DACL Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie (edd., F. Cabrol, H. Leclercq, Paris, 1907-1953)
- Dassmann Ernst Dassmann, Die Frömmigkeit des Kirchenvaters Ambrosius von Mailand. Quellen und Entfaltung (Münster, 1965)
- De Romestin Henry De Romestin's translation of Off. in NPNF 10.
- DHGE Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique (ed., A. Baudrillart et al., Paris, 1912 -)
- DSp. Dictionnaire de spiritualité (ed., M. Viller et al., Paris, 1937 -)
- DTC Dictionnaire de théologie catholique (edd., A. Vacant, E. Mangenot, E. Amann, Paris, 1903-1950)
- Dudden I-II F. Homes Dudden, The Life and Times of St. Ambrose (Oxford, 1935)

EphThLov.	<u>Ephemerides Theologicae Lovaniensis</u> (Louvain)
ET	English Translation
Förster	Th. Förster, <u>Ambrosius, Bischof von Mailand: eine Darstellung seines Lebens und Wirkens</u> (Halle, 1884)
Gaudemet	Jean Gaudemet, <u>L'Église dans L'Empire romain (IV^e - V^e siècles)</u> (Paris, 1958)
G & R	<u>Greece and Rome</u> (Oxford)
GCS	<u>Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte</u> (Leipzig)
Gryson, <u>Pretre</u>	Roger Gryson, <u>Le prêtre selon saint Ambroise</u> (Louvain, 1968)
Gryson, <u>Typologie</u>	Roger Gryson, <u>La typologie sacerdotale de saint Ambroise et des sources</u> (doct. thesis, Université Catholique de Louvain, Faculté de Théologie, 1966)
Hagendahl	Harald Hagendahl, <u>Latin Fathers and the Classics: A Study on the Apologists, Jerome, and other Christian Writers</u> (Göteborg, 1958)
Hahn	Viktor Hahn, <u>Das wahre Gesetz: eine Untersuchung der Auffassung des Ambrosius von Mailand vom Verhältnis der beiden Testamente</u> (Münster, 1969)
HJ	<u>Historisches Jahrbuch der Görresgesellschaft</u> (Cologne)
Holden	Hubert Ashton Holden, <u>M. Tulli Ciceronis De Officiis libri tres</u> , with introduction and commentary ³ (Cambridge, 1899)
HSCP	<u>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</u> (Cambridge, MA)
HTR	<u>Harvard Theological Review</u> (Cambridge, MA)
ICUR	<u>Inscriptiones Christianae urbis Romae</u>
Ihm	M. Ihm, 'Studia Ambrosiana', <u>Jahrbücher für klassische Philologie</u> (Leipzig, Suppl. bd. 17, 1890, 1-124).
ILCV	<u>Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres</u> (ed., E. Diehl, Berlin)
JAC	<u>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</u> (Münster)
Johanny	Raymond Johanny, <u>'L'eucharistie, centre d'histoire du salut chez saint Ambroise de Milan</u> (Paris, 1968)

- J.Rel.Ethics Journal of Religious Ethics
(Knoxville, TN)
- JRS Journal of Roman Studies (London)
- JTS Journal of Theological Studies
(Oxford)
- Krabinger J.G. Krabinger, S. Ambrosii
episcopi Mediolanensis De Officiis
Ministrorum (Tübingen, 1857)
- Löpfe Dominikus Löpfe, Die Tugendlehre
des heiligen Ambrosius
(Sarnen, 1951)
- LXX Septuagint.
- Madec Goulven Madec, Saint Ambroise et
la philosophie (Paris, 1974)
- Maes Baziel Maes, La loi naturelle
selon saint Ambroise (Rome, 1967)
- MFC Message of the Fathers of the
Church (Wilmington, Delaware)
- Mnem. Mnemosyne (Leiden)
- Monachino Vincenzo Monachino, S. Ambrogio
e la cura pastorale a Milano nel
secolo IV (Milan, 1973)
- Morino Claudio Morino, Church and State
in the Teaching of St. Ambrose
(ET: Washington, D.C., 1969)
- MS Mediaeval Studies (Toronto)
- Muckle 1939 J.T. Muckle, 'The De Officiis
Ministrorum' of Saint Ambrose:
An example of the process of the
Christianization of the Latin
Language,' MS 1, 1939, 63-80.
- Niederhuber J.E. Niederhuber, Des heiligen
Kirchenlehrers Ambrosius von
Mailand, Pflichtenlehre und
ausgewählte Kleinereschriften
(BKV III.32, 1917)
- NPNF A Select Library of Nicene and
Post-Nicene Fathers of the
Christian Church (² edd., H. Wace
& P. Schaff, 14 Vols., New York,
1890-1900; repr., Grand Rapids,
MI, 1980)
- OCD The Oxford Classical Dictionary²
(edd., N.G.L. Hammond & H.H.
Scullard, Oxford, 1970)
- ODCC The Oxford Dictionary of the
Christian Church² (edd., F.L.
Cross & E.A. Livingstone, Oxford,
1974)
- OLD Oxford Latin Dictionary
(ed. P.G.W. Glare, Oxford, 1982)

- Palanque Jean-Rémy Palanque, Saint Ambroise et l'Empire Romain: contribution à l'histoire des rapports de l'Eglise et de l'Etat à la fin du quatrième siècle (Paris, 1933)
- Paredi Angelo Paredi, Saint Ambrose: His Life and Times (ET: Notre Dame, Indiana, 1964)
- PCPS Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society (Cambridge)
- Pétré Helene Pétré, Caritas: Étude sur le vocabulaire latin de la charité chrétienne (Louvain, 1948)
- PG Patrologia Graeca (ed. J.P. Migne, Paris, 1857-1866)
- Pizzolato Luigi Franco Pizzolato, La dottrina esegetica di Sant' Ambrogio (Milan, 1978)
- PJ Philosophisches Jahrbuch der Görresgesellschaft (Fulda)
- PL Patrologia Latina (ed. J.P. Migne, Paris, 1844-1864)
- P-W Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft (Stuttgart, 1893 -)
- RAC Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum (ed., T. Klauser et al., Stuttgart, 1950 -)
- REA Revue des études anciennes (Bordeaux)
- REAug. Revue des études Augustiniennes (Paris)
- Rech.Aug. Recherches Augustiniennes (Paris)
- REG Revue des études grecques (Paris)
- REL Revue des études latines (Paris)
- Rev.Bén. Revue Bénédictine (Maredsous)
- Rev.SR Revue des sciences religieuses (Strasbourg)
- RFIC Rivista di filologia e istruzione classica (Turin)
- RFN Rivista di filosofia neoscolastica (Milan)
- RHE Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique (Louvain)
- RHR Revue d'histoire des religions (Paris)
- RIFD Rivista Internazionale di Filosofia del Diritto (Milan)
- RIL Rendiconti del R. Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere (Milan)
- RPh Revue de philologie (Paris)
- RQ Römische Quartalschrift (Freiburg)

- RSLR Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa (Florence)
- RSPHTh Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques (Paris)
- RSR Recherches de science religieuse (Paris)
- RTAM Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale (Louvain)
- Sauer Roland Sauer, Studien zur Pflchtenlehre des Ambrosius von Mailand (diss., Würzburg, 1981)
- SC La Scuola Cattolica (Milan)
- SCh. Sources Chrétiennes (edd., H. de Lubac & J. Daniélou, Paris)
- Seibel Wolfgang Seibel, Fleisch und Geist beim heiligen Ambrosius (Munich, 1958)
- SIFC Studi italiani di filologia classica (Florence)
- Steidle 1984 Wolf Steidle, 'Beobachtungen zu des Ambrosius Schrift, De Officiis,' Vig.Chr. 38, 1984, 18-66.
- Steidle 1985 Wolf Steidle, 'Beobachtungen zum Gedankengang im 2. Buch von Ambrosius, De Officiis,' Vig.Chr. 39, 1985, 280-298.
- Stelzenberger Johannes Stelzenberger, Die Beziehungen der frühchristlichen Sittenlehre zur Ethik der Stoa. Eine moralgeschichtliche Studie (Munich, 1933)
- St.Patr. Studia Patristica (Acts of the International Conventions of Oxford)
- SVF Stoicorum veterum fragmenta (ed., J. von Arnim, Leipzig, 1905)
- TAPA Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association (Decatur, GA)
- TDNT Theological Dictionary of the New Testament (10 Vols., edd., G. Kittel & G. Friedrich; ET: G.W. Bromiley, Grand Rapids, MI, 1964-1976)
- Testard I Maurice Testard, Saint Ambroise, Les Devoirs, livre I (Paris, 1984)
- Testard, 'Aveu' Maurice Testard, 'Jerome et Ambroise. Sur un "aveu" du De officiis de l'évêque de Milan,' in Yves-Marie Duval, ed., Jérôme entre l'Occident et l'Orient (Paris, 1988)

- Testard,
'Conscientia' Maurice Testard, 'Observations sur le thème de la conscientia dans le De officiis ministrorum de saint Ambroise,' REL 51, 1973, 219-261.
- Testard, 'Étude' Maurice Testard, 'Étude sur la composition dans le "De officiis ministrorum" de saint Ambroise,' in Yves-Marie Duval, ed., Ambroise de Milan (Paris, 1974).
- Testard,
'Recherches' Maurice Testard, 'Recherches sur quelques méthodes de travail de saint Ambroise dans le De Officiis,' Rech.Aug. 24, 1989, 65-122.
- Thamin Raymond Thamin, Saint Ambroise et la morale chrétienne au IV^e siècle. Étude comparée des traités "Des Devoirs" de Cicéron et de saint Ambroise (Annales de l'Université de Lyon, 8, Paris, 1895).
- TLL Thesaurus linguae latinae (Leipzig, 1900 -).
- Toscani G. Toscani, Teologia della Chiesa in Sant' Ambrogio (Milan, 1974)
- TRE Theologische Realenzyklopädie (Berlin & New York, 1976 -)
- TS Theological Studies (Baltimore)
- TU Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur (Leipzig & Berlin)
- Vasey Vincent R. Vasey, The Social Ideas in the Works of St. Ambrose. A Study on De Nabuthe (Rome, 1982)
- Vermeulen A.J. Vermeulen, The Semantic Development of Gloria in Early-Christian Latin (Nijmegen, 1956)
- Vig.Chr. Vigiliae Christianae (Amsterdam)
- VL Vetus Latina
- Vulg. Vulgate
- WSt. Weiner Studien. Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie und Patristik (Vienna)
- ZRG Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte (Cologne)

AMBROSE'S WORKS AND TEXTS USED

- Abr. De Abraham (CSEL 32.1)
- Apol. De apologia prophetae David (CSEL 32.2)

Apol. alt.	<u>Apologia David altera</u> (CSEL 32.2)
Bono mortis	<u>De bono mortis</u> (CSEL 32.1)
C. Aux.	<u>Sermo contra Auxentium de basilicis tradendis</u> (PL 16)
Cain	<u>De Cain et Abel</u> (CSEL 32.1)
Elia	<u>De Elia et ieiunio</u> (CSEL 32.2)
Ep(p).	<u>Epistle(s)</u> (PL 16; CSEL 82). In common with most scholars, I retain the enumeration of PL.
Exc. fr.	<u>De excessu fratris</u> (CSEL 73.7)
Exhort. virg.	<u>Exhortatio virginitatis</u> (PL 16)
Expl. Ps.	<u>Explanatio Psalmorum XII</u> (CSEL 64)
Expos. Luc.	<u>Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam</u> (Sch. 45,52)
Expos. Ps. 118	<u>Expositio Psalmi CXVIII</u> (CSEL 62.5)
Fide	<u>De Fide ad Gratianum</u> (CSEL 78)
Fuga	<u>De fuga saeculi</u> (CSEL 32.2)
Hex.	<u>Hexaameron</u> (CSEL 32.1)
Iacob	<u>De Iacob et vita beata</u> (CSEL 32.2)
Inc.	<u>De incarnationis dominicae sacramento</u> (CSEL 79)
Inst. virg.	<u>De institutione virginis</u> (PL 16)
Interp.	<u>De interpellatione Iob et David</u> (CSEL 32.2)
Ioseph	<u>De Ioseph</u> (CSEL 32.2)
Isaac	<u>De Isaac et anima</u> (CSEL 32.1)
Myst.	<u>De mysteriis</u> (Sch. 25)
Nab.	<u>De Nabuthae historia</u> (CSEL 32.2)
Noe	<u>De Noe</u> (CSEL 32.1)
Ob. Theod.	<u>De obitu Theodosii</u> (CSEL 73)
Ob. Val.	<u>De obitu Valentiniani</u> (CSEL 73)
Paen.	<u>De paenitentia</u> (Sch. 179)
Parad.	<u>De paradiso</u> (CSEL 32.1)
Patr.	<u>De patriarchis</u> (CSEL 32.2)
Sacr.	<u>De sacramentis</u> (Sch. 25)
Spir.	<u>De Spiritu Sancto</u> (CSEL 79)
Tob.	<u>De Tobia</u> (CSEL 32.2)
Vid.	<u>De viduis</u> (PL 16)
Virg.	<u>De virginibus</u> (PL 16)
Virgt.	<u>De virginitate</u> (PL 16)

Paulinus, Vita refers to the Vita Ambrosii of Ambrose's secretary-biographer, Paulinus. I have used the edition of Michele Pellegrino, Paulino di Milano: Vita di S. Ambrogio (Rome, 1961).

NOTE ON TEXTS

On Book I, I have used the Budé text of Maurice Testard (1984). On Books II and III, Testard's text was not available, and I have followed the text of Banterle (1977), which is essentially that of Krabinger (1857). In a few places, I have disagreed with readings and punctuation in both Testard and Banterle. I have studied the PL text throughout. For Cicero, I have used the edition of K. Atzert in the Teubner series. References to Cic., Amic. are to the edition of J.G.F. Powell (Warminster, 1990), which is a preliminary to Powell's forthcoming Oxford Classical Text. Citations of the Latin Bible are from the Stuttgart edition of the Vulgate, ed. Robert Weber, et al. (2 Vols., 1969, repr. 1975).

I N T R O D U C T I O N

I

THE LIFE AND WORK OF AMBROSE

Aurelius Ambrosius was born probably in Trier in Gaul,¹ while his father, also called Ambrosius, was serving in the high office of praetorian prefect of the Gallic provinces.² The date of his birth is uncertain, and is variously placed within the period A.D. 333-341; the most plausible guess is 339 or 340.³ There is some evidence that he may have been connected to the aristocratic gens Aurelia.⁴ Ambrose's family, which had numbered consuls and prefects among its members in former generations,⁵ had been converted to Christianity. He was the youngest of three children. The eldest, a girl called Marcellina, took vows of chastity and received the veil from Pope Liberius at the festival of Epiphany in 353. The next child, a boy named Uranius Satyrus, followed a civil career, as did his more famous brother, with whom he had a close relationship; after Ambrose's elevation to the episcopate, Satyrus resigned his provincial governorship and came to Milan to assist with administrative responsibilities. Satyrus had a delicate constitution, and died after a hazardous journey from Africa to Italy in the spring of 378.⁶

Ambrose's secretary-biographer Paulinus records one incident from Ambrose's childhood. One day, while the boy slept in his cradle in the courtyard of his father's residence, a swarm of bees suddenly landed on his face, and crawled in and out of his mouth. His father, convinced that this was a portent, forbade the

nurse to drive them away, and in the end they flew off without inflicting any harm. His father exclaimed, 'If this child lives, he will be something great!'.⁷ Of such material, of course, hagiography is made; similar stories are told of Pindar, Plato, and others who were famed for their eloquence.⁸

Ambrose senior died when his children were still young, and his widow returned with them to Rome. Here the future bishop received the elements of a traditional education in the liberal arts:⁹ his elementary schooling, perhaps begun at Trier, was furthered by a training in the great classical authors who dominated the curriculum of his day, especially Terence, Sallust, Cicero, and Vergil.¹⁰ The language of the Classics came to pervade Ambrose's thought, and he nowhere disparages his literary education,¹¹ unlike his scholastic training in rhetoric, whose artificiality he later deplores, yet whose benefits he clearly shows.¹² Alongside rhetoric, he must also have studied philosophy and law; in short, he received the classic elements of the education which prepared a man for a career in the imperial civil service.

When he had completed his studies at Rome, Ambrose went with Satyrus to Sirmium, probably in 365, where the two young men served as advocates at the court of the praetorian prefect of Italy. Both distinguished themselves with their powers of oratory;¹³ in the case of the future bishop, this was doubtless a foretaste of the rhetorical gift which was to be put to such impressive use in his preaching at Milan.¹⁴ From 367/8, the brothers served as assessors in the consiliarium of the illustrious Sextus Petronius Probus, and in c.370 they received provincial governorships; the location of Satyrus's is unknown, while Ambrose was appointed 'consular' of Aemilia-Liguria, a prestigious post which carried senatorial

status and jurisdiction over a wide area of North Italy, with a headquarters in the Western governmental seat of Milan.

The see of Milan had been occupied since 355 by the Cappadocian Arian, Auxentius, who had managed to hold on to his position despite vigorous attacks by such orthodox protagonists as Hilary of Poitiers and Eusebius of Vercelli.¹⁵ On the death of Auxentius in the autumn of 374,¹⁶ a fierce dispute arose between the orthodox Catholics and their Arian opponents over the issue of the succession. Rufinus of Aquileia, followed by Ambrose's biographer Paulinus,¹⁷ describes how Ambrose, in his capacity as governor, went to the cathedral where the election meeting was being held, in order to pacify the crowd and forestall violence between the rival factions. There is no record of what he said, but we are told that, all of a sudden, a child's voice was heard to call, 'Ambrosius episcopus!'; the cry was taken up by the entire crowd, as Arians and Catholics forgot their differences, attracted at once by the idea of this 'neutral' candidate, the man who had evidently made his mark as a popular and efficient administrator. There was, however, little reason for Ambrose to desire the bishopric. He was already launched upon a promising civil career, which offered greater rewards than this (admittedly prestigious) ecclesiastical office. And, fundamentally, Ambrose was a layman, with very little, if any, theological training, and indeed had not even been baptised.¹⁸ His consecration as bishop would thus be a breach of such legislation as the second canon of Nicaea (325) and the tenth canon of Sardica (343), which, on the basis of 1 Tim. 3.6, forbade the elevation of neophytes to the episcopate. In several passages, he later tells of his reluctance to be ordained, and there is little reason to doubt the

sincerity of his feeling.¹⁹

Paulinus tells how Ambrose attempted to resist ordination by resorting to various expedients - ordering the public torture of certain individuals, to compromise his reputation for justice; professing attachment to a philosophical life, possibly to Neo-Platonism;²⁰ openly inviting prostitutes under his roof to create a scandal; and finally attempting to flee Milan - but all of these failed.²¹ Although he managed to escape to the estate of a senator friend called Leontinus, he was betrayed when an edict was issued by the vicar of Italy, threatening severe punishment for any who harboured the fugitive governor. In the end, he gave in, recognising (so the sources say) that Providence had overruled his personal inclinations; he was baptised by a Catholic bishop, and was consecrated on Sunday, 7 December, 374.²² It is a mistake to see his election as an example of ordination by popular acclamation, but it seems that the will of the Milanese people happened to co-incide with the will of Valentinian I, who saw in Ambrose an ideal candidate to cope with the volatile ecclesiastical situation in the city, and was glad to approve the appointment.²³ Having been consecrated, Ambrose proceeded to hand over at least some of his (doubtless quite substantial) wealth to the Church and to the poor.²⁴

The extraordinary circumstances of Ambrose's removal 'from the tribunals and fillets of civil office'²⁵ left him with very real problems in his new role. He was clearly conscious of his lack of theological preparation.²⁶ Assistance came in the instruction of a learned priest called Simplicianus, who had prepared Ambrose for his baptism and probably continued to tutor him in the early months of his episcopate. (Simplicianus was ultimately to succeed

Ambrose in the see.) Ambrose proved an assiduous student, and made it his daily practice to spend time poring over the Scriptures and the works of some of the greatest exegetes of the early Church. In this area, his excellent knowledge of Greek proved invaluable. He preferred to study the Scriptures in Greek (not knowing Hebrew);²⁷ and he was an avid reader of the works of several Greek authors, above all Philo, Origen, and Basil, as well as others including Athanasius and Didymus the Blind. So great was the influence of Philo, especially on Ambrose's works on Genesis, that the bishop has been dubbed 'Philo Christianus'.²⁸ Origen's works on Genesis, Psalms, Song of Songs, and Luke were all studied, as was his famous Hexapla.²⁹ From Basil, he derived models for his Hexaemeron and De Spiritu Sancto, and exegetical help with the Psalms, as well as much practical matter on subjects such as fasting, plus ammunition against the evils of avarice and usury.³⁰ It is clear that Ambrose also studied Middle- and Neo-Platonist authors such as Apuleius, Plotinus, and Porphyry; the Neoplatonist sympathies of Simplicianus make the reading of these authors possible at this stage, if Ambrose had not read them earlier.³¹ Augustine testifies to the scholarly practice of the bishop of Milan: aside from receiving his people, his favourite practice was reading.³²

This dedicated study ensured that Ambrose quickly assimilated the techniques and views of his Greek sources. It is noteworthy that this novice theologian wrote no Retractationes in the later years of his ministry. Ambrose can be visualised as a bridge to the Western Church for the best orthodoxy of the great Eastern Churchmen and for the allegorical exegesis of Philo and Origen.³³

The fruits of his reading were seen in his

preaching, where the oratorical powers which had gained him early distinction at Sirmium found new expression in the themes of biblical teaching, especially in the exposition of OT books and characters. Scripture, above all, was Ambrose's source-book.³⁴ Something of the power of his preaching can be guessed from a reading of his exegetical works, many of which are reworked sermons.³⁵ Besides preaching, there was writing. Ambrose often wrote with his own hand, except when he was ill, when an amanuensis like Paulinus was employed.³⁶ His preference was to write at night, and he did not like to deprive a scribe of rest; the solitude, and the task of writing personally, enabled him to weigh more carefully the words which he used.³⁷

Ambrose's extant works are conventionally classified in four categories: exegetical, moral-ascetical, dogmatic, and miscellaneous (sermons, letters, and hymns). Their chronology is often very difficult to pin down.³⁸ The exegetical works are based particularly on Genesis and on the Psalms. The most striking example of exposition of Genesis is Hexaemeron, a series of nine sermons delivered on six successive days, on the six days of creation. It draws extensively on Basil's work of the same name, and also on Philo, Origen, and Hippolytus. Other works treat the themes of paradise, the Fall, Noah and the Flood, and the patriarchs. There are several revised sermons on the Psalms and on the life of David, and a number of treatises on other OT passages, such as De Elia et ieiunio, De Nabuthae, and De Tobia, which are in fact more moral than exegetical, since they are directed against evils like avarice and usury. Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam, in ten books, is the only extant NT commentary, and is predominantly sermonic in origin; it is particularly

indebted to Origen.

In the moral-ascetical works, the emphasis is principally on virginity, of which Ambrose was a strong exponent.³⁹ The most important treatment is in the three books of De virginibus, a redaction of sermons which draw on Athanasius and perhaps on Cyprian, as well as on Origen's allegorical exegesis of Song of Songs. De viduis celebrates the superiority of chaste widowhood over the married state. The other major work in this group is De Officiis.⁴⁰

The best known of the dogmatic treatises is the De Fide ad Gratianum. Of its five books, the first two were composed in response to Gratian's request for a formulation of orthodox, Nicene teaching in the midst of the Arian onslaught in 378; the remainder of the work grew out of sermons preached against the Arians in 379/380. The work was closely followed by De Spiritu Sancto, also in fulfilment of a promise to Gratian. Ambrose exploits the best Greek theology - Basil, Didymus, Athanasius - to produce the first systematic examination by a Western writer of the work of the Holy Spirit. De mysteriis and De sacramentis, works whose authenticity was long disputed, are now firmly established as genuinely Ambrosian. De sacramentis is probably a stenographic report of sermons, while De mysteriis has been edited for publication.⁴¹ Both are, as their titles suggest, on the meaning and rites of the sacraments, and are intended for the instruction of neophytes.

In the final category of works, the sermons are mainly funerary. De excessu sui fratris Satyri consists of a sermon delivered at the funeral of Ambrose's brother Satyrus and a memorial homily preached a week later.⁴² Considerable use is made of the pagan consolatio genre, especially in the first

piece. Other funeral sermons include one for Valentinian II and the memorial oration for Theodosius. Ninety-one epistles are regarded as genuine; they are arranged, on the Plinian model, into ten books (perhaps by Ambrose himself in his latter days, though Book X was published posthumously). They reveal a man of wide-ranging acquaintances and literary ability,⁴³ who wrote to clergy, emperors, and his sister concerning all manner of ecclesiastical, scriptural, and moral issues. At the time of the Arian conflict in 386, Ambrose popularised the antiphonal singing of hymns in the Milanese Church, a practice prevalent in the Eastern Churches. His compositions, articulating sound Nicene theology in simple language, became so popular that the 'Ambrosian hymnody' came to be recognised as a most seminal development in the Western liturgy. An unfortunate result of this is that so many writers composed hymns of this type that it is very difficult to determine which are Ambrose's own. Four are attested by Augustine; perhaps fourteen in all are genuine, though estimates vary.⁴⁴

The key note of Ambrose's episcopate was his resolute assertion of orthodoxy and the rights of the Church against all doctrinal deviance and secular interference. Four famous incidents demonstrate the dexterity and courage of his management of ecclesiastico-political affairs.⁴⁵

The first is Ambrose's behaviour over the Altar of Victory. In the summer of 384, he managed to persuade the thirteen-year-old Valentinian II not to yield to the pagan request, presented by Quintus Aurelius Symmachus, that the Altar of Victory, a potent symbol of Rome's traditional religion which had been removed from the Roman senate-house by Gratian in the autumn of 382, should be restored. He effectively threatened

the emperor with excommunication if he yielded to the pagans' petition. Ambrose succeeded in ensuring, more by force of language and imposition upon a teenage emperor than by strength of argument, that the severance of the state from pagan religion was irrevocable.⁴⁶

In 385, Ambrose, supported by his congregation, withstood the demand of the Milanese Arians, incited by the Arian empress-mother Justina, that they be given a basilica, probably the Basilica Portiana, which was outside the city walls, for worship. But the affair died down only temporarily. On 23 January, 386, through the intrigue of Justina and Auxentius, an Arian former bishop of Durostorum who had come to Milan, an imperial law was passed granting freedom of worship to Arians, and a fresh request for a basilica was made some weeks later; this time the demand was for the larger New Basilica, within the city walls. Ambrose again refused, arguing that 'a bishop cannot give up a temple of God'.⁴⁷ He was urged by the praetorian prefect to surrender at least the Portian basilica, but at the vociferous protest of the people he refused. He was summoned to the court to debate the matter with Auxentius in the presence of formal arbiters, and was ordered to leave Milan if he would not comply. He made no move, but wrote a forceful letter to Valentinian, arguing that these issues of the Faith could be decided only by bishops.⁴⁸ During Holy Week, the basilicas were invested with troops, and Ambrose himself was unable to return home.⁴⁹ He kept up the spirits of his besieged supporters by vigorous preaching and the singing of hymns celebrating the orthodox Faith. On Maundy Thursday, while he preached, news arrived that the emperor had ordered the withdrawal of all soldiers. The court had capitulated: the law of 23 January was dropped, and

Auxentius disappeared. Though the decisive element in the court's surrender may well have been the threat of invasion by the usurper Maximus, there is no doubt that Ambrose's defiance, strengthened by the firm support of his people, was of great significance: even in the midst of serious civic disturbance, and at possible danger to his own life, he withstood the concession of rights to the Arians.

In December, 388, a riot occurred at Callinicum on the Euphrates: a synagogue was burned down by Christian zealots, and a chapel belonging to the Valentinian Gnostics was razed to the ground by some orthodox monks, who had been angered at the disturbance of a procession at the festival of the Maccabees on 1 August of that year. Theodosius ordered retribution, in particular insisting that the local bishop pay personally for the synagogue's reconstruction. Ambrose interfered, urging the emperor to revoke his orders.⁵⁰ Theodosius ignored him. On the next occasion when Ambrose preached in the presence of the emperor, he addressed him directly, refusing to continue with the celebration of the Eucharist unless Theodosius withdrew all the penalties on those at Callinicum.⁵¹ This was sheer tyranny by an ecclesiastic, but it worked: Theodosius gave in, anxious not to incur the resentment of the Italian Catholics, to whom he was still largely unknown.⁵²

In the summer of 390, a serious revolt took place at Thessalonica, and Theodosius's official, Botheric, was murdered. In revenge, the emperor ordered that the people be gathered into the local circus on the pretence of seeing a show; once there, troops were sent in to massacre them, killing perhaps up to 7,000 men, women, and children.⁵³ Ambrose, appalled at the atrocity, sent a secret letter to Theodosius, solemnly

excommunicating him until he did public penance for his crime.⁵⁴ After a period of exclusion from the Church, Theodosius reluctantly gave in, did penance, and sought the forgiveness of the Milanese Church at Christmas, 390. Ambrose had succeeded in forcing the highest power to yield to the authority of the Church.

Other examples of significant manoeuvres of leadership by Ambrose - intervention in episcopal elections, influence in Church councils, and political negotiations - can be filled out from a reading of the biographies.⁵⁵ What clearly emerges is a man of forceful character and uncompromising principles, who was determined to exploit all the powers of ecclesiastical authority, political influence, and rhetorical skill to assert his conviction that the Church must not be dictated to by the secular powers, and to spread the orthodox Faith as far as possible. To him, Church and State form a partnership with mutual obligations to promote the dissemination of truth and the well-being of the faithful. In this respect Ambrose anticipates medieval thought on Church-State relations.⁵⁶

On his return from a trip to Pavia in February, 397, Ambrose fell ill. He died on 4 April, 397, having indicated that his old mentor Simplicianus should succeed him.⁵⁷ His funeral rites took place on the following day, Easter Sunday, accompanied, according to Paulinus, by miraculous scenes and attended by a vast crowd of men, women, and children of every background, Christians, Jews, and pagans - testimony to Ambrose's success in winning the respect of widely differing people.⁵⁸

It has been said that his character has four great hallmarks: practical energy, moral fervour, natural kindness, and ardent piety.⁵⁹ It is clear that he was no original thinker in the mould of his mighty

protégé, Augustine. His main significance theologically lies in his repackaging of good Greek doctrine in clear Latin, both in prose and in his hymns. He is perhaps the first Western writer to speak of a mystical transformation in the eucharistic elements, and he delineates the doctrine of original sin.⁶⁰ Allegorical exegesis becomes a dominant Western approach to the explication of Scripture especially through his influence. The cult of the martyrs was enthusiastically promoted by Ambrose, who believed that he discovered the relics of SS. Gervasius and Protasius, Agricola and Vitalis, and Nazarius and Celsus.⁶¹ Morally, Ambrose is of major significance in the development of the ascetic movement in the West over the ensuing centuries, through the influence of his works on virginity and the evident effectiveness of his teaching in the Milanese community; at the same time, his presentation of the ideal of virginity contributed to the increased veneration of the Virgin Mary.⁶² In the area of moral theology, though, his greatest importance, lasting well into the Middle Ages and beyond, lies in his production of the first systematic treatment of Christian ethics, and especially the ethics of the clergy, in his De Officiis. It is to this that we now turn.

II

DE OFFICIIS

(i) TITLE

The traditional title of Ambrose's most famous moral work has long been De Officiis Ministrorum.

This is the title given in the late seventeenth century by the Maurist editors, J. du Frische and N. Le Nourry, who claimed that it was based on the evidence 'ex manuscriptis fere omnibus ac notae melioris'.¹ Research on the manuscripts has, however, confirmed that the shorter title, De Officiis, is much more frequent, especially in the primary families of manuscripts; this is corroborated in the title of the oldest editions.² The longer title rests solely upon the evidence of Ambrose's words in I.86: 'Unde prudenter facitis convenire ecclesiasticis, et maxime ministorum officiiis arbitror...'. Every other indication in the work is that the title De Officiis is the correct one: 'successit animo de officiiis scribere' (I.23); 'videamus utrum res ipsa conveniat scribere de officiiis' (I.25); 'de officiiis adgrediamur dicere' (I.65); 'accidit ut scripturi de officiiis' (I.231); 'Superiore libro de officiiis tractavimus' (II.1); 'sermo de officiiis' (II.25). Furthermore, in mentions of the work by other early Christian writers, the shorter title is used: Augustine, Ep. 82.21: 'Nisi forte nomen te moveat, quia non tam usitatum est in ecclesiasticis libris vocabulum officii, quod Ambrosius noster non timuit, qui suos libros utilium praeceptionum plenos, "De Officiis" voluit appellare'; Cassiodorus, Inst. I.16.4: 'Utiles etiam sunt ad instructionem ecclesiasticae disciplinae memorati sancti Ambrosii De Officiis melliflui libri tres'. There is also the testimony of the Carolingian Vita Ambrosii (p.16): 'Primam itaque ecclesiasticorum ordinum institutionem et catholicae vitae formulam in libris suis, quos "De Officiis" praenotavit, luculenter inseruit et evidenter expressit'.³

It is certainly true that the work as it stands is addressed to clerics, and that Ambrose's first interest is in the instruction of those whose officia

are related to the service of the Church: 'ad officia Ecclesiae' (I.184); 'ad officium Ecclesiae' (I.186); 'In ecclesiastico vero officio...' (I.218); 'officium sacerdotis' (II.69); 'in sacerdotis officio' (III.59); 'ecclesiastici ordinis officium' (III.58). It is untenable, then, to object to the longer title on the grounds that the work's content is not ecclesiastical.⁴

Nevertheless, the words of I.86 are slender evidence on which to retain the longer title, when all the evidence from Ambrose himself and from other early authorities is that De Officiis is the correct designation. The retention of the title of his Ciceronian model is in fact likely to be a deliberate part of Ambrose's technique, and in I.24 he explicitly defends the choice of subject: 'De quibus [sc. officiis] etiamsi quidam philosophiae studentes scripserint..., non alienum duxi nostro munere ut etiam ipse scriberem'. The likelihood is that Ambrose keeps Cicero's title in order to point up the contrast in the definition of classical and Christian officia.⁵

De Officiis Ministrorum has been a convenient title with which scholars have distinguished Ambrose's work from Cicero's, but every suggestion is that it was not the original one, and as such it ought to be laid to rest.⁶

(ii) DATE

The dating of the work is complicated by the fact that it is almost certainly a composite text, made up of sections taken from sermons which have been in varying degrees reworked.⁷ It is impossible to ascertain the dates of constituent pieces of text; at

best, the work can only be dated in its present form. Two types of evidence are available to help us: (a) internal allusions to historical events and, in one case, to an earlier work by Ambrose; (b) evocations and mentions of the work by other early Christian authors.

(a) II.70 refers to the Gothic invasion of Thrace and Illyricum following the rout of the Roman forces at the battle of Hadrianople on 9 August, 378; in II.136-139 Ambrose mentions his ransom of captives from the Goths by the selling of Church vessels. III.46-48 probably refers to a famine at Rome in 376, and III.49-51 to another famine and the expulsion of peregrini at Rome at the end of 384; the latter happened proxime (III.49).⁸ In I.72, Ambrose speaks of the Arian persecution, probably alluding to the crisis of 386. II.150-151 mentions a recens attempt by the secular powers to confiscate the property of a widow at Pavia, which might be dated to either 386 or 388; perhaps the latter is more likely.⁹ I.245 has been taken to allude to the overthrow of the statues of Maximus in the late summer of 388, but it is unlikely that the reference is sufficiently precise to warrant this identification.¹⁰

In I.78, Ambrose says that he has elsewhere developed the theme of Noah's ark as a picture of the human body: this is a reference to Noe 13-30. Noe can perhaps be dated to the autumn of 378, since it contains likely allusions to Hadrianople, the death of Valens, and the Gothic ravages, though it is difficult to be certain.¹¹ This is, in fact, the only cross-reference to a definitely earlier Ambrosian work. There are several passages which are very similar to sections elsewhere (cf. I.202-203 with Iacob II.42,45-58; and there are some common points between Iacob and II.1-21; cf. II.26 with Expos. Ps. 118.5.27; I.44 with

Interp. III.22; and III.107-108 with Elia 83), but there is no reason why any of the parallels in the other works must be earlier than the passages in Off.. At best, one might possibly assume that the works belong to roughly the same period and that Ambrose repeats themes which are in his mind at this time; but there is really no solid basis for counting similar passages elsewhere as evidence for the chronology of Off..¹²

(b) Off. is almost certainly known to Jerome when he writes Ep. 52 in 393, and Ep. 53, in 393 or 394.¹³ There is also possible evocation by Paulinus of Nola in 400.¹⁴ The reference in Augustine's Ep. 82.21 is from c. 404.

The deduction from this evidence is therefore as follows. I.72 means that the work as it stands cannot be earlier than 386, and II.150-151 perhaps moves this on to 388. No internal reference necessitates a date later than 388. Jerome's knowledge means that the work must have been available by 393. Overall, the best guess is that Off. in its present form was published sometime in the period late 388 - 390.¹⁵

(iii) MODEL

Ambrose takes as his model the De Officiis of the Roman statesman, advocate, and philosopher, Marcus Tullius Cicero (106-43 B.C.), written during the period September to December, 44 B.C. It is the final work of Cicero's philosophical programme, which lasted from March, 45 to December, 44 B.C. Cicero's withdrawal from public life in disgust at the increasing autocracy of Julius Caesar, his quest for

consolation after the death of his beloved daughter Tullia in February, 45, and a long-standing desire to transmit Greek philosophical thought into Latin, led him to synthesise the results of a lifetime's researches.¹⁶ Cicero's De Officiis may be seen not only as his last philosophical treatise in chronological terms; it also marks the climax of his programme in its ethical purpose. It has been argued that Cicero aimed systematically to refute philosophical teaching whose ethical implications he believed to be dangerous, and, while espousing an Academic agnosticism with regard to certainty, to put forward useful guidelines on right conduct. Hence, his De Officiis is the summation of his advice to the citizen on how to live, but this advice could only be propounded convincingly once he had established, contrary to Stoic notions of determinism, that man is morally a free agent (hence the refutation of the Stoic fate principle in De Finibus, Tusculan Disputations, De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione, and De Fato).¹⁷ There is much to be said for this view,¹⁸ though it is important also to remember the personal and political circumstances which form the background to the writing of De Officiis: there is validity in the assessment that the débâcle of the Roman Republic was itself an inspiration to the disaffected politician to 'demonstrate his conception of a well-ordered state', by composing 'a theoretical treatment of the obligations which a citizen should render to the Commonwealth, that is, a manual of civic virtue'.¹⁹

Cicero's work is addressed to his son Marcus, who at the time of writing is aged twenty-one and is studying at Athens under the guidance of the eminent Peripatetic philosopher, Cratippus.²⁰ It comprises fatherly advice to a young man of whom much was

expected, but who had, prior to his attachment to Cratippus, given his father cause for concern.²¹ Uniquely, Cicero shuns the dialogue form: Marcus is to be taught before he can discuss, even though he is now a young man of independent ideas.²² The intended readership of the treatise is, however, much broader: Cicero aims to give guidance to young Romans generally, especially those aspiring to political office, who require the counsel of an illustrious elder in an age of profound upheaval.²³

The theme of Cicero's treatise is, as its title indicates, officia, 'duties'. Officium is Cicero's translation of the Greek *καθήκον*, which might be rendered 'appropriate/fitting action' or 'proper function'.²⁴ The concept of an obligation to do that for which one can give a reasonable defence, and hence of an action appropriate or natural to one's constitution, is the idea present in Stoic thought. Cicero's rendering of the Greek singular with a Latin plural, officia, seems to reflect a specifically Roman conviction that duties to state, family, friends, neighbours, allies, inferiors, and enemies often amount to a quasi-contractual exchange of obligations.²⁵

Cicero's sources are middle-Stoic. The primary inspiration comes from the celebrated treatise of Panaetius of Rhodes (c. 185/180-110/109 B.C.), *περὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος*, written c.140 B.C., now lost (though it existed in the mid-second century A.D.).²⁶ Panaetius's work set out to discuss the subject of appropriate action or duty in three sections, considering (i) whether a course of action is honourable (Cic.: honestum) or dishonourable/shameful (Cic.: turpe); (ii) whether it is expedient (Cic.: utile) or inexpedient (Cic.: inutile); and (iii), what one ought to do when the honourable and the expedient

seem to conflict.²⁷ Cicero adopts this as the three-book structure of his work, but complains that Panaetius's work was unfinished, and that the Stoic did not fulfil his promise to deal with the third topic.²⁸ He also faults the threefold division as inadequate, positing instead a fivefold arrangement, asking, in addition to (i) and (ii) above, which of two courses is more honourable and more expedient;²⁹ he appends these supplementary sections to Book I (152-161) and Book II (88-89) accordingly. He explicitly states that the first two books are based on Panaetius,³⁰ whom he clearly admires for his attractive style and practical attitude;³¹ he repeatedly stresses, though, that the imitation is not slavish.³²

Besides Panaetius, Cicero uses a summary of a work on duty by Panaetius's distinguished pupil, and his own former teacher, Posidonius of Apamea (135-50 B.C.). This summary was requested from Cicero's friend, Athenodorus Calvus,³³ to supply the deficiency of material for Book III; but it apparently proved disappointingly inadequate, though it helped with some practical examples.³⁴ There are also evidences of the influence of another pupil of Panaetius, Hecaton of Rhodes.³⁵ Overall, though, Cicero claims that for the third book he depends upon his own resources.³⁶

Cicero's treatment of the honourable in Book I is organised under the four cardinal virtues of prudence, justice, fortitude, and temperance, the traditional Socratic canon which Stoicism upheld.³⁷ His thrust is the inculcation of practical virtue, and so the treatment of the first virtue consists basically of an exhortation not to be diverted from a life of action by a desire for learning: practical wisdom takes priority over theoretical knowledge. Justice, which Cicero regards as the most important duty, is twofold

in nature. Its first part, justice proper, consists in not doing harm unless one is harmed, and in treating public goods as public and private ones as private. There is thus a fundamentally social criterion in conduct like the acquisition of property, the maintenance of good faith in public commitments, the treatment of enemies, the waging of war, and the protection of the oppressed: the public good must come first. The other aspect of justice is beneficence or liberality: here, justice must ensure that giving harms no-one, and that it is proportionate to the means of the giver and the merits of the recipient. Good will, the motivating factor, is measured in terms of obligations to those who love one, those to whom one is indebted, those from whom one desires a return of favour, and especially to those with whom one has a clear social relationship: fellow-men, fellow-citizens, family, friends, and compatriots. Fortitude, too, is viewed in social terms. Morally, one should be free from the passions of desire, fear, pain, pleasure, and anger, and the quality of one's magnanimity ought to be tested by a vigorous participation in public life. Physical courage is inferior (though physical training has its worth), and discretion is necessary in martial contests, so that the desire for glory does not come before the good of the state. More important is the demonstration of inner strength by political conduct which is free from partisanship, self-seeking, vindictiveness, and anger; moderation and humility should be observed in success. Temperance consists of modesty and propriety (decorum); the latter means following nature in the subjection of the appetites and passions to reason, taking due account of individual endowments and circumstances, such as the choice of a career, and behaving according to the standards appropriate to

one's age. Modesty is important in bodily appearance, self-control, formal speech, and informal conversation. In the comparison of the virtues which are conducive to social duty, wisdom and fortitude must serve the cause of justice, and temperance must exercise control over deeds done in the interests of justice.

In Book II, Cicero has, again, a social slant. Expediency is tied to virtue; the honourable helps in the obtaining of practical advantages. The greatest expedient is the acquisition of the help and support of one's fellow-men, secured through the co-operation of the virtues. One's interests are promoted by winning good will, affection, and esteem for just behaviour, not (as tyrants like Julius Caesar think) by fear; friendship is an important benefit. Other expedients are (i) glory, acquired when one is trusted and admired, and enjoys a good reputation for military service, personal character, association with the great, and eloquence; (ii) prudent beneficence with money and public entertainment, and liberality with legal services, especially the defence of a man in court; and (iii), service to the state, the care of the populace in such matters as taxation and legislation, and the avoidance of all greed in public office. In the comparison of utilia with which the Book ends, Cicero urges the weighing of the merits of practical advantages one against another (e.g., health with wealth; glory with riches).

In Book III, Cicero builds on the basis laid in Book II: since the honourable and the expedient are so closely associated, what is dishonourable cannot be expedient; there can be no real conflict between the two. Personal gain contrary to the laws of nature, nations, or reason, or at the expense of the interests of society, cannot be expedient. Immorality is

contrary to nature. Justice never conflicts with genuine expediency, but only with apparent advantage. In business, law, and politics, fraud must be shunned and good faith maintained (though fides may be broken where the consequences of keeping it would be dishonourable). The argument is illustrated with copious exempla suggested (presumably) by Posidonius and Hecaton, and others drawn from Roman history, especially the story of Regulus.

Cicero retains much from Panaetius: his practical emphasis, his concept of propriety as both moral and aesthetic, his doctrines of ἀπὸθεῖα and αὐτάρκεια, his realism, and his casuistry. However, his resolution of the apparent conflict between the honourable and the expedient is different. For Panaetius, the honourable is the solum et summum bonum, while the expedient is ἀδιάφορον, morally neutral, and hence incapable of conflicting with the honourable. To Cicero, the expedient is not morally neutral but is private, practical advantage, while the honourable is the public good. He rejects the traditional Stoic ideal of honestum as unattainable by the ordinary man, and discusses instead media officia, the duties by which most people attain to the honestum. Private advantage cannot conflict with the common good because man is essentially a social being; the honourable and the expedient converge because the interests of the individual and the interests of the community are alike governed by natural law.³⁸

Ambrose makes no secret of the fact that Cicero's treatise is his model. Just as Panaetius and Posidonius wrote on duties among the Greeks, and Cicero among the Latins, he says, so he himself may write on this theme as bishop (I.24).³⁹ Cicero is mentioned by name only five times in all of Ambrose's

extant works, and all five references (to 'Tullius') are in Off.: twice in I.24, once each in I.43,82, and 180. This marks a distinction from Ambrose's usual practice of refusing to name a classical author when he quotes or alludes to him.⁴⁰

Cicero's technique of writing as father to son is imitated. 'Et sicut Tullius ad erudiendum filium, ita ego quoque ad vos informandos filios meos; neque enim minus vos diligo quos in Evangelio genui, quam si coniugio suscepissem' (I.24). Ambrose addresses his spiritual 'sons', offering them fatherly guidance (I.1,2,23-24,72,184; II.25,134,149,152-156; III.132,139). These 'sons' are members of the Milanese clergy, especially younger men (cf., e.g., I.65-66,81,87,212,217-218; II.97-101; and the fact that they are Ambrose's 'filii'/'liberi'). There is a particular focus on deacons (I.246-259), but the addressees include other clerics as well. 'Sacerdos'/'sacerdotium' is the term most frequently used: it often refers to the office of bishop (I.152, 205-206,216; II.111,121-122,125,137; III.58-59), though sometimes the term seems to be more generally used for a priest or presbyter (I.80,239,249; II.69,76,78,87). The role of an 'episcopus' is mentioned in I.87,246; II.69,123,134-135. 'Minister' and 'ministerium' appear often; sometimes they refer to deacons (I.205,207; II.121-122,134), but usually they are more general (I.86,152,247,249; II.25,101,149; III.58). Presbyters are referred to in I.87; II.121-122. In I.216, Ambrose mentions the roles of reader, psalm-leader, and exorcist; the office of 'dispensator', mentioned in II.69, is clearly that of deacon. 'Clericus', in II.111,134,150, is obviously a general term, as are 'ecclesiastici' (I.86); 'ecclesiasticum officium' (I.218); 'officia Ecclesiae' (I.186); and 'ecclesiastici ordinis officium'

(III.58). Ambrose thus embraces all ranks of clergy in his teaching.

The father/son parallel with Cicero's style of address is convenient: as Cicero is influenced by the conventions of the 'letter to a son' genre, so Ambrose can exploit the ready examples in the NT, where Paul is spiritual 'father' to the Corinthians, Timothy, and Titus, among others, and Peter is 'father' to Mark.⁴¹ This facilitates the incorporation of material from such places as the Pastoral Epistles (e.g., I.183-185, 246-248); although modesty leads Ambrose to disclaim apostolic glory (I.3), he still seeks to 'pass on' spiritual teaching in a way that is reminiscent of the apostles (I.2-3), and, like Paul to Timothy, entrust his work to his sons as a 'deposit' to be guarded (III.139).

There is a continual emphasis, especially in Books I and II, that the teaching is specifically for clerics: e.g., I.86, 175, 184-186, 217-218; II.25. At the same time, it is clear that Ambrose follows Cicero in envisaging a wider readership for the work in its current form. Some of the material is not of obvious relevance to ecclesiastics: e.g., the condemnation of speculation by farmers or grain-merchants in times of food shortages (III.37-44), or the section on the banishment of foreigners from a city during a famine (III.45-52). Other teaching, though addressed to clerics, is probably intended for more general consumption as well: e.g., the passages on the greed of merchants (I.242-245), or the evils of usury (II.111), legacy-hunting (III.57-58), and fraud in business contracts (III.57-75). The combination of themes which are directly addressed to the clergy with those which aim at a more general readership may well be attributable to the joining together of sermons delivered to different audiences.⁴²

The theme of the work, officia, is suggested by Cicero as well (I.23-24), but Ambrose seeks authentication of it in the Scriptures (I.25), and claims that it was while meditating on Psalm 38 that he was inspired to write (I.23). The choice of this subject may be indicative of Ambrose's respect for the tradition of Roman Stoicism;⁴³ but it is clear that he sees a contrast between classical and Christian officium, between secular and spiritual duty.⁴⁴ The threefold division of Panaetius's treatment, the honestum, the utile, and the comparison of the two, is clearly outlined, as are Cicero's two additional questions (I.27), though these additional questions are given very little consideration in the argument of Books I and II. The distinction of medium and perfectum officium is made (I.36-37; cf. III.10), though once again it is sought in Scripture. The treatment of the honourable in Book I is broken down into a discussion of the cardinal virtues (I.115ff.), but the definitions of these virtues, especially prudence and justice, are heavily influenced by scriptural teaching. Book II commences with a section on the blessed life, or happiness (II.1-21), which sums up the scriptural handling of the honourable in Book I and leads into the analysis of the expedient in Book II by emphasising the unimportance of external advantages, and indeed the positive benefit to the Christian's progress of things popularly considered to be evils. The utile is not worldly advantage, but that which contributes to the attainment of eternal life. In Book III, Ambrose follows Cicero in exemplifying the truth that dishonourable conduct cannot be expedient, and that the honourable end must be sought by honourable means; the supremacy of the honourable, rather than a comparison of the honourable and the expedient,

becomes the keynote.

In short, Ambrose follows his model in his title, addressees, theme, and structure. His greatest debt, though, is a linguistic one, as he habitually echoes and paraphrases Cicero's words; the extent of this can be gauged from the notes of the commentary.

(iv) PERSPECTIVES AND TECHNIQUES

Having taken over the framework of Cicero's treatise, how does Ambrose deal with his material? Four features are worth noting:

(i) Ambrose frequently takes pains to JUSTIFY his adoption of the classical subject-matter and terminology, chiefly by appeal to Scripture. This contrasts with his practice elsewhere in his oeuvre, and is surely calculated to emphasise that while Cicero is his thematic model, the Bible is his supreme moral guide. We have already noted how Ambrose insists that the giving of fatherly advice by Cicero to Marcus is also a responsibility for a bishop to his clergy (I.24), and that he seeks scriptural authentication for the subject of officia. To the latter point, he adds the claim that his work is not superfluous because Christians measure officium by a different standard from that of the pagans - the good of eternal life rather than the good of present gain (I.28-29). The distinction of medium and perfectum officium is also found in the Gospel (I.36-37). Decorum, Cicero's rendering of Panaetius's πρέπον, appears in several biblical verses (I.30; 221,223-224), as do honestum (I.221) and utile (II.23-27). The classical treatment of the vita beata is laid alongside the legacy of the Psalms, the Wisdom literature, and the Beatitudes, evoking the beatus vir

who fears God and lives uprightly, acquiring eternal life by a combination of faith and virtue (II.1-21).

(ii) There is almost always a LACK OF SPECIFIC ATTRIBUTION in Ambrose's references to Cicero or to classical thought; the language of Cicero is adopted, but it is not explicitly ascribed to him. This is typical of Ambrose's practice elsewhere.⁴⁵ Only two of the five mentions of Cicero's name (I.82 and I.180) refer to specific passages of Cicero's text. Elsewhere, Ambrose avoids naming his source, and gives vague, plural references instead. Examples include the following: 'aestimaverunt; aiunt; haec illi' (I.27); 'illi aestimaverunt; illa' (I.29); 'haec illis' (I.52); 'haec oratores saeculi' (I.92); 'ferunt gentiles' (I.94); 'saeculares viri' (I.102); 'illorum' (I.118); 'tractant; ipsi faciunt' (I.122); 'ab huius saeculi...sapienribus' (I.126); 'vocant' (I.130); 'quod putant philosophi; dicunt...illi' (I.131); 'putaverunt; aiunt' (I.132); 'quod si hi qui ad capessendam rem publicam adhortantur aliquos, haec praecepta dant...' (I.186); 'in fabulis ferunt tragicis' (I.207); 'hi qui foris sunt' (I.252); 'sapienribus definitione' (II.43); 'nonnulli...putant' (III.8); 'feruntur' (III.26); 'quaerunt aliqui' (III.27); 'ut philosophi disputant' (III.29); 'illud quod memorabile habetur apud philosophos' (III.80); 'in spectatis et eruditis viris' (III.81); 'mirantur' (III.83); 'memorable ferunt rhetores' (III.91); 'quaestiones philosophorum; illi...tractant' (III.97); 'pleraeque philosophorum quaestiones' (III.126). The vagueness often occurs when Ambrose is alluding to Ciceronian exempla [see Introduction II.v]. 'Legimus' in II.30 refers obliquely to Cic. II.48. In some cases, Ambrose mentions a Ciceronian story with the apparent expectation that it will be known to his addressees: e.g., 'tractare de Syracusano illo amoeno

secretoque secessu' (III.71); 'illud Graecorum' (III.87). In many more, he simply echoes Cicero's language without any indication of the source.⁴⁶

(iii) Ambrose constantly sets up ANTITHESES between classical thought or exemplars and Christian teaching and biblical characters. Many of the oblique references to Cicero which are listed in (ii) above are accompanied by sharp adversatives. Particular favourites are: 'haec illi; nos autem' (I.27-28); 'haec illis; ceterum nobis' (I.52-53); or the simple 'illi...nos' (I.29). Cf. also: 'Tullius; nos certe' (I.82-83); 'multa...dant praecepta saeculares viri, quae nobis praetereunda arbitror' (I.102); 'sed hoc artis est...; nos autem artem fugimus' (I.116); 'dicunt...illi; apud nos' (I.131); 'ut non hominum opinionibus aestimandum relinqueretur, sed divino iudicio committeretur' (II.3); 'philosophi; Scriptura autem divina' (II.4-5); 'quaerunt aliqui; mihi quidem' (III.27); 'Illi...tractant; noster iste' (III.97).

Arguments from lesser to greater are used: i.e., if such-and-such is prescribed for pagans, how much more is it necessary for Christians to attain that moral standard (and, ideally, to exceed it)? For examples, cf. I.185,186; II.124; III.26 (and cf. III.65). Sometimes a classical idea is rejected in favour of a higher, Christian principle: e.g., I.131; III.27.

(iv) There is a stress on the ANTERIORITY and SUPERIORITY of biblical truth and biblical exemplars to classical ones, and allied to this is the charge that the pagans PLAGIARISED from the Scriptures. The naively pious notion that pagan thinkers borrowed from the OT Scriptures is part of the Alexandrian tradition, going back to authors such as Philo; it is a *τόπος* in the Greek and Latin Christian apologists of the second and third centuries, and is found also in Augustine (though he revises his opinion in his

later years).⁴⁷ It is ubiquitous in Ambrose's works.⁴⁸ In Off., he implies that the five-year rule of silence which Pythagoras imposed on novices was an idea taken over from David, who kept quiet when abused by the scoundrel Shimei (I.31); and he thinks that the Stoics derived from verses in Genesis and Psalms their teaching about all men having a right to share in the earth's produce and a responsibility to help one another (I.132-135). For other examples, cf. I.79-80,92,126,141,180 (cf. also II.43). In many more passages, Ambrose does not explicitly accuse the pagans of plagiarism but emphasises the anteriority of biblical material: cf. I.31,43-44,94,118; II.6,48; III.2,80,92. The heart of the concept is that anteriority equals superiority: cf. I.92; and especially III.92: 'Redeamus ad nostrum Moysen, atque ad superiora revertamur, ut quanto praestantiora tanto antiquiora promamus'. Cf. also the implications of the superiority of biblical or Christian matters in I.207,221; III.97.

(v) EXEMPLA

Ambrose differs from his model most strikingly in the way that he utilises Scripture to illustrate his theme. He presents himself at the outset as a humble student-teacher of the Bible: 'Non igitur mihi apostolorum gloriam vindico..., non prophetarum gratiam, non virtutem evangelistarum, non pastorum circumspeditionem; sed tantummodo intentionem et diligentiam circa Scripturas divinas opto adsequi...' (I.3). Reflection upon a Psalm led him to take up his subject (I.23). To him, the Bible is inspired by the Holy Spirit;⁴⁹ and is normative for all Christians as the revelation of God and His will; it is the primary

source of authority for ethical teaching. 'Quae in Scripturis non repperimus, ea quemadmodum usurpare possumus?' he asks (I.102); the implied answer to this rhetorical question is fundamental to his didactic method. However much he takes over from Cicero and classical philosophy, Ambrose is concerned that the wisdom of God's Word should be the controlling principle; we may assume that he retains from the pagan world only what he believes (rightly or wrongly) to be in accordance with scriptural teaching. We have already seen how Ambrose argues for the superiority of Scripture to pagan thought. To him, Scripture solves the issues on which philosophy is so complicated (II.8; III.97). The auctoritas of the Bible is often invoked to demonstrate the truth of an argument: e.g., I.36,106,131,151; II.3,5,65,113.⁵⁰

From these divinely authoritative Scriptures, Ambrose derives exempla maiorum as models for his students; 'sit igitur nobis vita maiorum disciplinae speculum' (I.116). This concern for the moral influence of ancestors is symptomatic of a Roman attitude to history, but in Ambrose's mind it is reapplied to a spiritual context. The Church is visualised as the spiritual offspring of the ancient people of God in the OT; Christians are the descendants of the patriarchs.⁵¹ The traditional reverence for Rome's ancient heroes is transferred to the saints and prophets (and of course NT individuals) whose characters are sketched in the biblical narratives. The conviction that Scripture is always true means that the exploits of these figures are ever real events (cf. III.32), and the belief in spiritual heredity means that ancient Israel and fourth-century A.D. Milan are linked in one great linear development of Heilsgeschichte. The OT characters are the populus patrum/patres (I.139,197,246; II.10,63; III.5,69,92,

99,103,108), or nostri/maiores nostri (I.118,175; III.53,92,98,111,117); their stories are told in nostri libri (I.92) or nostri Scripturi (e.g., I.133; cf. I.221).⁵² The exemplars are taken from the OT especially, in accordance with Ambrose's preference in his exegetical works. Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, David, Solomon, Elijah, Elisha, Job, and Daniel are favourite characters.⁵³ The apostle Paul, typically cited simply as Apostolus, is the dominant NT exemplar. Christ is, inevitably, the supreme paradigm: in Him, the OT characters of imperfection find their perfect and final antitype. The same figures are often presented as examples of particular virtues: e.g., Joseph demonstrates chastity (I.66,76; II.59) and prudent counsel (II.54,74,79-85; III.42); David shows careful control of speech (I.6-7,9-10,21,31,34,236-238); Solomon, wisdom (II.51-53; III.12); Job, kindness to the needy (I.39,167,180), and brave patience (I.113,195; II.20); and Daniel, wisdom (II.11,48,55,57; III.12).⁵⁴

In the vast majority of cases, Ambrose replaces Cicero's exempla of Roman and Greek history and mythology with biblical ones. Only a few are retained, all of them in Book III: Scipio Africanus (III.2); Gyges (III.29-36); Canius and Pythius (III.71-73); Damon and Phintias (III.80-81,83); the Athenians' rejection, simply on the word of Aristides and without themselves knowing the details, of Themistocles's plan to fire the Spartan fleet (III.87); and Fabricius and the deserter from Pyrrhus (III.91). Of these, only Scipio Africanus and Gyges are mentioned by name; with the rest, Ambrose follows his usual policy of declining to identify Ciceronian material. There are also a few allusions to other Ciceronian exempla: e.g., the tradition that fathers and sons do not bathe together (I.79); or the letters

of kings to their sons (II.30). In two places, there are references to stories recorded elsewhere in Cicero's works: Archytas of Tarentum and his bailiff (I.94); and the behaviour of Pylades and Orestes in a tragedy of Pacuvius (I.207); in both passages, the classical figures are named. The résumé of philosophical prescriptions for the blessed life (II.4) is drawn from Cicero, Fin. V.73, and I.43 mentions a passage of Cicero's Rep.. Generally, though, Cicero's exempla are replaced: e.g., Aratus of Sicyon in Cicero II.83 becomes Joseph in Ambrose II.81 (Joseph also replaces M. Octavius in II.80); Julius Caesar in Cicero II.23-29 becomes Rehoboam in Ambrose II.93-94; and the tragic consequences of the oaths of mythological characters in Cicero III.94-95 are instead illustrated in Ambrose III.77-81 by Herod and Jephthah. Ciceronian material is often slanted in a Christian direction: cf., e.g., II.70,136,138. Like Cicero, Ambrose has more illustrations in Book III;⁵⁵ but in that Book he systematically argues for the superiority of scriptural over Ciceronian exempla: III.1-7,29-36,67,69-75,77-85,86-87,91-97.

Alongside the biblical illustrations, Ambrose weaves in stories from Christian history and personal reminiscences. There is a dramatic account of the martyrdom of Pope Sixtus II and S. Lawrence (I.205-207), and mention is made of S. Agnes (I.204); these passages supplement the martyr stories from Maccabees (I.196-204). There are incidents which the clergy are expected to remember, such as the rejection by Ambrose of two clerics whose physical deportment did not meet his standards of decorum (both left the Church, one at the time of the Arian crisis in 386 and the other enticed by money - I.72), and the case of the imperial confiscation of a widow's property at Pavia, resisted by the local bishop, with Ambrose's authority (II.150-

151). The ransom of captives as a type of liberality is exemplified by Ambrose's own action on behalf of prisoners taken by the Goths after Hadrianople in 378: Ambrose broke up and sold some of the sacred vessels of the Church, incurring heavy criticism from the Arians; he cites the example of S. Lawrence presenting the poor as the true treasures of the Church (II.70-71,136-143). Honourable treatment of peregrini is illustrated by contrasting the behaviour of a Christian and a pagan official in two recent famines at Rome (III.45-52); the two cases correspond with Cicero's illustration of ζενηλασία with two historical references in Cicero III.47. Some impression of contemporary doctrinal problems at Milan can be gained from the denunciations of the beliefs of the Arians, notably Eunomius, in I.117, along with Manichaean and Marcionite errors (note, too, Ambrose's contempt for Aristotelian [I.48,50] and Epicurean [I.50] ideas). I.1-4 offers some insight into Ambrose's reluctance to become bishop and his initial diffidence as a pastoral teacher.⁵⁶

Apart from these personal touches and the references to Christian history, the dominant style of the work is, though, the explication of the Ciceronian philosophical subject by the exegesis of biblical narratives. The moralistic significance of the exempla maiorum which is mentioned in I.116 is the closing note of Book III: Ambrose wishes the saints whose characters he has sketched to be the pre-eminent standard for the instruction of the faithful; the series vetustatis is held up for emulation when the philosophical frame of the work has been forgotten (III.139).⁵⁷

(vi) OTHER SOURCES

Besides the two essential bases of the work, Cicero's Off. and Scripture, Ambrose shows a knowledge of some other sources. The most important of these is Cicero's treatise, Laelius (De amicitia), the work which was so to influence medieval writers such as Aelred of Rievaulx. Ambrose exploits this text in I.167,207; II.106; and especially in his treatment of friendship in III.125-138. Cicero's De senectute is known to Ambrose in II.100; Pro Plancio is quoted in I.126, and alluded to in I.135; Cat. I.21 is evoked in III.2; and Verr. II.22 in III.20. It is now quite clear that the tenets of the philosophers Hieronymus, Herillus, Callipho, Diodorus, Aristotle, and Theophrastus mentioned in II.4 are drawn from a single paragraph of Cicero's De Finibus;⁵⁸ it is likely that Tusculan Disputations is also exploited in II.1-21. De natura deorum is probably in Ambrose's mind in one or two passages, such as I.77 and I.126-127. The De Republica is mentioned in I.43; the story of Archytas in I.94 may have been gleaned from that work or from Tusculan Disputations. The repugnance towards Epicurean ethics in I.50 is certainly influenced by Cicero's hostility throughout his philosophical oeuvre. Ambrose's knowledge of Plato in III.30 is second-hand, from Cicero; his awareness of Aristotelian ethics (I.31,180; II.4) may likewise be derivative, though we cannot be sure; in I.43, he may know Plato's Republic. There is also linguistic evocation of Vergil, Sallust, Terence, and Horace; the significance of this is dealt with in the section on Latinity, below.

Among exegetes of Scripture, Ambrose is indebted to Philo in I.78, though, as he indicates, he has already developed the theme of the ark as a picture of the

human body elsewhere, in Noe 13-30. I.5-22 probably owes something to Didymus the Blind's exegesis of Psalm 38, and the explanation of Psalm 4.5 in I.96 is similar to that given by Origen. Origen is the likely source for the umbra-imago-veritas development in I.239 (though there are differences in Ambrose's handling of it), and he may possibly be the source of the information about Aristotle's view of providence in I.48. It has been suggested that Cyprian is exploited in I.88, and Novatian (via Cyprian) in II.102. Otherwise, there is no unambiguous evidence of the influence of other exegetes in Off. - surprisingly, given Ambrose's marked debt to Philo and other Greek writers elsewhere.⁵⁹ For the story of the martyrdom of Sixtus II and Lawrence (I.205-207), Ambrose probably draws on a written or an oral Passio Laurentii; the same source may be exploited in the account of Lawrence's action in II.140-141. He seems to have had Onomastica in his library, though the significance of the Hebrew names in I.91 and I.246 could well have been gleaned from his own reading of Philo. In I.15 he has used Origen's Hexapla. Ambrose preferred to study the Scriptures in Greek, and he is able to quote the Greek OT in I.30 and the Greek NT in I.221. In II.26 he refers to different Latin renderings of an OT verse. It is above all the language of his Bible that pervades Ambrose's mind; this, coupled with his knowledge of Cicero's speeches and philosophical treatises and some reading of exegetes like Philo and Origen, provides the basic material of his work.

(vii) EXEGESIS OF SCRIPTURE

Ambrose adheres to the tradition of spiritual hermeneutics, the pursuit of deeper meanings in the

scriptural text through allegory and typology. Allegorical interpretation of Homer had been practised since the sixth century B.C., and the method had been popular with many Stoic and Neoplatonist thinkers, as it offered an attractive way of rationalising the myths of the poets;⁶⁰ the practice was also common in rabbinical interpretation of the Jewish Scriptures. It was a favourite technique of Alexandrian scholarship, most strikingly exemplified by Philo, who sought to re-interpret large sections of the Pentateuch in a spiritual way in order to demonstrate that the literal sense concealed rather than conflicted with the truths which were held by philosophically articulate pagans. In the NT, the technique is present in several of the epistles,⁶¹ and it is developed in early second-century writings such as the Epistle of Barnabas. The dominant impetus in Christian exegesis comes, though, from the great Alexandrians, Clement and Origen, who adopted the Philonic approach to the OT Scriptures.⁶² The aim was twofold: first, to seek to win over pagan sceptics, and second, to defend the OT against the attacks of Jewish polemicists and Christian heretics; throughout the ensuing centuries, allegory was employed against such enemies as Gnostics, Manichaeans, and Arians. Some use of the practice was made in the West by Irenaeus, Tertullian, Cyprian, and Hilary of Poitiers, but the main bridge between the Greek tradition and the Latin Church is provided here (as in so many areas) by Ambrose himself.

Ambrose adopts from Origen the belief in a threefold meaning in the text of Scripture; cf. Expl. Ps. 36.1: 'Omnis Scriptura divina vel naturalis vel mystica vel moralis est'.⁶³ His preference for the exposition of the OT is partly motivated by the desire to exploit the rich legacy of spiritual hermeneutics

afforded by the Greek expositors of the OT. He seeks by typology to demonstrate the unity of the OT and the NT, in accordance with his belief in a linear development of Heilsgeschichte. By allegory, Ambrose is able to refute the ideas of deviant sects, and also to ameliorate what he sees as the less pleasant aspects of the literal sense in some OT passages. His exegetical works are replete with examples of such interpretation.⁶⁴ Augustine testifies to the impact which Ambrose's spiritualising approach had on him, and says that Ambrose often quoted 2 Cor. 3.6 (Vulgate: 'littera enim occidit, Spiritus autem vivificat').⁶⁵ The success of Ambrose here contributed to Augustine's disillusionment with Manichaeism,⁶⁶ and in the longer term helped to inspire Augustine's own allegorising.⁶⁷

There is, in fact, a smaller proportion of allegory and typology in Off. than in most of the exegetical works; most of the time in Off., Ambrose does not expound scriptural passages for their own sake, but in order to illustrate Ciceronian thoughts and replace Ciceronian exempla. There are, though, some notable examples. In some cases, it seems likely that he is incorporating earlier exegetical treatments of the biblical passages concerned. In I.11, Ambrose offers a spiritual explanation of Eccli. 28.28-29; he does the same in I.80 with Ex. 28.42-43, and in I.162-165 with Prov. 23.1-3. In I.147, he interprets Matt. 6.3 as having a different meaning from the obvious one. In I.78, he repeats the Philonic idea of Noah's ark as symbolising the human body, and also mentions the better-known notion (found, for example, in Origen) that the ark is a type of the Church. In II.51-53, Solomon is presented as a type of Christ, and in II.47 Ambrose associates the sword of Solomon's judgement in 3 Kings 3.24-27 with the sword of the Spirit. The

umbra-imago-veritas scheme in I.239, by which Ambrose explains Christ's sacrifice in a way which is reminiscent of the epistle to the Hebrews, is found also in Origen. Typology sees a progression from OT Israel to the NT Church, and then ultimately to the consummation of God's redemptive purpose in the glorification of the saints in heaven.⁶⁸ Such a conviction underpins the exegesis of III.94, where Ambrose explains the typical significance of the rod/serpent of Moses, with Moses as a type of Christ in III.95; it explains, too, the excursus of III.103-110, on the types of Christian baptism which are to be found in OT passages (cf. the narrative from III.99).

Some of the other spiritual interpretations are commonplace, such as the identification of Christ as the 'foundation' mentioned in Is. 28.16 (I.142), and the NT views of the deeper significance of circumcision and the Passover (I.251). The notion that the Levite's 'garments' are his body (I.249) is evocative of Platonist (and also NT) thought. In II.83, relating Joseph's interpretation of Pharaoh's first dream, Ambrose evokes the common image of time flowing like a river to explain why Joseph linked the beasts beside the river to a period of time. In II.24, Ps. 29.9 is ascribed to Christ and Wisd. 2.12/Is. 3.10 to His enemies. Ambrose is interested also in the etymology of Hebrew names, like Rebecca (I.91) and Levi/Levite (I.246).⁶⁹

III

**THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ARGUMENT.
WRITTEN OR SERMONIC?**

The reader of Off. is generally struck by the loose and discursive style of the argument. It seems as if the author meanders through his subject, often wandering from the topic in hand in order to pursue a theme suggested by a verse of Scripture, as though delighting in the spiritual value of biblical matter while forgetting the thrust of the philosophical argument. Frequently the terminology of Cicero's theme disappears completely, or appears to have been appended artificially. Ciceronian divisions are sometimes misunderstood, and themes are compressed or extended where they are not in Cicero. There are numerous repetitions which one might not expect from a careful author. In many places, there is material which finds no parallel in Cicero. The overall impression may well be that the work is poorly planned and hastily composed, and that Ambrose might have made his case clearer and more attractive if he had adhered more closely to the contours of his Ciceronian map.

Such judgements raise questions about the nature of the work's composition, and about Ambrose's aims in composing it. Has Ambrose written the work, or does it consist of a series of sermons which have been strung together rather hurriedly? What form did such sermons take, and have they been reworked? Does Ambrose write with Cicero's text at his elbow, or is he relying on his memory of Cicero as he writes or preaches? How successfully does the argument about the convergence of the honourable and the expedient emerge?

The issue of Ambrose's intentions will be dealt with in the next section of the Introduction; here, we shall (a) consider three features of the arrangement of material, and (b) look at the question of whether the work is written or oral in provenance.

(a) (i) Large sections of the text contain none of the basic Ciceronian terminology. Honestum (and its morphological cognates)¹ does not occur in I.1-26,29-73,103-122,126-151,153-174,223-257; utile is found only once in II.98-156 (in II.138), and is not mentioned after III.90.² The treatment of Cicero's two additions to the Panaetian structure, the comparison of honesta and the comparison of utilia, is very haphazard. I.252-259 corresponds, superficially, with Cicero I.152-161, but contains only one explicit reference to a calculus of honesta, where it is said simply that id quod honestius est should be preferred where there are duo honesta (I.258). II.28 implies a comparison of utilia, and it has been thought that II.136-151 covers this, yet there is only one brief mention of utile in II.138. Also, in II.22 Ambrose suggests that the comparison of utilia in Book II parallels the distinction between honestum and decorum, not the comparison of honesta, in Book I. The philosophical frame of the work is missing at the close of each Book (except for the brief reference to the comparison of honesta near the end of Book I, in I.258): at the end of every Book, Ambrose addresses his clerics directly, without mentioning the Ciceronian theme. The cardinal virtues are not clearly outlined in Book I until I.115, though they come very early in Cicero's first Book. Nevertheless, modesty or temperance is treated twice, in I.65ff. and in I.210ff., leading to a good deal of overlap in details. In Book III, the honourable and the expedient cannot conflict because both are related to

pleasing God, to gaining eternal life, and to attracting one's fellow-men to the love of God. Perfect duty emulates the perfection of God (III.10-11; cf. I.37-38) by considering the good of others to be of supreme importance; the honourable and the expedient converge under the ultimate aim of Christlikeness (III.12-15). The honourable is thereafter treated as that which is right in God's sight. In III.29, Ambrose takes over from Cicero the final criterion that nothing except the honourable ought to be pursued. The remainder of the Book consists of examples of this principle at work, as the honourable is contrasted with false expedients (as in Cicero). In the end, the expedient disappears altogether, and the honourable is presented as the only standard.

(ii) Within each Book, there are sections which do not parallel anything in Cicero. Book I has the treatment of silence versus speech (I.5-22,31-35), a fuller discussion of anger than is found in Cicero (I.90-97,231-238), a discourse on providence and theodicy (I.40-64), and a section specifically on clerical duties (I.246-251). Book II has an opening section on the blessed life (II.1-21), unparalleled in Cicero, and Book III draws to a conclusion with an exposition of the delights and duties of friendship, which draws on Cicero III.43-46 but goes into much greater detail than Cicero (exploiting his earlier account in the De amicitia). Some passages which are essentially biblical look as if they might have been joined to the theme by the insertion of one or two Ciceronian words at each end (e.g., III.98-110). In many places, Ambrose takes over a Ciceronian divisio intact, but there are cases where he misunderstands, or more likely misremembers, his model: I.105-114; II.40ff. The sequence of thought between certain passages is

not clear, and in some places Ambrose feels the need to defend his arrangement (e.g., I.23,116,231) or excuse a lengthy treatment or digression on a particular point (e.g., I.47,81;³ III.110).⁴ In II.25, Ambrose says that he is addressing his clerical 'sons', not greedy merchants, yet III.37ff. clearly envisages listeners or readers who have commercial interests. In III.132, he claims that he has earlier discussed a scriptural story, yet no such treatment has appeared.

(iii) There are numerous repetitions of subjects throughout the work, especially within Book I and between Books I and II: e.g., speech/silence or the voice is dealt with in I.5-22,31-35,67-68,84,99-104,226; II.96 (cf. 29ff.); anger in I.90-97,231-238 (cf. 13-22); the twin motus of the soul, reason and appetite, in I.98,105ff.,228-230; the duties of liberalitas in I.143-174; II.68ff.; the company of wise elders for young men in I.212 (cf. I.87); II.97-101; the guarding of deposits in I.254; II.144-151; and the keeping of oaths in I.255; III.77-79. Many of the repetitions within Book I are due to the double treatment of modesty, in I.65ff. and I.210ff.⁵

Some of the repetition may be attributable to the style of the pastoral teacher who drives home his points by frequent emphasis. Certainly, Ambrose cannot be censured for the deliberate reiteration of the same biblical narratives; the recurrence of references to, say, Joseph and Potiphar's wife (I.66,76,112; II.20,59,87), Abraham and Isaac (I.66,118-119,205), Elisha and the Syrian army at Samaria (I.139-140; III.5-6,86-88), or Herod and John the Baptist (I.255; III.35,77,89), is due to the author's conviction about the moral and spiritual value of scriptural illustrations, and also his wish to replace the classical exempla of Cicero's treatise.

He synthesises two very different types of material, Cicero and Scripture, and hence reflects a movement between philosophical disputatio, scriptural expositio, and pastoral exhortatio.⁶ But does a careful writer repeat himself, digress, and forget his theme as often as Ambrose appears to do, or are such features not associated more with oral composition? This anticipates the second main subject of this section:

(b) In some places, Ambrose presents his work as a written treatise, while in others he includes phrases and uses a style which seem to indicate that he is preaching. First of all, there are definite references to writing, or to the work being read in book-form:

'ad vos filios meos scribens'; 'de officiis scribere' (I.23); 'non alienum duxi nostro munere ut etiam ipse scriberem' (I.24); 'scribere de officiis'; 'quasi adhortaretur ad scribendum' (I.25); 'scriptionis nostrae'; 'deinde qui illa non legunt, nostra legent si volent' (I.29); 'scripsimus' (I.162); 'pulchre autem et hoc accidit ut scripturi de officiis, ea praefationis nostrae adsertione uteremur...' (I.231); 'superiore libro de officiis tractavimus' (II.1); 'superiore libro' (II.22); 'in hoc libro' (III.29); 'supra scripsimus' (III.77); 'his tribus...libris' (III.139).

On the other hand, in two places Ambrose refers to a Scripture-reading which his addressees have heard that day: 'audisti hodie lectum' (I.13), and 'sicut audisti hodie legi' (I.15). In II.25, 'ad filios sermo est, et sermo de officiis' suggests that he is delivering a homily. Book II (156) ends with a doxology, which is possibly better suited to the close of a sermon than to a book (though it does not have to be).⁷

Some other 'evidence' for oral delivery can probably be discounted. References to a reading of Scripture that day by the author (I.25), or meditation on a biblical passage as an inspiration to him (I.23), might simply be made on the day that he writes. 'Meministis' in I.72 and II.150 does not necessarily mean that Ambrose is speaking; nor does any of the vocatives, 'filii' or 'fili'.⁸ Use of the verb 'loqui' (e.g., I.81: 'ad vos loquebar'; cf. also I.143,235; II.69; III.63) is found in written as well as spoken Latin (e.g., Cicero III.121);⁹ a phrase such as 'quem paene praeterieram' (II.59) might be used by a writer who works quickly, and not just by a speaker; references to 'sermo supellex' and 'ars dicendi' (I.29) could describe written style; and 'de officiis adgrediamur dicere' (I.65) could be employed by a writer as much as by a speaker. 'Legimus' (I.25,80,140; II.101,145; III.103,118); 'legisti' (II.109; III.43); 'cum legerimus' (III.103); and 'cum legeris' (III.106) refer simply to a verse or passage of Scripture in a general way; it is not necessary to see allusions here to readings recently made in the presence of an audience.¹⁰ Certain passages are similar to sections of other Ambrosian works which are generally conceded to be sermonic in provenance. I.5-22 and I.231-245 very probably make use of an earlier sermon on Psalm 38, which is later worked up into Expl. Ps. 38.¹¹ There are similarities between I.40-46 and Interp. III; I.202-203 and Iacob II.42,45-58; II.26 and Expos. Ps. 118.5.27; and III.107-108 and Elia 83. But there is no reason why Ambrose must be delivering these passages of Off. orally (whatever the chronological relationship of the other works); a writer could simply be repeating themes on which he has recently preached or is about to preach.

More significant is the fact that Ambrose

alternates between addressing several persons and speaking directly to the individual. In numerous passages, he questions, challenges, exhorts, anticipates an objection from, or draws a point to the attention of, an individual. Examples include: 'habes' (I.34,37,117,162,202,221,224,237); 'vides' (I.46; III.44); 'intueris' (I.46); 'adverte' (I.108, 110,119,223); 'vide' (I.118,183,237); 'cognosce' (II.52); 'intellige' (II.52); 'disce' (I.249); 'adde' (I.171); 'considera' (I.184; II.52; III.16,108,127); 'interroga' (I.46); 'introspice' (I.46); 'tolle' (I.167); 'finge' (III.18); 'da' (III.18); 'pone' (II.20; III.22); 'puta' (II.21); 'nega, si potes' (I.45); 'forte dicas' (I.60); and the addresses 'O homo' (I.156; II.52; III.16). There is often considerable rhetorical effect in these singular addresses: e.g., I.18,45,59-63; III.15-18,108. It does not seem to be possible to establish any pattern of sections of text which contain only plural or only singular styles of address; often, Ambrose moves from one to the other within a paragraph or a few sentences: e.g., I.7,13,86,88,93,143,221,223; II.39-40,77,125-126,137; III.18,47,59,129-130,132.¹² Is Ambrose preaching to a group, and does he apostrophise an individual for oratorical-didactic effect? Or is it possible that he is addressing an imaginary interlocutor as he writes, and using these singular styles (and the liturgical references) as a literary device?¹³

As noted in (a) above, there are a number of blocks of text in which there is no Ciceronian evocation, and where expositions of scriptural passages may have been incorporated. I.1-22 and I.231-245 almost certainly are sermonic in origin; it is noteworthy that the two references to a liturgical reading (I.13 and I.15) both occur in the first of these passages: these

references are typical in works with a sermonic provenance,¹⁴ and it is very unlikely that they are a literary fiction. I.40-64 and I.246-251 could be sermonic, as also could II.1-21 and III.125-138. The developments on 2 Cor. 8 in I.153-157 and on Prov. 23.1-3 in I.162-165 might similarly have stemmed from a different source; so too could the excursus on the types of baptism in III.98-110.¹⁵ Beyond this, however, it is difficult to go with any certainty. Ciceronian language is found sporadically in many of the other sections which might form self-contained units; it may well be that Ambrose has inserted such terminology in an attempt to join independent pieces to the main theme.

Scholars have abandoned the attempt to establish a sequence of sermons in the work, but most remain convinced that Off. does stem in some measure from a series of addresses which Ambrose has given to his clergy.¹⁶ One scholar has thought that the oral phrases are most notable in Books I and II, and suggested the possibility that Book III was written to add to two oral pieces in order to complete the three-Book symmetry of the Ciceronian model.¹⁷ The theory is guess-work, however, and falls down over the hints of oral composition in Book III.¹⁸ Most critics recognise that it is inconceivable that Ambrose would have adopted a pagan model as the basis for preaching to a regular congregation, but think that he could have preached on the Ciceronian theme to a group of educated clerics who would be familiar with the classical text.¹⁹ A few are prepared to say that the work is written throughout, or at least written from I.23 onwards.²⁰

The most likely suggestion is that Ambrose has preached on individual topics (prudence, modesty, and so on) taken from Cicero, and has then reworked these

into the present format.²¹ He could well have delivered such addresses to a select group of educated clerics. He surely expects the basic parallels with Cicero to be seen: he clearly implies in I.24 that Cicero is his model, and in certain places (III.71,87; cf. II.30) he seems to expect a Ciceronian exemplum to be known. No doubt many of the verbal echoes would elude even the most cultivated audience, but at least the broad sweep of the Ciceronian argument would be known by his listeners. Ambrose may have reread the Ciceronian text not long before each of the sermons, and be relying on his memory as he speaks. To a mind tutored in the ancient techniques of memorisation, such a task would not be unreasonable; and in a series of homilies delivered over a period of days, weeks, or even months, Ambrose would only have to refresh his memory on a portion of Cicero's text at a time.²² There are, in fact, surprisingly few exact quotations, and the reminiscences are very often not in any logical order. Ambrose has probably taken transcripts of these homilies, taken down by notarii,²³ and reworked them to some extent. Probably he did this himself: it was his preference to write with his own hand.²⁴ It is possible - though we have no means of telling - that further Ciceronian language has been inserted at the redaction stage, as other sermonic material is incorporated then too (such as III.98-110). Material from biblical expositions has clearly been worked in, especially in I.1-22 and I.231-245; in I.13 and I.15, Ambrose has neglected to remove the liturgical references. A text made up of oral strands would go a long way towards explaining the repetitions, digressions, and faulty reminiscences of Cicero which are outlined in (a) above; e.g., I.65ff. could have been a sermon on clerical verecundia, while I.210ff., which repeats some of the points made

earlier, could belong to a separate development. An oral provenance is certainly suggested by the interchange of singular and plural styles of address, and the rhetorical texture found in large portions of the work.²⁵ The increase in biblical content as the work progresses, and not least the deliberate contrast of biblical and classical exempla in Book III, could well be indicative of Ambrose's concern, as he revises the original homilies, for the Scriptures to be seen as the supreme source of wisdom.

The search for patterns of sermons, and the question of the precise nature of the redaction process and the extent to which the text is written, are both likely to remain elusive, but the conclusion that the work consists of a number of oral addresses which have been revised and put together as a written text must be correct.

IV

THE AIMS OF DE OFFICIIS

We come now to consider what Ambrose is seeking to achieve by taking up a classical model as the basis for a work designed to instruct his clergy. Is this what one would expect from a bishop whose resolute opposition to paganism was demonstrated by his stance in the Altar of Victory affair? Does he have a wider audience in mind, and if so, what is he seeking to say to it? The analysis of Ambrose's objectives is a difficult issue, and has produced many answers from the large number of theologians, philosophers, and classical scholars who have studied the work over the centuries, especially over the past one hundred and

fifty years. We shall begin by summarising some of the interpretations which have been proposed.¹

(1) Ambrose is at heart still a traditional Roman, who so admires the ideals of conduct advocated by Cicero that he passes on an ethical programme which is more classical than Christian.² The Stoic influence, mediated through Cicero, is so strong that the Christian ethical spirit is obscured.³ Off. marks the culmination of the conquest of the Christian Church by the ethics of the Stoa.⁴

(2) Ambrose is an inept plagiarist, constructing a mosaic of pagan sentiments and attempting to overlay a Christian veneer.⁵ Pagan and Christian sentiments co-exist awkwardly in Off. because he is insensitive to the distinctions between them, or at least incapable of synthesising them successfully. He aims to produce a synthesis of Stoic and Christian teaching, but the Stoic content remains very visible.⁶

(3) Ambrose judiciously selects from Cicero whatever is congenial to his Christian beliefs and his didactic requirements, and leaves what is not. He stands in the eclectic tradition of the Alexandrians, especially Justin Martyr, Clement, and Origen, in seeking to produce a blend of the old and the new in order to appeal to a philosophically sophisticated readership.⁷

(4) Ambrose Christianises the Stoic-Ciceronian theme. The classical framework remains, but a new, Christian content is given;⁸ a supernatural foundation is laid;⁹ new senses are injected into classical terminology;¹⁰ the overall spirit is Christian, as Ambrose elevates the old subject to a new dimension.¹¹

(5) Ambrose deliberately contrasts the Christian ethical programme with that of Cicero in order to point up the superiority of scriptural wisdom. The two thought-worlds are carefully set in antithesis, and there is sustained polemic against paganism. He

intends to show that pagan doctrine is at worst erroneous and at best derivative; the Bible stands supreme as the source of truth.¹² Ambrose aims to replace Cicero's treatment of duties with a new, Christian one.¹³

It will be evident that not all of these judgements are mutually exclusive: for example, (2) might be combined with (3) as far as Ambrose's aims are concerned, and (3) could overlap with (4): Ambrose is concerned primarily with the instruction of his clerics, not with polemic or the production of a systematic manual of ethics, hence he selects from Cicero what is suitable for this practical purpose, AND at the same time changes the sense of much of the language, distinguishing verba and res. It has been argued that he aims at neither positive synthesis nor sustained contrast;¹⁴ and that he redefines Cicero's thought not only in Christian terms but also in the light of Platonist and Aristotelian beliefs and his own ethical and psychological predilections.¹⁵

The interpretations may, in fact, be condensed into one or other of two basic positions: either (a) Ambrose wishes to produce a synthesis of some kind, or (b) he aims to replace Cicero's work. It should be stressed that the distinction between the two is strictly a distinction in Ambrose's aim, not in the assessment of the work as it stands: it is self-evident that the work is a synthesis, either successful or unsuccessful. In keeping the title, themes, and structure of Cicero, Ambrose obviously retains much from his classical model. The question is whether he wishes to present Christianity as the cultural and even the doctrinal heir of classical antiquity by adapting a pagan genre-work, or whether his aim is to use a classical model to articulate a

new, higher message in order to supersede its prototype, to put 'new wine in old skins'.¹⁶

(a) In favour of the synthesis case, six points may be borne in mind:

(i) Stoicism, and especially the milder, more eclectic system of the Middle Stoa, was, of all the ancient philosophical systems, the most congenial to Christianity. Many Stoic concepts - Logos, the passions, the externals, conscience, virtue, the role of nature - overlap with NT language; writers like Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius discuss subjects which are paralleled in scriptural expression. Tertullian could famously describe Seneca as 'Seneca saepe noster',¹⁷ and there is a forged correspondence between Paul and Seneca, dated to the late fourth century, which testifies to a desire among at least some of Ambrose's contemporary brethren to demonstrate the affinity or continuity between Stoic and Christian thought.¹⁸ Jerome was persuaded of the common ground between the two systems, for he says, 'Stoici qui nostro dogmati in plerisque concordant';¹⁹ numerous points of contact can be identified in Justin Martyr, Tatian, and Clement of Alexandria among Greek writers, while in the West Minucius Felix and Tertullian, in particular, found that the psychology of the Stoics could be absorbed into Christian treatments of anthropology, and Minucius Felix and Lactantius shared a respect for Stoic arguments about providence and theodicy. The Stoic humanitarian principle could to some extent be synthesised with Christian ethical teaching, and the sophistication of allegorical exegesis was another common factor.²⁰ Ambrose is not, then, breaking new ground in the Christian tradition if he sees scope for shared attitudes in the teaching of the Stoics, especially in the Ciceronian adaptation

of Panaetius's ethical realism.²¹ There are clear examples of suitable parallels in, say, the unimportance of wealth,²² or the image of the state/mankind/the Church as a body,²³ or the role of nature as an ethical norm.²⁴ Ambrose could simply be picking up such compatible doctrines as were noted by other Christian teachers in the early centuries.

(ii) If Ambrose approaches a pagan source with an eclectic philosophical methodology, he is following in the footsteps of the Alexandrian syncretising tradition, which sought to combine the best elements of classical thought with Christian teaching in order to demonstrate that conversion to the Faith was reasonable and did not require the complete abandonment of pagan learning. His utilisation of Middle- and Neo-Platonist material in several of his works has been documented;²⁵ might there not be a comparable exploitation of suitable Stoic tenets here? Ambrose may not have been in any sense a professional philosopher, but at the same time he was by no means a philosophical ignoramus. As well as the Stoic texture, there are Aristotelian and Neoplatonist elements in Off.²⁶ Beyond his immediate ecclesiastical audience, he might envisage that the published version of the work would be read by educated pagans. Milan was an important centre of culture, and a work based on such a celebrated classical text as Cicero's Off. would definitely attract a sophisticated non-Christian readership. North Italian Catholicism faced a serious intellectual challenge from the strength of pagan revivalism and the attraction of Neoplatonist philosophy for crucial elements of educated and influential society. Ambrose was a successful missionary among such people.²⁷ He might, then, be aiming to produce a sort of protreptic to Christian belief by seeking to show that a

Christian can still find much of value in a classical author, and that a total break with secular learning is not entailed by faith.

(iii) Ciceronian texts had long been exploited by Christian writers: witness the development of the Christian case in Minucius Felix's Octavius, and especially the use of Cicero's Off. and other works by Lactantius.²⁸ Tertullian, Cyprian, Arnobius, and Hilary of Poitiers are all much more indebted to Cicero (at least stylistically) than they care to admit. Ambrose himself evokes Cicero heavily in Exc. fr.; there is a substantial debt in Hex., and numerous other quotations and echoes abound throughout his extant works;²⁹ such is the importance of his classical education in the formation of his mind (though only in Off. is Cicero named). The use of Cicero here is therefore not at all out of character for Ambrose or unusual in the fourth-century West, a period which one scholar has suggested ought to be designated the Aetas Ciceroniana of later Latin.³⁰ Jerome and Augustine, of course, continue the trend.³¹ It is fair to see Ambrose as standing in a line of Ciceronians which includes such great authors as Lactantius, Cassiodorus, Thomas Aquinas, and Erasmus.

(iv) If Ambrose is selective in his use of his model, he is pursuing the same course as Cicero himself, who claims to be using his discretion as he follows Panaetius.³² Both Cicero and Ambrose were pragmatists, interested less in abstract speculation than in ethical instruction for the man of action, be he statesman or citizen, cleric or lay-believer. Both were traditionally educated, both were able readers of Greek, both knew the law, both were of traditional Roman temperament. The Off. of Cicero and the Off. of Ambrose both belong to periods of pressure: in Cicero's case, that of the collapsing Republic, in

Ambrose's, that of the struggles with Arianism and pagan revivalists. Both men were concerned to supply practical teaching in their genuinely needy times. While Cicero writes for the élite of young men aspiring to political office, Ambrose may see his clerical addressees as in some sense a similarly select group who require clear guidance in order to serve the Church and society effectively. It is no longer fashionable to accuse Cicero of a plagiaristic use of his philosophical sources, or to take seriously his claim to have produced mere 'apographa';³³ should we then try to evaluate Ambrose's work with a similar candour (though in his case, of course, unlike in Cicero's, we have the source to hand), and assess it according to its practical aims? Are we to see both Cicero and Ambrose as those who combine personal and borrowed opinions because their urgent objective is pragmatic?

(v) The ancient conventions of *μίμησις* or imitatio granted an author a good deal of liberty in the adaptation of a model, according to personal predilections, both artistic and thematic. The ancient world had no copyright laws; after publication, the contents of a work were treated as publica materies.³⁴ There was, it is true, some notion of plagiarism (furtum): the criticism might be made if a work deliberately concealed its model while closely reproducing it.³⁵ But imaginative adaptation of a published treatise was standard practice. Is Ambrose's retention and alteration of Ciceronian material in Off. to be explained on this basis?³⁶ Perhaps his use of Cicero here parallels his adoption of matter from Greek exegetes like Philo, Origen, and Basil elsewhere - an adoption which is not always as slavish as one might think.³⁷ Is Off. just a typical example of ancient literary adaptation?

(vi) The semantic development of the Latin language in Christian usage gives credibility to the point that Ambrose imported new senses into the Ciceronian nomenclature. The researches of Sauer have conveniently set out the dual influences on Ambrose's vocabulary of classical significance and scriptural employment.³⁸ Cf., e.g., the ambivalence between the Ciceronian and the scriptural senses of fides in I.140,142,145-146; or gloria in I.175,177,179,187,194-196,208; II.2,14,81,90,153,156; III.36,48,56,89-90; and the biblical nuancing of iustitia in I.39,110,117,142,186,259; II.35; or beatitudo and beatus in II.1-21. In an important sense, then, Off. can be seen as 'an example of the process of the Christianization of the Latin language',³⁹ as new meanings from the Bible are injected into classical terminology. A synthesis where this is the case is a genuinely creative work.

(b) On the other hand, in favour of the replacement theory, three main points may be made:

(i) The way in which Ambrose handles Cicero does not appear to suggest a positive synthesis. The techniques and perspectives outlined in Introduction, II.iv, surely add up to a derogatory attitude to Cicero. It is true that the attempts to justify the adoption of the classical theme and the classical terminology might be read simply as indications that Ambrose anticipates surprise that he has employed such a pagan framework. It is true, also, that the widespread refusal to attribute concepts to Cicero by name does not necessarily betoken a hostile spirit, since Ambrose does the same elsewhere with exegetical sources whom he cites with approbation, and vague attributions such as 'alii' are common in the Latin historians. And, after all, if every little reminiscence were acknowledged Cicero's name would

appear all over the page in large sections of Ambrose's text, thus exaggerating the impression of lack of originality. The anteriority-plagiarism argument, too, is used most by the very authors who strive to syncretise pagan and Christian sentiments. Nevertheless, the fact that Cicero is named five times in Book I, and only here in all of Ambrose's extant works, together with the clear hints that are given in I.24 that Cicero is his model, makes the oblique references throughout the rest of the text stand out: Ambrose can name Cicero when he wants to.⁴⁰ More importantly, the sharp contrasts which are habitually made between Christian belief and the thought of Cicero (and other pagans), hidden behind vague plurals such as illi, and the sustained argument (especially in Book III) about the superiority of biblical exempla over Cicero's illustrations, do not imply a sympathetic attitude. He specifically emphasises the fact that illi and nos have a completely different conception of the most basic theme of the work, officium (I.27-29). He then says this: 'Deinde qui illa non legunt, nostra legent si volent, qui non sermonum supellectilem neque artem dicendi sed simplicem rerum exquirunt gratiam' (I.29). This is surely more than modesty about style; the obvious import is that he means his work to be read by those who do not read the pagan treatment of duties (i.e., that of Cicero), and hence he aspires to replace Cicero's work for the Christian reader. Ambrose retains the title and basic structure in order to make the contrast all the more poignant. He contrasts the officium of those who are called to the service of the Church with the precepts set down by those (i.e., Cicero) who teach men about the duties of statesmanship (I.186); a subject such as martial fortitude, discussed by Cicero, 'a nostro officio iam

alienum videtur', for we are concerned with the officium of the 'animus' not the 'corpus' (I.175).⁴¹ The implication surely is that the published version of the work is intended to supplant Cicero's treatise in the reading-matter of educated Christians (and perhaps to attract benevolent non-Christians as well).

(ii) A deliberate contrast of pagan philosophy and Christian truth fits with Ambrose's technique in his corpus generally. It has been argued that he seeks systematically to depreciate philosophy, to demonstrate that Christian sapientia, derived from the Scriptures, is the original and supreme source of truth, from which the pagans borrowed their best thoughts.⁴² Madec has documented the ways in which, throughout his works, Ambrose sets Scripture and Christian belief over against pagan thought; he argues that Ambrose is consistently hostile to philosophy - as witness the argument of his work De sacramento regenerationis sive de philosophia (only fragments of which survive, preserved by Augustine),⁴³ which presents Christian baptism and asceticism as the true way of regeneration, and attacks philosophy, especially Platonist anthropology. Madec overstates his case in certain respects: he tends to confuse 'philosophy', as a subject of enquiry, with individual philosophical tenets; his synthesis of excerpts tends to exaggerate the hostile tone while underestimating the subtle philosophical influences of intermediaries like Philo and Origen; and his scepticism about Ambrose's personal knowledge of the Greek of authors like Plato and Aristotle is probably too strong.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, it is incontrovertible that Ambrose does engage in polemic with many doctrines of pagan philosophy. In Off., there can be no doubt that Panaetius (I.27,31,180); Zeno (II.6) and the Stoics generally (I.132-133; II.4); Aristotle (I.31,48,

50,180; II.4,6); Pythagoras (I.31); the Epicureans (I.47,50; II.4); and the Peripatetics (II.4,6) are cast in an adverse light when contrasted with Scripture. The mention of Plato in I.43 is neutral, but in I.44 Ambrose goes on to argue that he was anticipated by Job; in III.30-31, Plato's story of Gyges and the ring is contrasted with the vera exempla (III.32) of Scripture. II.8 can hardly be seen as revealing a positive attitude to philosophy. Overall, this effort to set biblical revelation and the views of pagan philosophers in antithesis might well indicate a desire to replace Cicero's work rather than to integrate it within the ethical teaching of the Church.

(iii) The attempt to transform the content of a pagan literary model and so to produce a Christian replacement is a common practice among Western writers of the fourth and fifth centuries. The debt of the Church's articulate leaders to the Classics can scarcely be exaggerated. For all their forceful claims to reject and denounce pagan literature, these men are far too deeply imbued with the influence of the texts of their traditional education ever to break with their cultural inheritance. Tertullian's famous question, 'Quid ergo Athenis et Hierosolymis?',⁴⁵ (in context, actually a contrast between biblical truth and philosophically-inspired heresy, rather than between Christianity and the Classics), implies an answer which is challenged by the author's own philosophical and stylistic debts to the pagan world. Tertullian's puritanism seems to have been modified in later years, since he can then visualise the elevation of the philosopher's pallium when it is donned by the Christian.⁴⁶ Jerome asks, 'Quid facit cum psalterio Horatius? cum evangeliiis Maro? cum apostolo Cicero?',⁴⁷ and vows, during his dream of being turned

away from heaven for being 'a Ciceronian, not a Christian', that he will devote himself henceforth to sacred texts and not to classical authors.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, he tells the story in language that evokes Cicero and Vergil, and later claims that an oath made in a dream could not be binding, though he does in fact seem to stay aloof from the Classics for well over a decade.⁴⁹ By the time he writes Ep. 70, at the close of the fourth century, Jerome has reached a compromise: he pictures classical literature as the captive woman of Deut. 21.10-13, who had to have her hair cut and her nails trimmed before she could marry an Israelite;⁵⁰ he goes on to list Christian authors who have made judicious use of the Classics (there is, notably, no mention of Ambrose).⁵¹ He argues that if the apostle Paul could quote pagan texts, it is acceptable for later Christians to do so as well; Ambrose takes the same line.⁵² Paulinus of Nola is another author who finds it satisfactory to adapt the genres of classical poetry to articulate the Christian message for cultivated friends, both pagan and Christian;⁵³ and Augustine argues that the best of classical thought can be taken away and put to good use, as the Egyptians plundered the gold and silver of Egypt on escaping from their captivity.⁵⁴ A transformation of Cicero's Off. by Ambrose would, therefore, be in keeping with other Western Christian practices of his times.

What, then, is Ambrose seeking to do? If he is so opposed to pagan philosophy, does he not cut the ground from under his feet by retaining so much of Cicero's Stoic material? Or does he really still admire Cicero's intellectual and pragmatic ideals, assimilating all he can while paying lip-service to the tradition of hostility because he feels it is

expected of him to distance himself from classical literature and thought? Is the combination of adoption and polemic simply typical of an Alexandrian eclectic spirit?

Ambrose's initial aim, in preaching the sermons which lie at the base of the work, is the instruction of his clergy, not the production of an apologetic or proselytising treatise on Christian ethics. For the published version he envisages a wider circle of educated Christians and genuinely inquisitive non-Christians, who know their Cicero and can recognise that Ambrose's work makes major changes to the classical text. Ambrose's Off. comes from the matrix of two cultural influences, influences which its author could not separate. By social background, education, and secular experience, Ambrose is the heir of the literary and intellectual tradition of classical Rome. By spiritual calling, re-education, and ecclesiastical experience, he is steeped in the language and morals of the Bible. He is prepared to retain from the first legacy whatever he believes does not conflict with the second. Cicero's Off. offers an obvious - probably the obvious - paradigm for a discussion of duties, and much of its modified Panaetian Stoicism (e.g., on the cardinal virtues, and the supremacy of virtue) is acceptable to Ambrose. He adapts the work according to his own didactic purposes: the Scriptures, and especially their moral exemplars, provide the major models of instruction; new senses are given to some of the old language. This *mélange* of old and new does mean that the work constitutes, in Thamin's well-known phrase, a '*vrai coup d'État intellectuel*',⁵⁵ and in a sense entitles us to speak of Ambrose's 'Christian humanism'.⁵⁶ There is sometimes a degree of oscillation between Stoic and Christian sentiments: e.g., the vita beata

is eternal life in II.1,3, and in II.18 it consists in virtue; and in II.18 Ambrose gives the orthodox Stoic formula that virtue is the solum et summum bonum, whereas in I.191 the honestum, the solum bonum, is to see God. However, I suggest that Ambrose's overall aim is not to produce a synthesis in order to demonstrate continuity between classical antiquity and the Christian Faith, but to transform a classical genre-work by applying it to a new context, and so to replace it. Scripture is to be seen as the dominant inspiration: hence the motivation from Psalm 38 (I.23); the contrast of scriptural simplicitas with Ciceronian ars (cf. I.29,116); the antithesis between pagan and Christian definitions of officium (I.27-29); the biblical colouring of the cardinal virtues (I.115ff.); and the vital role of the biblical exempla (I.116; III.139). Specifically Christian virtues such as humilitas and castitas are introduced; and the praise of asceticism, self-sacrifice, and poverty belong to an entirely different Weltanschauung from that of Cicero. And above all, Ambrose has a theocentricity and a soteriological-eschatological reference-point which are foreign to Cicero: cf., e.g., I.28-29,39,58,124,147,188,218; II.15-21,96,126; III.11,36. His purpose is first of all pragmatic (the instruction of his clergy), and then radical: to take Cicero's title, framework, and material, keep what is acceptable, and replace what is not, and to supersede the classical treatise with a spiritually superior exposition of the same theme.

AMBROSE'S STOICISM

It is a mistake to see Ambrose as a presenter of pure Stoicism, or Cicero's version of Panaetian Stoicism, in religious garb. At the same time, he clearly does assimilate a number of Stoic concepts to his Christian ethical programme, while in some cases altering the implications of his Stoic terminology under the influence of the Bible. It is worth noting some of the ways in which he agrees with and dissents from Stoicism.

The Stoics are mentioned only once, in I.132-133, under the direct influence of Cicero I.22; their beliefs that the earth's fruits are intended for all, and that men are born to help one another, are said to have been plagiarised from the OT. The mentions of Panaetius, in I.24,31, and 180, simply refer to his treatment of the theme of duties, about which Ambrose knows from his reading of Cicero. Zeno appears in II.4 and II.6: his definition of the solum et summum bonum as the honestum (doubtless known to Ambrose from his reading of Cicero's philosophical works) is mentioned along with the opinions of other philosophers from whom Ambrose dissents; Ambrose does not explicitly disagree with Zeno's definition, but he includes him among other errant pagan thinkers and stresses the anteriority of the teaching of the OT prophets.

Mention has been made [Introduction, II.iv (i)] of Ambrose's attempt to authenticate from the Scriptures the basic Stoic terminology of officium, honestum, utile, and decorum. He takes over the distinction of medium and perfectum officium, and again seeks scriptural authority, associating it with the difference between heeding the commandments and emulating divine perfection by sacrificing one's

interests for the sake of others (I.36-37). In III.10 (cf. III.12), he follows Cicero III.14-15 in saying that perfectum officium is attainable only by a few, while medium officium, a lower standard, is reached by many. In effect, he transmutes the Stoic doctrine of different types of duty into a twofold standard of Christian morality, positing asceticism as a higher way; in so doing, he perhaps anticipates the Augustinian doctrine of the opus supererogatorium.⁵⁷

Ambrose basically sanctions the key Stoic principle of living according to nature (cf. I.33,77-78,84,123-125,127,132,135,223; III.15-28); but he tends to combine this with Pauline language about nature; and Panaetian realism (e.g., I.213-216) is re-applied to an ecclesiastical context. As several scholars have noted,⁵⁸ there is a certain ambivalence between the Stoic view of nature as an ethical norm and the biblical doctrine that nature is fallen and dependent on divine grace in order to perform meritorious virtue. All the same, the point should not be exaggerated, since he weaves in a good deal of NT language which itself might sound quite Stoic, and he sees the law of nature as the law of God imprinted on the heart of man, as part of man's creation in the divine image.⁵⁹ In I.135, Scripture and the law of God revealed in nature are seen as effectively coordinate authorities. His discussions of reason, conscience, and humanity, for all their Stoic tone, are blended also with a biblically-inspired anthropology.

Ambrose subscribes to the Stoic belief in the unity of the cardinal virtues. He agrees that the possession of reason separates man from the beasts (I.124). His argument about the primacy of prudentia is shared with Stoicism, but he reformulates the first virtue in terms of the knowledge of God by faith in

Christ (I.122-129). On iustitia, the basic suum cuique formula of the Stoics is there (I.115), as is the distinction between strict justice and liberality. Liberality receives greater emphasis, and is developed in terms of Christian caritas (I.127,130-174). Revenge is excluded (I.131). On private property, Ambrose is actually closer to traditional Stoicism than are Panaetius or Cicero (I.132).⁶⁰ The emphasis on social Christianity, especially in Book II, shares Cicero's preoccupation with justice in society at large. Fortitude is presented in a Stoic light in terms of inner control and contempt of externals; nevertheless, Ambrose also brings in NT language about the subjugation of the flesh (I.181), and gives a definitely Christian slant with the introduction of the images of the athlete of Christ (I.183) and the soldier of God (I.185-187). Contempt of death (I.177) is particularly related to the courage of faithful martyrs (I.202-207). The treatment of temperance (I.210ff.; cf. I.65ff.) is the most Stoic of all the discussions of the virtues: the modest man preserves order and inner harmony in all of his behaviour, and experiences detachment from passions like anger (I.90-97,231-245). The Panaetian concern for individual ability is maintained, as is his typically Greek connection between inner morality and its external manifestations (I.71ff.). The idea of society or the Church as a body (III.15ff.) represents a convenient overlap of Stoic and NT imagery.

The concept of progress in virtue (I.233ff.) is partly Middle-Stoic (though also Neoplatonist). So, too, are elements of the discussion of friendship (III.125-138), such as the fundamental importance of virtue (III.125,134) and the idea of a friend as an alter ego (III.134). The utile is not morally neutral for Ambrose (nor is it for Cicero - contrast

Panaetius); it is whatever is conducive to the gaining of eternal life. Hence, suffering may be of positive benefit, while supposed advantages such as wealth are a hindrance (II.8ff.). II.18, on the vita beata consisting in virtus, is perhaps the most explicitly Stoic statement in the entire work.⁶¹

These are some of the most important ways in which Ambrose assimilates Stoic teaching to Christian ethics. In terms of moral theology, Off. is of seminal importance: the emphasis on good will as the dominant motive in giving (I.143ff.); the development of self-control/asceticism as a higher way, possible only for a few (cf. I.16,125,184,217-218; III.10); the arguments about meritorious virtue (e.g., I.38-39; II.18); the stress on personal ability (e.g., I.213-216); the presentation of the law of nature (esp. III.15-28); the acceptance of the principle of a just war (I.177); and the idea of active otium (III.1-7) are some of the ways in which Ambrose adapts Ciceronian ideas to the expression of a Christian message, and comes to influence later Christian moral thought.⁶² Doubtless Stoicism is congenial to his temperament;⁶³ but he takes over only what he considers to be consistent with biblical teaching, and he is ever keen to tie in scriptural language. His position remains pre-eminently biblical and Christocentric. As one critic has put it, 'Ambrose retains the idealism of the Stoic sage in all its rigor but energizes him with the liberating power of divine grace'.⁶⁴

V

AMBROSE'S IDEAL FOR THE CLERGY IN DE OFFICIIS

Off. belongs within the milieu of patristic contributions to pastoral theology. The obvious need for guidance about matters of ecclesiastical practice is met already in apostolic times in literature like the pastoral epistles, and the tradition continues over the next two centuries in such documents as the Didache, the Didascalia, and the Apostolic Constitutions. Individual virtues, such as prayer, patience, and chastity, are discussed by writers like Tertullian and Cyprian, as are details of sacramental practice. Ambrose's Off. is, however, the first systematic attempt by a Western Churchman to provide an outline of right conduct especially for clergymen. It should be placed alongside such works as Oration II (Apologeticus de fuga) of Gregory of Nazianzus; Jerome's Ep. 52, ad Nepotianum (which almost certainly draws on Off.);¹ the celebrated six-volume treatise of John Chrysostom, On the Priesthood; and the weighty study of Gregory the Great, the Liber regulae pastoralis/Liber pastoralis curae.² The works of Ambrose and Gregory the Great occupy the foremost place in the development of thought about pastoral duties during the Middle Ages (though Gregory the Great's is the more influential).

Much information on Ambrose's lofty conception of the dignity of the priesthood, and the pattern of his own life as bishop and metropolitan, can be gained from his broader oeuvre, especially Epp. 2,15,16,19,28,63, and 81, and several useful syntheses have been produced by modern scholars.³ Off. is often called 'the first manual of Christian Ethics';⁴

Ambrose's purpose in revising some of his addresses to his clergy was to provide educated believers, and ecclesiastics in particular, with a replacement for Cicero's moral handbook. In certain respects, the work is a disappointment to the reader who seeks a systematic treatment of pastoral responsibilities. Detailed information about liturgical and sacramental practice, for example, has to be gleaned from other Ambrosian texts; and above all, the use of Cicero as a model means that the text does not present a methodical discussion of the duties specific to Christian clerics, but ranges over issues which are common to clergy and laity, and indeed in some cases to Christians and pagans. All the same, a careful reading of Off. reveals Ambrose's ideal for his clergy, and also lets us glimpse some of the practices current in the North Italian Church in the later years of the fourth century.⁵

We have already noted the way in which the bishop adopts a fatherly persona with his clergy, and the various indications that he has a particular concern for young men. He presents the NT models of the Church as a family (e.g., I.24,170; II.152-156; III.132) and a body (II.134-135; III.18-19). 'Una est domus quae omnes capit,' he says (I.88). The 'sons' of the family are the bishop's choice (I.24), and are loved dearly by him (I.24; II.155). They are also the divine choice (I.250-251), and belong to the Lord (I.246); their duty to Him comes before their duty even to their parents (I.258). The images of the athleta Christi (I.183,238; cf. I.59-60) and the miles Christi (I.185-187,238) are used. Unity and peace are to be upheld within the brotherhood of the Church (II.134, 155; III.19), and intimate friendship among brothers is precious (III.125-138). Clerics must obey their bishop (II.123), and young men must show

respect for their elders (I.65). A bishop must be just in his treatment of his clergy, and not grow jealous if a lesser cleric is esteemed (II.121-122). Unseemly ambition and arrogance must be absent among ecclesiastics (II.119,123). The bishop should allocate to each the role to which he is suited (I.216; II.134). The Church is to be exemplary, the forma iustitiae (I.142; cf. II.124); clerics should have a good reputation in society at large (I.227,247; II.29ff.). A pure Church is the praise of God (I.247; II.122). Ambrose seems to have been a strict disciplinarian (cf. I.72), but he insists that excommunication must be carried out, sorrowfully, only as a last resort, if penance has failed to produce amendment (II.135).

The behaviour which he prescribes for his clergy can be summed up in various categories:

(i) SPEECH: Silence is commended as a spiritual response to provocation, and the way to avoid sinning; conscience may speak eloquently, and one may pray, when the lips are silent (I.5-22,31-35,68,234,236). There is, though, a time to speak (I.9,31-35; cf. I.235-238). Speech is of two kinds: informal conversation, and discussion of matters fidei atque iustitiae (I.99-101); both ought to be replete with the matter of the Scriptures. Immodest talk must be neither uttered nor listened to (I.76,86); jokes and stories should be avoided (I.102-103; cf. I.85, 88,184). No cause for offence should be given when controversial topics are discussed: rancour must be absent (I.99). Speech should be affable (I.226; II.96), wholesome, and blameless (II.86); flattery must be neither proffered (I.226; II.96,114,116ff.; III.134-135) nor sought (I.88,209,226; cf. II.66). The voice itself should be modest (I.67), not effeminate or uncouth (I.84), but simple, clear,

manly, and unaffected (I.104; cf. I.84).

(ii) BODILY DEPORTMENT: Movement and gesture are indicative of the condition of the soul (I.71). Accordingly, the man of faith must not adopt a gait which is either unnaturally slow or constantly rushed (I.72-75). Clothing is to be simple and unostentatious (I.83), and of course modest (I.80). Spiritual beauty is more important than physical (I.83).

(iii) SOCIAL COMPANY AND USE OF LEISURE-TIME: Invitations to dinner-parties ought to be turned down (I.85-86). Young clerics are not to visit the homes of widows or virgins (except, if there is a good cause, in the presence of elders), for fear of temptation or scandal (I.87). The company of wise elders is desirable for the young (I.212; II.97-101; cf. I.65-66,87). Leisure-time ought to be employed in prayer, meditation, and reading (I.88; cf. II.122), not in any activity which endangers modesty (I.85; cf. I.87). The cleric must abstain from wine (I.247). Otium employed on spiritual activity is commended (III.1-7).

(iv) POVERTY AND CHARITY: Riches are to be despised rather than desired (I.23,137,182,184-185,192-193,241-246; II.25,66-67,89,108, 129-133; III.57-58); greed must not be countenanced (I.137-138,193,195; II.24-26, 62,66,89,108,128-133; III.37). Poverty is an advantage to the attainment of the blessed life (II.15-21; cf. I.59). However, some clerics are allowed to retain at least part of their property so as not to be a financial burden to the Church (I.152; cf. I.185), while others receive an ecclesiastical benefice (I.185). Money is to be used especially for almsgiving (I.38,148,253; II.69,126-127), and this to the point of sacrifice (I.151; II.136). Particular care must be shown to fellow-believers (I.148),

captive prisoners (II.70-71,109,136-143), widows and orphans (I.63,144; II.70-71), the aged and infirm (I.158), and those who have been robbed (I.158) or have lost their inheritance through no fault of their own (II.69), especially those of good birth who have fallen upon hard times and are ashamed to seek assistance (I.148,158; cf. II.76); the requests of family must not be ignored, either (I.150). But wisdom is needed: giving should be gradual, and according to genuine need, rather than in one great act of expenditure (I.149-150; cf. in general I.144ff.; II.76-78,109-111); it must never be for the sake of display (I.147; II.76,102; cf. II.122-123), but in secret (I.147; II.2-3). Clerics must be wary of professional beggars (II.76-77). Hospitality is important (I.167; II.103-108; cf. I.39,86). Money may also be spent on Church buildings (II.110-111). Debts owed to one should be generously cancelled (I.168), and financial help should be given to those who owe money to others (I.253; II.71). Kindnesses ought to be repaid with substantial interest (I.160-162). Clerics must keep away from lawsuits (II.106; cf. I.185), and abstain from trade (I.185). Those who have small estates should be content with their produce (I.185). It is disgraceful to angle for legacies (III.57-58).

(v) CHASTITY: Ambrose lays particular stress on this virtue: e.g., I.68-69,76-80; II.27; Joseph is the favourite exemplar (I.66,76; II.20,59,87). Saving girls from debauchery is a vital duty of charity (II.70,72,136; cf. III.84). Ambrose insists on a rigorous application of the law that a second marriage (even if contracted after baptism) prevents ordination (I.248), and requires that clergy already married (once) at the time of ordination abstain from sexual relations afterwards; the sacraments cannot be

administered with an 'impure' body (I.249). Clerical life is thus arduous for young men (I.218; cf. III.10). The ascetic tone of Ambrose's teaching is always strong.

(vi) HUMILITY: This is a major virtue for clerics: I.13,19,65,89,237;II.67,87,90,119,122-123,134; III.36, 133 (cf. also the references to boasting in (iv) above). The humility of Ambrose himself in I.1-4, as the diffident, unschooled teacher, seems to set the tone.

(vii) PUBLIC SERVICE: Deposits of property entrusted to the Church by widows and orphans must be carefully kept (II.144-151; cf. I.254). Mention is made of episcopal intercessio on behalf of the condemned (II.102; cf. I.138); it must not be undertaken for the sake of personal glory. Ambrose also refers to the audientia episcopalis, the adjudication of civil cases (II.124-125): there must be no partiality to the rich, and no condoning of evil; sordid financial disputes may be avoided (II.125; III.59), but not a causa Dei (II.125). The illustration of II.150-151 implies that the Church may be right to disobey the civil authorities in the interests of duty to the oppressed. The cleric should be approachable (II.61), and able to offer good counsel to all who seek it (II.41-89); he must be known to be morally upright (II.60-63). He should be useful to all, and harmful to none (III.58). Persecution must not be provoked (I.187,208), but the opportunity for a glorious death should be seized eagerly (II.153).

(viii) SPIRITUAL AND LITURGICAL DUTIES: Ambrose urges Scripture-study, and emulation of the saints especially (I.88,116,165; III.139). The mysteries of the Faith, the spiritual secrets known to those initiated by baptism (cf. I.170), are to be kept from prying eyes (I.251). Modesty in prayer is enjoined

(I.70). The Eucharist must be celebrated and dispensed by those who are pure (I.249). Chalices which have not yet been consecrated may be sold to ransom prisoners (II.136-143). Baptism washes away all sin, but does not remove the offence of a second marriage (I.248). Baptismal types in the OT are explained in III.103-110. Penance is alluded to in II.77,135; by it, the flesh perishes to the advantage of the spirit (III.109). The duty of fasting is mentioned in II.122 and III.10.

It is evident that the pastoral teaching of Off. has to be gleaned from details scattered throughout the text (and not all of the details are exclusively for clerics), since the work does not present a logical sequence of sections specifically on ecclesiastical functions and obligations. There are, though, some passages which are directly slanted to a clerical audience, notably the discussion of verecundia in I.65ff., and the closing parts of each Book (I.246-259; II.152-156; III.132,139). Ambrose combines the moralising of the classical tradition with exegesis of biblical teaching. His work has thus a slightly strange feel to the modern reader who has an interest in pastoral theology in a more overtly ecclesiological or psychological context. Nevertheless, when allowance is made for the Stoic-Ciceronian input and for the references to contemporary ecclesiastical duties like intercessio and the audientia episcopalis, it is clear that A.'s ideal for his clergy is pre-eminently a scriptural one; as such, it still has much of value to say to our times.

THE SOCIAL INSIGHTS OF DE OFFICIIS

Off. 'is by far the most useful of all Ambrose's works to sound the depths of his spirit on social questions'.⁶ The work offers an important insight into social matters in two senses: first, into the attitudes of the son of a high-ranking Roman official and former provincial governor turned bishop; and second, into the Church's view of, and function within, the society of the late fourth century.

Ambrose's high social background is reflected in several of the views which he maintains as a Christian pastor. He values the opinion of a vir optimus (I.227 - though in the moral, not the political, sense) as well as that of the boni (I.18). He is concerned with behaving in a way that is worthy of a primarius vir (II.67). He has a particular care for the 'honourable poor', those of good birth who are ashamed to ask for help when they fall into need (I.148,158; II.69,77). He shares Cicero's anti-Epicurean esteem for political activity (III.23; and activity generally - III.1-7), and his concern for the well-being of his native land (I.127,129,144,254; III.23,127). There is an implicit equation of the security of the Church and the stability of the Roman Empire (cf. I.144), and A. has a typically Roman attitude towards barbarians (I.129; II.70-71,136; III.84). He admires those who, in true Stoic fashion, show contempt of death (e.g., I.177,198; III.83). The traditional Roman respect for an inheritance (II.17; III.63), and admiration of agriculture (III.38) remain. His condemnation of usury (II.111; III.20,41), fostered especially by biblical and other patristic hatred, is also shared with Romans like Cicero; and the denunciation of legacy-hunting (III.57-58) is classical. Slavery is seen as a wretched condition (II.20,84,87), but the

just man will not answer back in anger even if a slave abuses him (I.20); the Stoics also believed in the moral dignity of slaves and the necessity of treating them humanely.

On social issues generally, we learn of the Church's attitude to private property (I.132); trade (I.185,243; II.25-26,67; III.57); speculation by farmers or grain-merchants (III.37-44); debts, and the repayment of services (I.160-162,166,168); support of clerics by either personal means or ecclesiastical stipends (I.152,185); clerical celibacy (I.248-249); the ransom of captives (II.70-71,136ff.); intercession on behalf of the needy (II.102); episcopal jurisdiction (II.124-125; III.59); the Church's role as a bank for the deposits of the vulnerable (I.254; II.150-151); the duties of almsgiving (I.38-39,143ff.; II.76ff.) and ecclesiastical hospitality (II.103-109). Condemnation of evils such as legacy-hunting (III.57-58), money-lending (II.111; III.20,41), avarice (II.128-133), fraud (III.57-75), clerical law-suits and trading (I.185), and the problem of charlatan mendicants (II.76-77) is indicative of contemporary troubles in Milanese society. Ambrose's descriptions of the avarice and inhumanity of the wealthy probably represent a combination of his own observation of social excesses and some traditional hostility (in classical satire as well as Christian authors) to the selfish rich.⁷ Off. has fewer of these descriptions than works such as Nab., but Ambrose does refer to worldly dinner-parties (I.86), and to greed and the extortion of property generally (I.137-138,192-193,241-246; II.17,23-26,66,89,128-133; III.37-44,57-58). He believes that there is a particular value in poverty (I.28-29,37,59); in the end, the selfish rich suffer, while the blessed poor are eternally rewarded (I.29,45-46).

VI

LATINITY

Ambrose's skill as a rhetorician was evidenced early in his civil career, at the court of the praetorian prefect of Italy in the late 360's; once elected bishop, he quickly transferred his skills to the delivery of scriptural sermons, making a favourable impression on Augustine, Milan's new professor of rhetoric, who speaks of his delight in the 'sermonis suavitas' of the bishop's style of preaching 'diserte' and 'vere'.¹ As an example of his ability, Off. is probably less striking than the sermons of, say, Hex.; nevertheless, the inclusion of sermonic material affords glimpses of the pulpit style of one of the most celebrated orators of the early Latin Church.

The work is presented modestly in terms of style. It is to be read by those 'qui non sermonum supellectilem neque artem dicendi sed simplicem rerum exquirunt gratiam' (I.29); the last word is that its worth may lie in the biblical exempla which it presents, 'etsi sermo nihil deferat gratiae' (III.139). All the same, Cassiodorus speaks of the 'de officiis melliflui libri tres',² and there are several indications that stylistic embellishment is not entirely absent.

Augustine devotes the fourth Book of his De doctrina christiana to the guidance of clerics in the expression and delivery of scriptural truth. Scripture is the pattern for homiletic style, the model for the eloquentia of the preacher; the aim is to present sound matter with clarity and sufficient polish as to make the truth attractive. It is quite

likely that his thoughts on the subject were shaped by his experience of Ambrose's preaching. In Off., Ambrose does not set out to give comprehensive instruction on homiletic delivery and clerical sermo in the way that Augustine does, but he lays down various rules about ecclesiastical discourse. Both ordinary conversation and 'tractatus disceptatioque fidei atque iustitiae' (I.99) are to be gentle and attractive, without excessive emotion, measured, and concerned particularly with the Scriptures (I.99-100). 'Tractatus' about doctrinal and spiritual matters should not be repetitive, but according to the suggestion of a Scripture reading; it must be neither prolix nor quickly broken off; 'oratio pura, simplex, dilucida atque manifesta, plena gravitatis et ponderis, non affectata elegantia sed non intermissa gratia' (I.101). General advice is also given about the voice (I.84,104) and gesture (I.71). How well does Ambrose uphold his own rules about 'tractatus' and 'oratio' from the evidence of the text?³

Syntactically, Ambrose's Latin mainly conforms to classical canons. The deviations which do occur are attributable to the influence of colloquial speech and of Greek constructions, especially from the Greek Bible. Examples which are typical of later Latin usage include the use of quod, quia, quoniam, and ut after verba sentiendi et dicendi, where classical Latin employs the accusative and infinitive construction (among many examples, cf. I.6: 'scirent quia'; II.92: 'sciebat quia');⁴ the nominative with the infinitive in indirect statements (also Greek in origin); preference for quia rather than quod or quoniam in causal clauses; substitution of dum with the indicative for cum in causal clauses; quam with a positive rather than a comparative adjective (e.g., I.173: 'utilia quam'); parum for paulum; unus for

quidam; magis for potius. Many other features can be paralleled in Augustan poetry and silver prose, though they diverge from standard Ciceronian usage: e.g., the colloquial nominative for the vocative (I.63: 'famulus meus' - under the direct influence of scriptural usage); the ablative of the gerund in a participial sense (e.g., I.32: 'canendo'); the purposive infinitive (e.g., I.131: 'conferre...inferre'); non rather than ne with the hortative subjunctive; looser use of cases (e.g., the dative used for the ablative of comparison: II.134: 'superiorem sibi'); variation of standard prepositions (e.g., de for ex; super for de); and less precise employment of connectives like ergo and igitur.

In vocabulary, the influence of the Bible can scarcely be exaggerated. 'Saturemur in verbo Dei,' Ambrose exhorts his addressees (I.164); his own language amply demonstrates how much he himself fed on the matter of the Scriptures. He continually evokes verses, phrases, and individual words, as well as quoting complete sections, almost certainly from memory.⁵ His Latin is thus in a major sense the Latin of the Bible. Hence the introduction of words of Greek and Hebrew origin (such as 'parabola'; 'sabbatum'; 'manna'; 'byssus'; 'paradisus'); words like 'sanctus'; 'peccator'; 'adversarius'; 'remissio'; 'redemptio'; propitiator'; 'persecutio'; 'paenitentia'; 'angelus'; the Christian nuancing of terms such as 'salus'; 'gratia'; 'saeculum'; 'gentiles'; 'gloria'; 'fides'; 'beatus'; 'iustitia'; 'humilitas'; 'psallere'; 'oratio' [= 'prayer']; and the ecclesiastical, liturgical, and sacramental terminology (e.g., 'clerus/clericus'; 'minister'; 'apostolus'; 'episcopus'; 'diaconus'; 'evangelista'; 'pastor'; 'ecclesiasticus'; 'exorcizare'; 'lectio'; 'baptisma/baptismus'; 'sacramentum'; 'mysterium');

'communio'; 'lavacrum'. Other words, often poetic in origin, can be found in late writers, both pagan and Christian; there are, though, some rare words: e.g., 'dispensatrix'; 'arbitra'; 'remissor'; 'exaggeratio'; 'craticula'; 'emolere'; 'dimidia'; 'invecticius'; 'eviratus'.⁶

Having received a traditional education, Ambrose's mind is steeped in the language of the two classical giants, Cicero and Vergil. The Ciceronian influence on Off. needs no further comment here;⁷ Vergilian echoes abound: cf. I.32,49,55,177,198; II.21,49,74,82,114; III.30,34,41,98,100,113; Ambrose sometimes uses Vergilian language subconsciously when narrating a scriptural story.⁸ Language reminiscent of Lucretius (I.55-56,96,192) and Horace (e.g., I.198), and other poetic images (II.1,64) add a certain color poeticus to the Latin; Ambrose the hymnographer and composer of poetic inscriptions is closely related to Ambrose the prose stylist.⁹ Phrases from Terence (II.69,106) and Sallust (I.138,177; II.2) are further indications of the stock of classical literature tucked away in Ambrose's mind. Traditional images are exploited (e.g., I.177: 'Titanas'; II.67: 'cum Tyriis negotiatoribus et Galaaditis mercatoribus'), and the descriptions of the sea-faring merchant (I.243), the spendthrift heir (I.244; II.69), and the legacy-hunter (III.57) evoke classical characterisations. Ambrose's background in Roman legal procedure also perhaps influences his vocabulary: words such as 'census'; 'chirographum'; 'hereditas'; 'possidere'; 'spoliare'; and 'syngrapha' are examples of this.¹⁰

Ambrose is fond of imagery: metaphors and similes from Scripture, Cicero, his reading of poetry, and his own imagination abound in Off.; for examples, cf. I.11-16,20,32-33,48,85,90,93,165,167,181,192, 203,212, 220,228,245,259; II.1,7,21,60-62,64,112,113,135; III.17

-19.¹¹ Evidences of the preacher's rhetorical skills can be seen in several passages where he apostrophises an individual, or pictures an imaginary exchange or challenge: cf. I.17-20,59-63,205-207; II.137-138; III.15-23,38-40,45-52; cf. also the challenges or anticipated objections of I.45-46,156,159,249; III.15-18,108. Another vivid scene is the description of Abraham and Isaac on Mt. Moriah (I.119). Ambrose is especially fond of building up effect by the repeated use of the rhetorical question: e.g., I.48-50,52,55-57,87-88,117,120,122-123,137-138,195,243-245; II.10-11,20,27,56-57,59-62,84; III.7,24,28. Also common are series of exclamations: e.g., I.87,121,195; II.31-32,58,74-75; III.60,85. Ambrose often expresses neat sententiae: e.g., 'tuus denarius census illius est' (I.38); 'Itaque vox quaedam est animi corporis motus' (I.71); 'Si lapides teras, nonne ignis erumpit?' (I.93); 'Affectus tuus nomen imponit operi tuo' (I.147); 'suo est sepultus triumpho' (I.198); 'qui alieno utitur, suum neglegit' (II.97); 'Melius est hic esse in humilitate, ibi in gloria' (III.36).

A multitude of other rhetorical devices, of both word-arrangement and sound, exists in the work. Examples may be gleaned from an attentive reading of the text; a few cases of some of the most common features must suffice here:¹²

Anaphora/epanaphora: I.120 ('Quid...?'),121 ('Quam...!'); I.92 ('locus tuus'); II.138 ('Ecce aurum...!'); II.142 ('Nemo potest...').

Chiasmus: I.239 ('Ante agnus offerebatur, offerebatur vitulus'); II.70 (reddere parentibus liberos, parentes liberis').

Antithesis: I.27-28 ('Haec illi. Nos autem'); I.45 ('Ille suo affectu beatus, hic miser; ille suo iudicio absolutus, hic reus; ille in exitu laetus, hic maerens').

Asyndeton: I.47 ('divites, laetos, honoratos, potentes'); II.20 ('caecitatem, exsilium, famem, stuprum filiae, amissionem liberorum'); II.136 ('tam durus, immitis, ferreus').

Tricolon: II.19 ('altitudine sapientiae, suavitate conscientiae, virtutis sublimitate').

Isocolon: II.10 ('non desperabat salutem, sed exigebat triumphum'; II.152 ('fugite improbos, cavete invidos').

Parison: III.11 ('alia secundum hominis possibilitatem, alia secundum perfectionem futuri').

Homoioteleuton: II.3 ('relinqueretur...committeretur').

Arsis-thesis: III.79 ('Melius non vovere, quam vovere id quod sibi cui promittitur nolit exsolvi').

Polyptoton: III.45 ('Ferae non expellunt feras, et homo excludit hominem').

Pleonasm: I.12 ('regitur et gubernatur'); II.115 ('tolerare ac sustinere').

Hyperbaton: I.5 ('ne prius me vox condemnat mea quam absolvat aliena'); I.78 ('in qua...nostri figura est corporis').

Alliteration: I.14 ('mitis, mansuetus, modestus'); I.167 ('connectit et copulat'); II.124 ('incurrit atque incidit').

Assonance: I.185 ('confirmatus et radicans').

Ambrose shows some interest in etymologies, a study of particular interest to authors such as Philo and Origen who were influential on the bishop's thinking, especially under the inspiration of Stoic theories that language is based on nature. For some examples, cf. I.26,78; III.16 (the famous Terentian homo - humus derivation, mediated to Ambrose through Cicero), 112.¹³ He is also interested in the moral significance of the etymology of Hebrew names (I.91,246; cf. also I.141); his debt here is to Philo in particular.¹⁴

Off. belongs to a period in which prose rhythm was in a state of transition from the quantitative system of classical Latin to the purely accentual system of the Middle Ages. The so-called cursus mixtus was in vogue among pagan and Christian authors from the third century onwards; based on the co-incident of metre and word-accent, it developed into a twofold scheme, one based on strict quantitative patterns and the other (under some Greek influence) on accentual cadences. Recent research has shown that Ambrose was capable of employing both the rhetorical cursus mixtus and a purely accentual system (the cursus), and that in other places he avoided rhythm altogether.¹⁵ Off. has been found to reveal 'only a slight tendency to accentual rhythms';¹⁶ indeed, the conclusion is that Ambrose deliberately avoids prose rhythm in this work.¹⁷ The likelihood is that he generally shuns rhythm when preaching; the presence of rhythmical ornamentation may well depend on the extent to which sermons have been revised for publication, and the readership for whom they were intended (e.g., cursus mixtus prose is commoner in treatises addressed to emperors, such as Fide and Spir.).¹⁸ On this supposition, therefore, it is probable that the sermons which form the core of Off. have been little revised - otherwise, one might expect a greater degree of embellishment here, since an intended replacement for Cicero's treatise would attract some cultivated readers, who would perhaps look for more stylistic polish.¹⁹

Overall, then, the Latinity of Off. offers us some understanding of the ability of Ambrose as a communicator. On the one hand, it is clear from the stylistic devices outlined above that he is a thoroughly proficient rhetorician, capable of moving and inspiring his audience by painting vivid pictures,

and arranging words and phrases for special effect; his disavowal of ars is not entirely borne out by his practice. He is the educated churchman, who subconsciously brings out Vergilian and other classical phrases as he recounts scriptural stories, employs the philosophical language of Cicero, evokes legal terminology, and delves into the meanings of words and names. On the other hand, his text is the work of a man whose mind is steeped in the Scriptures, whose vocabulary (and, to some extent, syntax) is profoundly affected by the language of the Bible, and who delights above all to expound the moral of an inspired story. He is the pastoral exegete who avoids the elaboration of prose rhythms; the persuader whose argument can become diffuse and inconsistent owing to his enthusiasm for Scripture. In his preoccupation with scriptural matter, and his usually quite clear presentation of it, Ambrose upholds his ideals for 'tractatus' and 'oratio'. In his rhetorical elaboration and literary reminiscence, he remains an educated Roman orator. It is this blend of new with old, or - perhaps more accurately - the reapplication of the old to a new purpose, that makes the Latinity of Off. a typical product of its cultural milieu.

VII

DE OFFICIIS OVER THE CENTURIES

Off. has proved to be the most influential of all of Ambrose's works, being studied, quoted, edited, and translated by a host of scholars over the centuries. It is clear that Jerome knew the work when he offered his own guidance on clerical life to the young priest Nepotian, nephew of his friend Heliodorus, in Ep. 52, in 393; and it is possible that he thinks of it also in Ep. 53, written to Paulinus of Nola in 393/4.¹ Paulinus himself probably read the work.² Augustine, writing c. 404, says: 'Ambrosius noster...qui suos libros utilium praeceptionum plenos de officiis voluit appellare';³ and Cassiodorus adds his commendation in the mid-sixth century: 'Utiles etiam sunt ad instructionem ecclesiasticae disciplinae memorati sancti Ambrosii de officiis melliflui libri tres'.⁴ In the seventh century, Isidore of Seville quotes several passages of Off. in his Originum libri, and his work traditionally called De ecclesiasticis officiis (but originally entitled De origine officiorum)⁵ contains a good number of allusions, particularly in Book II (cf. II.v: De sacerdotibus). The ninth century offers attestation by the Carolingian Vita Ambrosii, whose author says: 'Primam itaque ecclesiasticorum ordinum institutionem et catholicae vitae formulam in libris suis quos de officiis praenotavit luculenter inseruit et evidententer expressit'.⁶ Off. is quoted also by Hincmar of Rheims, in his letters Ad episcopos and in his De regis persona. A tenth-century author especially fond of the work is Atto of Vercelli, whose De pressuris ecclesiasticis, written against royal infringement

upon clerical rights, frequently quotes Ambrose.

A particular phase of interest is revealed by the compilers of the Florilegia of the Middle Ages: these canonical collections often include citations of Off. among the sententiae patrum. In the ninth century, the most significant source is Florus, a deacon of the Church of Lyon, whose Sententiae ex epistolis beati Pauli apostoli ab undecim auctoribus expositae has many quotations. From the eleventh and twelfth centuries, mention should be made of the Collectio Canonum of cardinal Deusdedit, the Decretum of Ivo of Chartres, the Polycarpus of cardinal Gregory of St. Chrysogonus, and the Collection in Three Books, the major source for the celebrated Decretum of Gratian of Bologna. There are also an anonymous, twelfth-century Patristic Prologue, and two contemporary manuscripts on clerical life and canon law, which refer frequently to Ambrose's text.⁷

A major twelfth-century source is the Tractatus de ordine vitae of Bernard of Clairvaux, which paraphrases and quotes whole passages of Off., especially from Book I.⁸ Bernard's contemporary in France, Peter Lombard, also quotes the work in his famous Sentences; the saying which he cites, 'Affectus tuus nomen imponit operi tuo' (I.147), was a favourite with several authors of this period.⁹ Not surprisingly, the writer who exploits Off. most in the thirteenth century is Thomas Aquinas, in his massive synthesis, Summa Theologiae.¹⁰

According to Augustine, the word officium was rarely found in Christian Latin in the early centuries; its application to ecclesiastical usage is attributable to the influence of Ambrose in particular, though Ambrose himself takes the word in the Ciceronian sense of 'duty'.¹¹ If Augustine is correct,¹² there is a sense in which Ambrose's work

can be seen as helping to inspire a long line of medieval liturgists: he helps to popularise the use of officium in an ecclesiastical context, though these later writers use the word in its functional rather than its philosophical sense. Among such liturgical works might be mentioned, from the seventh century, the De officiis VII graduum attributed to Isidore of Seville; from the ninth, Angilbert of St. Riquier's Institutio de diversitate officiorum; Amalarius of Metz's De ecclesiasticis officiis (mentioning Ambrose in the second preface); pseudo-Bede, De officiis libellus (a ninth-century work wrongly attributed to an eighth-century author); pseudo-Alcuin of York, De divinis officiis; from the eleventh century, John of Avranches, De officiis ecclesiasticis; from the twelfth, Rupert of Deutz, Liber de divinis officiis; John Beleth, Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis; Robert Paululus, De ceremoniis, sacramentis, officiis et observationibus ecclesiasticis; and from the thirteenth, Sicardus of Cremona, Mitræ seu de officiis ecclesiasticis summa; Praepositinus of Cremona, Summa de officiis; William of Auxerre, Summa de officiis ecclesiasticis; Guy of Orchelles, Summa de officiis Ecclesiae; and William Durandus of Mende, Rationale divinarum officiorum. Further sources from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries might be added to this list.¹³

The absence of references to Off. in these liturgical treatises is not altogether surprising; clearly, ecclesiastical writers found more appropriate plunder in such a work as the Liber regulae pastoralis of Gregory the Great. Although Ambrose may have influenced the Christian use of officium, and although he does focus particularly on clerical instruction, his work was probably seen as primarily an exposition (albeit Christian) of a classical theme. At the same

time, it is clear from the testimonies of Augustine and Cassiodorus that the text was admired in the patristic period, and the frequency of its exploitation by authors such as Isidore, Atto of Vercelli, and Bernard of Clairvaux, the compilers of the Florilegia, and Aquinas, indicates a continued popularity; Ambrose's work certainly held a subordinate place to Gregory's esteemed treatise, but it was not superseded by it. The proliferation of manuscripts from the eighth to the twelfth centuries confirms this.¹⁴

Given its classical framework, it was inevitable that Off. should rise to particular prominence during the Renaissance; along with a resurgence of interest in Cicero came a renewed attention to his Christian successor. The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries saw the publication of several editions, at Rome, Milan, Basle, and Paris, as humanists such as Erasmus felt the obvious appeal of a text which highlights the interface of fourth-century classical and sacred learning. A number of translations appeared throughout Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in French, Italian, and Spanish.¹⁵ Interest in Britain is evidenced by the early seventeenth century at least, with translations in 1637 by Richard Humfrey and (of an excerpt) by Charles Fitzgeffrey.¹⁶ The fundamental edition of the Benedictines of St. Maur was published in Paris between 1686 and 1690, and was reprinted twice at Venice in the same century, and by Migne in PL in 1845. The first attempt at the production of a critical text was made by Krabinger in his Tübingen edition of 1857. In the nineteenth century, three German translations were produced,¹⁷ as well as the English rendering of De Romestin. In the twentieth century, the work has been translated into Italian,

German, French, Russian, Polish, and Romanian.¹⁸ Modern critical scholarship should obviously be distinguished from work which has been 'influenced' by Off., but the large number of scholars who have examined the philosophy and Ciceronian basis of the text during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries offer further testimony to the continuing interest of the treatise.

The study of the Nachleben of Off. requires the investigation of a vast amount of medieval, Renaissance, and modern literature, beyond the scope of this Introduction. Hopefully, though, it is clear from this brief sketch that the work has had a considerable influence on ecclesiastical writing throughout Western Europe, far beyond the small circle of Ambrose's clergy who listened to its initially sermonic sections. There is perhaps an irony in the fact that the diffusion of the work has led - surely contrary to its author's wishes - to an even greater study of Cicero's text,¹⁹ as comparisons of the two and Quellenforschungen on Ambrose's work have inevitably proceeded apace. Both as an example of what is often called 'Christian humanism' and as a source-book of scriptural exposition and clerical instruction by one of the leading Fathers of the Latin Church, Off. has, for all its faults, every reason to elicit continued attention.

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

I

1. See Balthasar Fischer, 'Ist Ambrosius wirklich in Trier geboren?', in Vivarium: Festschrift Theodor Klauser zum 90 Geburtstag (JAC Erg. 11, Münster, 1984), 132-135.

2. Cf. Paulinus, Vita 3: 'posito in administratione praefecturae Galliarum patre eius Ambrosio natus est Ambrosius'. Paredi, 380n.5, says that this may mean that A.'s father was a high functionary, not necessarily the prefect. This is possible, but it is more natural to take the words as an equivalent of 'patre administrante praefecturam Galliarum', and hence to mean that his father was himself the occupant of the prefecture. For the conjecture that his father held office c.337 - c.340, see J.-R. Palanque, 'Les préfets du Prétoire sous les fils de Constantin,' Historia 4, 1955, 257-263. Santo Mazzarino, 'Il padre di Ambrogio,' Helikon 13-14, 1973, 111-117 (also Storia sociale del vescovo Ambrogio (Rome, 1989), 75-82), suggests that the father was called Uranius Ambrosius, held office under Constantine II in 338/9, and was killed along with Constantine II on the invasion of Italy in the spring of 340.

3. The dispute centres on Ep. 59.3, where A. says that he has reached the age of 53 and is living in troubled times, affected 'barbaricis motibus et bellorum procellis'. If this refers to Maximus's invasion of Italy in 387, A.'s birth must have been in 333/4; if, on the other hand, he alludes to Eugenius's occupation of Italy in 393, he was born in 340. Palanque, 480-482, 542-543, argues that the reference is to a barbarian invasion of Pannonia in 392, and so dates A.'s birth to early in 339; this is followed by Dudden I, 2n.2. Desiderius Franses, 'Geboortjaar van Sint Ambrosius,' Studia Catholica 11, 1934, 47-48, and E.T. Moneta Caglio, 'Dettagli cronologici su S. Ambrogio,' Ambrosius 32, 1956, (275-290) 275-277, accept the 340 date. The attempt of Paredi, 380n.5, to defend the traditionally more popular date of 334 depends in part on his argument that A. senior was not prefect of the Gauls. His statement that 'if A. was already forty years old in 374, his election to the episcopacy seems to be more plausible' is nonsense: A.'s election was wholly irregular in any case, and no mention of the issue of age is made in any of the sources describing it.

4. In Exc. fr. I.32, A. calls L. Avianius Symmachus, the father of Q. Aurelius Symmachus, the parens of Satyrus, and Symmachus himself, writing to his brother, speaks of Satyrus as their 'frater communis'

(Symm., Ep. 1.63). It has also been conjectured that A. is the addressee of Symmachus, Ep. 3.30-37 [Dudden I, 2n.3]. There is a metrical inscription for the basilica of S. Nazarius which is subscribed, 'Aur. Ambrosius episc.' (ILCV, I.1800), defended by H. Delehaye, AB 48, 1930, 193, contra the scepticism of A. Amati, RIL 30, 1897, 313; Hans von Campenhausen, Ambrosius von Mailand als Kirchen-politiker (Berlin & Leipzig, 1929), 24; for further defence see G.B. de Rossi in ICUR II, 177; Bollettino di archeologia cristiana, ser. 1, 2, 1864, 76; 3, 1865, 15; Roma sotteranea (Rome, 1877), III, 24-25; G. Pighi in Aevum 18, 1944, 17. It has been thought that the gens Aurelia was A.'s mother's clan. On all this, see Pellegrino's edition of Paulinus, Vita, 53.

5. Cf. Exhort. virg. 82. There had already been a Christian martyr, called Soteris, in the family: Exhort. virg. 82; Virg. III.38.

6. On the relative ages of the children, cf. Exc. fr. I.54. On the date of Exc. fr., see Otto Faller in CSEL 73, 81*-88*.

7. Paulinus, Vita 3.

8. See Ilona Opelt, 'Das Bienenwunder in der Ambrosiusbiographie des Paulinus von Mailand,' Vig. Chr. 22, 1968, 38-44; for an additional list of references to such stories in classical literature, see the note of A.S. Pease in his commentary on Cicero's De divinatione (Illinois, 1920), 229. For pictorial representations of the scene with A., see Courcelle, Recherches, 172, 185, 196, 210, 230-231, and pl. XVII, XXXV, XLVII, LXIV, XC.

9. Paulinus, Vita 5: 'edoctus liberalibus disciplinis'.

10. The fundamental survey of the traditional Roman education is that of H.I. Marrou, A History of Education in Antiquity (ET: London, 1956), 274ff., on the quadriga of Terence, Sallust, Cicero, and Vergil. On A.'s studies, see F.J. Dölger, 'Der erste Schreib-Unterricht in Trier nach einer Jugend-Erinnerung des Bischofs Ambrosius von Mailand,' AC 3, 1932, 62-72; Dudden I, 6-9; G.L. Ellspermann, The Attitude of the Early Christian Writers towards Pagan Literature and Learning (Washington, 1949), 113-125. On his knowledge of Vergil, see Ihm, 80-94, and esp. M.D. Diederich, Vergil in the Works of St. Ambrose (CUAPS 29, Washington, 1931), passim. On Cicero, see Madec, 141-166; M.L. Ricci, 'Fortuna di una formula ciceroniana presso Sant' Ambrogio (a proposito di iustitia),' SIFC n.s. 43, 1971, 222-245; L. Alfonsi, 'Ambrogio "Ciceronianus",' Vig. Chr. 20, 1966, 83-85; H. Savon, 'La première oraison funèbre de saint Ambroise (De excessu fratris I) et les deux sources de la consolation chrétienne,' REL 58, 1980, 370-402; J. Doignon, 'Lactance intermédiaire entre Ambroise de Milan et la Consolation de Cicéron?,' REL 51, 1973,

- 208-219; C. Schenkl in WSt 16, 1894, 38-46; Michaela Zelzer in WSt. 100, 1987, 186-197. Other literature on Cic. is cited in the notes to Introduction, IV. On other classical authors, see Courcelle, Recherches, 41-48 (Roman comedy), Fr. Trisoglio, 'Sant Ambrogio conobbe Plinio il Giovane?', RISC 20, 1972, 363-410.
11. Cf. Jerome's famous vow, made in a dream (in Ep. 22.30) to have a greater enthusiasm for sacred texts, and his aloof attitude to the Classics over the next twelve to fifteen years; see Hagendahl, 318ff.
12. On rhetoric, cf. Expl. Ps. 36.28; Expos. Luc. VII.218; VIII.13,70.
13. Cf. Paulinus, Vita 5; A., Exc. fr. I.49.
14. His oratory had a notable effect on Augustine, Milan's new professor of rhetoric: Aug., Conf. V.13-14; C. Iulian. Pelag. II.11.
15. For a convenient summary of the Arian heresy that the Son was not 'of the same substance' as God the Father, see J.N.D. Kelly, Early Christian Doctrines (5th ed., London, 1977), 223ff.
16. I accept the traditional date of A.'s consecration, 7 December, 374, which was defended by Otto Faller, 'La data della consacrazione vescovile di Sant' Ambrogio,' in Ambrosiana (Milan, 1942), 96-112, and accepted by Paredi, 393n.22 (also by Fr. Halkin in AB 52, 1934, 400), in opposition to the revised dating of 7 December, 373 (von Campenhausen, op. cit., 90-92) or 1 December, 373 (Palanque, 484-487; Dudden I, 68-69n.5. Cf. Jerome, Chron., s.a. 374.
17. On the debt of Paulinus to Rufinus, see Pellegrino's edition of the Vita, 16-19.
18. Though this was not uncommon at this time, even among the children of Christian families: see Dudden I, 58.
19. Cf. Off. I.2,4; Paen. II.67,72-73; Ep. 63.65. Pace von Campenhausen, op. cit., 27-28, A.'s reluctance was genuine enough. See Andrew Lenox-Conyngham, 'The Judgement of Ambrose the Bishop on Ambrose the Roman Governor,' St.Patr. 17, 1982, 62-65, on A.'s later view of his career in his unbaptised, secular days.
20. Cf. Paulinus, Vita 7: 'philosophiam profiteri voluit'. The idea of Neoplatonism is suggested by Courcelle, Recherches, 9-16. See, though, Madec, 24-25n.8.
21. On the four expedients, cf. Paulinus, Vita 7-9; Rufinus, H.E. II.11; and see the detailed study of Yves-Marie Duval, 'Ambroise, de son élection à sa consécration,' in Ambr. Episc. II, 243-283. There is clearly a good deal of hagiography in Paulinus's narrative.
22. On the date, cf. n.16 above. Paulinus, Vita 9, says that A. was formally passed through the preliminary clerical grades between his baptism and

his consecration, and Dudden I, 68, 73-74, takes this to mean that A. was ordained to one office per day during the week prior to his consecration. However, Balthasar Fischer, 'Hat Ambrosius von Mailand in der Woche zwischen seiner Taufe und seiner Bischofskonsekration andere Weihen empfangen?', in Kyriakon (Festschrift Johannes Quasten, ed. P. Granfield & J.A. Jungmann, Münster, 1970), II, 527-531, has, I think, rightly argued that this is a piece of apologetic by Paulinus to defend his subject against the charge of having been elected as a novice.

23. The role of the people in episcopal elections is outlined by Roger Gryson, 'Les élections épiscopales en Occident au IV^e siècle,' RHE 75, 1980, 257-283 (269-273 on A.). Clementina Corbellini, 'Sesto Petronio Probo e l'elezione episcopale di Ambrogio,' RIL 109, 1975, 181-189, argues that Probus had a major part in A.'s election, but this theory puts too much weight on a phrase of Paulinus, Vita 8, which looks very much like a pious fiction: that on A.'s interview for his post with Probus, the prefect said to him, 'Go, conduct yourself not as a judge, but as a bishop'.

24. Paulinus, Vita 38, says that he gave it all up, but he clearly did retain some of his patrimony: see Dudden I, 107.

25. Off. I.4.

26. Cf. Off. I.1-4; Virg. I.1-4; II.1-5. Dudden I, 57, follows the chronology of L. Baunard, Histoire de saint Ambroise (2nd ed., Paris, 1872), 17-21, that Simplicianus instructed A. in his youth at Rome, but Palanque, 22, followed by Paredi, 393-394n.24, concludes from Epp. 37.2 and 65.1 that Simplicianus prepared A. for baptism and gave him Christian instruction following his consecration, not during his days at Rome. Augustine, Conf. VIII.2, calls Simplicianus the spiritual 'father' of A., and says that he had lived at Rome for some time, where he had been a friend of the great Neoplatonist, Marius Victorinus, and an instrument in his conversion to Christianity. There is nothing to preclude the possibility of his having taught A. at Rome, but it is probably more likely that his spiritual 'fatherhood' of the bishop stems from this early period of A.'s episcopate. A.'s early diffidence in theology, and the wholly secular nature of his earlier career, suggest that if he had received Christian instruction in his youth it must have been very limited. Cf. Paen. II.67: 'non in Ecclesia nutritus sum, non edomitus a puero'.

27. See Dudden II, 456.

28. So J.B. Aucher, Philonis Iudaei Paralipomena Armenia... (Venice, 1826), praef., v. On the influence of Philo on A., see Förster, 102-112; H. Savon, Saint Ambroise devant l'exégèse de Philon le

Juif (2 Vols., Paris, 1977); E. Lucchesi, L'usage de Philon dans l'oeuvre exégétique de saint Ambroise. Une "Quellenforschung" relative aux commentaires d'Ambroise sur la Genèse (Leiden, 1977), 24ff.; V. Nikiprowetsky, 'Saint Ambroise et Philon,' REG 94, 1981, 193-199; H. Savon, 'Saint Ambroise et saint Jérôme, lecteurs de Philon,' ANRW II, 21.1, 731-759. M. Ihm, 'Philon und Ambrosius,' Neue Jahrb. für Philol. und Pad. 141, 1890, 282-288, lists some Philonian passages in Fuga and the Epp..

29. On Origen and A., see Förster, 112-117; K. Baus, 'Das Nachwirken des Origenes in der Christusfrömmigkeit des heiligen Ambrosius,' RQ 49, 1954, 21-55; L.F. Pizzolato, La "Explanatio Psalmorum XII": Studio letterario sulla esegesi di Sant' Ambrogio (Milan, 1965), 25-52; W. Völker, 'Das Abraham-Bild bei Philo, Origenes und Ambrosius,' Theologische Studien und Kritiken 103, 1931, 199-207; H. Puech & P. Hadot, 'L'entretien d'Origène avec Héraclide et le Commentaire de saint Ambroise sur l'Évangile de saint Luc,' Vig. Chr. 13, 1959, 204-234; F.E. Consolino, '"Veni huc a Libano. La sponsa del Cantico dei Cantici come modello per le vergini negli scritti esortatori di Ambrogio," Athenaeum 62, 1984, 399-415. On A.'s knowledge of the Hexapla, cf. I.15n.

30. On Basil and A., see Förster, 117-123; Pizzolato, op. cit., 76-87; Giuseppe Lazzati, Il valore letterario della esegesi ambrosiana (Milan, 1960), 66-71; S. Giet, 'De saint Basile a saint Ambroise. La condamnation du prêt à intérêt au IV^e siècle,' RSR 31, 1944, 95-128 (though Giet erroneously believed that A. was not proficient in Greek); Louis J. Swift, 'Basil and Ambrose on the Six Days of Creation,' Augustinianum 21, 1981, 317-328.

31. There is a good deal of evidence for Middle- and Neo-Platonist influence on A.'s thought. Apuleius: see Pierre Courcelle, 'De Platon à saint Ambroise par Apulée. Parallèles textuels entre le "De excessu fratris" et le "De Platone et eius dogmate",' RPh. 87, 1961, 15-28. Plotinus: see Pierre Courcelle, 'Plotin et saint Ambroise,' RPh. 76, 1950, 29-56; id., 'Nouveaux aspects du Platonisme chez saint Ambroise,' REL 34, 1956, 220-239; L. Taormina, 'Sant' Ambrogio e Plotino,' Miscellanea di studi di letteratura cristiana antica, IV, 1953, 41-85; A. Solignac, 'Nouveaux parallèles entre saint Ambroise et Plotin: le "De Iacob et vita beata" et le $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota$ $\epsilon\upsilon\delta\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma\iota\alpha\varsigma$ (Ennéade I,4),' Archives de philosophie 20, 1956, 148-156; P. Hadot, 'Platon et Plotin dans trois sermons de saint Ambroise,' REL 34, 1956, 202-220. Porphyry: see H. Dorrie, 'Das funffach gestufte Mysterium. Der Aufstieg der Seele bei Porphyrios und Ambrosius,' in Mullus: Festschrift Theodor Klauser (JAC Erg. 1, Münster, 1964), 79-92.

32. Augustine, Conf. VI.3. Augustine's surprise at A.'s silent reading is of course famous.
33. See Introduction, II.vii.
34. On the supremacy of Scripture, and A.'s preference for the exposition of the OT, see Giuseppe Lazzati, Il valore letterario dell'esegesi ambrosiana (Milan, 1960), 46-47; Josef Huhn, 'Bewertung und Gebrauch der heiligen Schrift durch den Kirchenvater Ambrosius,' HJ 77, 1958, 387-396.
35. See Dudden II, 455n.2.
36. Paulinus, Vita 38; cf. also A., Ep. 51.14; for an example of dictation, cf. the reference to Expl. Ps. 43 in Vita 42.
37. Ep. 47.1-2. Cf. the remarks of Quintilian, Inst. X.3.19ff. Contrast Augustine, who dictated till far into the night: Augustine, Epp. 139.3; 224.2.
38. In the selective survey offered here, I avoid detailed discussion of the dating problems, and follow the practice of the Patrologies in recording the works according to genre. On chronology, see Palanque, 435-479; Dudden II, 678-710; W. Wilbrand, 'Zur Chronologie einiger Schriften des hl. Ambrosius,' HJ 41, 1921, 1-19. On some problems, see H. Savon, 'Quelques remarques sur la chronologie des oeuvres de saint Ambroise,' St.Patr. 10 (TU 107), 1970, 156-160. For an outline of all of A.'s works and literature on each, see now Maria Grazia Mara's survey in Patrology (Quasten, Vol. IV, ed. Angelo di Berardino; ET: Westminster, Maryland, 1988), 152-180.
39. See Raymond D'Izarny, La virginité selon saint Ambroise (Diss., 2 Vols., Institut Catholique de Lyon, 1952), esp. I, 24-27, 30-51; C. Riggi, 'La verginità nel pensiero di S. Ambrogio,' Salesianum 42, 1980, 789-806.
40. See Introduction, II ff.
41. A review of the issues of authorship and style in Myst. and Sacr. can be found in B. Botte's SCh edition of the works (SCh 25, Paris, 1961, 7ff.); also Otto Faller in CSEL 73, 20* - 30*. See too Christine Mohrmann, 'Le style oral du De Sacramentis de saint Ambroise,' Vig. Chr. 6, 1952, 168-177; ead., 'Observations sur le De Sacramentis et le De Mysteriis de saint Ambroise,' in Ambr. Episc. I, 103-123; Giuseppe Lazzati, 'L'autenticità del "De Sacramentis" e la valutazione letteraria delle opere di S. Ambrogio,' Aevum 29, 1955, 17-48.
42. On the date of Exc. fr., cf. n.6 above.
43. On some examples of the literary qualities of the Epp., see Sister Charles, 'The Classical Latin quotations in the Letters of St. Ambrose,' G & R 15, 1968, 186-197. Michaela Zelzer, 'Ambrosius von Mailand und das Erbe der klassischen Tradition,' WSt. 100, 1987, (201-226) 213-226 argues that many of the private letters are revisions of sermonic and other

private letters are revisions of sermonic and other unused material which A. has published late in life in order to document his pastoral career.

44. For a bibliography on A.'s hymns, see Mara, art. cit. in Patrology, 179; P.G. Walsh in TRE 15, 762.

45. A valuable outline of the significance of A.'s stance is provided by L.C. Ruggini, 'Ambrogio e le opposizioni anticattoliche fra il 383 e il 390,' Augustinianum 14, 1974, 409-449.

46. Literature: Palanque, 129-138; Dudden II, 256-269; J.J. Sheridan, 'The Altar of Victory - Paganism's Last Battle,' L'Antiquité classique 35, 1966, 186-206; H.A. Pohlsander, 'Victory: The Story of a Statue,' Historia 18, 1969, 588-597; J. Wytzes, Der Streit um den Altar der Viktoria (Amsterdam & Paris, 1936), 7-25. For the primary texts, see R. Klein, Der Streit um den Victoriaaltar, die dritte Relatio des Symmachus und die Briefe 17,18 und 57 des Mailänder Bischofs Ambrosius (Darmstadt, 1972).

47. Ep. 20.2.

48. Ep. 21.

49. The chronology and topography of the conflict are much disputed; I follow Gérard Nauroy, 'Le fouet et le miel. Le combat d'Ambroise en 386 contre l'Arianisme Milanais,' Rech.Aug. 23, 1988, 3-86, an excellent account of the importance of A.'s actions.

50. Ep. 40, a masterpiece of tact and forcefulness combined, though written speedily; it is also regrettably anti-Semitic in tone: see the literature cited in Paredi, 414n.11, and W. Wilbrand, 'Ambrosius von Mailand und sein Verhältnis zum Judentum,' in Veritati: Festschrift J. Hessen (Munich, 1949), 156-162.

51. Cf. Ep. 41, where A. relates to his sister Marcellina his treatment of Theodosius.

52. So Dudden II, 378-379.

53. 7,000 is Theodoret's figure (H.E. V.17). Paulinus, Vita 24, says that the butchery went on for three hours.

54. Ep. 51. On the humiliation of Theodosius, cf. Augustine, C.D. V.26.

55. E.g., intervention in an episcopal election at Sirmium in c. 380 to ensure that the Catholic candidate Anemius was elected, despite the machinations of Justina and her supporters [see Dudden I, 195-196]; his anti-Arianism at the Council of Aquileia in 381 [Dudden I, 199-206]; successful conviction of Bonosus of Naissus at the Council of Capua in 392 for denying the post partum virginity of Mary [Dudden II, 401-403], and of the anti-ascetic ex-monk Jovinian at the Council of Milan in 393 [Dudden II, 393-398]; and his political negotiations with Maximus [Palanque, 122ff., 165ff.; Dudden I, 223ff., 346ff.].

56. See S.L. Greenslade, Church and State from Constantine to Theodosius (London, 1954), 56,70-78; Palanque, 370ff.; Morino, 79ff. (though Morino is very much an apologist for A.).
57. Paulinus, Vita 46.
58. Paulinus, Vita 48. On the fruits of A.'s missionary zeal, esp. among the intellectual elite of Milan, see J. Mesot, Die Heidenbekehrung bei Ambrosius von Mailand (Schöneck-Beckenried, 1958), 118-132; also W. Wilbrand, 'Heidentum und Heidenmission bei Ambrosius von Mailand,' Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft 1, 1938, 193-202.
59. So Dudden II, 492ff.
60. For a general survey of his theology, see Dudden II, 555-677. On the Eucharist, see Johann, esp. 89ff.; on anthropology and the Fall, see Seibel, esp. 92-145; André Loiseau, "Nature" de l'homme et histoire du salut. Étude sur l'anthropologie d'Ambroise de Milan (Diss., Lyon, 1970), esp. 67-100.
61. See Ernst Dassmann, 'Ambrosius und die Märtyrer,' JAC 18, 1975, 49-68; J. Doignon, 'Perspectives ambrosiennes: SS. Gervais et Protas, génies de Milan,' REAug. 2, 1956, 313-334.
62. On the Virgin Mary, see D'Izarny, op. cit. in n.39 above, I, 65-68; C.W. Neumann, The Virgin Mary in the Works of Saint Ambrose (Fribourg, 1962), passim, and esp. 35ff.

II

1. PL 16, 21-22; cf. 25-26n.1.
2. See Testard I, 49-52: on a survey of 58 MSS., 101 examples of the shorter title were found, as compared with only 24 cases of the longer title; no example of the longer title was found in the two primary families of MSS. In the third family, both titles sometimes alternate in the same MS., and in some places the longer title appears as a corrective gloss on the shorter. (On the families of MSS., see Testard I, 74-86; also 50n.2.) On the evidence of the oldest editions, see Testard, 'Etude', 195n.83, and 157-159. Palanque, 453, defends 'le titre lui-meme donne par les manuscrits: De officiis ministrorum', but he appears simply to accept the Maurists' claim (as does Forster, 176).
3. See Courcelle, Recherches, 59.
4. As did Paul Ewald, Der Einfluss der stoisch-ciceronianischen Moral auf die Darstellung der Ethik bei Ambrosius (Leipzig, 1881), 15n.1; Th. Schmidt, Ambrosius, sein Werk de Officiis Libri III und die Stoa (Diss., Augsburg, 1897), 11n.1. The edition of R.O. Gilbert (Leipzig, 1839), on the other hand, was so convinced of the ecclesiastical nature of the work

that it gave it the spurious title De officiis clericorum.

5. Cf., e.g., I.175: 'a nostro officio iam alienum videtur'; and especially the insistence in I.28-29 that Christians and pagans measure officium by different standards.

6. See the comments of Félix Claus, 'De opvatting van Ambrosius over de navolging in de "De Officiis", Handelingen XXVI der Koninklijke Zuidernederlandse Maatschappij voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis 1972, (63-72), 65-66; Sauer, 4,213n.36; Banterle, 16.

7. On the question of sermonic composition, see Introduction, III.

8. Proxime in III.49 picks up 'nuper' in Cic. III.47, but as Testard I, 46n.2, rightly says, it may not necessarily be taken as a clue to the overall date of A.'s work, only to the time when that particular section was first delivered. The same caveat applies to recens in II.150. For the present purposes, I am simply pointing out that the work as it stands must be later than the incidents whose dates we try to work out from these passages.

9. Cf. II.150n. on the chronology.

10. Cf. I.245n.

11. Palanque, 499-500; Dudden II, 681, date Noe to the autumn of 378; others are less sure: Schenkl, CSEL 32.1, XII, considers 384 more likely, and H. Savon, 'Quelques remarques sur la chronologie des oeuvres de saint Ambroise,' St.Patr. 10 (TU 107), 1970, (156-160) 157-158, rejects Palanque's date but avoids committing himself.

12. Pace the comments of W. Wilbrand, 'Zur Chronologie einiger Schriften des hl. Ambrosius,' HJ 41, 1921, (1-19) 14-15.

13. On Jerome's knowledge of Off., cf. Introduction, V, n.1, and Testard, 'Aveu', 238ff.

14. So P.G. Walsh in ACW 36, 313n.30 and 314n.68: Paulinus, Ep. 24.7 evokes I.183, and Ep. 24.13 is similar to I.193-194 (I think the first suggestion is the stronger); Paulinus, Ep. 24 was probably written in 400.

15. Suggested dates cover a wide period, from 377 to 391. Precision appears unattainable, but clearly those who posit some time during the period 388-391 are not far off the mark. See Crouter, 182-188.

16. See the explanation for Cic.'s writing in N.D. I.6-9; Div. II.1-7; and cf. Off. II.2-8.

Books I and II of Off. were completed by 5 November, 44 B.C. (Att. XVI.11.4) and Book III was finished by 9 December, when Cic. returned to Rome.

17. It is the thesis of H.A.K. Hunt, The Humanism of Cicero (Melbourne, 1954), esp. 1ff., 159-160, 183-187. P. MacKendrick, The Philosophical Books of Cicero (London, 1989), 253, cites some further thematic links

with Cic.'s earlier treatises on rhetoric and philosophy which lead him to agree that Off. is 'part of a conscious overall plan'.

18. Probably the greatest weakness in Hunt's case is his underestimation of the political backdrop to the philosophical programme; it is also true that one might expect Cic. himself to make his systematic purpose more overt throughout the works.

19. Ronald Syme, The Roman Revolution (Oxford, 1939), 145. Hunt quotes Syme's words, but relegates this motive to a place of 'secondary importance' (187). Although Holden, xv, could have done better than to describe Off. as Cic.'s 'last farewell to his family and country', it is true, as Syme suggests, that the political circumstances are of great significance in the placing of Off. at the end of the programme. Due weight is given to the political situation by Miriam Griffin in her introduction to Margaret Atkins's new translation of Off. (Cambridge, 1991), esp. xii-xv, xvii-xviii, xxvii-xxviii; see also MacKendrick, op. cit., 249ff.

20. Cf. Cic. I.1-2; II.8; III.5-6, 33, 121.

21. Cf. Cic., Att. XIV.13, 16, 18; XV.16-17; Fam. XII.16; XVI.21; Pliny, N.H. VII.147. On Cic.'s anxiety over Marcus, see Griffin, ibid., xvi-xvii. The best overall treatment of Cic.'s addressee in Off. is that of Maurice Testard, 'Le fils de Ciceron, destinataire du De Officiis,' Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé 1962, 2, 198-213.

22. In Partitiones Oratoriae, Marcus is given the role of an enquiring pupil; in Off., although he is now a young man with his own Peripatetic sympathies, he is still to be instructed (I.1-4; III.5-6, 121).

23. So Griffin, xvii-xviii.

24. 'Proper function' is the translation given by A.A. Long & D.N. Sedley, The Hellenistic Philosophers (2 Vols., Cambridge, 1987), I, 359-368; II, 355-364. The concept looks on to Kant's 'categorical imperative'.

25. So Atkins, op. cit. in n.19 above, xlv.

26. Cf. Aulus Gellius, N.A. XIII.28.1.

27. Cf. Cic. I.9; III.7.

28. Cf. Cic. III.7ff., 33-34; Att. XVI.11.4.

29. Cf. Cic. I.10; II.9.

30. Cf. Cic., Att. XVI.11.4. Cic.'s debt to Panaetius is mentioned by the Elder Pliny: N.H., praef. 22-23.

31. Cf. Cic., Fin. IV.79 (also IV.23); Off. II.35; cf. also Seneca, Ep. 116.5.

32. Cic. I.6-10, 152ff.; II.60; III.7ff.

33. Cf. Cic., Att. XVI.11.4; cf. 14.3.

34. Cic. III.8.

35. Cf. Cic. III.63 and III.89.

36. Cic. III.34.

37. For a fuller discussion of the tradition, and some relevant literature, cf. I.115n.

38. For the synopsis of Cic.'s thought, I am indebted to MacKendrick, op. cit., 232-249; Griffin, op. cit., xxi-xxviii; see MacKendrick esp. for a detailed breakdown of the text. On the deviation of Cic. from Panaetius's Stoicism, see Maurice Testard, Cicéron: Les Devoirs, I (Paris, 1965), 25ff.; Colish I, 145-152.

39. Ambrose's knowledge of Panaetius and Posidonius is clearly derived from Cic.

40. E.g., Vergil is 'quidam poeta' (Abr. I.82; cf. II.4), and Cicero is 'quidam saecularium doctor' (Virg. III.25); cf. Augustine, Conf. I.13, 'Aeneae nescio cuius errores'; III.4, 'librum cuiusdam Ciceronis'. The traditional view is that such vagueness is pejorative, but not all agree: see Maurice Testard, Saint Augustin et Cicéron (2 Vols., Paris, 1958), I, 11-19. Cf. also n.46 below.

41. Cf. the references cited in I.24n.

42. See Introduction, III.

43. For an outline of the development of the concept of duty from Zeno to Christian writers, see Stelzenberger, 217-244. A more basic study of the Christian tradition is provided by H.H. Scullard, Early Christian Ethics in the West, from Clement to Ambrose (London, 1907), 190-238.

Seneca wrote a De Officiis, now lost; there is no evidence that A. knew it. The importance of officium in the tradition of moral philosophy is summed up by Cic. thus: 'Atque haec quidem quaestio communis est omnium philosophorum. Quis est enim, qui nullis officii praeceptis tradendis philosophum se audeat dicere?' (Cic. I.5); officium impinges upon every area of life, public and private (Cic. I.4). One can well imagine that A.'s traditional Roman background (family, education, career) leads him to share this Roman Stoic concern with moral obligation.

44. This impinges on the interpretation of A.'s aims in the work; see Introduction, IV.

45. See the dossier of passages collected by Madec, 349ff.

46. The same vagueness often occurs in references to biblical exegetes as well, which suggests that it is not always pejorative: cf. alii in I.15, of biblical translators; and Philo is frequently hidden behind 'aliqui/quidam/nonnulli/plerique/alii': see Enzo Lucchesi, L'usage de Philon dans l'oeuvre exégétique de saint Ambroise (Leiden, 1977), 25.

47. On the accusations of plagiarism in the Alexandrian tradition, see H.A. Wolfson, Philo: Foundations of Religious Philosophy in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam (2 Vols., Cambridge, MA, 1947), I, 141ff.; Henry Chadwick, Early Christian Thought and the Classical Tradition (Oxford, 1966), 13ff. References in Latin authors include Minucius

- Felix, Oct. 34.5; Tertullian, Apol. 47.1-5; Test. anim. 5; Anim. 2; Augustine, C.D. VIII.11; but cf. Retract. II.43. See R. Holte, Béatitude et Sagesse: saint Augustine et la fin de l'homme dans la philosophie ancienne (Paris, 1962), 125ff.
48. For examples, see Dudden I, 15-16.
49. On the inspiration of Scripture in A.'s theology, cf., e.g., Ep. 8.1; Spir. III.112 (cf. also Off. III.14), and see Dudden II, 576.
50. See Thomas Gerhard Ring, Auctoritas bei Tertullian, Cyprian und Ambrosius (Würzburg, 1975), 183-196.
51. There are, of course, arguments to this effect in the NT: e.g., Rom. 4.11-12, 16-18; Gal. 3.6-9, where Abraham is the father of believing Gentiles as well as of Jews; 1 Cor. 10.1 (evoked by A. in III.108), where the Israelites are the fathers of the Corinthians.
52. On the unity of the OT and the NT and Heilsgeschichte in A.'s thought, see Hahn, 196ff.; 454ff.; also Pizzolato, 43-87.
53. A.'s main exegetical models show a preference for the OT: Philo (obviously) and Origen. A. shares their moralising approach; cf., e.g., Ioseph 1: 'Sanctorum vita ceteris norma vivendi est'; Myst. 1.
54. For outlines of his technique in individual cases, see Raymond Berton, 'Abraham dans le De Officiis Ministrorum d'Ambroise,' RevSR 54, 1980, 311-322; J.R. Baskin, 'Job as Moral Exemplar in Ambrose,' Vig. Chr. 35, 1981, 222-231; Anna Maria Piredda, 'La tipologia sacerdotale del patriarca Giuseppe in Ambrogio,' Sandalion 10-11, 1987-88, 153-163.
55. Regulus is the dominant exemplar in Cic. III (99-115). Thamin, 249, suggests that he is replaced as the hero of A.'s Off. by Job. Regulus, though, is mentioned only once by Cic. prior to III (at Cic. I.39), whereas Job appears throughout A.'s work (I.39, 41-46, 61, 113, 148, 164, 167-168, 180, 195; II.20), before being mentioned at the close of III (131, 138). It is possible that Moses is the substitute for Regulus (though in a much shorter section than Cic.'s) in III.92-95. The chief biblical hero of Off. may well be David, who is found at virtually every stage of the work, not least in the opening sections of I and III.
56. Cf. n. on I.1-22.
57. On the use of exempla in classical and Christian writings, see A. Lumpe, 'Exemplum', RAC VI.1229-1257, esp. 1242ff. On A., see Thamin, 244-249; Madec, 177-186; Sauer, 192-201.
58. So Madec has pointed out: 171-172.
59. See Introduction I, and nn. 28-31 there.
60. For a brief résumé of the classical tradition, see the article on 'Allegory' in OCD; for a definitive treatment, see Jean Pépin, Mythe et allégorie: les

origines Grecques et les contestations Judéo-Christiennes (Paris, 1976), 83ff.

61. Cf. Rom. 5.14; 1 Cor. 10.1-6; Gal. 4.21-31; Heb. 6.13ff.; 1 Pet. 3.20-22.

62. On the development of Christian allegory and typology, see esp. Henri de Lubac, Exégèse Médiévale (Lyon, 1959), I, 139ff., 373ff. A thorough introduction to Origen's exegesis is given by R.P.C. Hanson, Allegory and Event (London, 1959), 9-129. Clement devotes the fifth book of his Stromateis to a defence of allegory. The distinction made by Jean Daniélou, 'Traversée de la Mer Rouge et baptême aux premiers siècles,' RSR 33, 1946, (402-430) 416; From Shadows to Reality: Studies in the Biblical Typology of the Fathers (ET: London, 1960), between allegory and typology is rejected by Henri de Lubac, '"Typologie" et "Allégorisme",' RSR 34, 1947, 180-226; Henri Cruzel, 'La distinction de la "typologie" et de l' "allégorie",' BLE 65, 1964, 161-174: the Fathers do not distinguish in their terminology.

63. On the three senses of Scripture, see J.B. Kellner, Der hl. Ambrosius, Bischof von Mailand, als Erklärer des alten Testaments. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der biblischen Exegese (Regensburg, 1893), 31-40. The development of the fourfold scheme of senses (historical or literal; metaphorical or figurative; tropological or moral; anagogical or eschatological) is already hinted at in Origen [de Lubac, op. cit., 198-219], but A. almost always maintains a threefold view.

64. See Pierre de Labriolle, 'Saint Ambroise et l'exégèse allégorique,' Annales de philosophie chrétienne 155, 1908, 591-603 (essentially reproduced in his biography, The Life and Times of St. Ambrose [ET: St. Louis & London, 1928], 137ff.); R.H. Malden, 'Saint Ambrose as an Interpreter of Holy Scripture,' JTS 16, 1915, 509-522; Pizzolato, passim. Giuseppe Lazzati, 'Esegesi e poesia in Sant' Ambrogio,' Annuario della Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore 1957/58 - 1958/59, 75-91; Il valore letterario della esegesi ambrosiana (Milan, 1960), esp. 58-102, argues that A.'s exegesis reflects a combination of a spiritual approach to Scripture with a naturally poetic temperament; this partnership of Greek influence and personal attitude lies at the core of his spirituality. A valuable account of A.'s technique is now also available in Gérard Nauroy, 'L'Écriture dans la pastorale d'Ambroise de Milan,' in La Bible de tous le temps, II, Le monde latine antique et la Bible (Paris, 1985), 371-408.

65. Conf. VI.4.

66. Conf. V.14.

67. For a brief outline of Augustine's exegetical style, see Peter Brown, Augustine of Hippo: A

Biography (London, 1967), 252ff.

68. Cf. I.239n. for literature.

69. On the interest in etymologies, see Introduction, VI.

III

1. 'And its morphological cognates' is also to be understood in the case of utile.

2. See Testard, 'Étude', 173n.37; 179n.52 (though Testard misses the sole mention of utile in II.138).

3. In I.81, the treatment of verecundia is not over, contrary to what A. implies; cf. n. ad loc..

4. However, Cic. also signals the return to a theme after a digression; in A. II.21, 'Sed iam ad proposita pergamus', and in A. III.32, 'ut ad propositum redeamus', A. evokes Ciceronian phrases: cf. nn. ad locc..

5. Cf. I.65n.

6. So Testard I, 36-37; 'Étude', 195-196.

7. The liturgical phrase printed at the end of Book I in PL is a medieval addition to the text, and should be omitted.

8. Pace Palanque, 437,452-453.

9. The common rhetorical question, 'Quid loquar?' (e.g., I.203,204,248; II.11,20,56,84; III.66,73; and II.100: 'Quid loquamur?'), often occurs, however, in passages which are rhetorical in texture generally, and so may more probably suggest a spoken presentation.

10. 'Legimus' in II.30 refers obliquely to Cic.

11. Cf. n. on I.1-22.

12. It is worth noting that A. also varies the way in which he refers to himself, using now the singular, now the royal plural (e.g., I.1-4,23-25).

13. The idea of an imaginary interlocutor is raised by Fr. Halkin in his review of Palanque, in AB 52, 1934, (395-401) 400; it is mentioned as a possibility also by Steidle 1984, 28; see, too, J.T. Muckle, 'The Influence of Cicero in the Formation of Christian Culture,' Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada 42, ser. 3, May, 1948, (107-125) 115.

14. For some references, see Angelo Paredi, 'La liturgia di Sant' Ambrogio,' in Sant' Ambrogio nel XVI centenario della nascita (Milan, 1940), 73-76; his list is far from exhaustive.

15. For an attempt to identify possible sermonic blocks, see Thamin, 217.

16. So the Maurists, PL 16, 21-22; Ihm, 27; O. Bardenhewer, Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, III (Freiburg, 1923), 529; Palanque, 452-455; Dudden II, 694; Paredi, 316; J. Draeseke, 'M. Tulli Ciceronis et Ambrosii episcopi Mediolanensis De Officiis Libri III inter se comparantur,' RFIC 4, 1876, (121-164)

131-132; Th. Schmidt, Ambrosius, sein Werk de Officiis Libri III und die Stoa (Augsburg, 1897), 12-13; Emil Burgi, 'Prolegomena quaedam ad S. Ambrosii episcopi Mediolanensis libros De officiis tres,' in 75 Jahre Stella Matutina (Feldkirch, 1931), (43-68) 58; A.F. Coyle, 'Cicero's De Officiis and the De Officiis Ministrorum of St. Ambrose,' Franciscan Studies 15, 1955, (224-256) 225; Hans von Campenhausen, The Fathers of the Latin Church (ET: London, 1964), 123.

17. Palanque, 454.

18. Palanque himself rejects the theory on the basis of III.139 - inconsistently, for A. might have added the 'written' content of the last paragraph just as, according to Palanque, he adds the other 'written' phrases.

19. So Adolf Ebert, Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur des Mittelalters im Abendlande, I (Leipzig, 1889), 162; M. Schanz, Geschichte der römischen Literatur, IV (Munich, 1914), 340.

20. Written throughout: so, e.g., W.G. Rusch, The Later Latin Fathers (London, 1977), 56. Written from I.23 onwards: M.B. Emeneau, 'Ambrose and Cicero,' Cl. Wk. 24, 1930, (49-53) 50. Crouter, 171-182, tries to have the best of both worlds: A. wrote the work, then read it to his clergy as a series of lectures.

21. So, e.g., Schmidt, ibid..

22. Testard, 'Recherches', 75-76, ingeniously conjectures that A. worked from a Cic. text recorded on volumina, and could only unroll a few pages at a time. See also Testard, ibid., 86.

23. On the role of notarii in taking down A.'s sermons, see Harald Hagandahl, 'Die Bedeutung der Stenographie für die spätlateinische christliche Literatur,' JAC 14, 1971, (24-38) 36-38.

24. See Introduction, I, nn.36-37.

25. Testard, 'Recherches', 75-76, thinks that A. also wrote on volumina, and could not easily check what he had written earlier - one further possible reason for repetitions.

IV

1. Cf. the summaries of Colish II, 58-59 (somewhat over-simplified); Sauer, I-VI. Crouter, 375-404, has a review of some of the major work up to 1968, and offers some interesting comments on the significance of confessional perspectives in scholarly appraisal of A.: Protestant critics are often the most critical of A.'s Stoicism, whereas Catholic writers, especially in the nineteenth century, tend to eulogise A. for his elevation of the pagan theme.

2. So M.B. Emeneau, 'Ambrose and Cicero,' Cl. Wk. 24, 1930, 49-53; 'A. may be considered the last of the Roman Christians, the last of those who, nurtured on

pagan ideals, could not be possessed completely of true Christianity' (53).

3. So Paul Ewald, Der Einfluss der stoisch-ciceronianischen Moral auf die Darstellung der Ethik bei Ambrosius (Leipzig, 1881), *passim*, and esp. 32-33, 87-88; Th. Zielinski, Cicero im Wandel der Jahrhunderte (2nd ed., Leipzig & Berlin, 1908), 131-140.

4. So Edwin Hatch, The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church (Hibbert Lectures, London, 1888), 168-170; Adolf Harnack, History of Dogma (ET of 3rd ed., London, 1898), 49n.3; Kirsopp Lake, Landmarks in the History of Early Christianity (London, 1920), 9-10.

5. So Hagendahl, 347-372; 'as a writer [A.] proves to be an unscrupulous plagiarist' (372).

6. So Th. Schmidt, Ambrosius, sein Werk de Officiis Libri III und die Stoa (Augsburg, 1897), *passim*; Stelzenberger, 491-502 (cf. also 129-134, 175-178, [esp.] 234-242, 335-340); M. Badura, Die leitenden Grundsätze der Morallehre des hl. Ambrosius (Prague, 1921), esp. 28ff.; Max Pohlenz, Die Stoa (2 Vols., Göttingen, 1948/49), I, 445-447; F. Fluckiger, Geschichte des Naturrechtes I: Altertum und Frühmittelalter (Zurich, 1954), 360-377 (Badura, Pohlenz, and Fluckiger are commenting on A.'s oeuvre more generally); Hans von Campenhausen, The Fathers of the Latin Church (ET: London, 1964), 123-124.

7. On the Greek eclectic tradition, the standard treatment is Henry Chadwick, Early Christian Thought and the Classical Tradition (Oxford, 1966). K. Zelzer, 'Zur Beurteilung der Cicero-Imitatio bei Ambrosius, de Officiis,' WSt. 11, 1977, 168-191, argues that A. follows the Alexandrian practice of assimilating and criticising at the same time.

8. The synthesis-with-new-content idea is expressed, with widely varying degrees of strength, by: F. Spach, Étude sur le traité de saint Ambroise, "De Officiis Ministrorum" (Strasbourg, 1859), 47-51; D. Leitmeir, Apologie der christlichen Moral (Munich, 1866), 20; Thamin, 1, 201ff.; H.H. Scullard, Early Christian Ethics in the West, from Clement to Ambrose (London, 1907), 101-103, 183-187, 233-238, 270-278; L. Visconti, 'Il primo trattato di filosofia morale cristiana (il De Officiis di S. Ambrogio e di Cicerone),' Atti della Reale Accademia d'Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arte di Napoli 25.2, 1908, 44-61; P. Cannata, De S. Ambrosii libris qui inscribuntur De Officiis Ministrorum quaestiones (Modena, 1909), esp. 38, 52; E.K. Rand, Founders of the Middle Ages (Cambridge, MA, 1928), 79-83; F. Wagner, Der Sittlichkeitsbegriff in der hl. Schrift und in der altchristlichen Ethik (Münster, 1931), 219-234; C.N. Cochrane, Christianity and Classical Culture (Oxford, 1940), 373-374; Dudden II, 502-551-554; Paredi, 316-320; O. Hiltbrunner, 'Die

Schrift "De Officiis Ministrorum" des hl. Ambrosius und ihr ciceronisches Vorbild,' Gymnasium 71, 1964, 174-189; James Gaffney, 'Comparative Religious Ethics in the Service of Historical Interpretation: Ambrose's Use of Cicero,' Journal of Religious Ethics 9, 1981, 35-47; Michaela Zelzer, 'Ambrosius von Mailand und das Erbe der klassischen Tradition,' WSt. 100, 1987, (201-226) 208-209.

9. So J.T. Muckle, 'The Influence of Cicero in the Formation of Christian Culture,' Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada 42, ser. 3, May, 1948, (107-125) 113-118.

10. So Muckle 1939, 63-80.

11. So F. Bittner, De Ciceronianis et Ambrosianis Officiorum Libris Commentatio (Braunsberg, 1849), passim; F. Hasler, Über das Verhältnis der heidnischen und christlichen Ethik auf Grund einer Vergleichung des ciceronianischen Buches "De Officiis" mit dem gleichnamigen des heiligen Ambrosius (Munich, 1866), 18-48; J. Draeseke, 'M. Tulli Ciceronis et Ambrosii episcopi Mediolanensis de officiis libri tres inter se comparantur,' RFIC 4, 1876, 121-164; J. Reeb, Über die Grundlagen des Sittlichen nach Cicero und Ambrosius: Vergleichung ihrer Schriften de Officiis (Zweibrücken, 1876), 30ff.; G. Nosari, Del preteso stoicismo ciceroniano nei libri "De Officiis" (Parma, 1911), 27-40; Löpfe, 153ff., 171-173 (on A. generally); Alcuin F. Coyle, 'Cicero's De Officiis and the De Officiis Ministrorum of St. Ambrose,' Franciscan Studies 15, 1955, 224-256.

12. So Pierre de Labriolle, 'Le "De officiis ministrorum" de saint Ambroise et le "De officiis" de Cicéron,' Revue des cours et conférences 16.2, 1907-08, 177-186 (= The Life and Times of St. Ambrose [ET: St. Louis & London, 1928], 186-204).

13. So Hiltbrunner, art. cit.; Sauer, 202-207.

14. So Madec, 80-85, 161-166, 344-345.

15. So Colish II, 59ff. Dassmann, 261-265, feels that Neoplatonism comes as an intermediate step in the progression of A.'s thought from Stoicism to full-blown Christian morality, but he does not make it clear how this impinges on the interpretation of Off..

16. So Förster, 184, evoking, of course, Matt. 9.17/Mk. 2.22/Lk. 5.37-38. Cf. also Hiltbrunner, art. cit., 178, 182: the classical framework is a facade, behind which all is new.

17. De anima 20. Cf. also Lactantius, Inst. I.5; VI.24.

18. See J.V. Sevenster, Paul and Seneca (Leiden, 1961).

19. In Isaiam IV.11.

20. On the history of Stoicism's influence on Christianity, see Pohlenz, op. cit., I, 400ff.; Michel Spanneut, Le Stoïcisme des Pères de l'Église, de

- Clément de Rome à Clément d'Alexandrie (Paris, 1957), esp. 62ff., 133ff., 423ff.; Colish II, passim.
21. Cicero adapts and tinctures the Panaetian arguments according to his own predilections: see Colish I, 143-152.
22. Cf. art. cit. in I.118n.
23. Cf. II.135; III.17-19nn.
24. Cf. nn. 58-59 below.
25. Cf. Introduction, I, n.31.
26. Cf., e.g., the Aristotelian golden mean in I.35, 89, 99; or the natural desire for knowledge in I.125. The concept of a threefold progression towards perfection in I.233ff. is Neoplatonist.
27. See J. Mesot, Die Heidenbekruegung bei Ambrosius von Mailand (Schöneck-Beckenried, 1958), 126ff.
28. For a basic outline, see Thamin, 139ff. On Lactantius and Cic.'s Off., see N.E. Nelson, 'Cicero's "De Officiis" in Christian Thought: 300-1300,' in Essays and Studies in English and Comparative Literature (University of Michigan Publications, Language and Literature, X: Ann Arbor, 1933), (59-160) 64-69.
29. Cf. Introduction, I, n.10; on Off., see also Nelson, art. cit., 69-75.
30. Rand, op. cit., 255.
31. See Thamin, 160ff.; and esp., on Jerome, Hagendahl, 91-328; id., 'Jerome and the Latin Classics,' Vig. Chr. 28, 1974, 216-227; and on Augustine, M. Testard, Saint Augustin et Cicéron (2 Vols., Paris, 1958); Harald Hagendahl, Augustine and the Latin Classics (2 Vols., Göteborg, 1967), 35ff., 479ff.
32. Cf. Introduction, II, n.32.
33. Att. XII.52.3.
34. See Harald Hagendahl, 'Methods of Citation in Post-Classical Latin Prose,' Eranos 45, 1947, (114-128) 118.
35. On the conventions of imitatio, and the distinction between this approach and straight furtum, see D.A. Russell, Criticism in Antiquity (London, 1981), 112-113; id., 'De Imitatione,' in David West & Tony Woodman, edd., Creative Imitation and Latin Literature (Cambridge, 1979), 1-16.
36. On imitatio as A.'s approach in Off., see Félix Claus, 'De opvatting van Ambrosius over de navolging in de "De Officiis",' Handelingen XXVI der Koninklijke Zuidernederlandse Maatschappij voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis, 1972, 63-72; K. Zelzer, art. cit..
37. E.g., Giuseppe Lazzati, Il valore letterario della esegesi ambrosiana (Milan, 1960), 66-71, argues that A. improved upon Basil.
38. See Sauer, 5ff.
39. The words of the title of Muckle 1939.

40. Lactantius in his Inst. is able to name Cic. at various points and make his disagreement clear (e.g., III.15; VI.2,5-6,11-12).
41. Yet A. does in fact discuss martial fortitude himself.
42. See Sofia Vanni Rovighi, 'Le idee filosofiche di Sant' Ambrogio,' in Sant' Ambrogio nel XVI centenario della nascita (Milan, 1940), 235-258.
- Dassmann, esp. 32-74, 215-301, argues for an intellectual evolution from Stoicism through Neoplatonism to a more thoroughgoing scriptural approach in A.'s last works. The theory runs into difficulties, though, over the dating of the works; cf. Madec, 26n.13. On the twofold influences of Stoicism and Neoplatonism, see Pierre Courcelle, 'L'humanisme chrétien de saint Ambroise,' Orpheus 9, 1962, 21-34; id., 'Deux grands courants de pensée dans la littérature Latine tardive: Stoïcisme et Néoplatonisme,' REL 42, 1964, (122-140) 123-124.
43. See Madec, passim; on the lost De Philos., see 247ff.
44. See the criticisms of H. Savon, 'Saint Ambroise et la philosophie à propos d'une étude récente,' RHR 191, 1977, 173-196, who argues that A. is not hostile to the discipline of philosophy, but desirous of re-applying it to the articulation of the Christian message. Madec has essentially restated his case in "'Verus philosophus est amator Dei." S. Ambroise, S. Augustin et la philosophie,' RSPHTh 61, 1977, (549-566) 551-555. For a review of the main work on A.'s attitude to philosophy, see Agostino Pastorino, 'La filosofia antica in Sant' Ambrogio (Rassegna Bibliografica),' Boll. Stud. Lat. 7, 1977, 88-104; also Madec, 13-17.
45. Praescr. haer. 7.
46. Pall. 6.4. See J.-C. Fredouille, Tertullien et la conversion de la culture antique (Paris, 1972), 301-357, esp. 317ff.
47. Ep. 22.29. It was suggested by J. Fontaine, REL 52, 1974, 337n.1, that Jerome's question might be another of his anonymous slurs on A., the association of Horace and the Psalter referring to A.'s hymns, that of Vergil and the Gospels to his hexameter inscriptions for religious edifices in Milan, and that of Cicero and the Apostle to Off.. It is an interesting idea, but it falls down on the chronology: Ep. 22 (early 384) is too early for A. to know of Off. at least; cf. Testard, 'Aveu', 232-233.
48. Ep. 22.29-31.
49. See Hagendahl, 318ff.
50. Cf. the much more tentative use of the same image in Ep. 21.13, which dates to the same period as Ep. 22.
51. Ep. 70.3-5.

52. Cf. Jerome, Ep. 70.2ff.; A., Fide III.3-4; Expos. Luc. VI.108.
53. See P.G. Walsh, 'Paulinus of Nola and the Conflict of Ideologies in the Fourth Century,' in Patrick Granfield & Josef A. Jungmann, edd., Kyriakon: Festschrift Johannes Quasten (2 Vols., Münster, 1970), II, 565-571.
54. Doctr. Chr. II.60; cf. Conf. VII.9.
55. Thamin, 1.
56. The designation popularised by Rand, op. cit., and taken up by Courcelle in the title of his first article cited in n.42 above.
57. So Stelzenberger, 237.
58. Ambivalence: Dudden II, 520; Colish II, 52-54, 61-70; Stelzenberger, 175-178. Löpfle, 72-77, argues for a thoroughly biblical content; a balanced account of the dual Stoic and scriptural input is given by Maes, 6-8, 123-138, 152-162.
59. See S.-E. Szydzik, 'Ad imaginem Dei': die Lehre von der Gottebenbildlichkeit des Menschen bei Ambrosius von Mailand (Berlin, 1961), 34-75.
60. Cf. I.132n.
61. This is according to my interpretation of II.18: cf. n. ad loc.
62. See Th. Deman, 'Le "De officiis" de saint Ambroise dans l'histoire de la théologie morale,' RSPHTh 37, 1953, 409-424, who sees Off. as a seminal work in the Catholic tradition of moral theology which climaxes with Thomas Aquinas. Ambrose combines a Ciceronian pragmatic approach to ethics with a theology derived from the Scriptures.
63. So Dudden II, 551.
64. Colish II, 69. Note III.27, where the sapiens of the classical illustration is equated with the man of faith: 'vir Christianus et iustus et sapiens'.

V

1. Jerome mentions a number of points raised by A. in Off.: e.g., visiting women (5); angling for legacies (6); respect for one's bishop (7); sobriety of dress (9); seeking flattery (13); refusing invitations to dinner-parties (15); monogamy (16). See Testard, 'Aveu', 238ff., and esp. 239n.32.
2. Gregory of Nazianzus, Orat. II: the work is a defence of the author's conduct in fleeing to Pontus in an attempt to escape consecration, but despite the personal tone it discusses the difficulties involved in the priesthood generally. It was influential on both Chrysostom and Gregory the Great. Chrysostom's On the Priesthood: it is dated, according to Socrates, H.E. VI.3, to his deaconship, 381-386. Again, it is an apology for flight when faced with the prospect of ordination; but it deals at length with the glory of

the episcopate (I-III), the fate of the ill-prepared candidate for this lofty office (IV), the necessary labours and dangers of preaching (V), and the superiority of the active over the contemplative life (VI - though Chrysostom usually celebrates the glories of contemplative monasticism). Gregory the Great, Pastoral Rule was issued in 590, shortly after the commencement of his pontificate. It consists of four sections: I discusses the proper character of a candidate for the episcopate, his necessary gifts and spirituality; II treats the life of a bishop; III how a bishop ought to teach; and IV (very briefly) the way that a bishop should teach well, while remaining conscious of his weaknesses. For a comparison of the works of A., Jerome, and Chrysostom, see R. Pastè, 'Il sacerdozio negli scritti di tre Padri della Chiesa,' SC 54, 1926, 81-106, 271-285, 334-359.

3. The best treatment is Gryson, Prêtre, esp. 235ff., 295ff.; also Antonio Bonato, 'L'idea del sacerdozio in S. Ambrogio,' Augustinianum 27, 1987, 423-464, on the fusion of classical morality and spiritual typology in A.'s view of the priesthood. See too: J. Lécuyer, 'Le sacerdoce chrétien selon saint Ambroise,' Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa 22, 1952, 104* - 126*; Josef Huhn, 'Der Kirchenvater Ambrosius im Lichte der Pfarrseelsorge,' Anima 10, 1955, 136-150; F. Spedalieri, 'S. Ambrogio e l'eccellenza del sacerdozio,' La Civiltà Cattolica 91.4, 1940, 321-331; Fr. Weiss, 'Der hl. Ambrosius an die Priester,' Schweizerische Kirchenzeitung 126, 1958, 310-312; Dudden I, 122-126; Morino, 23-28; Monachino, 32-44. On A.'s own activity, see W. Wilbrand, 'Ambrosius von Mailand als Bischof,' Theologie und Glaube 33, 1941, 190-195; Josef Huhn, Ambrosius von Mailand, ein sozialer Bischof: das Vorbild unserer Zeit (Fulda, 1946), 40-48 (and 11-27 on Off.). The pastoral emphasis in Off. is sketched in by Th. Förster, Von den Pflichten der Geistlichen (De Off. Min.). Ein Beitrag zur Pastoraltheologie von Ambrosius, Bischofs von Mailand (Halle, 1879); Förster, 176-182. On the weaknesses of some of this earlier literature, see the comments of Gryson, Typologie, I-XI. See also Basilio Studer, 'Il sacerdozio dei fedeli in Sant' Ambrogio di Milano (Rassegna Bibliografica 1960-1970),' Vetera Christianorum 7, 1970, fasc. 2, 325-340.

4. Krabinger, IV, calls the work 'Hoc unicum ethicae Christianae enchiridion'; this is echoed by J. Draeseke, 'M. Tulli Ciceronis et Ambrosii episcopi Mediolanensis de officiis libri tres inter se comparantur,' RFIC 4, 1876, (121-164) 129: 'tamquam unicum ethicae Christianae enchiridion'; so also Dudden II, 502; Ernst Dassmann, 'Ambrosius,' TRE 2, (362-386) 374.

5. See the pair of articles by Bernardo Citterio,

- 'Spiritualità sacerdotale nel "De officiis" di S. Ambrogio,' Ambrosius 32, 1956, 157-165 [Bk. I]; Ambrosius 33, 1957, 71-80 [Bks. II-III]; Bonato, art. cit.. Also G. Ceriani, 'La spiritualità di Sant' Ambrogio,' in Sant' Ambrogio nel XVI centenario della nascita (Milan, 1940), 159-207, esp. 163-168.
6. Vasey, 19-20.
7. See Dudden II, 461-468; Vasey, 143ff., 214ff.

VI

1. Conf. V.13-14; cf. also C. Iulian. Pelag. II.11.
2. Inst. I.16. Cassiodorus calls A. 'planus atque suasissimus doctor' (Inst. I.1), and says: 'sanctus quoque Ambrosius lactei sermonis emanator, cum gravitate acutus, inviolenta persuasione dulcissimus; cui fuit aequalis doctrina cum vita quando ei non parvis miraculis gratia divinitatis arrisit' (Inst. I.20). Other tributes come from Pelagius, who says that A. 'scriptorum inter Latinos flos quidam speciosus enituit' (cited by Augustine, Grat. Christi 43), and the historian Marcellinus, who designates A. 'orator catholicus' (Chron., s.a. 398). These testimonia are in contrast to the hostility of Jerome, who says of A.'s Spir., indebted to Didymus the Blind and Basil: 'legi dudum cuiusdam libellos de Spiritu Sancto: et iuxta comici sententiam ex Graecis bonis, Latina vidi non bona [cf. Terence, Eun., prol. 8]. Nihil ibi dialecticum, nihil virile atque distinctum, quod lectorem vel ingratis in assensum trahat: sed totum flaccidum, molle, nitidum atque formosum et exquisitis hinc inde odoribus pigmentatum...' (Interpr. Didymi de Spir. Sancto, praef.); contrast Augustine, Doctr. Chr. IV.21 on the same work. The other famous passages where Jerome belittles A. (and not just for his style) are esp. Hom. XXXIX Orig. in ev. Luc. transl., prol.; Viris illustr. 124; there are numerous passages also in the Epp. (and cf. Rufinus, Apol. II.28). See A. Paredi, 'S. Gerolamo e S. Ambrogio,' in Mélanges Eugène Tisserant (Studi e Testi 235), V (Rome, 1964), 183-198; D.S. Wiesen, St. Jerome as a Satirist: A Study in Christian Latin Thought and Letters (Ithaca, NY, 1964), 240-244; J.N.D. Kelly, Jerome (London, 1975), 143-144; Gérard Nauroy, 'Jérôme, lecteur et censeur de l'exégèse d'Ambroise,' in Y.-M. Duval, ed., Jérôme entre l'Occident et l'Orient (Paris, 1988), 173-203; Testard, 'Aveu'. On A.'s rhetorical skills, see Dudden II, 454ff.; and, briefly, C. Killian, 'Saint Aurelius Ambrosius: Orator Catholicus,' Cl. Bull. 46, 1970, 38-40, 46-47.
3. Numerous studies of aspects of A.'s Latinity exist. I have consulted the following: M.A. Adams, The Latinity of the Letters of Saint Ambrose (CUAPS 12, Washington, 1927); M.A. Martin, The Use of Indirect

Discourse in the Works of St. Ambrose (CUAPS 20, Washington, 1930); L.T. Phillips, The Subordinate Temporal, Causal, and Adversative Clauses in the Works of St. Ambrose (CUAPS 49, Washington, 1937); M.F. Barry, The Vocabulary of the Moral-Ascetical Works of Saint Ambrose: A Study in Latin Lexicography (CUAPS 10, Washington, 1926); Benedetto Riposati, 'Lingua e stile nelle opere oratorie di Sant' Ambrogio,' in Sant' Ambrogio nel XVI centenario della nascita (Milan, 1940), 259-305; J.H. Baxter, 'Notes on the Latin of St. Ambrose,' Le Musée Belge 32, 1928, 97-107. Especially worth mentioning is the article of Gerard Bartelink, 'Sprachliche und stilistische Bemerkungen in Ambrosius' Schriften,' WSt. 92, 1979, 175-202, who lists other work in 176n.3. A very brief outline is also given by Eduard Norden, Die antike Kunstprosa (2 Vols., Leipzig & Berlin, 1909), II, 651-652. A basic Ambrosian word-list, intended as a preliminary to a proper lexicon, based on the works covered in the CSEL volumes, was drawn up by Otto Faller, and edited by Ludmilla Krestan: Wortindex zu den Schriften des hl. Ambrosius (Beihefte zum CSEL, Heft IV, Vienna, 1979). I have been unable to obtain the study of P. Cannata, De syntaxi ambrosiana in libris qui inscribuntur 'De officiis ministrorum' (Modena, 1911).

4: Note the combination of 'dicit quia' with the accusative and infinitive in II.93.

5. I do not enter into the complex question of Ambrose's Old Latin Bible text. It is not always possible to tell whether he is quoting from a Latin text (such as the Itala) which conforms closely to the LXX and the Greek NT, or whether he is translating the Greek text for himself, given that he was fond of reading the Scriptures in Greek [see Dudden II, 456]. There are also difficulties over glosses in Ambrosian MSS. by medieval scribes who knew the Vulgate. Unfortunately, the attempt of R.W. Muncey, The New Testament Text of Saint Ambrose (Cambridge, 1959), 1-116, to reconstruct A.'s NT text is vitiated by numerous textual errors, inadequate discussion of corruptions in Ambrosian MSS., and a plethora of neglected Ambrosian citations; see the critical reviews of G.G. Willis, JTS n.s. 11, 1960, 172-176; J. Duplacy, 'Citations patristiques et critique textuelle du Nouveau Testament, à propos d'un livre récent,' RSR 47, 1959, 391-400. On some of the difficulties involved in establishing A.'s Bible text, see Herman Josef Frede, 'Probleme des ambrosianischen Bibeltextes,' Ambr. Episc. I, 365-392. I understand that the short monograph of C. Dantu, La place et le rôle de l'Écriture dans le De Officiis Ministrorum de saint Ambroise (Dijon, 1970), deals with some of the details of the citations in Off., but I have not been

able to obtain this work.

6. For further discussion of A.'s vocabulary, see Barry, op. cit., passim; also Emil Būrgi, 'Prolegomena quaedam ad S. Ambrosii episcopi Mediolanensis libros De officiis tres,' in 75 Jahre Stella Matutina (Feldkirch, 1931), (43-68) 49ff. P. Cannata, De S. Ambrosii libris qui inscribuntur De Officiis Ministrorum quaestiones (Modena, 1909), ch. 4, is unreliable in some respects.

7. A. uses many words which are particular favourites of Cic., though not necessarily used in Cic.'s Off.: see Barry, op. cit., 232-254. This is further evidence of the significant influence of Cic.'s works in his education.

8. On A.'s knowledge of Vergil, see Ihm, 80-94, and esp. M.D. Diederich, Vergil in the Works of St. Ambrose (CUAPS 29, Washington, 1931), though her treatment of Off. (76-78) is not exhaustive.

9. On the elision of prose- and poetic style evident in A.'s corpus generally, see Jacques Fontaine, 'Prose et poésie: l'interférence des genres et des styles dans la création littéraire d'Ambroise de Milan,' Ambr. Episc. I, 124-170.

10. For other legal vocabulary, see Jean Gaudemet, 'Droit séculier et droit de l'Église chez Ambroise,' Ambr. Episc. I, (286-315) 289-290; Vasey, 79-81. Gaudemet cautions that legal terminology comes into ordinary speech and does not necessarily betoken any sort of technical knowledge; the caveat is sensible, but it is reasonable to suppose that A.'s background in civil administration might make him all the likelier to employ such vocabulary, albeit without attempting to overwhelm his hearers/readers with technical jargon.

11. One aspect of A.'s imagery is studied by M.T. Spinger, Nature-Imagery in the Works of St. Ambrose (CUAPS 32, Washington, 1931), esp. 71-84; though far too little attention is paid to the biblical inspiration of many of the images which are mentioned.

12. In what follows, I am indebted to the list of examples made by Būrgi, art. cit., 57-68, from which I have selected some references to add to those of my own identification.

For analyses of the use of the devices of classical rhetoric in another work, the Sermo contra Auxentium, see G.M. Carpaneto, 'Le opere oratorie di S. Ambrogio,' Didaskaleion 8, 1930, (35-156) 117-139; and esp. Maurice Testard, 'Observations sur le rhétorique d'une harangue au peuple dans le Sermo contra Auxentium de saint Ambroise,' REL 63, 1985, 193-209.

13. On the tradition in classical times, see the article on 'Etymology' in OCD, and esp. Ilona Opelt, 'Etymologie,' RAC VI.797-844. Rabbinic exegetes and Alexandrian scholars also studied such derivations.

On A., see Bartelink, art. cit., 197-202.

14. See J.B. Kellner, Der hl. Ambrosius, Bischof von Mailand, als Erklärer des alten Testaments. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der biblischen Exegese (Regensburg, 1893), 43-57; H.H. Müller, 'Die Deutungen der hebräischen Buchstaben bei Ambrosius,' Sitz. der K. Akad. der Wiss. in Wien, Philol.-hist. Klasse, 167, 1911, 2 Abh.; W. Wilbrand, 'Die Deutungen der biblischen Eigennamen beim hl. Ambrosius,' Bibl. Zeit. 10, 1912, 337-350; Gryson, Typologie, 151-163.

15. See Steven M. Oberhelman, Rhetoric and Homiletics in Fourth-Century Christian Literature: Prose Rhythm, Oratorical Style, and Preaching in the Works of Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine (Atlanta, GA, 1991), 21-62.

16. Oberhelman, 40.

17. Ibid., 41 and n.84.

18. Ibid., 55-60.

19. The clausulae of Cic.'s Off. have yet to be properly investigated. The hasty composition of the work, and its lack of revision, mean that it is far less polished than Cic.'s published speeches [cf. Testard I, 42-43].

The only lengthy study of A.'s rhythms prior to Oberhelman's work is the thesis of M. Rosella Delaney, A Study of the Clausulae in the Works of St. Ambrose (CUAPS 40, Washington, 1934), which finds that, typical to his age, A. strives after the accentual form of the cursus mixtus. However, numerous methodological objections to Delaney's work have been raised: among these are, notably, the selectivity of the works examined (only Book II of Off.); the premise - rather than the conclusion - that the cursus mixtus was A.'s habitual system, without allowing for the possibility of other rhythms or no rhythm at all; errors of both accentual classification and metrical scansion; and the neglect of the possible relevance of genre and text-revision: see Oberhelman, 21-22; Testard I, 41n.3.

VII

1. See Introduction, V, n.1.

2. See Introduction, II, n.14.

3. Ep. 82.21.

4. Inst. I.16.

5. Pace A.C. Lawson, 'The sources of the "De ecclesiasticis officiis" of St. Isidore of Seville,' Rev. Ben. 50, 1938, (26-36) 27; O. Hiltbrunner, 'Die Schrift "De officiis ministrorum" des hl. Ambrosius und ihr ciceronisches Vorbild,' Gymnasium 71, 1964, (174-189) 178, Isidore's title is not inspired by A.; on the evidence that his title was originally De origine officiorum, see CCL 113, Introduction, 14*-

- 15*, 119*-121*.
6. Vita Ambrosii, p.16 (in Courcelle, Recherches, 59).
7. For some of the references in the documents of canon law, see Cosino Damiano Fonseca, 'Gli "Excerpta Ambrosii" nelle sillogi canonicali dei secoli XI e XII,' Ambr. Episc. II, 48-68 (esp. 56-57nn.18-21); and Giorgio G. Picasso, 'Gli "Excerpta Ambrosii" nelle collezioni canoniche dei secoli XI e XII,' Ambr. Episc. II, 69-93. I am also indebted to Testard I, 55-59. The two anonymous MSS. which include a number of citations are (i) Vatican, Ottobonianus lat. 175; (ii) Bononiensis 2535. On Florus, see TRE 11, 221-224; on Deusdedit, DTC IV.1, 647-651; on Ivo of Chartres, TRE 16, 422-427; on Gratian, TRE 14, 124-130.
8. Text in PL 184.
9. See the testimonia cited by Testard I, 166. Testard I, 57, 60, also mentions a few other authors who allude to various passages of Off.
10. See esp. Margherita Oberti Sobrero, L'etica sociale in Ambrogio di Milano. Ricostruzione delle fonti Ambrosiane nel "De iustitia" di San Tommaso, II.II, qq. 57-122 (Turin, 1970), esp. 83-94, 95-161, 234-265, 267-337; also Th. Deman, 'Le "De officiis" de saint Ambroise dans l'histoire de la théologie morale,' RSPTh 37, 1953, (409-424) 422-424.
11. Ep. 82.21.
12. Alongside Augustine's assertion, it should be noted that officium was already employed in the Latin Bible to translate λειτουργία, as A. himself points out (I.25), and also λειτουργία. Nevertheless, the author of the Carolingian Vita Ambrosii (p.16) says that Off. constituted the 'primam ecclesiasticorum ordinum institutionem', which must mean that he sees it as a seminal work on clerical/liturgical responsibilities: the development of officium as an ecclesiastical word does seem to be strengthened, though not actually initiated, by A.
13. For a convenient review of the dates and texts/editions of most of these liturgical works, see Cyrille Vogel, Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources (ET: Washington, 1986), 11-16. Fuller information can be obtained from the relevant articles in DTC, DHGE, and TRE.
14. See Testard I, 60ff.
15. French: J. Tigeon, Les trois livres des offices de saint Ambroise, ...ensemble quelques epistres du mesme auteur (Rouen, 1606); Abbe de Bellegarde, Les devoirs de l'honnête homme et du chrétien ou les offices de saint Ambroise (Paris, 1689); id., La morale des ecclésiastiques et des clercs qu'on instruit dans les séminaires pour les dispenser du sacerdoce (par saint Ambroise) (Paris, 1691). Italian: F. Cattani, Gli uffici di S. Ambrogio, vescovo di Milano (Florence,

1558); P. Filimusi, Gli uffici di S. Ambrogio (s.l., 1578). Spanish: Diego Gracian, Los officios de san Ambrosio (Toledo, 1534); D. Gradian Aldarete, Officios de virtud... (Madrid, 1789). On A. during the Renaissance, see Paulo Cherubelli, 'Sant' Ambrogio e la rinascita: fonti manoscritte, edizioni a stampa e iconografia del santo nel secoli XIV, XV e XVI - Saggio,' in Sant' Ambrogio nel XVI centenario della nascita (Milan, 1940), 571-591, esp. 575ff.

16. Richard Humfrey, Christian offices crystall glasse. In three bookes. First written in latine, by ...saint Ambrose..., whereunto is added his conviction of Symmachus the Gentile (London, 1637); Charles Fitzgeffrey, Compassion towards captives, chiefly towards our bretheren and country-men who are in Barbarie: urged and pressed in three sermons on Heb. xiii.3. Whereunto are anexed an Epistle of St. Cyprian concerning the redemption of the bretheren from the bondage of barbarians; and a passage concerning the... benefits of Compassion, extracted out of St. Ambrose, his second Booke of Offices, c.28 (London, 1637).

17. Ph. Lichter, Drei Bücher von den Pflichten (Koblenz, 1830); C. Haas, Die Pastoralchriften des hl. Gregor d. Gr. und des hl. Ambrosius von Mailand - Des heiligen Ambrosius Schrift von den Pflichten der Seelsorger (Tübingen, 1862); F.X. Schulte, Ausgewählte Schriften des hl. Ambrosius (BKV 13,49, Kempten, 1871-77).

18. The various translations can be identified in Cento Anni di Bibliografia Ambrosiana (1874-1974) (Milan, 1981), and in Bibliographia Patristica for the years since 1974. The best-known versions are: in German, that of Niederhuber; in Italian, those of Cavasin and Banterle (the latter is much superior). Testard's edition is the most recent French rendering.

19. Cic.'s text was, of course, heavily studied and imitated for its own sake during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. But the examination of A.'s work demands the simultaneous examination of Cic.'s; hence, in simple terms, so long as Cic.'s treatise was available, its replacement by A.'s was impossible.

C O M M E N T A R Y

BOOK I

I: THE UNWORTHY (UNSCHOOLED) TEACHER

I.1-22. The introduction to Book I is in two parts: I.1-4, on A.'s reluctance to teach, and I.5-22, on the virtues of silence and the control of speech in the face of temptation to anger. Scholars have traditionally viewed I.1-22 as the reproduction of a piece of a sermon dating from early in A.'s episcopate [Palanque, 453-454; Dudden II, 694; on the contrary, see Steidle 1984, 28]. This is because of the expressions of incompetence and previous lack of opportunity to learn (I.3-4); similar modesty and the desire not to appear 'arrogans' (I.1) are found in Virg. I.1-4; II.1-5 (esp. II.2), a work which consists of sermons delivered when A. had not yet been three years in the bishopric (Virg. II.39), that is, in 377 [accepting Faller's defence of the traditional dating of the consecration of A. as 7 December, 374]. Furthermore, there is no clearly identifiable evocation of Cic. in I.1-22; although it is just possible that inter filios (I.1) may be suggested by 'fili' (Cic. I.1), arrogans (I.1) by 'arroganter' (Cic. I.2), and vindico (I.3) by 'vindicare' (Cic. I.2), the use of similar self-deprecatory language in Virg. II.2 makes the deliberate evocation of Cic. here unlikely. Such expressions of incompetence are conventional as part of the captatio benevolentiae in written treatises and oral addresses alike [see Tore Janson, Latin Prose Prefaces: Studies in Literary Conventions (Stockholm, 1964), 124ff.]; the similarity

with Cic. may be co-incidental. But the diffidence of I.1-4, esp. I.2 and I.4, does seem to go beyond literary practice: it could well come from a new bishop who is acutely aware of his inexperience.

There is no particular reason why I.5-22 should be dated to an early period, and the possibility exists that discere in I.5 is an attempt to tie the passage to a different piece by picking up discere in I.4. On the other hand, if A. sets out to compose his work according to the Ciceronian structure it is hard to see why I.5-22, like I.1-4, should contain none of the verbal echoes found in large sections of the rest of his text. I.1-22 is linked to the main commencement of Book I with the comment that meditation on Psalm 38 inspired A. to write on duties (I.23). Apparently A. decides to prefix an exposition of this Psalm to the body of the text when he publishes the work. In I.231-245, Psalm 38 appears again, and reference is made to the use of the opening verses of the Psalm in the prologue (I.231-232); again, there is no Ciceronian evocation in I.231-245. Both I.5-22 and I.231-245 overlap closely with A.'s exposition in Expl. Ps. 38.1-27, a sermon published in c.395 [Palanque, 552-553; Dudden II, 689-690]. It has been suggested that A. makes use of notes of an earlier sermon on Psalm 38 in both the preface and in I.231-245, and later works these notes into the commentary given in Expl. Ps. 38. [The suggestion is by Félix Claus, in an unpublished article, 'L'origine du De officiis de saint Ambroise: un nouveau compte rendu "tachygraphié"'; for the substance of the paper, I am indebted to Testard I, 273n.12; 'Recherches', 88n.66; and a private letter, dated 7 April, 1992; Claus does not, however, distinguish between I.1-4 and I.5-22. The treatment of Psalm 38 seems to be indebted to Didymus the Blind's Expos. in Ps. 38 (PG

39): see Testard I, 25-26n.2; on A.'s debts to Didymus in his Expl. Pss. in general, see L.F. Pizzolato, La "Explanatio Psalmodum XII". Studio Letterario sulla esegesi di sant' Ambrogio (Milan, 1965), 65-75.] The supposition that I.5-22 was originally sermonic is given support by the fact that references to a liturgical reading heard 'hodie' occur in this section (I.13,15). Two sentences from I.5 are repeated almost verbatim in I.35: it is possible that A. reuses them subconsciously because he has recently read them in a sermonic piece which he prefixes to his work. The discussion of speech and silence in I.31-35 (cf. also I.68) also repeats some of the points made in I.5-13, and there are some similarities of content between I.13-22 and the discussion of anger in I.90-97; repetitions such as these may indicate that A. has reviewed his earlier treatment of the subjects in the sermonic section. I.23 might well be read as an attempt to justify the relevance of the preceding section by asserting that Psalm 38, A.'s inspiration for the theme of duties, teaches virtues which are essential to the Christian formulation of officia which is to follow. [The fact that a few words have dropped out of the MSS. at the end of I.22 is unlikely to be of significance to our understanding of the link between the two sections, since probably all that is missing is the completion of the parallelism of the last sentence of I.22 (cf. note ad loc.). The main point to notice is that I.23 definitely marks the beginning of a new development, as several MSS. indicate: see Testard, 'Étude', 155-156n.3.]

In favour of a one-stage, careful composition of the Book from the outset, it is worth noting that the introduction anticipates various themes or features which are significant later, such as the role of David as spiritual and moral magister; in I.1, humilitas,

verecundia, gratia, sapientia, and beatitudo are all subjects which figure prominently in the subsequent unfolding of the theme of duties; and silence, anger, temptation, and the value of a good conscience (I.5-22) are dealt with later as well. The fundamental place of Scripture is certainly shared by the introduction and the remainder of the work. Officium appears in I.2 and 3. [For a defence of the unity of the introduction and the rest of Book I, taken as an argument against the idea of a sermonic prologue, see Steidle 1984, 22ff. I suspect, however, that the lack of Ciceronian language, the overlap with later sections, and the awareness of inadequacy which A. shows, tend against Steidle's case.]

As with the composition of the work all the way through [Introduction,III], certainty is unattainable, but I tentatively suggest that the following is the likely sequence for the commencement of Book I:

(i) A. is inspired to treat the theme of duties by meditating on Psalm 38 (I.23; cf. I.231). He decides to rework some addresses which he has given on officia.

(ii) He uses a sermonic exposition of Ps. 38.1-3 as an introductory section (I.5-22 - or I.1-22; if the latter, it is one of his earliest homiletic enterprises).

(iii) He cuts short the use of this piece, afraid that the introduction should be too lengthy (I.232).

(iv) He justifies the development on Psalm 38 in I.23, as the main theme is introduced.

(v) At I.231ff. he returns to Psalm 38, and to the same sermonic commentary for vv. 5-7.

[See Testard, 'Étude', 164; 'Recherches', 88-89. The article of C. Riggi, 'L' "Auxesis" del salmo XXXVIII nel "De Officiis" di S. Ambrogio,' Salesianum 29,

1967, 623-668, erroneously argues that Psalm 38 provides A. with the scheme of the three theological virtues, faith, hope, and charity, which he seeks to make the basis of his exposition of duties; Psalm 38 is certainly important to A., but the neat scheme of the theological virtues simply is not there in Off.]

1. inter filios: A. addresses his clerics as his 'sons'; cf. I.24n.

humilitatis magister: David. He is one of the favourite exemplars of Off. and the central figure in I.1-22; his place in the opening sentence is paralleled at the start of III.1. *By introducing a scriptural character in the first words, A. establishes at once the pattern which he follows faithfully throughout the work - the presentation of biblical figures, especially from the OT, as moral and spiritual guides [Introduction, II.v]. A. also identifies himself with this hero of humility; the modest bishop, instructing his charges in the ways of sapientia and beatitudo (I.1), stands in a line of spiritual teachers which stretches back to these OT characters. For David as magister, cf. I.7 ('cautionis magister'); I.96 ('moralis magister'). On his humility, cf. I.21,236-238; II.34. The Christian virtue of humility, the antithesis of classical gloria, is a major desideratum for A., especially for his young men (I.65). [On the history of the concept, see B. Dolhagaray, 'Humilité,' DTC VII.i, 321-329; A. Dihle, 'Demut,' RAC III, 735-778.]

'Venite, filii, audite me...': Ps. 33.12.

verecundiae: Modesty is a key theme in I, esp. in I.65ff.

'timorem Domini', qui communis videtur esse omnibus:

'The fear of the Lord' is an important OT concept,

particularly in the Wisdom literature [see Gunther Wanke, TDNT IX, s.v. φοβέω, B.II.3.c]. A. considers an innate fear of God to be universal.

cum ipse timor initium sapientiae sit: Ps. 110.10; Eccli. 1.16 (also Prov. 1.7;9.10).

beatitudinis: The word is coined by Cic. in N.D. I.95, and is used thereafter mainly in Christian Latin. For the believer, it is the outcome of the fear of God. The subject is treated at length by A. in II.1-21.

timentes Deum beati sunt: Ps. 127.1.

2. usurpatores: A late word.

Spiritus sapientiae: Cf. Is. 11.2.

quasi liberis: Cf. I.24n.

tradimus: Although Cic. uses this verb in I.4-7, it is also used in the NT for handing on spiritual teaching (1 Cor. 11.2,23;15.3; also Rom. 6.17; 2 Pet. 2.21; Jude 3), and the association with ab illo accipiunt in I.3 below suggests that A. is alluding to 1 Cor. 11.23: 'Ego enim accepi a Domino quod et tradidi vobis...'. A. is passing on revealed teaching in quasi-apostolic fashion. [See Friedrich Buchsel, TDNT II, s.v. παραδίδωμι, 6; παράδοσις, 2.]

quod nobis refugientibus imposuit sacerdotii necessitudo: On A.'s reluctance to be bishop, see Introduction, I, and cf. I.4n.

'Dedit enim Deus quosdam...': Eph. 4.11.

3. quos ipse Filius elegit Dei: Cf. John 15.16,19.

intentionem et diligentiam circa Scripturas divinas opto adsequi...: Note that A. refuses to call himself a 'doctor'. He is content to take the humblest role; the exegesis of the Scriptures is the way for him to learn while he teaches. He sees the Bible as inspired by the Holy Spirit (III.14; Spir. III.112; Ep. 8.1) and normative for all as the inerrant revelation of God and His will; it is the supreme

source of his authority (I.102), and is to be studied constantly by clerics (I.88,165). [Introduction, II.v; and, on the approach to the careful understanding of the Scriptures, see Pizzolato, 269-301.]

Unus enim verus magister est: Matt. 23.8,10.

ab illo accipiunt...: Cf. I.2n.

4. Ego enim raptus de tribunalibus...: A vivid picture of the unwillingness of A. to be made bishop. Cf. similar language in Paen. II.67: 'qui de forensium strepitu iurgiorum et a publicae terrore administrationis ad sacerdotium vocatus sim'; 72: 'sed raptus a tribunalibus, abductus vanitatibus saeculi huius, a praeconis voce ad psalmistae adsuefactus canticum...'; also 73; Ep. 63.65. See Introduction, I, on the circumstances of A.'s election and his attempts to escape consecration. It does sound very much as if he is here the novice bishop, conscious of his inability for the weighty responsibility laid upon him; the disavowal of arrogantia (I.1) and the modest promise to learn from the Scriptures along with his addressees may well be the self-conscious first steps of one who realises that he might be liable to charges of effrontery: see Testard, 'Aveu', 227-230.

ut prius docere inciperem quam discere: Testard, 'Aveu', 238ff., suggests that Jerome parodies this section in several places (Epp. 52.7-8; 53.6-7; 58.8; 69.9; 84.3), evoking the word-play of 'docere/discere' to mock A.

II: SILENCE AND SPEECH

The section on silence and speech covers I.5-22; A. returns to the subject in I.31-35,68,234. It is not suggested by Cic. Held to be a virtue by such a later

Stoic as Epictetus (Enchir. 33) [so Sauer, 132,299n.8], silence is for A. 'maximus actus verecundiae' (I.68), a poignant index to one's self-control when confronted by temptation to sin, and the prerequisite to listening to God's will in Scripture, to prayer, and to the celebration of the sacraments. Praise of silence is a common motif in A.'s works: cf., e.g., Virgt. 80-81; Inst. virg. 4-5,7,112; Exhort. virg. 71-72,86-89; Expos. Ps. 37. 42,45-47; Expos. Ps. 38. 3-13; Expos. Ps. 118. 2.1ff.; Interp. III.4ff.; Expos. Luc. I.39-40. See M. Pellegrino, "'Mutus...loquar Christum.'" Pensieri di Sant' Ambrogio su parola e silenzio, in Paradoxos Politeia, ed. R. Cantalamessa & L.F. Pizzolato (Milan, 1979), 447-457; C. Jacob, "Arkandisziplin", Allegorese, Mystagogie: ein neuer Zugang zur Theologie des Ambrosius von Mailand (Frankfurt, 1990), 121-138.

5. ne prius me vox condemnet mea: Cf. Job 9.20;15.6.

'Ex verbis tuis condemnaberis': Matt. 12.37.

Scio loqui...nihil prosit: Repeated almost verbatim at I.35; see n. on I.1-22.

Sapientia Dei: A. follows the traditional path of identifying the personified Wisdom of the OT as Christ. In the quotation which follows, from one of Isaiah's 'Servant songs', the identification of the Servant of the Lord as Christ is also standard, from NT exegesis onwards.

'Dominus dedit mihi linguam...': Is. 50.4.

'Homo sapiens tacebit...': Eccli. 20.7.

6. sancti Domini: Cf. Pss. 29.5;30.24; etc.

sanctus Domini: David.

'Dixi: custodiam vias meas...': Ps. 38.2. On the similarities between the treatment of Ps. 38 in the following paragraphs and the commentary in Expl. Ps. 38, see n. on I.1-22. The influence on A. of

Didymus's exegesis in Expos. in Ps. 38.2-3 (PG 39) is pointed out by Testard I, 25-26n.2: both authors cite Matt. 12.37, both evoke Rom. 7.22 and Eph. 3.16, and both dramatise the role of Satan.

legerat: A. seems to believe that David had read the book of Job.

ut homo a flagello linguae suae absconderetur: Job 5.21; the context there is the description by Eliphaz the Temanite of the 'beatus homo' who is corrected by the Lord (Job 5.17-27).

a conscientiae suae testimonio: For the phrase, cf. 2 Cor. 1.12 (also Rom. 2.15;9.1). David set a guard on his mouth so that his tongue would not prove a scourge to him by being an instrument of evil, and so that his conscience would remain clear; God provides the necessary grace to achieve this. This is the first mention of the theme of conscience, which turns out to be a recurring subject throughout the work. The most thorough investigation of the theme concludes that A.'s presentation is more classical than biblical, generally picturing conscience as the internal norm of the autonomous sage rather than the awareness of man's external accountability to God [Testard, 'Conscientia'; on the Stoic tradition, mediated to A. by Cic., see Stelzenberger, 186-216]. The exploitation of biblical verses such as those mentioned here does, however, suggest that the NT (esp. Pauline) notion of conscience is never far from A.'s mind; elsewhere, he speaks of the natural law of God as impressed upon the heart of man created in the image of God [Löpfe, 72-77]. Idle speech is to be avoided because it is likely to incur the pollution of sin, the awareness that one has not kept God's law; 'viae meae' and 'viae Domini' are linked in I.7, below.

Quis autem est qui mundum cor...?: Cf. Prov. 20.9:

'Quis potest dicere: Mundum est cor meum, purus sum a peccato?'

7. cautionis magistrum: Cf. I.1, also of David: 'humilitatis magister'.

vias Domini: Probably A. thinks again of Ps. 127.1, the first part of which he echoes in I.1: 'Beati omnes qui timent Dominum, qui ambulant in viis eius'.

'Audi, Israel...': Deut. 6.4, the famous opening of the Shema, traditionally recited along with Deut. 11.13-21 and Num. 15.37-41 as a Jewish daily prayer.

Ideo Eva lapsa est quia locuta est viro...: Ironically, Gen. 3 does not in fact mention Eve's speaking to her husband, but only Adam's listening to her (Gen. 3.17); but obviously the inference that she told him what the serpent had said is legitimate in the light of Gen. 3.6 and 12. The main point is that she voiced a proposal which was at variance with God's word. A. gives a similar explanation for the Fall in Expl. Ps. 38.3: 'vixissemus, si Eva tacuisset.... Atque utinam aut Adam surdus fuisset aut Eva obmutuisset...'; and also in Virgt. 81. Elsewhere, he pictures Eve as the sensual corrupter of the rational Adam [Dudden II, 614-615], though in Inst. virg. 25-31 he concedes that Eve's guilt was less serious than Adam's: Adam ought not to have listened to his wife.

Prima vox Dei dicit tibi: 'Audi'...: The injunction of silence in Deut. 6.4 sums up the primary requirement of God; by listening to God's word, sin is avoided, and if a slip is made, His word brings correction.

The Christian concept of silence contrasts interestingly with that of classical religion: whereas in Graeco-Roman ritual an ill-omened word may ruin everything (cf., e.g., Hor., Od. III.1.2;14.11; Verg., Aen. V.71), in Christian thought the necessity is to 'be still and know that I am God' (Ps. 45.11), to be

silent in order to listen to God's word, to obey it, and so to please Him.

'In quo enim corrigit iuvenior...': Ps. 118.9.

8. ore suo condemnetur: Cf. I.5n. (cf. also Lk. 19.22).

si pro otioso verbo reddet unusquisque rationem: Cf. Matt. 12.36.

verba praecipitationis: Cf. Ps. 51.6: 'Dilexisti omnia verba praecipitationis...'

III: THE RIGHT KIND OF SILENCE

9. Est enim tempus tacendi...: Eccl. 3.7.

ut erat Susannae...: On the silence of Susanna at her trial, when falsely accused of adultery by the two elders whose designs on her had been frustrated, see Dan. 13, esp. 28ff. Instead of attempting to defend herself, she prayed to God, who brought her deliverance from death through Daniel. There is in fact little emphasis on her silence in the narrative of Dan. 13. A. returns to the example of Susanna in I.68 and III.90.

The theme of an eloquent silence has several classical precedents: e.g., Cic., Sest. 40; Div. in Caecil. 21; Cat. I.16,18,20, and esp. 21: 'cum quiescunt, probant, cum patiuntur, decernunt, cum tacent, clamant' [see Testard, 'Conscientia', 221-222n.2, and literature cited there].

castitatis: In Susanna's case, purity within marriage, not strict chastity; cf. I.69n.

Conscientia loquebatur: The presentation of the conscience theme here is obviously Christian: the witness of Susanna's conscience is related to her innocence in God's sight.

quae habebat Domini testimonium: Like Enoch; cf. Heb.

11.5: 'testimonium habebat placuisse Deo'.

Ipse Dominus in Evangelio tacens...: Christ was silent before the high priest (Matt. 26.63; Mk. 14.61), before Herod (Lk. 23.9), and before Pilate (Matt. 27.12,14; Mk. 15.5; John 19.9). For other discussion of the silence of Christ (and of Susanna), cf. Expos. Luc. X.97ff.; Maximus of Turin, Serm. 57.

ergo: The word seems to be used loosely, to bring us back to Ps. 38.2, cited in I.6; Susanna and Christ observed a fruitful silence at a crucial time.

10. 'Omni custodia serva cor tuum': Prov. 4.23.

'O miser ego...': Is. 6.5.

11. 'Saepi possessionem tuam...': Eccli. 28.28-29.

Possessio tua mens tua est...: On A.'s allegorical interpretation of Scripture, see Introduction, II.vii.

'Eloquia Domini...': Ps. 11.7.

homo mundus: One who is pure in the sense of Ps. 50.9 or Matt. 5.8.

It is worth noting the military terminology which is used here: circumvallato; munito; irruant; captivam ducant; incursent; and diripiant indicate that A. visualises the heart as a territory to be defended against the besieging forces of the vicious passions and emotions (cf. the soul as a 'civitas' from which the image of Satan is to be dispelled, in I.245). Partly under the influence of Philo, A. believes in an essentially Platonist struggle between the rational mind and the passions of the body; fallen man knows a perpetual tension of flesh and spirit. NT similarities with this are, of course, identifiable (cf. esp. Rom. 7). [See Seibel, 129-145.]

sollicitudinibus: The association of this word with spinis undoubtedly comes from the parable of the sower: cf. Matt. 13.22; Lk. 8.14.

ne diripiant vindemiam eius transeuntes viam: Pss. 79.13; 88.42. The vine or vineyard is in the OT a

symbol for God's chosen people (Ps. 79.9ff.; Is. 5.1ff.; Jer. 2.21); A., however, identifies it with the precious inner being of man.

'interiorem hominem': Rom. 7.22; Eph. 3.16. This biblical concept of the inner nature of man is a favourite theme of A., and a conviction which underpins a good deal of his ascetic and mystical teaching. Not only is there the dualism of flesh and spirit; there are two different men within the experience of every believer, the outer or old man, and the inner or new man (cf. esp. Inst. virg. 10ff.). The inner man is where the image of God is imprinted, on the soul, not the body; it is redeemed by Christ. The outer man is equated with the body of sin which must perish. In the application of redemption, the old man perishes in baptism and the image of God is increasingly restored in the inner man. [See Seibel, 161-194; Goulven Madec, 'L'homme intérieur selon saint Ambroise', in Y.-M. Duval, ed., Ambroise de Milan (Paris, 1974), 283-308; and more generally, A. Salignac, "'Homme intérieur"', DSp 7, 650-658.]

cuius fructus non caducus...: Again, according to the parable of the sower (Matt. 13.23; Mk. 4.20; Lk. 8.14-15); cf. also John 4.36: 'et congregat fructum in vitam aeternam'.

12. 'Non est malagma...': Is. 1.6.

habenas mentis: One is reminded irresistibly of Horace's celebrated lines: 'ira furor brevis est: animum rege, qui nisi paret,/imperat; huic frenis, hunc tu compesce catena' (Ep. I.2.62-63). Cf. also I.229n. on 'the reins of reason'. [On the frequent occurrence of the words sobrietas mentis in A., see Pépin in Ambr. Episc. I, 461-462nn.121-124.]

13. Sit ori tuo ostium: Cf. Ps. 140.3: 'Pone, Domine, custodiam ori meo, et ostium circumstantiae labiis meis'.

iracundiam: A. does not seem to adhere to the traditional distinction between ira (the expression of anger) and iracundia (the temperament prone to anger) [TLL, s.vv.]; to him, the words are synonyms.

Audisti hodie lectum: On this vestige of a sermon, see Introduction, III.

'Irascimini et nolite peccare': Ps. 4.5. The verse is quoted by Paul in Eph. 4.26, where the context, esp. v.29 ('Omnis sermo malus ex ore vestro non procedat...') is similar to that in the present passage; probably Eph. 4 is A.'s inspiration here.

This paragraph begins the slanting of the silence theme to the topic of keeping silent when provoked to anger (I.13-22); A. returns to the subject in I.90-97 (quoting Ps. 4.5 again in I.96), and in I.231-238 (I.90-97, though, unlike the other two sections, does not draw on Ps. 38).

affectus naturae est non potestatis: A. seems to suggest that anger is something over which there may be no control; since it is so much a part of nature, it cannot be extirpated (cf. I.90). It is, if possible, to be checked by reason, but it is not invariably an evil; the main necessity is to moderate our expression of the anger. A. is classically Stoic in urging the restraint of anger by reason, but he relates the subject to the biblical theme of temptation to sin (provocation from Satan and from 'peccatores').

The variety of imagery used throughout the preceding paragraphs is noteworthy: horticulture (11); warfare (11); rivers (12); bits, bridles, and reins (12-13); doors and locks (13); and weights and measures (13); also metal-refining (11) and medicine (12) in the scriptural verses.

Restringatur habenaе vinculis: On the bridling of the tongue, cf. Jas. 3.2ff. (and 1.26), though the warning

is blunt: 'Linguam autem nullus hominum domare potest' (3.8). Measure and weight of words are A.'s prescription for the expression of anger, as evidence of humilitas and self-control.

IV: TEMPTATION BY SATAN

14. mitis, mansuetus, modestus: The lack of a cognate noun to describe the state of being mitis prevents a perfect chiasmic and alliterative balance in the following sentence; A. has to make do with patientia. ardorem libidinis: The mention of lust in the midst of a section on anger is strange; A. seems to broaden the scope of the passions (cf. alicuius passionis indicium, above) to include other evils which may be revealed in hasty, immoderate speech.

interiora: Cf. I.11n.

On the idea that one's sermo indicates the quality of one's heart, cf. I.71 (and n.), 89. Particular inspiration may come from Lk. 6.45: 'Bonus homo de bono thesauro cordis sui profert bonum; et malus homo de malo profert malum: ex abundantia enim cordis os loquitur' (cf. Matt. 12.34).

15. adversarius: Satan (1 Tim. 5.14-15; 1 Pet. 5.8). [On the portrayal of Satan in A.'s corpus generally, see Dudden II, 589-591, 607-608; for his depiction in some of the exegetical works in particular, see Michael P. McHugh, 'Satan and Saint Ambrose,' Classical Folia 26.1, 1972, 94-106.]

Pace Testard I, 226n.2, the identity of the adversarius is clear at once; we do not need to wait for the biblical allusion at the end of I.16: A.'s addressees must know this NT name for the devil, and the mention of laqueos below evokes 2 Tim. 2.26, 'diaboli laquei'.

tunc fomites movet, laqueos parat: Images from hunting: the prey is frightened into the snares either by beating the brushwood or by setting fire to it (or by burning torches - so Testard I, 226n.3); the precise sense of fomites movet is uncertain. [For an account of Roman hunting techniques, see J.K. Anderson, Hunting in the Ancient World (Berkeley, Los Angeles, & London, 1985), 83ff.]

sicut audisti hodie legi: See Introduction, III.

propheta: David.

'Quia ipse liberavit me...': Ps. 90.3.

Symmachus: Translator of the OT into Greek, fl. end of the second century A.D. He is said by Eusebius (H.E. VI.17.1, supported by Jerome, vir. illustr. 54) to have been a member of the Jewish-Christian sect of the Ebionites; indeed, the Ebionites were sometimes known as 'Symmachians' (Marius Victorinus, Comm. in Gal. 1.19; Augustine, c. Faust. Manich. 19.4,17; Cresc. Donat. I.31; Ambrosiaster, Comm. in Gal., praef.). Symmachus's version appears in the fourth column of Origen's Hexapla; the extant fragments [see F. Field, Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt; sive Veterum Interpretum Graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum Fragmenta (2nd ed., Oxford, 1874)] reveal a clear Greek style and an effort to tone down many of the anthropomorphisms of the OT. [See B.J. Roberts, The Old Testament Text and Versions (Cardiff, 1951), 126-127; ODCC, s.v. 'Symmachus'] A. did not know Hebrew, but preferred to study the OT in Greek. He had access to a copy of Origen's Hexapla (or at least of a part of it), from which he knew the variant readings of Symmachus, Aquila, and Theodotion [Dudden II, 456].

'irritationis verbum' dixit, alii 'perturbationis': On Ps. 90.3, Symmachus reads ἀπὸ λόγου ἐπηρείας for a verbo aspero, while the LXX has ἀπὸ λόγου παραχώδους .

Alii presumably refers to Aquila and/or Theodotion, neither of whose renderings of the verse is extant. A.'s mention of these variants is of no particular value to the elucidation of his argument, but it is perhaps designed to show the progress that he has made in undoing his ignorance (cf. I.1-4) since his elevation to the see of Milan; if this introductory section does indeed stem from a sermon delivered in the early days of his episcopate, his progress is impressive.

inimicus: Another scriptural term for Satan, from the parable of the wheat and the tares (Matt. 13.25,28,39; cf. also Lk. 10.18-19).

16. nostra arma: Cf. Eph. 6.11: 'Induite vos arma Dei, ut possitis stare adversus insidias diaboli' (cf. v.13). A. evokes yet another NT image of Satan, this time as a military adversary, spying out the believer's armour to find a chink where he may drive in his 'tela ignea' (Eph. 6.16). The expression of anger provides just such an opportunity for him: Eph. 4.26-27 (v.27 is echoed below).

quasi escam...vindictae possibilitatem: The image changes back to hunting or fishing: the possibility of revenge is like bait on Satan's hook. On the evils of revenge, cf. I.131; III.59. Possibilitas is a late word.

custodiam adhibere debet ori suo: Harks back to Ps. 38.2 (cf. also Ps. 140.3).

ne det locum adversario: Eph. 4.27.

sed non multi hunc vident: Only the spiritually mature are sufficiently prudent and alert to discern the tempter's presence.

V: THE PROVOCATION OF A SINNER

17. Sed etiam ille cavendus est qui videri potest: A visible enemy, no less than the invisible devil, presents danger.

incentiva: A late substantive.

luxuriae aut libidinis: As in I.14 (cf. n. there), A. considers other passions besides anger.

Peccator: Suggested by Ps. 38.2: 'Posui ori meo custodiam cum consisteret peccator adversum me'.

similes: An echo of Prov. 26.4: 'Ne respondeas stulto iuxta stultitiam suam ne efficiaris ei similis'.

A. builds up to the dramatic picture of the sinner's challenge, the assessment of onlookers, and his inner reaction, which follows in I.18-19: note the series of short clauses, the anaphora of quicumque, tunc, ad, and qui, the homoioteleuton of exerceamus and erubescamus, and the alliterative congeries of luxuriae aut libidinis. One can imagine the effectiveness of the dramatisation in I.18-19 when delivered in the pulpit by A. the celebrated orator.

18. si dissimules: One thinks of Horace vainly trying this ploy when accosted by the bore on the Sacred Way (Sat. I.9.8-16). Juvenal complains that the street bully will beat you up anyway, whether you try to answer or not (Sat. III.282ff.). In A.'s picture, though, the encounter will have a happier outcome, provided the righteous man resists the temptation to respond, and quietly reflects upon the innocence of his conscience. [The similarity of the verbs, si taceas, si dissimules to those used by Cic. in I.108 is almost certainly co-incidental, since the themes of the two passages are totally different, and there is no other Ciceronian evocation in this introductory section to Book I.]

superiorem se factum arbitratur quia parem invenit:

The language is a little clumsy, for if the sinner has become superior he cannot, strictly, have met an equal; but A. obviously means that the sinner believes himself to have gained 'one up' on the just man by inciting him to reply to his accuser.

dicetur: The judgement of onlookers.

bonorum iudicio..., gravitate morum suorum: A.'s respect for the judgement of boni and his pride in gravitas of character may well be indicative of his own social background. [On the traditional Roman virtue of gravitas, see John Ferguson, Moral Values in the Ancient World (London, 1958), 172-178; gravitas is commended in the NT, in Tit. 2.8; on the combination of biblical and classical nuancing in Off., see Sauer, 146-147.]

'silere a bonis': Cf. Ps. 38.3: 'silui a bonis', evoked also at I.236 and Expl. Ps. 38.13 as meaning 'I kept quiet about my good deeds, relying on my conscience's testimony to them'. The Latin version imitates the LXX's ἐσίγησα ἐξ ἀγαθῶν. The righteous man refrains from defending himself by parading his virtues.

Following on from the respect for the opinion of the boni and the regard for gravitas, the presentation of the conscience theme here does appear to be more classical than Christian (certainly more so than in I.9), but the use of this verse shows that the influence of Scripture is still pervasive.

19. humilior: 'Too humble' (so De Romestin, Niederhuber, Banterle), not 'sufficiently humble' (Testard).

'Hic ego ut me contemnat...' With ut, we must understand something like sinam (or patiar/ferendum est) in the indignant rhetorical question (similarly in the third and fourth questions below); such

colloquial ellipses are common in Cic.'s philosophical discussions.

maestificare: A late word [TLL]; here obviously 'annoy' rather than 'sadden'.

20. 'mitis atque humilis': Such a man is not behaving in a Christlike fashion: Matt. 11.29. The humility of Christ is once more (cf. I.9) the model.

Temptator: In Christian Latin = Satan (cf. Matt. 4.3).

nequam spiritus: Cf. 1 Kings 16.14: 'exagitabat eum spiritus nequam' (though there the evil spirit troubling Saul comes from the Lord). In Matt. 13.38 Satan is the 'nequam', and in Eph. 6.16 he is the 'nequissimus', against whose 'spiritalia nequitiae in caelestibus' (v.12) believers must fight. The return to military language (last in I.16) below suggests that the Eph. 6 passage is in A.'s thoughts.

in petra: The obvious place of stability (cf., e.g., Pss. 26.6;39.3; Matt. 7.24-25; Lk. 6.48).

etsi servus...etsi infirmus...etsi pauper: Abuse even from such social inferiors is borne by the just man. Indeed, servile patience should be shown (I.237). [On A.'s thinking on the dishonourable status of slaves, and the necessity of treating them humanely on account of their inherent dignity in God's sight, especially if they are fellow-believers, see R. Klein, Die Sklaverei in der Sicht der Bischöfe Ambrosius und Augustinus (Wiesbaden & Stuttgart, 1988), 9-51, and esp. 27-38. To Stoic sentiment that slaves must not be mistreated, he adds biblical anthropology.]

The mention of inferiors signposts the celebrated case of the abuse of David by Shimei in the next paragraph; although he is not said in the biblical text to be a menial, Shimei's status is obviously lower than that of David the king.

sicut periti iaculandi cedentes solent vincere...: On the tactic of feigning retreat in order to dupe the enemy into a false sense of security and so to overcome them unexpectedly, see Vegetius, Epit. rei milit. III.22, and the examples documented by his major source, Frontinus, Strat. II.3,5 [Testard I, 227n.5. On the tactics outlined by Vegetius in III.11-22, see Graham Webster, The Roman Imperial Army (3rd ed., London, 1985), 231-234.]

VI: DAVID'S SILENCE IN THE FACE OF SHIMEI'S INSULTS

21. dicentem: David.

'Obmutui et humiliatus sum...': Ps.38.3.

Nam cum ei conviciaretur Semei filius...: The story of David's meekness in the face of the curses of Shimei son of Gera is an apt illustration of patient silence; A. returns to it at I.236-238. See 2 Kings 16.5-14 (and cf. 3 Kings 2.8-9). Strangely, A. gets the name of David's accuser wrong: he is Shimei, son of Gera, not Shimei's son; the error is repeated at I.236. The reading of PL in the present passage, Semei filius Iemini, appears to be a gloss to explain that Shimei was a Benjamite (cf. 2 Kings 16.11;19.16; 3 Kings 2.8) [Testard I, 227n.2]. A. gets the name right, however, in Expl. Ps. 38.7 and Interp. III.6, so his mistake here and in I.236 seems to be rectified in later compositions; if both I.1-22 and I.232-245 are drawn from an early sermon on Ps. 38, A. corrects his slip when the piece is reworked into Expl. Ps. 38.

It is interesting that he does not name Sarviae filio (Abishai), either: possibly his memory of the story is imperfect, or else he seeks some balance between Semei filius and Sarviae filio: one filius hurls abuse, the other urges David to take revenge,

but David's humility makes him superior to both.

cum vir appellaretur sanguinis: 2 Kings 16.7-8.

cui abundabat bonorum operum conscientia: There is in fact no mention of conscience in the biblical narrative.

22. qui autem dolet quasi senserit...: One or two words have dropped out of the text after senserit. E² and Amerbach's edition supply 'torquetur', reproduced by PL and Krabinger, but the sense is rather strong. I suggest that we should supply something like 'ipse despicitur', to complete the parallelism with the previous clause and to pick up the sense of facit se dignum videri contumelia in the preceding sentence.

VII: THE THEME OF DUTIES

23. Neque improvide...: This sentence marks the beginning of the main body of Book I. A. appears to be trying to justify the use of the material on Ps. 38 which forms his introduction; he cuts short the section on the Psalm, and returns to it later (I.231-232; cf. pulchre in I.231 with neque improvide here: similar justification).

ad vos filios meos: A.'s spiritual 'sons', the clergy of Milan; cf. I.24n., below.

scribens: See Introduction, III.

sancto Idithun canendum: Jeduthun is the recipient of Ps. 38 (Ps. 38.1). He is listed as one of David's musicians in 1 Paral. 16.41-42; 2 Paral. 5.12; his sons are also musicians along with him (1 Paral. 25.1,3,6). In 2 Paral. 35.15 he is said to be one of David's seers. Also the recipient of Pss. 61 and 76, Jeduthun's task would be to set these Pss. to music.

in posterioribus contemptum divitiarum: Cf. Ps. 38.6-8,12. A. expands on the contempt for riches suggested

by these verses in I.241-245. On the theme, cf. also I.182,184-185,192-193,246; II.66-67.

It is just possible that some of A.'s vocabulary in this paragraph is inspired by Cic. I.4: cf. tenendum - 'tenuisset'; delectatus - 'delectatus'; contemptum - 'contempsit' (though the context in Cic. is different).

maxima virtutum fundamenta...hoc psalmo doceri: The chief bases of virtue (patient silence, timely speech, and contempt for riches) are laid down in Ps. 38; hence its relevance to A.'s exposition of the theme which is to follow. On the 'foundations of virtues', cf. I.126 and n.

successit animo de officiis scribere: Cf. n. on I.1-22, and see Introduction, III. The phrase may well be suggested by Cic. I.4: 'Sed cum statuissem scribere ad te aliquid...'.

24. De quibus etiamsi quidam philosophiae studentes scripserint: A. justifies his treatment of the theme of duties in two ways: first, as a legitimate ethical enquiry in which a bishop is entitled to instruct his spiritual 'sons' (I.24); second, as a subject authenticated in Scripture (I.25). The first is essentially a justification of the personae, the second of the res ipsa (I.25). The topic as a philosophical enquiry is discussed by Cic. in I.4-5. It is a 'quaestio communis omnium philosophorum' (I.5), of practical relevance to every part of life (I.4).

Panaetius: Panaetius of Rhodes, c. 185/180-110/109 B.C. After introducing Stoicism to Rome during his stay there, c. 146-131 B.C., he became head of the Athenian Stoa in 129 B.C. An eclectic, Panaetius introduced changes into traditional Stoicism: he rejected astrological forecasting and divination; cosmic *ἐκπύρωσις* and *διάνομις*; and in psychology and

ethics he introduced some Platonist-Aristotelian influences, such as a distinction of rational and irrational parts of the soul, and between theoretical and practical virtue, so allowing for a casuistical treatment of ethical duties which made Stoicism attractive to a wider audience. [Brief outlines can be found in J.M. Rist, Stoic Philosophy (Cambridge, 1969), 173-200; A.A. Long, Hellenistic Philosophy (London, 1974), 114,211-216.] A. is alluding here to Panaetius's *περὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος*, written c. 140/139 B.C., now lost, which is Cic.'s main source for Books I and II; A.'s awareness of the work is due to its significance to Cic. [For details of Panaetius's influence on Cic., see Introduction, II.iii.]

filius eius: Posidonius of Apamea, c. 135-50 B.C. He studied under Panaetius at Athens, c. 125-114 B.C. (and so, to A., is Panaetius's filius), and then established himself in Rhodes, where he taught Cic. in 78-77 B.C. A polymath of prodigious literary activity, Posidonius was interested above all in natural science; he introduced numerous innovations into Stoicism, in particular developing psychology in a Platonist dualist direction still further than Panaetius; his concern for empiricism probably explains his breaking with orthodox doctrines which he considered did not help the Stoic cause. [See J.M. Rist, ibid., 201-218; A.A. Long, ibid., 115,216-222. More specialist literature on these Stoics is cited by Rist and Long; to update the picture, see Colish I, 10-12,22-60.] A summary of a work of Posidonius on duty was used in some measure by Cic.; once again, A.'s knowledge of Posidonius's contribution to the subject is dependent on Cic. [See Introduction, II.iii.]

Tullius: The first mention of Cic. [See Introduction, II.iii.] The other references are at I.43,82,180.

non alienum duxi nostro munere ut etiam ipse scriberem: In I.4, Cic. says that he is going to treat a subject which is very much suited to his 'auctoritas'. After his modesty in I.1-4, A. simply says it is appropriate to his 'munus' to deal with this theme, as part of his teaching of his charges.

Et sicut Tullius ad erudiendum filium, ita ego quoque ad vos...: As Cic. wrote for his son Marcus [Introduction, II.iii], so A. writes for his spiritual 'sons', members of the clergy of Milan, especially younger men. Both Cic. and A., though, aim at a wider readership. Note the link between the fili mentioned in this paragraph: Panaetius and his filius, Posidonius; Cic. and his filius, Marcus; A. and his fili, the Milanese clergy. Already A. has made clear his paternal relationship with his addressees: I.1,2,23; here, the suitability of the spiritual paternity concept found in the NT [next n.] to the parallelism with his philosophical models, esp. Cic., is underlined. [On the father-son relationship of A. and his clergy, see Gryson, Prêtre, 145-147.] By no means does A. attempt to hide the significance of Cic.'s work; rather, he clearly identifies the parallelism.

quos in Evangelio genui: 1 Cor. 4.15. Spiritual paternity of converts or clerics is a frequent NT motif: Paul is the 'father' of the Corinthians (1 Cor. 4.14-15; 2 Cor. 6.13), the Thessalonians (1 Thess. 2.11), Timothy (Phil. 2.22; 1 Tim. 1.2; 2 Tim. 2.1), Titus (Tit. 1.4), and Onesimus (Philem. 10); Peter is the 'father' of Mark (1 Pet. 5.13).

natura...gratia: A Scriptural antithesis (cf. esp. Eph. 2; Rom. 11) which has of course evoked a very great deal of theological discussion over the centuries, not least in Augustine's anti-Pelagian works (especially his De natura et gratia). [See Paul

Tihon, 'Grace', DSp 6, esp. 736ff.; Jaroslav Pelikan, The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine, I: The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition (100-600) (Chicago & London, 1971), 278-331. On A., see Maes, 60-64.]

vos ante elegimus: Though A. does seem to have inherited some clerics with whose character he was to be disappointed: cf. I.72 and n. ad loc. On the choosing of spiritual disciples, cf. Christ's words in John 15.16,19 (and 13.18), to which A. alludes in I.3. magnum caritatis pondus: It is easier to love adopted sons, selected by choice, than natural sons who may turn out bad. On the importance of the Church family living in unity, love, and peace, cf. II.155 (and I.170; III.19,125-138).

VIII: THE SUITABILITY OF THE THEME

25. Ergo quoniam personae conveniunt...: Having proved from Scripture that the father-sons approach is legitimate, A. now goes on to seek biblical authority for the subject-matter of the work.

Pulchre itaque: Cf. neque improvide in I.23; and quasi adhortaretur...Sanctus Spiritus, below. A. implies that the whole project is divinely inspired.

dum legimus hodie Evangelium: This probably means a private reading by A. on the day when he composes, rather than a liturgical reference indicating that this section is sermonic in provenance; see Introduction, III.

Nam cum Zacharias sacerdos obmutuisset...: Zacharias, John the Baptist's father, refused to believe the prediction of the angel Gabriel that a son would be born to his barren wife, Elizabeth; as a punishment for his doubt, he was struck dumb until after the

child's birth, when he indicated that he should be named John: Lk. 1.5-25, 57-80.

'Factum est,' inquit, 'ut impleti sunt dies officii eius...': Lk. 1.23.

Legimus igitur officium dici a nobis posse: In Lk. 1.23, 'officium' translates *λειτουργία*, the usual term for the week of service performed twice yearly (in NT times) by the 24 divisions of priests (cf. 1 Paral. 24.1-19). In Cic., though, the word is used as the best Latin equivalent of *καθῆκον*, signifying 'appropriate action' (Cic. I.8; Fin. III.20; Att. XVI.11.4; 14.3). A. therefore confuses the functional and philosophical senses of the word in a sophistical attempt to authenticate his subject from the Scriptures. [On this technique of seeking biblical warrant for terminology, see Introduction, II.iv (i).] It is interesting that Cic. and A. are both sensitive about the use of officium (cf. Cic., Att. XVI.11.4; 14.3), but for different reasons: Cic., because of the sense of *καθῆκον*; A., because the philosophical theme must be justified from the Bible.

26. Nec ratio ipsa abhorret: This respect for reason (cf. Cic. I.7), especially in the area of etymology, is akin to the Stoic conviction that the basis of language lies in nature rather than convention.

officium ab efficiendo dictum putamus quasi efficium: This etymology, which may well come from Varro, is found also in Donatus on Terence, Andr. 236; Ad. 69; the scholiast Gronovianus on Cic., Verr. I.28; Paulus Festus, s.v. 'officiosus'; Isidore of Seville, Orig. VI.19.1 [TLL, s.v. 'officium']. The correct derivation of the word is from op(i)ficium [so A. Ernout & A. Meillet, Dictionnaire Étymologique de la Langue Latine. Histoire des Mots (4th ed., Paris, 1959), s.v. 'officium']. On A.'s interest in the science of etymologies, see Introduction, VI.

quae nulli officiant, prosint omnibus: Alongside the etymology given above, possibly A. is influenced by Cic. I.43: of 'liberalitas' which benefits some by depriving others, he says, 'Id autem tantum abest ab officio ut nihil magis possit esse contrarium'; we are to seek kindness 'quae prosit amicis, noceat nemini'. In III.58, A. reiterates the point that the cleric must strive to benefit all, if possible, and to harm none.

IX: PHILOSOPHICAL AND CHRISTIAN DEFINITIONS OF DUTY CONTRASTED

27. Officia autem ab honesto et utili duci aestimaverunt...: The subject must be understood to be the philosophiae studentes of I.24. A. is drawing on Cic. I.9, where Cic. relates how Panaetius treats the theme of duties under three heads, dealing with (i) the 'honestum'; (ii) the 'utile'; (iii) what one should do when the 'honestum' and the 'utile' seem to conflict. Officia...duci (or the singular 'officium...duci') is a phrase found several times in Cic.: I.100,152-153; II.1; III.96.

deinde incidere ut duo concurrant honesta et duo utilia...: In I.10, Cic. claims that Panaetius's division is inadequate, and that it is also necessary to consider which course is more honourable and more expedient when two honourable and two expedient actions are possible; the three subjects thus become five.

duo...et duo...et eligendi iudicium. Primam pertinere aiunt ad decus honestatemque vitae...: Cf. Cic. II.9: 'Quinque igitur rationibus propositis officii persequendi, quarum duae ad decus honestatemque pertinerent, duae ad commoda vitae, copias, opes,

facultates, quinta ad eligendi iudicium, si quando ea, quae dixi, pugnare inter se viderentur...' (cf. also Cic. I.9). A.'s summary of this passage, though, effectively reduces Cic.'s five categories back to three again, probably because Cic. treats two in I, two in II, and one in III.

A. is therefore giving a résumé of the treatment of officia by Panaetius and by Cic. Cic. adopts the basic threefold structure of Panaetius's work, but complains that the Stoic's treatise, being unfinished, left untreated the third topic (III.7ff.,33-34); he appends his own two extra questions to the end of Books I (152-161) and II (88-89), respectively. He wishes Marcus to be familiar with the honestum section above all (II.9). A. takes up the threefold approach of Panaetius, and devotes very little attention to Cic.'s supplementary questions. The noteworthy feature in the present passage is the way in which A. refuses to name the philosophers: he lumps Panaetius and Cic. together as illi (note, however, that Cic. himself uses some vague plurals in I.9). No clue is given, either, that he himself will follow the Panaetian/Ciceronian programme; he is concerned at once to distance himself from the pagan definitions of the honourable and the expedient, in I.28. [On honestum and utile, see Sauer, 16-20,21-25.]

28. Nos autem: A sharp antithesis with haec illi at the end of I.27. [Introduction, II.iv (ii-iii).]

quod deceat: The 'decorum' (or 'decus') is Cic.'s translation of Panaetius's *πρέπον* (Cic. I.93; A. I.30,182), and is effectively indistinguishable from the 'honestum' (Cic. I.93-95; A. I.219-221), though associated particularly with the fourth cardinal virtue, temperance. [See Sauer, 25-30.]

futurorum magis quam praesentium metimur formula: A. is anxious to emphasise the distinction in his

perspective from that of the philosophers: they consider duties only with regard to this world; he measures them by their significance for the world to come. This is a particularly important key to A.'s thought throughout the work: he has an eschatological reference-point which is unknown to Cic. and the pagan philosophers.

nihilque utile nisi quod ad vitae illius aeternae prosit gratiam definimus...: Cf. II.23-27 (and II.8ff.); III.9,12,63. The secular or popular conception of the utile is rejected; instead, A. considers expedient whatever contributes to the attainment of eternal life. Worldly advantage is an impediment to the blessedness that is eternal, whereas hardship is an advantage (II.10-21).

eaque oneri...: A. probably thinks of the case of the rich young man, to which he refers in I.36-37 (Matt. 16.19-29; Mk. 10.17-30; Lk. 18.18-30).

29. Non superfluum igitur scriptionis nostrae est opus: A. is clearly sensitive about taking up the pagan philosophical theme (cf. the justification offered already in I.24-25), and wishes to defend himself by stressing the difference in his perspective.

Illi saeculi commoda in bonis ducunt: This is strictly true of Cic. only, who departs from Panaetius and orthodox Stoicism in treating the advantages of this life as goods (rather than as things which, though preferable, are morally neutral).

nos haec etiam in detrimentis: Probably suggested by Phil. 3.7-8: 'Sed quae mihi fuerunt lucra, haec arbitratus sum propter Christum detrimenta. Verumtamen existimo omnia detrimentum esse propter eminentem scientiam Iesu Christi Domini mei, propter quem omnia detrimentum feci...'

ut ille dives...et Lazarus...: For the story of the

rich man and Lazarus, a favourite of patristic exegetes, see Lk. 16.19-31.

qui illa non legunt, nostra legent si volent: This statement is surely an important clue to the intentions of the author: A. wishes his work to be read by those who do not read the pagan treatment of duties; he aims to replace Cic.'s work for Christian readers.

qui non sermonum supellectilem neque artem dicendi...: The depreciation of literary style is a *τόπος* in early Christian writers (e.g., Cyprian, Ad Don. 2; Arnobius, Nat. I.58-59; II.6,11); A. condemns studied eloquence and concern for ars (Expos. Luc. VII.218; VIII.13,70; Isaac 57; Inc. 89; Expl. Ps. 118.22.10; Fide I.42; Ep. 48.3), often contrasting this with the simplicity and grace of the Scriptures (I.116; Epp. 8.1; 19.8; Expos. Luc., prol. 1). [For other references, cf. Madec, 95n.417; see, too, Gerard Bartelink, 'Sprachliche und stilistische Bemerkungen in Ambrosius' Schriften,' WSt. n.s. 13 (Bd. 92), 1979 (175-202), 177-191.] He is modest about the literary qualities of Off. (cf. I.116; III.139), though despite its structural problems it offers glimpses of the ability of an accomplished orator [see Introduction, VI].

X: THE FITTING; MAINTAINING MEASURE IN SPEECH

30. Decorum: Cf. I.28n.

in nostris Scripturis: Having taken the concept of decorum from the philosophers (I.27: decus; I.28: quod deceat), A. is keen to show that it can be found also in 'our' Scriptures. This is typical of his search for biblical authentication of terminology and also of his antithesis of illi...nos (cf. I.27-28). [Introduction, II.iv(i)]

quod Graece πρέπον dicitur: Cf. Cic. I.93: 'Hoc loco continetur id, quod dici Latine decorum potest, Graece enim πρέπον dicitur'. Cic. treats decorum under the category of the fourth cardinal virtue (I.93-151), having signposted this in I.17, but he mentions it also in I.14 and I.66. A. also discusses the concept as part of his treatment of the fourth virtue (I.211,213,219-225), and uses the idea as a synonym of honestum in I.28,122,140,182,202. But because he discusses modesty twice, anticipating his exposition of the fourth virtue in the section on 'verecundia' (I.65ff.; cf. n. ad loc.) and in these early passages on speech and silence, A. treats decorum earlier than Cic. does. The reference here in I.30 is suggested by the Ciceronian division of I.27-28, but it leads A. into a discussion of speech (I.31-35) which both anticipates I.99-104 and repeats some of the points already made in the introduction (I.5-13). His arrangement of the modesty theme is therefore less clear than Cic.'s.

'Te decet hymnus, Deus, in Sion': Ps.64.2. A. adds the LXX version to underline the equivalence of decorum and πρέπον ; he also indicates his interest in the Greek text of the OT.

apostolus: Paul (a very frequent identification in Christian Latin).

'Loquere quae decent sanam doctrinam': Tit. 2.1.

'Decebat autem eum...': Heb. 2.10. The ascription of Hebrews to Paul is usual in the Fathers, though doubt had already been expressed by Tertullian, who considered Barnabas to have been the author (Pudic. 20), and Origen, who believed that the epistle may have been written by Clement or Luke, though its content was definitely Pauline (cf. Eusebius, H.E. VI.25.11-12), and Eusebius says that there were several people at Rome during the third and fourth

centuries who rejected Pauline authorship (H.E. VI.20.3). [See F.F. Bruce, Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews (London & Edinburgh, 1964), xxxv ff.]

A.'s attempt to substantiate the concept of 'the fitting' from these three verses is less open to question than is his authentication of 'officium' in I.25.

31. Panaetius: I.24n.

Aristoteles: Aristotle of Stageira, 384-322 B.C., the great student of Plato who became increasingly critical of his master's views; founder of the Lyceum at Athens in 355 B.C., which, with its interest in scientific research, became a rival to the mathematically-oriented Academy. [See W.K.C. Guthrie, A History of Greek Philosophy (6 Vols., Cambridge, 1962-81), VI.]

qui et ipse disputavit de officio: Rather than thinking of a particular work, such as the celebrated Nicomachean Ethics, A. probably alludes to Aristotle's corpus generally [so Madec, 133n.236, pace Testard I, 229n.5]. The idea of duty originates with the Stoics, however, and is not an Aristotelian theme; Aristotle's ethics are concerned with the realisation of *εὐδαιμονία* by living rationally and avoiding extremes. A.'s reference to Aristotle here is not suggested by Cic.'s Off.; it must come from his own knowledge of Aristotle. Madec, 133-137, argues that his knowledge is second-hand, derived from sources such as Cic. and Origen [cf. also Dudden I, 14]. He certainly shows no evidence of an awareness of Aristotelianism which could not come from an intermediary. Perhaps the belief that Aristotle discussed duty is indicative of his vague knowledge of the content of such works as the Nicomachean Ethics. (Aristotelian philosophy is associated with Arianism in the mind of A. [cf. Expl. Ps. 118.22.10; so also

Jerome, c. Lucif. 11], an association which clearly suggests hostility to Aristotle's teaching, however much A. knew about it.)

Numquid prior...quam David?: The anteriority of biblical truth to the achievements of the philosophers is a frequent theme in Off., as in the Christian Apologists: see Introduction, II.iv.(iv). David's reign is dated to c. 1001/0 - 961/60 B.C. The reference to David here is to his observance of silence to avoid sinning (cf. I.5-22). A. says that David's lex silentii was a treatment of the theme of officium: he does not make this claim in I.5-22, and it looks very much as if he is trying to defend once more (cf. I.23) the exposition of Ps. 38 in the introduction.

ipse Pythagoras: The famed philosopher-mathematician who migrated from his native Samos on the advent of the tyrant Polycrates in the late 530's or early 520's B.C. and went to Croton in Magna Graecia, where he founded a religious community which practised Orphic asceticism and self-examination. Novices were bound by a five-year rule of silence before becoming initiates; the idea was that the tongue was the hardest thing for man to control. It is thought (though there is no direct evidence) that complete silence was not demanded, but rather a strict control of speech. The secrecy of the community was certainly increased by the rule. A. mentions it also in Expl. Ps. 118.2.5, where, as here, he claims that the idea is found earlier in the Scriptures, in the young man of Prov. 10 who keeps quiet in order to listen to the counsel of elders; in Ps. 38.2; and in Is. 40.6. Evidence for the rule is found in Diogenes Laertius, VIII.10; Iamblichus, vita Pythag. 71-74; Lucian, Vit. auct. 3; Epiphanius, Dox. Gr. (ed. Diels), 587.6; 590.13; Clement of Alexandria, Strom. V.11.67.3;

Eusebius, H.E. IV.7 (cf. also Aulus Gellius, N.A. I.9, where the duration of the rule is said to have been variable, but always at least two years; Apuleius, Flor. XV). A specific source for A. is difficult to determine [Madec, 108], but the rule was clearly known by Greek Christian writers, and one of these is his likely informant. The ipse added to Pythagoras's name here probably indicates that the fact was quite well known. [In general on Pythagoras, see W.K.C. Guthrie, op. cit., I, 146ff. On the rule of silence in particular, see P. Gorman, Pythagoras: A Life (London & Boston, 1979), 113-132.] In common with several Greek authors, both Jewish and Christian, A. believes that Pythagoras was of Jewish descent and studied the books of Moses (Ep. 28.1), and he follows Cic. (Tusc. V.10) in attributing to Pythagoras the invention of the word 'philosophy' (Abr. II.37; Virg. III.19; cf. also Augustine, C.D. VIII.2; XVIII.37). [See Madec, 106-108.]

Socrate: The celebrated Athenian philosopher, c.469-399 B.C. It is generally agreed that his views are most reliably presented in the early group of Plato's dialogues, while Plato's 'middle' and later works give Plato's own thinking. A. calls him 'philosophiae summus magister' (Expos. Ps. 118.16.11), knows that Plato and Xenophon were his disciples (Abr. I.2), and asserts that Plato or Socrates himself read and borrowed from the OT (Noe 24; Bono mort. 51). [So Madec, 109.]

The point of the argument here is that Pythagoras, though earlier than the esteemed Socrates, was still later than David. For a similar passage on the anteriority of prophetic authority to presocratic philosophy (including Pythagoreanism), cf. Augustine, C.D. XVIII.37.

32. tamquam in procinctu: Quintilian, Inst. XII.9.21,

uses this military image of the orator who is armed and ready for any contingency.

vigilanti exit obtutu: Cf. Vergil, Aen. V.438: 'oculis vigilantibus exit'. A. echoes the phrase also in Hex. VI.50; Tob. 27 (the latter agreeing verbatim with the evocation here). On A.'s knowledge of Vergil, see Introduction, VI.

Qui navem in mari regere...: As in seafaring, singing, and wrestling, so in speaking, the practice of patient effort is necessary, if speech is to be uttered at the right time and in the right measure. On the imagery of gradual practice of seafaring (and of children's learning words; cf. I.33, below), cf. Abr. I.30.

33. ipsa natura nos...docet: Cf. 1 Cor. 11.14: 'Nec ipsa natura docet vos...'.
exercitatio: Antonio V. Nazzaro, 'Ambrosiana I: Note di critica testuale ed esegesi,' in Paradoxos Politeia (436-446), 436-439, defends the reading of C and N, exercitatio, retained by PL and Krabinger; excitatio might have crept in under the influence of excitant in I.32, and quaedam might be more appropriate to exercitatio (and to the context with palaestra) than to excitatio. In I.32, the voice is roused or stimulated by singing gradually or softly (sensim); here, children make sounds as a kind of practice for proper speech. The idea of practice rather than arousal is supported also by exerceant and exercitiis, below. (For the use of exercitatio, cf. Cain II.22; Abr. II.8; and Cic. uses it of the voice in I.133; cf. also De Or. I.156; Brut. 240; Div. II.96; and Quintilian, Inst. XI.3.24,29.) On palaestra, cf. Cic., De Or. I.81; Brut. 37; Or. 186.

34. iugiter: A post-classical adverb.
sed irritanti adversario: Testard punctuates and translates this phrase with tacebat, but it is better

to take it with non respondebat (so PL, Krabinger), in asyndeton with provocanti peccatori.

The peccator is suggested by Ps. 38.2; the obvious identification is Shimei: cf. I.21 and n.

On silence not being perpetual, cf. I.9.

alibi ait...: Ps. 37.13-14.

'Noli respondere imprudenti...': Prov. 26.4 (cf. I.17).

35. Primum igitur officium est loquendi modus: This is A.'s justification for elaborating on the theme of speech and silence at such length in the early stages of the work (I.5-22; 31-35), in distinction to Cic.'s treatment of propriety of speech as part of the fourth cardinal virtue. Cf. I.7, on the 'prima vox Dei', to listen.

sacrificium laudis Deo: For the phrase, cf. Ps. 49.14 (cf. also Ps. 115.17; Heb. 13.15).

cum Scripturae divinae leguntur: A. habitually encountered problems in keeping congregations quiet during the liturgy: cf. Virg. III.11ff.; Expl. Ps. 1.9.

hoc honorantur parentes: On the honouring of parents, cf., e.g., Ex. 20.12; Matt. 15.4; 19.19; Eph. 6.2. By refraining from speech, deference is shown to the wisdom and maturity of parents.

Scio loqui...non prosit loqui: On the repetition of these sentences almost verbatim from I.5, see n. on I.1-22.

modus...modus...mensuram: This Aristotelian emphasis on moderation is suggested by Cic. (cf. Cic. I.15,17,93,102,104,135,140,142,etc.); he follows Cic.'s derivation of modestia from modus in I.78.

etiam factis modus: Not obviously implied by the preceding section; but A. is just rounding off this passage on modesty. Perhaps he thinks of the silent response to provocation as the alternative to sinful

actions of revenge.

officii: Again (cf. officium above), integrating this section with the theme.

XI: 'MIDDLE' AND 'PERFECT' DUTIES

36. Officium autem omne aut medium aut perfectum est: Cf. Cic. I.8: 'Nam et medium quoddam officium dicitur et perfectum. Perfectum officium rectum, opinor, vocemus, quoniam Graeci *κατόρθωμα*, hoc autem commune officium < *καθῆκον* > vocant. Atque ea sic definiunt, ut rectum quod sit, id officium perfectum esse definiant; medium autem officium id esse dicunt, quod cur factum sit, ratio probabilis reddi possit.' (Cf. also Cic. III.14-16.) A. reproduces the Panaetian-Ciceronian distinction between 'middle' duty, that is, duty in which both the wise man and the ordinary man can share, and 'perfect' duty, that is, duty which is intrinsically perfect, which only the wise man can perform. He proceeds, however, to justify this distinction biblically.

Scripturarum auctoritate: On the importance of the auctoritas of Scripture in A.'s thought, see Introduction, II.v, and Thomas Gerhard Ring, Auctoritas bei Tertullian, Cyprian und Ambrosius (Würzburg, 1975), 183-196.

'Si vis in vitam aeternam venire...': Matt. 19.17-19. quibus aliquid deest: This anticipates the rich young man's question in Matt. 19.20, which A. quotes in the next paragraph. Media officia involve the keeping of the Ten Commandments, but there is something missing.

37. 'Dicit illi adulescens...': Matt. 19.20-21. Perfect duty is that which observes Christ's injunction; A. picks up the theme of the Sermon on the Mount, to which he turns below, that the morality of

keeping the OT Law is inferior to obeying Christ's more demanding norms. A. propounds a similar distinction between legal 'praeceptum' and apostolic 'consilium' in Vid. 72-74. The idea that the perfect/Christlike way is attained only by a few (III.10) is bound up with A.'s ideal of asceticism as a higher path of morality. He takes the Stoic doctrine and transmutes it into a Christian ethical principle of dual morality, which becomes enshrined in Catholic theology [see Stelzenberger, 234-242; Adolf Harnack, History of Dogma, V (ET of 3rd ed., London, 1898), 49n.3; Dudden II, 521-522].

supra habes scriptum: I.e., earlier in Matthew's gospel.

diligendos inimicos et orandum dicit...: Matt. 5.44-45.

si volumus perfecti esse sicut Pater noster: Matt. 5.48.

qui super bonos et malos solem iubet...: Matt. 5.45.

pluviae rore: Dew is not mentioned in Matt. 5.45; Testard I, 230-231n.5, may well be right in seeing an echo of an OT verse like Gen. 27.39 or Gen. 27.28; certainly, dew and rain are often linked in the OT (e.g., Deut. 32.2), and the bestowing or withholding of them is a sign of God's favour or displeasure (Deut. 33.13,28; Zech. 8.12; also 2 Kings 1.21; 3 Kings 17.1).

quo corriguntur omnia...: A. understands the root meaning of κατὰρθωµα, lit. 'that which is set right'.

38. misericordia: The authentication of the concept of perfect duty from verses which speak about mercy leads to a short section on misericordia (I.38-39). He identifies mercy as a perfect duty; by showing mercy, the believer imitates his perfect heavenly Father, who shows mercy to all. [On the concept of misericordia, which is equated in fourth-century

authors with almsgiving in particular (as here), see H  l  ne P  tr  , '"Misericordia". Histoire du mot et de l'id  e du paganisme au Christianisme', REL 12, 1934, 376-389.]

qui imitatur perfectum Patrem: Cf. Matt. 5.48, and esp. Lk. 6.36: 'Estote ergo misericordes, sicut et Pater vester misericors est'.

ut communes iudices partus naturae quae omnibus ad usum generat fructus terrarum: On this fundamental Stoic doctrine that the earth's produce is given for all in common, cf. Cic. I.22, and esp. I.51: 'in qua omnium rerum, quas ad communem hominum usum natura genuit, est servanda communitas'. A. develops the theme in I.132 (and cf. I.118; III.16,45-49) [and cf. I.132n.]. A. relates the Christian virtue of mercy to the Stoic idea: the just man gives to the poor because the poor are his fellow-creatures and are no less entitled to the fruits of the earth; by showing such mercy, he imitates the mercy of God, who gives to all without discrimination.

nummum: A trifling sum, a coin of little value.

denarius: By A.'s time, a copper coin [cf. Macrobius, Sat. I.7.22].

census: 'Wealth' (strictly, the register of the property of Roman citizens).

The three pithy clauses of this last sentence of the paragraph drive home the point: to you, mercy is only the disbursement of a small coin; to the poor man, it is the gift of life, substance, and wealth.

39. Ad haec plus ille tibi confert cum sit debitor

salutis: There is a weighty spin-off: you give the poor man the means of temporal salvation, and it will have eternal, spiritual benefit for you. Salus has two shades of meaning here: earthly salus for the pauper; eternal salus for the giver.

si nudum vestias: A. may be thinking of Matt. 25.36-

40 (cf. the whole section, 31-46): to be kind to the needy believer is to be kind to Christ Himself in an unselfconscious way, and this has eternal reward.

Patristic thought on almsgiving typically has two emphases: (i) Christ is identified with the poor; (ii) - and because of (i) - there is great spiritual benefit to the giver of alms: he gives material wealth to the poor, and receives spiritual wealth from the Lord as a reward. [For an excellent analysis of these themes, see Boniface Ramsey, 'Almsgiving in the Latin Church: The Late Fourth and Early Fifth Centuries,' TS 43.2, 1982, 226-259. William J. Walsh & John P. Langan, 'Patristic Social Consciousness - The Church and The Poor,' in John C. Haughey, ed., The Faith That Does Justice (New York, 1977), 114-151, is also useful.]

te ipsum induis iustitiam: Cf. Job 29.14: 'Iustitia indutus sum, et vestivi me, sicut vestimento et diademate, iudicio meo'.

si peregrinum sub tectum inducas tuum: On the importance of hospitality, cf. I.167; and esp. II.103-109.

ille tibi acquirit sanctorum amicitias et aeterna tabernacula: Cf. Lk. 16.9: 'Et ego vobis dico: facite vobis amicos de mamona iniquitatis, ut cum defeceritis recipiant vos in aeterna tabernacula'. A. believes that the departed saints (especially the apostles and martyrs) have power both to intercede with God on behalf of the needy (Vid. 54-55; Exc. fr. II.135; Ob. Theod. 16) and to dispense blessings to the faithful in this world (cf., e.g., Virgt. 130; Exc. fr. I.17; Exhort. virg. 15; cf. also Augustine, C.D. XXII.8-10); given their position 'in sinu Abrahae' (Lk. 16.22), they have a privileged place of influence with God. [See J.E. Niederhuber, Die Lehre des hl. Ambrosius vom Reiche Gottes auf Erden. Eine patristische Studie

(Mainz, 1904), 219-232. On 'Abraham's bosom', see id., Die Eschatologie des heiligen Ambrosius. Eine patristische Studie (Paderborn, 1907), 62-64.] The poor pray for their benefactors, and will intercede for them on the Day of Judgement (cf. Paulinus of Nola, Ep. 34.10; Maximus of Turin, Serm. 27.1). Augustine pictures these saints as 'laturarii' of almsgivers on the way to heaven (Serm. 18.4; 38.9). corporalia seminas et recipis spiritualia: Reminiscent of Paul's language about the resurrection of the dead in 1 Cor. 15.35-49, esp. vv. 42-44,46, where the contrast is between the earthly body, subject to decay, which is 'sown' in burial, and the 'spiritual' body, incorruptible, which is resurrected at the last day. A. likewise applies the terminology to the contrast of present material gift and future spiritual reward.

Miraris iudicium Domini de sancto Iob?: Vasey, 87-88, points out that Job is associated in A.'s mind with the counsel of perfection in Nab. 57 just as here (and Nab. 58 brings in the rich young man; cf. I.36-37 above).

eius qui: Job himself.

Oculus eram caecorum.... Ego eram infirmorum pater: Job 29.15-16.

'velleribus agnorum meorum calefacti sunt humeri eorum': Job 31.20.

'Foris non habitabat peregrinus...': Job 31.32.

magis beatus quam qui intellegit super pauperis necessitatem et infirmi...: Cf. Ps. 40.2: 'Beatus qui intellegit super egenum et pauperem; in die mala liberabit eum Dominus...'

quem habebit suae debitorem misericordiae: The idea is suggested by Prov. 19.17: 'Faeneratur Domino qui miseretur pauperis', a verse which A. quotes in Nab. 60; Tob. 55 ('ecce usura laudabilis'); Exc. fr. I.60;

cf. also Prov. 13.8; Eccli. 3.30; Lk. 11.41. On obtaining redemption by almsgiving, cf., e.g., I.150; II.126; Nab. 36,58-60; Elia 76; Expl. Ps. 38.27; Expos. Ps. 118.8.41); Paen. II.83; Expos. Luc. VII.245; Epp. 2.26;63.92. The classic presentation of almsgiving as a means of grace is Cyprian, De op. et el. 1ff.; cf. also De or. Dom. 33; Lactantius, Inst. VI.12-13; Paulinus of Nola, Epp. 32.19; 34.4-6; Jerome, In Eph. 5.1; Ep. 120.1; Augustine, Serm. 35.8; 42.2; 123.5; 357.5; Enarr. Ps. 36.3.6.

XII: THREE OBJECTIONS THAT GOD DOES NOT HAVE A CONCERN FOR HUMAN AFFAIRS. AN EXCURSUS ON JOB.

40. The section which follows (I.40-64) deals with divine providence and theodicy, with an excursus [A.'s word: I.47] on the sufferings of Job (I.41-46). The subject of theodicy is not treated by Cic.'s Off., and there is no evocation of Ciceronian language in I.40-64. The theme of duties is not mentioned after I.40 until I.65. It is therefore quite possible that the piece derives from a separate sermon - or indeed two sermons, since I.41-46 might have a different provenance, as the argument of I.40 is interrupted and not picked up until I.47, where A. defends the digression [so Testard, 'Étude', 165; 'Recherches', 90]. There are similarities, too, between the passage from the end of I.40 to I.46 and Interp. III.1-22 [see Testard, 'Conscientia', 228n.1; 'Recherches', 90n.76].

The subject of God's awareness of evil, and of justifying the ways of God to man, well known to the OT Wisdom literature and the Psalms (e.g., Pss. 9,36,49,72), is dealt with by A. in several places: cf., e.g., Parad. 8-9; Interp. I-III, esp. III; Expl. Ps. 1.31; Expos. Ps. 118.7.10ff.; 9.7ff.; 14.15ff. It

is a topic which crops up frequently in patristic teaching; notable treatments include John Chrysostom, De providentia (esp. 12) [text in SCh 79]; Augustine, C.D. I.8ff.; XX.2 [text in CSEL 40]. See the collection of texts in James Walsh & P.G. Walsh, Divine Providence & Human Suffering (MFC 17, Wilmington, Delaware, 1985), esp. 19-162. Christian authors often exploit Stoic arguments on theodicy to justify the benevolence of God's ways (e.g., Minucius Felix, Oct. 16-18; Lactantius, De op. Dei 2-8, 10-14; Ira 9-13; Inst. I.2-5; II.10; VII.3-4,7), and Stoic ideas are merged with Neoplatonism in Augustine (De ordine; Conf. VII.12-18; C.D. XXII.22-24) and Boethius (Consol. Philos.). The attacks are typically against the errors of Epicurean theology or Manichaean dualism; in the case of third-century writers, too, the periodic suffering of the Church obviously made the issue of divine justice a very real one to many believers.

dispensatricis misericordiae: Mercy is personified. Dispensatrix is a very rare feminine form [TLL]. Cf. 'ratio' as a 'domitrix' in I.228.

dum putant hominis actus non curare Dominum...: This divisio [A.'s word: I.47] lists three objections on divine interest in human affairs: (i) the Epicurean (I.47) and Aristotelian (I.48,50) belief that God has no care for men; (ii) the view of flagitiosi (I.47), that God has no knowledge of men's doings; and (iii) the view of other flagitiosi (cf. I.47), that God knows but is unjust in His judgement, since the righteous are seen to suffer while the wicked flourish. Following the digression on Job (I.41-46), A. repeats the division in I.47, and deals with (i) in I.48-50; (ii) in I.51-56; and (iii) in I.57-64.

quid teneat nostra conscientia: Conscience here is in a clearly Christian context: these people imagine that

God is ignorant of the secret deeds to which our conscience testifies. On the absurdity of the creator knowing less than His creature, cf. I.51-56.

quando peccatores divitiis abundare vident: Cf. Ps. 72.12: 'Ecce ipsi peccatores et abundantes in saeculo obtinuerunt divitias'. Ps. 72 is, of course, a locus classicus on the prosperity of the wicked and the suffering of the righteous; A. expounds it in Interp. III. Sanitate here may be suggested by the mentions of the health of the wicked in Ps. 72.4; though the antithesis with the needy, dishonoured, childless, weak, and grieving just people points particularly to the case of Job.

The plight of Job is the example par excellence of the godly sufferer. His story is famously expounded by Gregory the Great in his Moralia in Iob [text in SCh 212,221]; other notable presentations include that of John Chrysostom in Quod nemo laeditur nisi a se ipso [PG 52], and Tertullian, Pat. 14. To A., Job is pre-eminently the model of patience and fortitude (cf. I.113,195) whose godly character was proved by his sufferings (II.20). A useful outline of A.'s portrayal of Job in his works generally is given by J.R. Baskin, 'Job as Moral Exemplar in Ambrose,' Vig.Chr. 35, 1981, 222-231.

41. tres illi reges amici Iob: Eliphaz the Temanite, Bildad the Shuhite, and Zophar the Naamathite (Job 2.11-13). The designation of them as reges comes from the LXX/VL, which in Job 2.11 calls both Eliphaz and Zophar βασιλεύς, and Bildad τύραννος; the Hebrew text and the Vulgate make no mention of their status in this verse (they are simply seniores in 32.4, as compared with the young man Elihu).

inopem factum ex divite, orbatum liberis ex fecundo parente, perfusum ulceris...: Cf. Job 1.1-3,13-19; 2.7-8,12; 7.5; 19.19-20; 30.17,30.

'cur impii vivunt?...': Job 21.7-9.

42. infirmus corde: One whose faith is weak (cf. Rom. 14; 1 Cor. 8.7-13), who cannot see that God has a benevolent purpose in allowing the just to suffer.

'Portate me...': Job 21.3-4. The version of the second verse which A. quotes (Nam etsi arguor, quasi homo arguor) is not what Scripture says, and Portate ergo onus sermonum meorum is not in the biblical text at all. He probably paraphrases the text from memory, and, apparently realising his inaccuracy (Aut certe quia ita est versus), proceeds to give a rendering of v.4 that at least begins more faithfully, with Numquid...?. However, this quotation also goes astray: having first said that Job is criticised as a man, A. now has him criticised by a man; but the Vulgate text reads, 'Numquid contra hominem disputatio mea est, ut merito non debeam contristari?': the point is that Job is complaining to God, his dispute is with God, not man, since God (he thinks) is responsible for his condition; this has nothing to do with Job being criticised as a man for his foolish words, or by a man for his sins which have brought his misfortunes upon him. In both cases, then, A.'s quotation and explanation err; presumably the mistake is attributable to a fault of memory.

'Discede a me, vias tuas scire nolo...': Job 21.14-16. A. makes the first clause singular, to agree with his subject, infirmus; in the biblical text, the whole of the passage is in the plural, with the subject impii (v.7). Quite strikingly, A. equates the infirmus with the wicked, who see no purpose in serving God.

43. Laudatur in Platone quod in Politia sua posuit eum qui contra iustitiam...': A reference to Glaucon, who claims that his task of speaking against justice (restating Socrates's version of Thrasymachus's case)

is imposed on him simply for the purposes of the dialogue and in order to investigate the truth (Plato, Rep. 357Aff., esp. 358C-D [cf. 361E]). Cic. adopts the idea in libris quos scripsit de republica III.8, making Laelius's interlocutor Philus say that he is prepared to state the case against justice only because it is his custom to get at the truth by playing devil's advocate, and in order to humour Laelius. Several pages are missing from our text of Cic.'s Rep. on either side of this passage, and it is difficult to know whether the full text, presumably known to A., indicated the debt to Plato at this point; from the extant text, there probably is insufficient evidence. This may, then, be a case where A. has read Plato for himself and is not entirely leaning on Cic. [pace Madec, 111-112]. [W. Wilbrand, 'Ambrosius und Plato,' RQ 25, 1911, 42*-49*, and, to a lesser extent, Madec, 110-129, argue that A.'s knowledge of Plato generally derives from intermediate sources, such as Cic., Apuleius, Plotinus, Porphyry, and Origen, not from a reading of Plato himself. But the work of Pierre Courcelle (see, int. al., 'Nouveaux aspects du platonisme chez saint Ambroise,' REL 34, 1956, 220-239; 'Tradition platonicienne et traditions chrétiennes du corps-prison (Phédon, 62b; Cratyle, 400c),' REL 43, 1965, 406-443; 'Le corps-tombeau (Plato, Gorgias 493a, Cratyle, 400c, Phèdre 250c,' REA 68, 1966, 101-122; 'La colle et le clou de l'âme dans la tradition néoplatonicienne et chrétienne,' Revue Belge 36, 1958, 72-95) and P. Hadot ('Platon et Plotin dans trois sermons de saint Ambroise,' REL 34, 1956, 202-220) has demonstrated that A. has read the Phaedo and the Phaedrus at least, and if he has read these dialogues there is surely a likelihood that he has read others, like the celebrated Republic, especially given his

ability in Greek.] A. mentions the Republic also in Abr. I.2 (which probably is indebted to Cic.), where he calls Plato 'ipse princeps philosophorum' (cf. Abr. II.37: 'ipse pater philosophiae'; Expl. Ps. 35.1: 'qui tenet in omnes saecularis sapientiae principatum').

44. Quanto antiquior illis Iob...!: See Introduction, II.iv(iv). The book of Job is variously dated from the tenth to the third century B.C., with the sixth century being the most popular estimate. Plato's dates are 428-347 B.C.; the Republic was written c. 375 B.C. Cic. lived from 106 to 43 B.C., and wrote his De Republica in the late 50's.

The parallel between Job and Plato/Cic. is, though, somewhat tenuous. Job does not say (Job 21) that he is going to propound an argument of which he is not fully convinced, as Glaucon and Philus do: resigned to the fact that his friends will criticise him anyhow, he merely asks indulgence of his complaint against God's injustice - a complaint that for him is genuine, in his state of misery. Having given an inaccurate quotation and exegesis of the text of Job 21 in I.42, A. now draws an illegitimate parallel between Job's address and these classical dialogues, out of a desire to demonstrate the anteriority and superiority of biblical truth to philosophy.

phalerandae: A rare, post-classical word.

'exstinguatur lucerna impiorum...': Job 21.17.

Deum doctorem sapientiae et disciplinae...veritatis iudicem: Cf. Job 21.22.

non secundum forensem abundantiam aestimandam beatitudinem singulorum sed secundum interiorem conscientiam...: On the contrast of outward prosperity with true, spiritual beatitudo, cf. II.8-21, and esp. II.1-2,10,12,19,21 on the worth of a good conscience.

Here, A. associates the judgement of God with the

self-judgement of man: the man who knows that he cannot evade God and so keeps himself from sin finds that his good conscience mirrors God's positive judgement of him; blessedness, both in this life and in the life to come, lies in knowing that one is pleasing to God, regardless of outward circumstances. For A., conscience and God's approval are co-ordinate norms of conduct and criteria of blessedness. The emphasis on the final judgement of God (here and in I.45-46) gives a definitely Christian slant to the conscience theme.

arbitra: The feminine form is rare (OLD).

Moritur innocens...: Cf. Job 21.23-24.

in amaritudine animae suae vitam exigit...: Cf. Job 21.25.

nihil secum auferens: Cf. Job 27.19: 'Dives cum dormierit nihil secum auferet: aperit oculos suos et nihil inveniet'.

45. This and the following paragraph are a rhetorical challenge to consider the ultimate plight of the ungodly man as compared with the faithful sufferer (cf. the picture in I.29).

Dicite, inquit, mihi ubi est protectio...?: Cf. Job 21.28.

Signum eius non invenitur: Cf. Wisd. 5.11.

Vita etenim facinorosi ut somnium: Cf. Job 27.19, quoted in I.44n. above. (The demise of the wicked is compared to a dream by Zophar in Job 20.8 also.)

Testard's punctuation here (a question mark after oculos) is surely wrong: there is no question in Job 27.19, and it much better to treat as one the entire phrase from Vita down to delectatio, as does PL, with a tricolon after somnium.

etiam dum vivunt, impiorum requies in inferno sit: Cf. Num. 16.30,33; Ps. 54.16.

There is a notable similarity between A.'s argument

here and the view of Boethius (Consol. Philos. IV.6 [text in CCL 94]) that the wicked who prosper are punished while they live by becoming more and more estranged from virtue.

46. Nonne gravius omnibus foetet sepulchris?: Perhaps evocative of the Jewish abhorrence of the defilement of tombs (cf. John 11.39; note also Matt. 23.27). In Hex. VI.51, A. says that the corpses of the selfish rich perhaps smell worse than those of the poor.

introspecte ulcera et vibices animae eius...: Testard, 'Conscientia', 229-230 compares Cic. III.85: 'Hunc tu quas conscientiae labe in animo censes habuisse, quae vulnera?'

'Quia non in abundantia est vita eius': Lk. 12.15.

Nulla enim hereditas peccatoris: A. probably thinks of Ps. 36 (esp. vv. 10-11,18,20,22), where the fate of the 'peccator' is that he will be left desolate in the end, while the righteous inherit the earth.

XIII: REFUTATION OF THE FIRST OBJECTION

47. Sed revertamur ad propositum...: A. returns to the subject announced in I.40 and interrupted by the excursus on Job; cf. I.40n.

Epicurei: Disciples of the school founded by Epicurus (c. 341-270 B.C.). Epicurus posited an atomistic theory of the universe, in which the human soul is mortal and the gods, though they exist, do not take any interest in the affairs of men but live a life of detached quietism in the 'intermundia' between the innumerable worlds, enjoying one another's friendship and speaking Greek; there is no eternal human destiny and no divine providence; fear of the gods is absurd (cf. Velleius's exposition of Epicurean theology in Cic., N.D. I.18-56; also Lucretius, I.80ff.;

II.167ff., 1090ff.; VI.43ff.). [See A.A. Long, Hellenistic Philosophy, 14-74, esp. 41-49] On the hostility of Christian spokesmen towards Epicurean ethics in particular, cf. I.50n.

In Noe 100, A. refers obliquely to the 'philosophorum quorundam opiniones, qui negant deum curam habere super homines...', also clearly an allusion to the Epicureans.

Nec superfluous velut quidam excursus fuit...: A. justifies his digression on Job by saying that the presentation of the integrity of Job's faith in the midst of his sufferings makes the objections easier to deal with. The logic is not quite right, though: Job's case is, strictly, relevant only to the third objection, and ought to be placed with the answer to it in I.57-64. The problem may be due to the insertion of two strands of sermonic material into this whole section: cf. I.40n.

48. qui Deum putant curam mundi nequaquam habere: Probably there is little or no distinction in A.'s mind between divine care for hominis actus (I.40), or de nobis (I.47), and the present phrase. He links Epicurean and Aristotelian errors together, probably under the influence of Origen [so Madec, 134-135, citing A.J. Festugière, L'ideal religieux des Grecs et l'Évangile (Paris, 1932), 253-254].

sicut Aristoteles adserit usque ad lunam eius descendere providentiam: This notion is mentioned, with or without attribution to Aristotle, by several authors (Diogenes Laertius, V.32; Hippolytus, Refut. VII.19.2; Clement of Alexandria, Protrept. V.66.4; Strom. V.14.90.3; Origen, Sel. in Ps. 35.6; In Ep. ad Rom. 3; Calcidius, In Timaeum 250), but it has not been identified anywhere in Aristotle's extant works. Origen may be a likely source for A.'s information, owing to A.'s familiarity with his works generally; on

the other hand, Courcelle, Recherches 20, argues that Calcidius is A.'s informant [I am not persuaded, though, that Courcelle manages to sort out the chronology of Calcidius satisfactorily to explain A.'s knowledge of his work in the late 380's]. Aristotle certainly posits a division of supra- and sub-lunar regions, and the dominant doctrine of his Metaphysics is that of the Prime/Unmoved Mover who is the ultimate source of all causation but who does not interfere in the world of men. [On his theology, see Jean Pépin, Théologie cosmique et théologie chrétienne (Ambroise, Exam. I,1,1-4) (Paris, 1964), 135-172, 472-492.] In I.50, A. suggests that Aristotle's God (like Zeus in Greek mythology) lives as a king content in his lofty realm, delegating power over the regions of the lower world, but taking no concern for them himself (cf. De mundo 398B). A. is keen above all to contrast the views of philosophers with the truth of the Bible. [I am indebted to Madec, 136-137, for his comments on this section. Madec, 137, notes the repetition of ipsi in I.47-50 to refer to the pagans as a group, regardless of their differences.]

49. de illis: The Epicureans. The denial of divine creation is Epicurean, as is the idea to which A. alludes, that men and beasts are metaphysically similar (i.e., both consist of the same atoms). However, the doctrine of divine immanence in the world (Per omnia ire Deum...) is Stoic, though horum, at the start of I.50, meaning Epicurus's disciples, must surely refer to the ipsi who have just been mentioned. A. appears to confuse Epicurean and Stoic views. It is not clear why he should wish to quarrel with the Stoics in this context, since they believed in deterministic divine providence. His main focus is on the Epicureans, but he strangely imputes a Stoic idea to them, in his concern to contrast pagan

philosophical tenets with Christian teaching.

Per omnia ire Deum ipsi adserunt: A clear echo of Verg., Georg. IV.221-222: 'deum namque ire per omnis/terrasque tractusque maris caelumque profundum' (222 = Ecl. IV.51; cf. also Aen. I.58,280).

scientia: The reasoning here is more appropriate to the refutation of the second objection (I.51-56), where A. is arguing against the charge that God has no knowledge of men; in this first section, the subject is supposed to be that God has knowledge but does not care for men [cf. Testard, 'Étude', 166n.18].

50. magistrum: Epicurus.

velut ebrium et voluptatis patronum: In view of his atomistic cosmology, Epicurus proposed an ethical system in which the highest good was the attainment of 'voluptas' and the avoidance of 'dolor'. This was not originally the concept of debased hedonism which later became associated with Epicurus's name, but the largely negative ideal of a passive life of quietism and freedom from passion, the enjoyment of friendship, and the contemplation of the universe. Cic., however, views this voluptas ideal with extreme suspicion (for his repugnance towards Epicurean ethics, cf. esp. Fin. II; also Tusc. III.36-51), and his hostility is passed to the Church, where the belief became widespread that Epicurus was an advocate of unrestrained sensuality. For A.'s sneers, cf. Ep. 63.13 (Epicurus is 'assertor voluptatis'), 17 (his followers are 'assertores voluptatis'), 19 (he is 'defensor voluptatis'); for other references, cf. II.4; Abr. II.3; II.85. [On the attacks of Christian writers, see Wolfgang Schmid, 'Epikur', RAC V, 792ff.]

ipsi qui putantur sobrii irrident philosophi: A. thinks of Cic. especially.

qui putat Deum suis contentum esse finibus...: Cf. I.48n.

ut poetarum loquuntur fabulae qui mundum ferunt inter tres esse divisum...: A reference to the story of the division of the world between Zeus, Poseidon, and Hades (Homer, Il. XV.187-199) [Courcelle, Recherches, 19n.1, points out similarities in Pseudo-Servius (Servius Danielis), In Aen. I.139 (also VI.287; X.40).]. The myth is brought in to make Aristotle's view of a deity (cf. Zeus in heaven) who is only interested in the supra-lunar realm seem ridiculous; the philosopher merely follows the poets.

Et quomodo ipsi excludunt quos sequuntur poetas?: In several passages, Aristotle quotes myths with approval (e.g., Metaph. 982b11-19; 1074b1-14; Polit. 1269b27-31; 1341b2-8 [for other references, see Jean Pépin, Mythe et Allégorie (Paris, 1976), 121-124]), though elsewhere he calls the poets liars (Metaph. 382b-383a, 982b10). Perhaps, as Testard I, 234n.8, says, ipsi here once again refers to the philosophers generally, rather than just to Aristotle.

XIV: REFUTATION OF THE SECOND OBJECTION

51. cura: The reading of E²,CO, cura, makes the sentence read more naturally than does curam.

'Qui plantavit aurem...?': Ps. 93.9.

52. Non praeteriit haec vana opinio sanctos prophetas:

Again, A. stresses that truth was first delineated, and error first refuted, by the characters of Scripture. The verb praeterire seems to be lodged in the author's mind from the previous paragraph.

David inducit eos...: In Ps. 93.

sub peccato: A Pauline phrase: Rom. 3.9;7.14; Gal. 3.22.

'Usquequo peccatores, Domine...?': Ps. 93.3. A. is confused here: in the Ps., it is David who asks the

question, not the proud sinners, who might be less likely to say, Domine. It is strange that A. should mistake the plain sense of this verse when he is able to quote several verses of the Psalm very accurately in this paragraph.

'Et dixerunt: Non videbit Dominus...': Ps. 93.7. This time, David is quoting the words of the proud, though they are not criticising others, as A.'s apparent linking of this statement with the previous quotation seems to suggest.

'Intellegite nunc insipientes...': Ps. 93.8-11.

Potest opus suum ignorare artifex?: The 'reductio ad absurdum': the creator cannot be ignorant of His own creature. The argument has parallels in the Stoic doctrine of the providential government of the world: cf. Cic., N.D. II.73-156. Augustine's defence of the providence of the creator in Gen. ad litt. V.20ff. [text in CSEL 28] covers some of the same ground. ... 53. Ceterum nobis: Contrasts sharply with Haec illis at the end of I.52: A.'s habitual antithesis of profane (philosophical/ungodly) and Christian views [Introduction, II.iv (iii)].

'Ego sum scrutans corda et renes': Jerem. 17.10.

The 'reins' (kidneys) are of course in Hebrew thought the seat of personality.

'Quid cogitatis mala...?': Lk. 5.22.

evangelista: Luke.

'Sciebat enim Iesus...': Lk. 6.8.

For A., Christ's knowledge is of course the same thing as God's knowledge. [On A.'s Christology, see Dudden II, 591-605; P.K. Schwerdt, Studien zur Lehre des heiligen Ambrosius von der Person Christi (Inaug. diss., Freiburg, 1937), 41-119.]

54. iudicem...occultorum scientiam: Perhaps this is reminiscent of Rom. 2.16: 'in die cum iudicabit Deus occulta hominum...'

sciens opera eorum: Cf. Apoc. 2.2,19; 3.1,8,15.

tradidit eos in tenebras: On God 'handing over' sinners, that is, allowing their judgement to run its course, cf. Rom. 1.24,26,28 (also Acts 7.42).

'In nocte, inquit, erit fur...': Job 24.14-15.

Omnis enim qui lucem fugit, diligit tenebras: Cf. John 3.19-21. [On the imagery of light in A.'s Christological-soteriological teaching, see R. Morgan, Light in the Theology of Saint Ambrose (excerpts of diss., Theol. Fac., Pontifical Gregorian University, Rome, 1963), esp. 19-24, 28-31.]

qui intra profundum abyssi...: Cf. Eccli. 23.28.

'Quis me videt?...': Eccli. 23.25-26.

in lecto suo positus haec cogitet: On the evil man plotting evilly on his bed, cf. Ps. 35.5.

'Et erit, inquit, dedecus...': Eccli. 23.31.

The pastiche of biblical verses which A. composes in this paragraph offers a good insight into the extent to which his mind is permeated by the language of the Scriptures.

55. A. illustrates from nature the penetrating knowledge of God. He argues from lesser to greater: if the sun's warmth and light, created by God, can reach through physical obstacles, how much more can God penetrate the minds and hearts of men whom He has created (I.56)? The language is reminiscent of Lucretius's descriptions of atomic force: e.g., I.354-355, 489ff.; VI.951-953, and esp. 962-964: 'principio terram sol excoquit et facit are,/ at glaciem dissolvit et altis montibus altas/ exstructas<que> nives radiis tabescere cogit'.

varios terra se fundit in fructus: Cf. Verg., Ecl. IX.40-41: '...varios hic flumina circum/ fundit humus flores'.

56. Si igitur radius solis fundit lumen suum...: Also quite Lucretian: cf. Lucr. II.114-115: 'contemplator

enim, cum solis lumina cumque/ inserti fundunt radii
per opaca domorum...'.
in cogitationes hominum et corda: Cf. Eccli. 23.28.

operatoris: The noun is post-classical.

A. exploits an originally Aristotelian argument, that God cannot have made a creature with the potential to be greater than Himself.

The evocation of both Scripture and classical poetry in I.55-56 is typical of the twin influences pervasive in the literary style of a cultured Christian author like A.

XV: REFUTATION OF THE THIRD OBJECTION

57. Tertium genus: The third objection mentioned in I.40,47; this time, doubt is not cast on God's providence or His knowledge, but on His justice.

cur peccatores abundant...: Cf. Ps. 72.12.

parabola: This Greek word comes into Christian Latin from the Bible. The story of the rich man and Lazarus is told in Lk. 16.19-31.

Nonne evidens est meritorum aut praemia aut supplicia post mortem manere?: The answer to those who question God's justice is essentially eschatological: there will be a great reversal of fortunes in the life to come.

58. 'Certamen,' inquit, 'bonum certavi...': 2 Tim. 4.7-8.

Hic autem in laboribus, in periculis, in naufragiis: Cf. 2 Cor. 11.23ff., where Paul lists his sufferings.

'per multas tribulationibus...': Acts 14.21.

non potest quis praemium accipere...: 2 Tim. 2.5.

A. is fond of this NT athletic imagery to describe the Christian's struggle in this life; he continues it in I.59-60,62,183; cf. also Elia 78-81; Parad. 55; Cain

I.17; II.9; Abr. I.6; Interp. III.7-8; Sacr. I.4
[other references in Vasey, 154n.81].

XVI: RICHES AND POVERTY IN TRUE PERSPECTIVE

59. 'Beati pauperes spiritu...': Matt. 5.3. A. proceeds to give a résumé of six of the Matthaean Beatitudes, though not in the biblical order. The Beatitudes were probably recited in the morning liturgy at Milan (cf. Expos. Ps. 118.19.32), and are often quoted by A. He follows Greek exegetes like Gregory of Nyssa in visualising them as eight stages of the Christian soul's progress towards perfect blessedness (though this concept is not in Off.) [see Bernhard In-San Tschang, Octo Beatitudines: die Acht Seligpreisungen als Stufenleiter der Seele bei Ambrosius (Diss., Bonn, 1986), 7-244].

non dixit, Beati divites, sed pauperes: A. equates poverty of spirit with material poverty (cf. the Lukan version of the statement, which simply reads, 'Beati pauperes, quia vestrum est regnum Dei' - Lk. 6.20); similar association is made in II.15-16; Expos. Luc. V.49-53; Apol. alt. 57; Nab. 40; Exc. fr. I.55; Expl. Ps. 36.24; Expl. Ps. 43.93 (cf. the well-known version which Tertullian offers: 'Blessed are the mendici...' - adv. Marc. IV.14). The materially poor have the advantage of not being encumbered with wealth's dangers, and in the realisation of their need they look to God for salvation. In the present context, the godly poor are those who suffer in this world and do not appear to be blessed, but in the world to come will inherit eternal riches as the reward for their faithfulness (while the evil rich will be punished). [On the spiritual advantages of poverty, see Vasey, 183ff.]

humano: This reading (Testard, Banterle) is preferable to CO's humana (PL, Krabinger): A. is drawing a contrast between beatitudo as defined by Scripture and as reckoned by the ungodly.

'Beati qui esuriunt...': Matt. 5.6.

'Beati qui lugent...': Matt. 5.5.

'Beati misericordes...': Matt. 5.7.

'Beati mundo corde...': Matt. 5.8.

'Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur...': Matt. 5.10-12.

Quid alibi poscis...?: The section which follows to the end of I.63 contains two rhetorical flourishes: first, the challenge to the individual to continue in the Christian struggle, with a series of short rhetorical questions with anaphora, and the dramatic evocation of a wrestling contest, with the imagined exchange of words between athletes and spectators (I.59-60); second, the judgement-day scene as the rich man is rebuked for failing to help the needy (I.63).

coronam...pulverem...: One is reminded of Horace, Ep. I.1.51: 'cui sit condicio dulcis sine pulvere palmae'.

in scammate: A Greek word which comes into later Latin. It can mean either a jumpers' pit or a wrestling-ring; here, the latter.

60. Sed forte dicas...: This anticipation and refutation of an objection is known technically as prokataleipsis.

qui non subscripserint ad coronam: 'Those who do not enter as contestants for the crown' (the idea is that of entering one's name in a competition).

non se perfundunt oleo, non oblinunt pulvere: Wrestlers anointed themselves with olive oil and were then sprinkled with dust in an area of the 'palaestra' known as the 'conisterium' (Vitruvius, V.11.2; Lucian, Anach. 2). [For a description of the procedure at a

typical wrestling bout, see H.A. Harris, Greek Athletes and Athletics (London, 1964), 102-105.]

61. habent lucrum laboris: The rich have the benefit of others' effort; they are like spectators, at ease while the contestants labour in order to entertain them. A. hints at the exploitation of the poor by the rich.

Horum requies in infernis: Cf. I.45n.

[On the punishment of the wicked and the reward of the blessed, see J.E. Niederhuber, Die Eschatologie des heiligen Ambrosius (Paderborn, 1907), 23-46, 64-126.]

tua in paradiso: Cf. Lk. 23.43.

Unde pulchre vigilare eos in tumulto Iob dixit: Cf. Job 21.32. As in I.41-46, the story of Job (again in ch. 21 in particular) inevitably reappears in the context of theodicy.

soporem quietis...quem ille dormivit qui resurrexit: A. relates Job 21.32 to the resurrection of Christ similarly in Interp. III.19; in the present passage, he also seems to think of Ps. 3.6, which was traditionally taken to be messianic in application: 'Ego dormivi et soporatus sum; exsurrexi quia Dominus suscipiet me' [Testard I, 236nn.5-6].

62. Noli igitur ut parvulus sapere...: Cf. 1 Cor. 13.11. The reward of eternal life is only for the mature, who have progressed beyond the spiritual education of this world. (On the concept of Christian maturity, cf., e.g., 1 Cor. 3.1ff., 14.20; Eph. 4.14-15).

exspecta ut veniat quod perfectum est: Cf. 1 Cor. 13.10.

quando non 'per speciem in aenigmate sed facie ad faciem': 1 Cor. 13.12.

63. For another scathing condemnation of the exploiting rich man, cf. Nab. 2ff.; A. is constantly urging the rich to recognise their duties to the

needy; wealth provides an opportunity for virtue if it is correctly used [see also Vasey, 214-218].

ut excusationem habere non possis: On being without excuse in the face of God's judgement, cf. Rom.2.1.

viduae, orphanis: Standard types of the helpless in Scripture: cf. Ex. 22.21; Pss. 67.6; 81.3-4; 145.9; Eccli. 35.17; Is. 1.17; Jerem. 22.3; Jas. 1.27.

'Eripe iniuriam accipientem': Eccli. 4.9.

'Eripite pauperem et egenum...': Ps. 81.4.

Famulus meus: The use of the nominative for the vocative is colloquial (it appears in the biblical verse which A. quotes - next n.). It is noteworthy that God still addresses the wealthy sinner as His servant; probably A. is thinking of the master/servant parables such as Matt. 18.23-35; 24.45-51 (Lk. 12.42-46); 25.14-30 (Lk. 19.12-26).

'Quid feci tibi aut quid contristavi te?': Mic. 6.3.

despiciebas mandata mea: On the despising of God's commandments, cf., e.g., Lev. 26.15,43; Ezek. 20.13,16,24.

64. de Iuda proditore...qui et apostolus inter duodecim electus est: Cf. Matt. 10.2-4/Mk. 3.14-19/Lk. 6.13-16; John 6.71-72.

et loculos pecuniarum quas pauperibus erogaret, commissos habebat: Cf. John 12.6; 13.29; Judas was a dishonest keeper of the purse.

iustificaretur: A late word.

quasi praevaricatus gratiam: Praevaricari with the sense of 'sin against, deviate from, transgress' is a Christian usage [on the development of the word, see Mary Finbarr Barry, The Vocabulary of the Moral-Ascetical Works of Saint Ambrose: a Study in Latin Lexicography (CUAPS 10, Washington, 1926), 230n.8]. The verb is used of Judas Iscariot in Acts 1.25. With Judas's increased privilege came increased responsibility. On sinning against grace, cf. Rom. 6.

XVII: MODESTY BECOMING FOR YOUNG MEN

65. De officiis adgrediamur dicere: A. now begins a new section of the Book, on the theme of modesty (verecundia). [Some of the medieval copyists mark this place as the start of the Book proper, with all that has gone before serving merely as an introduction: see Testard, 'Étude', 155-156n.3.] Verecundia covers approximately I.65-89, although A. appears in I.81 to have finished with the topic, and the sections which follow I.89, on anger (I.90-97) and on decorum (essentially I.98-114) continue themes which might all be dealt with under the same heading of modesty. The themes of verecundia and decorum are both suggested by Cic., and there is a significant amount of Ciceronian evocation throughout I.65-114 (except for I.90-96). Cic., however, discusses both concepts under the category of temperance (Cic. I.93-151). Why, then, does A. fragment his treatment of temperance (which begins properly at I.210, and discusses decorum in I.219-225) by spending so much of the earlier part of the Book on related themes? One answer that has been given is that he is influenced by the themes of the introductory section (I.1-22), and means to pick up points like speech, silence, and anger in order to emphasise them afresh. It is also said that he slants the verecundia treatment specifically to suit his clerical addressees, talking about, for example, chastity (I.68-69); prayer (I.70,88); gesture and gait suitable for priests (I.71-75); the tone of voice fitting for them (I.67,84); suitable social company for them (I.86-88); Bible study (I.88), and so on. [See Steidle 1984, esp. 34ff.] There is truth in both of these observations, but it is hard to see how they exonerate A. for his double treatment of modesty; after all, he

generally relates Cic.'s material to a clerical audience anyhow, and certainly does in I.210ff.: if he can slant the temperance theme in this direction when he deals with it in its proper place [as Steidle's own references clearly show], why does he have to anticipate any of the material earlier in the Book? In the end, we cannot avoid concluding that Cic.'s one-stage exposition of temperance is much clearer. The likelihood may well be that I.65-89 and I.210ff. emanate from different sources: the first section may come from a sermon preached on clerical verecundia, with particular reference to topics suggested by Cic., while I.210ff. covers some of the same ground, only in the proper place, as part of the cardinal virtues section which forms the body of the Book (preached or written). As ever, the composition of the work remains something of an enigma. [Introduction, III.] quae nobis ab adolescentia spectanda sunt...: Cf. Cic. I.122: 'Et quoniam officia non eadem disparibus aetatibus tribuuntur aliaque sunt iuvenum, alia seniorum, aliquid etiam de hac distinctione dicendum est. Est igitur adolescentis maiores natu vereri exque iis deligere optimos et probatissimos, quorum consilio atque auctoritate nitatur....' A. is addressing, in the first place, young clerics; he takes over some of Cic.'s teaching, but adds specifically Christian features. Fear of God [on which cf. I.1n.] comes first in the list of obligations; then, as well as respect for elders generally, A. mentions deference to parents (cf., e.g., Ex. 20.12/Deut. 5.16; Eph. 6.1-3; Col. 3.20); castitatem tueri almost certainly goes further than Cic.'s warnings against 'libidines' and 'intemperantia'; humilitas is a Christian virtue (cf. I.1n.); and clementia probably suggests godly compassion. There is, then, a definitely new shade

given to Cic.'s picture, as A. prescribes rules for the young man of the Church, as opposed to the aspiring statesman who must pass through military and civil service. [A. picks up Cic. I.122 again at I.212.]

in senibus gravitas: Isidore, Orig. XI.2.6, describes gravitas as the particular characteristic of men in the 'fifth stage' of life, that is, between 'iuventus' and 'senectus'.

iuvenibus...adulescentibus: An adulescens is a youth in his late teens or early twenties; a iuvenis is older, a young man in his twenties or thirties. (A. gives the sequence of titles in Ep. 44.12: 'infans, puer, adulescens, iuvenis, vir, veteranus, senex'; cf. also Isidore, Orig. XI.2.)

The very youngest clerics, then, must be in A.'s sights here. His interest in the young is evidenced by the fact that he sometimes cared for children in his own home (Epp. 54-55). Some of the junior officers in the early Church were very young: Augustine speaks of readers who were mere 'pueri' (Consens. evang. I.10.15; Serm. 352.1).

velut quadam dote commendatur naturae: On the importance of nature as a norm for modesty, cf. I.77-78,84; the notion is both Stoic and Pauline (I.77n.).

66. Erat Isaac Dominum timens...: On the story of Isaac's obedience to his father Abraham on Mt. Moriah, see Gen. 22.1-19; contrary to what A. implies (nec mortem recusaret), however, Isaac was unaware that he was to be sacrificed (at least until he was tied to the altar!).

Ioseph quoque cum somniasset...: Gen. 37.9-11; on Joseph's deference to his father Jacob, see vv. 10ff.

castus ita ut...: A reference to Joseph's encounter with the temptress wife of Potiphar, when he refused her seductive overtures: Gen. 39.6ff.

humilis usque ad servitutem: He was sold into slavery by his brothers (Gen. 37.28), and also by the Midianites/Ishmaelites (Gen. 37.36; 39.1).

verecundus usque ad fugam: His exile in Egypt, far from his home and family in Canaan (Gen. 39ff.).

patiens usque ad carcerem: He was imprisoned for allegedly attempting to rape Potiphar's wife: Gen. 39.20.

remissor iniuriae usque ad remunerationem: His forgiveness of and generosity to his brothers: Gen. 45ff. Remissor is a rare word.

Note the string of usque ad clauses: A.'s oratorical abilities shine through.

comprehensus a muliere...: The final incident with Potiphar's wife: Gen. 39.11ff. Mulier probably carries a pejorative force here, as often.

vellet: This reading is defensible (so Testard, Banterle; contra PL, Krabinger); there are several classical parallels for volo = malo.

Moyses quoque: See Ex. 3.1-4.17 (esp. 3.11). On Moses's modesty, cf. also Num. 12.3.

Ieremias: See Jer. 1.4-19 (esp. v.6).

Notice how the exemplars in this paragraph illustrate the virtues of young men specified in I.65: Isaac, fear of God and deference to his father; Joseph, deference to his father, chastity, humility, modesty, mercy; Moses and Jeremiah, modesty.

XVIII: MODESTY OF SPEECH AND BODILY DEPORTMENT

67. ne quid indecorum sermo resonet tuus: Cf. Cic. I.134: 'In primisque provideat, ne sermo vitium aliquod indicet inesse in moribus'.

Speculum enim mentis plerumque in verbis refulget: On the idea that speech reflects the state of the heart,

cf. Cic., De Or. III.221-223.

Ipsum vocis sonum librat modestia: Cf. I.84,104.

in ipso canendi: Cf. I.32, on gradual development of the voice in singing.

psallere: Here in the Christian sense of singing or intoning a Psalm. [On the practice of psalmody in the Milanese liturgy, see Helmut Leeb, Die Psalmodie bei Ambrosius (Vienna, 1967), 24-89 (on psallere, 37-40); also Monachino, 139-151.]

sensim...incipiat: As part of securing the audience's favour ('captatio benevolentiae'), Cic., De Or. II.182-183 (cf. in general II.178ff.), suggests that an impression of 'lenitas' should be given by restraint of the voice (and also by facial expression). For the orator, this is to gain a positive hearing; to A., it is a mark of modesty in the Christian psalm-leader, singer, or speaker. (Horace, Sat. I.10.13-14, says that the clever orator keeps his strength in reserve by carefully rationing it out - Banterle, 67n.2 - but this is for practical purposes, not out of modesty.)

68. Silentium quoque ipsum...: On the virtues of silence, cf. I.5-22,31-35.

si aut infantiae putatur aut superbiae...: Care must be taken not to give the wrong impression as to the reasons for silence; it must clearly be due to modesty.

Tacebat in periculis Susanna...: Cf. I.9 and n.

ora...virum: The archaic genitive plural with ora is defensible, as Testard I, 238n.6, says; to the solid attestation in the MSS should be added the fact that the phrase is common in classical poetry (e.g., Vergil, Aen. VIII.197; IX.471; Georg. III.9).

69. Est enim verecundia pudicitiae comes: Modesty has a particular connection with sexual purity, as the case of Susanna exemplifies. A. asserts that there

are three grades of chastity: these are, in ascending order of virtue, purity in marriage, widowhood, and virginity (Vid. 23-26; Ep. 63.40); Jerome makes a similar classification (e.g., Epp. 22.41; 49.11; 66.2), as does Augustine (C.D. XV.26). Here, pudicitia means virginity (A. goes on to speak about the Virgin Mary); pudor (modesty - effectively a synonym for verecundia in a sexual context) protects it no less than it protects castitas (purity in marriage, like that of Susanna). On pudor and pudicitia, cf. the similar conception of Augustine, in C.D. I.16. [On A.'s zeal for virginity as the highest state, see, int. al., Ernst Bickel, Das asketische Ideal bei Ambrosius, Hieronymus und Augustin. Eine Kulturgeschichtliche Studie (Leipzig, 1916), 21ff.; Dudden I, 144-159; C. Riggi, 'La verginità nel pensiero di S. Ambrogio,' Salesianum 42, 1980, 789-806. The fullest treatment is that of Raymond D'Izarny, La virginité selon saint Ambroise (2 Vols., thesis, Institut Catholique de Lyon, 1952): see esp. I, 12-51, 65-68. On chastity within marriage, see William Joseph Dooley, Marriage according to St. Ambrose (Washington, 1948), 43-56.] The vital importance of priestly celibacy is discussed at I.248-249.

praetendat: Modesty is like a sentry keeping watch over a camp (cf. the use of the verb in I.32, 251).

Domini matrem commendat legentibus...: Readers of the Annunciation scene in Luke's gospel (Lk. 1.26-38) are struck by the pudor of the Virgin Mary, the 'imago/magistra virginitatis' (Virg. II.6-15), the supreme exemplar of ascetic perfection. [See Charles W. Neumann, The Virgin Mary in the Works of Saint Ambrose (Fribourg, 1962), passim, and esp. 35-66, on Virg.] The description of the Annunciation here is similar to (though more compressed than) that in Virg.

II.11 and Expos. Luc. II.1ff.

testis locuples: The phrase may be suggested by Cic. III.10; it is used elsewhere in Cic. as well (Div. I.37; cf. also II.119; Brut. 47; Rep. I.16).

adstruit: The sense of 'asserted' is found only in late Latin [TLL].

peregrinatur: The use of the verb to mean 'consider it strange' is biblical (1 Pet. 4.4,12); the editors' emendation to peregrinam turbatur (retained by PL, Krabinger) is unnecessary [Testard I, 238-239n.12].

70. oratione: 'Prayer' (Christian Latin).

multum conciliat gratiae apud Deum nostrum: A. is still thinking of the Annunciation scene: cf. Gabriel's word's to Mary: 'invenisti enim gratiam apud Deum...' (Lk. 1.30).

Nonne haec praetulit publicanum...?: For the story of the proud, self-righteous Pharisee and the penitent tax-collector, see Lk. 18.9-14.

praesumptio: The sense of 'presumption, audacity' is a late usage.

'in incorruptione quieti et modesti spiritus...': 1 Pet. 3.4. In context, though, Peter is talking about the chaste adornment of Christian wives, not about prayer.

apud quem nemo dives: By nature, all men as sinners are paupers in God's sight.

Dei portio est: Cf. Pss. 118.57; 141.6.

'cum verecundia et sobrietate': 1 Tim. 2.9. Paul speaks of men praying in 1 Tim. 2.8; v.9 seems to continue the theme of prayer, though Paul broadens out to cover women's deportment more generally.

[On A.'s personal devotion to prayer, see Dudden I, 108.]

This paragraph clearly indicates that A. treats verecundia and modestia as synonyms.

71. Est etiam in ipso motu, gestu, incessu tenenda

verecundia: Cf. Cic. I.126: 'Sed quoniam decorum illud in omnibus factis, dictis, in corporis denique motu et statu cernitur...'; 128: 'status, incessus, sessio, accubitio, vultus, oculi, manuum motus teneat illud decorum'.

Habitus enim mentis in corporis statu cernitur: The notion of physiognomy, or, in modern parlance, body language, the idea that one's character is revealed in one's physical deportment, has been popular since antiquity. Cf., e.g., Xenophon, Mem. I.4.6; III.10.5; Aulus Gellius, N.A. I.9.2; it is often applied to the orator's gestures: cf. Cic., De Or. III.220-223 (esp. 222: 'Est enim actio quasi sermo corporis...'); Or. 55. There is also biblical support: cf. Eccli. 19.26-28. On revealing faults of character by one's speech or expression, cf. I.14 (speech), 89 (speech and expression).

'homo cordis nostri absconditus': 1 Pet. 3.4.

aut levior aut iactantior aut turbidior: These faults are all in various contexts condemned by A.: levity (I.72,102-103); boasting (I.147;II.76,102,122; III.133); irritability/anger (I.13-22,90-97,231-238).

72. Meministis, filii, quemdam amicum...: An illustration from the experience of the Milanese clergy (cf. II.150-151). We have no other information on the two clerics mentioned here. The author of the Carolingian vita of A. mentions the story on the basis of the present passage (69-70).

We can glimpse just how exacting the bishop's standards are: the first man is rejected as a candidate for the clergy solely because of his unseemly physical deportment, cum sedulis se videretur commendare officiis.

alterum quoque, cum in clero repperissem...: This man is among the clergy inherited from A.'s Arian predecessor, Auxentius [so M. Meslin, Les Ariens

d'Occident, 335-430 (Paris, 1967), 45; M. Simonetti, La crisi Ariana nel IV secolo (Rome, 1975), 438].

Perhaps this is the one who subsequently deserted to the Arians (see below), though A. does not specify.

iubere me ne umquam praeiret mihi...: A. forbade this cleric, probably a deacon, to walk in front of him in an ecclesiastical procession because his gait was offensively uncouth. On gait as an index to character, cf. Cic. I.131; Cael. 49; Sallust, Cat. 15.4; Vergil, Aen. I.405. On control of body as conformity with nature, cf. Cic., Fin. V.35-36.

oculos feriret meos: Possibly suggested by Cic. I.128: '...ab omni, quod abhorret ab oculorum auriumque approbatione, fugiamus'.

A. seems to have been a strict disciplinarian with his clergy, though he frequently expresses his love for them (e.g., I.24; II.155), and insists that excommunication of a miscreant must be carried out only as a last resort (II.135). Sozomen, H.E. VIII.6, provides another example of his discipline. He tells of one Gerontius, later bishop of Nicomedia: when a deacon at Milan, he was disciplined by A. for spreading the story that he had dreamed that he had seized an ass-like creature, cut off its head, and flung it into a mill-house; A. ordered him to do penance, but he refused, and, like the two men mentioned here, left the Milanese Church.

alter Arianae infestationis tempore fidem deseruit: A reference to the Arian crisis at Milan in 385-386, and probably to the climax in the spring of 386 [Introduction, I]. The term infestatio is regularly used by Christian authors for an attack on the Church by heretics or pagans [TLL]. On 'deserting the Faith', cf. 1 Tim. 4.1 ('discedent quidam a fide').

alter pecuniae studio, ne iudicium subiret sacerdotale, se nostrum negavit: Apparently the

cleric had been involved in some illicit deal for his own profit and denied that he was a member of the clergy in order to escape ecclesiastical jurisdiction, that is, punishment by his bishop.

scurrarum percursantium: Wandering jesters employed to entertain at dinner-parties. [On the figure of the scurra from Plautine comedy onwards, see P. Corbett, The Scurra (Edinburgh, 1986), passim; the character is sometimes a young social pest rather than an entertainer; A. refers to the latter.]

73. qui sensim ambulando imitantur histrionicos gestus: Cf. Cic. I.130: '...histrionum nonnulli gestus ineptiis non vacant' (cf. also Cic., De Or. III.213ff.). Artificial, stagey movements are no less offensive than the uncouth gait mentioned in I.72 (cf. also Ep. 58.5).

quasi quaedam fercula pomparum et statuarum motus nutantium: Cf. Cic. I.131: 'Cavendum autem est, ne aut tarditatibus utamur <in> ingressu mollioribus, ut pomparum ferculis similes esse videamur'. Fercula are litters used to carry spoils or images of gods in public processions. Those who bear them move with slow, measured paces, as if marking time. On the use of nutare, cf. Juvenal, III.254-256.

74. Nam plerumque festinantes anhelos videmus torquere ora...: Cf. Cic. I.131: '[Sc. cavendum est ne] aut in festinationibus suscipiamus nimias celeritates, quae cum fiunt, anhelitus moventur, vultus mutantur, ora torquentur...'

naevus: The sense of moral 'fault' is post-classical.
excussorum ruinas: The text as it stands is very obscure. I am not convinced by Testard's idea (I, 240-241n.28) that the words should be translated, 'the tumblings of acrobats': in none of the passages which he cites is 'excussor' found as a noun, nor is there evidence that the perfect participle, 'excussus', is

ever used with substantival force in this sense; either as a noun or a participle, then, there is little to suggest that the word can of itself mean 'acrobats'. De Romestin's 'the ruin of outcasts' makes no sense contextually, nor does Banterle's 'il precipitarsi come saette' (apparently inspired by Cavašin's 'quelli che corrono da parere saette'); and Niederhuber's 'wenn sie sich uberstürzen, als hatte man sie fortgejagt' sheds no light either. A. must be making a contrast between those who walk at an awkwardly slow pace and those who stumble as they rush along. I am therefore inclined to believe that the best solution is that suggested in TLL (s.v. 'excursor'), that the text should be emended to excursorum, to mean something like 'the stumblings of those who rush forward'.

75. motus sit purus ac simplex: Similar qualities are commended for language (I.101) and the voice (I.104); cf., too, of the heart in I.93. The same basic features of modesty must be found in every dimension of behaviour.

Motum natura informat: On the significance of nature, cf. I.77n.

76. coinquinat hominem. Non enim cibus inquinat...: Cf. Matt. 15.10-20/Mk. 7.14-23.

verborum obscenitas: Cf. Cic. I.127-128, on the 'obscenitas' of speaking about bodily parts or functions which nature has intended to be kept private. (Cf. also Eph. 5.12, on evildoers: 'quae enim in occulto fiunt ab ipsis turpe est et dicere'.)

ne aures quidem debemus huiusmodi praebere dictis: Cf. Cic. I.128: '...ab omni, quod abhorret ab oculorum auriumque approbatione, fugiamus'.

sicut Ioseph...: See Gen. 39.6-20 on Joseph and Potiphar's wife, esp. vv. 11-12.

77. Intellegere quoque...: Testard prints this as the

last sentence of I.76 but translates it as the start of I.77. It ought to stand at the beginning of I.77, since the sense is then continued in what follows, and spectare...horroris est then makes the second of an opening pair of sentences both commencing with an infinitive (with vero as an intensive, not an adversative, conjunction).

Nec ipsa natura nos docet?: PL's punctuation is preferable to that of Krabinger and Testard: A. is echoing Paul's rhetorical question in 1 Cor. 11.14 ('Nec ipsa natura docet vos...?'), and quae is a connecting relative at the start of a new sentence.

A. finds a useful affinity between the language of 1 Cor. 11-12 and the development of Cic. in Cic. I.126ff.: the Stoic conviction about following nature is approved by the NT. Both Stoics and Christians can agree that the design of the human body is so ordered by nature as to teach modesty. Cf. esp. Cic. I.126-127 (from 126: 'Principio corporis nostri magnam natura ipsa videatur habuisse rationem...').

quasi in arce quadam locatus: This phrase, together with amandavit, may well be drawn from Cic., N.D. II.140-141, from the Stoic description of providence's design in the structure of man's body; A. almost certainly exploits N.D. II.133ff. in Hex. VI.54-74 [see W. Gossel, Quibus ex fontibus Ambrosius in describendo corpore humano hauserit (Ambros. Exaem. VI. 54-74) (Leipzig, 1908), 30-67, argues for Middle- and Neo-Platonist intermediaries in Hex. (cf. also Jean Pépin, Théologie cosmique et théologie chrétienne (Paris, 1964), passim, and esp. 113-117), but the Stoic input is the primary inspiration, since the writers of the Platonist tradition themselves draw on Cic.]

78. Nonne igitur ipsa natura est magistra verecundiae?: Cf. Cic. I.129: 'Retinenda igitur est

huius generis verecundia, praesertim natura ipsa magistra et duce'.

modestia...quam a modo scientiae quid deceret appellatam arbitror: A. once again shows an interest in etymology; this time, it is directly from Cic. I.142: 'Haec autem scientia continentur es, quam Graeci $\epsilon\upsilon\tau\alpha\{\iota\alpha\nu$ nominant, non hanc, quam interpretamur modestiam, quo in verbo modus inest...'. The derivation of modestia from modus, to mean 'keeping measure', is correct. Augustine refers to this derivation in De beata vita 32.

ut ostium illud quod ex transverso faciendum in arca illa Noe iusto dictum est: See Gen. 6.14-16.

in qua vel Ecclesiae vel nostri figura est corporis...: The idea that the ark is a type of the Church is found, for example, in Origen, Hom. in Gen. II.5. The ark as a figure of the human body comes from Philo, Quaest. in Gen. II.1ff., esp.6 [on A.'s debt to both Origen and Philo, see Introduction, I]. A. refers to the latter notion in Noe 13-30, an exposition which is prior to the present passage (Quod alio loco, below, refers to it). On the ostium, cf. Noe 24; Hex. VI.71-72. Both images, Church and body, are exploited by Augustine (esp. C.D. XV.26-27). On A.'s allegorical and typological exegesis, see Introduction, II.vii.

ab aspectu nostro averteret...: Cf. Cic. I.127.

'Quae videntur,' inquit, 'membra...': 1 Cor. 12.22-23.

eorum indicia ususque membrorum suis appellationibus nuncupare indecorum putemus: Cf. Cic. I.127:

'...quarumque partium corporis usus sunt necessarii, eas neque partes neque earum usus suis nominibus appellant, quodque facere non turpe est, modo occulte, id dicere obscenum est'.

79. si casu aperiantur hae partes...: Cf. Cic. I.129,

on the 'vetus disciplina verecundiae' of actors, who never step onto the stage without wearing a breech-cloth, 'verentur enim, ne, si quo casu evenerit, ut corporis partes quaedam aperiantur, aspiciantur non decore'.

Unde et filius Noe Cham offensam retulit...: Gen. 9.20-27.

benedictionis: The word is unique to Christian Latin. Ex quo mos vetus et in urbe Roma...: Cf. Cic. I.129: 'Nostro quidem more cum parentibus puberes filii, cum soceris generi non lavantur'. [The story is also found in Cic., De Or. II.224; Plutarch, Cato Maior 20.7-8; Valerius Maximus, II.1.7; Hist. Aug. Gord. tres, 6. A. mentions it in Noe 116, too.] A. suggests (Ex quo...) that the custom was plagiarised from Gen. [Introduction, II.iv (iv).] Augustine's father was not an observer of the practice: cf. Conf. II.3.

lavacrum: The word is late; very often in Christian authors it means 'baptism' (e.g., I.248).

80. Sacerdotes quoque veteri more, sicut in Exodo legimus...: Ex. 28.42-43. This biblical vetus mos is implicitly added to the case of Gen. 9.20-27 as further evidence of OT precedent for the vetus mos which Cic. mentions. [On ea after bracas lineas in the quotation, see Testard I, 242n.44.]

Quod nonnulli nostrum servare adhuc feruntur: Many clerics in A.'s day consider the wearing of linen undergarments to be still obligatory. He himself is inclined to interpret the text 'spiritually', seeing the important point as the maintenance of modesty and chastity, rather than a rule about clerical dress. [Michael P. McHugh, 'Linen, Wool and Colour - Their Appearance in Saint Ambrose,' BICS 23, 1976, 99-101, briefly lists some of A.'s references to clothing.]

spiritali interpretatione: The third sense of

Scripture, besides the literal and the moral [Introduction, II.vii].

XIX: MODESTY OF BODY AND VOICE

81. Delectavit me diutius in partibus demorari verecundiae: This suggests that the treatment of verecundia is now at an end, but in fact it continues in I.85-89, and this intervening section, I.81-84, is really on the same lines (verecundia is mentioned in I.83). On these problems of the composition of the work, see Introduction, III.

ad vos loquebar: Possibly (but by no means definitely) from a sermon; Introduction, III.

Quae cum sit omnibus aetatibus...: Cf. Cic. I.125: 'Ita fere officia reperientur, cum quaeretur quid deceat et quid aptum sit personis, temporibus, aetatibus'. A. takes over from Cic. the Panaetian concept of different roles according to different ages and situations. Once again (cf. I.65-66), he focuses on young men primarily.

82. ordo vitae: Ordo is one of Cic.'s designations of temperance (Cic. I.17,126,142,144), the maintenance of order (the Stoic $\epsilon\upsilon\tau\alpha\chi\iota\alpha$) in the conduct of life. A. follows him in his use of the word: I.211,219.

Unde Tullius: The fourth mention of Cic.

ordinem putat in illo decore servari oportere idque positum dicit in formositate, ordine, ornatu ad actionem apto, quae difficile ait loquendo...: Cf. Cic. I.126: 'Sed quoniam decorum illud in omnibus factis, dictis, in corporis denique motu et statu cernitur idque positum est in tribus rebus, formositate, ordine, ornatu ad actionem apto, difficilibus ad eloquendum, sed satis erit intellegi...'. This is the only occasion in the work

where A. names Cic. and then quotes him (though the reference in I.180 comes after an allusion); his reason may be (cf. the start of I.83) to draw attention to the use of the word formositas, which occurs only here in Cic.'s extant works (otherwise in Apuleius, Met. IV.28; VI.16; IX.17; X.31; and late authors); he singles out this category for disagreement [so Testard I, 243n.2; 'Recherches', 87].

83. quamvis etiam ille vires corporis laudet: Cic. does not in fact extol physical strength as a part of decus at this point; he mentions it in connection with fortitude in I.79 (subordinating it to mental or spiritual courage), and as an advantage to be weighed against outward expediences in II.88 (assuming the text there is sound). A.'s charge is, then, rather overstated.

Note the typically sharp antithesis of ille.... Nos certe.

in pulchritudine corporis locum virtutis non ponimus:

In fairness, though, Cic. himself does not set virtue in the body; he simply says that physical attractiveness, which is a part of nature's wise design of the body with a view to modesty, is connected with outward propriety. A. essentially agrees (cf. also his conviction that the body's appearance is a clue to the state of the heart: I.71-72); he is seeking to draw a contrast with Cic. that really is not there.

in ipso quoque corporis decore...decor corporis: Here, decor is masculine, and means 'beauty'; in I.82, drawing on Cic. I.126, in illo decore uses decus, neuter, meaning 'propriety' [so Testard, 242-243n.2, though Testard fails to point out that the root of the two words is in any case the same; the idea of propriety lies at the heart of both].

sed naturalis, simplex...: Cic. also urges the

observance of 'mediocritas' in clothing and outward appearance (I.130; vestmentis, below, may well be suggested by Cic.'s 'vestitus'). A. condemns the ostentatious attire of the wealthy (Hex. V.77; Nab. 3; Tob. 19; Luc. V.107). As was typical in the Western Church, A. himself must usually have worn the same clothes as a layman of similar social rank, since people often mistook him and his brother Satyrus for one another (Exc. fr. I.38); Augustine, however, was conspicuous as a 'servus Dei' in his plain black 'birrus' (Aug., Enarr. in Ps. 147.8), and in later years asserts that expensive silk clothing would be unseemly for one of his age and profession (Aug., Serm. 356.13). Jerome, Ep. 52.9, similarly warns Nepotian against extravagance of dress.

84. Vox ipsa: A. is particularly concerned about the tone of the voice as a gauge of modesty: cf. I.67,104. He himself suffered from a weak voice (Sacr. I.24; Augustine, Conf. VI.3). In I.104, he draws on Cic. I.133, who describes how propriety of voice is to be upheld.

sucum virilem: Sucus is often used classically of the spirit of a discourse (e.g., Cic., De Or. II.93; III.96; Brut. 36; Or. 76). A. repeats this necessity for the voice to have manly vigour in I.104.

ordo...ornatus...actionem: Picks up Cic.'s language in I.126 which A. quotes in I.82.

Sed ut molliculum et infractum aut vocis sonum aut gestum corporis non probo, ita neque agrestem ac rusticum: Cf. Cic. I.129: 'Quibus in rebus duo maxime sunt fugienda, ne quid effeminatum aut molle et ne quid durum aut rusticum sit'.

Naturam imitemur: Again (cf. I.77-78), A. is able to advocate a principle which is essentially Stoic, and which he finds validated in the NT (I.77n.).

XX: CLERICAL MODESTY INVOLVES THE AVOIDANCE OF UNSEEMLY COMPANY

85. intemperantium...consortia, qui sub specie iucunditatis venenum infundunt bonis: The principle of avoiding bad company is frequently expressed in the Scriptures: cf. Paul's quotation of Menander's Thais [fr. 218, Kock] in 1 Cor. 15.33: 'Corrumpunt mores bonos conloquia mala'; also Prov. 13.20; 22.24-25; 2 Cor. 6.14-18; Eph. 5.1ff.

harmoniam...concentum: Reminiscent of both Platonist and Stoic beliefs, that virtue lies in harmony of soul, attained by the control of the passions by reason.

86. ecclesiasticis, et maxime ministrorum officiis: Minister is frequently used by A. to refer to a cleric generally, but it often means 'deacon' in particular (as it very probably does in I.247; II.121-122,134; III.58). Here, the word probably refers to priests and deacons generally, as distinct from lesser ecclesiastics such as readers, exorcists, and doorkeepers. [See Roger Gryson, 'Les degrés du clergé et leurs dénominations chez saint Ambroise de Milan,' Rev. Bén. 66, 1966, 119-127.] On ministrorum officiis here as inadequate evidence for the traditional title of the work, see Introduction, II.i.

declinare extraneorum convivia: Clerics must avoid secular dinner-parties, with their temptations to over-indulgence and lewd talk. A. describes the intemperance of these occasions in vivid language: excessive drinking, erotic dancing and singing, coarse joking, and even brawling among intoxicated guests were frequent features (cf., e.g., Cain I.14; Elia 46ff.); his language is paralleled in the colourful sketches of Jerome (e.g., Adv. Helvid. 22; Ep. 52.11; cf. Ep. 27.2, on immodest scenes depicted on table-

ware) and Ammianus (e.g., XIV.6; XXVIII.4). Christian writers tend to exploit the language of Roman satire and comedy in order to highlight the worst social excesses of the fourth century; probably the true picture was slightly less ugly [so G. Boissier, La fin du paganisme (Paris, 1891), II, 217-226], though there must be a core of reality there all the same. Jerome advises Nepotian against attendance at such dinners (Ep. 52.15), and there are several conciliar prohibitions on clerics taking part in banquets [see Gaudemet, 155]. A. however concedes that the Lord does not always forbid 'eating with sinners'; it is permitted if there is good cause (Expos. Luc. V.18, commenting on Lk. 5.30).

ut ipsi hospitales sitis peregrinantibus: Cf. I.39n. A. himself practised hospitality towards pagans of the highest ranks (cf. Paulinus, Vita 30; A., Ep. 87.1; Sulpicius, Dial. I.25); cf. esp. II.103n.

Subrepunt etiam fabulae frequenter de saeculo ac voluptatibus; claudere aures non potes: A. uses some similar language in Expl. Ps. 43.80, where he alludes to the Sirens [cf. Homer, Od. XII.37ff.]: '[Ideo affligimur] deinde quia voluptas et delectatio mundi frequenter inrepat. Unde non vinculis hominis illius ligare nos atque vincire debemus nec cera aures claudere, sed avertere aurem, quotienscumque aliena a fide et contraria vel adversa utilitati nostrae aliquis existimat obloquenda, ne in eo sermone operiat umbra nos mortis.' He may well be thinking of the same story here.

et ut ipse: Concessive.

87. Viduarum ac virginum domos nisi visitandi gratia...: James sanctions the visitation of widows in need (Jas. 1.27), but A. is anxious to warn of the obvious dangers involved in younger clerics frequenting the homes of widows and virgins; even

where there is no risk of sexual temptation (plainly suggested by illecebra, below), it is still necessary to give no cause for idle gossip. Unlike the monk, the priest lives 'in stadio', with the eyes of the world upon him (Ep. 63.71-72). A. follows the principle that the faithful young cleric must set an example in purity as in other matters (1 Tim. 4.12); he must be above suspicion. Augustine refrained from visiting unmarried women, according to his biographer Possidius (Vita Aug. 26-27). Jerome counsels Nepotian against visiting women alone or without the company of venerable elders (Ep. 52.5); he also argues that a virgin should keep away from the homes of extravagant widows, which flatterers, including clerics, are prone to visit (Ep. 22.16); he says that some men seek the presbyterate and the diaconate simply in order to see women more freely (Ep. 22.28) (on the avoidance of dinner-parties and other social occasions by virgins, cf. A., Virg. III.8ff.; Exhort. virg. 71-72; Expos. Luc. II.21). The sexual morals of clerics and virgins clearly posed a real problem for the Church authorities throughout the early centuries: cf., e.g., Cyprian, Ep. 4; Jerome, Epp. 22.14; 117; Basil, Ep. 55; there are numerous enactments against women (other than blood-relations) living under the same roof as clerics: e.g., Council of Elvira, can. 27; Council of Nicaea, can. 3; Council of Carthage (397), can. 17; C.Th. XVI.2.44 (420); Nov. 123c.29.

vel si gravior est causa, cum presbyteris: Probably for group-prayer with the sick (cf. Jas. 5.14-15). Presbyteri are priests [on their role, see Gryson, Prêtre, 137-142].

On the importance of the company of seniores, cf. I.212; II.97-101.

88. There is a certain resemblance in this passage to Cyprian, Ad Donatum 15, as has been pointed out by Y.-

M. Duval, 'Sur une page de saint Cyprien chez saint Ambroise: Hexameron 6,8,47 et De habitu virginum 15-17,' REAug 16, 1970, (25-34) 34n.43: 'Sit tibi vel oratio assidua vel lectio. Nunc cum Deo loquere, nunc Deus tecum...(etc.). A.'s presentation is, however, considerably more rhetorical (as indeed is the whole of I.87-88).

Cur non...lectioni impendas?: Cf. 1 Tim. 4.13: 'Dum venio, attende lectioni...'. On the importance of meditative reading, cf. Expos. Ps. 118.10.39; Ep. 63.82; Virg. II.10; Augustine testifies to the diligence of A.'s own reading: Conf. VI.3. Jerome also advocates reading (Ep. 52.7).

Cur non Christum revisas...?: The cleric ought to keep visiting Christ in prayer rather than visiting the homes of pagans or unmarried women.

Illud adloquimur cum oramus: On prayer as talking to Christ, cf. Expl. Ps. 36.66-67.

Una est domus quae omnes capit: On the Church as a house/household, cf., e.g., Gal. 6.10; Eph. 2.19; 1 Pet. 4.17. A. is effectively contrasting the domus of the Church with the domus of I.86-87. [For A.'s references to the unity of the Church, see Dudden II, 638n.6.]

Quid nobis cum fabulis?: Cf. 1 Tim. 1.4; 4.7 (also 6.20; 2 Tim. 2.16,23;4.4.; Tit. 1.14; 3.9; 2 Pet. 1.16). A. of course harks back to the mention of worldly fabulae in I.86; he is also contrasting these tales with the divina oracula whose veracity is heavenly.

Ministerium...recepimus: Cf. Col. 4.17: 'Vide ministerium quod accepisti in Domino, ut illud impleas'. On avoiding the praise (obsequium) of men, cf. the warnings against seeking flattery in I.209,226 (also II.66).

The life of prayer and meditation here prescribed for

the clergy is typical of A.'s own diligent practice of piety and study, listening to and speaking to Christ, and guarding against the dangers of worldly entertainment.

89. mansuetos...patientes: Perhaps evocative of 2 Tim. 2.24: 'Servum autem Domini...oportet...mansuetum esse ad omnes, docibilem, patientem...'

A. sums up his treatment of verecundia by listing some of the essential features of modesty; cf. I.13-22,35, 71-72.

ut nullum vitium esse in moribus...sermo adnuntiet: Cf. Cic. I.134: 'In primisque provideat, ne sermo vitium aliquod indicet inesse in moribus'.

XXI: ANGER

90. I.90-97 is on the avoidance of anger, a subject already raised in I.13-22 and touched on again in I.231-238. In the present passage, the idea of the subject may come from Cic., who discusses anger in the case of rebukes and personal disputes in I.136-137 (and in the context of administering punishment in I.89). However, A. does not obviously evoke any of Cic. I.136-137 in I.90-97; there is only a vague reference to Cic. in I.92, while the classical story which he recounts in I.94 does not come from Cic.'s Off., and the echo of Cic. I.131 in I.97 serves to lead into the Ciceronian section which follows in I.98ff. I.90-97 is, rather, drawn from biblical passages; A. may wish to parallel Cic.'s section in I.136-137 (as his vague reference in I.92 may imply), but his treatment is completely different in content [Testard, 'Recherches', 91-92]. Steidle 1984, 39, argues that A. deliberately picks up points which he mentions in I.13-22, such as ira (I.90,95-97: cf.

I.14); iracundia (I.90,92-93,95-96: cf. I.13-14); indignatio (I.90-92,94: cf. I.14); tranquillitas (I.90,95: cf. the theme of I.13-14,18,21). These similarities are better explained, though, by the conjecture that I.13-22 belongs to a separate sermon, prefixed to the work, which overlaps with this section in certain respects. Owing to the general lack of allusions to Cic.'s Off. in I.90-97, this section too may be sermonic, though from a different source from I.13-22.

Stoic treatments of anger are provided by Cic. in Tusc. IV.77-81 (cf., too, 16,20-21,27) and Seneca in De ira. Numerous NT verses warn against anger: e.g., Eph. 4.26-32; Col. 3.8; 1 Tim. 2.8; Tit. 1.7; Jas. 1.19. For patristic denunciation of the passion, see Basil's ten homilies Adversus iratos [text in PG 31]. Lactantius's De ira Dei argues that there is a righteous anger, directed against evil. A. follows the Stoic idea that anger ought to be restrained and tempered by reason, but (unlike Posidonius at least), he does not insist that it should be stamped out; anger is permissible if there is good cause and if it cannot be contained, so long as it is carefully moderated (I.90,96; cf. Iacob I.1; Ep. 63.60-61,100). We should be angry with ourselves if we have been disturbed (I.96); and if the spirit cannot be pacified, the tongue at least should be checked (I.92). 'Regulation, not total suppression, is what is wanted' [Dudden II, 509]. As in I.15-22,231-238, the main emphasis is on a patient, rational response to provocation. [On the combination of Stoic and Scriptural material, see Sauer, 147-150.]

iracundia: Cf. I.13n.

illex: A rare word, ante- and post-classical [TLL]. Indignatio is personified (cf. misericordia in I.40; ratio in I.228).

ratione reprimatur: The checking of passion by reason is a Stoic doctrine which A. takes over from Cic.; cf. I.97-98,106-114,228-229 below.

ita plerumque motus infixus est naturae ac moribus...:

Elsewhere, A. often adopts Philo's exegesis of the account of the Fall, that Adam represents reason, tempted by Eve, who symbolises sensuality (e.g., Epp. 45.10,17;63.14; Parad. 54); as a result of the Fall, the flesh is no longer subject to reason (Expos. Luc. IV.62ff.; Ep. 45.17), and so passion is constantly scoring victories over man's higher nature [see Seibel, 129-145.]

'Date locum irae': Rom. 12.19. In context, Paul urges his readers to leave God's anger to be outworked for their vindication, rather than seeking to defend themselves, and so A. understands the verse in Abr. II.30 and Ios. 78. Here, though, as in Ep. 63.100, he explains the verse as meaning that one should yield to an angry opponent; withdraw rather than fight (as Jacob withdrew from Esau - I.91-92).

Note the military language which is used here: prospici ac provideri suggests the idea of a look-out, keeping watch - with a strategem (consilio) - lest a place be attacked (ne occuparetur) and overwhelmed; if a successful defence (Resiste) by the defeat of the unruly element in the place (vincas) is impossible, the defending force should withdraw (cede). This vocabulary comes hard on the heels of the horticultural imagery of the previous sentence: infixus est and evelli seem to picture emotion as a plant that is deeply rooted in human nature.

91. Iacob fratri indignanti pie cessit...: Jacob was advised by his mother Rebecca to flee to her brother Laban to escape the anger of Esau, when Esau realised that his brother had usurped his blessing from Isaac (Gen. 27.1-45, esp. 41-45).

Rebecca, id est patientiae: This is a common understanding of the meaning of Rebecca's name: cf., e.g., Philo, Leg. alleg. III.88-89; Sac. 4; Det. 30-31,45,51; Plant. 169-170; Mig. 208-209; Congr. 37; Fug. 24,39,45,194-195; Somn. I.46; Cher. 41,47; Jerome, Interpr. Hebr. nom. 9.23,74.29,81.16; Origen, Hom. in Gen. X.4. A. mentions it in Isaac 1 (cf. 18); Iacob II.14; Epp. 27.17; 63.100 (cf. also Fuga 21, where Rebecca is taken to mean 'patientia vel perseverantia'); Philo is the most likely source for A. [See H.H. Müller, 'Die Deutungen der hebräischen Buchstaben bei Ambrosius,' Sitzungsber. der Akad. der Wiss. in Wien 167, 1911, 2. Abh.(Sitz. 30, Nov., 1910); W. Wilbrand, 'Die Deutungen der biblischen Eigennamen beim hl. Ambrosius,' Bibl.Zeit. 10, 1912, 337-350.]

apud Deum invenit gratiam: A common phrase: cf. Gen. 6.8;18.3; Ex. 33.12-13; Prov. 3.4; Lk. 1.30; Acts 7.46; etc.

quantis muneribus...: Jacob appeased Esau with gifts of livestock and servants (Gen. 32.3 - 33.17).

92. Ergo si praevenierit et praeoccupaverit mentem tuam iracundia et ascenderit in te, non relinquant locum tuum: Cf. Eccl. 10.4: 'Si spiritus potestatem habentis ascenderit super te, locum tuum ne dimiseris; quia curatio cessare faciet peccata maxima'.

Locus tuus...: Note the epanaphora followed by chiasmus, as A. the preacher drives home his point.

Aut si te contumacia respondentis moverit...: Cf. I.17-22.

reprime linguam tuam: Cf. I.13.

'Cohibe linguam tuam a malo...': Ps. 33.14.

'Inquire pacem et sequere eam': Ps. 33.15. Both of these verses are quoted by Peter in 1 Pet. 3.10-11.

quanta: Sit might well be expected, as supplied by Valdarfer; PL's and Krabinger's qua tu is

unsatisfactory, since the remainder of the sentence comprises second-person commands which are not related to the following of Jacob as an example. Perhaps there is a rhetorical ellipse of sit.

frenos linguae impone tuae: Cf. Jas. 3.2-12 (and 1.26); and cf. I.12-13nn.

Haec oratores saeculi de nostris usurpata...: A. must be thinking of Cic. (and perhaps his sources) preeminently; for Cic.'s insistence that reproofs should be moderate and obviously designed to benefit rather than antagonise the recipient, cf. Cic. I.136-137. Once again, A. accuses the pagans of plagiarism from the Scriptures, and insists that the psalmist David (ille) is to be credited as the first to teach this restraint of anger.

It must be said that A. engages in some special pleading in his presentation of Jacob in I.91-92. According to the biblical narrative, Jacob did not go abroad because he personally considered that it was a dutiful thing to allow Esau to calm down, but because he recognised the prudence of his mother's advice to flee for his life. Similarly, his gifts of reparation were prepared in fear of Esau's revenge, and he pleads with Esau to accept them. The illustration thus of the mastering of passion by reason is hardly as clear as A. would have us believe.

93. exaggeratio: A very rare word.

commotiones in pueris innoxiae sunt...: Children's squabbles are more endearing to the adult onlooker than they are lastingly serious to the participants; children soon calm down and are reconciled to one another. They deserve to be imitated.

Seneca, De ira II.19, claims that a predominance of humours in women and children makes their anger more vehement in expression than it is serious in nature.

'Nisi conversi fueritis...': Matt. 18.3.

ipse Dominus, hoc est 'Dei virtus': Cf. 1 Cor. 1.24.
'cum malediceretur...': 1 Pet. 2.23 (part of a passage which echoes the celebrated Messianic prophecy of Is. 53).

Locum tuum serva: Cf. I.92n.

simplicitatem et puritatem: The same qualities are prescribed for gait (I.75), language (I.101), and the voice (I.104). Puritas is a late word.

'Noli respondere...imprudenti ad imprudentiam': Prov. 26.4.

Cito culpa culpam excutit; si lapides teras...: Examples of A.'s ability to fashion short, pithy sententiae.

94. Ferunt gentiles: A reference to the pagans [gentiles = 'pagans' in Christian Latin] in general, though A. almost certainly owes his knowledge of the anecdote to Cic. [cf. next n].

ut in maius omnia verbis extollere solent: A sneer at the pagans for habitually exaggerating their praise of notable exemplars.

Archytas Tarentini dictum philosophi...: Archytas of Tarentum was a distinguished philosopher of the Pythagorean school, an acquaintance of Plato, and the reputed founder of mechanics; fl. early fourth century B.C. He was famed for his wisdom (cf., e.g., Cic., Tusc. V.64; Sen. 39-41; Amic. 88). He is the addressee of Horace, Od. I.28, which suggests that he perished at sea in some military exploit, probably in the middle of the fourth century B.C. [See OCD, ad loc.] The story which A. mentions here is recounted by Cic. in Rep. I.59-60 and Tusc. IV.78; it is also found in Valerius Maximus IV.1. If A. knows of it from Rep., it is his second debt to that work in Off. (cf. I.43). The story is well known among Christian authors: e.g., Lactantius, De Ira 18; Jerome, Ep. 79.9.

Sed iam David...: Inevitably, David got there before Archytas. A. refers to the encounter of David with Nabal and Abigail: 1 Kings 25.2-42. Abigail appeased David when he and his men were about to wreak vengeance on her foolish husband Nabal for insulting them; Nabal died shortly afterwards and Abigail became one of David's wives.

95. 'Quoniam declinaverunt in me iniquitatem...': Ps. 54.4.

'Quis dabit mihi pennas...?': Ps. 54.7.

96. 'Iracimini et nolite peccare': Ps. 4.5 (cf. I.13). There is some similarity between this paragraph and Origen's comments in Sel. in Ps. 4.5, as Testard I, 245n.19, suggests, though Origen differs from A. in insisting that ὀργίζεσθε (irascimini) is an indicative, not an imperative - which seems a strange idea in view of the following prohibition).

Moralis magister: David, similarly described in Expos. Ps. 118. prol., 1.1 ('moralium magnus magister'); cf. also Off. I.1 ('humilitatis magister'); I.7 ('cautionis magister').

qui naturalem affectum inflectendum magis ratione doctrinae quam exstirpandum noverit: Testard I, 245n.20, rightly compares Lucretius III.307-313, on the inability of 'doctrina' to eradicate from human nature tendencies to evils like anger. Perhaps A. has some memory of these lines; for other quasi-Lucretian language, cf. I.55-56. On anger as an affectus naturae, cf. I.13.

'Melior est,' autem secundum Salomonem...: Prov. 16.32.

97. Cavere igitur debemus ne in perturbationes prius incidamus quam animos nostros ratio componat; exanimat enim...: Cf. Cic. I.131: 'quod assequemur, si cavebimus ne in perturbationes atque exanimationes incidamus et si attentos animos ad decoris

conservationem tenebimus'.

aut ira aut dolor aut formido mortis: Subjects mentioned in Cic., Tusc. IV.64 (on dolor, cf. Tusc. II).

iugo...habenis: Cf. I.12-13 and nn.

XXII: THE TWIN 'MOTIONS' OF THE SOUL. MAINTAINING PROPRIETY IN SPEECH.

98. This paragraph serves as a bridge between the discussion of anger in I.90-97 and the discussion of decorum in speech (I.99-104), under the influence of Cic. I.132; its subject is resumed in I.105-114, as part of the illustration of decorum in action. It also reappears in I.228-229: the doublet is attributable to A.'s twofold treatment of the theme of modesty [cf. I.65n.].

Sunt autem gemini motus, hoc est cogitationum et appetitus...: Cf. Cic. I.132: 'Motus autem animorum duplices sunt; alteri cogitationis, alteri appetitus'; also Cic. I.101-102.

Cogitationes verum exquirere..., appetitus ad aliquid agendum...: Cf. Cic. I.132: 'Cogitatio in vero exquirendo maxime versatur, appetitus impellit ad agendum'. The notion that reason controls the passions is classically Stoic, but only with the Middle Stoa does the concept of conflicting divisions of the soul enter, positing rational and irrational faculties in contradistinction to the psychological monism of Zeno and his immediate successors. Under the influence of Plato (cf. esp. his picture of reason as a charioteer controlling the good horse, spirit, and the bad horse, appetite, so as to prevent the chariot of the soul from being upset: Phaedr. 246Aff., based on the divisions also outlined in Rep. 435Bff.)

and Aristotle, Panaetius and Posidonius account for the passions by attributing them to the irrational faculties of the soul, rather than to errors of judgement about what is right. These passions must be controlled by the disciplined use of the reason. It is this Middle-Stoic thinking which A. takes over from Cic. (Cic. uses the image of horse-taming in I.90, and seems to be thinking of it again in I.102. A. follows him in I.228-229.) A. speaks of this control of the passions by reason in several passages: e.g., Noe 5,30 ('Cohibe ergo et tu omnes irrationabiles passiones tuas omnesque sensus tuos menti subice animique imperiis assuesce'); Iacob I.1ff. He also mentions Platonist psychological categories (e.g., Abr. II.54; Isaac 65-67; Virgt. 94-95,111-114). His inspiration elsewhere often comes from the amalgam of Stoic and Platonist doctrine which he reads in the works of Philo; in the present work, though, the debt is clearly owed to Cic.

emolere: A rare word; the metaphorical sense of 'grinding down' the truth is extremely rare, if not unique [TLL].

Ita ergo informati simus...: [Simus seems preferable to the better-attested sumus: an inferential particle like ergo is typically used by A. to conclude advice from preceding statements.] Cf. Cic. I.101: '[Ita fit, ut ratio praesit, appetitus obtemperet]'; also 102,132.

99. The progression from the twin motus to propriety in speech is exactly parallel to that of Cic. in I.132.

ad conservationem decoris...in factis dictisque qui modus: Cf. Cic. I.131: '...et si attentos animos ad decoris conservationem tenebimus'; I.14: 'Nec vero illa parva vis naturae est rationisque, quod unum hoc animal sentit, quid sit ordo, [quid sit quod deceat,

in factis dictisque] qui modus'.

sermo in duo dividitur: in colloquium familiare et in tractatum...: Cf. Cic. I.132: 'Et quoniam magna vis orationis est eaque duplex, altera contentionis, altera sermonis, contentio disceptationibus tribuatur iudiciorum, contionum, senatus, sermo in circulis, disputationibus, congressionibus familiarium versetur, sequatur etiam convivia'. The difference in A.'s formulation is revealing: Cic. distinguishes oratory ('contentio') from conversation ('sermo', while A. uses 'sermo' for both familiar talk and more formal tractatus disceptatioque; and while Cic. considers oratory in terms of judicial and political addresses, A. relates it to exposition and debate about fides atque iustitia. He goes on to prescribe a Christian content for both ordinary conversation and oratory (doctrinal and moral preaching). On the association of fides and iustitia, cf., e.g., Rom. 3.22; 4.11,13; 9.30; 10.6; Phil. 3.9; 2 Pet. 1.1; and cf. I.110n.

contumelia: Cic. I.134 mentions the harm done by one who speaks 'maledice contumelioseque'; and in I.137 he again warns against 'contumelia'.

Absit pertinax in familiari sermone contentio: Contentio is Cic.'s word (I.132) for formal discourse; A., however, uses the word pejoratively and excludes it from conversation, probably under the influence of such verses as 1 Tim. 6.4; 2 Tim. 2.14; Tit. 3.9. [Cic. also has the pejorative sense in I.137, though.] On the sentiment which A. expresses here, cf. Cic. I.134: 'Sit ergo hic sermo...lenis minimeque pertinax...'

quaestiones enim magis excitare inanes quam...: On the necessity of avoiding such quaestiones, cf. 1 Tim. 1.4; 6.4; 2 Tim. 2.23; Tit. 3.9.

sine ira...sine amaritudine...sine asperitate...sine

offensione: Cf. Cic. I.136-137 on avoiding 'ira' and 'iracundia' in reproofs, and on making it clear that the 'acerbitas' of a rebuke is for the good of the recipient; cf., too, Cic. I.134.

Et sicut in omni actu vitae id cavere debemus...: Cf. Cic. I.136: 'Sed quomodo in omni vita rectissime praecipitur, ut perturbationes fugiamus, id est motus animi nimios rationi non obtemperantes, sic eiusmodi motibus sermo debet vacare, ne ira existat aut cupiditas aliqua aut pigritia aut ignavia aut tale aliquid appareat...'.
 100. Sit igitur sermo huiusmodi de Scripturis maxime:

This of course contrasts sharply with the topics of conversation which Cic. mentions in I.135: domestic business, public affairs, and the study and teaching of the arts.

Habeat caput eius rationem et finis modum: Cf. Cic. I.135: 'Animadvertendum est etiam, quatenus sermo delectationem habeat, et ut incipiendi ratio fuerit, ita sit desinendi modus'.

Sermo enim taediosus iram excitat: Cf. Prov. 15.1: 'Responsio mollis frangit iram; sermo durus suscitatur furorem'. A. appends scriptural allusion to Ciceronian advice.

confabulatio: A late word [TLL].

101. Tractatus quoque de doctrina fidei: Cf. Paul's exhortations to Timothy and Titus to pay heed to the teaching of doctrine (1 Tim. 4.13,16; 2 Tim. 4.2; Tit. 2.1 [cf. 1.9]). A.'s dogmatic works, notably De Fide, De Spiritu Sancto, and De incarnationis Dominicae sacramento, demonstrate his own attention to the sound indoctrination of those under his influence, both emperors and common people.

de magisterio continentiae: As A.'s ascetical works in particular provide.

ut se dederit lectio: The very practice which the

author of Off. follows: cf. I.23,25.

There is no appreciable difference between the subjects of formal discourse/preaching and informal conversation: Scripture and the doctrines and morals of the Faith are to be the main matter of both.

prolixus: The application of the word to speech is late.

oratio pura, simplex, dilucida...: Purity, simplicity, clarity, and dignity must characterise one's language. [According to Cic. I.132, the same basic rules about 'verba sententiaeque' apply to both oratory and conversation; on pure and clear diction, cf., e.g., Cic., De Or. III.38-52.] The combination of rules about the voice (I.84,104), language and length of delivery (I.101), subject-matter (I.101), and gesture (I.71) incidentally makes A.'s teaching in this section almost a kind of Christian Institutio Oratoria for his clerics (though obviously not on anything like the scale of Augustine's De doctrina Christiana IV). On the tributes of certain authors to the quality of A.'s own preaching and writing (contrasting strongly with Jerome's bitter criticisms), see Introduction, VI.

XXIII: JOKING SHOULD BE AVOIDED. THE CORRECT TONE OF VOICE.

102. Multa praeterea de ratione dicendi dant praecepta saeculares viri..., ut de iocandi disciplina: A vague reference to Cic., who speaks of 'praecepta' of speech in I.132, and deals with ratio dicendi in I.132-137. Cic. discusses joking in I.103-104, though not as part of his treatment of speech. He advocates moderation in the use of humour, and where jokes are used, they should be indicative of good character and witty. In

I.134, Cic. asserts that 'lepos' should be applied if conversation is 'de rebus iocosis'; but he also warns of the dangers of being insulting in order to raise a laugh. [Cic. elaborates on the use of wit in oratory in De Or. II.216-290; cf., too, Or. 87-90.]

A. believes that joking is not becoming for clerics (quae nobis praetereunda arbitror; ab ecclesiastica abhorrent regula): for other Christian warnings, cf. Basil, Reg. Brev. 31; Constit. monast. 12; Benedict, Reg. VI.8. Paul, too, condemns 'scurrilitas' (Eph. 5.4). A.'s seriousness, care for his people, and dedication to study made him seem somewhat remote to Augustine (Conf. VI.3), but the evidence suggests that he was not devoid of a sense of humour all the same [see Dudden I, 115 and n.3].

quae in Scripturis non repperimus, ea quemadmodum usurpare possumus?: This statement is a major key to A.'s approach to his work: Scripture is the source of his teaching, and if a principle cannot be found outlined or illustrated there, it cannot be utilised [see Introduction, II.iv(i),v]. All the same, he obviously does 'make use of' (usurpare) a great deal of classical material which is not scriptural.

103. in fabulis: Probably A. means anecdotes which illustrate a moral point; he condemns fabulae of an improper kind in I.86,88.

gravitatem severioris: The words may be suggested by Cic.'s 'ad severitatem' and 'graviora'/'gravibus' in I.103.

'Vae vobis qui ridetis...!': Lk. 6.25.

illic fleamus: The wicked will weep with anguish in hell (Matt. 8.12;22.13;24.51;25.30; Lk. 13.28). On the contrast of hic...illic, cf. I.29,58.

Non solum profusos sed omnes etiam iocos declinandos arbitror: A. goes further than Cic., who says, 'Ipsumque genus iocandi non profusum nec

immodestum...esse debet' (I.103), but allows refined and witty jokes.

104. Nam de voce...: The subject is already raised in I.67 and 84, and I.84 mentions sucus virilis [cf. n. ad loc.] and the avoidance of a rustic tone. Simplicity and purity are prescribed for oratio also in I.101.

canoram: In Cic. I.133, 'canora' of the voice is used pejoratively, whereas here it is not [Testard I, 246n.5] - though A. implies that this sonorous quality is a gift of nature which some possess and others do not, rather than something which can be worked up.

esse naturae est, non industriae: A. seems to be implicitly disagreeing with Cic. I.133, that 'exercitatio' can improve nature's gifts, although he earlier does commend the application of industria for this very purpose, in connection with bodily movement (I.75), and he speaks of the exercise of restraint of the voice's natural tendency to speak out in I.32-33.

rhythum...scaenicum: An affected kind of delivery, appropriate to the stage; cf. the condemnation of histrionic gait in I.73. The theatre was, of course, a hated sphere to the Fathers, who frequently fulminate against the immorality of plays and public spectacles.

mysticum: A tone of voice which is appropriate to a solemn approach to the mysteries of the Faith (the Scriptures and the sacraments).

XXIV: PROPRIETY IN ACTION. INTRODUCTION TO THE CARDINAL VIRTUES.

105. De ratione dicendi satis dictum puto, nunc de actione vitae...: Having completed his remarks on speech (I.99-104), A. now treats action (I.105-114).

This new section is inspired by Cic. I.141-142, where Cic. summarises the criteria to be observed in propriety of 'actio', as outlined in I.126-140. A., however, treats Cic.'s summary as a divisio of material to be dealt with in the paragraphs which follow, and attempts to illustrate Cic.'s points with biblical exempla. I.105-114, like I.65-104, is all part of A.'s fragmented exposition of the theme of modesty or temperance; Cic. deals with all of this material in his discussion of the fourth cardinal virtue [cf. I.65n.].

Cf. Cic. I.141: 'In omni autem actione suscipienda tria sunt tenenda, primum ut appetitus rationi pareat, quo nihil est ad officia conservanda accommodatius, deinde ut animadvertur, quanta illa res sit, quam efficere velimus, ut neve maior neve minor cura et opera suscipiatur, quam causa postulet. Tertium est, ut caveamus, ut ea, quae pertinent ad liberalem speciem et dignitatem, moderata sint.' A. keeps Cic.'s first two points more or less as they are, but rephrases the third point, replacing the classical concern for moderation in the appearance and status of a gentleman with the general theme of moderation of studia operaque. In I.106, he explains that Cic.'s third feature (which he does mention there) is irrelevant apud nos. The 'dignitas' of which Cic. speaks has become a pejorative concept by the time of Augustan Latin, and A. equates it with a grandeur of demeanour which is unworthy of the Christian. [There is a corresponding reversal in the connotations of humilitas, which is of course a virtue in A. - cf. I.1n. - but not to Cic. and his contemporaries.]

De ordine quoque rerum et de opportunitate temporum...: Cf. Cic. I.142: 'Deinceps de ordine rerum et de opportunitate temporum dicendum est'.

106. Sed primum illud quasi fundamentum est omnium, ut

appetitus rationi pareat: A. agrees with Cic. on the prime importance of appetite obeying reason: cf. Cic. I.141: 'Horum tamen trium praestantissimum est appetitum obtemperare rationi'.

Secundum et tertium idem est, hoc est, in utroque moderatio: A reasonable simplification of Cic.'s second and third points: the observance of measure is the essential note of both.

vacat enim apud nos...dignitatis contemplatio: Cf. I.105n., above. It should be noted that A. has not specified that the divisio is classical prior to this contrast apud nos: either he has forgotten to make the antithesis so obvious as usual, or he possibly expects his addressees to identify it as Ciceronian. [Vacat = 'It is irrelevant/useless' seems to be unusual.]

Sequitur de ordine rerum.... Ac per hoc tria sunt...: A. appears to misunderstand Cic.'s divisio. Cic. lists three points in I.141, as outlined by A. in I.105; at the start of I.142, Cic. has 'de ordine rerum et de opportunitate temporum', but he does not make this a fourth point: indeed, he introduces the phrase with 'deinceps', which clearly has disjunctive force. In I.105, A. adds de ordine... with quoque, without suggesting that it is supplementary to the scheme of the tria mentioned above. Here, though, it is clear that he does conceive of it as a fourth point: after merging points two and three, he is still left with three points. The illustration of the points is artificial and sporadic: in I.110, A. appears to return to a four-point scheme, as in I.105, while I.111 has three points, I.112 and I.114 allude to two, and I.113 has none. [I expand on the feature noted by Testard, 'Étude', 167-168n.22.]

in aliquo sanctorum consummata: The illustration of scriptural exemplars is of course A.'s major

divergence from Cic.: see Introduction, II.v.

107. pater Abraham: A very common designation of the patriarch, based, of course, on the root of his name ['father'] (e.g., Josh. 24.3; Is. 51.2; Lk. 1.73; John 8.39ff.; Acts 7.2; Rom. 4.1ff.; Jas. 2.21).

qui ad magisterium...: The role of the patriarch is exemplary; God dealt with him as He did in order to instruct the faithful today.

For an outline of the role of Abraham as a practical exemplar in Off., see Raymond Berton, 'Abraham dans le De officiis ministrorum d'Ambroise,' Rev.SR. 54, 1980, 311-322.

iussus exire de terra sua...: See Gen. 12.1-5, esp. v.1.

uxorem imbecillam...: The dangers to Sarai (n. below).

incentiva: Post-classical.

cum descenderet in Aegyptum...: See Gen. 12.10-20. The deception (which was half-true: cf. Gen. 20.12) was an act of self-preservation on Abraham's (or Abram's, as he then still was) part: if Pharaoh was to add Sarai to his harem as Abraham's wife, he would of course have to kill Abraham first. Abraham deceives Abimelech similarly in Gen. 20.

108. Note the series of perfect tenses (praevaluit; consideravit; vicit; praestitit) after the imperfects (timebat...timebat...habebat): A. presents Abraham's wise decision to obey reason as an instinctive response in the midst of his continuing problems.

Abraham is pictured almost as an early-day 'pius Aeneas', setting out faithfully in pursuit of the destiny of himself and his people, checking sexual passion (though not his own) and facing great dangers in obedience to a divine command.

ratio exsequendae devotionis: The basis of Abraham's rationality is his obedience to God; the Stoic ratio

of Cic. is reformulated in biblical terms [so Testard I, 247n.5].

109. Capto nepote non perterritus...: The seizure of Lot by Kedorlaomer and his confederates led to a revenge-attack by Abraham to recover Lot and his possessions (Gen. 14.8-24).

repetiit: Testard's emendation of the MSS' repetit provides a suitable balance with the other perfect tenses.

Promisso quoque sibi filio...: God's promise of Isaac (Gen. 15.1-6; 17.15-22; 18.1-15), despite Sarai's aged sterility (Gen. 11.30; 16.1; 17.17; 18.11-15) and Abraham's centenarianism (Gen. 17.17). A. omits any mention of Sarai's and Abraham's scheme to have a son by the servant-girl Hagar (Gen. 16), and of their laughter at the promise of a second son in their old age (Gen. 17.17; 18.12-15); only the positive aspects are highlighted.

Deo credidit: Emphatically placed at the end of the sentence, after the mention of all the obstacles to Abraham's faith; cf. Gen. 15.6; Rom. 4.3ff.; Gal. 3.6ff.; Jas. 2.23.

110. Adverte convenire omnia: All the points of I.105.

nec magna pro vilibus...: Abraham's belief in God's great promises, on the one hand, and his leaving home and father's house (Gen. 12.1-5) and rejecting material gain (Gen. 14.21-24), on the other.

Fide primus, iustitia praecipuus: Abraham is the 'father of faith', because of his trust in God; his faith was 'credited to him as iustitia' (Gen. 15.6; Rom. 4.3,9,22; Gal. 3.6; Jas. 2.23). Biblically, iustitia means not only 'justice', but 'righteousness', relating to rectitude of life and - above all - to one's standing before God. [See G. Schrenk, TDNT II, s.v. δικαιοσύνη, 192-210 (esp.

198ff.)].

in proelio strenuus, in victoria non avarus: See Gen. 14.15-24.

domi hospitalis: See Gen. 18.1ff.

uxori sedulus: Perhaps A. thinks that the deception about Sarai's status was an act of care on Abraham's part (Gen. 12.10-20; cf. Gen. 20); or he may be considering Abraham's acquiescence in her plan for him to bear a son by Hagar (Gen. 16.2).

111. Iacob delectabat domi securum degere...: See Gen. 27.1-45. Cf. I.91n.

acceptus domi parentibus...: See Gen. 27.1-40.

fraterno quoque iudicio praelatus...: See Gen. 25.29-34, for the account of Esau selling his birthright for 'a mess of pottage'. But A. garnishes the story considerably: Jacob made Esau swear to give him his birthright before he handed over the food; there is not much evidence of Esau's pietas in that.

The chronology presented here is not the scriptural one: Jacob usurped the blessing before he left home, of course [so Testard I, 247n.10].

pastor domino gregis fidus...: See Gen. 29.1-30, on Jacob's hard service for his uncle Laban, by whom he was duped into giving fourteen years of service, instead of seven, to earn Rachel as his wife.

in convivio parcus: The allusion is uncertain; but Jacob could not have been too sparing in drinking, at least, since he did not recognise on his first wedding-night that he had been given Leah, not Rachel (Gen. 29.21-25).

in satisfactione praevis, in remuneratione largus: Jacob's reparations to Esau (Gen. 32.3-21; 33.1-17).

cuius verebatur inimicitias: This truth is not mentioned in the account in I.91.

adipisceretur gratiam: Cf. Gen. 33.8,10,15.

The Ciceronian language is again worked in: Vicit

appetitum; mensuram; temporibus opportunitatem: this time, A. seems just to have the three points of I.106, as compared with the four of I.105 in I.110.

112. Quid de Ioseph loquar...?...: Here, the sequence does follow the chronology of Gen. [so Testard I, 247-248n.11]; for Joseph's servitude, chastity, incarceration, wise interpretation of dreams, rise to political power, and prudent management of grain harvests, see Gen. 37; 39-50, passim.

moderatus...ordinem...et opportunitatem temporibus...moderatione: An attempt to bring in points three and four of I.105 or two and three of I.106. The reference to Joseph's virtus, above, is probably to his chastity, and so A. thinks of reason governing appetite (point one of I.105-106), but he does not say so.

113. Iob quoque: This time, no reference at all is made to the Ciceronian points; A. simply summarises Job's virtues as those of another biblical hero.

iuxta secundis atque adversis rebus: See Job 1.1 - 2.10, etc.

irreprehensibilis: A late word.

114. fortis in bello: See, e.g., 1 Kings 17; 2 Kings 8.1-14; 1 Paral. 18.1-13.

patiens in adversis: Such as when pursued by Saul (1 Kings 19ff.); during the conspiracy of Absalom (2 Kings 15ff.); and when abused by Shimei (2 Kings 16.5-14).

in peccato dolens: Especially in the case of his sin with Bathsheba (2 Kings 11.2 - 12.23, esp. 12.13-23; Ps. 50); also after taking the census in Israel (2 Kings 24, esp. vv.10,17; 1 Paral. 21, esp. vv. 8,17).

rerum modos, vices temporum: Two of the points of I.105-106 are alluded to. David observed the particular duties of each phase of his life (whether in terms of his age or of his circumstances). The

musical image (sonos, and probably temporum here as well) is appropriate in the context of the psalmist David (canendi suavitate...)[on the suavitas, see Pizzolato, 123].

cantilenam: The positive sense is a late usage [TLL].

115. Quod his viris virtutum principalium officium defuit?: The doctrine of the four cardinal virtues, prudence, justice, fortitude, and temperance, which is introduced here, occupies the remainder of Book I, in imitation of Panaetius's and Cic.'s treatment of the honestum under these four categories. The section which immediately follows, I.116-121, seeks to exemplify the virtues from exempla maiorum in the OT, partly in order to justify the scheme from Scripture and partly because A. senses that his arrangement of material is different from Cic.'s in I.7-10 (cf. I.116n., below). The present paragraph serves as a bridge between the modesty theme of I.65-114 and the discussion of the cardinal virtues by seeking to show that the OT exemplars of the qualities outlined in I.105-106 similarly manifest the four virtues; once more, A. takes a Ciceronian scheme and illustrates it from Scripture.

primo loco constituerunt prudentiam, quae in veri investigatione versatur...: Cf. Cic. I.15: 'Sed omne, quod est honestum, id quattuor partium oritur ex aliqua. Aut enim in perspicientia veri sollertiaque versatur...'; '...velut ex ea parte, quae prima descripta est, in qua sapientiam et prudentiam ponimus, [in]est indagatio atque inventio veri, eiusque virtutis hoc munus est proprium...'; 16: 'Quocirca huic quasi materia, quam tractet et in qua versetur, subiecta est veritas'; 18: '...primus ille, qui in veri cognitione consistit, maxime naturam attingit humanam. Omnes enim trahimur et ducimur ad cognitionis et scientiae cupiditatem...'; 19: '...quae

omnes artes in veri investigatione versantur.... Omnis autem cogitatio motusque animi aut...aut in studiis scientiae cognitionisque versabitur.'

secundo iustitiam, quae suum cuique tribuit, alienum non vindicat...: Cf. Cic. I.15: '...aut in hominum societate tuenda tribuendoque suum cuique et rerum contractarum fide...'; 20: '...latissime patet ea ratio, qua societas hominum inter ipsos et vitae quasi communitas continetur...'; 'Sed iustitiae primum munus est, ut ne cui quis noceat, nisi lacessitus iniuria, deinde ut communibus pro communibus utatur, privatis ut suis.'

tertio fortitudinem, quae et in rebus bellicis excelsi animi magnitudine...: Cf. Cic. I.15: '...aut in animi excelsi atque invicti magnitudine ac robore...'; 79: 'Omnino illud honestum, quod ex animo excelso magnificoque quaerimus, animi efficitur, non corporis viribus. Exercendum tamen corpus et ita afficiendum est, ut oboedire consilio rationique possit....'

quarto temperantiam, quae modum ordinemque servat omnium...: Cf. Cic. I.15: '...aut in omnium, quae fiunt quaeque dicuntur ordine et modo, in quo inest modestia et temperantia'; 17: 'Is enim rebus, quae tractantur in vita, modum quendam et ordinem adhibentes, honestatem et decus conservabimus'.

A. is therefore giving a resume of Cic.'s definitions of the virtues from Cic. I.15ff. The first definition is somewhat oversimplified, though: Cic. in fact stresses that prudence is the investigation of the truth with a view to action, and he condemns dogmatism and the study of abstruse subjects (I.18-19). Also, Cic. (unlike A.) does not rank prudence primo loco (allotting justice to this); he asserts only that prudence is the virtue which touches human nature most closely (I.18), and says that it is first in his description of the virtues (I.15) and the first

'officii fons' (I.19).

A. himself goes on to exceed Cic.'s definitions of the virtues in at least the first two cases: for him, prudence is the knowledge of God by faith (I.122-129); and justice is more than the Platonist-Aristotelian-Stoic suum cuique formula: it is Christian charity, above all (I.130-174). Fortitude and temperance (esp. the latter) remain more Stoic than the first two virtues, but A. gives biblical orientation to them, and, in the case of fortitude, seeks to downplay the military side as irrelevant to his clerical addressees (I.175-179, though cf. I.196-201).

The concept of a canon of four principal virtues can be traced back to the fifth century B.C at least. Allusions have been identified in Pindar (e.g., Isth. VIII.24ff.; Nem. III.70ff.), Aeschylus (Septem 610), and Euripides (Autolycus, fr. 282.23-28); and in the fourth century a four- or five-fold scheme was known to Xenophon (cf., e.g., Mem. I.1.16; III.9.1-5; IV.6.1-12, 8.11; Ages. 3-8) and the orators (e.g., Aeschines, Ctes. 168; Isocrates, Helen 31). The definitive formulation, though, comes (perhaps under Pythagorean-Orphic influence) in Plato, Rep. 427E ff., where the ideal State is said to require the four qualities of wisdom, courage, self-control, and justice; for other references, cf. Phaed. 69C; Laws 631C, 963Aff.; the three classes of the State, or the three faculties of the soul, each possess a particular virtue, with justice operating in all three. Ultimately rejected by Aristotle, the Socratic tetrad was revived in Hellenistic philosophy by the Stoics above all: Zeno (D.L. VII.92) links the scheme to his conviction on the unity of virtue; to possess one virtue is to possess all. The chief transmitter of the doctrine to later thought is Cic., who frequently refers to the

four virtues (cf., among many examples, Inv. II.159-165; Hort., frr. 95-110 [Grilli]; Fin. I.42-54; II.46ff.; IV.16-18; V.26,64-72; Tusc. II.31-32; N.D. III.38-39; Sen. 9; Deiot. 25-26; Cat. II.11.25; and esp. Off. I.15ff.; II.17-18,34ff.; III.40ff.), and wrote a treatise specifically on them, as Jerome (Comm. in Zach. I.2) and Augustine (Trin. XIV.11.14) testify [surviving fragments are collated by Atzert in his Teubner vol. on Off.]. Seneca also refers to them (e.g., Epp. 94.45;120.11). There is an allusion in the book of Wisdom (8.7 - part of which A. quotes in II.65), and numerous references appear in Philo's works. The tetrad figures prominently in Neoplatonism: Plotinus combines the virtues with his doctrine of the stages of the soul's catharsis as it progresses towards the One (Enn. I.2). The scheme does not fully penetrate Christian thought until the third century, when Clement of Alexandria (e.g., Strom. I.20.97; II.18.78; VI.11.95; VII.3.17; Paid. I.12.99; II.12.121; III.11.64) and Origen (e.g., Exhort. martyr. 5,43) continue Philo's Stoic-biblical synthesis. [See C.J. Classen, 'Der platonisch-stoische Kanon der Kardinaltugenden bei Philon, Clemens Alexandrinus und Origenes,' in Adolf Martin Ritter, ed., Kerygma und Logos (Festschr. Carl Andresen, Gottingen, 1979), 68-88.] The Cappadocians mark the final stage of syncretism in the Greek Church: Gregory of Nyssa, for example, relates the tetrad to the Beatitudes, and to the qualities of saintly asceticism.

In the Western Church, A. himself is the pioneer of the assimilation, drawing upon Cic. and Philo; it is A. who first calls the four the 'virtutes cardinales' (Exc. fr. I.57; Expos. Luc. V.50,62; Sacr. III.9). He takes over the Stoic premise on the unity and interconnection of the virtues (e.g. I.115,119-

121,126-129,176,251; II.49,65-66,84; also Parad. 14,22; Expos. Ps. 118.11.11; Exc. fr. I.57; Virgt. 113; Luc. III.47; V.63). In Parad. 14-23 (cf. also Expl. Ps. 35.21; Expl. Ps. 45.12; Abr. II.68), A. follows Philo's exegesis (e.g., Leg. alleg. I.63ff.; Quaest. in Gen. I.12) that the four rivers of paradise in Gen. 2 represent the four virtues: Phison is prudence, Gihon temperance, Tigris fortitude, and Euphrates justice; the tetrad also signifies the four ages of the world: from creation to the flood is the age of prudence; the time of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and the other patriarchs is that of temperance; the period of Moses and the prophets represents fortitude; and the era of the gospel is that of justice. In Expos. Luc. V.49-50,62-68, A. argues that the four beatitudes of Lk. 6.20-22 signify temperance, justice, prudence, and fortitude, respectively [cf. Gregory of Nyssa, De beat. IV, etc.]; while in Sacr. III.8-10 he describes the seven gifts of the Spirit in Is. 11.2 as 'istae quasi cardinales...quasi principales' (9; cf. also Ep. 44.2, on the seven 'virtutes principales' of the Spirit, and Spir. I.157-159, though none of these passages lists the traditional canon of the virtues). In Abr. II.53-54; Isaac 65; and Virgt. 94-97,113-114, there is a fusion of the tetrad with the four celestial creatures of Ezek. 1, Plato's notion of the chariot of the soul [known to A. from Apuleius, if not from Plato himself], and the chariot mentioned in Cant. 6.11, a synthesis found also in Origen and Jerome [see Jean Pr aux, 'Les quatres vertus pa ennes et chretiennes. Apoth ose et ascension,' in Jacqueline Bibauw, ed., Hommages   Marcel Renard (3 Vols., Brussels, 1969) I, 639-657]. In Exc. fr. I.42-63, A. seeks to demonstrate how his brother Satyrus exemplified each of the cardinal virtues; and in Cain II.21 he argues that the 'virtutes principales' are

associated with prayer; for other references to the tetrad, cf. Iacob II.43; Expos. Ps. 118.11.11.

Beyond A., the cardinal virtues, synthesised with scriptural teaching, maintain a prominent place in the Western Church: cf., e.g., Jerome, Epp. 52.13; 64.20;66.3; Comm. in Is. VI.14.31-32; Comm. in Ezek. I.1.6-8; Comm. in Zach. I.1.18-21; Augustine, De ord. II.22, etc.; c. Acad. I.20; Spir. et anim. 20; Enarr. Ps. 83.11; Lib. arbit. I.13,27,89-93; Serm. 150.9; Epp. 155.12-13;167.15; C.D. IV.20; V.20; XIX.4; XIII.21; Trin. XIV.11.14; De musica VI.50ff.; Retract. I.6.3. Augustine mentions the rivers of paradise identification in Gen. contr. Man. II.10.13-14; C.D. XIII.21; his most celebrated treatment of the theme is in De mor. eccl. 25-47, where he makes all four virtues forms of caritas, whose object is God Himself, the supreme good. Other Christian authors who develop the theme over the patristic and medieval period include John Cassian, Martin of Braga, Gregory the Great, Alcuin, Peter Lombard, and Thomas Aquinas; there is an increasing attempt to synthesise the four classical virtues with the three 'theological' virtues of faith, hope, and charity (1 Cor. 13.13): Dante celebrates the victory of the triad (Purg. VIII.88-93, though later he pictures both schemes together: XXIX.121-132 [so John Ferguson, Moral Values in the Ancient World (London, 1958), 49]).

Literature: John Ferguson, op. cit., 24-52; Helen North, Sophrosyne (Ithaca, NY, 1966), passim; ead., 'Canons and Hierarchies of the Cardinal Virtues in Greek and Latin Literature,' in Luitpold Wallach, ed., The Classical Tradition: Literary and Historical Studies in honor of Harry Caplan (Ithaca, NY, 1966), 165-183; Stelzenberger, 355-378; Paul Keseling, 'Die vier Kardinaltugenden: Ein Beitrag zu dem Thema antike und Christentum,' PJ 58, 1948, 283-288. On the theme

here in Off., a tendentious guide (arguing that A. deliberately emphasises the superiority of Christian morality) is offered by Peter Circis, The Ennoblement of the Pagan Virtues: A Comparative Treatise on Virtues in Cicero's Book De Officiis and in St. Ambrose's Book De Officiis Ministrorum (Rome, 1955), passim; there is also a rather dry analysis in the Ph.D. thesis of Vincent T. Tanzola, A Comparative Study of the Cardinal Virtues in Cicero's De Officiis and in Ambrose's De Officiis Ministrorum (Catholic University of America, 1975), passim, esp. 13ff.

XXV: THE CARDINAL VIRTUES EXEMPLIFIED IN THE LIVES OF OT SAINTS

116. Haec forsitan aliquis dicat...: This anticipated objection indicates that the author is aware of the difference between his arrangement of material and Cic.'s; indeed, it probably amounts to a confession of the weakness of A.'s arrangement as compared with Cic.'s [Testard, 'Étude', 168, 190-191n.79]. Cic. defines duty (I.7 - 'Placet igitur, quoniam omnis disputatio de officio futura est, ante definire, quid sit officium'), explains the division of his theme (I.7-10), emphasises the connection between the honestum and human nature (I.11-17), and then launches into the exposition of the cardinal virtues (I.18ff.; they are already introduced in I.15-17). [Some editors of Cic. have accused him of not fulfilling his promise to define duty, or thought that his definition has dropped out of the text in I.7. In I.101, though, he says, 'nec vero agere [sc. debet] quicquam, cuius non possit causam probabilem reddere; haec est enim fere descriptio officii' (cf. Fin. III.58, of 'medium officium'); perhaps such a definition has fallen out

of the text at I.7.] A. has nowhere clearly defined duty (perhaps the closest he gets is in I.26: 'ut ea agas quae nulli officiant, prosint omnibus'), and has already occupied a substantial part of Book I with treatments of speech/silence, theodicy, and modesty, while the Ciceronian division of the subject is sandwiched in the midst of it all, in I.27. He attempts to defend himself by implying that Cic.'s arrangement is a matter of ars, while his own follows the exempla maiorum of the Scriptures. It is possible to attribute A.'s problems to the joining of different sermonic pieces [Introduction, III]; but whatever the reasons for A.'s layout, there is little doubt that Cic.'s is clearer. The paragraphs which follow (I.117-121) may be an attempt to show the usefulness of the exempla maiorum which have to a great extent led to the delay in dealing with the cardinal virtues theme: by illustrating the virtues in the lives of the saints, A. seeks to prove the validity of the biblical material which has hitherto replaced Cic.'s arrangement. He needs no philosophical definitions; he has the heroes of the faith to set forth as moral exemplars. [On the fundamental role of the exempla maiorum, cf. esp. III.139, and see Introduction, II.v.]

It is A.'s habit to evoke a Ciceronian thematic head and immediately to add a strongly antithetical nos: cf. I.27-29.

On the shunning of ars, cf. I.29 and n.

A string of pejoratives emphasises the complexity of Cic.'s material as compared with the simplicity and spiritual worth of the biblical illustrations: note obscuritatem...ad intellegendum; ad tractandum versutias [versutias is very rare]; calliditatis commentarium; disputandi astutia.

117. primo loco: As in I.115, A. alludes to Cic.'s

description of prudence as 'first' (Cic. I.15,18,19), but A. means 'first in importance' (as in I.126), while Cic. means 'first in order of treatment' [so also Hagendahl, 351n.1]. (Primo loco in I.116 seems to be just a fortuitous occurrence of the same phrase, unconnected to the use in I.115 and 117.)

'Credidit Abraham Deo...': Gen. 15.6.

Nemo enim prudens qui Dominum nescit: A. follows the teaching of verses such as as Ps. 110.10; Prov. 1.7;9.10; Eccli. 1.16, that the knowledge of God is the key to wisdom. Cf. Ep. 37.29: 'Quis igitur sapiens, nisi qui ad ipsa pervenit divinitatis secreta, et manifestata sibi cognovit occulta sapientiae? Solus igitur sapiens, qui duce Deo usus est ad cognoscenda veritatis cubilia, et mortalis homo immortalis Dei haeres et successor est factus per gratiam....' Lactantius is of the same opinion: Inst. VI.18. This formulation of prudence cuts across the learned research prized by classical thinkers (cf. I.122-125).

In Greek philosophy, σοφία (sapientia) is speculative wisdom, whereas φρόνησις (prudencia) is practical wisdom, the knowledge of what one should pursue and avoid (cf. Cic. I.153). Cic. plays down speculative wisdom, in line with his emphasis on practical morality (Cic. I.18-19). He consistently ranks justice above speculative wisdom; though sapientia, strictly, is the most important virtue, justice is the most important duty (I.153). A. does not observe the distinction between sapientia and prudencia, as the present paragraph indicates (cf. also I.118-121; I.123-124 with I.126,129). He draws on the OT Wisdom tradition, in which sapientia predominates but where prudencia is also used (cf. the combination of the two in, say, Prov. 3.13; 5.1). A. shares Cic.'s regard for practical prudencia, but he uses the term

synonymously with sapientia under the influence of the Bible. [See Sauer, 67-74.]

Denique insipiens dixit quia 'non est Deus': Cf. Pss. 13.1; 52.1.

qui dicit lapidi, 'Pater meus es tu': Cf. Jerem. 2.27.

qui dicit diabolo ut Manichaeus, 'Auctor meus es tu': Manichaeism, founded by the Syro-Persian Mani (A.D. 216-276), believed in a primeval conflict between Light and Darkness; the powers of Darkness were duped into swallowing particles of Light, and the universe was created to redeem this captive Light, which is now imprisoned in all living things. Matter, and consequently the human body, is evil, sometimes referred to as 'the demon' (e.g., Augustine, c. Faust. Man. XXI.1). By the practice of strict asceticism, the soul can be enlightened as to its divine origins, and the Light particles can be released. [See H.-C. Puech, Le Manichéisme, son fondateur, sa doctrine (Paris, 1949), esp. 68-91; Geo. Widengren, Mani and Manichaeism (ET: London, 1965), esp. 43-73.] The movement spread rapidly throughout the Roman Empire, and was especially strong in the East and in Africa in the fourth century; the young Augustine was an 'auditor' (second-grade adherent) for nearly a decade, both at Carthage and in Rome (Conf. V.3ff.). Mani claimed to be 'the Apostle of Jesus Christ', but attacked the Jewish and Christian Scriptures as unreliable; Christ Himself was regarded simply as one of a series of Gnostic saviours. The sect lost its hold on large areas of the West owing to the increased strength of the orthodox Church, the number of Christian conversions among the merchant class who had provided some of the most enthusiastic missionaries of the Manichaean cause, and the growth of the more refined asceticism of the monastic movement; it

survived in parts of the East, however, into the late Middle Ages. [See Peter Brown, 'The Diffusion of Manichaeism in the Roman Empire,' JRS 59, 1969, 92-103.]

A.'s point here is that the Manichee who says that his body is evil, or 'the demon', claims that the devil, not God, is his creator. [For A.'s polemic against the Manichees, see the references in Dudden I, 186n.4, and esp. F. De Capitani, 'Studi su Sant' Ambrogio e il Manichei: I. Occasioni di un incontro,' RFN 74, 1982, 596-610; 'II. Spunti antimanichei nell' Exameron ambrosiano,' RFN 75, 1983, 3-29.]

ut Arianus, qui mavult imperfectum auctorem habere atque degenerem quam verum atque perfectum: The heresy of Arianism began with the teaching of an Alexandrian presbyter, Arius (c. A.D. 250 - c.336), who taught that God the Father was uniquely divine in His being, while Christ was a creature with a beginning, the special servant of the Father but not 'true and perfect God of true and perfect God'. Arian teaching was condemned at the Council of Nicaea in 325, but the dispute with the Catholic clergy continued, not least because Arianism enjoyed imperial patronage from the 350's till 378; the Council of Constantinople in 381 confirmed Nicene orthodoxy. [See J.N.D. Kelly, Early Christian Doctrines (5th ed., London, 1977), 223-251 for a theological outline.] A. himself succeeded an Arian bishop at Milan, and fought a vigorous campaign against the assertion of Arian rights in the crisis of 385-386; his dogmatic works, especially De Fide and De Spiritu Sancto, and his hymns are prominent media for the propagation of Nicene theology and anti-Arian polemic [Introduction, I].

In denying that Christ (as much the creator as is God the Father) is truly God, the Arian 'prefers to have

an imperfect and base creator'; Arian Christology is foolish as well as heretical.

Marcion: Marcion (c. A.D. 80 - c.160), from Sinope in Pontus, is best known for his work on the canon of Scripture: he rejected the OT as non-Christian, and compiled the earliest extant list of NT books, comprising a shortened version of Lk., and an edition of ten Pauline epistles (not including the Pastorals). His lost Antitheses set out his convictions about the contradictions between the OT and the NT: the God of the OT, creator of the material universe, is a completely different being from the Father of Jesus Christ; the one is a God of law and justice, the other a God of mercy and compassion. His depreciation of the created world is indicative of Gnostic influence. Marcion seems to have moved gradually towards the view that the universe was created not merely by an inferior deity but by Evil itself, out of pre-existent matter. The similarities with Manichaeism meant that most Marcionite communities were absorbed into Manichaeism by the late third century. Because of the loss of Marcion's writings, his views must be reconstructed from the information provided by his orthodox opponents, and especially from the elaborate five-book refutation of Tertullian, in Adversus Marcionem. [See E.C. Blackman, Marcion and his Influence (London, 1948), esp. 66-97. For references to the Marcionites by A., see Dudden I, 186n.1.]

Eunomius: Eunomius (c. A.D. 335 - c.395) was bishop of Cyzicus; he was a disciple of the extreme Arian Aetius (died c. 370), and propounded Aetius's teaching that God is a simple, supreme, ingenerate Essence, who is intelligible to anyone on the basis of his revealed name. The Son is unlike (*ἀνόμοιος*) the Father in substance. The Eunomians were thus often known as the 'Anomoeans'. Eunomius's Apologeticus was rebutted by

Basil, but a counter-reply was made; this rejoinder was in turn answered at length in the five books of Gregory of Nyssa's Contra Eunomium. [See M. Spanneut, 'Eunomius de Cyzique', DHGE 15, 1399-1405.] For references to the Eunomians by A., see Dudden I, 186n.6.

The association of the Arian and Marcionite/Manichaeen heresies is frequent in A.: cf., e.g., Hex. II.20; III.32; Apol. alt. 72; Fide I.57; Inc. 7-8; he attributes to the Eunomians (cf. esp. Hex. II.20) the same belief in an evil creator.

'Initium enim sapientiae...': Ps. 110.10; Prov. 1.7; 9.10; Eccli. 1.16. On the fear of the Lord, cf. I.1n.

'Sapientes non declinant...': Prov. 24.7 (VL).

'Reputatum est ei ad iustitiam': Gen. 15.6, as above.
alterius virtutis: Iustitia; Abraham's prudence, evidenced in his faith in God, ensured that he was credited with the second cardinal virtue as well.

118. Primi igitur nostri definierunt...': A.'s habitual contention that the biblical exemplars delineated truth earlier than the classical thinkers [Introduction, II.iv(iv)]; on nostri, see Introduction, II.v.

prudentiam in veri consistere cognitione: Cf. Cic. I.18: 'primus ille, qui in veri cognitione consistit' (cf. also Cic. I.15).

Abraham, David, Salomonem: Abraham is the main exemplar in these paragraphs; David is the author of the quotations from the Psalms, and Solomon of those from Proverbs.

iustitiam spectare ad societatem generis humani: Cf. Cic. I.15 ('...aut in hominum societate tuenda...'); 20 ('...qua societas hominum inter ipsos et vitae quasi communitas continetur').

'Dispersit, dedit pauperibus...': Ps. 111.9.

'iustus miseretur...': Ps. 111.5.

Sapienti et iusto totus mundus divitiarum est: Prov. 17.6 (VL). This is a favourite verse of A.; he frequently employs it to describe the lasting riches of the believer, adapting the picture of the Stoic sage who possesses all things to the Christian beliefs in the true wisdom of faith, charitable giving of riches in this world, and the inheritance of everlasting treasure in God's presence. [See Vincent R. Vasey, 'Proverbs 17.6b (LXX) and St. Ambrose's Man of Faith,' Augustinianum 14, 1974, 259-276.]

Iustus communia pro suis habet, sua pro communibus: A. is echoing, and disagreeing with, Cic. I.20: '...deinde ut communibus pro communibus utatur, privatis ut suis'; cf. I.132ff., below.

Susceperat in senectute filium per repromissionem: A. is probably echoing Rom. 4.20, of Abraham's trust in God's promise of a son: 'In repromissione etiam Dei non haesitavit diffidentia...'. On the Gen. texts, cf. I.109n.

reposcenti Domino negandum ad sacrificium, quamvis unicum, non putavit: See Gen. 22.1-19 on the sacrifice of Isaac.

119. Adverte his omnes virtutes quattuor in uno facto: The single incident of the sacrifice of Isaac demonstrates all four virtues.

Ducebat...: The rhetorical build-up of tension is marked, as A. strings together short clauses, largely in asyndeton, uses the imperfect tense, and climaxes the series of dum clauses with the decisive meruit: Isaac is saved in the nick of time; Abraham's faith is rewarded.

120. qui Deum vidit 'facie ad faciem': Gen. 32.30, when Jacob wrestled with God in human form at the place which he afterwards appropriately calls 'Peniel' ('face of God'): Gen. 32.22-32.

qui ea quae adquisierat...: Cf. I.91,111nn.

qui cum Deo luctatus est: See Gen. 32.22-32.

ut filiae iniuriam mallet praetexere coniugio quam...: Jacob's daughter Dinah was raped by the Hivite, Shechem, but Jacob was prepared to let the man have her in marriage rather than incur the hatred of the neighbouring Canaanites and Perizzites by avenging her (Gen. 34); A. neglects to mention, however, the brutal slaughter of Shechem and all his fellow-citizens by Jacob's enraged sons.

praetexere coniugio may well be an echo of Vergil, Aen. IV.172 (of Dido): 'coniugium vocat, hoc praetexit nomine culpam' [Testard I, 250n.24].

121. qui tantam fabricavit arcam: See Gen. 6.9-22. On the Flood, see in general Gen. 6.1 - 8.22.

solus ex omnibus...superstes: Not strictly true: Noah's wife, his three sons, and their wives were also saved in the ark. On Noah's iustitia, see Gen. 6.9;7.1; 2 Pet. 2.5; and cf. Expos. Ps. 118.7.15: 'quod Noe propter iustitiam diluvii victor generis factus superstes humani sit'.

mundo potius et universis magis quam sibi natus: Cf. I.136n.

quando corvum, quando columbam dimitteret, quando reciperet revertentes...: See Gen. 8.6-12; on its last excursion, of course, the dove did not return at all.

XXVI: PRUDENCE - THE KNOWLEDGE OF GOD, NOT HUMAN LEARNING

122. Itaque tractant in veri investigatione tenendum...: Itaque picks up the thread from I.115, and the plural verbs again allude to Cic., and his treatment of the first virtue in I.18-19. The phrase 'in veri investigatione' appears in Cic. I.19.

summo studio...non falsa pro veris ducere, non obscuris vera involvere, non superfluis vel implexis atque ambiguis occupare animum: Cic. warns of two errors in the pursuit of knowledge: 'unum, ne incognita pro cognitis habeamus hisque temere assentiamur...' (I.18); 'alterum est vitium, quod quidam nimis magnum studium multamque operam in res obscuras atque difficiles conferunt easdemque non necessarias' (I.19). A. evokes Cic.'s first point more closely in I.123, below; in the present passage, he replaces 'incognita pro cognitis' with falsa pro veris, which indicates his Christian perspective: the findings of human study may be falsehood, as compared with the revealed truths of God's Word; science is equated with impiety. Cic. is advancing a Stoic view, that intellectual enquiry is legitimate only if it contributes to progress in virtue; excessive curiosity may lead away from the virtuous life; practical rather than theoretical knowledge is what is required. Curiositas as a concept is developed notably in the Platonist tradition by Apuleius in his Metamorphoses, where repeatedly the association is made between curiosity and sacrilege; Augustine makes a similar equation in several passages, especially in the Confessions. [See Pierre Courcelle, Les Confessions de saint Augustin dans la tradition littéraire. Antécédents et postérité (Paris, 1963), 101-109; and, more generally, P.G. Walsh, 'The Rights and Wrongs of Curiosity (Plutarch to Augustine),' G & R 35.1, 1988, 73-85.] A. endorses this Stoic and later Platonist belief on the dangers of impiety in intellectual study; the believer should be content to marvel at God's ways in His creation, and not seek to know the inscrutable.

venerari ligna: On the futility of worshipping wooden images carved by one's own hands, cf., e.g., Is.

44.13ff.;45.20; Jer. 10.3-5. The condemnation of idolatry is widespread in early Christian authors (cf., e.g., Tertullian, Apol. 10ff.; De idolatria; Quod idola dii non sint; Arnobius, Adv. Nat. VI; Lactantius, Inst. II.2,4). A.'s hostility is exemplified in his resistance to the pagans' demands in the Altar of Victory affair [Introduction, I]; cf., too, Expos. Ps. 118.10.25. Cic., who is implicitly the focus of his attack here, was in fact opposed to the excesses of 'superstitio' (cf. esp. Div. II), though he was elected an augur in 53 B.C. But despite Cic.'s personal scepticism about some aspects of traditional Roman religious rites, veneration of images was of course undeniably a Roman practice, and as such is the fair object of A.'s condemnation.

astronomia et geometria: These two sciences are mentioned by Cic. in I.19, along with dialectics and civil law. A. repudiates astronomy/astrology in several places: Expl. Ps. 36.28; Abr. II.9; Hex. IV.12ff.; V.24 (the errors of the Chaldaeans: cf. Abr. II.39,49); Ep. 72.5. He similarly speaks of the inadequacies/errors of geometry in Expl. Ps. 36.28; Hex. II.5; VI.7-8; Abr. II.80 (and mathematics/geography: Hex. IV.14ff.; cf. I.22; Expos. Ps. 118.12.20; Exc. fr. II.86). Astrology is invariably rejected by Christian writers (e.g., Tertullian, Idol. 9; Augustine, Conf. IV.3; V.7; VII.6 [and see F. Van der Meer, Augustine the Bishop (London & New York, 1961), 60-67; also useful is M.L.W. Laistner, 'The Western Church and Astrology during the Early Middle Ages,' HTR 34, 1941, 251-275]). Augustine, though, reflects the tension which remained in the educated mind between confessing the worth of such subjects as natural science and adhering to a Christian simplicity: at Cassiciacum, he conceives of the

classical education as a preparation of the mind to receive higher truth (cf. De ordine II, esp.), while in later years a more consistently Christian attitude has come to control his humanist sympathies, in accordance with his increased responsibilities for the instruction of young believers: Scripture is the basis of Christian culture; the value of a judicious study of history, geography, natural science, mathematics, logic, and rhetoric lies supremely in furthering one's understanding of God's Word (Doctr. Chr. II.45ff.). Pagan learning may be used against pagan thinkers, just as the Israelites plundered the Egyptians at the Exodus (ibid., II.58-60); cf. Jerome's image of classical literature as the Gentile bride of Deut. 21.10-13, who may, with nails trimmed and hair cut, marry into the true Israel (Ep. 70.2). [See H.I. Marrou, Saint Augustin et la fin de la culture antique (2nd ed., Paris, 1949), 331-540.] A., though, maintains a scepticism concerning the value of these scientific pursuits:

relinquere causas salutis, errores quaerere: The study of the sciences leads away from the most crucial knowledge of all, the knowledge of God Himself, and brings one into the errores of theories which conflict with Scripture.

123. 'eruditus in omni sapientia Aegyptiorum': Acts 7.22. [For references to A.'s frequent citation of this verse in such a context, see Madec, 102n.14.]

detrimentum et stultitiam iudicavit: A mélange of Phil. 3.8 ('existimo omnia detrimentum esse...') and 1 Cor. 3.19 ('sapientia enim huius mundi stultitia est apud Deum'); cf. II.13.

Deum quaesivit...ideoque vidit, interrogavit, audivit loquentem: Moses saw and conversed with the Lord at the burning bush (Ex. 3.1 - 4.17), on Mt. Sinai (Ex. 19ff.; Deut. 5.4), and in the tent of meeting (Ex.

33.7-11); the Lord knew him 'facie ad faciem' (Deut. 34.10).

qui omnem Aegyptiorum sapientiam...vacavit: Moses and Aaron performed certain miracles which the Egyptian magicians could equal (turning staffs into serpents: Ex. 7.8-13 - though Aaron's staff swallowed up the others; changing the waters of Egypt into blood: Ex. 7.14-24; and bringing a plague of frogs: Ex. 7.25 - 8.15), but they could not rival the subsequent plagues (Ex. 8.16 - 11.10: cf. esp. 8.16-19; 9.8-11).

incognita pro cognitis...: Cf. I.122n. on Cic. I.18. quae duo in hoc maxime naturali atque honesto loco vitanda: Very close to Cic. I.18: 'In hoc genere et naturali et honesto duo vitia vitanda sunt...'. But A. takes the two clauses of Cic.'s first point as constituting both points one and two ('incognita pro cognitis...hisque temere assentiemur'). His memory of the Ciceronian text is not perfect [see Testard, 'Recherches', 93n.87].

turpe: Cic. has the word in I.18.

124. Quanto igitur excelsior virtus est sapientia: On the loftiness of sapientia, cf. Cic. I.153.

On striving to attain it, cf. esp. Prov. 4.5,7.

duo haec, id est, et tempus et diligentiam ad considerationem rerum...conferre debemus: Cf. Cic. I.18: 'quod vitium effugere qui volet - omnes autem velle debent - adhibebit ad considerandas res et tempus et diligentiam'. Again (cf. I.123), A. mistakes the 'duo' of Cic. for et tempus et diligentiam, as his memory of Cic.'s text is confused. Nihil est enim magis quod homo ceteris animantibus praestet quam quod rationis est particeps...: Cf. Cic. I.11: 'Sed inter hominem et beluam hoc maxime interest.... Homo autem, quod rationis est particeps, per quam consequentia cernit, causas rerum videt....' (Also Cic. I.107.) But A. adds a Christian phrase at

once: generis sui auctorem investigandum putat; man is endowed with reason in order to search after his maker.

in cuius potestate vitae necisque nostrae potestas sit: The idea is found in Dan. 5.23 ('[Deus] qui habet flatum tuum in manu sua et omnes vias tuas').

cui sciamus rationem esse reddendam nostrorum actuum: Cf. Rom. 14.12: 'Itaque unusquisque nostrum pro se rationem reddet Deo' (also 2 Cor. 5.10; 1 Pet. 4.5).

Nihil est enim quod magis proficiat ad vitam honestam quam ut credamus eum iudicem futurum...: A. establishes an eschatological reference-point which is unknown to Cic.: honourable conduct is motivated in particular by the knowledge that God is to be our judge.

The two features against which Cic. warns (dogmatism and obscurantism) are thus rather confused in A.'s text, first in I.123 and then in I.124. Here, he relates the need for careful and lengthy weighing of evidence (Cic. I.18) to the need to reflect on one's relationship with God: the prudence of recognising that He is creator, sustainer, and judge is the primary prerequisite for the honourable life.

125. Omnibus igitur hominibus inest secundum naturam humanam verum investigare, quae nos ad studium cognitionis et scientiae trahit et inquirendi infundit cupiditatem: Cf. Cic. I.18: 'primus ille, qui in veri cognitione consistit, maxime naturam attingit humanam. Omnes enim trahimur et ducimur ad cognitionis et scientiae cupiditatem...'. Cic. is alluding to the Aristotelian view, classically expressed in the opening words of Aristotle's Metaphysics, that 'all men by nature desire to know'; the search for knowledge is natural, but (Cic. goes on to add - cf. I.122n.) some areas of study are dangerous in that they sidetrack one from practical virtue.

In quo excellere universis pulchrum videtur: Cf. Cic. I.18: 'in qua excellere pulchrum putamus'.

cogitationes, consilia: Cic. I.19 has 'cogitatio' and 'consiliis'.

ut ad illud beate honesteque vivendum pervenire possint: Cf. Cic. I.19: 'Omnis autem cogitatio motusque animi aut in consiliis capiendis de rebus honestis et pertinentibus ad bene beateque vivendum aut in studiis scientiae cognitionis versabitur'.

operibus: Cic. I.19 has 'sine opera'.

'Non enim qui dixerit,' inquit, 'mihi, Domine, Domine, intrabit...sed qui fecerit ea quae dico': A mélange of Matthew's and Luke's versions of this saying: cf. Matt. 7.21: 'Non omnis qui dicit mihi, Domine, Domine, intrabit in regnum caelorum, sed qui facit voluntatem Patris mei qui in caelis est'; and Lk. 6.46: 'Quid autem vocatis me, Domine, Domine, et non facitis quae dico?'.

Nam studia scientiae sine factis: Cic. I.19 has 'in studiis scientiae'.

Throughout this paragraph, then, A. pieces together a mosaic of words from Cic. I.19. But it is clear that his meaning is quite different. While Cic. warns of an excessive intellectualism which is pursued at the expense of 'actio', A. is thinking of the pursuit of knowledge as the search after God by faith, which must not be followed without a corresponding production of good works: he thinks of Jas. 2.26: 'fides sine operibus mortua est'. The blessed and honourable life is acquired by a combination of faith and good works; it is not, as it is in Cic. I.19, one alternative focus for mental activity while learning is another. On only a few attaining to high spirituality, cf. III.10 (cf. also I.16, and I.36-37).

XXVII: THE LINK BETWEEN PRUDENCE AND JUSTICE

126. Primus igitur officii fons prudentia est: Cf. Cic. I.19: 'Ac de primo quidem officii fonte diximus'; but cf. I.117n.: Cic. is referring to the traditional order of the virtues, while A. is classifying their importance.

Qui tamen fons et in virtutes derivatur ceteras: K. Zelzer, 'Zur Beurteilung der Cicero-Imitatio bei Ambrosius, De Officiis,' WSt. 11, 1977, (168-191) 185, followed by Testard I, 26n.1; 25ln.2, suggests that this is indebted, via Parad. 13-14, to Philo, Leg. alleg. I.63ff. The main inspiration, though, is likely to be from Cic.'s use of the word 'fons' in I.19; in the present passage, prudence is the 'fons' from which the other virtues flow, while in Parad. 13-14 prudence is one of the four rivers which spring from the divine 'fons' of the soul/of paradise.

neque enim potest iustitia sine prudentia esse: In II.35, Cic., having suggested in II.34 that prudence without justice will be of no avail, while justice without prudence will be able to do much, claims that he is not genuinely making a division between the virtues, since he who is prudent must also be just [cf., too, Fin. V.66-67]; on the Stoic conviction on the unity of the virtues, cf. I.115n.

The key to A.'s association of prudence and justice lies, though, in the OT legacy of wisdom-faith-righteousness, and especially in the example of Abraham, which he has cited in I.117: Abraham's belief in God was counted to him as 'iustitia' (Gen. 15.6). Ciceronian 'justice' is elided with biblical 'righteousness'. On the link between the first two virtues, cf. I.252-253; II.40ff.

A. follows Cic. I.18-19 in devoting less space to prudence than to any of the other virtues in Book I,

but A. alone makes prudence the source of the other three.

'Qui enim iustum iudicat iniustum...': Prov. 17.15-16 (VL).

pietas enim in Deum initium intellectus: Cf. Ps. 110.10; Prov. 1.7; 9.10; Eccli. 1.16.

The introduction of pietas begins the transition to the treatment of the second virtue; though he draws on Cic. below, A.'s formulation of pietas carries more Christian than classical import [Sauer, 75-80].

illud ab huius saeculi translatum magis quam inventum sapientibus: The familiar charge of pagan plagiarism from the Scriptures; the 'wise men' is an oblique reference to Cic. in particular (next n.).

'pietas fundamentum est virtutum omnium': Cic., Planc. 29, also quoted in Expos. Ps. 118.21.7.

Cic. expresses a similar idea in N.D. I.4: without 'pietas adversus deos', justice, the most excellent virtue, could not exist; cf., too, the sentiment of the Academic Cotta in N.D. I.116: 'Est enim pietas iustitia adversum deos'; the idea receives extensive treatment in Plato, Euthyphro 12Aff.

127. prima in Deum, secunda in patriam, tertia in parentes, item in omnes: In I.57-58, Cic. places responsibility to country, parents, children, household, and relatives, in that order; he omits the gods altogether. In I.160, however, he agrees with A.: 'prima diis immortalibus, secunda patriae, tertia parentibus, deinceps gradatim reliquis'.

A.'s use of pietas for prudencia enables him to merge his biblical principle, that prudence (the knowledge of God) is the basis of all the virtues, with the classical concern for country and family; as a high-ranking Roman by background, A. shares the Ciceronian and Vergilian esteem for these expressions of pietas, and the Stoic concern for fulfilling one's

responsibilities in society. [See Paul Keseling, 'Familiensinn und Vaterlandsliebe in der Pflichtenlehre des hl. Ambrosius (Max Pohlenz zum 80. Geburtstag),' ZRG 5, 1953, 367-372.]

secundum naturae...magisterium: Cf. Cic. I.22, on men's responsibility to help one another: 'in hoc naturam debemus ducem sequi'.

Hinc caritas nascitur quae alios sibi praefert, non quaerens quae sua sunt...: Cf. 1 Cor. 13.5: '[caritas] non est ambitiosa, non quaerit quae sua sunt...'. A. synthesises the Platonist-Stoic sentiment of Cic. I.22 with the teaching of the NT. He is here anticipating the exposition of justice which comes in I.130ff., where 'altruism/charity' [Dudden II, 527] is the key note.

128. Omnibus quoque animantibus innascitur primo salutem tueri...: Cf. Cic. I.11: 'Principio generi animantium omni est a natura tributum, ut se, vitam corpusque tueatur, declinet ea, quae nocitura videantur, omniaque, quae sint ad vivendum necessaria anquirat et paret, ut pastum, ut latibula, ut alia generis eiusdem'.

congregabilia natura sint: An exact echo of Cic. I.157, where Cic. is saying that bees illustrate the gregarious tendency of men. [Congregabilis, coined by Cic. in this passage, is extremely rare in other authors - TLL.]

et maxime pares paribus delectari: Cf. Cic., Sen. 7: 'Pares autem vetere proverbio cum paribus facillime congregantur'.

Iam de procreandi studio et subole...: Cf. Cic. I.54: 'Nam cum sit hoc natura commune animantium, ut habeant libidinem procreandi.... quae propagatio et suboles origo est rerum publicarum. Sanguinis autem coniunctio et benevolentia devincit homines <et> caritate.' [A. does not regard the desire to

procreate, and the fulfilment of the desire in marriage, as evil, only as inferior to celibacy: see William Joseph Dooley, Marriage according to St. Ambrose (Washington, 1948), esp. 1-15.]

129. fortitudo quae vel in bello...vel domi...: This is Cic.'s distinction of military and civil fortitude; cf. I.115n.

captare etiam temporum et locorum opportunitates, prudentiae ac modestiae sit: Cf. Cic. I.142: 'Deinceps de ordine rerum et de opportunitate temporum dicendum est', etc.; Cic. goes on to talk of 'loci' and 'modestia'.

magnanimitas: Cic. calls the third virtue by this name in I.152.

XXVIII: JUSTICE - PAGAN AND CHRISTIAN IDEAS

130. The section on justice extends from I.130 to I.174.

Iustitia igitur ad societatem generis humani et ad communitatem refertur. Societatis enim ratio dividitur in partes duas...: Cf. Cic. I.20: 'De tribus autem reliquis latissime patet ea ratio, qua societas hominum inter ipsos et vitae quasi communitas continetur; cuius partes duae: iustitia, in qua virtutis splendor est maximus,...et huic coniuncta beneficentia, quam eandem vel benignitatem vel liberalitatem appellari licet'. Here, unlike in I.127, A. omits the dimension of responsibility to God; he follows Cic.'s emphasis on human society. Cic. treats the first category, strict justice, in I.20-41, and the second, kindness, in I.42-60. A. deals with strict justice in I.131-142, and spends longer on kindness, I.143-174.

iustitia mihi excelsior videtur: Under the influence

of Cic. I.20, A. ranks strict justice above kindness, despite the fact that he discusses kindness at greater length.

censuram: Translators generally take this as a pejorative (Niederhuber: 'Strenge'; Cavasin and Banterle: 'severità'; De Romestin: 'strictness'; Testard: 'sévérité'), but the context hardly supports this. The neutral 'assessment, judgement' is nearer the mark (cf. I.230; II.67): justice maintains a sober judgement of what is right, while liberality shows goodness to others.

131. Sed primum ipsum quod putant philosophi iustitiae munus apud nos excluditur. Dicunt enim illi eam primam esse iustitiae formam ut nemini quis noceat nisi lacessitus iniuria: A. is alluding to Cic. I.20:

'Sed iustitiae primum munus est, ut ne cui quis noceat, nisi lacessitus iniuria...' (cf. Cic. III.76).

The strong force of Sed and ipsum heightens the contrast: the 'very first thing' which the pagan philosophers reckon to be a duty of justice is unacceptable to those imbued with the gospel spirit.

quod Evangelii auctoritate vacuatur: Cf. Matt. 5.43-48; Lk. 6.27-38 (also Lk. 9.51-56; Matt. 26.51-54; Lk. 22.49-51; John 18.10-11). Although A. goes on to articulate a Christian ethic of a just war, under Cic.'s influence (I.139, [esp.] 176-177; cf. II.33; III.86-87), in the private sphere he is a pacifist (cf. III.27,59; note also I.16,233; III.23-24), sharing with other Christian authors (cf., e.g., Lactantius, Inst. VI.18) the conviction that the Christian when insulted should turn the other cheek. His personal courage in the ecclesiastical crises of his day forbids us to conclude, however, that A. was any kind of coward. [See Louis J. Swift, 'St. Ambrose on Violence and War,' TAPA 101, 1970, 533-543.]

vult enim Scriptura ut sit in nobis spiritus filii

hominis: In addition to the passages cited above, cf. Phil. 2.5ff.: 'Hoc enim sentite in vobis, quod et in Christo Iesu...'; we are to emulate the spirit of the One 'qui cum malediceretur, non maledicebat; cum pateretur, non comminabatur: tradebat autem iudicanti se iniuste...' (1 Pet. 2.23).

conferre gratiam: Cf. John 1.17: 'gratia...per Iesum Christum facta est'.

132. Deinde formam iustitiae putaverunt ut quis communia...: Cf. Cic. I.20: 'deinde ut communibus pro communibus utatur, privatis ut suis'. A. has already disagreed with Cic.'s assertion of the right of private possessions in I.118.

Ne hoc quidem secundum naturam: natura enim omnia omnibus in commune profudit: A. believes in the Stoic tenet (in Cic. I.22) that the earth's produce is for all (I.38; III.37ff.); cf. next nn.

Natura igitur ius commune generavit, usurpatio ius fecit privatum: An enormous amount of scholarly ink has been spilt over these words. The debate turns particularly on the meaning of usurpatio: does it mean simply 'use' or 'custom', or does it have a negative force, signifying 'usurpation' or 'unjust acquisition'? Supporters of the first interpretation argue that A. is evoking Cic. I.21: 'Sunt autem privata nulla natura, sed aut vetere occupatione, ut qui quondam in vacua venerunt, aut victoria, ut qui bello potiti sunt, aut lege, pactione, condicione, sorte...'; A.'s usurpatio is the equivalent of Cic.'s 'vetus occupatio'. A sizeable group argues for this neutral reading of usurpatio: e.g., J.A. Ryan, Alleged Socialism of the Church Fathers (St. Louis, 1913), 61-62; G. Squitieri, Il preteso comunismo di S. Ambrogio (Sarno, 1946), 102; L. Orabona, 'L' "usurpatio" in un passo di S. Ambrogio (De Off., I,28) parallelo a Cicerone (De Off., I,7) su "ius commune" e "ius

privatum", ' Aevum 33, 1959, 495-504; P. Christophe, L'usage chrétien du droit de propriété dans l'Écriture et la tradition patristique (Paris, 1964), 172; Maes, 26; Vasey, 131-136; Testard I, 252-253n.7. A larger number, however, take the word as pejorative: Thamin, 281; A. Amati, 'Nuovi studi su S. Ambrogio: La proprietà,' RIL, ser. 2, 30, 1897 (764-785), 781; I. Seipel, Die wirtschaftsethischen Lehren der Kirchenväter (Vienna, 1907), 109; O. Schilling, Reichtum und Eigentum in der altchristlichen Literatur (Freiburg, 1908), 142; Niederhuber, 74; Dudden II, 546; A.O. Lovejoy, 'The Communism of Saint Ambrose,' Journal of the History of Ideas 3, 1942 (458-468), 459 and n.6 [also in Essays in the History of Ideas (Baltimore, 1948), ch. XV]; F. Fluckiger, Geschichte des Naturrechts I: Altertum und Frühmittelalter (Zurich, 1954), 335; Salvatore Calafato, La proprietà privata in S. Ambrogio (Turin, 1958), 75-101 (esp. 91); E. Frattini, 'Proprietà e ricchezza nel pensiero di S. Ambrogio,' RIFD 39, 1962 (745-766), 754; L. Ndolela, 'Original Communism in the "De Officiis" of Ambrose of Milan,' World Justice 12, 1970 (216-237), 220-221n.10, 224-225; Martin Hengel, Property and Riches in the Early Church: Aspects of a Social History of Early Christianity (ET: London, 1974), 3-4; G.E.M. de Ste Croix, 'Early Christian Attitudes to Property and Slavery,' in Derek Baker, ed., Church Society and Politics (Oxford, 1975) (1-38), 30n.104; Banterle, 105n.5. S. Giet, 'La doctrine de l'appropriation des biens chez quelques-uns des Pères. Peut-on parler de communisme?', RSR 35, 1948 (55-91), 63-64n.4 translates usurpatio as 'usage' but interprets it as pejorative in the context of A.'s disagreement with Cic.; Cavasin translates it as 'usurpazione', but says, 129n.4, that it corresponds with Cic.'s 'vetere occupatione'.

'Usurpare', 'usurpator', and 'usurpatio' are found in neutral senses classically, but in later writers the force is commonly pejorative, although examples of the neutral sense can readily be identified (e.g., I.102). The two most recent articles on the subject prefer the pejorative interpretation: Louis J. Swift, 'Iustitia and Ius Privatum: Ambrose on Private Property,' AJP 100, 1979 (176-187), 179-180; Manfred Wacht, 'Privateigentum bei Cicero und Ambrosius,' JAC 25, 1982 (28-64), 51-52. The decisive point in favour of this is the context. In I.131, A. disagrees with Cic.'s 'first office of justice' (I.20): revenge is forbidden to the Christian, even after provocation. In I.132, he disagrees with the second office of Cic. I.20: all property, not just that which is obviously common, is to be treated as common. The obvious reading of Ne hoc quidem secundum naturam is that it dissents from the second statement of Cic. [pace Orabona, art. cit., 500-501], especially since in I.118 A. has already altered Cic.'s wording to communia pro suis..., sua pro communibus. Cic. says (I.21) that by nature there are no private possessions (so far, A. agrees), but long-standing occupancy entitles people to call territory their own. Beyond this, Cic. feels no obligation to conclude that private goods are wrong in principle, but rather contends that each person should zealously defend whatever has fallen to his lot (cf. also Cic. I.51). He approves the Stoic teaching that men should help one another (I.22). A., on the other hand, makes no mention of protecting one's own possessions, but moves straight from the natura...usurpatio statement to the Stoic belief, which he claims (I.133-136) is lifted from scriptural teaching; then, in I.136, he says that justice is 'born for others rather than for itself', alluding to Plato's sentiment (quoted in Cic. I.22)

that men are born for others rather for themselves. In I.137, A. suggests that this design of nature for justice is undermined by prima avaritia: the clear implication is that the primeval greed of original sin has destroyed nature's (i.e., God's) intention that justice should count all things common. Taking I.132 in this whole context, then, private property is due not to long-standing occupancy but to the Fall, to the greed which brought about man's departure from paradise and which continues in a sinful world. Justice is much more self-denying and altruistic to A. than it is to Cic. (who brings in self-interest); to the bishop, the existence of private property, obtained through avaritia, is in conflict with God's original design.

This interpretation accords perfectly with what A. says elsewhere: cf. Expos. Ps. 118.8.22: 'cum praesertim Dominus Deus noster terram hanc possessionem omnium hominum voluerit esse communem et fructus omnium ministrare; sed avaritia possessionum iura distribuit'; Hex. V.2: 'Haec [i.e, natura] communia dedit, ne tibi aliqua velut propria vindicares. Tibi suos fructus terra producit, tibi scaros et acipenseris et omnes fetus suos generant aquae: et his non contentus interdicta tibi alimenta gustasti. Ad invidiam tuam omnia congeruntur, ut praevaricatio tuae aviditatis oneretur.' Cf., too, Off. II.108,132. On the usurpation of the common produce of the earth by human greed, cf. also Hex. VI.52; Nab. 2,11-12,52ff.; Expos. Luc. VII.124,247; Vid. 4-5 (and cf. Off. I.38; II.128-133 [esp. 133, on the antithesis of iustitia and avaritia]; III.16,37-52. The derivation of private property from the Fall is found in other Christian expositors (e.g., Gregory of Nazianzus, Hom. XIV.25 [PG 35]). There are parallels with Stoic-Cynic condemnations of avaritia; and the idea of a Golden

Age in which possessions were common (e.g., Seneca, Epp. 38;73;90) has some similarities with a concept of Edenic socialism [see O. Schilling, op. cit., 146-147; S. Calafato, op. cit. 96-101; J.A. Mara, The Notion of Solidarity in St. Ambrose's Teaching on Creation, Sin and Redemption (Rome, 1970), 18-26; on the particular influence that these Stoic-Cynic views of wealth would have had on the aristocratic A., see R.M. Grant, Early Christianity and Society (London, 1978), 96-123]. By synthesising such teaching with biblical themes and the observation of the excesses of contemporary society, A. proves himself to be both more traditionally Stoic on private property than Cic. and yet also fully in harmony with Christian views of charity. Marxist interpretations of his thought [de Ste Croix; Ndolela, esp.] are misjudged: A. is not interested in proposing primitive communism as a revolutionary programme [so Dudden II, 550, rightly]; rather, in common with Basil, John Chrysostom, and other fourth-century Churchmen, he is concerned to move his people to charity and almsgiving as a way of emulating God's original purpose of universal iustitia in creation.

It is clear from numerous passages in A. that he does recognise the right of property: e.g., an inherited estate must not be lightly surrendered or sold (II.17; III.63; Nab. 2ff.), and a private house, still less a house of God, cannot be unjustly taken away (Ep. 20.8,16); violations of property rights are adversus naturam (III.28). It is part of justice's role to defend such rights (II.49), and special kindness must be shown to those who have lost their patrimony through no fault of their own (II.69). A. himself definitely retained at least some of his estates [cf. I.185n.]. The extensive almsgiving which he prescribes for his clergy must also presuppose the

possession of some financial means in at least some cases [cf. I.152,184nn.].

To sum up: A. believes, in common with early Stoic teaching but in opposition to Cic., that private property is contrary to nature's design; for him, it is the result of the avaritia introduced at the Fall. In a sinful world, property is not entirely to be renounced, but should be employed for charitable purposes. Wealth is not inherently an evil; the vital criterion is how it is used, either for selfish ends or in imitation of God's purpose in nature and His compassion for the needy. Property may have a social function if self-interest is denied and others are helped. [For glimpses of early Christian community of property, cf. esp. Acts 2.44; 4.32. For a survey of patristic teaching on these issues, some important texts are collected by Peter C. Phan in Social Thought (MFC 20, Wilmington, Delaware, 1984).]

Quo in loco aiunt placuisse Stoicis quae in terris gignantur, omnia ad usus hominum creari; homines autem hominum causa...: By aiunt, A. means Cic.: cf. Cic. I.22: 'ut placet Stoicis, quae in terris gignantur, ad usum hominum omnia creari, homines autem hominum causa esse generatos, ut ipsi inter se aliis alii prodesse possent...'

133. Unde hoc nisi de Scripturis nostris dicendum adsumpserunt?: Typically, the pagans are accused of plagiarism from the Bible; the allusion here (and in didicerunt and censent, below) is to the Stoics rather than to Cic.

Moyses enim scripsit: A. has no worries about the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch.

'Faciamus hominem ad imaginem nostram...': Gen. 1.26.

'Omnia subiecisti sub pedes eius...': Ps. 8.8-9.

134. 'Non est bonum hominem esse solum...': Gen. 2.18

[on similem, see Testard I, 253n.12].

Ad adiumentum ergo mulier data est viro...: A.'s view of women, while hardly congenial to the modern feminist movement, is generally positive for his time, perhaps partly owing to the influence of Stoic belief that the sexes have the same capacity for virtue. [See Dudden I, 133ff., esp. 133-134n.1, though he does not mention the possibility of Stoic influence. On marriage, see Dooley, op. cit. in I.128n.] The present paragraph, though, drawing on Gen., speaks only of woman helping man, not vice versa!

'Non est inventus adiutor...': Gen. 2.20.

135. Ergo secundum Dei voluntatem vel naturae copulam: The will of God revealed in Scripture and the purpose of God revealed in human nature are complementary authorities. The Stoic view reproduced by Cic. (I.22, 51ff.) mentions only the norm of nature; for A., nature's design is indicative of God's purpose (cf. also III.15ff.). [See Maes, 65-120, 123-138.]

ut verbo Scripturae utar, adiumentum: A. alludes to Gen. 2.18 and 20, which he cites in I.134; neither text has this word, though (instead, 'adiutorium' and 'adiutor', respectively).

vel periculi terrore: On the role of fortitude here, cf. I.186ff.

omnia sua ducat vel adversa vel prospera: Cf. Cic. I.30: 'Est enim difficilis cura rerum alienarum...; sed tamen, quia magis ea percipimus atque sentimus, quae nobis ipsis aut prospera aut adversa eveniunt, quam illa, quae ceteris, quae quasi longo intervallo interiecto videmus, aliter de illis ac de nobis iudicamus'.

sanctus Moyses pro populo patriae bella suscipere gravia non reformidavit: Cf., e.g., the war with the Amalekites (Ex. 17.8-16).

nec regis potentissimi trepidavit arma...: Cf. Heb. 11.27: 'non veritus animositatem regis'; and cf., e.g., Moses's boldness before Pharaoh (Ex. 5.1 - 12.33), and courage when the Israelites were pursued to the Red Sea by Pharaoh's army (Ex. 14.10-31).

abiecit salutem suam: Cf. Cic., Planc. 79: 'sed me dius fidius multo citius meam salutem pro te abiecero quam Cn. Planci salutem tradidero contentioni tuae' [Testard I, 253n.16].

136. Magnus itaque iustitiae splendor: Cf. Cic. I.20: 'iustitia, in qua virtutis splendor est maximus'.

quae aliis nata quam sibi: A celebrated phrase of Plato (Ep. IX.358A) which is suggested to A. here by Cic. I.22: 'non nobis solum nati sumus...'; the version which he quotes is, though, closer to that in Cic., Rep. III.12: '[iustitia]...quae omnis magis quam sepe diligit, aliis nata potius quam sibi'. The phrase is found also in Cic., Fin. II.45 (cf., too, Mur. 83; Lucan, II.383; Seneca, Clem. II.3); A. alludes to it in many places (e.g., I.121; also II.28; III.12,14; Parad. 18; Noe 2; Virgt. 114; Expl. Ps. 35.7; Expos. Ps. 118.8.3; 10.7; 16.14) [see M.L. Ricci, 'Fortuna di una formula Ciceroniana presso Sant' Ambrogio (A proposito di Iustitia),' SIFC 43, 1971, 222-245].

communitatem et societatem: Cf. Cic.'s use of these words in I.20,51ff.

excelsitatem tenet...: Cic. has the words 'excelsitas animi' in III.24.

A. is anticipating his treatment of fortitude (cf. esp. I.182ff.).

137. hanc virtutis arcem: Cf. I.192n.

prima avaritia: Cf. I.132n. on usurpatio. Cic. also mentions the fact that 'avaritia' is generally behind injustice (I.24).

exuimus...amisimus: Reminiscent of Pauline language:

cf. Rom. 13.12,14; Gal. 3.27; Eph. 4.22-24; Col. 3.9-14.

138. Potentiae...cupiditas: Cf. Cic. I.26, where Cic. warns against 'imperatorum, honorum, gloriae cupiditas' and 'honoris, imperii, potentiae, gloriae cupiditates', mentioning the behaviour of his bête noire, Julius Caesar.

virilem effeminat: An echo of Sallust, Cat. 11: 'Avaritia pecuniae studium habet, quam nemo sapiens concupivit; ea quasi venenis malis imbuta corpus animumque virilem effeminat...'

pro aliis intervenire: Cf. II.102; III.59nn.

XXIX: JUSTICE TO ENEMIES. FAITH IS THE FOUNDATION OF JUSTICE.

139. quod nec locis nec personis nec temporibus excipitur: Justice must be upheld in every situation without exception.

quae etiam hostibus reservatur: The idea is suggested by Cic.'s discussion of justice in war, in I.34-40.

conflictu: A rare word for a military battle [TLL].

superiore gratia: Some divine overruling to grant victory to the right cause.

vehementior refertur ultio: A. is stating what happens in war (cf. next n.); the relationship of this to his exclusion of revenge in I.131 should not be pressed.

ut de Madianitis...: Midianite women seduced the Israelites into sexual immorality and the worship of their god, the Baal of Peor; God first struck dead with a plague 24,000 of the Israelites, then instructed Moses to take full vengeance on the enemy (Num. 25.1-18). The Israelites, having killed all the Midianite men, were commanded by Moses to slaughter

all the women involved in the sin, together with all male children; only virgins were saved (Num. 31.1-24).

populum patrum: A frequent designation of the OT saints [Introduction, II.v].

Gabaonitas autem...: The Gibeonites, fearing that they would be wiped out by Joshua as the peoples of Jericho and Ai had been, resorted to a ruse: they feigned poverty, and claimed to belong to a distant country, in order to secure a guarantee of peace from the Israelites. When the truth was discovered, Joshua, rather than break the treaty, punished the deceivers with menial servitude as wood-cutters and water-carriers (Josh. 9.1-27).

Iesus: The Greek version of the Hebrew Iosue.

Syros vero Eliseus, quos obsidentes...: The soldiers of the Syrian army, besieging Samaria, were struck with blindness in answer to Elisha's prayer. Having led them into the city and secured by prayer the recovery of their sight, Elisha would not allow the Israelite king, Joram, to massacre them, but instead ordered that the men be given a feast and sent away. The result was a temporary cessation of Syrian border-incursions (4 Kings 6.8-23).

momentaria: Post-classical.

'Non percuties...': 4 Kings 6.22. 'Their master' is the Syrian king, probably Ben-Hadad II.

140. propheta: Still Elisha.

'Noli timere...': 4 Kings 6.16.

'Percutiat Dominus...': 4 Kings 6.18.

'Venite post me...': 4 Kings 6.19.

Testard I, 254-255n.10, is troubled by various features of A.'s account of the biblical story in this paragraph. A. omits to say that the horses and chariots that surrounded Elisha were fiery; quibus descentibus is vague (it refers in fact to the Syrians); the servant Giezi is named here, although

his name does not occur in 4 Kings 6 (but is in the previous chapter); and no mention is made of the fact that the entire Syrian army besieged Samaria again. All of these features can readily be explained by the supposition that A. is simply recounting the story from memory. What is rather strange, though, is the relationship of the first sentences of the paragraph to the account which follows: A. begins by suggesting that he is going to talk about justice in peace-time, but implies (hanc gratiam) that the story of 4 Kings 6 illustrates this; yet the story clearly relates to a time of war, as the last sentence (etiam in bello) recognises. Possibly the beginning of the chapter is inspired by Cic.'s mentions of 'pax' in I.35, but A. then continues with the same narrative as in I.139, where Elisha's non-violent victory is a sort of triumph by pacifist means.

fidem...fides: Here in the Ciceronian sense of 'good faith' (Cic. I.23,39-40), but in I.142 below in the biblical sense of faith in God.

141. Denique etiam adversarios molli veteres appellatione nominabant ut peregrinos vocarent...:

Cf. Cic. I.37: 'Equidem etiam illud animadverto, quod, qui proprio nomine perduellis esset, is hostis vocaretur, lenitate verbi rei tristitiam mitigatam. Hostis enim apud maiores nostros is dicebatur, quem nunc peregrinum dicimus'; Cic. also has 'tam molli nomine appellare'. Cic.'s point is that 'hostis' has changed its meaning [cf. Varro, L.L. V.3]: traditionally, 'hostis' was used to describe a 'peregrinus' ('stranger'); in Cic.'s time, 'hostis' has taken on a harsher meaning, referring to a 'perduellis' ('foe'); the ancients thus gave their foes a gentler name. A. evokes this inaccurately, saying that the ancients actually called their adversaries peregrini, and that hostes were known as

peregrini. His memory of the Ciceronian text fails him.

de nostris adsumptum: The usual charge of plagiarism. adversarios enim suos Hebraei allophylos, hoc est, alienigenas Latino appellabant vocabulo: A. quotes a Greek word (ἄλλόφυλοι) and pretends that it is Hebrew, though he does not know Hebrew. Ἀλλόφυλοι is often used in the LXX to describe the Philistines (though not in the Pentateuch or Joshua), attempting to convey the fact that the Philistines were a non-Semitic race, 'foreign' to the Israelites. The word is not found transliterated into Latin prior to the Christian period [TLL, s.v.], where it is regularly used as a synonym of alienigenae.

in libro Regnorum: 1 and 2 'Kingdoms' is the LXX's name for the Vulgate's 1 and 2 Kings [= 1 and 2 Samuel]; the fact that A. gives this name here is further evidence that he is relying on the LXX without any knowledge of the Hebrew OT.

'Et factum est in diebus illis...': 1 Kings 4.1. The sentence is missing from the Hebrew text, and is found only in the LXX and the Latin versions [though some scholars believe that it is missing from the Hebrew through scribal haplography, the verb for 'went out' occurring in both v.1a and v.1b, and the Jerusalem Bible retains the phrase]. The reference is to the Philistines.

A.'s attempt to find earlier evidence for Cic.'s history of 'hostis' is thus decidedly flawed: (i) he misquotes Cic.; (ii) he pretends that a Greek word is Hebrew; (iii) he tries to substantiate it from a verse which is not in the Hebrew text; and (iv) allophyli is used in the LXX not to refer to enemies in general but to the Philistines in particular.

142. Fundamentum ergo est iustitiae fides: Cf. Cic. I.23: 'Fundamentum autem est iustitiae fides, id est

dictorum conventorumque constantia et veritas'. But it is immediately clear from what follows that A. refers to faith in the biblical, not the Ciceronian, sense (contrast I.140): the ambivalence testifies to the twin influences at work in his mind [see Sauer, 113-118].

iustorum enim corda meditantur fidem: Prov. 15.28 (VL) [not, pace Testard I, 256n.17, Ps. 36.30].

qui se iustus accusat...: Cf. Prov. 18.17 (VL).

'Ecce,' inquit, 'mitto lapidem...': Is. 28.16. The formula Dominus per Isaiam...inquit is possibly reminiscent of Acts 28.25: 'Spiritus Sanctus locutus est per Esaiam prophetam' [see also Pizzolato, 114, esp. n.98].

id est Christum in fundamenta Ecclesiae: On the identification of the stone of Is. 28.16/Is. 8.16 with Christ and faith, cf. Rom. 9.33; 1 Pet. 2.6-8 (cf. also Ps. 117.22-23 and Matt. 21.42/Mk. 12.10/Lk. 20.17-18; Acts 4.11). Cf., too, 1 Cor. 3.11: 'Fundamentum enim aliud nemo potest ponere praeter id quod positum est, qui est Christus Iesus'. [See Toscani, 386-391, on faith as the foundation of the Church.]

Fides enim omnium Christus: On the 'one Faith', cf. Eph. 4.5; Tit. 1.4. [On A.'s presentation of faith, see Löpfle, 102-113.]

Ecclesia autem quaedam forma iustitiae est...: This sentence focuses A.'s conception of justice as a communistic principle in society. In a fallen world, the ideal of common rights and possessions is far from realised, but the nearest approximation is found in the Church, which is one in its prayer, works, and affliction, and testifies to the equality of its members by sharing all things and caring for commune, not privatum, ius. As such it is a model of justice for the world. 'A. substitutes the Christian Church as

a visible community grounded in faith both for Cic.'s ideal republic and for the Stoic cosmopolis ruled by natural law' [Colish II, 64].

qui seipsum sibi abnegat: Cf. Christ's words in Lk. 9.23: 'Si quis vult post me venire, abneget se ipsum, et tollat crucem suam cotidie et sequatur me' (sim. Matt. 16.24; Mk. 8.34).

ipse dignus est Christo: Cf. Matt. 10.37-38.

Ideo et Paulus fundamentum posuit Christum...: Cf. 1 Cor. 3.10-15, esp. vv. 10-11.

Christ is the foundation of the edifice of the Church, with its good works; faith in Him is essential for justice (cf. I.126, 252; II.7). The intrinsic association of faith with iustitia also indicates that A.'s concept of iustitia includes the biblical idea of 'righteousness' as well as the classical sense of 'justice' [cf. I.110n.,117].

XXX: KINDNESS CONSISTS OF GOOD WILL AND LIBERALITY

143. beneficentia...quae dividitur etiam ipsa in benevolentiam et liberalitatem: A. comes now to the second part of justice, beneficentia, according to the division of I.130. In I.130, he follows Cic. I.20 in giving liberalitas and benignitas as synonyms for beneficentia (cf., too, Cic. I.42: beneficentia and liberalitas are the second part of justice). Here, the subdivision of beneficentia into benevolentia and liberalitas is not officially Ciceronian, but it is suggested by Cic.'s mention of benevolentia in I.47; perhaps A.'s memory of Cic.'s precise arrangement is poor, or else he deliberately places stress on benevolentia because of the emphasis of the NT teaching on motives for giving (or both).

Ex his igitur duobus constat beneficentia ut sit

perfecta...: Both good will and liberality are necessary for perfection (I.151), though good will, the essential motive in kindness, may exist on its own where the means for liberality are lacking (I.167).

'Hilarem enim datorem diligit Deus': 2 Cor. 9.7.

Nam si invitus facias, quae tibi merces est?: Perhaps reminiscent of Matt. 5.46 ('Si enim diligatis eos qui vos diligunt, quam mercedem habebitis?') as well as of the text quoted below.

generaliter: The next quotation is not about kindness, but about fulfilling the duty of preaching the gospel; hence a 'general' statement, rather than strictly relevant to the subject of kindness.

'Si volens hoc ago...': 1 Cor. 9.17.

In Evangelio quoque multas disciplinas...: E.g., the story of the widow's mite, mentioned in I.149; or the Good Samaritan (Lk. 10.25-37); or Zacchaeus's reparations, mentioned in I.145.

144. et eo largiri consilio ut prosis, non ut noceas:

Cf. Cic. I.43: 'Videndum est igitur, ut ea liberalitate utamur, quae prosit amicis, noceat nemini' (cf. Cic. I.42; and Cic. also has 'largiantur' in I.43).

Nam si luxurio...: Kindness must not promote sinful extravagance.

prodesse: Cic. has this infinitive in I.42.

qui conspiret adversus patriam, qui congregare cupiat tuo sumpto perditos qui impugnent Ecclesiam: A.

shares Cic.'s regard for the well-being of his country (cf. I.254, evoking Cic. III.95; cf. also A. I.127; III.23,127). The interesting point to notice here is that he equates the man who plots against his country, gathering together perditi (as Catiline did - cf., e.g., Cic., Cat. I.23), with one who attacks the Church. He sees the Church as the Civitas Dei whose peace depends in great measure on the peace of the

Roman Empire; threats to the Empire from barbarian enemies or traitorous Roman citizens are also threats to the Church. [See Palanque, 325-335; also Morino, 53-55; M. Pavan, 'Sant' Ambrogio e il problema dei barbarici,' Romano-barbarica 3, 1978, 167-187.]

viduam et pupillos: Cf. I.63n.

eripere: Cic. I.43 has 'eripiunt'.

145. si quod alteri largitur alteri quis extorqueat, si iniuste quaerat...: Cf. Cic. I.42: '...et qui aliis nocent, ut in alios liberales sint, in eadem sunt iniustitia, ut si in suam rem aliena convertant'; 43: 'Sunt autem multi...qui eripiunt aliis, quod aliis largiantur.... Nihil est enim liberale, quod non idem iustum.' A. continues to echo some of Cic.'s language, but he goes on to exemplify the themes from Scripture.

ut ille Zachaeus...: The famous tax-collector who on account of his diminutive stature had to climb a tree in order to spot Jesus in the crowd at Jericho. Jesus ordered him to come down and entertain Him at his home; he repented of his dishonest life, promising to give half of his possessions to the poor and to restore fourfold the money of those whom he had defrauded (Lk. 19.1-10, esp. v.8).

gentilitas: In Christian Latin = 'paganism'.

fidei studio et credentis operatione: On the relationship of faith and works, cf. Jas. 2.14ff.

Fundamentum igitur habeat liberalitas tua: Cic. I.42 speaks of the 'iustitiae fundamentum' that giving should be in accordance with the worth of the recipient; but the mention of the believing faith of Zacchaeus suggests that A. probably harks back to the idea of Christian fides as the basis of justice in I.142: liberality, the second division of iustitia, has the same basis as strict justice, the first - Christian belief. Zacchaeus gave because he believed;

his work was the sign of his faith.

146. cum fide: Here, A. returns to the classical sense of 'good faith', despite the Christian usage just previously.

Quid enim opus est dicere?: There is no need to say anything at all; keep quiet about your good deeds (cf. I.147; II.2-3).

in tua potestate est largiri quod velles: What you give is at your own discretion; you do not have to pretend to give more than you wish.

Fraus fundamentum soluit et opus corruit: Although A. is thinking of good faith, he continues to allude to the fundamentum and the opus of belief [cf. I.145n.].

Numquid Petrus ita indignatione efferbuit ut Ananiam...?: Ananias and his wife Sapphira were challenged by Peter for having 'lied to the Holy Spirit' in pretending to have given to the Church all of the price of a field which they had sold, when in fact they had kept part of the money back; both fell down dead when rebuked (Acts 5.1-11). Their crime was not in keeping some of the money, but in pretending that they had donated the full sum.

Sed exemplo eorum...: Their deaths were a deterrent example to others (Acts 5.5,11).

147. si iactantiae causa magis quam misericordiae largiaris: Cf. Cic. I.44: 'Videre etiam licet plerosque non tam natura liberales quam quadam gloria ductos, ut benefici videantur facere multa, quae proficisci ab ostentatione magis quam a voluntate videantur. Talis autem simulatio vanitati est coniunctior quam aut liberalitati aut honestati.' Notice how A. gives a Christian nuance to Cic.'s idea: voluntas becomes misericordia, and he goes on to stress the role of conscience in examining motive, and the eternal consequences of deceit.

For warnings against giving for the sake of boasting,

cf. II.2-3,76,102.

moralem iudicem: Conscience examines one's motive in giving. [On conscience as a iudex, cf. II.2; III.24.]

'Nesciat,' inquit, 'sinistra tua...': Matt. 6.3.

Non de corpore loquitur...: Typical of A.'s search for deeper meanings in the scriptural text [Introduction, II.vii].

ne dum hic mercedem quaeris iactantiae, illic remunerationis fructum amittas: There is no point in seeking a reward (the praise of men) in this world if you lose your soul in the next.

quem laudat os pauperis et non labia sua: Cf. Prov. 27.2: 'Laudet te alienus, et non os tuum; extraneus, et non labia tua'. On the gratitude shown by the poor recipient, cf. I.38-39; II.126-127.

148. fide, causa, loco, tempore: Somewhat reminiscent of the Panaetian-Ciceronian casuistry which argues for different duties in different situations (cf. esp. I.174); though A. believes that mercy is owed to all, various criteria need to be assessed so that fellow-Christians and those most at need receive the most liberality, and resources are not wasted on the unworthy. In this way, liberality is 'perfect'.

[Fide here is in the Christian sense again - pace Banterle, 113 and n.6 - in view of what follows.]

ut primum opereris circa domesticos fidei: Cf. Gal. 6.10: 'Ergo dum tempus habemus, operemur bonum ad omnes, maxime autem ad domesticos fidei'.

Grandis culpa si sciente te fidelis egeat...: For NT teaching to this effect, cf. 1 John 3.17-18; also Jas. 2.15-16.

On the needs of hunger and imprisonment in particular, cf. Matt. 25.31-46.

qui praesertim egere erubescat: A.'s own high background means that he has a particular care for those of higher social standing who fall on hard times

[Testard I, 257n.12]; on being ashamed to beg, cf. the steward in Christ's story (Lk. 16.3). On compassion for those who become needy through no fault of their own, cf. I.158; II.69,77; Expos. Ps. 118.17.4.

'Benedictio perituri in me veniat': Job 29.13.

149. Personarum quidem Deus acceptor non est: Acts 10.34 (cf. also Jas. 2.1ff.).

plerique fraude eam quaerunt...: On the need to test the genuineness of pleas for mercy, cf. II.76-77.

Non enim avarus Dominus est...: On the correlation between giving to the poor and giving to the Lord, cf. I.39n.

qui dimittit omnia et sequitur eum: As Peter claimed that the disciples had done (Mk. 10.28; cf. Matt. 19.27).

Denique duo aera viduae illius...: See Mk. 12.41-44; Lk. 21.1-4.

Dominus non vult simul effundi opes, sed dispensari: Cf. II.76ff.,109-111; giving should, however, be to the point of sacrifice (II.136). Cic. says that giving must be within one's means (I.44).

ut Eliseus boves suos occidit...: See 3 Kings 19.19-21.

150. ut proximos seminis tui non despicias si egere cognoscas: Cf. Is. 58.7. Cic. says that responsibility to parents, children, household, and relatives comes first after obligation to one's country (I.58; in I.54, he specifies the order of bonds within a family: (i) husband and wife; (ii) parents and children; (iii) brothers; (iv) first cousins and second cousins; (v) relations by marriage). Cf. A. I.169.

quibus pudor est ab aliis sumptum deprecari...: It is disgraceful for relations to have to ask others for help when their own family ought to come to their aid. Cf. Expos. Luc. VIII.79; Augustine, Ep. 243.12.

pretio miserationis peccata redimas tua: Cf. Dan. 4.24: 'et peccata tua elemosynis redime, et iniquitates tuas misericordiis pauperum: forsitan ignoscet delictis tuis'. [On the doctrine that works cancel out sins and earn merit with God, see Dudden II, 629-631.]

parum: = paulum, a frequent usage in medieval Latin.

pretium tuum quaerunt, vitae fructum adimere contendunt!: Relations who seek enrichment are depleting your resources to help others, and so are threatening your ability to redeem your soul by your good works. Certain clerics seem to have had families who pestered them to share their income with them; relations interested more in self-enrichment than in the needs of other deserving claimants (or in the accumulation of merit by the givers). Relatives in need are to be helped because they are relatives, A. says, but they are not to be enriched at the cost of your losing merit with God by being unable to perform charitable deeds to others.

151. Consilium prompsimus, auctoritatem petamus: The authority of Scripture is invoked to validate the preceding advice. [On the Pauline distinction between counsel and precept, cf. Vid. 72ff.]

Primum neminem debet pudere si ex divite pauper fiat dum largitur pauperi: It is no disgrace to impoverish oneself materially through helping others; this is, of course, not the same thing as the allusion in I.148 to people of means being reduced to shameful need through some calamity.

'pauper factus est cum dives esset': 2 Cor. 8.9. [On A.'s citations of this verse throughout his extant works, see Michel Poirier, "'Christus pauper factus est" chez saint Ambroise,' RSLR 15, 1979, 250-257.]

ut bona ratio sit exinaniti patrimonii: Cic. forbids the exhaustion of an inheritance through

indiscriminate giving (II.54,64), and A. later seems to agree (II.109), but here the bishop counsels giving to the point of complete self-sacrifice. Christ is the pattern: in His incarnation He willingly laid aside His riches and identified Himself with the needy in order to enrich all by His redemptive work [see Vasey, 190-195].

'et consilium in hoc do'...: 2 Cor. 8.10.

'non tantum facere...': 2 Cor. 8.10.

Perfectorum utrumque est, non pars: The verse neatly illustrates A.'s division of kindness into liberality and good will, both of which are necessary for perfection.

'Nunc ergo et facere consummate...': 2 Cor. 8.11-15; in v.15, Paul is quoting Ex. 16.18, on the gathering of the manna, when distribution ensured that the differing needs of all were fully met.

The exegesis of these verses, which follows in I.153-157, is perhaps incorporated from a sermonic treatment, but we cannot be sure.

152. non enim patiuntur angustias nisi imperfecti: A very Stoic sentiment; the perfect sage/spiritual man rises above suffering and does not feel it. [For similarly Stoic ideas, cf. Epp. 37-38; Iacob I.32,36; II.21.]

Sed et si quis Ecclesiam nolens gravare in sacerdotio aliquo constitutus aut ministerio: Ministerium often refers to the diaconate in particular, and sacerdotium describes the high office of the priesthood, that of bishop or presbyter [cf. I.87n.]. Clergy who have independent means and who do not wish to be a burden to the Church are not obliged to give up all their wealth and receive an ecclesiastical benefice; they may retain what will provide an adequate income and give the remainder of their money to the needy. [Cf. also I.185n.]

153. 'Ut vestra abundantia sit...': 2 Cor. 8.14.

id est ut populi abundantia sit...: Paul urges the Corinthians to complete the work which they had begun the previous year, of collecting money for needy Christians at Jerusalem; he contrasts the Corinthians' slowness with the selfless generosity of the Macedonians. He advocates wise giving to the poor by the better-off, not that the better-off should reduce themselves to poverty; giving and receiving are to produce equality. The Jerusalem Christians will be able to help the Corinthians if ever their positions should be reversed. The suggestion of spiritual wealth or poverty is not made in 2 Cor. 8. A., however, sees the Corinthian populus/plebs [the words are synonyms by this period] as rich materially but poor spiritually, whereas illi (the Jerusalem Christians) have material needs but enjoy spiritual wealth. This is typical of his belief that there is a correlation between outward poverty and spiritual wealth [cf., e.g., I.59]. The renunciation of earthly wealth is the way to spiritual prosperity.

154. 'Qui multum non abundavit...': 2 Cor. 8.15, quoting Ex. 16.18. [Note that this time A. uses the classical minuit, whereas in I.150 he has the late minoravit, used by the Vulgate in 2 Cor. 8.15.]

quia nihil est quidquid in saeculo est: Very much the ascetic rationale which is so dominant in A.'s teaching.

qui exiguum habet non minuit quia nihil est quod amittit: Not really what Paul means by citing Ex. 16.18. The principle in the gathering of the manna was that those who gathered much distributed to the aged and weak (say) what was superfluous to their needs; caring distribution brought about equality. A., though, as part of his ascetic spirituality, says that the rich man does not have much because earthly

riches are worthless, and the poor man, by the same token, lacks nothing of any importance.

155. eget semper qui plus concupiscit: The rich man's wants are insatiable. On the evils of avarice, cf. II.108,129-133. We are to be content with what we have (II.89).

Similiter ergo...: The lack of wealth is not a burden: he who gives spiritual blessings in return for material gifts has a heart lightened by grace.

156. Iohannes: John the Baptist.

quo nemo maior est inter natos mulierum...: Matt. 11.11; Lk. 7.28.

157. Quis eius potest aut magnitudinem aut latitudinem comprehendere...?: Cf. Eph. 3.18-19.

Fides si fuerit sicut granum sinapis...: Matt. 17.19. et non tibi datur ultra granum sinapis: I.e., simple faith, symbolised as a tiny grain of mustard seed, is all that you have; you do not have worldly goods. But this spiritual wealth is all that you require.

quia multi sunt qui ab altitudine cordis sui gravius corruerunt...: Perhaps A. is thinking of the fallen angels (on whom cf. Job 4.18; Is. 14.12ff.; Ezek. 28.12ff.; Matt. 25.41; 2 Pet. 2.4; Jude 6; Apoc. 12.9).

parum: Cf. I.150n.

et quod parum videtur habenti, plurimum est cui nihil deest: The materially poor man does not consider his grace to be much, but it is a great deal to the rich man who has no spiritual treasure.

158. nonnumquam etiam verecundia quae ingenuos prodit natales: Again, A. shows a particular regard for those of noble background who have fallen into need; cf. I.148n.

159. Sed forte dicat aliquis: Prokatalipsis is a favourite rhetorical technique of A.

Nam et Dominus ait in Evangelio de eo qui...: See Lk.

11.5-13, esp. v.8 (the point is about persistence in prayer). A. does not in fact draw a clear inference from this biblical illustration. He implicitly agrees with the objection that it is unjust for the blind man to be ignored while the healthy young man's importunitas brings him undeserved reward; the gift is the result of taedium, not iudicium [Cic. commends the use of 'iudicium' in kindness in I.49]. But we are left wondering whether we are supposed to beware of depriving the needy by heeding the less deserving who pester us (the interpretation which I.158 might lead us to conclude), or whether the importunitas is in fact a good thing (as the persistence is in the gospel story). Overall, the first conclusion seems more likely [cf. II.77], but it is strange that A. does not make his point more obvious.

XXXI: REPAYING WITH GREATER MEASURE IS COMMENDED BY BOTH NATURE AND THE SCRIPTURES

160. beneficium: Cic. has the word in I.48-49.

Quid enim tam contra officium quam non reddere quod acceperis?: Cic. argues for the careful repayment of kindnesses: cf. Cic. I.47: 'Sin erunt merita, ut non ineunda, sed referenda sit gratia, maior quaedam cura adhibenda est; nullum enim officium referenda gratia magis necessarium est'.

Nec mensuram parem sed uberiolem reddendum arbitror: Cf. Cic. I.48: 'Quodsi ea, quae utenda acceperis, maiore mensura, si modo possis, iubet reddere Hesiodus [W.D. 349-351]...'

A. places more emphasis than Cic. on repaying one who is in need: si ipse in necessitatem incidit; eius aerumnam; humanitate. The Christian is particularly concerned to help a former benefactor who is now

suffering hardship (though Cic. does say that the neediest should be helped first: I.49).

161. Unde imitanda nobis est in hoc quoque natura terrarum...: Cf. Cic. I.48: 'An imitari [sc. debemus] agros fertiles, qui multo plus efferunt quam acceperunt?'; also Pliny, Paneg. 32.3. On the idea of the earth repaying with interest the seed which has been 'invested' in it, cf. Hex. III.34ff.; Exc. fr. I.45; II.56; cf. also Off. III.40 and n.

'Sicut agricultura est homo insipiens...': Prov. 24.30-31 (LXX).

aut spontaneos...aut creditos: Two types of generosity: spontaneous giving, and repayment of kindness in larger measure (cf. Cic. I.48).

quodam hereditario usu parentis: A rather obscure phrase; most likely the parens is the earth [cf. III.45n.], and quodam apologises for the metaphor: 'You ought to do each one of these things according to the practice inherited, as it were, from your parent, the earth, so that you may not be abandoned as an unfruitful field'.

Esto tamen ut aliquis excusare possit quod non dederit, quomodo excusare potest quod non reddiderit?...: Cf. Cic. I.48: '...demus necne in nostra potestate est, non reddere viro bono non licet, modo id facere possit sine iniuria'.

162. 'Si sederis cenare ad mensam potentis...': Prov. 23.1-3 (LXX). The relevance of these verses here is not immediately clear. In themselves, they urge us to think carefully before we eat the delicacies of a rich man's table, considering the temptations to excess. But A. seems to think that they tell us to consider carefully how much we eat at his table, since we have to repay his generosity (this force of talìa praeparare, appropriate repayment, seems to be implied by the ideo at the start of the sentence). Different

interpretations follow in I.163-165; perhaps A. exploits exegesis which he has given elsewhere.

scripsimus: See Introduction, III.

in proverbiiis quoque habes...: Not 'in the book of Proverbs', but 'among the proverbs', i.e., as part of the Wisdom literature. The allusion is to Eccli. 3.31.

ut etiam in die ruinae inveniat gratiam quando possunt praeponderare peccata: A. pictures God the Judge as weighing up sins and good works in a great balance: the sins are naturally expected to preponderate, but may be forgiven by God's grace where the good deeds adequately compensate (Apol. 24; Expos. Ps. 118.7.15; esp. 20.40; Ep. 2.14,16) [see Dudden II, 629-631; on the Last Judgement, see J.E. Niederhuber, Die Eschatologie des heiligen Ambrosius (Paderborn, 1907), 210-254].

cum Dominus ipse remunerationem uberiolem sanctorum meritis in Evangelio polliceatur: On the differing rewards of the saints, see Dudden II, 630-631,655.

'Dimitte et dimittemini...': Lk. 6.37-38.

163. non de cibis sed de operibus est bonis: A. typically looks for a spiritual meaning in Prov. 23.1-3 [Introduction, II.vii]. There does not seem to be an obvious precedent for the interpretation which follows, though there are a few similarities with the later stages of the development of Origen in Exp. in Prov. XXIII [PG 17], who first pictures the ruler as Satan, and the courses as his false or evil attractions; but then has the hand as the mind, which is to take the spiritual food of the Scriptures, the food which will sustain at the judgement of God. A. first seems to have the potens as a human benefactor who must be paid back for his hospitality (I.162); then as the Lord Himself, whose 'food' is good works (I.163), or the wisdom of the Scriptures (I.164-165).

A. gets steadily further away from the Ciceronian point with which he begins in I.160-161.

'Meus cibus est ut faciam voluntatem Patris mei qui in caelo est': John 4.34 ('Meus cibus est ut faciam voluntatem eius qui misit me'), with the last part influenced by Matt. 7.21 ('qui facit voluntatem Patris mei qui in caelis est') or Matt. 12.50 ('quicumque enim fecerit voluntatem Patris mei qui in caelis est...').

164. propheta: David.

'Delectare in Domino': Ps. 36.4.

Edamus ergo panes Sapientiae: Cf. Prov. 9.5, where Wisdom says, 'Venite, comedite panem meum...'.
saturemur in: A very rare construction (normally with the simple ablative), probably under the Hebraic influence of the OT.

non in solo pane sed in omni verbo Dei vita est hominis: Cf. Deut. 8.3 (quoted by Jesus when tempted by Satan: Matt. 4.4; Lk. 4.4).

facti ad imaginem Dei: Cf. Gen. 1.26-27. [A. believes that man's soul, not his body, is created in the image of God, and that this image was lost by the Fall and is restored by the work of Christ. On the combination of Platonist and biblical influences mediated to A. by Philo and Origen, see esp. Stanis-Edmund Szydzik, Ad imaginem Dei: Die Lehre von der Gottenbildlichkeit des Menschen bei Ambrosius von Mailand (Diss., Freie Universität, Berlin, 1961), esp. 24-33, 34-75; id., 'Die geistigen Ursprünge der Imago-Dei-Lehre bei Ambrosius von Mailand,' Theologie und Glaube 53, 1963, 161-176 (though Szydzik plays down the Platonism in favour of the biblical emphasis).]

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De poculo vero: The cup of wisdom; in the context of the quotation of which follows, Job is talking about his wise counsel which was eagerly sought.

'Sicut terra expectans pluviam...': Job 29.23.

XXXII: SCRIPTURE IS A FEAST OF WISDOM. GOOD WILL IS ESSENTIAL IN KINDNESS.

165. quasi ros sic in nos Dei verba descendant: Cf. Deut. 32.2: (Moses speaks) 'Concrescat in pluvia doctrina mea, fluat ut ros eloquium meum, quasi imber super herbam et quasi stillae super gramina'.

in paradiso delectationis positus atque in convivio Sapientiae locatus: Scripture is a feast of Wisdom at which Christ presides (cf. II.52); the pleasure of this feast is associated with the delight of paradise (cf. Cain I.19). This is all indicative of A.'s spiritual mysticism; communion with Christ in the Bible (cf. I.88) is the highest privilege of the soul, it recalls the bliss of the unfallen state, where man could have fellowship with God, and anticipates the paradise to which the souls of the godly go at death [on which see Dudden II, 653-654].

On the necessity of feeding upon God's Word, cf. Cain II.22; Expos. Ps. 118.8.59; 12.28; Ep. 2.3.

operibus exsequaris...: This seems to explain the identification of the food of the feast with good works in I.163: by feeding on the Scriptures, the faithful come to know God's will, and are enabled then to demonstrate that they have received grace by doing good deeds.

largitorem muneris: God Himself. The 'gift' is His grace in salvation.

ut possint singuli dicere: Though of course the following words are Paul's alone.

'Gratia autem Dei sum quod sum...': 1 Cor. 15.10.

166. This paragraph brings the subject back to kindness, after the extended exegesis of Prov. 23.1-3 in I.163-165.

haud scio an etiam locupletius: Affection might be more generously repaid than material kindness.

Locupletius is possibly suggested by 'locupletes' in Cic. II.69, since A. is thinking of that passage here [see below].

census: Cf. I.38n.

possibilitas: Cf. I.16n.

Gratia enim in eo ipso quod habetur, refertur: Cf. Cic. II.69: 'Nimirum enim inops ille, si bonus est vir, etiam si referre gratiam non potest, habere certe potest. Commode autem, quicumque dixit, "pecuniam qui habeat, non reddidisse, qui reddiderit, non habere, gratiam autem et, qui rettulerit, habere et, qui habeat, rettulisse."'

praestat benevolentia supra ipsam liberalitatem: The stress which A. places on good will or grateful affection as the superior element in kindness, though suggested in part by Cic., is taken further by A. under the influence of biblical teaching (cf. I.149); it is a key theme in the Christian ethic of giving: the thought, not the size of the gift, is what counts. Cf., e.g., Augustine, De serm. Dom. in monte II.2.9; Trin. XV.18.32.

167. quae amicitiam connectit et copulat: This Aristotelian and Stoic idea, that friendship stems from good will, is suggested by Cic., Amic. [cf. n. below; also Amic. 19,23].

ut David, cum esset prudentior, Ionathae tamen iunioris consiliis acquiescebat: When Jonathan's father Saul was seeking to kill David, Jonathan advised his friend to go into hiding while he sought to dissuade Saul (1 Kings 18.1 - 20.42, esp. 19.1ff.). The celebrated friendship of David and Jonathan is for A. an inevitable illustration after the mention of amicitia above.

Tolle ex usu hominum benevolentiam...: Cf. Cic., Amic. 47: 'Solem enim e mundo tollere videntur ei, qui amicitiam e vita tollunt, qua nihil a dis immortalibus

melius habemus, nihil iucundius' [alluding to the Epicureans and Cyrenaics].

ut peregrinanti monstrare viam...: Cf. Cic. I.51, quoting Ennius on showing kindness to strangers: "Homo qui erranti comiter monstrat viam,/ quasi lumen de suo lumine accendat facit./ Nihilo minus ipsi lucet, cum illi accenderit."

deferre hospitium: A. develops the theme of hospitality in II.103-108; cf. II.103n.

'Foris autem non habitabat hospes...': Job 31.32.

aquam de aqua profluenti dare, lumen de lumine accendere: Cic. quotes the maxim, "Non prohibere aqua profluente" (I.52); on lumen de lumine accendere, cf. n. above on Ennius in Cic. I.51.

tamquam fons aquae reficiens sitientem: A. may well be thinking of verses such as John 4.13-14; Apoc. 21.6.

tamquam lumen quod etiam in aliis luceat: Again, perhaps reminiscent of verses like John 1.4-5,8-9; 8.12;9.5;12.46; 1 John 2.8-11; and esp. Matt. 5.14-16. The Ennian/Ciceronian language may be blended with biblical terminology in A.'s mind.

168. debitoris chirographum: A personal bond, or I.O.U.

A. criticises the injustice inflicted on bankrupt debtors (Nab. 21ff. - the story of a man contemplating selling his child to pay his debt), and urges the cancellation of debts (Nab. 57; Ep. 37.44).

Iob sanctus admonet...: Cf. Job 31.35-36 (LXX).

Quid igitur etiam si ipse non exigas...: There is no point in deferring the recall of the debt yourself, only to pass it on to your heirs, since this will be of no gain to you; write off the debt here and now: you will earn praise for your good will, and you will be no worse off personally than you would be if you left the matter to your heirs.

A. envisages a situation where clerics have the means to lend sums of money; there is doubtless teaching for a more general readership as well.

On the greed of heirs, cf. I.244n.

169. discutiamus: The sense of 'investigate' is post-classical [TLL].

benevolentiam: a domesticis primum profecta personis, id est a filiis, parentibus, fratribus, per coniunctionum gradus in civitatum pervenit ambitum:

An allusion to the argument of Cic. in I.53-54, that the bonds of human society start with the relationships of husband and wife, parents and children, brothers, first and second cousins, and relations by marriage. (Cic. has the words 'coniunguntur'/'coniunctiones'/'coniunctio'; 'gradus'; 'civitatis'; 'fratrum'; 'benevolentia').

et de paradiso egressa mundum replevit: God's command to man and woman in paradise was 'replete terram' (Gen. 1.28); after the Flood, Noah and his sons are told: 'implete terram' (Gen. 9.1,7).

'Erunt ambo in una carne': Gen. 2.24. The addition of et in uno spiritu may be under the influence of Phil. 1.27.

Unde se Eva serpenti credidit...: See Gen. 3.1-7. A. offers a sophistic explanation for the Fall, bringing in benevolentia/malevolentia to suit his argument; there is little obvious support in Gen. 3 for this interpretation. [For other reasons for the Fall, cf. I.7 (and n. ad loc.) and I.137.]

The convergence of influences in this paragraph is striking: A. adopts Cic.'s point that human society originates with domestic relationships, and adds to this the biblical history of the union of Adam and Eve in paradise, their fall from grace, and the subsequent expansion of the human race to replenish the earth. In so doing, he visualises benevolentia as part of

God's design in creation, a principle which has bound the human race together from its earliest, unfallen state. Just as the first part of iustitia, strict justice, originates in the community of goods and rights in the unfallen state (I.132-137), so benevolentia, the main constituent of the second part of iustitia, kindness, goes back to the divine ideal of paradise. And, as the Church is the forma iustitiae (I.142), so the Church is the place where benevolentia is particularly fostered (I.170, below).

XXXIII: GOOD WILL IS AUGMENTED IN THE COMMUNION OF THE CHURCH. GOOD WILL PRODUCES LIKENESS OF CHARACTER.

170. Augetur benevolentia coetu Ecclesiae: While Cic. moves from domestic relationships to friendship (I.55-56), A. brings in the case of the Church first (coming to friendship in I.171-174).

fidei consortio: Sharing in the One Faith (cf. Eph. 4.13; Tit. 1.4).

initiandi societate: The fellowship of those who have been initiated into the Church by baptism.

mysteriorum communione: Participation in the mysteries of the sacraments, and pre-eminently in the eucharist, the privilege of the initiates who have been cleansed by the water of baptism; those who participate share communion with Christ and with one another. [See Johanny, 161-236.]

filiorum...patrum...necessitudo gratiae: The relations of the spiritual family (natural bonds having been mentioned in I.169); cf. I.24 and nn. on A.'s spiritual paternity of his clerics, and grace loving as much as nature. Germanitatem fratrum is a frequent NT concept for the Church (Acts, passim; 1 Pet. 2.17; etc.). [Pétré, 129-133 (in gen., 104-140), speaks of the Stoic influence on A.'s concept of

universal brotherhood, though in passages such as the present one where he discusses the Church the NT idea is clearly in his mind.]

171. Adiuuant etiam parium studia virtutum siquidem benevolentia etiam morum facit similitudinem: A. is thinking of Cic. I.55-56: '[Sed omnium societatum nulla praestantior est, nulla firmior, quam cum viri boni moribus similes sunt familiaritate coniuncti]' (55); '[Et quamquam omnis virtus nos ad se allicit facitque, ut eos diligamus, in quibus ipsa inesse videatur, tamen iustitia et liberalitas id maxime efficit.] Nihil autem est amabilius nec copulatius, quam morum similitudo bonorum; in quibus enim eadem studia sunt, eadem voluntates, in iis fit ut aequae quisque altero delectetur ac se ipso...' (56). Cf. also Cic. I.58: 'estque ea iucundissima amicitia, quam similitudo morum coniugavit'.

Denique Ionathae filius regis...: See 1 Kings 19.1-7; the king is, of course, Saul.

quod diligebat eum: Cf. 1 Kings 18.1; 19.1.

'Cum sancto sanctus eris': Ps. 17.26.

conversationem: 'Manner of life' (post-Augustan).

filiis Noe simul habitabant...: See Gen. 9.18-27: Ham broadcast the nakedness of his drunken father; Shem and Japheth modestly covered it.

Esau et Iacob: See Gen. 25.19-34; 27.1-45.

quae praeriperet benedictionem: See Gen. 27.1-45 on Jacob's usurpation of Esau's blessing from Isaac.

alter praedurus, alter mansuetus: This probably alludes to the different lifestyles of Esau and Jacob, respectively (Esau a skilled hunter and farmer; Jacob a peaceful tent-dweller - Gen. 25.27).

sanctus Iacob paternae degenerem domus virtuti praeferre non poterat: 'Holy Jacob could not put one who was an unworthy son of his paternal home before virtue [i.e., before his own worthy person]'; Jacob

considered Esau to be unworthy of his household, presumably because he was praedurus. It is interesting that in his esteem for the great patriarch Jacob, by using degenerem and virtuti A. seems to imply that Esau was the weaker brother morally (not just that Jacob thought he was) - although it was Jacob who was guilty of trickery.

172. Nihil autem tam consociabile quam cum aequitate iustitia...: Cf. I.171n. on Cic. I.56.

Habet autem in se benevolentia fortitudinem: This underlines the interconnection of the virtues and signposts the discussion of fortitude which commences in I.175.

cum amicitia ex benevolentiae fonte procedat: Cf. III.125n.

'Et si mala,' inquit, 'mihi evenerint...': Eccli. 22.26 (Vulg.: v.31).

XXXIV: THE ADVANTAGES OF GOOD WILL IN FRIENDSHIP

173. amici vulnera utilia quam...: Prov. 27.6.

'ut unus fiat ex pluribus': This is Pythagoras's description of friendship, according to Cic. I.56. Cf. also I.134n.

Simul advertimus etiam correptiones in amicitia gratas esse...: Cf. Cic. I.58: 'interdum etiam obiurgationes in amicitiiis vigent maxime'.

Compungimur enim censoriis sermonibus sed benevolentiae delectamur sedulitate: The censures of a friend may sound irksome, but are in fact pleasant because they show his depth of concern for you. A. returns to this theme as part of his extended treatment of friendship at the end of Book III (III.128,133-134).

174. Ad summam, non omnibus eadem semper officia

debentur...: A. closes his treatment of the second virtue in the same way that Cic. does in I.59, by introducing Panaetian casuistry. There are numerous linguistic echoes of Cic. I.59: 'Sed in his omnibus officiis tribuendis videndum erit, quid cuique maxime necesse sit et quid quisque vel sine nobis aut possit consequi aut non possit. Ita non idem erunt necessitudinum gradus qui temporum, suntque officia, quae aliis magis quam aliis debeantur, ut vicinum citius adiuveris in fructibus percipiendis quam aut fratrem aut familiarem, at, si lis in iudicio sit, propinquum potius et amicum quam vicinum defenderis' [etc.].

praelationes: Post-classical.

'Melius est vicinus...': Prov. 27.10.

ut plerumque pignora vincat naturae: Under Cic.'s influence, A. argues that friends or neighbours may sometimes come before blood-relations (cf., however, I.150). Already he has stressed the significance of the spiritual family, those relations of grace rather than nature (I.170).

XXXV: FORTITUDE - MILITARY AND CIVIL

175. The treatment of fortitude extends from I.175 to I.209.

iustitiae loco honesti naturam et vim tractavimus: Cf. Cic. I.18: 'Ex quattuor autem locis, in quos honesti naturam vimque divisimus...'.
quae velut excelsior ceteris: Cf. Cic. I.61: 'Intelligendum autem est...splendidissimum videri, quod animo magno elatoque humanasque res despiciente factum sit'. Neither Cic. nor A. in fact ranks fortitude as the highest of the virtues in practice (Cic. puts justice first, and A., prudence). Cic.

says that the third virtue appears to be the most exalted and it thus elicits the greatest amount of popular praise; its value lies, according to Stoic thinking, in the fact that it fights on behalf of justice (I.62). Cic.'s concern is mainly to point up the significance of the section which is to follow (Cic. I.61-92). Under this influence, A. also says that fortitude is velut excelsior (again in I.176).

dividitur in res bellicas et domesticas: This is Cic.'s division of fortitude into 'res bellicae' and 'res urbanae' (Cic. I.74); Cic. speaks of 'domesticae fortitudines' and 'militares [fortitudines]' in I.78.

Sed bellicarum rerum studium a nostro officio iam alienum videtur: Cic. asserts that fortitude in civil affairs can often be even greater than military bravery; the achievements of statesmen have often been the necessary basis for the exploits of the military leaders (I.74-78). War must be waged only for the sake of peace, and temperance must be observed in the conduct of war; warnings are given of men who made great mistakes through a rash desire for martial glory (I.79-84). In general, Cic. puts a premium on the courage of the statesman rather than the military leader (I.85-92). A. follows Cic.'s preoccupation with civil courage (substituting cleric for statesman, as ever), but he does so on the grounds that military affairs are largely irrelevant to ecclesiastics. The force of iam here (and in the phrase nec ad arma iam spectat usus noster..., below) is significant: he contrasts the Christian priesthood with the age of maiores nostri, when the heroes of the OT won glory for their victories in battle. The Christian warfare is primarily a spiritual one (cf. Eph. 6.10-20, esp. v.12; also John 18.36). However, A. is no pacifist in the national sphere (as opposed to the private realm: cf. I.131): he recognises a ius belli (cf. I.176 and

n.), and expresses admiration for the military achievements of the OT saints (I.196-202; cf. also the present paragraph). In fact, he extols martial courage with greater enthusiasm than Cic., for all his Christian emphasis on pacis negotia. [For NT references to the Christian message as an announcement of peace, cf., e.g., Acts 10.36; Rom. 10.15; 14.17; Eph. 2.17; 6.15.]

quia animi magis quam corporis officio intendimus: Cf. Cic. I.79: 'Omnino illud honestum, quod ex animo excelso magnificoque quaerimus, animi efficitur, non corporis viribus'; II.46: 'Ut igitur in reliquis rebus multo maiora opera sunt animi quam corporis...'. The distinction of moral and physical courage is Cic.'s main division of fortitude (moral: I.67-78; physical: I.79-91); A. seems to equate this division with the distinction between civil and military courage, mentioned above, though Cic. does not make a formal point out of the latter [so Testard, 'Étude', 170n.28].

Iesus Nave: For Joshua's military exploits, see esp. Josh. 5.13 - 12.24. Nave for the Vulgate's filius Nun is a frequent designation in the Latin Fathers; it derives from the LXX's Ναύη (and is developed by Origen into a typology of the OT Jesus [Joshua] as a pointer to the NT Jesus, the ship of salvation).

Ierobaal: Better known as Gideon (Judges 6.32; 7.1; 8.35); see Judges 6.11 - 8.28.

Samson: See Judges 14.19; 15.1-20.

David: Cf. I.114n.

176. velut excelsior ceteris: Cf. I.175n.

sed numquam incommutata virtus: Under Cic.'s influence [next n.], A. constantly upholds the Stoic premise that the virtues are interconnected (cf. I.115n.). Ovid has the quite rare adjective incommutata with virtus in Pont. II.3.35-36; though whether or not A.

has some memory of these lines here is a matter for speculation.

fortitudo sine iustitia iniquitatis materia est: Cf. Cic. I.62: 'Sed ea animi elatio, quae cernitur in periculis et laboribus, si iustitia vacat pugnatque non pro salute communi, sed pro suis commodis, in vitio est'; Cic. then goes on to approve the Stoic definition of fortitude as the virtue which fights for 'aequitas'.

cum in ipsis rebus bellicis iusta bella an iniusta sint spectandum putetur: The concept of justice in war is discussed by Cic. in I.34-40,80; II.26-27; III.99-111); and in Rep. III.34-35; Leg. II.34; his concern, especially in Off., is to show that Rome's ancient wars were all justified in the interests of peace; in the process of saying so, he whitewashes the facts of Roman history [see A. Michel, 'Les lois de la guerre et les problèmes de l'impérialisme romain dans la philosophie de Cicéron,' in J.-P. Brisson, ed., Problèmes de la guerre à Rome (Paris, 1969), 171-183]. By the time of A., the pre-Constantinian pacifism of Christian spokesmen such as Tertullian has begun to subside; the bishop of Milan is the first Western Christian to articulate the concept of a just war [Tob. 51: ius belli], and as part of his identification of the well-being of the Roman Empire with the prosperity of the Church [cf. I.144n.], is free to pray for the success of imperial armies against heathen enemies [e.g., Fide II.136ff.], while maintaining Stoic-Christian views of a universal human brotherhood. The theory of a just war is elaborated most in the early Church by A.'s protégé, Augustine [e.g., C.D. XV.4; XIX.12; XXII.6], who appreciates the moral dilemma of war more acutely than A. [A valuable collection of texts and analysis is provided by Louis J. Swift in The Early Fathers on War and Military

Service (MFC 19, Wilmington, Delaware, 1983) [esp. 96-110 on A.]; see also Swift's article cited in I.131n.; Dudden II, 538-539; Morino, 55-57.]

177. nisi lacesitus: This looks like a concession to Cic.'s point in I.20, 'ut ne cui quis noceat nisi lacesitus iniuria', from which A. explicitly dissented in I.131. What is wrong for the individual is legitimate for the community (and its leader, such as David). A. does not seem to envisage the problem of determining with any objectivity the justice of a war.

Itaque prudentiam...: The force of itaque implies that waging war only when provoked (and so fighting a just war) is a matter of prudentia. The first virtue, as well as the second, is linked to fortitude. (On the association of prudence and justice, cf. I.126-129.)

adversus Goliath: The duel of David with Goliath, the giant of Gath, who served in the Philistine army (1 Kings 17.1-54).

immanem mole corporis: Reminiscent of Vergilian language (cf. Aen. IX.516,542; and also III.656; V.118,223; VI.232).

Postea numquam nisi consulto Domino bellum adorsus: See, e.g., 1 Kings 23.1-5; 2 Kings 5.17-25/1 Paral. 14.8-17.

manu promptus: Sallust, Cat. 43, uses the phrase of Cethegus.

bello adversus Titanas suscepto: A reference to a battle with the Philistines (2 Kings 21.15-17). The biblical narrative lays stress on the formidable size of the opponents of David and his men: they are of the line of Arapha (2 Kings 21.16, and 18,20,22) or Rapha (1 Paral. 20.4,6,7), identified as giants. [Cf. also the readings of the LXX and the Vulgate in Gen. 14.5;15.20; Deut. 2.10-11,20-21; 3.11; Num. 13.33. The etymology of Rapha/Arapha remains uncertain, as

the variety of renderings in modern translations reflects]. A. highlights the gigantic status of these men by calling them 'Titans', referring to the mythological children of Uranus and Ge, often associated or confused with the Giants who challenged Jupiter for sovereignty in heaven and were hurled to Tartarus by his thunderbolt [cf., e.g., Horace, Od. III.4.42ff.; see P-W, VI.A.2.1491-1508]. He does the same in Fide III.3.

gloriae cupidus, incuriosus salutis: A. shows a markedly traditional Roman-Stoic admiration for the military courage of one who scorns death in pursuit of glory. Such approval is scarcely to be found in Tertullian, two centuries earlier, for whom all profane glory was to be spurned [see Vermeulen, 43-47].

On this occasion, David's bravery almost cost him his life; having been rescued by Abishai, David was made to swear that he would not risk his life in battle with his men again.

178. haec: I.e., military fortitude.

'qui per fidem'... 'obstruxerunt leonum ora...': Heb. 11.33-34. In context, these verses extol the faith which inspired the courage. The first two allusions are probably to (i) Daniel (Dan. 6; 14.23-42), and perhaps Samson (Judges 14.5-6), and David (1 Kings 17.34-37); (ii) the three Hebrew youths (Dan. 3); the third reference is more general, evoking a common OT phrase about 'the edge of the sword' (Ex. 17.13; Num. 21.24; etc.). The wording of the fourth clause is strange, however. The VL and the Vulgate punctuate with a comma after infirmitate, and fortes belongs to the next clause ('fortes facti in bello'). A., despite quoting the verses accurately in Parad. 21, makes this mistake here and in II.20, presumably a fault of memory. The mistake is unfortunate, since de

infirmitate probably refers to physical debility rather than moral cowardice (perhaps alluding to the case of Hezekiah in Is. 38), and fortes applies to war in the next clause; the inner courage of which A. speaks is not there in the verse as he cites it.

The association of magnitudo animi (cf. Cic. I.15,17 in A. I.115n.) with fides is an important clue to A.'s approach to the subject of moral courage.

nuda virtute: A classical phrase: e.g., Lucan, IX.594-595; Petronius, Sat. 88.

Quam insuperabilis Daniel, qui circa latera sua rudentes non expavit leones!...: See Dan. 14.23-42; Daniel feasts on food brought by Habakkuk.

XXXVI: FORTITUDE OF SPIRIT

179. Non igitur in viribus corporis et lacertis tantummodo fortitudinis gloria est, sed magis in virtute animi: Cf. Cic. I.79: 'Omnino illud honestum, quod ex animo excelso magnificoque quaerimus, animi efficitur, non corporis viribus'.

neque in inferenda sed depellenda iniuria...: Cf. Cic. I.23: 'Sed iniustitiae genera duo sunt, unum eorum, qui inferunt, alterum eorum, qui ab is, quibus infertur, si possunt, non propulsant iniuriam' (cf. also Cic. III.74).

Qui enim non repellit a socio iniuriam si potest, tam est in vitio quam ille qui facit: Cf. Cic. I.23: 'qui autem non defendit nec obsistit, si potest, iniuriae, tam est in vitio, quam si parentes aut amicos aut patriam deserat' (and just previously, Cic. mentions a 'socius'). Though A. is a pacifist in the private sphere [cf. I.131n.], he believes in a moral obligation to defend another against aggression (cf. II.102 and n.). He is able to substantiate this

Ciceronian point with OT authority:

Nam cum vidisset Hebraeum...: See Ex. 2.11-12.

'Eripe eum qui ducitur ad mortem': Prov. 24.11.

180. Unde igitur hoc...transtulerint: The usual charge of pagan plagiarism from the Scriptures.

vel Tullius vel etiam Panaetius: The last mention of Cic. in the work; the allusion is to Cic. I.23, as echoed above, and A. assumes that Cic. draws on Panaetius [on whom cf. I.24n.].

aut ipse Aristoteles: For reference to Aristotle's discussion of duty, cf. I.31n. Aristotle discusses fortitude (ἀνδρεία) particularly in N.E. 1115a6ff., advocating a mean between fear and confidence, but without mentioning the point made in I.179. [See R.A. Gauthier, Magnanimité. Idéal de la grandeur dans la philosophie païenne et dans la théologie chrétienne (Paris, 1951), 65-118. On the development, and differences, from Aristotelian to Stoic conceptions of magnanimity, see Gauthier, 119-164, esp. 137-141 on Panaetius/Cic.]

his duobus: Panaetius and Aristotle, who lived earlier than Cic. but later than Job [antiquior].

'Salvum feci pauperem...': Job 29.12-13.

'Accinge sicut vir lumbos tuos...': Job 40.2,5-6. Altitudinem implies that the verse is suggested to A. by Cic.'s mention of 'altitudo animi' in I.88, and iniuriosum by 'iniuria' in Cic. I.23, evoked in I.179 [Testard I, 262n.7].

'Habetis fortissimam consolationem': Heb. 6.18. The verse offers tenuous support for fortitudo, but is clearly suggested to A. because it includes the word 'fortissimam'. (In context, the verse is part of an exhortation to recognise the encouragement that Christians should have in knowing that God fulfilled His promise to Abraham, whose faith was prospective, while theirs is retrospective.) On A.'s belief in

the Pauline authorship of Hebrews [Apostolus], cf. I.30n.

181. quando unusquisque se ipsum vincit, iram continet, nullis illecebris emollitur atque inflectitur, non adversis perturbatur, non extollitur secundis: This all sounds thoroughly Stoic: inner fortitude is the control of passions such as anger (in this respect, it overlaps with temperance), indifference to outward allurements, and superiority to external circumstances (cf. Cic. I.66-69). Nevertheless, A. goes on to synthesise this language with some of the NT's teaching on self-mastery and endurance.

The contrast of adversis...secundis appears in Cic. I.90-91.

quasi vento quodam: On the effect of the wind as an image of instability, cf. Job 13.25;21.18;30.15,22; Eph. 4.14; Jas. 1.6; etc. Cic. also has the metaphor of the storm in I.83.

variarum rerum circumfertur mutatione: Perhaps an echo of Cic. I.67: 'quae multa et varia in hominum vita fortunaque versantur'.

adficere carnem: A. brings in NT language; on the evils of 'the flesh', cf., e.g., Rom. 7-8; Gal. 5.13ff.;6.8; Eph. 2.3; Col. 2.20-23; 1 Pet. 4.1ff.; 2 Pet. 2.10.

magnificentius: Cic. has the word in I.68.

in servitatem redigere: An echo of 1 Cor. 9.27: 'sed castigo corpus meum, et in servitatem redigo...'. The Stoic-Ciceronian teaching on passivity about 'perturbationes' and externals is related to an active Christian asceticism, as the mind is exercised and the flesh reduced to servitude. [On the flesh/spirit antithesis, see Dudden II, 512-513; Seibel, 129-137.]

182. quoniam in duobus generibus fortitudo spectatur animi...: Cf. Cic. I.66: 'Omnino fortis animus et

magnus duabus rebus maxime cernitur, quarum una in rerum externarum despicientia ponitur, cum persuasumst nihil hominem nisi quod honestum decorumque sit aut admirari aut optare aut expetere oportere, nullique neque homini neque perturbationi animi nec fortunae succumbere. Altera est res, ut...res geras magnas illas quidem et maxime utiles, sed ut vehementer arduas plenasque laborum et periculorum cum vitae, tum multarum rerum, quae ad vitam pertinent.' A. thus gives Cic.'s first point a particular slant: 'res externae' in general (health, wealth, nobility, high position) become 'externa corporis'; he looks back to the mention of the caro being ruled by the mind in I.181 (he calls this prima vis fortitudinis at the start of I.182). The Ciceronian point is related to a particularly NT (though also Platonist) anthropology, as the body is deliberately depreciated in comparison with the spirit. (Stoicism makes such a distinction, but Cic. does not specify it here.) In the second of Cic.'s points, A. simplifies and confuses the language of his model: Cic. has the honourable and the fitting in point one, not point two, and Cic. specifies difficult and dangerous deeds as the aim of fortitude, while A. simply has everything honourable and fitting. Doubtless the inexactitude is because he relies on his memory.

On honestas et illud πρέπον, cf. I.27,30nn.

neque divitias nec voluptates neque honores: Cic. I.68 mentions 'voluptas', 'divitiae', and 'gloriae cupiditas'.

Quod cum ita affectus animo fueris: Cf. Cic. I.66: 'ut cum ita sis affectus animo...'

ut quidquid acciderit quo frangi animi solent...: Cic. uses 'frangi' similarly in connection with fear and desire in I.68 (cf., too, Cic. I.71).

The first two examples of misfortune, patrimonii

amissio and honoris immutio, are typically classical; the third, obtretractio infidelium, is Christian (the disparagement of the ungodly), as is the fourth, enduring pericula pro iustitia (cf. Matt. 5.10; 1 Pet. 3.14), though it also evokes Cic. I.66, on 'pericula'. quasi superior non sentias: Cic. advocates the despising of external circumstances: I.66-68.

A. is effectively preaching Stoic ἀπάθεια, but he gives some Christian nuances to the Ciceronian argument [see above], and he proceeds to justify this teaching from the Scriptures in the following paragraphs, with the introduction of the Christi athleta (I.183), those who have 'died with Christ' (I.184), and the militia Dei (I.185). [On the re-application to Christian spirituality of the pagan ideal (Platonist-Aristotelian-Stoic) of detachment from one's outward fortune, see Gauthier, op. cit. in I.180n., 223ff.]

183. Christi athleta: Cf. I.58ff. and nn.

'nisi legitime certaverit non coronatur': 2 Tim. 2.5.

'Tribulatio patientiam operatur...': Rom. 5.3-4.

Vide quot certamina, et una corona: Cf. 1 Cor. 9.24: 'Nescitis quod hii qui in stadio currunt, omnes quidem currunt, sed unus accipit bravium? Sic currite ut comprehendatis.'

non dat nisi qui est confortatus in Christo Iesu: Cf. Phil. 4.13; 2 Tim. 4.17. The subject is, of course, Paul.

cuius caro requiem non habebat: Perhaps a reference to Paul's 'stimulus carnis' (2 Cor. 12.1-10, esp. vv. 7-9), since that passage is in A.'s mind below.

'foris pugnae, intus timores': 2 Cor. 7.5.

Et quamvis in periculis, in laboribus plurimis...: Cf. 2 Cor. 11.23ff.

ut potentior suis fieret infirmitatibus: Cf. 2 Cor. 12.9-10.

184. despicientiam rerum humanarum habere: Cf. Cic. I.72: 'Capessentibus autem rem publicam nihil minus quam philosophis, haud scio an magis etiam, et magnificentia et despicientia adhibenda sit rerum humanarum...' (and I.66: 'rerum externarum despicientia'). A. typically applies Cic.'s advice to statesmen to eos qui ad officia Ecclesiae accedunt.

'Si ergo mortui estis cum Christo...': Col. 2.20-22.

'Si ergo consurrexistis cum Christo...': Col. 3.1.

'Mortificate ergo membra vestra...': Col. 3.5.

Et haec quidem adhuc omnibus fidelibus, tibi autem, fili...': This distinction between the injunctions to 'all the faithful' (cf. Eph. 1.1, etc.) and the singular address to a spiritual 'son' (reminiscent of Paul to Timothy in 2 Tim. 2.1) is interesting: A. sees one level of teaching for the Church at Colossae generally, and another for the cleric. The most exacting standards are prescribed for those in ecclesiastical office. The notion is part of A.'s conviction that the ascetic vocation of the Church is a higher path of spirituality.

contemptum divitiarum: Cf. 1 Tim. 6.6-11.

profanarum quoque et anilium fabularum suadet declinationem: Cf. 1 Tim. 4.7; 6.20; 2 Tim. 2.16.

nihil permittens nisi quod te exerceat ad pietatem...': Cf. 1 Tim. 4.7-8.

185. ad iustitiam, continentiam, mansuetudinem: Cf. 1 Tim. 6.11.

ut fugias iuvenilia opera: Cf. 2 Tim. 2.22.

confirmatus et radicans in gratia: Cf. Eph. 3.17; Col. 2.7.

bonum fidei subeas certamen: Cf. 1 Tim. 6.12 (also 2 Tim. 4.7).

non te implices negotiis saecularibus: Cf. 2 Tim. 2.4.

si hi qui imperatori militant, susceptionibus litium,

actu negotiorum forensium, venditione mercium prohibentur humanis legibus: This sentence has been examined by Jean Gaudemet, in his article 'Droit séculier et droit de l'église chez Ambroise,' in Ambr. Episc. I (286-315), 296-299 [also in Le droit romain dans la littérature chrétienne occidentale du III^e au V^e siècle, in Ius Romanum Medii Aevi, I,3,b (Milan, 1978), (71-98) 83-85], and I am indebted to his identification of the legal texts. Gaudemet points out that militare in the Latin of A.'s period covers civil, not just military, service, and the prohibitions which A. mentions here cover functionaries and civil magistrates, especially curiales. The context here plainly is military, since A. above evokes 2 Tim. 2.4, which speaks of one 'militans' as a 'bonus miles Christi Iesu' (2 Tim. 2.3). Three prohibitions are mentioned: undertaking lawsuits, taking part in matters of judicial procedure, and engaging in commerce. For third-century texts, cf. Digest III.3.54; C.J. II.12.7; II.12.19; IV.6.5. For similar bans in the fifth century, cf. Theodosius II, Novellae IX; C.J. I.14.5; IV.65.30; IV.65.31; XII.35.15. Gaudemet suggests that A. may have a vague knowledge of such laws through an intermediary source, such as can. 6 of the first Council of Carthage (A.D. 345-348) [CCL 149], though A. may know them as a result of the training in jurisprudence which he almost certainly undertook in preparation for his administrative career.

quanto magis qui fidei exercet militiam...: If these standards are prescribed for those who serve the emperor, how much more are they necessary for those who serve noster imperator (I.186) in the cause of the Faith? This a fortiori argument is typical [Introduction, II.iv (iii)].

A. asserts that 'omnes qui sunt in Ecclesia Deo

militant' (Ep. 27.15), but under the inspiration of 2 Tim. 2 here he clearly considers that clerics have a particular calling to serve in God's army, withdrawing from the affairs of the world. [On the militia of the cleric, see Gryson, Prêtre, 131-133.]

ab omni usu negotiationis abstinere debet: Trade was traditionally considered to be beneath the dignity of senators; Cic. believes small-scale trade is vulgar, though larger enterprise is not to be condemned (I.151), and import-export is advantageous to a community (II.13). A. condemns the greed and foolhardiness of merchants (I.243; II.25-26,67; III.37-44,57), and forbids his clergy to engage in this sordid pursuit of selfish gain. Cf. Jerome, Ep. 52.5.

agelluli sui contentus fructibus si habet: Some members of the clergy retained farms which they had owned in previous life (cf. Ep. 81.2), and were able to live off the revenues from these so as not to require support from the Church (cf. the reference to not burdening the Church, in I.152). Paulinus records that A., on his accession to the see, distributed all his property to the Church or to the poor (as did Paulinus of Nola and his wife Therasia: A., Ep. 58.1-2; and cf. the case of Cyprian, according to Pontius, Vita Cypr. 2.7,15.1; Jerome, Vir. illust. 67), but he kept the income from his estates for his sister Marcellina (Vita 38; Exc. fr. I.59), and it is clear that he did retain some of his lands (Ep. 20.8; C. Aux. 5), in Africa (and perhaps in Sicily also), administered by his brother Satyrus (cf. Exc. fr. I.24,36,79). It is interesting that Augustine insisted upon a communistic state with regard to the possessions of his clergy, but in later years had to concede that some could retain their agelluli (Serm. 355-356), though he himself did not keep his meagre

patrimony of them (Ep. 126.7). A. says that Eusebius of Vercelli was the first Western bishop to unite 'monastic severity and ecclesiastical discipline' (Ep. 63.66,71), in other words, to live in a simple community with his clergy; similar practice was followed by Paulinus of Nola and Victricius of Rouen (Paulinus, Epp. 5.15-19; 23.8,18); and, after Augustine (Augustine, Serm. 355; Possidius, Vita Aug. 3,5,11), by Martin of Tours (Sulpicius Severus, Vita S. Mart. 10).

The point that A. makes here is that clerics may retain their farms if they have them, but should remain content with a modest income from them, and not seek to engage in larger-scale trade for the sake of financial gain.

si non habet, stipendiorum suorum fructu: Clerics who could not support themselves received an ecclesiastical benefice. As militia is expanded in later Latin to cover civil and ecclesiastical as well as military service, so stipendium is used for the pay of administrative and especially of ecclesiastical officials. [See Gaudemet, 165-166.]

The contrast of si habet, si non habet is reminiscent of Cic. I.68: 'si non habeas, si habeas'.

bonus testis: The psalmist David.

'Iuvenis fui et senui...': Ps. 36.25.

tranquillitas animi: Cic. uses this phrase in I.69 and 72. In associating this feature with temperantia (again in I.210; cf. also I.90,95,98), A. differs from Cic., who mentions it only under fortitudo [so Sauer, 176-177].

metu: Cic. mentions this in I.68-69.

The concepts which A. presents in this chapter are basically Stoic, but the authority which he takes for them is scriptural, and the application is specifically to his clerical addressees.

XXXVII: KEEPING AN EVEN TEMPER IN BOTH ADVERSE AND FAVOURABLE CIRCUMSTANCES. THE AVOIDANCE OF EVIL. WE MUST NOT UNDERTAKE MORE THAN WE CAN CARRY OUT.

186. Ea est etiam quae dicitur vacuitas animi ab angoribus: Dicitur is an oblique reference to Cic.: cf. Cic. I.73: 'Quocirca non sine causa maiores motus animorum concitantur [maioraque efficiendi] rem publicam gerentibus quam quietis, quo magis iis et magnitudo est animi adhibenda et vacuitas ab angoribus' (also Cic. I.69).

ut neque in doloribus molliores simus: Cf. Cic. I.71: 'Sunt enim qui...in dolore sint molliores...'

neque in prosperis elatiore: Cf. Cic. I.90: 'Atque etiam in rebus prosperis et ad voluntatem nostram fluentibus superbiam magnopere, fastidium arrogantiamque fugiamus. Nam ut adversas res, sic secundas immoderate ferre levitatis est....'

Quod si hi qui ad capessendam rem publicam adhortantur aliquos haec praecepta dant: Another vague reference to Cic.: Cic. uses the phrase 'rem publicam capessentibus' in I.71-72; in I.69-73 he argues that public service is superior to a life of leisure (contra the Epicurean belief especially); in I.74-78 he claims that civil administration is more important than military command; and in I.79-91 (esp. 85-91) he discusses the qualities required in the statesman.

quanto magis nos qui ad officium Ecclesiae vocamur...: Cf. I.184n. As in I.185, A. argues that those called to the service of the Faith must attain the classical standard as a minimum.

quae placeant Deo: Cf. John 8.29, where Jesus says, 'quia ego quae placita sunt ei [i.e., Patri] facio semper'.

ut praetendat in nobis virtus Christi: Cf. 2 Cor. 12.9: '...ut inhabitet in me virtus Christi'; A.'s

verb is stronger: the virtus Christi is to 'stretch forth' rather than 'reside' in us; the military context (below, and in I.185) influences the wording of the allusion.

nostro...imperatorii: A. contrasts the service for 'our "Emperor"' with 'the emperor' mentioned in I.185.

ut membra nostra arma iustitiae sint: Cf. Rom. 6.13.

arma non carnalia in quibus peccatum regnet: A mélange of 2 Cor. 10.4 and Rom. 6.12.

quibus peccatum destruat: Cf. Rom. 6.6: 'ut destruat corpus peccati'.

Moriatur caro nostra: Cf. Rom. 8.13; Col. 3.5.

'quasi ex mortuis viventes': Rom. 6.13.

resurgamus: Cf. Rom. 6.4-5; 1 Cor. 6.14-20; Eph. 2.5-6; Col. 2.12-13; etc.

novis...operibus ac moribus: Cf. 2 Cor. 5.17; Gal. 6.15; Eph. 4.24; Col. 3.10.

The Stoic teaching on the subduing of the passions is thus validated by the NT's injunctions to mortify the flesh, while the service of the state is replaced by the service of Christ, and the waging of spiritual war with good deeds and with bodies dedicated to iustitia.

187. honesti et decori: Cf. I.182n.

stipendia: Continues the military language (and cf. I.185n.).

Sed quia in omnibus quae agimus, non solum quid honestum sed etiam quid possibile sit quaerimus...:

Cf. Cic. I.73: 'Ad rem gerendam autem qui accidit, caveat, ne id modo consideret, quam illa res honesta sit, sed etiam ut habeat efficiendi facultatem...'. A. sanctions the Panaetian realism upheld by Cic. [cf. also I.213]. [For another application of the honestum and the possibile, cf. Quintilian, Inst. III.8ff.]

de civitate in civitatem concedere...: Cf. Matt. 10.23: 'Cum autem persequentur vos in civitate ista, fugite in aliam'.

ne temere aliquis, dum martyrii desiderat gloriam, offerat se periculis...: Cic. has 'temere' in I.73; and cf. Cic. I.83: '...sed fugiendum illud etiam, ne offeramus nos periculis sine causa'. Cic.'s point is Aristotelian (courage is a mean between cowardice and rashness); A. applies it to the subject of Christian persecution and martyrdom. Martyrdom was traditionally seen as the ultimate test of Christian virtue and the highest category of glory for the faithful witness; the cult of the martyrs was already under development in the time of Tertullian and Cyprian, and grew further in the persecutions of the second half of the third century. [Vermeulen, 53-96; on the terminology for the martyr-confessor, see Hippolyte Delehaye, Sanctus: Essai sur le culte des saints dans l'antiquité (Brussels, 1927), 74-121.] A. himself is a notable influence in the spread of the cult [cf. I.202-208; II.140-141; III.89]. It is improbable that martyrdom was still a likely fate at this time [pace Vermeulen, 77-78], though the dangers faced by A. himself in the Arian crisis of 385-386 suggest that it was not impossible. Here, he espouses the view which became influential from the teaching of Cyprian in the midst of the North African persecutions of the third century, that martyrdom should not be provoked out of a rash desire for personal glory (cf., e.g., Cyprian, Epp. 5;7.1; Mort. 17); he repeats this warning in I.208. The opportunity for such a glorious death should be seized if it presents itself (II.141), but reckless exposure of oneself to dangers is condemned.

caro infirmior: On the weakness of the flesh, cf. Matt. 26.41/Mk. 14.38.

XXXVIII: ANTICIPATING TROUBLES SO AS NOT TO GIVE WAY UNDER THEM

188. propter ignaviam: Cf. Cic. I.73: 'in quo ipso considerandum est, ne...temere desperet propter ignaviam...'.
deserere fidem: Cic. speaks of the problems of public life; A. applies the teaching to Christian persecution.

praeparandus est animus: Cf. Cic. I.73: 'In omnibus autem negotiis priusquam adgrediare, adhibenda est praeparatio diligens'.
stabilienda ad constantiam ut nullis perturbari animus possit terroribus: Cf. Cic. I.80: 'Fortis vero animi et constantis est non perturbari in rebus asperis...'.
frangi: Cf. I.182n.

si consilio firmes animum tuum nec a ratione discedendum putes: Cf. Cic. I.80: '...sed praesenti animo uti et consilio nec a ratione discedere'. I prefer the reading of PL and Krabinger/Banterle, a ratione discedendum, to Testard's ratione descendendum; the military sense of descendere to which Testard I, 265n.2, refers is not especially obvious from the immediate context, and the Ciceronian echo is surely clear.

proponas divini iudicii metum...: The fear of divine judgement inspires courage [cf. I.124].

189. diligentiae: Cf. 'diligens' in Cic. I.73.

illud ingenii si quis potest vigore mentis praevidere quae futura sunt...: Cf. Cic. I.81: '...illud etiam ingenii magni est, praecipere cogitatione futura et aliquanto ante constituere, quid accidere possit in utramque partem et quid agendum sit, cum quid evenerit...'.
190. ne forte dicat postea: 'Ideo ista incidi, quia non arbitrabar posse evenire': Cf. Cic. I.81: '...nec

committere, ut aliquando dicendum sit: "Non putaram"
 [Holden, 207, compares Valerius Maximus, VII.2.2;
 Cic., Lig. 30; Ad Att. VI.1.2; Seneca, Ira II.31.4].
 The wisdom of strategic foresight in military (and, to
 Cic., political) affairs appeals to A.'s Roman spirit
 no less than to Cic.'s.

191. animi excellentia: Cic. uses the phrase in I.17.
ut primum animus tuus bonis exercitus
cogitationibus...: A Christian slant is given to the
 classical idea: while in I.189-190 A. follows Cic.'s
 admiration for foresight and careful planning for
 eventualities, here he thinks not of plans but of good
 and pure thoughts, i.e., spiritual evaluation of
 externals (cf. I.192).

'Beati enim mundo corde...': Matt. 5.8.

atque id quod honestum est solum bonum iudicet: This
 is classically Stoic, but the association with Matt.
 5.8 means that A. equates the verum et honestum and
 the solum bonum with God Himself. The knowledge of
 God lies at the core of fortitude, as it does with
 prudence and justice.

deinde nullis perturbetur occupationibus, nullis
cupiditatibus fluctuet: Cf. Cic. I.68-69,73. The
 second point remains Ciceronian-Stoic.

192. Quid enim tam difficile quam despiciere tamquam ex
arce aliqua sapientiae opes...?: I prefer the reading
despicere to dispicere: the idea of looking down from
 a citadel of wisdom is classical (Stattius, Silv.
 II.131-132; and esp., as Testard I, 265n.6, notes,
 Lucretius, II.7ff.; cf. A. I.137, virtutis arcem);
 Cic. has 'despicere' or 'despicientia' in connection
 with fortitude in I.17,61,66,72 (cf. also Cic. II.37;
 III.100); and A. has the phrase velut ex arce quadam
despiciat in II.66. The whole point is that one looks
down from the citadel of wisdom on external matters,
 instead of looking at them. [See Gauthier, op. cit.

in I.180, 223ff.]

Cf. Expos. Ps. 118.8.15: 'Quam magnum, contemnere divitias; sed quam rarum hoc ipsum est!'

stabili ratione confirmes: Cf. Cic. I.67: 'Nam et ea, quae eximia plerisque et praeclara videntur, parva ducere eaque ratione stabili firmaque contemnere fortis animi magnique ducendum est...'

idque grave et acerbum putetur, ita feras...: Cf. Cic. I.67: 'et ea, quae videntur acerba,...ita ferre...'

'Nudus sum natus...': Job 1.21.

et utique et filios amiserat et facultates: Cf. I.41n.

personam sapientis et iusti sicut ille servavit qui ait: Job is presented as virtually a Stoic sage. OT Scripture illustrates the Stoic language.

'Sicut Domino placuit...': Job 1.21.

'Sicut una insipientium mulierum locuta es...': Job 2.10.

XXXIX: FORTITUDE WAGES WAR ON THE PASSIONS, ESPECIALLY ON GREED.

193. nec discreta a ceteris: Again, A. asserts the inter-connection of the virtues (cf. I.115n.).

invicta ad labores, fortis ad pericula, rigidior adversus voluptates: Cic. mentions 'labores' and 'pericula' in I.65-66; and cf. Cic. I.68: 'Non est autem consentaneum...qui invictum se a labore praestiterit, vinci a voluptate' (Cic. condemns 'voluptas' also in I.69).

nec, ut dicitur, 'Ave' dicat: Probably an echo of 2 John 10-11: '...nec "Ave" ei dixeritis. Qui enim dicit illi "Ave", communicat operibus illius malignis.'

pecuniam neglegat, avaritiam fugiat tamquam labem quamdam quae virtutem effeminet. Nihil enim tam contrarium fortitudini quam lucro vinci: Cf. Cic.

I.68: '...et pecuniae fugienda cupiditas; nihil enim est tam angusti animi tamque parvi quam amare divitias, nihil honestius magnificentiusque quam pecuniam contemnere...'. On effeminet, cf. I.138n.

dum exuviis caesorum capitur proelior...: The Maurists cite such examples as Polybius, X.17.4; Tacitus, Ann. I.68 [see PL 16, 86-87n.8].

194. tam immanem pestem: Avaritia, stigmatised at the disease of the Fall in I.137.

nec temptetur cupiditatibus nec frangatur metu: Cf. Cic. I.68: 'Non est autem consentaneum, qui metu non frangatur, eum frangi cupiditate'; 69: 'Vacandum autem omni est animi perturbatione, cum cupiditate et metu...'.
iracundiam...aegritudinem: Both of these are repudiated by Cic. in I.69. According to Cic., Tusc. III-V, there are four basic passions from which the Stoic seeks freedom: pleasure, desire, pain, and fear; anger is subsumed under desire.

propulset: Cic. I.65 has 'propulsant'.
gloriae quoque caveat appetentiam: Cf. Cic. I.68: 'Cavenda etiam est gloriae cupiditatis, ut supra dixi [I.65]...' (cf., too, Cic. I.83-84).

quae frequenter nocuit immoderatus expetita, semper autem usurpata: Evocative of the language of Cic.'s warning about military commands: 'Nec vero imperia expetenda ac potius aut non accipienda interdum aut deponenda non numquam' (I.68).

quae frequenter nocuit immoderatus expetita, semper autem usurpata: Evocative of the language of Cic.'s warning about military commands: 'Nec vero imperia expetenda ac potius aut non accipienda interdum aut deponenda non numquam' (I.68).

In all of I.193-194, A. is following the case made by Cic. in favour of Stoic *ἀπὸ θεῶν*. But as usual he goes on in I.195 to illustrate the subject with a biblical exemplar; once again (cf. I.180,192), it is Job.

195. Quid horum...defuit...?: Cf. the similar question in I.115, following the illustration of the virtues of OT characters in I.106-115. Job is the main replacement for Cic.'s exempla from Greek and Roman history (Cic. I.61,64,75-78,84,87,90) in the discussion of fortitude (though of course A. has a great deal of other biblical, esp. NT, documentation as well).

On Job's tragedies, cf. I.41n.

despexit salutis periculum: Cf. Cic. I.83-84; cf. also A. I.177n.

trium regum: Cf. I.41n.

servorum contumelia: Cf. Job 19.15-16.

qui imprecabatur gravia sibi si umquam...: Cf. Job 31.33-34.

consentaneae: Cic. uses the word 'consentaneum' in I.68.

XL: MILITARY FORTITUDE EXEMPLIFIED IN THE OT

196. Sed fortasse aliquos bellica defixos gloria tenet...: Cf. Cic. I.74: 'Sed cum plerique arbitrentur res bellicas maiores esse quam urbanas...'. Despite his claim that military fortitude is not germane to his ecclesiastical addressees (I.175), A. has already shown some enthusiasm for the martial achievements of OT saints (I.175-177). He acknowledges the popularity of accounts of bravery in war (cf. III.5).

proeliarem: The word is ante- and post-classical.

Quam fortis Iesus Nave...!: Joshua defeated the five Amorite kings (Adonizedek of Jerusalem and his allies) in a surprise attack at Gibeon; having imprisoned them in a cave at Makkedah, they and the people of Makkedah were slain (Josh. 10.1-28). The kings' armies were

slain in the battle, not at Makkedah; A. compresses his account.

Deinde cum adversum Gabaonitas surgeret proelium...: Not, in fact, after the defeat of the five kings, but before it; nor was Joshua fighting the Gibeonites themselves, since he had earlier been duped into making a non-aggression pact with them (Josh. 9): rather, he was fighting for the Gibeonites, whom the five kings had attacked. The Lord made the sun stand still to allow the Israelites to finish off their opponents properly (Josh. 10.1-15). Relating the stories from memory, A. goes astray on the chronology and the cause.

Gedeon in trecentis viris...: On Gideon's victory over the vast forces of the Midianites and their allies, accomplished with only 300 men, see Judges 7.1-25.

Ionathae adulescens...: Jonathan led a successful attack on the Philistine outpost at Michmash, the prelude to Israel's rout of the enemy (1 Kings 14.1-15).

Quid de Machabaeis loquar?: The family of Judas ben Mattathias [Lat. from Gk.: Maccabaeus], who led a heroic revolt against the Seleucids in Judea, first under Mattathias himself, 168-166 B.C., then under his third son, Judas, 166-160 B.C., and then his brothers Jonathan, 160-143 B.C. and Simeon, who negotiated independence in 142 B.C. The major figure is Judas Maccabaeus, who led the revolt in its most momentous period of success. [See Bezalel Bar-Kochva, Judas Maccabaeus: The Jewish Struggle against the Seleucids (Cambridge, 1989) - hereafter cited as 'Bar-Kochva'.]

The remainder of A.'s illustration of military fortitude (I.197-201), and the first section of his treatment of the fortitude of the martyrs (I.202-204), are taken up with the exploits of these heroes.

197. populo patrum: See Introduction, II.v.

qui cum essent parati ad repugnandum...: See 1 Macc. 2.29-38; cf. 2 Macc. 6.11. Up to a thousand men, women, and children were slaughtered by the forces of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (167 B.C.).

Sed Machabaei considerantes quod hoc exemplo gens omnis posset perire...: See 1 Macc. 2.39-48; the reference in Machabaei is to Mattathias and his company.

Unde postea stimulatus rex Antiochus...: See 1 Macc. 3.27 - 4.25 (and cf. 2 Macc. 8.8-36). Postea brings us into the time of Judas Maccabaeus, in 165 B.C.; rex Antiochus is Antiochus IV Epiphanes. The reference which follows is to the defeat of the Seleucid army at Ammaus in the late summer of 165 B.C.

quadraginta et octo milia: According to 1 Macc. 3.39, the Seleucid force consisted of 40,000 infantry and 7,000 cavalry, and 1 Macc. 3.41 mentions some Syrian and Philistine troops in addition; hence A. gives a round total of 48,000. Josephus, Ant. XII.7.3, follows these figures. 2 Macc. 8.9 gives a Seleucid force of 'not less than 20,000'. Bar-Kochva, 240, says that 1 Macc. 3.39 gives 'an extremely inflated estimate', and considers a royal force of under 10,000 likely, which the auxiliary troops swelled to about 20,000.

a tribus milibus: So 1 Macc. 4.6, while 2 Macc. 8.1,16,21-22 say 6,000; 3,000 is the number left after the screening of the troops at Mizpah (1 Macc. 3.46-60) [Bar-Kochva, 264].

198. Namque Eleazarus cum supereminentem ceteris elephantum...: See 1 Macc. 6.43-46 [also Josephus, B.J. I.1.5; Ant. XII.9.4]. Eleazar Avaran is Judas's brother (1 Macc. 2.5), though A. designates him simply as de uno eius milite. [On the incident, see Bar-Kochva, 334-337.]

cursu concitus: Probably an echo of Vergil, Aen. XII.902.

abiecto clipeo: There is no mention of this in 1 Macc. 6 or in Josephus; A. augments Eleazar's courage with a fictitious embellishment.

utraque manu interficiebat bestiam: A. does not reproduce the text of the account accurately: Eleazar is said to have killed men to the right and left and then gone underneath the elephant (1 Macc. 6.45-46); A. says that he tried [interficiebat must be taken as a conative imperfect] to kill the beast with both hands (similarly also with utraque manu vulneratae molem bestiae, below).

Primo ut mortem non timeret...contempta morte: Cf. I.177n. Banterle, 145n.5, suggests that contempta morte ferocior may be an echo of Horace, Od. I.37.29 (of Cleopatra): 'deliberata morte ferocior'.

cuius ruina inclusus magis quam oppressus, suo est sepultus triumpho: Quite a striking phrase, especially the final words; a glimpse, perhaps, of the verbal skill of A. the preacher.

199. tanto enim virtutis spectaculo defixi hostes inermem...: A. seems to misinterpret 1 Macc. 6.47: 'Et videntes virtutem regis et impetum exercitus eius, deverterunt ab eis': the Jews, not the Seleucid forces, fell back. 1 Macc. 6 says nothing about the significance of Eleazar's action as far as the Seleucid army's psychology is concerned.

[Inermem: without his shield - as A. thinks (cf. I.198n.).]

rex Antiochus Lysiae filius: Antiochus V Eupator, who was brought up by the regent of Antiochus IV Epiphanes, Lysias, as his adopted son (1 Macc. 3.32-33; 6.17). Eupator succeeded his father at the age of nine in late 164 or early 163 B.C., though power was actually exercised by Lysias. He was put to death by

the army in 162 B.C., on the arrival in Syria of his cousin Demetrius I Soter, the younger son of Seleucus IV and the rightful successor of Epiphanes.

qui centum viginti hominum milibus armatus venerat et cum triginta duobus elephantis: So 1 Macc. 6.30, detailing 100,000 infantry, 20,000 cavalry, and 32 elephants (similarly, Josephus, Ant. XII.9.3). Bar-Kochva, 306-307, considers all of these figures to be exaggerated. 2 Macc. 13.2 has 110,000 infantry, 5,300 cavalry, 22 elephants, and 300 scythe-bearing chariots; Josephus, B.J. I.1.5, says 50,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry. Josephus's B.J. figures may be nearer the mark.

ita ut ab ortu solis per singulas bestias...: Cf. 1 Macc. 6.39.

corusco: The substantive is late.

unius territus fortitudine pacem rogaret: Again, A. is taking liberties with the story. 1 Macc. 6.49 speaks of the king making peace with the people of Beth Zur, but they had surrendered prior to the battle [see Bar-Kochva, 308-309]; Lysias advised the king to sue for peace only when he heard that Philip had returned from the East with designs on the government: Lysias saw the danger of pressing on with an inconclusive siege of Jerusalem, with provisions running short, while a rival threatened to take control behind his back at Antioch (1 Macc. 6.55-61; 2 Macc. 13.23-26). (The peace was broken temporarily when the king discovered the strength of the Jewish fortification of Zion and ordered the defences to be demolished: 1 Macc. 6.62-63.) A. puts a more romantic interpretation on the narrative: Lysias and Eupator pulled back out of fear of the Jews' fortitude, not because of political circumstances [note Sed haec triumphorum sint].

XLI: FORTITUDE IN ADVERSE AS WELL AS FAVOURABLE CIRCUMSTANCES: THE DEATHS OF MARTYRS.

200. non solum secundis rebus sed etiam adversis: Cic. I.90-91 speaks of 'secundae' and 'adversae res'. A. presents the military achievements of I.196-199 as examples of fortitude in favourable - that is, successful - circumstances (glossing the truth in I.198-199, incidents which should really be in the second category); in the section which follows (I.200-207), he seeks to show that fortitude is shown by the faithful in tragedies as well, whether in war or in persecution for their faith.

Is enim post victum Nicanorem regis Demetrii ducem: Demetrius I Soter, Syrian king, 162-150 B.C. On the defeat and death of his general Nicanor at the hands of the Jews at the battle of Adasa in March, 161 B.C., see 1 Macc. 7.39-50; 2 Macc. 15.1-37 (also Josephus, Ant. XII.10.4-5).

securior adversus viginti milia exercitus regis: According to 1 Macc. 9.4, the Seleucid force at the battle of Elasa in April, 160 B.C. numbered 20,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry (similarly Josephus, Ant. XII.11.1); Bar-Kochva, 386, believes these figures to be broadly correct.

cum nongentis viris bellum adorsus: This is the reading of the majority of MSS. of A.; CO give the figure of 1 Macc. 9.6, 800, the remainder of an original force of 3,000 having fled (1 Macc. 9.5-6) [Josephus, Ant. XII.11.1, has an original force of 1,000 - by scribal error for 3,000 - and 800 remaining]. Bar-Kochva, 388-389, takes the figure of 800 to be so drastically reduced as to be worthless; the author of 1 Macc. wishes to stress the bravery of the Jews by vastly lengthening the odds against them. volentibus his cedere ne multitudine opprimerentur,

gloriosam magis mortem quam turpem fugam suasit: See 1 Macc. 9.8-10 [Josephus, Ant. XII.11.1].

'Ne crimen,' inquit, 'nostrae relinquamus gloriae': 1 Macc. 9.10 [Josephus, Ant. XII.11.1].

cum a primo ortu diei in vesperam dimicaretur...: See 1 Macc. 9.13-22 [Josephus, Ant. XII.11.2].

ita gloriosiore triumphis locum mortis invenit: A. shares his source's admiration for the heroic death of Judas; cf. also I.177n.

201. Quid Ionatham fratrem eius adtexam?: Jonathan was the youngest of the Maccabaeus brothers, and led their cause after Judas's death, 160-143 B.C.

Qui cum parva manu adversus exercitus regios pugnans...: Jonathan was ambushed by a large force of Demetrius's troops in the plain of Asor; his men fled when they saw the scale of the Syrian opposition, and only a small band remained, but with them he was able to rout the enemy (1 Macc. 11.67-74) [Josephus, Ant. XIII.5.7]. 1 Macc. 11.70 says that only two of Jonathan's officers remained; Josephus, Ant. XIII.5.7, adds that about 50 men stayed with them. 1 Macc. 11.74 claims that about 3,000 Gentiles were slain; Josephus, Ant. XIII.5.8, says 2,000.

202. fortitudinem bellicam: Cf. the Ciceronian division in A. I.175. The illustration of martial fortitude from I.196 onwards is now at an end. The following section (I.202-207) is on the fortitude of the martyrs.

A. did much to promote the cult of the martyrs, not least through his discovery of the relics of SS. Gervasius and Protasius, Agricola and Vitalis, Nazarius, and Celsus [see Dudden I, 298-320; Jean Doignon, 'Perspectives Ambrosiennes: SS. Gervais et Protas, génies de Milan,' REAug 2, 1956, 313-334; Ernst Dassmann, 'Ambrosius und die Märtyrer,' JAC 18, 1975, 49-68; Vermeulen, 76-80, 99-100].

quod mortem servituti praeferat ac turpitudini: Cf. Cic. I.81: 'sed cum tempus necessitasque postulat, decertandum manu est et mors servituti turpitudinique anteponeunda'. On A.'s attitude to slavery, cf. I.20n.

passionibus: A post-classical word.

num minorem de superbo rege Antiocho Machabaei pueri revexerunt triumphum quam parentes proprii?...: See 2 Macc. 7.1-42. A. paints a vivid picture of the tragic scene, with short clauses in asyndeton, tricolon, repetition of defecerunt, etc. Cohors suggests that the boys are a little troop of faithful soldiers, physically unarmed in the face of the vast hordes of the wicked.

The story of the seven Maccabean boys martyred along with their mother is told at some length in Iacob II.45-58 (and 42): it is quite likely that both there and here A. exploits a panegyric which he has delivered earlier [see Gérard Nauroy, 'La méthode de composition d'Ambroise de Milan et la structure du De Iacob et vita beata,' in Y.-M. Duval, ed., Ambroise de Milan, Paris, 1974, (115-153), esp. 137-138.

alius corium capitis exutus...: This treatment was meted out to the first two brothers, at least (2 Macc. 7.4,7).

alius linguam iussus amputandam promere respondit: Non solum Dominus audit loquentes...: The defiant words given here are not precisely those of the third son, whose tongue is amputated (2 Macc. 7.10-11). Moses is mentioned by the mother and six of the boys in mutual encouragement after the death of the first (2 Macc. 7.6), and by the last son as he defies Antiochus (2 Macc. 7.30). But the speech here is composed by A. himself, echoing other OT verses and language which he has used earlier in the work.

qui audiebat Moysen tacentem: Cf. Ex. 14.14-15.

plus audit tacitas cogitationes suorum quam voces omnium: Cf. I.9.

Linguae flagellum times...?: Cf. Job 5.21, and I.6.

Habet et sanguis vocem suam qua clamat ad Deum sicut clamavit in Abel: See Gen. 4.10 [cf., too, Heb. 12.24].

203. Quid de matre loquar...?: See 2 Macc. 7.20-23, 25-29.

tropaea: In Christian Latin, tropaeum is used, as here, for the body of a martyr, which is visualised as the trophy of the victory of the martyr's faith in the Christian warfare; it is also used to describe the cross of Christ, or the resurrection body of Christ, which retains the marks of His passion. [See Christine Mohrmann, 'A propos de deux mots controversés de la latinité chrétienne: Tropaeum - Nomen,' Vig.Chr. 8, 1954, (154-173) 154-167.]

et morientium vocibus tamquam psallentium cantibus delectabatur, pulcherrimam ventris sui citharam in filiis cernens...: A. sees the seven sons as the seven strings of the cithara, the perfect number producing the perfect melody. The seven-stringed instrument is said to have been introduced by Terpander in the mid-seventh century B.C., as an advance on the four-stringed lyre. [See New Oxford History of Music (London, 1957), I, 250-251, 381-382. On some aspects of the imagery of the cithara, see Jacques Fontaine, 'Les symbolismes de la cithare dans la poésie de Paulin de Nole,' in W. Den Boer, P.G. Van Der Nat, C.M.J. Sicking, J.C.M. Van Winden, edd., Romanitas et Christianitas: studia Iano Henrico Waszink (Amsterdam & London, 1973), 123-143.] Cf. Iacob II.56: 'Quae cithara dulciores ederet cantus quam morientes filii in tam gravibus suppliciis ediderant? Erumpebat enim naturae gemitus et invitis. Spectares per ordinem peremptorum cadavera sicut fila

cordarum. Audires heptachordum psalterium triumphalibus gemitibus resultare' [A. then contrasts the 'music' of the seven with the song of the Sirens - the one lured men to shipwreck, the other draws them 'ad sacrificii victoriam' - and also with the songs of swans, which sing 'naturae sorte' and not 'amore pietatis'; the boys produce sweet music, not the harsh notes of wood-pigeons.]

204. Quid de bimulis loquar...?: [Bimulus is a very rare, but classical, diminutive.] A. refers to the 'Holy Innocents', the male children of two years and under in Bethlehem and its vicinity who were slaughtered by Herod when he had been outwitted by the Magi (Matt. 2.16-18). These children were regarded from a very early date as the first Christian martyrs: cf., e.g., Irenaeus, Contr. haer. III.16.4; Prudentius, Cath. XII.93ff.; Perist. X.736-747; Augustine, Serm. 373.3; 375. Augustine speaks of the 'felix ignorantia' of the infants: 'illi pro Christo potuerunt pati, quem nondum poterant confiteri' (Serm. 199.2). Their feast is celebrated in the West on 28 December. [See AA.SS., Dec., 604-606.]

palmam victoriae: The phrase is commonly used in the context of martyrdom to describe the prize of those who have faithfully completely the contest of faith; on the imagery, cf. esp. Cyprian, Ep. 10.

Quid de sancta Agne...? Agnes is Rome's most celebrated virgin martyr, slain at the age of twelve. The date of her death is uncertain, with the persecution of Valerian in A.D. 258 and of Diocletian in A.D. 303-304 both possible; the latter is thought to be the more likely. The Acts of her martyrdom are late and confused, but accounts are provided by A. in Virg. I.5-9 and Prudentius, Perist. XIV, and Damasus I wrote hexameter verses about her (Epig. Dam., ed. Ferrua, 176). PL 17 attributes to A. a sermon [48;

Maximus of Turin, Serm. 56] and a hymn (very probably genuine) on Agnes, and an 'undoubtedly spurious' [Dudden I, 52n.4] Passio; he mentions her briefly, too, in Ep. 37.36. A.'s account in Virg. has Agnes killed by the sword, having refused a suitor; Prudentius says that she was exposed in a brothel before being put to death by the sword; according to Damasus, she submitted to a voluntary death by fire. A basilica was erected to her on the Via Nomentana, and her feast is celebrated in the West on 21 January. [See AA.SS., Jan. ii, 714-728.] [P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, 'Sant' Agnese nella tradizione e nella leggenda,' Scritti Agiografici I, 1893-1900 (Studi e Testi 221, 1962), 293-317, compares A.'s presentation in Virg. to Ovid's portrayal of the noble deaths of Polyxena in Met. XIII.458ff. and Lucretia in Fast. 833-834. An oral tradition is clearly elaborated under the influence of classical models.]

205. sanctum Laurentium qui, cum videret Xistum...: The story of the martyrdoms of S. Lawrence and Pope Sixtus II is one of the most famous in the martyrologies. Sixtus II was pope from 31 August, A.D. 257 to 6 August, 258. During the persecution of Valerian, he was arrested while celebrating the liturgy in a cemetery at Rome, and beheaded along with several of his deacons. His death is mentioned by Cyprian in Ep. 80.1.4, and Damasus also wrote an epitaph on him (Epig. Dam., ed. Ferrua, 123-126); cf. also Liber pontificalis, ed. Duchesne, I.155; ICUR IV.9514; ILCV 2324. His feast is celebrated in the West on 6 August. [See AA.SS. Aug. ii, 124-142. On the thorny questions of the identity of the cemetery and of whether Sixtus was executed along with six deacons or - so Cyprian - four, see G.W. Clarke, 'Prosopographical Notes on the Epistles of Cyprian - III. Rome in August, 258,' Latomus 34, 1975, 437-

448.]

Lawrence was Sixtus's chief deacon/archdeacon. He was given a three-day reprieve by the urban prefect of Rome, P. Cornelius Saecularis, to disclose and surrender the treasures of the Church; instead, he presented the poor of the city, saying that they were the true treasures (cf. II.140-141). For this act of defiance he is said to have been burned to death on a gridiron on 10 August, 258 [on the tradition, see H. Leclercq, 'Gril', DACL 6.2.1827-1831, who accepts it as historical, though many are sceptical]. A basilica was erected to Lawrence by Constantine on the site of his burial in the cemetery of Cyriaca, and his feast is celebrated in the West on 10 August. Cf. Prudentius, Perist. II; Augustine, Serm. 302-305; 13; In ev. Ioh. 27.12; Leo, Serm. 72; Liber pontificalis, ed. Duchesne, I.155-156; Maximus of Turin, Serm. 4; 24.3. A. almost certainly wrote one hymn (at least) to Lawrence [see below], and he mentions him also in Ep. 37.36-37, and attests that vows were made to him by the pious (Exc. fr. I.17; Exhort. virg. 15). [See AA.SS. Aug. ii, 485-532.]

The dramatic account of the exchange between the dying Sixtus and Lawrence and the narrative of Lawrence's death (I.205-207) is very probably based upon a Passio Laurentii of the mid- to late-fourth century [see Hippolyte Delehaye, 'Recherches sur le légendier romain,' AB 51, 1933, 34-98]; the traditional passion narrative, reflected here in I.205-207 and in A.'s hymn, 'Apostolorum supparem' [13], influences the accounts of Prudentius and Augustine [see Gérard Nauroy, 'Le martyre de Laurent dans l'hymnodie et la prédication des IV^e et V^e siècles, et l'authenticité ambrosienne de l'hymne "Apostolorum supparem",' REAug 35, 1989, 44-82].

Cui commisisti dominici sanguinis consecrationem, cui

consummandorum consortium sacramentorum, huic sanguinis tui consortium negas?: A. cannot mean that the deacon had shared in the consecration of the eucharist, since that is the function of the priest alone; the deacon's task is to distribute the sacrament. Consecratio must therefore be taken to mean not the act of consecration but the element consecrated [so Gryson, Prêtre, 143n.51, who compares Expos. Luc. VI.67]. In that sense, the deacon shares in the celebration of the eucharist. sacramentorum: A. uses the plural, though he refers only to the sacrament of the eucharist.

The last phrase of the sentence links the shedding of the martyr's blood with the consecrated blood of Christ in the communion chalice. The idea was prevalent in the early Church that the martyr drinks the cup of Christ's blood, shed for him, and then goes on to shed his own blood for Christ (cf., e.g., Cyprian, Epp. 57.2.2; 58.1.2; and see G.W. Clarke in ACW 46, 220n.14). Testard I, 269n.16, compares Augustine, Serm. 304.1, on Lawrence: 'Ibi sacrum Christi sanguinem ministravit, ibi pro Christi nomine suum sanguinem fudit'.

Abraham filium obtulit: On Abraham's willingness to offer Isaac, and Isaac's last-minute reprieve, see Gen. 22.1-19.

Petrus Stephanum praemisit: On the stoning of Stephen, the first Christian martyr after the resurrection of Christ, see Acts 7.1 - 8.1 (esp. 7.54ff.). There is no indication whatsoever in the NT that Peter 'sent Stephen before' himself to martyrdom. According to the second-century Latin Acts of Peter 37-39, and Eusebius, H.E. III.1, Peter was crucified upside down at Rome (cf. John. 21.18-19; also Tertullian, Scorp. 15). The likelihood is that he perished in the Neronian persecution, but many

scholars are unsure of the reliability of the crucifixion tradition, and the manner of his death must remain uncertain (Clement of Rome, writing c. A.D. 95/96, does not specify how Peter died: 1 Clem. 5.4).

[On the filial love of Lawrence for Sixtus and Isaac for Abraham stressed in this passage, C. Callewaert, 'Un passo di S. Ambrogio e le letture di una stazione quaresimale,' Ambrosius 15, 1939, 63-64, suggests that A.'s development has some influence on the Roman liturgy for Ash Wednesday, where the fifth commandment is stressed.]

coronam: On the crown received by the faithful Christian, cf. 2 Tim. 4.8; Jas. 1.12; 1 Pet. 5.4; Apoc. 2.10; etc.

206. tyranno: This might refer to the emperor Valerian or the executioner, perhaps the urban prefect. In I.207, A. has this tyrannus present at Lawrence's death; in Prudentius, Perist. II, it is the prefect who speaks the cruel words which A. records there.

Mox venies, flere desiste...: This language is very similar to that used in the descriptions of Prudentius, Perist. II, and Augustine, In ev. Ioh. 27.12 [cf. I.205n.].

post triduum me sequeris: sacerdotem et levitam hic medius numerus decet: The interval of three days is obviously significant in a Christian context (cf. Matt. 12.40; 26.61; 27.40,63; Mk. 8.31; 14.58; 15.29; John 2.19; Acts 9.9; etc. - though the 'third day' of Christ's resurrection is by inclusive reckoning, while here three full days elapse between Sixtus's death on 6 August and Lawrence's martyrdom on 10 August). [On the spiritual significance of numerics to A., see Pizzolato, 279-281.] The three days correspond to the

three senior grades of cleric: bishop (sacerdos), priest/presbyter, and deacon (levita - cf. I.246n.).
consortium passionis meae: Cf. the 'fellowship' of Christ's sufferings in 2 Cor. 1.7; Phil. 3.10; 1 Pet. 4.13.

Sic et Elias Eliseum reliquit: See 4 Kings 2.1-18.
 207. quis...pateretur pro Christi nomine: Cf. Acts 5.41; 9.16; 1 Pet. 4.14.

In fabulis ferunt tragicis excitatos theatri magnos esse plausus cum...: Ferunt is another oblique reference to Cic., but this time not to his Off. but to Amic. 24: (Laelius speaks) 'Qui clamores tota cavea nuper in hospitis et amici mei Marci Pacuvii nova fabula! Cum ignorante rege uter Orestes esset, Pylades Orestem se esse diceret, ut pro illo necaretur, Orestes autem, ita ut erat, Orestem se esse perseveraret [etc.]'; cf. Fin. V.63 (and II.79). The play of Pacuvius [219-129 B.C.] to which Laelius refers, perhaps called Chryses, seems to have related the sequel to the situation portrayed in Euripides's Iphigenia in Tauris. The friendship of Orestes and Pylades was one of the most celebrated in antiquity. In this tradition, Iphigenia was miraculously saved by Artemis from slaughter, and escaped along with Orestes and Pylades, pursued by Thoas, king of the Tauri. Thoas catches up with them at the house of Chryses, son of Agamemnon and Chryseis, but is deceived by them and killed. Laelius's argument is that men approve in others what they could not do themselves: the crowd approved the altruism of both Orestes and Pylades. A. brings in the story to compare the friendship of the classical pair with that of Sixtus and Lawrence. He immediately stresses the superiority of the Christian incident: note the antithesis of Sed illis.... Hic; Lawrence was motivated only by amor devotionis; unlike Orestes and Pylades, who had murdered Clytemnestra, he

had committed no crime [Introduction, II.v].

tyranno: Cf. I.206n.

craticulam: On the grid-iron tradition, cf. I.205n.

'Assum est,' inquit, 'versa et manduca': Again, the phrase belongs to a common tradition [cf. I.205n.].

XLII: PERSECUTION SHOULD NOT BE INCITED, AND FLATTERY SHOULD NOT BE SOUGHT.

208. Cavendum etiam reor ne dum aliqui nimia gloriae ducuntur cupiditate...: Cf. Cic. I.68: 'Cavenda etiam est gloriae cupiditas, ut supra dixi [cf. Cic. I.65; also I.74]'.
in studia persecutionis excitent: A. turns Cic.'s point about the dangers of gloriae cupiditas to the theme of Christian persecution. And while in I.187 he espouses the Cyprianic idea that martyrdom should not be rashly sought [cf. n. ad loc.], here he warns of a further danger [quantos perire faciunt, below]: personal bravado may lead to the deaths of others; you yourself may survive your punishments, while others perish. The powers that be are not to be provoked, when they may be peaceably disposed to the Church in the first place.

iracundiam: Possibly suggested by Cic.'s warning against the display of anger in the administration of public justice in I.89.

209. Prospiciendum etiam ne adulantibus aperiamus aurem...: Cf. Cic. I.91: 'Isdemque temporibus cavendum est ne assentatoribus patefaciamus aures neve adulari nos sinamus, in quo falli facile est. Tales enim nos esse putamus, ut iure laudemur....'

The switch from gloriae cupiditas and persecution in I.208 to flattery here in I.209 is very strange. Clearly A. evokes various strands of Cic.'s fortitude

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section from memory, without reproducing Cic.'s order of topics. Cic.'s mention of flattery is part of his teaching on humility in prosperity (I.90-91). Possibly A. thinks first of provoking the anger of the powers that be (I.208), and then (here) of another error: seeking their praise.

On not seeking flattery, cf. I.88,226; on not being deflected by it, cf. II.66; on not proffering it, cf. I.226; II.96,114ff.; III.134. There are numerous scriptural warnings against the flatterer: cf., e.g., Prov. 2.16;6.24;7.5,21;26.28;28.23;29.5.

XLIII: TEMPERANCE - ORDER OF LIFE AND THE OBSERVANCE OF WHAT IS SEEMLY ACCORDING TO CIRCUMSTANCES

210. restat ut de quarta virtute dicamus quae temperantia ac modestia vocatur...: A.'s introduction to the fourth virtue is reminiscent of Cic.'s: cf. Cic. I.93: 'Sequitur ut de una reliqua parte honestatis dicendum sit, in qua verecundia et quasi quidam ornatus vitae, temperantia et modestia omnisque sedatio perturbationum animi et rerum modus cernitur'. Cic. discusses temperance in I.93-151; A. broadly follows Cic. in I.210-230, but from I.231 onwards his adherence to the Ciceronian layout is weak, and most of the inspiration is biblical (except for some sporadic reminiscences, such as I.252 and 258, where A. evokes Cic.'s comparison of the virtues in Cic. I.152-161, and the allusions to deposits in I.254 - passages which may have been inserted into an earlier sermonic sequence). A. has treated some of the Ciceronian themes already in Book I, especially in his discussion of verecundia (I.65-89), and also in the section on the motus animi and the decorum (I.97-114). The joining of oral pieces may well explain A.'s

diffuse arrangement [cf. esp. I.65n.].

tranquillitas animi: Cic. presents this as part of fortitude (I.69,72), but A. associates it with temperance; cf. I.185n.

studium mansuetudinis: Probably a Christian addition to the Ciceronian division.

honesti cura, decoris consideratio: Cf. Cic. I.93-94.

211. Ordo igitur quidam vitae nobis tenendus est:

Testard I, 270n.2, points out the continuity of thought between I.210-211 and I.219, and suggests that I.219 may have followed I.211 in an earlier version of the text. His argument is that I.209-210 is based on Cic. I.91 and 93, and I.219ff. continues on the theme of Cic. I.93-94,95, and 97, whereas I.212-218 echoes other Ciceronian passages, not any in Cic.'s section I.93ff. The argument that A. evokes different sections of Cic.'s text is not in itself particularly weighty, since he frequently exploits Cic. in a piecemeal fashion. What is strange is the sequence of thought in A.'s text as it stands: I.212 does not continue the subject of I.211, but I.219 does (especially with igitur at the start of I.219); I.212-218 does not seem to fit into the argument of I.210-211, 219-224 at all. It is possible, then, that I.212-218 belongs to a different oral strand from the sections which surround it, though clearly it is Ciceronian in theme; it is perhaps more closely related to the subject-matter of the section around I.79-82, or I.85-89. As ever, the reasons why the text is as it is remain obscure.

ut a verecundia prima quaedam fundamenta ducantur: On the primacy of verecundia, cf. I.67.

placiditati: A very rare, but classical, word.

proterviae: Post-classical and rare.

sobrietatem: The word does not appear before post-Augustan authors, who typically use it to mean

'temperance' [e.g., Seneca, Tranq. 16]; Apuleius personifies it as an enemy of Venus (Met. V.30). It appears in the NT (Acts 26.25; 1 Tim. 2.9; 3.15), as does the adjective 'sobrius'; the biblical use is obviously the dominant influence on authors like A.

212. ut adiungamur probatissimis quibusque senioribus: Cf. Cic. I.122: 'Est igitur adulescentis maiores natu vereri exque iis deligere optimos et probatissimos, quorum consilio atque auctoritate nitatur; ineuntis enim aetatis inscitia senum constituenda et regenda prudentia est' (cf. also Cic. II.46). A. has already mentioned the value of older company in I.87, and he returns to the subject in II.97-101.

colorat mores adulescentium et velut murice probitatis inficit: It is interesting that Seneca uses the image of wool-dyeing to illustrate the way in which virtue as the sole good must, like dye into wool, be soaked in many times; those who have only been slightly tinged cannot be expected to be as wise as those who have been well steeped (Ep. 71.31). A. has the same notion in mind: the orderliness of life and the probity of older men soak into the character of the young by familiarity.

213. Quaerendum etiam in omni actu quid personis, temporibus conveniat atque aetatibus: Cf. Cic. I.125: 'Ita fere officia reperientur, cum quaeretur quid deceat et quid aptum sit personis, temporibus, aetatibus'; cf. also A. I.174n.

quid etiam singulorum ingeniis sit accommodum...: Cf. Cic. I.107-114, esp. 110, 114, and 113 ('id enim maxime quemque decet, quod est cuiusque maxime <suum>'): Cic. follows Panaetian realism, that each person must know his own character and do what is suited to it. The Middle Stoa expands the concept of living according to nature, to take account of individual character, assessing one's gifts, faults,

background, and potential. A. adopts the same attitude (cf. I.187; I.215-218; II.134).

Aliud iuveni aptum, aliud seni: Cf. Cic. I.122: 'Et quoniam officia non eadem disparibus aetatibus tribuuntur aliaque sunt iuvenum, alia seniorum, aliquid etiam de hac distinctione dicendum est' (and Cic. I.122-123).

214. A. proceeds to illustrate the Ciceronian argument with OT cases:

Saltavit ante arcam Domini David...: See 2 Kings 6.12-23 (cf. 1 Paral. 15.25 - 16.3).

Mutavit vultum contra regem cui nomen Achis...: David feigned insanity before king Achish of Gath in order to escape detection as he fled from Saul (1 Kings 21.10-15).

Saul quoque vallatus choro prophetarum...: See 1 Kings 19.18-24.

XLIV: ONE SHOULD DO THAT TO WHICH ONE IS SUITED;
EXAMPLES OF THIS IN THE CHURCH.

215. Unusquisque igitur suum ingenium noverit...
Noverit bona sua sed etiam vitia cognoscat...: Cf. Cic. I.114: 'Suum quisque igitur noscat ingenium acremque se et bonorum et vitiorum suorum iudicem praebeat...' (cf. also Cic. I.110).

216. Alius distinguendae lectioni aptior...: Applying the Middle-Stoic argument of Cic. to his ecclesiastical context, A. mentions a variety of Church duties: reader, psalm-leader, exorcist, deacon. The reader and psalm-leader (perhaps in practice sometimes the same person, though A. here envisages an individual for each task) perform their tasks in the Church services [see Helmut Leeb, Die Psalmodie bei Ambrosius (Vienna, 1967), esp. 41-52]; the exorcist

exorcises catechumens preparing for baptism and ministers to those deemed to be suffering from demon possession [so Dudden I, 130]; and the deacon, among other responsibilities, tends the sanctuary/sacristy (cf. I.256 [and see Gryson, Prêtre, 143n.49]). It is very unlikely that roles such as that of reader, psalm-leader, and exorcist were as formally defined and systematised as the hierarchy of deacons, presbyters, and bishops [so Gryson, Prêtre, 144-145, pace Dudden I, 129-131; and, to a lesser extent, Monachino, 20-44].

Haec omnia spectet sacerdos...: The bishop must allocate functions according to the abilities of his clerics; cf. II.134.

217. tum in nostro actu difficillimum est: Perhaps intended as a slight contrast with Cic.: Cic. explains the general difficulties of determining the right career (Cic. I.115-121); the calling of the Church is so demanding that these problems are all the more acute.

Amat enim unusquisque sequi vitam parentum. Denique plerique ad militiam feruntur...: Cf. Cic. I.116: 'Quorum vero patres aut maiores aliqua gloria praestiterunt, ii student plerumque eodem in genere laudis excellere, ut...in re militari' [Cic. goes on to illustrate this with examples of sons who emulated their father's military distinction]; 118: 'plerumque autem parentum praeceptis imbuti ad eorum consuetudinem moremque deducimur' (and cf. Cic. I.121).

218. In ecclesiastico vero officio nihil rarius invenias...: A. takes Cic.'s point and applies it to the Church, again (cf. I.217) stressing the particularly hard nature of this calling, where, unlike in secular fields, sons hardly ever wish to follow in their fathers' footsteps. [Militamus, below,

implies that A. wishes to contrast the military service of which Cic. speaks with the militia fidei; cf. I.185-186.]

The reference here must be to sons of clerics who were admitted to holy orders as married men. A. demands celibacy of his priests and deacons (I.248-249, and nn. ad loc.), and claims that this necessity proves a deterrent to young men from pursuing the same calling. One is reminded of Cic.'s description of young men being deterred from a legal career by the hard work and self-denial involved, set, as they are, on the slippery paths of pleasure (Cael. 41ff.).

Illi autem praesentibus, nos futuris militamus: Cf. I.28.

XLV: THE SEEMLY AND THE HONOURABLE

219. Teneamus igitur verecundiam et eam quae totius vitae ornatum adtollit, modestiam: Cf. I.210n. on Cic. I.93. On the sequence of thought in this paragraph from I.211, cf. I.211n.

illud quod decorum dicitur quod ita cum honesto iungitur ut separari non queat. Siquidem et quod decet honestum est, et quod honestum est decet, ut magis in sermone distinctio sit quam in virtute discretio: Cf. Cic. I.93-94: 'Hoc loco continetur id, quod dici Latine decorum potest, Graece enim πρέπον dicitur [decorum]. Huius vis ea est, ut ab honesto non queat separari; nam et quod decet honestum est et quod honestum est decet.' Also Cic. I.95: 'Est enim quiddam, idque intellegitur in omni virtute, quod deceat; quod cogitatione magis a virtute potest quam re separari'.

Differre enim ea inter se intellegi potest, explicari non potest: Cf. Cic. I.94: 'Qualis autem differentia

sit honesti et decori, facilius intellegi quam explanari potest'.

220. ut conemur aliquid eruere distinctionis, honestas velut bona valetudo..., decus autem tamquam venustas et pulchritudo: Cf. Cic. I.95: 'Ut venustas et pulchritudo corporis secerni non potest a valetudine, sic hoc, de quo loquimur, decorum totum illud quidem est cum virtute confusum, sed mente et cogitatione distinguitur'. While Cic. gives the simile and then passes on, A. sees fit to explain it, below.

tamen in radice est honestatis sed flore praecipuo...: A. adds a further illustration of his own to the Ciceronian image. The decorum is the flower; the honestas the root. Just as, in the Ciceronian image, the decorum of physical venustas et pulchritudo cannot exist without the honestas of bona valetudo et salubritas, so here, the flower needs a healthy root in order to flourish. [For such language in A., see M.T Springer, Nature-Imagery in the Works of St. Ambrose (CUAPS 29, Washington, 1931), esp. 71-84, though the author pays inadequate attention to the biblical inspiration of many of the Ambrosian images which she records.]

Quid est enim honestas nisi quae turpitudinem quasi mortem fugiat?: The root is defined in negative terms, as the fleeing of turpitudino, what is base (morally and physically ugly). [Honestum and turpe are opposites; see Sauer, 16-21.]

quia radix salva est: On the quality of the flower depending on the nature of the root, cf. Matt. 7.16-20; 12.33; Lk. 6.44; Jas. 3.12, where the type of a tree is said to be determined by the fruit it produces.

221. Habes hoc in nostris aliquanto expressius: 'Our' Scriptures make the distinction clearer than the Ciceronian illustration does.

'Dominus regnavit, decorem induit': Ps. 92.1. The verse clearly uses decor/decus to mean 'splendour', but A. harks back to the etymology [decor/decus/decet sharing the root meaning of 'seemly, fitting', from the Greek πρέπον / πρέπει]. Perhaps in translation we should gloss the quotation as 'fitting splendour'.

'Sicut in die honeste ambulate': Rom. 13.13.

hoc autem proprie significat, bono habitu, bona specie: This is not the expected interpretation of the verse, in view of the explanation of I.220, where the honestas is the inner health of a body or the root of a plant, while the decorum is the outward beauty of the body or the flower. Here, we should expect the seemly to be the outer garment which the Lord put on (Ps. 92.1), and the honourable to be the inner soundness of character which is seen in those who walk well. Instead, A. reverses the inner/outer distinction.

primum hominem: An allusion to the Pauline teaching about the first and second Man, the first and last Adam (Rom. 5.12-21; 1 Cor. 15.45-49).

bona membrorum compositione: Cf. Cic. I.98: 'Ut enim pulchritudo corporis apta compositione membrorum movet oculos et delectat hoc ipso, quod inter se omnes partes cum quodam lepore consentiunt...'.
formavit: This verb is used in the Gen. 2 creation narrative: Gen. 2.7.

remissionem...peccatorum: Cf. Matt. 26.28; Mk. 1.4; Lk. 1.77;3.3;24.47; Acts 2.38;10.43; etc.

renovavit eum Spiritu et infudit ei gratiam: Perhaps a reference to the baptism of Christ, when the Holy Spirit descended upon Him (Matt. 3.16; Mk. 1.10; Lk. 3.22; John 1.32). (If spiritu should have a lower case 's', though, A. may be alluding to Eph. 4.23-24: 'renovamini autem spiritu mentis vestrae, et induite novum hominem, qui secundum Deum creatus est in

iustitia et sanctitate veritatis'. But I suspect the first interpretation is more plausible.) Pace Testard I, 272n.8, I do not see here an allusion to the resurrection of Christ.

qui venerat in servi forma et in hominis specie: Cf. Phil. 2.7.

The structure of the sentence is not very clear. In the first limb, up to peccatorum, the subject is clearly Deus, and ei refers to primum hominem. After sed posteaquam, it is natural to assume that Deus is still the subject, not qui venerat, and eum and ei refer to qui venerat, Christ. So the translation probably should be: 'but after He renewed by His Spirit [or 'in spirit'?] and poured grace on Him who had come in the form of a servant and in the appearance of a man, He assumed the fitting splendour of human redemption'. The sense seems to be that the first man possesses honestas according to God's design, while the second Man, who is the incarnate Christ, possesses decor/decus/decorum, as God-made-flesh for the salvation of the first; only with the provision of redemption does decorum fully appear in man.

'Te decet hymnus, Deus, in Sion': Ps. 64.2 [cf. I.30n.].

hoc est dicere: Honestum est ut...: The distinction between decorum and honestum has now disappeared: decet in Ps. 64.2 is the honestum. A. is so concerned to find the decorum and the honestum in the Scriptures at all that he seems to forget his search for a difference in the terms. [On this desire for scriptural authentication of classical terminology, see Introduction, II.iv (i).]

honorificemus: The verb is found only in Christian Latin.

'Omnia vestra honeste fiant': 1 Cor. 14.40.

hoc tamquam excellentius ceteris credere est decorum:

The fourth virtue, like the other three, is bound up with the believer's relationship with God.

Mulierum quoque in habitu ornatu orare convenit: Cf. 1 Tim. 2.9-10.

eam decet orare velatam: Cf. 1 Cor. 11.4ff., esp. vv. 5-6.

promittentem castitatem cum bona conversatione: A mélange of 1 Tim. 2.10 and 1 Pet. 3.2,16 (and cf. Jas. 3.13).

XLVI: THE SEEMLY IS BOTH GENERAL AND PARTICULAR

222. decorum...cuius divisio gemina est. Nam est decorum quasi generale...; est etiam speciale...: Cf. Cic. I.96: 'Est autem eius descriptio duplex; nam et generale quoddam decorum intellegimus, quod in omni honestate versatur, et aliud huic subiectum, quod pertinet ad singulas partes honestatis'. But Cic. is distinguishing the seemliness of the honourable as a whole (all four virtues) with the seemliness of the fourth virtue in particular, whereas A. takes general decorum to be seen in general behaviour and particular decorum as that which is observed in an individual action [so Steidle 1984, 47]; he confuses this Ciceronian sentiment with another one [next n.], on consistency of life and behaviour in the individual person.

ac si aequabilem formam atque universitatem honestatis in omni actu suo habeat concinentem...: Cf. Cic. I.111: 'Omnino si quicquam est decorum, nihil est profecto magis quam aequabilitas universae vitae, tum singularum actionum...' [cf. A. I.225].

223. quod et decorum est secundum naturam vivere...: This classically Stoic view is probably suggested by

Cic.'s mention of nature in I.96 (just after the words which A. echoes in I.222 above), 98, and esp. 100: 'Officium autem, quod ab eo [i.e., decorum] ducitur, hanc primum habet viam, quae deducit ad convenientiam conservationemque naturae; quam si sequemur ducem, numquam aberrabimus...'. But A. goes on to cite a scriptural appeal to nature's authority, and to add a Christian nuance to the concept of nature [see n. below].

'Decet mulierem non velatam orare Deum? Nec ipsa natura docet vos...?': 1 Cor. 11.13-14.

'Mulier vero si capillos habeat...': 1 Cor. 11.15.
utinamque et innocentiam custodire possemus...!: Nature is seen as the state of innocence in which man is found before he is corrupted by sin. Each person is born innocent, but original sin so corrupts that this innocence cannot be maintained. [See Maes, 113-120.]

224. quia fecit Deus mundi istius pulchritudinem...: [Cic. has 'pulchritudo' in I.98.] Again (cf. I.222), it is clear that A. misapplies Cic.'s distinction of general and particular decorum: here, one is creation of the world generally, the other is the creation of certain features of the world. This is far removed from the Ciceronian point, but it illustrates the extent to which the biblical theology of creation and the Fall (cf. I.221,223) impinges on A.'s interpretation of the Stoic ethical principles.

cum faceret Deus lucem...: See Gen. 1.1-31.

'Ego eram cui applaudebat...': Prov. 8.30-31 (VL).

et in fabrica humani corporis...: Cf. I.221n. on Cic. I.98.

XLVII: CONSISTENCY OF LIFE GENERALLY; SPEECH; ATTITUDES TO OTHERS' OPINIONS OF ONE; RESTRAINT OF APPETITES.

225. Si quis igitur aequabilitatem universae vitae et singularum actionum modos servet...: Cf. Cic. I.111: 'Omnino si quicquam est decorum, nihil est profecto magis quam aequabilitas universae vitae, tum singularum actionum, quam conservare non possis si...'.

ordinem quoque et constantiam dictorum atque operum moderationem custodiat...: Cf. Cic. I.98: '...sic hoc decorum, quod elucet in vita, movet approbationem eorum, quibuscum vivitur, ordine et constantia et moderatione dictorum omnium atque factorum'.

226. tamen: The sense of the word is not immediately obvious here; it probably signals the return to the theme of temperance proper, after the section on decorum (I.219-225).

suavis sermo: Cf. I.99-104; A. repeats a theme which he has already raised in his first section on modesty. Neque adulantem se neque adulandum cuiquam exhibeat: Cf. I.209n.

227. Non despiciat quid de se unusquisque et maxime vir optimus sentiat...: Cf. Cic. I.99: 'Adhibenda est igitur quaedam reverentia adversus homines et optimi cuiusque et reliquorum. Nam neglegere quid de se quisque sentiat, non solum arrogantis est, sed etiam omnino dissoluti'. A. agrees with Cic.'s concern for one's standing in the eyes of the vir optimus, though both of them use the term in the moral, not the political, sense here [so, on Cic., Holden, 222]. On the importance of having a sound reputation, cf. I.247; II.29ff., 122.

neglegentiae: Cic. uses the word in I.101 (also 'neglegere' in Cic. I.99; 'neglegenter' in Cic.

I.103).

228. Sunt enim motus in quibus est appetitus ille.... vis gemina est, una in appetitu, altera in ratione posita...: Cf. Cic. I.100: 'Sed maxima vis decori in hac inest parte, de qua disputamus; neque enim solum corporis, quid ad naturam apti sunt, sed multo etiam magis animi motus probandi, qui item ad naturam accommodati sunt'; 101: 'Duplex est enim vis animorum atque natura: una pars in appetitu posita est, quae est *δρμή* Graece, quae hominem huc et illuc rapit, altera in ratione, quae docet et explanat, quid faciendum fugiendumque sit. [Ita fit, ut ratio praesit, appetitus obtemperet' (cf., too, Cic. I.132). A. has already evoked this Middle-Stoic psychology in I.98; cf. n. ad loc..

domitrici: A very rare, though classical, word. Pace Testard I, 272n.5, the inspiration for the horse-taming image [originally Platonist: cf. I.98n.] is not Cic. I.90 but the very next paragraph to that which A. echoes above, Cic. I.102: 'Efficiendum autem est, ut appetitus rationi oboediant eamque neque praecurrant nec propter pigritiam aut ignaviam deserant...' (etc.); Cic. is plainly alluding to the image of horses running ahead or lagging behind (cf., too, Cic. I.103); A. exploits this language closely in I.229.

229. Solliciti enim debemus esse ne quid temere aut incuriose geramus: Cf. Cic. I.101: 'Omnis autem actio vacare debet temeritate et neglegentia...'; 103: '...ut ne quid temere ac fortuito, inconsiderate neglegenterque agamus'.

aut quidquam omnino cuius probabilem non possimus rationem reddere: Cf. Cic. I.101: '...nec vero agere [sc. debet] quicquam, cuius non possit causam probabilem reddere; haec est enim fere descriptio officii'; also Cic. I.8: the 'medium officium' is that for which a 'ratio probabilis' can be given (and cf.

Cic., Fin. III.58). Cic.'s use of 'probabilis' points to the Academic doctrine of 'the probable'. Under Carneades (214-129 B.C.), the New Academy espoused the belief that epistemological certainty is unattainable; as there are no logical criteria to determine what is true and what is not, judgement must be suspended. A later Academic, Philo of Larissa (fl. end of second century B.C.), developed the idea more practically: since life involves action, and action involves judgements, behaviour must be based on the judgement of what is probably right. The idea appealed strongly to Cic., and is of fundamental importance to his philosophy; Augustine's reading of Cic.'s scepticism contributed to his disillusionment with Manichaeism (though his Contra Academicos argues that such scepticism is no longer necessary in the light of Christ's revelation of the truth). It is a matter of conjecture as to whether or not A. uses probabilem with an awareness of its technical force. His knowledge of Cic.'s philosophical oeuvre generally makes it likely that he does know of the word's philosophical sense, but it is less plausible that he intends to convey this sense here; he simply echoes the Ciceronian phrase without thinking of a deeper meaning. He is schooled in the NT's teaching that the believer must be ready to give account not only to God at the last day but also to men in this life (cf., e.g., 1 Pet. 3.15; Col. 4.6).

Actus enim nostri causa etsi non omnibus redditur, tamen ab omnibus examinatur...: We are watched, whether we like it or not; we must, then, be able to give a good account of our behaviour.

tamen idem appetitus rationi subiectus est lege naturae ipsius et oboedit ei: Cf. Cic. I.102: 'nec [sc. appetitus] rationi parent, cui sunt subiecti lege naturae'. [On the submission of appetite to reason by

nature's law, see Maes, 33-37.]

Unde boni speculatoris est ita praetendere animo ut appetitus neque praecurrat rationem neque deserat...:

Cf. Cic. I.102: 'Efficiendum autem est, ut appetitus rationi oboediant eamque neque praecurrant nec propter pigritiam aut ignaviam deserant sintque tranquilli atque omni animi perturbatione careant; ex quo elucebit omnis constantia omnisque moderatio. Nam qui appetitus longius evagantur et tamquam exultantes sive cupiendo sive fugiendo non satis a ratione retinentur, ii sine dubio finem et modum transeunt.' A. mixes the horse-taming metaphor of Cic. with the image of a watchman who diligently looks out to anticipate trouble.

destitutio: A rare, but classical, word.

Unde plerumque non solum animus exagitatur, amittitur ratio sed etiam inflammatur vultus...: Cf. Cic.

I.102: '...a quibus [sc. appetitibus] non modo animi perturbantur, sed etiam corpora. Licet ora ipsa cernere iratorum aut eorum, qui aut libidine aliqua aut metu commoti sunt aut voluptate nimia gestiunt; quorum omnium vultus, voces, motus statusque mutantur.' On physiognomy, cf. I.71n.

230. Haec cum fiunt, abicitur illa naturalis quaedam censura gravitasque morum: Cf. Cic. I.103: '...ita generati a natura sumus, ut...ad severitatem...et ad quaedam studia graviora atque maiora [sc. facti esse videamur]'

nec teneri potest illa quae in rebus gerendis atque consiliis sola...: Cf. Cic. I.125: 'Nihil est autem quod tam deceat, quam in omni re gerenda consilioque capiendo servare constantiam'

231. I.231-238 returns to the theme of anger, already discussed in I.13-22 and I.90-97. The subject is clearly suggested here by the mention of the perturbatio of iracundia in I.229, inspired by Cic.,

and probably by Cic.'s discussion of anger in connection with decorum in speech in I.136-137; but the treatment which follows is essentially scriptural [though cf. I.233n.]. Here (I.231-245), A. resumes the exposition of Ps. 38 which he gives in I.5-22; having commented in I.5-22 on Ps. 38.2-3, in I.231-245 he comments on Ps. 38.5-7. Both I.5-22 and I.231-245 are similar to the later exegesis of Expl. Ps. 38.1-27. The likelihood is that A. uses notes of a early treatment of Ps. 38 in I.5-22 and I.231-245, and later works these up into the sermonic treatment of Expl. Ps. 38 [cf. n. on I.1-22]. On the theme of anger, Stoic and Christian, cf. I.90n. [Steidle 1984, 23, 49, argues that a different nuance is given in I.13-22 and I.231-238 from that in I.90-97: I.90-97 is about self-control and restraint of passion, while the other sections are about provocation, and I.231-238 adds to the silence theme of I.13-22 the idea of spiritual perfection. The perfection idea is certainly unique to I.231-238, but patience appears in all three passages (I.14,91-92,238), as does restraint of speech/silence (I.13-22,92,234). There are, it is true, some differences of emphasis in the three sections, but Steidle does not successfully demonstrate that they must all be part of a careful, one-stage composition of the Book, and that I.13-22 and I.231-238 cannot belong to one sermonic strand and I.90-97 to another.]

quam acceptae plerumque accendit iniuriae dolor: Revenge of personal injury is forbidden (I.131); we must turn the other cheek, and not allow indignatio to fester within us (cf. I.17-22). Cic. also urges that 'gravitas' be maintained by repressing anger, even when bitter enemies treat us outrageously (Cic. I.137).

De quo satis nos psalmi quem in praefatione posuimus,

praecepta instruunt: Cf. the citation of Ps. 38.2-3 in I.5-22.

pulchre autem et hoc accidit ut scripturi de officiis, ea praefationis nostrae assertionem uteremur...: Cf. I.23, on the inspiration of the theme of duties by Ps. 38. On scripturi, see Introduction, III.

232. supra: In the preface (I.1-22).

ut oportebat, perstrinximus..., verentes ne praefatio prolixior fieret: According to convention, the author did not wish his preface to be overly long, so he merely 'touched upon' the subject of response to injury (cf. esp. I.17-22).

nunc de eo uberius disputandum arbitror: Testard, 'Étude', 171n.32, points out that I.231-238 (or indeed I.233-238) is in fact shorter than I.13-22. Steidle 1984, 64n.161, attempts to defend A. by claiming that uberius does not necessarily suggest a longer treatment here; but it is surely natural to take 'more fully' to include the idea of 'at greater length'. It is possible to defend uberius by instead taking the reference to be to I.17-22, not I.13-22: I.17-22 is specifically on response to the provocation of a sinner's iniuria (while I.13-16 is on restraint of speech and the devil's attacks, and does not mention iniuria), and is shorter than I.231 (or 233)-238.

On the sequence of composition of the work, and the use of sermonic material on Ps. 38, cf. I.1-22n.

XLVIII: THREE RESPONSES TO INJURY; EARTHLY AND HEAVENLY PERFECTION.

233. Tria itaque genera esse hominum iniuriam accipientium in Scripturis divinis demonstrare volumus si possumus: This task occupies I.233-238. The three types are: the infirmus, who repays injury with injury

(I.233); the man who has progressed somewhat, who keeps quiet when insulted (I.234); and the perfect man, who blesses the one who curses him (I.235-238). A. does not, in fact, cite a scriptural example of the first type [as Testard, 'Conscientia', 233-234; 'Étude', 171n.33, notes], but simply calls him infirmus (a NT term: cf. I.42n.), and quotes the OT 'eye-for-an-eye' law. Nor is there a scriptural example of the second type. In the third category, there is something of an inconsistency with the import of I.21-22: on the basis of I.21-22, David's silence when abused by Shimei ought to place him in the second, not the third, category; but A. tries to make David the spiritual equal of Paul (the third type) in I.237-238, because David believed that God had told Shimei to curse him, and because he later forgave his enemy [but cf. I.237n.]. There are, then, flaws of logic in this section, as A. attempts to fit an artificial scheme to Scripture.

The concept of moral-spiritual progress (*προκοπή*) is upheld by Middle Stoicism (e.g., Cic. III.17 [and Th. Schmidt, Ambrosius, sein Werk De Officiis Libri III und die Stoa (Augsburg, 1897), 37; Sauer, 88-90]) and by the Middle- and Neo-Platonist traditions. Philo believes in three grades of moral development: though the constant study of the perfect man is *ἀπάθεια*, this is unattainable by most, who progress only so far as to achieve *μετριοπάθεια* (e.g., Leg. alleg. III); the Platonist doctrine of *ὁμολοίαι θεῶ* is associated with man's creation in the image of God, and likeness to God depends on the practice of the virtues. Plotinus in particular develops a three-stage process of purification as the soul returns to the One (Enn. I.2.1ff.), ascending from *μετριοπάθεια* via *ἀπάθεια* to imitation of the Divine Mind. [Elements of this

Platonist idea strongly influence Greek Christianity, especially Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Gregory of Nyssa; see Hubert Merki, Ὁμοίωσις Θεῷ von der platonischen Angleichung an Gott zur Gottähnlichkeit bei Gregor von Nyssa (Fribourg, 1952), passim. From there, it reaches A., colouring his exegesis of the Beatitudes (cf. op. cit. in I.59n.) and his presentation of the soul's purification in Isaac; from Philo comes inspiration in Fuga.] A. speaks of a 'virtutis profectus' (II.113), and says, 'non a primo homines possunt esse perfecti, sed per processum virtutis ascendunt' (Expos. Ps. 118.16.19). Note, too, Expl. Ps. 38.10: 'Vide quemadmodum paulatim per gradus singulos ascendere docetur ad incrementa virtutum...'. In the present passage, he takes over a model which has a significant legacy in later Stoicism and Platonism, and seeks to apply it to a Christian context.

Unum est eorum quibus peccator insultat...: Cf. I.17-20.

inequitat: 'Rides roughshod over'; a late word for 'insults'.

de eo ordine, de meo numero: This might refer either to A.'s episcopal order [so Testard I, 273n.1] or to his social class. Gryson, Prêtre, 122-123, leaves the matter open. However, as Gryson himself (Prêtre 122n.73) says, the phrase 'homo ordinis mei' is used by Christian authors to refer to an ecclesiastic of similar rank, and ordo in III.58 refers to the clergy, so the first interpretation is more likely. Though A. elsewhere expresses a very high esteem for the episcopal office [see Dudden II, 497], he here admits the weaknesses found in those of episcopal rank. In I.235, he calls himself infirmus.

infirmus...infirmus: In the biblical sense; cf. I.42n.

contentus conscientia mea: Cf. I.6,9,18,21, on the witness of a good conscience when one is wronged. Testard, 'Conscientia', 233-234, points out that the conscience theme is not systematically applied in the present section: the first man is not content with his good conscience, so we should expect that the second is, though no mention is made of this in I.234; yet conscience reappears with relation to David, in the third category, in I.236.

'oculum pro oculo et dentem pro dente': Ex. 21.24; Lev. 24.20; Deut. 19.21. A. is hinting at the superiority of NT forgiveness over OT justice (cf. Matt. 5.38ff.). Retaliation is for the infirmus, who has not reached the standard set by Christ (cf. I.235).

234. ego taceas et nihil respondeo: Cf. I.17-22. David did this when cursed by Shimei (I.21), but A. puts him in the third category (I.236-238) rather than the second (though in I.236 David is primo in the second and deinde, beyond this, in the third).

235. 'Maledicimur et benedicimus': 1 Cor. 4.12.

Audierat enim dicentem: 'Diligite inimicos vestros...': Paul knew Jesus's words: Matt. 5.44 (and Lk. 6.27-28,35; cf., too, Rom. 12.14). As in I.233, A. is implying the advance of the NT ethic over OT retaliation; the mature ('perfect') Christian blesses his enemy, rather than paying him back in kind or even ignoring him.

sustinebat...propositae mercedis gratia: Perhaps an allusion to Heb. 12.2: (of Christ Himself) 'qui pro proposito sibi gaudio sustinuit crucem'. For the reward promised to the obedient, cf. Matt. 5.12,43-48; Lk. 6.23,35.

ut filius Dei fieret si dilexisset inimicum: Cf.

Matt. 5.45; Lk. 6.35.

236. Tamen et sanctum David in hoc quoque genere virtutis imparem Paulo non fuisse edocere possumus:

Here, instead of contrasting OT and NT morality, A. wishes to show that David was no less spiritual than Paul (cf. I.238; Expl. Ps. 38.10-14).

Qui primo quidem cum malediceret ei filius Semei...:

Cf. I.21n.; A. repeats his error about filii Semei.

silebat a bonis suis: Cf. Ps. 38.3.

quia maledicto illo divinam acquirebat misericordiam:

See 2 Kings 16.12. The theme of divine reward is not mentioned in I.21 [so Steidle 1984, 51], but is brought in because of the comparison with Paul, who in I.235 receives reward from God in accordance with Jesus's promise.

237. 'Ideo maledicit mihi quia Dominus dixit illi ut maledicat': 2 Kings 16.10.

humilitatem...quasi servulus: David was as humble as a servant before the will of his divine Master; he showed the spirit of Christ (cf., e.g., Phil. 2.7).

'Ecce filius meus qui exivit de ventre meo...': 2

Kings 16.11. David refers to his son Absalom, from whom he is fleeing. He reasons that, if his son seeks his life, why should he be surprised if this Benjamite thus curses and abuses him?

Habes iustitiam...: David displayed justice: he did not attack his own son, but fled from him, and he treated Shimei with the same justice, ignoring rather than punishing him.

'Dimitte illum ut maledicat...': 2 Kings 16.11-12.

This showed prudence: David sought his reward from the Lord (A. again closely associates prudence with trust in God).

lapidantem et sequentem illaesum reliquit: See 2 Kings 16.6,13.

post victoriam petenti veniam libenter ignovit: After

Absalom's defeat and death, when David returned to Jerusalem, he granted pardon (again, contrary to Abishai's advice) to the penitent Shimei (2 Kings 19.18-23). A. neglects to mention the sequel, however: on his deathbed, David charged Solomon to deal with Shimei (3 Kings 2.8-9), and Shimei was ultimately executed by Solomon for failing to keep his promise not to leave Jerusalem (3 Kings 2.36-46). David's pardon of his enemy was therefore a personal and temporary thing; it did not stop him ordering the death of Shimei at the hands of his son.

238. evangelico spiritu: I.e., David did the Christlike thing: he blessed his enemy. (On David as one who shows the evangelicus spiritus, cf. Expl. Ps. 38.37, and 2,7ff.)

gratum...et delectatum: An exaggeration as far as the text of 2 Kings goes.

quasi bonus miles: 2 Tim. 2.3 [and cf. I.185ff.].

quasi athleta fortis: Cf. I.183n.

A. is returning to themes which he dealt with under the third virtue (I.182ff.). The Stoics traditionally treated patience as part of fortitude [see Sauer, 150-154; Gauthier, op. cit. in I.180n., 137-141], and the synthesis of Stoic endurance with Christian self-denial and eschatological hope is found similarly in Tertullian's De patientia [CSEL 47], esp. 8ff., used by Cyprian in his De bono patientiae [CSEL 3.1], esp. 5ff. (though Cyprian lays more stress than Tertullian on patience as the emulation of Christ; cf. A. in I.9,20; Expl. Ps. 38.1-2,7) [and see Gauthier, 251ff.]. The treatment of patience here is thoroughly biblical, but it would fit more naturally in the discussion of fortitude than in that of temperance; it is, of course, placed at this point because A. is re-using an earlier treatment of Ps. 38 [cf. I.231n.], rather than following Ciceronian influence.

'Notum mihi fac, Domine, finem meum...': Ps. 38.5.

quando 'unusquisque' surgit 'in suo ordine...': 1 Cor. 15.23-24.

Hic enim impedimentum, hic infirmitas etiam perfectorum, illa plena perfectio: Full perfection is reserved for heaven (cf. III.11).

quae terra sit repromissionis: The 'terra repromissionis' of Canaan (Heb. 11.9) was traditionally taken to be a type of the promised land of heaven, or the 'terra nova' (Apoc. 21.1).

perpetuos fructus ferens: The tree of life in the new paradise perpetually bears twelvefold fruits (Apoc. 22.2).

quae prima apud patrem mansio, quae secunda et tertia...: An allusion to Christ's words in John 14.2: 'In domo Patris mei mansiones multae sunt'. A. conjectures that there is a 'processus mansionum' (Expos. Luc. V.61), according to the merits of each saint (Expl. Ps. 38.17; Expl. Ps. 47.23), and, in the present context, according to the degree of perfection which has been attained. The infirmus has one mansio; the progressing, another; and the perfect, another (presumably nearest to God Himself). A. probably synthesises the biblical eschatological tradition with the Neoplatonist idea of the three stages of the soul's journey to God (cf. I.233n.) [see B.E. Daley, The Hope of the Early Church: A Handbook of Patristic Eschatology (Cambridge, 1991), 99-100; and generally, J.E. Niederhuber, Die Eschatologie des heiligen Ambrosius (Paderborn, 1907), 64-99.]

239. The triadic scheme of moral progress and heavenly reward is developed in this paragraph into a triadic arrangement of salvation-history generally, with specific reference to the sacrifice of Christ. The mention of imago in turn leads to a development on the two images, that of Christ and that of Satan,

extending from I.240 to I.245. In all of this, the theme of temperance has no place.

Hic umbra, hic imago, illic veritas: umbra in Lege, imago in Evangelio, veritas in caelestibus: This language is suggested by the epistle to the Hebrews: cf. Heb. 10.1: 'Umbram enim habens lex bonorum futurorum, non ipsam imaginem rerum...' [though A. says that the Law 'is' the shadow]; 8.4-5: 'Si ergo [pontifex] esset super terram, nec esset sacerdos, cum essent qui offerrent secundum legem munera, qui exemplari et umbrae deserviunt caelestium...' [cf. also Col. 2.17]. NT scholars debate the significance of terms such as 'umbra' and 'imago', which carry strong Platonist overtones, and whether the author of Hebrews uses them in the same Platonist fashion as Philo, who pictures a progression of shadow-image-reality. [On Philo, see, e.g., L. Goppelt, Typos: The Typological Interpretation of the Old Testament in the New (ET: Grand Rapids, MI, 1982), 50-53, 161-178. C. Spicq, who believes that the author of Hebrews is a disciple of Philo, argues that the language of verses such as 10.1 is used in Philo's Platonist sense (L'Épître aux Hébreux, Paris, 1952, ad locc.; others disagree, taking 'shadow' to mean 'foreshadowing', in a salvation-historical rather than a metaphysical sense (e.g., F.F. Bruce, Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, London, 1965, ad locc.).] There can be no doubt that A. uses the terms in the salvation-historical sense (note ante...nunc with hic...ibi/illic, below), despite the fact that his exposition of Ps. 38, in the midst of which this evocation of Hebrews occurs [cf. Expl. Ps. 38.25-26], is indebted to Origen, who has clear Platonist sympathies [see H.J. Auf der Maur, Das Psalmenverständnis des Ambrosius von Mailand: ein Beitrag zum Deutungshintergrund der Psalmenverwendung

im Gottesdienst der alten Kirche (Leiden, 1977), 92-98, 257-258, 302], and despite the Neoplatonist overtones in the progress theme of I.233ff. He follows the patristic tradition that the phrase, 'the good things to come', mentioned in Heb. 10.1, refers to the Christian sacraments, and to the eucharist in particular [see B.F. Westcott, The Epistle to the Hebrews (2nd ed., London, 1892), 304]. The passover is the shadow of Christ's sacrifice (in the Law), the eucharist is the image of it (in the Gospel), and the perpetual quasi-blood sacrifice of Christ the High Priest in heaven is the truth (in heaven). The eucharist is certainly a progression from the OT rite, but it is only an anticipation of the perfect liturgy of heaven [cf. Exc. fr. II.109; and see Johanny, 135-160, 253-269]. [On umbra-imago-veritas as a scheme of salvation-history (as opposed to Origen's concept of levels of apprehension of the truth) in A., see Hahn, 207-227 (esp. 215-217), 259-275, 425-428; also Toscani, 413-453; Pizzolato, 79-83.]

Ante agnus offerebatur, offerebatur vitulus, nunc Christus offertur: See Heb. 9.13-14; 10.3ff.

quasi recipiens passionem: See Heb. 2.9-10.

offert se ipse quasi sacerdos: See Heb. 7.27; 9.14,23ff. (and passim). [See A.-L. Fenger, Aspekte der Soteriologie und Ekklesiologie bei Ambrosius von Mailand (Frankfurt & Bern, 1981), 75-78; Toscani, 326ff.]

ubi apud Patrem pro nobis quasi advocatus intervenit: Cf. 1 John 2.1-2: 'sed et si quis peccaverit, advocatum habemus apud Patrem, Iesum Christum iustum; et ipse est propitiatio pro peccatis nostris...'; also Heb. 9.24: '...ut appareat nunc vultui Dei pro nobis'.

Hic ergo in imagine ambulamus: Cf. 2 Cor. 5.7: 'per

fidem enim ambulamus, et non per speciem'.

in imagine videmus; illic facie ad faciem: Cf. 1 Cor. 13.12: 'Videmus nunc per speculum in enigmate; tunc autem facie ad faciem'.

XLIX: THE IMAGE OF CHRIST AND THE IMAGE OF SATAN

240. imago iustitiae...imago sapientiae: A. is perhaps combining scriptural teaching about the image of Christ (e.g., 1 Cor. 15.49; 2 Cor. 3.18; Col. 3.10) with Cic.'s assertions that most people only achieve a relative level of virtue; cf. Cic. I.46: 'Quoniam autem vivitur non cum perfectis hominibus pleneque sapientibus, sed cum iis, in quibus praeclare agitur, si sunt simulacra virtutis...'; III.13: 'In iis autem, in quibus sapientia perfecta non est, ipsum illud quidem perfectum honestum nullo modo, similitudines honesti esse possunt' (cf. Cic., Fin. V.43). Cic. also says that 'nos veri iuris germanaeque iustitiae solidam et expressam effigiem nullam tenemus, umbra et imaginibus utimur' (III.69). From Cic., A. adopts the idea that perfect justice and perfect wisdom are impossible in this world, but he blends this with the biblical doctrine of the 'imago Dei': to bear the image of justice and the image of wisdom is to bear the image of God. We shall be judged according to whether we have borne the divine or the satanic image.

241. 'Adversarius enim diabolus...': 1 Pet. 5.8. [and cf. Expl. Ps. 38.27.]

auri cupiditatem...argenti acervos: As justice and wisdom are part of the image of God, so greed for money (along with rabies and furor, above) is the hallmark of the imago nequitiae, the image of Satan. vitiorum simulacra: The opposite of the 'simulacra

virtutis' mentioned by Cic. in I.46.

vocem libertatis: The voice of a free conscience.

'Veniet huius mundi princeps...': The words of Christ in John 14.30 (one might have thought that only He could claim such innocence, but A. believes otherwise, taking Jacob as a type of Christ; cf. n. below).

cum venerit perscrutari: Cf. Satan's insidious methods in I.15-16.

'Cognosce si quid tuorum est apud me': Gen. 31.32.

Merito beatus Iacob apud quem nihil Laban suum potuit reperire! Absconderat enim Rachel...: Rachel had stolen Laban's household gods (Gen. 31.19) without Jacob's knowledge (31.32), and she hid them from Laban when he searched their tents (31.33-35). Had the idols been found, Rachel would have been killed, according to Jacob's oath that the one found with them should die (31.32). Jacob's claim, which A. quotes here, was, therefore, based on his ignorance of Rachel's crime, and came from his own good conscience; her ploy to hide the images was the salvation of the situation. Viewed from a different angle, of course, A. might just as well accuse Rachel of showing Satan's image in her greedy theft.

[On the development, cf. Expl. Ps. 38.27 and Iacob II.24-25; both cite John 14.30 similarly, though in Iacob A. recognises that Jacob could not make the claim of that verse in his own right as a man, but only as a type of Christ.]

242. sapientia...fides: As ever, wisdom and faith are set together (cf. I.117, 122-129, 252-253).

beatus eris quia non respicis in vanitates et in insanias falsas: Cf. Ps. 39.5: 'Beatus vir cuius est nomen Domini spes ipsius, et non respexit in vanitates et insanias falsas'.

ut arguendi te non possit habere auctoritatem: Satan is classically cast in the role of the accuser (cf.

Apoc. 12.10).

non conturbatur...conturbatur.... Quid est enim congregare opes nisi vanum?...: Cf. Ps. 38.5-7: 'Verumtamen universa vanitas omnis homo vivens. Verumtamen in imagine pertransit homo: sed et frustra conturbatur. Thesaurizat et ignorat cui congregabit ea.' [Cf. Expl. Ps. 38.27.]

243. Nonne vanum est ut mercator...?: On A.'s attitude to commerce, cf. I.185n. Here he evokes a well-established classical tradition of the merchant as one who works frantically and at great risk to heap up for himself uncertain wealth. The perils of storms and piracy are standard themes: cf. Horace, Od. I.1.15-18; I.31.10-15; III.24.35-44; Sat. I.4.29-32; Ep. I.1.45-46; Tibullus, I.3.39-40; Propertius, III.7; Juvenal, XII; XIV.265-283. For other patristic descriptions of the enormous risks taken by the seafaring merchant, cf., e.g., Gregory of Nazianzus, Apol. 100; Augustine, Serm. 64.5. Cf. esp. A., Elia 70-71: 'Mare non ad navigandum Deus fecit, sed propter elementi pulchritudinem' (70); merchants who set sail in any weather to make a profit, on account of their 'inexplebilis avaritia' (71) weary the elements with their unceasing activity; cf. also Hex. IV.19; V.30-35; Cain I.21 (though in Hex. III.22 he praises the sea for the opportunities it offers for commerce and intercourse among peoples).

244. An non conturbatur etiam ille vane...?: Cf. Ps. 38.7.

One is reminded of the descriptions of prodigal young men in Roman comedy (e.g., Terence, Ad.) and the greed of heirs in satire [on the latter, cf. III.57n.]: note praecipiti effusione dilacerat heres luxuriosus..., esp. (Cf., e.g., Cic., Sest. 111: 'Tu meo periculo, gorges et vorago patrimonii, helluabare...?'.) The use of vorago is apt after the the picture of the sea

in I.243. On spendthrift heirs, cf. I.168; Nab. 3,17 (and 29,38); Tob. 29.

speratus successor invidiam partae acquirit hereditatis et celeri obitu...: The successor attracts such envy of his acquired wealth that he worries himself into an early grave, and strangers get to enjoy your riches. A. is probably thinking of Eccl. 6.2: 'Vir cui dedit Deus divitias et substantiam et honorem et nihil deest animae suae ex omnibus, quae desiderat: nec tribuit ei potestatem Deus ut comedat ex eo, sed homo extraneus vorabit illud: hoc vanitas, et miseria magna est'; the ability to enjoy one's wealth is no less a gift of God than the wealth itself, and when this is forgotten, God may allow a stranger to benefit instead.

245. Quid ergo vane araneam texit quae inanis et sine fructu est, et tamquam casses suspendis inutiles divitiarum copias?: Cf. Ps. 38.12: '...in increpationibus propter iniquitatem corripuisti hominem, et tabescere fecisti sicut araneam animam eius'; and Is. 59.5-6: 'Ova aspidum ruperunt, et telas aranae texuerunt.... Telas eorum non erunt in vestimentum, neque operientur operibus suis: opera eorum opera inutilia...' (for another use of the spider's web as an image of fragility, cf. Job 8.14-15). Possibly A. thinks, too, of Vergil, Georg. IV.246-247: '...aut invisae Minervae/laxos in foribus suspendit aranea cassis'. [A. quotes Is. 59.5 in Expl. Ps. 38.35, where he is following Origen: see L.F. Pizzolato, La "Explanatio psalmodum XII". Studio letterario sulla esegesi di Sant' Ambrogio (Milan, 1965), 40. For a parallel use of Is. 59.5 in Hex. IV.18, indebted to Basil, see Madec, 74n.275, 102n.10.]

quae etsi fluant, nihil prosunt: Cf. I.28-29; II.15-

16: wealth is, in fact, a hindrance to the blessed life.

imaginem Dei: Cf. I..n.

exuunt...induunt: Cf. Eph. 4.22-24; Col. 3.8ff.

terreni imaginem: Cf. 1 Cor. 15.45-49, esp. v.49: 'Igitur sicut portavimus imaginem terreni, portemus et imaginem caelestis'. Paul is referring to the first Adam and the last Adam, but A. takes the terreni imago to refer to Satan. Note the play on terreni /tyranni [similarly in Expl. Ps. 38.27]. A. believes that fallen man lost the 'imago caelestis' (Hex. VI.42) through sin (Isaac 4), and bears instead the image of Satan, the tyrant usurper. Christ paid to the devil the debt incurred by Adam, and so restores the divine image [see Dudden II, 607-608]. On the influence of Origen on A.'s exegesis of 1 Cor. 15.49, see Löpfé, 16-19.

aeterni imperatoris: Imperator is regularly used in Christian Latin to refer to Christ [TLL, s.v., III.B.b]; cf. I.186.

de civitate animae tuae: The soul is the true substance, on which the image of God was originally impressed. A. pictures the soul as a state (equated, below, with spiritual Jerusalem) whose true imperator is Christ [cf. Expl. Ps. 38.27]; His standard must be raised at the heart of the city, obscuring the images of sin, death, and Satan. [The idea of the soul as a state warred over by God and Satan has a long tradition in Christian thought; a notable example, from a very different milieu, is John Bunyan's The Holy War.]

'Domine, in civitate tua...': Ps. 72.20.

Cum enim pinxerit Hierusalem Dominus ad imaginem suam: Cf. Is. 49.16-17. The point is that the Lord will restore Jerusalem according to His will, and the images of idols will be removed.

tunc adversariorum omnis imago deletur: There is a striking similarity between this paragraph and Hex. VI.42; Interp. III.24. Hex. VI.42 quotes Is. 49.16 and Ps. 72.20, and contrasts the heavenly image of Adam before the Fall with the earthly likeness which he then assumed. Interp. III.24 also evokes Ps. 72.20; Is. 49.16 and 1 Cor. 15.49, and then gives an 'exemplo de saeculo': 'Vide quemadmodum in civitatibus bonorum principum imagines perseverent, deleantur imagines tyrannorum'. Scholars tend to take this as a reference to the overthrow of the statues of the usurper Maximus after his defeat and death in A.D. 388, contrasted with the careful preservation of the statues of Gratian after his death in A.D. 383 [so G. Rauschen, Jahrbücher der christlichen Kirche (Freiburg, 1897), 293,310; Ihm, 25; Palanque, 521; Dudden II, 687], though it may refer to the overturning of the statues of Eugenius in A.D. 394. Expl. Ps. 38.27 says: 'Hic si quis tyranni imagines habeat, qui iam victus interiit, iure damnatur'. Petschenig, CSEL 64, 204n.13; Ihm, 21; Palanque, 552; Dudden II, 687n.4 take this as an allusion to the overthrow of the statues of Eugenius. [The statues of Theodosius and the empress Flaccilla were overturned and mutilated in the sedition at Antioch on 4 March, A.D. 387 - note the celebrated series of 21 homilies by John Chrysostom, preached in the midst of the crisis (PG 49). But it cannot be to this that Expl. Ps. 38.27 refers, since A. speaks of a dead emperor.] The overthrow of imperial statues was a serious matter, equivalent to injury to the emperor himself (Expos. Ps. 118.10.25). What are we to make of the present sentence, since similar passages seem to allude to definite, but different, historical events? A reference to Eugenius's statues pushes the date of the work to c.395, later than any scholar has ever

conjectured, and is inherently improbable [see Introduction, II.ii]. Given the similarity with Interp. III.24, an allusion to Maximus's statues in both passages is quite possible [so Palanque, 526; Banterle, 17]. However, Dudden II, 695n.3; and Testard I, 46-48, 276n.12, are unconvinced, and Testard treats the sentence as simply a general statement: in troubled political times, statues are destroyed frequently when their subjects fall from favour. I suspect that this scepticism is wise: there is insufficient evidence in the words of A. here to allow a precise identification of the statues of any emperor. A. may have Maximus's statues in mind, as he seems to have in Interp. III.24 (while Expl. Ps. 38.27 apparently refers to Eugenius's statues), but he does not clearly indicate it.

L: THE DUTIES OF CLERICS; THE UNITY OF THE VIRTUES; DEPOSITS AND OATHS; THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF DEACONS.

246. The following section (I.246-251) is addressed to clerics, especially to deacons. It contains no clear Ciceronian evocation, though the cardinal virtues are brought into I.251 to lead into the more classical passage which then follows (I.252ff.). It seems to be linked to the preceding section by the theme of the unimportance of wealth (cf. I.241-245). However, contrary to what Evangelio here implies, the preceding warnings about greed are not based upon texts from the gospels [though numerous such texts exist: cf., e.g., Matt. 13.22/Mk. 4.19/Lk. 8.14, and esp. Matt. 19.23-24/Mk. 10.23-25/Lk. 18.24-25; Matt. 6.24; Lk. 15ff.; 16.19-31]. It may be that an independent treatment is appended to the discussion of wealth, hence a slight weakness of transition from I.245 to I.246.

The address to clerics throughout the last chapter of Book I (cf. I.256-259 with I.246-251) means that A. begins (I.1-4,23-24) and ends the Book on the same note: the responsibilities of his clergy are his pre-eminent interest.

ad despicientiam opum: Cf. I.192n.

vos Levitas: The OT Levitical priests are associated with Christian deacons in particular, especially in Sacr. and Myst. [Roger Gryson, 'Les degrés du clergé et leur dénomination chez saint Ambroise de Milan,' Rev Bén. 76, 1966, (119-127) 125-126; id., Prêtre, 142]. A. presents the Levites as a type of the Christian cleric, not only here but also in Cain II.7-16; Fuga 5-18; note also Expos. Ps. 118.8.2-15; Patr. 10-16; Exhort. virg. 32-45. [See Gryson, Typologie, 104-223, esp. 207-221; some of this research is reproduced in his article, 'Les Lévités, figure du sacerdoce véritable, selon saint Ambroise,' EphThLov. 56, fasc. 1, 1980, 89-112, esp. 106-112 (for additional passages on the Levites to those cited above, see 89n.1); Antonio Bonato, 'L'idea del sacerdozio in S. Ambrogio,' Augustinianum 27, 1987, 423-464, esp. 449-461.]

quorum Deus portio est: Cf. Ps. 141.6.

Nam cum divideretur a Moyse possessio terrena populo patrum, exceptit Levitas Dominus...: See Num. 18.20-24 (this is the Lord's word to Aaron, not Moses; Moses is instructed to tell the Levites to sacrifice a tenth of their tithes: Num. 18.25-32).

quod ipse illis esset funiculus hereditatis: Cf. Num. 18.20; Deut. 10.9. The word funiculus, lit. a portion of land marked out with rope-measures, may be here in A.'s evocation of Num. 18.20/Deut. 10.9 by a conflation with Deut. 32.9, where Jacob is said to be the Lord's funiculus.

'Dominus pars hereditatis meae et calicis mei': Ps.

15.5.

Denique sic appellatur Levita: 'Ipse meus' vel 'Ipse pro me': Similar etymologies of Levita/Levi (cf. Gen. 29.34; Num. 3.12,45; 8.14) are given in Cain II.11 ('Susceptus pro me'/'Ipse mihi Levis') and Expos. Ps. 118.8.4 ('Ipse mihi assumptus'/'Ipse meus'/'Assumptus'/'Assumptus mihi'/'Pro me'/'Ipse mihi'). See Roger Gryson, 'L'interprétation du nom de Lévi (Lévite) chez saint Ambroise,' Sacris Erudiri 17, 1966, 217-229, on the variety of meanings which A. has culled from the Onomastica in his library. Bonato argues that A. is clearly following Philo (esp. Plant. 64; Sacrif. 118-135), but Gryson convincingly shows that A. is more eclectic, esp. in Expos. Ps. 118.8.4. Cf., too, Paulinus, Vita 41. [For other texts of Philo and Origen, see Gryson, Typologie, 164ff.; and cf. Jerome, Interpret. Heb. nom. 8.7; 13.30; 65.5; 78.8; 80.24].

vel quemadmodum Petro dixit de statere in ore piscis reperto...: Matt. 17.26. The Jewish silver stater, worth four drachmas, was to pay the two-drachma temple-tax for both Peter and Jesus. The point of this ought to be that Jesus supernaturally supplied the money since Peter did not have the means, and so Jesus was the 'portion' of His servant. The attempt to use the verse to illustrate the etymology of 'Levi/Levite' is very weak.

Unde et: This resumes the theme of the opening of the paragraph, the etymological explanation being in parenthesis.

cum episcopum dixisset debere esse sobrium, pudicum...: 1 Tim. 3.1-7.

'Diaconos similiter oportet esse graves...': 1 Tim. 3.8-10.

Gryson, Typologie, 208n.5, notes that A. leaves out 1 Tim. 3.6 ('non neophytum, ne in superbia elatus in

judicium incidat diaboli'), though he quotes all the surrounding verses: is this a telling omission by a bishop whose ordination as a neophyte contravened the Church regulations based on this verse?

247. ut abstinens sit a vino minister Domini: Cf. 1 Tim. 3.3,8 (also Tit. 1.7). Cf. also Jerome, Ep. 52.11.

ut testimonio bono fulciatur non solum fidelium sed etiam ab his qui foris sunt: Cf. 1 Tim. 3.7.

ne derogetur muneri...: A good reputation with those outside the Church is essential, not for the personal glory of the cleric, but so as not to bring disgrace upon his office. To adorn the office is to encourage others to worship God (cf. also Col. 4.5; 1 Thess. 4.12).

248. quando una tantum nec repetita permittitur copula: Cf. 1 Tim. 3.2: 'Oportet ergo episcopum irreprehensibilem esse, unius uxoris virum'; 3.12: 'Diacones sint unius uxoris viri'; Tit. 1.6: 'Si quis...unius uxoris vir...'.

Paul's injunctions are taken to be a prohibition of the ordination of a man who has remarried. This rule was interpreted differently by the Eastern and Western Churches. In the East, it was held that a marriage contracted prior to baptism did not count, so if a man had remarried after baptism he was eligible for ordination (e.g., Can. Apost. 17; Theodore of Mopsuestia, Comm. in 1 Tim., 3.2; John Chrysostom, Hom. 1 Tim., 10.1). In the West, however, the general feeling in the fourth century was that it made no difference whether a union took place before or after baptism: ordination was forbidden either way (e.g., Council of Valence [374], Can. 1; Damasus, Ep. ad Gallos episc. 5; Siricius, Ep. 1.14). A. insists that baptism, although it washes away all sin, cannot abrogate the law about a second marriage. He says the

same in Ep. 63.63-64, where he claims that the Nicene canons forbade the admission of a twice-married cleric (though no such canon is extant). Jerome disputes A.'s view, upholding the interpretation of the Eastern Church instead (Ep. 69; Comm. in Tit. I.6), that Paul prohibits polygamy, not remarriage; he claims that the other view would incriminate a large number of bishops who had already been remarried when they were ordained. [Jerome, Ep. 69, probably alludes to this passage of Off. in its criticism of the view which A. holds: so A. Paredi, 'S. Gerolamo e S. Ambrogio,' in Mélanges E. Tisserant, vol. 5, Studi e Testi 235, Rome, 1964, (183-198) 193, pace the scepticism of Gérard Nauroy, 'Jérôme, lecteur et censeur de l'exégèse d'Ambroise,' in Y.-M. Duval, ed., Jérôme entre l'Occident et l'Orient (Paris, 1988), (173-203), 175-176n.7.] A.'s stricter position is upheld by Augustine (Bono coniug. 21). Earlier tirades against remarriage in general are to be found, e.g., in Tertullian, Uxor. 5-8; Exhort. cast. 2-7; Monog. 11-12 (with, of course, strong Montanist input). [See B. Kötting, RAC III, 'Digamus', 1016-1024, esp. 1022-1023.]

hortator... viduitatis: On A.'s own exhortation of widows, cf. Vid., passim. There was an order of widows aged over sixty years (in accordance with Paul's instructions in 1 Tim. 5.3-16) who were maintained by the Church, or were at least eligible for support, and who devoted themselves to good works (cf. Acts 6.1-6; Hermas, Sim. IX.27.2; Justin, Apol. I.67; Didasc. III.1-11; Const. Apost. III; Eusebius, H.E. VI.43.11; Ambrosiaster, Comm. in 1 Tim. V.5,9; Jerome, Ep. 123.6), and there were others, often of younger years, who were counselled not to remarry but to live henceforth in greater devotion to Christ [see Dudden I, 157-158; H. Leclercq, 'Veuvage, veuve,'

DACL 15.2, 3007-3026; and esp. Roger Gryson, Le ministère des femmes dans l'Église ancienne (Gembloux, 1972), 95ff.].

249. alieni etiam ab ipso consortio coniugali: A. now goes on to insist that even clerics who conform to the rule of having only one wife must abstain from sexual relations after ordination. He believes that sexual intercourse incurs impurity which is unacceptable in those who conduct the sacramental liturgy (cf. Lev. 15.18; 1 Kings 21.4-5). In the Eastern Church, it was generally held that married clerics could cohabit with their wives at intervals between the celebration of the sacraments. The daily celebration of the eucharist at Milan (as in most Italian Churches by this time - cf. n. below) made this concession impossible, and A. insists on total celibacy (a regulation which clearly proved a deterrent to ecclesiastical service for many young men: cf. I.218). [See Roger Gryson, Les origines du célibat ecclésiastique, du premier au septième siècle (Gembloux, 1970), esp. 84ff., 127ff., 144ff., 171ff, on such legislation on clerical celibacy as Council of Elvira, can. 33; Council of Neocaesarea (314,325), can. 1; Gaudemet, 140-141,159-163; P.H. Lafontaine, Les conditions positives de l'accession aux ordres dans la première législation ecclésiastique (300-492) (Ottawa, 1963), 176-181, esp. 179n.66; J.P. Audet, Mariage et célibat dans le service pastoral de l'Église. Histoire et orientations (Paris, 1967), 130-133.]

in plerisque abditioribus locis...: Probably in the East. Socrates, H.E. V.22, says that in some areas discretion was permitted, though the observance of continence was general in Gaul, Spain, Africa, Thessaly, Macedonia, and Achaia. There are reports, though, of a protest at Nicaea by the Egyptian bishop

Paphnutius against enforced celibacy for legitimately married bishops, presbyters, and deacons (Socrates, H.E. I.11; Sozomen, H.E. I.23; cf. Rufinus, H.E. X.4; Gelasius, II.22). Clearly there were cases where married clerics raised families in areas where the sacraments were celebrated less frequently than in the large Western Churches. [See Gryson, ibid., 87-93.]

id tamquam usu veteri defendunt quando per intervalla dierum sacrificium deferebatur: Perhaps a reference to the practice of the early Church, which celebrated the eucharist weekly (cf., e.g., Acts 20.7; Didache 14; Justin Martyr, Apol. I.67). Clerics whose Churches celebrated the eucharist weekly or less often practised sexual relations in between, and followed the OT practice of ritual purification for two or three days before the sacrament [next n.]. But at Milan at this period the sacrament was observed daily, and A. criticises the Eastern Christians for communicating only once a year (Sacr. V.25; cf. also Sacr. IV.28; Hex. V.90; Patr. 38; Virg. I.65; Expl. Ps. 43.37; Expos. Ps. 118.18.26ff.; 21.14; Ep. 20.15; and Augustine, De serm. Dom. in monte II.26; Ep. 64.2) [see Johanny, 73-81]. On the eucharist as a sacrificium, cf., e.g., Expos. Luc. I.28; Expos. Ps. 118.8.48; Ep. 20.15; Expl. Ps. 43.36; and see Johanny, 135-160.

'et lavat vestimenta sua': Ex. 19.10 (cf. vv.10-15). The Israelites purified themselves over a three-day period before the giving of the Law to Moses on Mt. Sinai.

Si in figura tanta observantia, quanto in veritate!: Cf. I.239n. The ellipse of maior with quanto is common.

sacerdos et Levita: Both priest and deacon are addressed; the priest consecrates the eucharist, the

deacon distributes it [cf. I.205n.], so both need to be pure.

quid sit lavare vestimenta tua, ut mundum corpus...:

The 'garments' of the cleric are his body, the flesh which clothes his soul (obviously a Platonist view; cf. also the NT's image of the body as a 'tent': 2 Cor. 5.1-4; 2 Pet. 1.13-14).

On the necessity of a 'pure' body for administering the sacraments, cf. Vid. 65; Ep. 63.62; see also Johanny, 188-190.

tu illotus mente pariter et corpore: Both the inner and the outer man need to be washed; cf. Heb. 10.22: 'accedamus cum vero corde in plenitudine fidei, aspersi corda a conscientia mala et abluti corpus aqua munda'. A. probably thinks of the cleansing of baptism: after this washing of the body, there must be no defilement through sexual intercourse.

pro aliis supplicare,...aliis ministrare: Possibly this distinguishes the roles of the priest and the deacon at the eucharist: the priest prays on behalf of the people, and the deacon administers the sacrament. Alternatively, the statement is more general, and means simply that the same cleric both prays for and ministers to the people.

250. 'Ecce eligo Levitas de medio filiorum Israel...': Num. 3.12-13.

ut primogenita fructuum atque primitiae...in quibus est votorum solutio et redemptio peccatorum: The ancient Levites substituted for the first-born males in each family of the other Israelite tribes, to whom the Lord was entitled because He had spared them at the Passover (Ex. 13.1-16). Where the number of Israelites exceeded the number of Levites, the Israelite families paid a tax. By this system of representation the entire Israelite people was 'redeemed' (Num. 3.39-51).

'Non accipies,' inquit, 'eos inter filios Israel...':
 Num. 1.49-51 (the Lord is speaking to Moses, referring in the opening words to the census of the Israelite tribes, in which the Levites were not to be included).

By citing these verses, A. stresses the divine choice of the Levites (cf. I.246) and their special significance for the other Israelites; applied to his deacons/priests, the typology emphasises their unique place among the people of God.

251. ut operias arcam testamenti: The ark of the covenant was a box containing, most importantly, the two tablets of the Decalogue (Ex. 25.16,21;40.18; Deut. 10.1-5) and the book of the Law (Deut. 31.9); it was kept, as a symbol of God's presence, in the Tabernacle (Ex. 25.10ff.). A. takes the Levites' charge over this deposit of the Law of God to be a foreshadowing of the clerics' charge over the Christian Scriptures and the sacraments. The idea of 'covering' these mysteries [cf. Non enim omnes vident alta mysteriorum...] from the eyes of the uninitiated (those who have not been baptised) is of great significance in patristic thought. This 'disciplina arcani', an amalgam of concepts from the Greek mystery religions and the OT cultic practice, is regarded as an essential clerical function, out of reverence for the profound truths of God and the awareness of man's incapacity to take in such matters in anything other than a gradual fashion. [On the subject generally, see O. Perler, 'Arkandisziplin', RAC I, 667-676; on A., Dudden II, 453-454; Monachino, 78. C. Jacob, "Arkandisziplin", Allegorese, Mystagogie: ein neuer Zugang zur Theologie des Ambrosius von Mailand (Frankfurt, 1990), esp. 121-138, 197-280, argues that the theme is a basic principle of A.'s sacramental and exegetical

approach.] On the Levitical duties (administered by the Kohathite branch of the tribe) in the tabernacle, see Num. 4.1-20.

ne videant qui videre non debent: Cf. Is. 6.9-10 (and Matt. 13.13-17/Mk. 4.12; John 12.39-41; Acts 28.24-27).

Moyses denique circumcisionem vidit spiritalem...: Paul frequently speaks of 'spiritual' circumcision (Rom. 2.25-29) or of true circumcision as faith manifested in new works, circumcision of the flesh being unimportant (Rom. 3.30; 4.9-12; 1 Cor. 7.18-19; Gal. 5.2-6; 6.15; Phil. 3.3; Col. 2.11; 3.11). Although A. says here that Moses prescribed circumcision, the NT emphasises that the rite goes back to Abraham in Gen. 17 (John 7.22; Rom. 4.9-12; 15.8), and that the Jews had overstressed the Mosaic background (Acts 15.1,5; 21.21; Gal. 5.2-12; 6.15-16). A.'s contention that Moses was fully aware of the deeper meaning of circumcision is clearly a matter of conjecture; Gryson, Typologie, 219n.1; 'Les Lévités, figure du sacerdoce véritable, selon saint Ambroise,' EphThLov. 56, fasc. 1, 1980, 108-109 and n.100, suggests plausibly that A. is following Origen, Hom. in Num. V.1 [GCS 30]. For a developed exposition of spiritual circumcision, cf. also A., Ep. 72.

azyma veritatis et sinceritatis: 1 Cor. 5.8.

operuit passionem Domini agni vel vituli immolatione: In accordance with the Lord's command, Moses instituted the Feast of Unleavened Bread, a week-long festival which began with the Passover meal (Ex. 12.14ff.). The Passover is seen in the NT as a type of the sacrifice of Christ (1 Cor. 5.7-8). A. believes that Moses saw in advance the death of Christ, but 'covered' the mystery with the Passover celebration, just as he 'covered' spiritual

circumcision with the physical rite. Cf. also Heb. 11.28: (of Moses) 'Fide celebravit Pascha...', looking on to the sacrifice of the Lamb.

mysterium fidei: An allusion to 1 Tim. 3.9.

Primum ut alta Dei videas, quod est sapientiae...: The duties of Levites/deacons are summed up under the scheme of the cardinal virtues [cf. the scheme in I.116-121, esp. 119-121], as the section on clerical responsibilities is merged with the Ciceronian theme. The definitions of the virtues here are heavily biblical: sapientia is the knowledge of the alta Dei (cf. 1 Cor. 2.6-16), and the other three are related to clerical tasks in the light of this knowledge of the mysteries [I.251]: keeping watch in front of the people [I.250-251], defending the tabernacle (Church) [I.250-251], and maintaining continence and sobriety [I.246-249]. The Socratic-Stoic virtues of Cic. are thus specifically applied to A.'s clerical addressees. [On the typology of the tabernacle-/synagogue-Church generally in A., see Toscani, 193ff.; Hahn, 230-231; G. Figueroa, The Church and the Synagogue in Saint Ambrose (Washington, 1949), 4ff.]

252. Haec virtutum genera principalia: On the terminology for the virtues, cf. I.115n.

hi qui foris sunt: A NT phrase (Mk. 4.11; 1 Cor. 5.12-13; Col. 4.5; 1 Thess. 4.12; 1 Tim. 3.7). A. uses it to allude to Cic., who gives a comparison of the virtues in the last section of his Book I (152-161), adding this subject of his own to the Panaetian arrangement [cf. I.27n.]. A. does not discuss the calculus of the virtues in a parallel section; he simply puts wisdom first (I.252-253), and in I.258 asserts vaguely that where there are two honesti, that which is honestius should come first. [Pace Testard, 'Étude', 172-173; 'Recherches', 97, I cannot

see that it makes any difference that Cic. speaks of the comparison of honesta (Cic. I.152) while A. in I.252 compares the virtues: A. speaks of the comparison of honesta in I.27 and I.258, and it is absolutely clear from Cic. I.152 (and ff.) that Cic. means the comparison of the virtues when he speaks of the comparison of honesta; the terms are used interchangeably by both authors.]

sed communitatis superiorem ordinem quam sapientiae iudicaverunt: Communitas is Cic.'s word for iustitia in I.152ff. (it is indicative of his habitual emphasis on duty towards society). Cic. compares justice and wisdom in I.153-158,160. His contention is that justice is of first importance, but his argument is not clear, for in I.153 he says that 'sapientia' is the foremost of all the virtues, but then goes on to claim, illogically, that since 'sapientia' includes 'communitas et societas' among gods and men, the duty based upon 'communitas' is the most important duty. [On the fallacy of this argument, see Miller's note in the Loeb translation of Cic., 156-157. The alternative offered by Griffin & Atkins, 60n.1, that Cic.'s 'ea si maxima est...' has as its subject 'communitas et societas', is not very convincing, and in any case leaves Cic.'s argument obscure. Griffin & Atkins are right to point out, though, that Cic. is concerned to depreciate speculative enquiry in comparison with practical wisdom, as he does in I.18-19.] A. is, then, being a little unfair to Cic.: Cic. puts wisdom as the most important virtue, but (albeit illogically) ranks justice as the most important duty. A. consistently defines wisdom/prudence as faith/the knowledge of God, and as the first virtue or first duty.

cum sapientia fundamentum sit iustitiae opus sit...:

Cf. I.126-127 and I.142.

Fundamentum autem Christus est: 1 Cor. 3.11.

253. Prima ergo fides quae est sapientiae: Cf. I.142.

ut Salomon dicit, secutus patrem: 'Initium sapientiae timor Domini': Prov. 1.7; 9.10 (Solomon); Ps. 110.10 (his father David). The saying is of course a favourite of A.'s (cf., e.g., I.1,117).

Et Lex dicit: 'Diliges Dominum tuum, diliges proximum tuum': This is Jesus's summary of the Law, quoting Deut. 6.5 and Lev. 19.18 (Matt. 22.37-40/Mk. 12.29-31; Lk. 10.27).

Pulchrum est enim ut gratiam tuam atque officia in societatem humani generis conferas. Sed primum illud decorum, ut...mentem tuam...Deo deutes: Cic.'s emphasis on 'societas' (Cic. I.15,17,20ff.,153ff.) is commendable, but it must be secondary to devotion to God. Justice and wisdom are together in the summary of the Law, but wisdom (faith) is supreme. Good works come after faith.

The examples of social action which A. gives below in I.254-255, the maintenance of deposits and the keeping of oaths, are drawn from Cic.'s discussions of justice [cf. nn. below].

pecunia, ut subvenias - debito obligatum liberares: Testard is right to take debito as an ablative with obligatum, not a dative with subvenias [so Gryson, Typologie, 212n.3], or, worse still, a parallel ablative with pecunia and officio [so PL, Krabinger]; ut does not belong in the text after debito, but is Valdarfer's interpolation [Banterle recognises the problem in Krabinger's text, yet retains the ut, as does Gryson]. Freeing a debtor is an example of helping someone with money.

deponenda: The guarding of deposits is mentioned by

Cic. in I.31 and III.95 [cf. I.254n.]. Vulnerable people such as widows used the Church as a bank to keep their money and valuables safe. (Clerical embezzlement of such trusts was a very serious offence: cf., e.g., Cyprian, Epp. 50.1.2; 52.2.5; 59.1.2.) [See generally, Raymond Bogaert, 'Changeurs et banquiers chez les Pères de l'Église,' Ancient Society 4, 1973, 239-270.] For an example of the steadfast maintenance of a trust despite imperial pressure to surrender it, cf. II.150-151 (cf. also the biblical illustration in II.144-149).

254. Officium est igitur depositum servare ac reddere. Sed interdum commutatio fit...: Cf. Cic. I.31: 'Sed incidunt saepe tempora, cum ea, quae maxime videntur digna esse iusto homine, eoque quem virum bonum dicimus, commutantur fiuntque contraria, ut reddere depositum, facere promissum.... Ea [i.e., fundamenta iustitiae] cum tempore commutantur, commutatur officium et non semper est idem.' (And Cic. I.32.) Cf., too, Cic. III.95: 'Ergo et promissa non facienda nonnumquam neque semper deposita reddenda. Si gladium quis apud te sana mente deposuerit, repetat insaniens, reddere peccatum sit, officium non reddere. Quid? Si is, qui apud te pecuniam deposuerit, bellum inferat patriae, reddasne depositum? Non credo.... Sic multa, quae honesta natura videntur esse, temporibus fiunt non honesta. Facere promissa, stare conventis, reddere deposita commutata utilitate fiunt non honesta.' (And Cic. I.92-95; Fin. III.58-59.) A. fully endorses this Panaetian-Ciceronian casuistry. He has already warned against giving to treasonous men and other unworthy seekers (I.144). The example of the madman who demands his sword back is given by Plato in Rep. 331C.

255. Est etiam contra officium nonnumquam promissum solvere, sacramentum custodire: Cf. Cic. I.32; III.92-95.

ut Herodes...: Herod Antipas promised to give Salome, the daughter of his consort Herodias (his brother Philip's wife) whatever she asked, having been delighted by her dancing; at her mother's instigation, Salome asked for the head of John the Baptist (Matt. 14.1-12; Mk. 6.14-29).

Nam de Iephte quid dicam...?: Jephthah swore to sacrifice to the Lord whatever first met him on his return home, if he defeated the Ammonites; he ended up slaying his daughter (Judges 11.29-40). Jephthah's vow was a solemn oath, while Herod's promise was less official, but both committed murder rather than break their foolishly-given word. The story of Jephthah is often used to illustrate the dangers of rash oaths (cf. Apol. 16; Exhort. virg. 51; Jerome, Adv. Iovin. I.23; and the discussion in Thomas Aquinas, S.T. 2a2ae, 88.2; A., Virgt. 5ff. is somewhat more positive); it is of course celebrated widely in subsequent European literature [see Wilbur Owen Sypherd, Jephthah and his daughter: A Study in Comparative Literature (Newark, Delaware, 1948)]. A. tells the stories of Herod and Jephthah again in III.76-81, in a section parallel to Cic. III.92-95.

256. Et ideo eligitur Levita qui sacrarium custodiat...: The theme of the Levite/deacon appears again, after the interval of I.252-255. These intervening paragraphs may have been inserted, along with the end of I.258, as Ciceronian sections into an earlier Christian address. It is noteworthy that I.256 resumes the theme of I.251; it also perhaps hints at a synthesis of the cardinal virtues (such a synthesis being explicit in I.251): the deacon shows wisdom in guarding the sanctuary (in not letting

prying eyes see the deep things of God); justice, in not being deceived in judgement; fortitude, in not deserting the Faith or fearing death; and temperance, in maintaining inward and outward sobriety. On sacrarium, cf. I.216n. On not deserting the Faith, cf. I.188ff.; on not fearing death, cf. I.177n.

'qui viderit mulierem ad concupiscendum eam...':
Matt. 5.28.

257. in benedictionibus: When Moses, dying, blessed the twelve tribes.

'Date Levi viros eius...': Deut. 33.8-9. [For a comprehensive analysis of the text which A. quotes here, and of Deut. 33.10-11 in I.259, see Gryson, Typologie, 128-149, comparing the Ambrosian citations of these verses in Expos. Ps. 118.7.5; Patr. 15; Epp. 15.11,13; 81.13; Exhort. virg. 31-45.]

viros eius...manifestos eius: The Hebrew text refers to the Urim and Thummim, which are thought to have been stones from the high priest's breastplate which were used as lots (Urim, 'no'; Thummim, 'yes', on opposite sides) [cf. Ex. 28.30; Lev. 8.8; 1 Kings 14.41]. But A. takes the words to refer to the faithful men of the tribe of Israel, that is, its distinguished priests (though note sortem suffragii sui...). [See Gryson, as above. The Hebrew text of the verses is itself much disputed, and the LXX translators were confused.]

The references in temptationibus and super aquam contradictionis are to the events of 'Massah and Meribah', narrated in Ex. 17.1-7 and Num. 20.1-13.

Deut. 33.9 alludes to the Levites' putting their duty to the Lord before all family ties: cf. also Matt. 10.37/Lk. 14.26.

258. qui nihil in corde doli habeant: Cf. Ps. 31.2; John 1.47.

in corde suo conferant, sicut conferebat et Maria:
Cf. Lk. 2.19,51.

qui suos parentes officio suo non noverint
praeferendos: Cf. I.257n.; also Ep. 66.7-8. Note,
however, the responsibility to family mentioned in
I.150.

qui violatores oderint castitatis, pudicitiae
ulciscantur iniuriam: Typical of A.'s concern for
chastity. Perhaps Gen. 34 is in his mind [cf.
I.120n.]. Revenge for outrage to purity is
permissible, unlike revenge for other personal
insults (cf. I.131; also I.17-22, 233-238).

noverint officiorum tempora, quod maius sit, quod cui
aptum tempori est: On this Panaetian-Ciceronian
casuistry, cf. I.174, 213-218.

et ut id solum sequatur quod honestum est, sane ubi
duo honesta...: The Ciceronian comparison of
honesta is brought in cursorily at the close of the
Book [cf. I.27n.; I.252n.]. A. spends no time on the
theme: having ranked wisdom as the first virtue in
I.252-253 (and throughout), he now says simply that
id quod honestius est must come first, as
Levites/deacons well know. [Pace Testard's retention
of the better-attested putet, putent surely makes
better sense, since the previous main verbs are all
plural.]

259. Si quis ergo manifestet iustitias Dei, incensum
imponat: Cf. Deut. 33.10. [Iustitias translates the
Greek plural τὰ δικαιώματα. On the text of Deut., see
Gryson, Typologie, 128-149.]

Testard I, 281-282n.37, rightly takes incensum in its
figurative sense (cf., e.g., Ps. 140.2; Apoc. 8.3-4);
'to offer incense' is to please God. A. is not
suggesting that the deacons of his day offer literal
incense, a theory for which evidence is lacking
(though of course the ancient Levites did offer

incense, and it was used on at least some occasions in the fourth-century Church).

'Benedic, Domine, virtutem ipsius, opera manuum eius suscipe': Deut. 33.11.

ut gratiam propheticae benedictionis inveniat: The majority of MSS. end the Book with inveniat; Zell adds 'Amen', while Amerbach and most of the other editors add the liturgical phrase, 'apud eum qui vivit et regnat in saecula saeculorum. Amen.' This phrase, typical of medieval liturgicism, is not Ambrosian, and therefore has no place in the text [Testard I, 282-283n.37]. The sentence ends adequately with inveniat: to act so as to please God is to earn from Him the grace of the blessing promised prophetically to all Levites, ancient and Christian, by Moses. It is worth noting the very different ending of Cic.'s first Book: he concludes on the conflict of honesta (Cic. I.161). A., perhaps utilising an earlier sermonic piece, has only the artificially-inserted allusion to honesta in I.258.

A COMMENTARY
ON THE
DE OFFICIIS OF ST. AMBROSE

IVOR JOHN DAVIDSON

Volume Two:
Commentary on Books II-III

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BOOK II

I: THE BLESSED LIFE IS ETERNAL LIFE, ATTAINED BY THE PURSUIT OF THE HONOURABLE IN ORDER TO PLEASE GOD RATHER THAN MEN.

1. Superiore libro de officiis tractavimus, quae convenire honestati arbitraremur: Cf. Cic. II.1: 'Quemadmodum officia ducerentur ab honestate, Marce fili, atque ab omni genere virtutis, satis explicatum arbitror libro superiore'; in II.9, Cic. adds that he wishes the treatment of the honourable to be the part of his work with which Marcus is most familiar. On A.'s adherence to the Ciceronian arrangement of books, see Introduction, II.iii. On libro, see Introduction, III.

in qua vitam beatam positam esse nulli dubitaverunt: II.1-21 is a discussion of the blessed life, or happiness (εὐδαιμονία). The subject is not dealt with at any length in Cic.'s Off. (though note his mention of 'ad bene beateque vivendum' in II.8), but Cic. had already dealt with it in Fin. and in Tusc. V (cf. also Parad. I-II). The practical goal to which moral philosophy aspires is happiness; the summum bonum is the way by which this happiness is attained. After the Platonist and Aristotelian traditions, the Hellenistic schools formulated the definitions of the vita beata which Cic. records: to the Stoics, the sole, supreme good is virtue, practised by living in harmony with nature; to the Epicureans, it is pleasure (not hedonism, but the absence of pain and mental disturbance); and to the Academics, pleasure combined with virtue. In the first three centuries A.D., the most significant treatments of the subject are the presentation of the Stoic case by Seneca in his De

beata vita, and the Neoplatonist definition of Plotinus (esp. Enn. I.4), that happiness lies in the soul's contemplation of the One and an increasing detachment from the evils of the body by the practice of the virtues. Prior to A., Lactantius is the leading Christian writer who deals with the theme: in Inst. III.7ff. he relates the highest good to the immortality of the soul, and calls upon his readers to fulfil their destiny by worshipping the true God; while in Inst. VII blessedness is eternal reward for the practice of the greatest virtue, the worship of God. A.'s De Iacob et vita beata is the next major development: it synthesises Stoic and especially Neoplatonist views with NT eschatology. Iacob is earlier than Off., dating probably to 386/7. It is likely that Off. II.1-21 is in origin an independent section, on a theme on which A. has already preached in Iacob. It replaces Cic.'s digression on his reasons for writing about philosophy (Cic. II.2-8), and except for II.1 and II.21 there is no evocation of Cic. (no mention of the utile, the theme of II, and only a few references to the honourable, in II.1,3-4,8) [Testard, 'Recherches', 98]. Augustine's De beata vita was written in 386: it examines its theme from the vantage-point of the haven of philosophy, and comes to a Neoplatonist-Christian conclusion on God as the summum bonum (typical in the Cassiciacum dialogues; cf. also C. Acad. and De ord.); in later discussions, Augustine is much more consistently biblical, insisting that true blessedness is attained only through Christ, who brings believers into the bliss of eternal rest in God (cf., e.g., Epp. 118; 155; Serm. 150; C.D. XIX.1ff.). [On the vita beata theme, see P.J. Couvee, Vita beata en vita aeterna. Een onderzoek naar de ontwikkeling van het begrip "vita beata" naast en tegenover "vita aeterna" bij

Lactantius, Ambrosius en Augustinus, onder invloed van de romeinsche Stoa (Baarn, 1947), esp. 131-173 on A., pointing out some of his Stoic sentiments (though Couvee is generally far from comprehensive in his treatment, and he overlooks the Neoplatonist middle ground between the immanent summum bonum of the Stoa and the transcendent summum bonum of Christianity, as Ernst Dassmann, Die Frömmigkeit des Kirchenvaters Ambrosius von Mailand: Quellen und Entfaltung (Münster, 1965), 261-267, notes); R. Holte, Béatitude et Sagesse: saint Augustin et le problème de la fin de l'homme dans la philosophie ancienne (Paris, 1962), esp. 63-70, 165-176, 193-231. Holte, 175n.5, suggests that A.'s Iacob and Off. may have partly inspired Augustine to write De beata vita; it is possible that Iacob might, but Off. is later than 386, and in any case the subject is celebrated in philosophy already. On Augustine's De beata vita, see the excellent edition of Jean Doignon in BA 4/1, 1986. A. Solignac, 'Nouveaux parallèles entre saint Ambroise et Plotin: le De Iacob et vita beata et le περὶ εὐδαιμονίας (Ennéade I,iv),' Archives de Philosophie 19, 1956, 148-156, points out the Neoplatonism of A.'s Iacob.]

Here in II.1-21 A. would agree proleptically with Augustine's comment in Serm. 150.4: 'appetitio igitur beatae vitae philosophis Christianisque communis est'. He produces a blend of Stoic and Neoplatonist thought and the tradition of the beatus in the Psalms and Wisdom literature, plus the Johannine and Pauline teaching on eschatology. The section offers a significant insight into A.'s approach to philosophy, as he sets pagan error against scriptural truth whilst still retaining certain congenial aspects of pagan belief.

quam Scriptura appellat vitam aeternam: As ever [Introduction, II.iv], A. goes to Scripture to

authenticate classical terminology. The vita beata is realised in the life to come. Couvee, 85-105, outlines the basic biblical features of eternal life.

Tantus enim splendor honestatis est, ut vitam beatam efficiant tranquillitas conscientiae et securitas innocentiae: A. envisages a blessedness in this life also, consisting of the maintenance of a good conscience. Despite the similarities with Stoic belief in *αὐτάρκεια* and *ἀπαθεια*, though, it is clear from II.8-12 below that A. uses 'innocence' with a Christian force; a good conscience is the knowledge that one is guiltless in God's sight [pace Testard, 'Conscientia', 235-236].

sicut exortus sol lunae globum et cetera stellarum abscondit lumina, ita fulgor honestatis... cetera...

obumbrat: In Fin. V.71, Cic. uses a similar image of the superiority of the radiance of the sun over that of the stars for the splendour of the virtues compared with bodily goods: 'Ita enim parvae et exiguae sunt istae accessiones bonorum ut, quemadmodum stellae in radiis solis, sic istae in virtutum splendore ne cernantur quidem'; it may be that the simile is suggested to A. by this passage, since in II.4 he draws on Fin. V.73. However, Paul also contrasts the brilliance of the sun, moon, and stars in 1 Cor. 15.40-41. The imagery of light and darkness is also prominent in Ambrose's hymns.

decore: On the very close association of honestas and decor/decus, cf. I.219-221.

cetera quae putantur bona: A. agrees with the Stoics that pleasures and external goods are irrelevant to blessedness; virtue alone is adequate. A. goes on to argue that bona such as riches can be an impediment to the blessed life (II.15ff.; cf. I.28-29, and II.2).

voluptatem corporis: A sneer at Epicurean ethical theory in particular [cf. I.50n.; II.4].

2. domesticis percipitur sensibus: The opinions of other people do not matter; the criterion of blessedness is internal. Conscience here does have a very Stoic ring to it; but biblical citation follows below.

tamquam sui iudex: Cf. I.147n.

quo minus sequitur gloriam, eo magis super eam eminet: Testard, 'Conscientia', 236n.2, points out the similarity of Sallust, Cat. 54.6 (of M. Porcius Cato): 'ita, quo minus gloriam petebat, eo magis sequebatur' [quoted by Augustine in C.D. V.12]; and Pliny, Ep. I.8.14: 'Praeterea meminimus, quanto maiore animo honestatis fructus in conscientia quam in fama reponatur. Sequi enim gloria, non appeti debet, nec, si casu aliquo non sequatur, idcirco, quod gloriam non meruit, minus pulchrum est.' Cf. also Livy, XX.39.20: (Fabius Cunctator speaks) 'Gloriam qui spreverit, veram habebit' [on this idea as a political principle, see the comments of David Earl, The Moral and Political Tradition of Rome (London, 1967), ch. 1].

On A.'s pejorative use of gloria, cf. I.3n.

umbra futurorum: Cf. I.239; here, though, the obtaining of the reward of glory in this world is a shadow of the 'reward' of punishment in the life to come (cf. I.147).

'Amen dico vobis...': Matt. 6.2.

de his scilicet qui velut tuba canente...: Cf. Jesus's condemnation of ostentatious giving in Matt. 6.2: 'Cum ergo facies elemosynam, noli tuba canere ante te, sicut hypocritae faciunt in synagogis et in vicis, ut honorificentur ab hominibus...'

Similiter et de ieiunio, quod ostentationis causa faciunt : 'Habent,' inquit, 'mercedem suam': Matt. 6.16.

3. in abscondito, ut mercedem videaris a solo Deo tuo quaerere: Cf. Matt. 6.4,18. At the beginning of

II.2, blessedness depends upon a good conscience; now A. gives a Christian slant: blessedness is the reward of virtue unobserved by men but seen by God.

'Amen dico tibi, hodie mecum eris in paradiso': Lk. 23.43, Christ's words to the penitent thief on the cross beside Him.

Unde expressius Scriptura vitam aeternam appellavit eam quae sit beata, ut non hominum opinionibus aestimandum relinqueretur...: Throughout this opening chapter, A. interweaves two definitions of the blessed life: first, the blessed life = eternal life (II.1,3), and second, the blessed life = a good conscience (II.2). One is Christian, the other essentially Stoic. Here he returns to the first, but links it to the second with the mention of hominum opiniones, picking up populares opiniones in II.2: men's opinions do not matter; what matters is that one knows that one has acted virtuously, and that God knows it. God will reward secret virtue with eternal life.

II: THE BLESSED LIFE, ACCORDING TO THE PHILOSOPHERS AND ACCORDING TO THE SCRIPTURES.

4. Itaque philosophi: Itaque implies a link between the views of the philosophers and the hominum opiniones of II.3: philosophy and popular judgement are equally astray.

The review of Greek philosophical definitions of the summum bonum is based on information which A. has culled from Cic. Cic. mentions philosophical views similarly in I.5-6; III.116-119, but A. is drawing not upon Cic.'s Off. but on details given elsewhere in Cic.: Madec, 171-172 (and 133n.240), has suggested convincingly that A. is largely dependent upon a single paragraph of Cic., Fin. V.73, for most of the

details which follow:

'Saepe ab Aristotele, a Theophrasto mirabiliter est laudata per se ipsa rerum scientia; hoc uno captus Erillus scientiam summum bonum esse defendit nec rem ullam aliam per se expetendam. Multa sunt dicta ab antiquis de contemnendis ac despiciendis rebus humanis; hoc unum Aristo tenuit; praeter vitia atque virtutes negavit rem esse ullam aut fugiendam aut expetendam. Positum est a nostris in iis esse rebus quae secundum naturam essent non dolere; hoc Hieronymus summum bonum esse dixit. At vero Callipho et post eum Diodorus, cum alter voluptatem adamasset, alter vacuitatem doloris, neuter honestate carere potuit, quae est a nostris laudata maxime.'

The views of Epicurus and Zeno, not outlined in this passage, were very well known, and could in any case be gleaned from elsewhere in Cic.'s philosophical treatises. It is interesting that Lactantius, Inst. III.7-8, also lists the definitions of the summum bonum given by Hieronymus, Herillus, Callipho, Diodorus, Zeno, Epicurus, and Aristotle, among others, doubtless following Cic., Fin. V.73, in particular. [For other 'doxographies' in A., see Madec, 171-174. As Madec says (84), in Off. A. shows the same hostility to the ethics of the philosophers that he shows to their physics in Hex. (cf. esp. Hex. I.1-4).

On each of the philosophers mentioned, I give numerous other Ciceronian references as well as Fin. V.73; on the biographical details, I draw upon the information provided by A.A. Long & D.N. Sedley, The Hellenistic Philosophers (2 Vols., Cambridge, 1987) and the relevant articles in OCD. For the other Greek and Latin sources besides Cic., see Long & Sedley.

alii in non dolendo posuerunt, ut Hieronymus: Hieronymus of Rhodes was a Peripatetic philosopher and literary historian who lived at Athens c. 290-230 B.C. He held that the supreme good is the absence of pain: Cic., Acad. II.131; Fin. II.8,16,19,32,35,41; V.14,20,73; Tusc. II.15; V.84,87-88.

alii in rerum scientia, ut Herillus: Herillus or Erillus of Carthage, fl. c. 260 B.C., was a disciple of Zeno the Stoic, and the founder of a separate strict Stoic sect, which does not appear to have survived beyond the end of the third century B.C. He held that knowledge is the highest good, and that virtue is only a subordinate end, differing according to circumstances: Cic., Acad. II.129; Fin. II.43; IV.36,40; V.23,73 (cf. also Tusc. V.85; Off. I.6).

qui audiens ab Aristotele et Theophrasto mirabiliter laudatam esse rerum scientiam...: A very close echo of Cic., Fin. V.73 [cf. above]. On the views of Aristotle and Theophrastus, see below.

Alii voluptatem dixerunt, ut Epicurus: Cf. I.50n.

alii, ut Callipho et post eum Diodorus, ita interpretati sunt, ut alter ad voluptatem, alter ad vacuitatem doloris, consortium honestatis adiungerent...: Again, very similar to Cic., Fin. V.73 [cf. above]. Callipho, fl. probably early-third century B.C., was a Cyrenaic or an Epicurean disciple who believed that the end of man is pleasure and virtue (he emphasised pleasure of the mind, whereas the founder of the Cyrenaics, the hedonist Aristippus, concentrated on bodily pleasure): Cic., Acad. II.131,139; Fin. II.19,34-35; IV.50; V.21; Tusc. V.85. He is sometimes linked with one Dinomachus. Cic. rejects the joining of voluptas to honestas as an impossible attempt to link opposites (Off. III.119). Diodorus was the successor to Critolaus as the leader of the Peripatetic school, c. 110 B.C. He held that

the summum bonum is virtue plus freedom from pain: Cic., Acad. II.131; Fin. II.19,34-35; IV.50; V.14,21; Tusc. V.85.

Zenon Stoicus solum et summum bonum quod honestum est: Zeno of Citium in Cyprus, 335-262 B.C., was the famous founder of Stoicism, teaching in the Stoa Poikile at Athens from 313/2 B.C. He taught that the sole, supreme good is the honestum, and that this is sufficient for the blessed life, which consists of living according to nature. Cf. esp. SVF I.3-72; Diogenes Laertius, VII.1-160; and Cic., Acad. I.35; II.131; Fin. III (esp. 50,58); V (esp. 79ff.); Tusc. V (esp. 33); Off. III.35. A. names Zeno in only one other place, where he calls him simply 'Stoicorum magister atque auctor sectae ipsius', and claims that Solomon discerned great truth long before him (Abr. II.37).

Aristoteles autem vel Theophrastus et ceteri Peripatetici in virtute quidem...: Aristotle's view was that the highest good is activity of soul in accordance with virtue, plus external prosperity (cf. esp. N.E. 1099a31ff.; 1153b21ff.; also Cic., Acad. II.131; Fin. II.19; IV.14-15). Aristotle and the Peripatetics, following Plato, distinguished three types of bona: those of soul, of body, and of fortune/externals (N.E. 1098b12ff.) [A. notes this in Abr. II.68-70 (and cf. Abr. II.33), where he is drawing on Philo, Quaest. in Gen. III.16.]

Theophrastus of Eresus in Lesbos, c. 370-288/7 B.C., was a pupil, collaborator, and (from 322 B.C.) the successor of Aristotle. He carried out extensive researches in science, especially in botany, though little of his work survives; he was also an accomplished orator and prose stylist. In ethics, he followed his master in arguing for a combination of virtue plus prosperity: cf. esp. Cic., Acad. I.33,35;

II.134; Fin. V.12,77,85-86; Tusc. V.24. The association of Aristotle and Theophrastus which A, makes here is under the direct influence of Cic., Fin. V.73 [cf. above].

Testard, 'Étude', 174n.39, suggests that A. throughout I.1-21 is directing his polemic against the Peripatetic view in particular. A. is opposed not to the Stoic view that virtue is itself sufficient for blessedness (indeed, on the contrary: cf. II.18), but to the belief of Aristotle and his followers that physical or external goods must be added to virtue for a man to be happy (cf. II.1,8,15,16,18).

5. Scriptura autem: The usual sharp contrast of Scripture with philosophy.

It is clear that vita aeterna here is used as a synonym for vita beata in II.4, in accordance with the definition given in II.1.

in cognitionis...Divinitatis et fructu bonae operationis: Faith plus good works is the biblical prescription. The scientia of which A. speaks in the next sentence is by no means the scientific knowledge which Herillus held to be the summum bonum [II.4]; it is the knowledge of God. A. is thus looking back to his formulation of the first cardinal virtue: prudence is the knowledge of God, not the pursuit of human learning (I.117-121,122-129).

'Haec est autem vita aeterna...': John 17.3.

'Omnis qui reliquerit domum...': Matt. 19.29.

6. Sed ne aestimetur hoc recens esse...: See Introduction, II.iv (iv). A. cannot claim that the philosophers of Hellenistic Greece developed their ideas later than Christ (in II.5), so he goes back to the 'prophet' David [for whose dates cf. I.31n.].

'Beatus quem tu erudieris, Domine...': Ps. 93.12.

'Beatus vir qui timet Dominum...': Ps. 111.1.

Docuimus de cognitione...: By quoting these verses of

David's, we have demonstrated, says A., the first ingredient of blessedness: the knowledge of God.

'in domo,'...,'gloria et divitiae...': Ps. 111.3.

De operibus quoque...: The second constituent of blessedness.

'Beatus vir qui miseretur et commodat...': Ps. 111.5-7.

'Dispersit, dedit pauperibus...': Ps. 111.9.

The evocation of the OT beatus vir here and in II.8 (and the quotations from the Beatitudes in II.9,15) is a key to A.'s thought in this whole section. For the philosophical term vita beata he seeks scriptural justification: the 'blessedness' of which the pagans speak is a theme found also - and, in the case of the OT tradition, earlier - in the Bible. Two strands are combined throughout I.1-21: on the one hand, A. seeks to present the biblical vita beata as wholly superior to that of the pagans; on the other hand, he retains a view of an earthly as well as a heavenly blessedness, a synthesis of Stoic teaching with the biblical presentation of the beatus vir whose faith in God is evidenced by his works of virtue in this life. The first strand is wholly scriptural; the second is a combination of Scripture and Stoicism. [Some aspects of this synthesis have been noted by J.E. Niederhuber, Die Lehre des hl. Ambrosius vom Reiche Gottes auf Erden. Eine patristische Studie (Mainz, 1904), 143-159, and esp. 191-204; also Couvee, op. cit. in II.ln., 155ff.]

7. quia fundamentum est bonum: Cf. I.126,142,252-253. prudentiam suam factis refellit: Faith must be proved by good works; without them, it is seen to be a sham (cf. Jas. 2.14ff., and next n.).

gravius est scire quid facias, nec fecisse quod faciendum cognoveris: Cf. Jas. 4.17: 'Scienti igitur bonum facere, et non facienti, peccatum est illi'.

ita est ac si vitioso fundamento pulchra culminum velis elevare fastigia...: Cf. Jesus's illustration in Matt. 7.24-27.

Infida statio: Somewhat reminiscent of Vergil, Aen. II.23: 'nunc tantum sinus et statio male fida carinis'; A. uses the same image in Iacob II.28, where he also evokes Lucretius, II.1-4; cf., too, Iacob I.24: '[vita beata] nescit naufragia, qui semper in portu tranquillitatis est'. The image of the harbour has a long tradition in Greek and Latin literature, especially to describe death, or the haven of philosophy [on the adoption of the classical metaphor by Christian authors, see the useful review by Campbell Bonner, 'Desired Haven,' HTR 34, 1941, 49-67]. A. uses it here to picture faith as a safe harbour in which good works may be done. As faith is the fundamentum and munimentum, so it is a fida statio.

aequalitas sobrietatis: Alongside prudence (faith) and justice (charity-good works), is temperance.

III: BLESSEDNESS IS UNRELATED TO CIRCUMSTANCES

8. explosa est: Cic. uses this verb in rejection of the tenets of philosophers in Fin. V.23 and Off. I.6.

philosophiae disputationes superfluas: The treatment of philosophy is unmistakably negative. For other examples of disputatio/disputare used pejoratively by A., see Madec, 92n.392.

vel quasi semiperfecta sententia: I.e., as incomplete without works of virtue. Semiperfectus is a rare adjective, but it is used in silver prose [OLD].

tam multiplices et implicatas atque confusas ...quaestiones philosophiae: Perhaps A. is thinking of the review of philosophical views in treatises like

Cic.'s Fin. and Tusc.. Augustine, C.D. XIX.1, notes that Varro's De philosophia (now lost) enumerated 288 schools of thought 'de finibus bonorum et malorum' [PL 16, 112n.7]. Cf. also the survey of Lactantius in Inst. III.7ff.

The complicated debates of philosophy contrast with the simple and authoritative delineation of truth in divina Scriptura.

Nihil enim bonum Scriptura nisi quod honestum adserit, virtutemque in omni rerum statu beatam iudicat...:

The belief that virtue alone is sufficient for the blessed life, and that externals are irrelevant, is classically Stoic (cf. esp. Cic., Tusc. V; and Cic., Parad. II), but A. attributes it to the teaching of the Scriptures.

nisi quod a peccato alienum sit, plenum innocentiae, repletum gratia Dei: The Stoic sentiment is combined with the Christian ideas of being innocent of sin and being the recipient of divine grace. Blessedness is the knowledge that one is pure in God's eyes. Scriptural verses are appended, too:

'Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum...': Ps. 1.1-2.

'Beati immaculati in via...': Ps. 118.1.

9. Innocentia igitur et scientia beatum faciunt: In II.5-7, blessedness is said to consist of the knowledge of God plus good works; here in II.8-9, it is the knowledge of God plus innocence. Freedom from sin is a prerequisite for meritorious good works.

superius advertimus: Cf. II.5-7.

voluptatis: Cf. II.4 and I.50n. on the Cyrenaic-Epicurean ideal of pleasure.

doloris: On the unimportance of dolor, cf. Cic., Tusc. II, esp. 31ff. For similar language about dolor and the externals, cf. Iacob I.27-39 (and cf. Iacob II.37ff.).

eviratum: A very rare word; cf. III.77 [TLL].

in ipsis doloribus vitam beatam eminere demonstrat:

A. goes on to argue that pain/sorrow/loss are in fact conducive to the attainment of blessedness (II.10-21). He parts company with the Stoics at this point: for them, dolor and the other vicissitudes of life are *ἀδιάφορα*, morally neutral; for A., such troubles are of positive benefit to the redemptive progress of the believer, because when rightly handled they win the favour and reward of God eternally. To the Stoics, paradoxes like 'only the sage is free' (Cic., Parad. V) or 'only the sage is rich' (Cic., Parad. VI) are based upon the convictions that virtue is sufficient for blessedness and that the wise man achieves detachment from vices and externals. For A., blessedness in outward disadvantages is grounded on the conviction that God brings His people to glory through suffering; Stoic teaching is transmuted under the influence of the Christian doctrine of sanctification and the eschatological hope. This theme is of great significance to the development of the utile in Book II: the expedient is presented as that which is helpful to the practice of faith and virtue, and so to the gaining of eternal life.

'Beati estis, cum vobis maledicent...': Matt. 5.11-12.

'Qui vult venire post me...': Matt. 16.24/Mk. 8.34/Lk. 9.23 (the words 'let him deny himself' are omitted).

IV: BIBLICAL EXAMPLES OF THE BLESSEDNESS OF SUFFERING

10. in doloribus: The term is clearly broader than 'pains', in view of the examples which follow; dolor for A. covers seems to cover suffering generally.

vel ad conscientiam, vel ad gratiam: A combination of internal and external benefits: virtue brings a good conscience (classical [II.1-2] but also Christian [II.8-9]) and grace (Christian) [see Testard, 'Conscientia', 237-238].

Moyses, cum Aegyptiorum vallatus populis...: The Israelites, led by Moses, were impeded on the one hand by the Red Sea and threatened on the other by the pursuing army of Pharaoh; when Moses lifted his staff at God's command, an east wind divided the waters, allowing the Israelites to pass through on dry ground; the sea then engulfed the Egyptians when they tried to follow (Ex. 14.1-31).

fortior...exigebat triumphum: One might think that the story illustrates fortitude (cf. I.196ff.) rather than blessedness in dolor.

11. Quid Aaron, quando se beatiorem credidit, quam tunc quando medios stetit...?: God was visiting the Israelites with a plague because they had unfairly grumbled against Moses and Aaron for being responsible for the deaths of the rebellious sons of Korah; Aaron was instructed by Moses to offer incense in the midst of the assembly, standing between the living and the dead, so that the plague would cease (Num. 16.1-50, esp. 41-50). [On A.'s exegesis of this passage elsewhere, see Roger Gryson, 'La médiation d'Aaron d'après saint Ambroise,' RTAM 47, 1980, 5-15 (from Gryson, Typologie, 46-58).]

Quid de puero Daniele loquar...?: See Dan. 14.23-42. Daniel is sapiens because he knows and obeys God; his fortitude stems from this.

12. quae sibi bonae suavitatem exhibeat conscientiae: The mention of conscience alludes to Daniel's innocence in the midst of the trial mentioned in II.11.

virtutis voluptatem: Voluptas here is obviously

positive; a good conscience is the satisfying reward of virtue in this life, just as eternal blessedness is its remuneration in the life to come.

per voluptatem corporis aut commodorum gratiam: Voluptas is pejorative, and gratia means 'superficial charm', not divine grace.

'Quae mihi lucra fuerunt...': Phil. 3.7.

'Propter quem omnia damna duxi...': Phil. 3.8.

13. Moyses damnus suum credidit thesauros esse Aegyptiorum...: Cf. Heb. 11.24-26: 'Fide Moses grandis factus negavit se esse filium filiae Pharaonis; magis eligens affligi cum populo Dei quam temporalis peccati habere iucunditatem, maiores divitias aestimans thesauro Aegyptiorum improprium Christi: aspiciebat enim in remunerationem'. On the common identification of the 'treasures of the Egyptians' with secular learning, cf. I.123n.; here A. takes it as literal wealth.

opprobrium Dominicae crucis: Cf. Gal. 5.11, 'scandalum crucis'.

cum abundaret pecunia: During his youth, as an adopted child at the court of Pharaoh (Ex. 2.1-10).

cum egeret alimento: When leading the Israelites through the wilderness (Ex. 16.1-36; Num. 11.4-35).

manna ei, hoc est panis angelorum, ministrabatur e caelo: See Ex. 16.13-36; Num. 11.7-9. The mysterious food ('manna' = 'what is it?': Ex. 16.15,31) fell from heaven as a resin or frost along with the dew, and tasted like coriander seed. It was supplied six days a week (double on the sixth day and none on the Sabbath) for forty years. It is called 'panis angelorum' in Ps. 77.25.

carnis quoque cottidiana pluvia...: Quail-flesh was supplied in vast quantities for the Israelites (Ex. 16.11-13; Num. 11.31-33).

14. Eliae quoque sancto panis ad victum deerat...: Elijah was brought food by ravens while he hid, at the Lord's command, in the Kerith ravine east of the Jordan, during a time of drought in Israel (3 Kings 17.1-6).

mane panis, caro ad vesperam deferebatur: A.'s memory of the story is not totally accurate; in fact, both bread and meat were brought in the morning and again in the evening (3 Kings 17.6).

quia erat Deo dives: Probably an echo of Lk. 12.21, where, by contrast, the rich fool 'non est in Deum dives'.

Aliis enim quam sibi divitem esse praestat...: The riches of Elijah's faith redounded to the benefit of others; his outward poverty was (like Christ's, below) for their enrichment.

qui tempore famis cibum a vidua petebat...: The widow of Zarephath in Sidon was saved, along with her son, when she provided for Elijah. According to his prophecy, her jar of flour and jug of oil did not run dry during all the time of the drought (3 Kings 17.7-24, esp. vv. 7-16).

per triennium et sex menses: A. follows the NT's chronology of a three-and-a-half-year drought (Lk. 4.25; Jas. 5.17), whereas 3 Kings 18.1 speaks of the drought ending 'in the third year'. The longer figure is probably a round number signifying half of the seven-year period which was common for a drought (cf. Gen. 41.27; 4 Kings 8.1), and thus indicating that this one was cut short. A. gives the NT figure when narrating the story again in III.4.

Merito ibi volebat Petrus esse, ubi istos videbat...: Moses and Elijah appeared and talked with Jesus at His transfiguration; Peter, in nervous fear, offered to erect booths for Moses, Elijah, and Jesus, saying that it was good for James, John, and himself to be there

to witness the scene (Matt. 17.1-9 [esp. v.4]/ Mk. 9.1-8 [esp. v.4]/ Lk. 9.28-36 [esp. v.33].

et ipse pauper factus est, cum dives esset: 2 Cor. 8.9.

15. Nullum ergo adminiculum praestant divitiae ad vitam beatam: The mention of the true riches possessed by Moses, Elijah, and Christ (II.13-14) leads to an attack on earthly riches as an impediment to the blessed life, a theme which occurs repeatedly throughout Book II (cf. also I.28,59,241-245). [See in general G.D. Gordini, 'La ricchezza secondo S. Ambrogio,' Ambrosius 3, 1957, 102-123.]

'Beati, pauperes, quoniam vestrum est regnum Dei': Lk. 6.20. On A.'s exegesis of this saying, cf. I.59n.

'Beati qui nunc esuriunt et sitiunt, quia saturabuntur': A mélange of the versions of this beatitude given by Lk. 6.21 and Matt. 5.6.

'Beati qui nunc fletis, quia ridebitis': Lk. 6.21.

non solum impedimento...sed etiam adiumento: According to the scriptural teaching, things popularly considered to be evils are in fact beneficial to blessedness because they bring the sufferer to the ultimate bliss of eternal life; cf. II.9n.

V: SUPPOSED GOODS ARE A HINDRANCE TO THE BLESSED LIFE, WHEREAS SUPPOSED EVILS PROMOTE BLESSEDNESS.

16. 'Vae vobis divitibus...! Vae vobis qui saturati estis...!': Lk. 6.24-25.

et illi qui rident, quia lugebunt: Cf. Lk. 6.25.

There will be a great reversal in the next world: those who were rich and happy in this life will then be in misery, while those who were needy and sorrowful will receive the consolation of eternal bliss. Cf. I.28-29,59-62.

sed etiam dispendio sunt: Cf. I.28,154.

17. Inde enim beatus Nabuthe...: Naboth refused to hand over his inherited vineyard to king Ahab of Samaria (the dives mentioned here); the queen, Jezebel, instigated a false trial and had Naboth condemned to death by stoning for having cursed God and the king (3 Kings 21.1-29). A.'s De Nabuthae, dated to perhaps 389 or later, is a redaction of a sermonic treatment of the account of Naboth, and a powerful denunciation of the oppressive rich; it is the only extant patristic work devoted to Naboth [on the literary setting, sources, and ideas of Nab., see esp. Vasey, 21-104]. For other references to Naboth in A.'s corpus, including III.63-64, see Vasey, 22. A. justifies his exposition in Nab. by saying that it is an old story, but it happens every day (Nab. 1).

quia sanguine proprio defenderet iura maiorum suorum: In accordance with both OT Law (Lev. 25.23-25) and Roman belief (cf., e.g., Cic. I.21,51 on the sanctity of property), A. displays a traditional regard for a family inheritance; Naboth was quite right not to surrender his inheritance (cf. III.63; Nab. 13; Expl. Ps. 36.19). He sees Naboth as a sort of martyr for heredity [so Vasey, 150].

miser Achab, etiam suo iudicio: See 3 Kings 21.27; Ahab's remorse was instilled by Elijah's prophecy of retribution on the king, his queen, and the nation.

18. Certum est solum et summum bonum esse virtutem: This is completely Stoic; cf. II.4n. Though A. nowhere in his works defines virtus [so Löpfe, 71], its sense in II.1-21 is clear: it is a synonym for the honestum/honestas which Zeno counted as the solum et summum bonum (II.4; cf. II.10,12), and it is good works in the Christian sense (II.7,8). Stoic and Christian views combine.

eamque abundare solam ad vitae fructum beatæ; nec

externis aut corporis bonis, sed virtute sola vitam praestari beatam, per quam vita aeterna acquiritur:

Next to the notorious sentence on private property in I.132, these are the most disputed words in the entire work; the debate has been caused by A.'s ambiguity. Does per quam refer to vitam beatam or to virtute sola? Is eternal life obtained by the blessed life, or by virtue alone? In II.1 and II.3 the vita beata is said to be vita aeterna, according to the teaching of Scripture (cf. also the equivalence of the terms in II.4 and II.5). Why, then, would A. now distinguish the two and make eternal life the outcome of the blessed life? On the other hand, many scholars are reluctant to believe that A. would say that eternal life is gained by virtue alone, since there is no mention of faith; he would seem to be tacking Christian doctrine on to pure Stoicism. The first interpretation, that per quam refers to vitam beatam, is upheld by the following, among others: J.E. Niederhuber, Die Lehre des hl. Ambrosius vom Reiche Gottes auf Erden (Mainz, 1904), 192; id., translation ad loc., and 5n.2; M. Badura, Die leitenden Grundsätze des hl. Ambrosius (Prague, 1921), 17; De Romestin, translation ad loc.; Dudden II, 516; Dassmann, 264n.314; Testard, 'Étude', 175; 'Conscientia', 238; Crouter, 253; see also the comments of H.H. Scullard, Early Christian Ethics in the West, from Clement to Ambrose (London, 1907), 183-187; Luigi Visconti, 'Il primo trattato di filosofia morale cristiana (Il De Officiis di S. Ambrogio e di Cicerone),' Atti della Reale Accademia d'archeologia, lettere e belle arti di Napoli 25.2, 1908, (41-62), 54-57. The argument is that earlier in the sentence A. speaks of the fructus of the vita beata, which might then be said to be vita aeterna. The blessed life in this world is seen as the way to the reward of eternal life. A larger

number of scholars follow the second interpretation, that per quam refers to virtute: D. Leitmeir, Apologie der christlichen Moral (Augsburg, 1866), 65; Paul Ewald, Der Einfluss der stoisch-ciceronianisch Moral auf die Darstellung der Ethik bei Ambrosius (Leipzig, 1881), 26n.1; Th. Schmidt, Ambrosius, sein Werk De Officiis Libri III und die Stoa (Augsburg, 1897), 18-19; Thamin, 220n.3; Friedrich Wagner, Der Sittlichkeitsbegriff in der hl. Schrift und in der altchristlichen Ethik (Munster, 1931), 220; Stelzenberger, 335-340; Cavasin, translation ad loc.; Muckle 1939, 68,73; Alcuin F. Coyle, 'Cicero's De Officiis and the De Officiis Ministrorum of St. Ambrose,' Franciscan Studies 15, 1955, (224-256) 233; Max Pohlenz, Die Stoa (2 Vols., Gottingen, 1948), I, 446; Banterle, translation ad loc.; Sauer, 39-41. This reading is surely more convincing. At the beginning of the sentence, the stress is upon virtus as the highest good. In the sentence which follows [Vita enim beata fructus...], the blessed life and eternal life are clearly distinguished: vita beata is the fructus of virtue in this world, while vita aeterna is the hope of the world to come; there is no hint that vita aeterna is gained by the vita beata. Whichever interpretation one follows, then, it is undeniable that A. is logically contradicting what he says in II.1 and II.3 by making a distinction between vita beata and vita aeterna. A. is using vita beata in two senses: (i) as a synonym for vita aeterna (II.1,3); and (ii), to describe an incomplete blessedness here on earth. As it might be said [see Niederhuber, Die Lehre des hl. Ambrosius vom Reiche Gottes auf Erden, 191-204; also Sauer, 35-47], A. differentiates 'soteriological' (earthly) and 'eschatological' (heavenly) bliss. Virtue wins one kind of bliss in this world, and another, vita

aeterna, in the world to come. This view is fully in harmony with the thought of A. elsewhere in the work (cf. I.233-240; III.11). There is, then, a synthesis of Stoic and Christian teaching here. Virtue is the solum et summum bonum: it gains the vita beata on earth (Stoic) AND the vita aeterna in heaven (Christian). It is true that A. says nothing here about faith's role in the obtaining of eternal life; in that respect he is ostensibly more Stoic than Christian. But it is clear from II.5-7,9 that he thinks of virtus especially in terms of Christian good works, and, as he says in II.9, the reward for such good works is the blessedness of eternal life. Stoic and Christian ideas are fused rather than juxtaposed [pace Dudden II, 519; also Testard, 'Conscientia', 239]; virtue is the 'hope and cause of heaven' [Muckle 1939, 72-73].

19. in hoc corpore tam infirmo...: Reminiscent of Platonist and NT emphasis on the frailty of the body (cf., e.g., Matt. 26.41/Mk. 13.38; 2 Cor. 5.1ff.; Phil. 3.21; 2 Pet. 1.13-14).

altitudine sapientiae, suavitate conscientiae, virtute sublimitate: This could be classical rather than Christian (cf. II.10,12); but A. goes on to join biblical examples of victory in suffering to these Stoic ἀπρόθεια and αὐτόρκεια ideals.

victorem esse passionis beatum est: Cf. the NT pictures of eternal triumph for earthly suffering (Rom. 8.18,31-39, esp. v.37; 1 Cor. 15.57; Jas. 1.12). There are similarities here with A.'s exposition of fortitude (esp. I.183ff.; cf. also I.59-62).

20. caecitatem, exsilium, famem: In Tusc. V, Cic. records the Stoic argument that these supposed evils cannot undermine the blessedness of the wise man (blindness: V.110-115; exile: V.106-109; simplicity of food: V.97-102). Blindness, exile, need, child-

lessness, and other afflictions are mentioned by Cic. in Fin. V.84-86, where he criticises the Stoic position. A. is therefore evoking standard examples of worldly misfortunes. But he goes on to say that such suffering is not indifferent, but actually beneficial; Scriptural cases are cited.

Isaac, qui non videbat in senectute et beatitudines suis benedictionibus conferebat: See Gen. 27.1-40.

A. omits to mention that Isaac's blindness allowed him to be duped by Jacob into giving him the blessing of the first-born, deserved by Esau, an incident which marked the beginning of the conflict between his sons. Jacob was again blessed by his father when he left home (Gen. 28.1-5).

beatus Iacob, qui profugus patria domo, mercenarius pastor exsilium sustinuit: Jacob fled from Esau's revenge and served his uncle, Laban, in Haran as a shepherd (Gen. 27.41-45; 28.5; 29.1 - 30.43).

filiae pudicitiam ingemuit esse temeratam: Jacob's daughter Dinah was raped by Shechem; her brothers were in fact more furious than her father, and in the end Simeon and Levi massacred all the men of Shechem (Gen. 34.1-31).

famem pertulit: There is no mention of this in the Gen. record, but it is perhaps implied in the vow that Jacob made at Bethel to worship the Lord if protection, food, and clothing were granted him in his exile (Gen. 28.20-22), and Jacob's later testimony to Laban that the Lord provided for him in hardship (Gen. 31.40-42).

quorum fide: Cf. the focus on the faith of Isaac and Jacob in Heb. 11.20-21. A. now brings in the mention of faith which he omitted from the formula of blessedness in II.18.

'Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac, Deus Iacob': Ex. 3.6,15-16; 4.5 (cf. also Matt. 22.32/Mk. 12.26/Lk. 20.37;

Acts 3.13; 7.32).

Misera est servitus, sed non miser Ioseph, immo plane beatus, cum dominae libidines...: Joseph's brothers sold him to some Midianites/Ishmaelites (Gen. 37.23-28), who in turn sold him to the Egyptian court-official, Potiphar (39.1); in Potiphar's house, Joseph was hardly a menial, being placed in charge of the entire household (39.4-6). Potiphar's wife attempted to seduce him, but he resisted (39.6-12); for his pains, he was then imprisoned on a false charge of attempted rape (39.13-20), but even in prison Joseph again found favour and subsequent preferment (39.20 - 41.57).

David...qui trium filiorum deploravit obitum: David lost the first son which Bathsheba bore him (as a punishment for his adultery with her; 2 Kings 12.13-23); Amnon, his eldest surviving son, was killed by Absalom for having committed incest with his sister Tamar (2 Kings 13.1-34); and the rebel Absalom himself was killed, contrary to David's orders, by Joab (2 Kings 18.1 - 19.4).

et, quod his durius, incestum filiae: Tamar, raped by Amnon (2 Kings 13.1-34). Typically, A. sees the violation of virginity as worse than death.

de cuius successione beatitudinis auctor exortus est: The promised Messiah, Jesus, was of the house of David (cf. Matt. 1.6-17; Lk. 1.26-33,69; 2.4; etc.).

'Beati' enim 'qui non viderunt et crediderunt': John 20.29.

sed evaluerunt de infirmitate fortes: Cf. Heb. 11.34; on A.'s text of this verse, cf. I.178n.

sancto Iob, vel in domus incendio: Job lost his servants and his vast flocks of sheep in a fire caused by lightning (Job 1.16).

vel filiorum decem interitu momentaneo: Job's seven sons and three daughters (Job 1.2) were all killed

when a great wind made the oldest son's house collapse (Job 1.18-19).

beatus...in quibus magis probatus est: An allusion to Jas. 1.12: 'Beatus vir qui suffert temptationem, quia cum probatus fuerit, accipiet coronam vitae quam repromisit Deus diligentibus se'; cf. also Jas. 5.11 on Job, and see art. cit. in I.40n.

21. This paragraph contains a series of Vergilian phrases to describe nature; there is a larger cluster of them here than anywhere else in the work. [On A.'s evocation of Vergil, see Introduction, VI.]

vadosa litora: Not Vergilian, but the words occur in Valerius Maximus, VIII.7.1.

caelum...obtexitur: Cf. Vergil, Aen. XI.610-611: '...fundunt simul undique tela/ crebra nivis ritu caelumque obtexitur umbra'; cf. also Pliny, N.H. II.38.104: 'subinde per nubes caelum aliud atque aliud obtexens'.

ieiuna glarea: Cf. Vergil, Georg. II.212-213: 'nam ieiuna quidem clivosi glarea ruris/ vix humilis apibus casias roremque ministrat'.

laetas segetes: Cf. Vergil, Georg. I.1: 'Quid faciat laetas segetes...'; Cic. commends this well-known metaphor: De Or. III.155.

sterilem avenam: Cf. Vergil, Ecl. V.36-37: 'grandia saepe quibus mandavimus hordea sulcis,/ infelix lolium et steriles nascuntur avenae'; Georg. I.153-154: 'interque nitentia culta/ infelix lolium et steriles dominantur avenae'; cf. also Ovid, Fast. I.692. It is likely that A.'s evocation of these words may be prompted by Cic., Fin. V.91: 'At enim qua in vita est aliquid mali, ea beata esse non potest. Ne seges quidem igitur spicis uberibus et crebris si avenam uspiam videris....' A little trouble does not destroy the overall blessedness of life.

beatae messem conscientiae: The idea of the harvest

of a conscience seems to be found only in late writers [TLL, s.v. 'messis']; the Christian usage may be under the influence of the Bible's teaching about the fruit of righteousness (cf., e.g., Heb. 12.11; Jas. 3.18) [rather than, pace Testard, 'Conscientia', 241, the parable of the sower], though, as Testard, ibid., says, A. says nothing here about eternal reward.

acervo: This is clearly the correct reading, in place of acerbo [PL, Krabinger], in the context of the harvest (note manipulis, below) [so Testard, 'Conscientia', 240n.5, followed by Banterle].

Sed iam ad proposita pergamus: Cf. the end of Cic.'s opening section in Book II: 'Sed iam ad instituta pergamus' (Cic. II.8); cf. also Cic. II.35: 'Sed ad propositum revertamur'; III.39: 'Sed iam ad propositum revertamur'. As A. inserted a Ciceronian phrase in II.1, so he places one here, but otherwise II.1-21 is not indebted to Cic.'s Off., and these insertions are probably artificial attempts to tie an independent section to the structure of the work. The sentence here signals the commencement of the proper theme of Book II, the utile.

VI: THE EXPEDIENT IS NOT WEALTH OR BODILY GOOD, BUT PIETY.

22. Superiore libro ita divisionem fecimus, ut primo loco esset honestum ac decorum..., secundo loco quid utile: Cf. I.27, echoing Cic. I.9-10 (Cic. I.10 has 'divisione'). Cic. also begins the main section of Book II by referring to the programme set out in the first Book (Cic. II.9, linking 'decus' with 'honestas'). In II.22-28, A. follows Cic. II.9-10 on the equivalence of the honestum and the utile.

inter honestum et decorum est quaedam distinctio...:
Cf. I.219-221.

sic, et cum utile tractamus, considerandum videtur quid utilius: Not a faithful résumé of the divisio given in I.27, as Testard, 'Étude', 175n.42, notes. In I.27, A. sets out the three Panaetian subjects: the honourable, the expedient, and the relationship of the two, and adds Cic.'s two extra topics, the comparison of honesta and the comparison of utilia. Here, he suggests that the three subjects are the honourable/seemly, the expedient, and then, not the relationship of the two (though this is what he goes on to discuss in II.23-28), but the comparison of utilia. Besides, he makes the comparison of utilia in Book II (Cic. II.88-89) the equivalent of the distinction between honestum and decorum in Book I, and not, as it should be, the equivalent of the comparison of honesta in Book I (Cic. I.152-161). A.'s memory of the Ciceronian arrangement is less clear here than in I.27.

23. Utilitatem autem non pecuniarii lucri aestimatione subducimus, sed acquisitione pietatis: Cf. I.28-29; II.15-16; III.9. Cic. II.9 speaks of the corruption of the term utile, but only in terms of its separation from honestum in sense. In II.11, Cic. mentions gold and silver as expedients (cf. Cic. II.88), but also 'pietas et sanctitas' towards the gods. Possibly A. alludes to Cic. II.11 in his dissent from the expediency of financial gain and his esteem of Christian pietas instead, but his sentiment is also biblical: on the superiority of pietas over treacherous riches, cf. 1 Tim. 6.6-10, and below.

'Pietas autem ad omnia utilis est...': 1 Tim. 4.8.

A. is typically concerned to authenticate the classical concept of utile in the Scriptures [Introduction, II.iv (i)].

In Scripturis divinis, si diligenter quaeramus...: Cf. the language of Jesus about the woman who loses a coin: 'quaerit diligenter, donec inueniat' (Lk. 15.8); even in these small phrases, A.'s familiarity with the words of the Bible is in evidence.

'Omnia mihi licent...': 1 Cor. 6.12. Paul is warning that, while the Christian is free in his behaviour, not everything is helpful or advisable (hence 'expedient') for him, since it may ensnare him and so destroy his freedom. For A., this is tantamount to saying that the utile is honestum.

Supra de vitiis loquebatur: In 1 Cor. 6.9-10, Paul condemns a catalogue of vices, including idolatry, various sexual evils, theft, avarice, slander, and drunkenness.

Non enim Deo esca, sed ventri colligitur: Cf. 1 Cor. 6.13: 'Esca ventri, et venter escis; Deus autem et hunc et haec destruet...'.

24. ut seruiamus Christo: Cf. Col. 3.24: 'Domino Christo servite'.

qui nos redemit: Cf. Gal. 3.13: 'Christus nos redemit de maledicto legis...'.

ideo iusti, qui pro eius nomine se morti obtulerunt; iniusti qui declinaverunt: On suffering for the name of Christ, cf. Acts 5.41; 1 Pet. 4.14. Martyrdom should not be provoked (I.187,208), but the opportunity for a glorious death should be eagerly seized (II.153); those who have declined to suffer are iniusti.

'Quae utilitas in sanguine meo?': Ps. 29.10. Christ proleptically asks why He is to shed His blood to redeem those who are not prepared to shed their blood for His name. (For a similar Messianic interpretation of the verse, cf. Iacob I.26.) In context, however, the psalmist David recalls how he pleaded for the Lord's deliverance, asking what gain there would be in

his destruction.

'Alligemus iustum...': Wisd. 2.12; Is. 3.10 (LXX).

qui nos arguit...': Christ, the iustus, makes these iniusti feel uncomfortable in their unwillingness to suffer, and so they seek to 'bind', i.e., get rid of, this One who is 'useless' to them in their wickedness. sicut in Iuda proditore legimus, qui avaritiae studio et pecuniae cupiditate: Judas Iscariot was paid 30 pieces of silver to betray Jesus (Matt. 26.14-16, 47-50; Mk. 14.10-11, 43-46; Lk. 22.3-6, 47-48; John 18.1-8); John also records the fact that Judas was a dishonest keeper of the disciples' common purse (John 12.6).

laqueum proditoris incurrit atque incidit: Matthew tells how Judas, filled with remorse for his treachery, hanged himself (Matt. 27.3-10); cf. Acts 1.18-19.

25. 'Hoc autem ad utilitatem vestram dico...': 1 Cor. 7.35. The mention of Judas's laqueus in II.24 suggests to A. a verse which includes both utilitas and laqueus.

Liquet igitur quod honestum est, quid utile esse...': A. agrees with Cic. (e.g., Cic. II.9-10; III.11) that the honourable and the expedient are identical; cf. II.28; III.9.

ad mercatores lucri cupidine avaros: Cf. I.243n. On the addressees of the work, see Introduction, II.iii. sed ad filios sermo est, et sermo de officiis: On the question of sermonic as opposed to written composition, see Introduction, III.

quos elegi in ministerium Domini: Cf. I.24.

sermone ac disciplina: Cf. esp. I.65-89.

26. 'Declina cor meum in testimonia tua...': Ps. 118.36.

Aliqui habent...': Cf. A.'s comments in Expos. Ps. 118.5.27: "'Utilitatem" alii habent et puto, quod ideo

mutatum sit, quia utilitas bonae rei videtur esse expetenda potius quam declinanda. Sed quia plerique lucrum pecuniarum utilitatem suam putant esse, ideo, si legimus "utilitatem", non animae utilitatem accipere debemus prophetam declinare, sed utilitatem pecuniae. Sanctus enim lucra ista non novit, sed omnia haec detrimentum arbitratur, ut Christum lucretur. Et recte; quod enim putamus lucrum esse pecuniae, damnum est animae, quia virtutis est detrimentum. Ergo secundum eos, qui ita acceperunt, ut optet propheta inclinari cor suum in testimonia, et non in avaritiam, et nos congruimus ad sensum.' The similarity in these passages is pointed out by W. Wilbrand, 'Zur Chronologie einiger Schriften des hl. Ambrosius,' HJ 41, 1921, (1-19) 14-15, but his conclusion that the parallel makes Expos. Ps. 118 earlier than Off. is illegitimate [Introduction, II.ii]. The LXX reads *πλεονεξία*, and the Vulgate 'avaritia'. Cf. also Hilary, Tract. Ps. 118.5.13; and esp. Augustine, Enarr. Ps. 118.11.6.

nundinas: Nundina lit. = 'the ninth day' (by inclusive reckoning, so in fact the eighth), the market day on which business was traditionally conducted most; nundinae thus came to mean simply 'trade'.

On A.'s attitude to trade, cf. nn. on I.185,243.

Cic. also issues warnings against desires for riches: cf. Cic. II.71,77.

Vulgo enim hoc solum dicunt utile quod quaestuosum; nos autem de ea tractamus utilitate: The distinction between the popular and the Christian conceptions of the utile may be partly suggested by the Panaetian-Ciceronian dichotomy between genuine and apparent utile (Cic. III.18,34ff.) [so Testard, 'Étude', 175n.43], but it is also typical of his frequent contrast of pagan and Christian definitions; cf. I.28.

quae damnis quaeritur, ut Christum lucremur: Cf. Phil. 3.7-8.

cuius quaestus est pietas cum sufficientia: 1 Tim. 6.6.

quae apud Deum dives est: Cf. II.14n.

non caducis facultatibus, sed muneribus aeternis: On the contrast of perishable and imperishable riches, cf. Matt. 6.19-21. Poverty is to be embraced in order to win heavenly riches [see Gryson, Prêtre, 301ff.] As A. says in Expos. Ps. 118.12.3, 'thesaurus tuus Christus est'; cf. Ep. 63.86ff. Expediency is measured in terms of usefulness for eternal salvation [as in the title of Augustine's De utilitate credendi, as Crouter, 255n.3, points out].

27. 'Corporalis enim exercitatio ad modicum,' inquit, 'utilis est...': 1 Tim. 4.8.

integritas: = 'Chastity'.

immaculatum servare corpus: Cf. Jas. 1.27: 'immaculatum se custodire ab hoc saeculo'. The allusion here might be to virginity or to priestly celibacy (on the latter, cf. I.248-249); below, he includes feminine chastity.

vidua uxor...fidem servet: On the role of religious widows, cf. I.248n.

'Sunt' enim 'qui castraverunt propter regnum caelorum': Matt. 19.12.

VII: THE HONOURABLE AND THE EXPEDIENT ARE IDENTICAL. NOTHING IS MORE EXPEDIENT THAN TO BE LOVED.

28. qui regnum caelorum volebat omnibus aperire: Similar to line 17 of the Te Deum, a hymn which was once wrongly attributed to A. but whose real author may possibly have been Nicetas of Remesiana: '...aperuisti credentibus te regna caelorum'.

Unde ordo quidam nobis et gradus faciendus est...: Zeno the Stoic classified the ἀδιάφορα according to things to be preferred (προηγμένα) and things to be rejected (ἀποπροηγμένα); e.g., health is preferable to sickness, and life to death [cf., e.g., Cic., Fin. III.50ff.; see A.A. Long & D.N. Sedley, The Hellenistic Philosophers (2 Vols., Cambridge, 1987), I,355-359; II,352-355]. Panaetius designated the preferables as 'expedients', not inherently good but conducive to progress in virtue. Cic. rejects the idea that the ἀδιάφορα are morally neutral, but he retains a classification of utilia (Cic. II.11,88-89), practical advantages which have greater or lesser moral worth. A. hints at a similar gradation, also treating utilia as intrinsically good and so incapable of conflicting with the honestum. However, little of this scheme is seen in Book II.

29. II.29-40 introduce the theme that there is nothing more expedient than to be loved, following Cic. II.20-51. A. evokes various phrases and words from this Ciceronian section in a sporadic fashion in II.29-31,36-39, almost certainly relying on his memory of Cic.'s text. The rest of A.'s development is entirely biblical, especially to replace Cic.'s exempla of classical history (David in II.32-38 replacing, and contrasting with, the case of Julius Caesar). The relevance of the argument to A.'s clerical addressees is not made clear anywhere in this section; however, the passage is part of a lengthy treatment of se commendare (inspired by Cic.; also a motif in 2 Cor.: 3.1; 4.2; 5.12; 10.12,18) which is applied more directly to clerics in later parts (esp. II.68ff.).

nihil tam utile quam diligere; nihil tam inutile quam non amari: Cf. Cic. II.23: 'Omnium autem rerum nec aptius est quicquam ad opes tuendas ac tenendas quam diligere nec alienius quam timeri'. Cic. is discussing

motives for men to support others' causes, especially in the political field; authority is maintained better by popular love than by intimidation.

nam odio haberi exitiale ac nimis capitale arbitror: Cic. II.23 quotes Ennius (perhaps a fragment of the Thyestes): "'Quem metuunt, oderunt; quem quisque odit, periisse expetit"' (quoted by Jerome in Ep. 82.3). The last words of the Ennius line explain A.'s strong exitiale and capitale.

influamus in affectum hominum: Cf. Cic. II.31: 'Sed est alius quoque quidam aditus ad multitudinem, ut in universorum animos tamquam influere possimus'.

Ea si mansuetudine morum ac facilitate...: Cf. Cic. II.32: 'vehementer autem amor multitudinis commovetur ipsa fama et opinione liberalitatis, beneficentiae, iustitiae, fidei omniumque earum virtutum, quae pertinent ad mansuetudinem morum ac facilitatem'.

affabilitate sermonis, verborum honore, patienti quoque sermonum vice modestiaeque adiuvetur gratia, incredibile quantum procedit...: Cf. Cic. II.48: 'sed tamen difficile dictu est, quantopere conciliet animos comitas affabilitasque sermonis' (cf. also Cic., Amic. 66); A. alludes to this affability again in II.96. The commendation of modestia in the present passage probably also comes from Cic. II.48, where 'mixta modestia gravitas' in speech is said to inspire admiration.

30. Legimus enim non solum in privatis sed etiam in ipsis regibus...: This is a very vague allusion to Cic. II.48: 'Exstant epistolae et Philippi ad Alexandrum et Antipatri ad Cassandrum et Antigoni ad Philippum filium, trium prudentissimorum - sic enim accepimus - quibus praecipunt, ut oratione benigna multitudinis animos ad benevolentiam alliciant militesque blande appellando [sermone] deleniant'. Cic. refers to a forged correspondence between Philip

II Macedon (reigned 359-336 B.C.) and his son, Alexander the Great (reigned 336-323 B.C.); and lost letters between Antipater (397-319 B.C., created regent of Macedonia by Alexander in 334) and his son, Cassander (358-297 B.C.); and between Alexander's general, Antigonus (c. 382-301 B.C.), and his son, Philip (cf. also Cic. II.53-54). This is the allusion in regibus. Only those familiar with the Ciceronian text could catch this; legimus is another vague reference to Cic.

ut regna ipsa labefactaret et potestatem solveret: Probably Cic. II.23-29 is in A.'s mind, where Cic. demonstrates how tyrants who secure influence by intimidation end up destroying themselves by incurring the hatred of the masses; Cic. is thinking especially of Julius Caesar (Cic. II.23,27-29), whose oppression had brought the downfall of the Roman Republic.

officiis: Cic. has the word in II.43.

si quis periculum suum pro universa plebe offerat...: One thinks of A.'s personal bravery in the Arian crisis [Introduction, I].

31. Quantas Moyses a populo illatas absorbebat contumelias...: See, e.g., Ex. 14.10-12; 15.22-25; 16.2-3; 17.1-4; Num. 11.1ff.; 14.1ff.; 20.2-13.

se tamen pro populo offerebat frequenter...: Moses interceded to appease the Lord's wrath on the rebellious Israelites, offering to suffer himself in their place (Ex. 32.7-14, 30-32; Num. 11.1-3,10-15; 14.11-19).

deliniebat oraculis: See, e.g., Ex. 14.13-14.

Deliniebat and appellatione, below, are further echoes of Cic. II.48 (cf. II.30n. [A.'s delinio and Cic.'s delenio (so Atzert) are alternative forms of the same verb]).

fovebat operibus: [The words are missing from Banterle's Latin text, though he translates them.]

Cf., e.g., the provision of food and water in the passages cited in II.13nn.

Merito aestimatus est supra homines: Cf. Deut. 34.10.
ut et vultum eius non possent intendere: Moses veiled his face when he emerged from the presence of the Lord (Ex. 34.29-35; cf., too, 2 Cor. 3.7-18).

et sepulturam eius non repertam crederent: Cf. Deut. 34.6.

32. eius imitator sanctus David: David is visualised as imitating the modest and kindly behaviour of Moses towards his people.

electus ex omnibus ad plebem regendam: Samuel was sent by the Lord to choose and anoint David as king, the youngest of Jesse's eight sons (1 Kings 16.1-13).

Ante regnum se pro omnibus offerebat: Cf. esp. David's duel with the Philistine giant, Goliath (1 Kings 17; cf. 19.5).

rex cum omnibus aequabat suam militiam et partiebatur laborem, fortis in proelio: Cf., e.g., 2 Kings 5.17-25; 8.1-14; 10.17-19; 21.15-17; 1 Paral. 14.8-17; 18.1-13.

patiens in convicio: Cf. nn. on I.21, 236-238.

ut iuvenis ad regnum etiam invitus peteretur, resistens cogeretur: David was a 'parvulus'/'puer'/'adulescens' when chosen by Samuel (1 Kings 16.11; 17.33, 55-58); he became king at the age of thirty (2 Kings 5.4). The OT narratives do not say that he was forced to become king against his will, though the account of his early years at the court of Saul certainly suggests that he did not have pretensions to the throne. A.'s description of David's reticence to be made king reminds us of the circumstances of his own elevation to the see of Milan [Introduction, I].

senex ne proelio interesset a suis rogaretur...: David's life was narrowly saved by Abishai in a battle with the Philistines; his men subsequently made him

swear that he would not go into battle with them again (2 Kings 21.15-17). David is not said to have been a senex at the time of this incident; A. presumably infers this from the fact that the story occurs towards the latter stages of the narrative of David in Kings, and perhaps too from the detail that David was exhausted in the battle.

33. in discordiis populi: In the war between the houses of Saul and David (1 Kings 19 - 2 Kings 4).

exsulare in Hebron mallet quam regnare in Hierusalem: See 2 Kings 2.1-4.

iustitiam etiam his qui arma contra se tulerunt aequae ac suis praestandum putaret: When David spared the lives of Saul and his men (1 Kings 24; 26).

fortissimum adversae partis propugnatorem Abner ducem et inferentem proelia miratus est...: Abner was Saul's general; David made peace with him in return for the hand of Saul's daughter Michal, who had been betrothed to David earlier (2 Kings 3.6-21). A feast was given for Abner and twenty of his men at Hebron (2 Kings 3.20). Not long afterwards, Abner was deceitfully killed by Joab in vengeance for the death of Joab's brother Asahel; David mourned Abner's death as an innocent man (2 Kings 3.22-39).

34. alieno periculo cibum non quaerere: When the child borne to David by Bathsheba was dying, David refused to eat while he pleaded with the Lord for the child's life to be spared, ultimately without success (2 Kings 12.15-23).

potum recusare: This probably refers to the time when David refused to drink water from the well of Bethlehem, brought for him at the risk of his chief warriors' lives (2 Kings 23.13-17). If so, A. runs together two incidents here. Alternatively, he gratuitously adds the detail of David's not drinking to the account of his not eating when praying for his

child.

peccatum fateri seque ipsum pro populo offerre morti...: When he had sinned by commissioning a census of his fighting men, and had brought a plague on Jerusalem as a punishment, David was confronted by the Angel of the Lord standing with a drawn sword; he prayed for mercy, asking that he and his household be destroyed rather than his people (2 Kings 24.1-25; 1 Paral. 21.1-30).

'Ecce sum, ego peccavi...': 2 Kings 24.17; 1 Paral. 21.17.

35. dolum meditantibus non aperiabat os suum: Cf. Pss. 37.13-15; 38.3,9-12.

non respondebat conviciis...: Cf. nn. on I.21,236-238.

Ambulans in simplicitate: Cf. Prov. 19.1: 'Melior est pauper qui ambulat in simplicitate sua quam torquens labia insipiens'; 20.7: 'Iustus qui ambulat in simplicitate sua beatos post se filios derelinquet'.

sectator immaculatum: Perhaps the ambulans thought above reminds A. of Ps. 118.1: 'Beati immaculati in via, qui ambulant in lege Domini'.

qui cinerem miscebat alimentis suis...: Cf. Ps. 101.10: 'Quia cinerem tamquam panem manducabam, et potum meum cum fletu miscebam'.

Merito sic expetitus est...dicentes, 'Ecce nos ossa tua...': 2 Kings 5.1-2; 1 Paral. 11.1-2.

'Inveni David secundum cor meum': Acts 13.22 (a mélange of Ps. 88.21 and 1 Kings 13.14).

Quis enim in sanctitate cordis et iustitia sicut iste ambulavit: Cf. 3 Kings 3.6: (Solomon prays) '...sicut [David] ambulavit in conspectu tuo in veritate, et iustitia, et recto corde tecum...' (also 9.4).

propter quem et delinquentibus posteris eius venia data...: Cf. 3 Kings 11.9-13; in accordance with the Lord's promise to David (2 Kings 7.12-16), the tribe

of Judah remained the privileged, chosen tribe of God's people, from whom the Messiah ultimately came, despite the sins of David's descendants.

36. Quis igitur non diligeret eum...? Denique parentes eum filiis suis: Probably this alludes to the initial fondness of Saul for David, in 1 Kings 16.21: 'at ille [Saul] dilexit eum nimis...'; though the narrative does not explicitly say that Saul preferred David to his son Jonathan.

filiis praeferebant parentibus. Unde graviter indignatus Saul, persecutere Ionathan filium suum voluit hasta...: David's friendship with Saul's son Jonathan was very close (1 Kings 18.1-4); it so antagonised Saul that on more than one occasion he tried to kill David by pinning him to the wall with his spear (1 Kings 18.10-11; 19.9-10).

37. si quis vicem amantibus reddat nec minus redamare se probet quam ipse amatur: A. commends the repayment of kindness with greater generosity (I.166ff.); affection is to be similarly restored with equivalent enthusiasm.

ut diligentem diligas: Although he evokes biblical language, A. is following Cic.'s thought (Cic. II.30ff.) here rather than the teaching of the NT, since Christ says that love for those who love us is natural and basic even to 'sinners', whereas Christians must love their enemies as well: cf. Lk. 6.32: 'Et si diligitis eos qui vos diligunt, quae vobis est gratia? Nam et peccatores diligentes se diligunt' (also Matt. 5.46).

sapiens: Jesus ben Sirach.

'Perde pecuniam propter fratrem et amicum': Eccli. 29.13 (10).

'Amicum salutare non erubescam...': Eccli. 22.31 (25).

Siquidem vitae et immortalitatis medicamentum in amico

esse Ecclesiasticus sermo testatur: Eccli. 6.16:
'Amicus fidelis medicamentum vitae et
immortalitatis...'

in caritate...cum Apostolus dicat, 'Omnia suffert,
omnia credit...': 1 Cor. 13.7-8.

38. Ideo David non cecidit, quia carus fuit omnibus et
diligi a subiectis quam timeri maluit: Cf. Cic.
II.29: 'Atque in has clades incidimus...dum metui quam
cari esse et diligi malumus'. Julius Caesar and the
Roman Republic fell because power was maintained by
intimidation of the people; David survived because he
was loved by his subjects.

Timor enim temporalis tutaminis servat excubias,
nescit diuturnitatis custodiam: Cf. Cic. II.23:
'Malus enim est custos diuturnitatis metus contraque
benevolentia fidelis vel ad perpetuitatem' (Holden,
291, compares Cic., Phil. II.90: 'timor non diuturnus
magister officii'.)

ubi timor decesserit, audacia obrepit: Cf. Cic.'s
examples of this in II.24-29.

39. Prima ergo ad commendationem nostri est
caritas...: Cf. Cic. II.30: 'Certum igitur hoc sit
idque et primum et maxime necessarium familiaritates
habere fidas amantium nos amicorum et nostra
mirantium'. Under Cic.'s influence, fides here (and
in II.38) clearly means 'good faith', not faith in the
religious sense. Cic. mentions caritas in II.24,29,
and uses the word commendatio in II.45-46.

ut committere se tuo affectui non vereantur etiam
alieni, quem pluribus carum adverterint: As Banterle,
205n.13, notes, quem refers grammatically to affectui,
but in sense looks back to tuo: people commit
themselves to 'you', rather than to your
love/affection.

tamquam influat in animos universorum: Cf. II.29n.

[It is quite clear that throughout this section A.

uses amari, caritas, and diligere as synonyms, without making the distinctions often found in earlier Christian authors. He synthesises the Ciceronian and biblical usages of the words. See Sauer, 179-183; Pétré, 72-78; also Robert T. Otten, 'Amor, caritas, and dilectio: Some Observations on the Vocabulary of Love in the Exegetical Works of St. Ambrose,' in Mélanges offerts à Mlle. Christine Mohrmann (Utrecht, 1963), 73-83.]

VIII: PRUDENCE AND JUSTICE WIN POPULAR RESPECT, AS THE COUNSELS OF SOLOMON DEMONSTRATE.

40. Duo igitur haec ad commendationem nostri plurimum operantur, caritas et fides, et tertium hoc si habeas quod in te admiratione dignum plerique existiment...: Cf. Cic. II.31: 'Summa igitur et perfecta gloria constat ex tribus his: si diligit multitudo, si fidem habet, si cum admiratione quadam honore dignos putat'. It is notable that A. replaces Cic.'s 'gloria' with the more neutral commendatio (though the latter is Ciceronian as well as Christian; cf. II.39n.); otherwise, he is still attracted by the classical ideal of public esteem, though he goes on to apply it to an ecclesiastical context. Cic. explains the gaining of glory by affection or good will in II.32, by good faith in II.33-35, and by admiration in II.36-38. A. designates the first of these points caritas, instead of Cic.'s 'benevolentia' (Cic. II.32,38), under the influence of Cic.'s mention of caritas and fides in Cic. II.29 (echoed by A. in II.39 above). A. has discussed caritas in II.29-39; fides is treated now in II.41-55 (though the word fides appears only in II.41-42 and 55), and admiratio is discussed in II.56-66. By applying caritas to the theme of the

maintenance of political power by love versus fear (II.29-39), A. confuses two distinct Ciceronian sections: Cic. has love versus fear in II.23-29, and the first point of the three-point scheme, 'benevolentia', in II.32. Under the influence of Cic. II.33-35, A. develops fides in terms of the value of prudence and justice. He puts much more stress than Cic. does on the reliability of counsel in particular (almost certainly because of his clerical addressees, who would no doubt be called on to give pastoral advice to many). However, the theme of counsel extends far beyond II.41-55, being found sporadically all the way to II.89, stretching beyond the next main section of the Book, on liberality (II.68-85), and eventually forming a short section specifically on the giving of counsel (II.86-89), after which there is a rather discursive treatment of humility, justice, and affability of speech (II.89-96). The commendatio theme continues to appear here and there to the end of the Book. The arrangement of material in Book II is, therefore, rather haphazard [pace Steidle, 1985]. Testard, 'Étude', 176-179, suggests that A. follows two different plans from II.41 onwards; and despite Steidle 1985's attempted defence of A.'s arrangement, it seems incontrovertible that the structure of the argument is somewhat confused and difficult to follow. Whether this confusion is attributable to the interweaving of different sermonic strands, or simply to a disorganised style, remains a matter of conjecture.

41. consiliorum usus: Cf. Cic. II.33: 'Nam et iis fidem habemus, quos plus intellegere quam nos arbitramur quosque et futura prospicere credimus et, cum res agatur in discrimenque ventum sit, expedire rem et consilium ex tempore capere posse; hanc enim utilem homines existimant veramque prudentiam'.

Cic.'s development is of course typical of his concern for practical wisdom.

ideo prudentia et iustitia in unoquoque desideratur, et ea expectantur a pluribus...: Cf. Cic. II.33: 'Fides autem ut habeatur duabus rebus effici potest, si existimabimur adepti coniunctam cum iustitia prudentiam'; II.34: 'prudentia sine iustitia nihil valet ad faciendam fidem' (etc.). A. insists on the interdependence of prudence and justice in I.126-129, 252-253; but here he is following Cic.'s argument, and so uses fides to mean 'good faith'.

se committat: Cic. II.33 says 'committi arbitramur'. quem non putet plus sapere...: Cf. first n. above on Cic. II.33.

42. auctoritate: Cic. uses the word in II.34, though differently.

prospiciat futura...expediat...in tempore...ita fides habetur: All close echoes of Cic. II.33. Argumentum expediat is also reminiscent of Cic.'s 'expedire rem' (II.33).

In I.189-191, A. describes the intellectual ability of foresight as a mark of fortitude.

'Et si mala mihi evenerint...': Eccli. 22.31. A favourite biblical quotation is appended to the Ciceronian language.

43. salutem nostram...committimus: Cf. Cic. II.33: 'Itaque his [sc. iustis et fidis hominibus] salutem nostram...rectissime committi arbitramur'.

Facit enim iustitia ut nullus sit fraudis metus; facit etiam prudentia ut nulla sit erroris suspicio: Cf. Cic. II.33: 'Iustis autem [et fidis] hominibus, id est bonis viris, ita fides habetur, ut nulla sit in iis fraudis iniuriaequae suspicio'. This precise separation of the roles of justice and prudence is Ambrosian, not Ciceronian [but cf. n. below].

Promptius tamen nos iusto viro quam prudenti

committimus: Cf. Cic. II.34: 'Harum igitur duarum ad fidem faciendam iustitia plus pollet, quippe cum ea sine prudentia satis habeat auctoritatis...'

ut secundum usum vulgi loquar: Cf. Cic. II.35: '...cum ad opinionem communem omnis accommodatur oratio. Quam ob rem, ut vulgus, ita nos hoc loco loquimur.... ...cum loquimur de opinione populari.'

Both Cic. and A. uphold the Stoic unity of the virtues, but Cic. claims to be following Panaetius (Cic. II.35) in making a concession to the popular belief that a person might be just without being prudent, or vice versa, and A. follows his argument.

Ceterum sapientum definitione, in quo una virtus est, concurrunt ceterae...: Just as Cic. II.35, who speaks of the unity of the virtues being agreed upon 'inter omnes philosophos'; on the subject, cf. I.115n.

Quod etiam in nostris invenimus: The wisdom of the sapientes was, as ever, anticipated in the OT.

'Iustus miseretur et faenerat': Ps. 36.21.

'Iucundus vir qui miseretur et faenerat': Ps. 111.5.

44. Ipsum illud nobile Salomonis iudicium: A. goes back to the famous 'judgement' of the OT's most celebrated sage to demonstrate the concurrence of prudence and justice in counsel (II.44-47). He relates the story accurately from 3 Kings 3.16-28. Possibly he incorporates here, and in II.51-54, a separate treatment of the episode [as Testard, 'Recherches', 99, suggests], though we cannot be sure. In this paragraph, see 3 Kings 3.16-22.

45. See 3 Kings 3.22-27.

46. Itaque non immerito aestimatus est intellectus Dei in eo esse: Cf. 3 Kings 3.28, quoted in II.47.

quae occulta sunt Deo?: Heb. 4.13 ('omnia autem nuda et aperta sunt oculis eius') is very probably in A.'s mind, since in II.47 he also echoes Heb. 4.12.

47. et velut quadam machaera, ita Spiritus gladio penetrare non solum uteri, sed etiam animi et mentis viscera: Solomon's blade is a type of the sword of the Spirit (which is the 'verbum Dei': Eph. 6.17): cf. Heb. 4.12: 'Vivus est enim Dei sermo, et efficax, et penetrabilior omni gladio ancipiti; et pertingens usque ad divisionem animae ac spiritus, compagum quoque et medullarum, et discretor cogitationum et intentionum cordis'. [On A.'s typological exegesis, see Introduction, II.vii; the typology of Solomon-Christ is motivated by Christ's own words in Lk. 11.31, and is very common in Christian exegesis.] 'Audivit,' inquit, 'omnis Israel hoc iudicium...': 3 Kings 3.28.

Denique et ipse Salomon ita poposcit sapientiam...: In a dream, Solomon sought and was granted wisdom from the Lord (3 Kings 3.9-12).

The emphasis here is consonant with A.'s development in I.117,122-129,252-253, and throughout: wisdom is essentially bound up with the knowledge of God.

IX: PRUDENCE AND JUSTICE GO TOGETHER, ALTHOUGH IN POPULAR THINKING THEY ARE DISTINGUISHED.

48. Scripturam divinam, quae antiquior est: See Introduction, II.iv (iv).

quia ubi una earum virtutum, ibi utraque est: Cf. II.43n.

Daniel quoque quam sapienter...: Daniel saw through the elders' fraudulent charge of adultery against Susanna; her sentence of death was repealed, and the deceivers were put to death (Dan. 13, esp. vv. 44-64).

49. sed vulgi usu dividitur una quaedam forma virtutum: Cf. II.43n. on Cic. II.35.

ut temperantia sit in despiciendis voluptatibus...: The definitions of the virtues here are essentially classical, according to the context of the vulgi usus/communis opinio; cf. I.115.

custos... et vindex: These words are often paired classically (e.g., Cic., Agr. II.24; Sest. 144; Verr. V.126; Livy, II.1.8).

communis opinionis gratia: Cf. Cic. II.35: 'cum ad opinionem communem omnis accommodatur oratio'.

ut ab illa subtili disputatione philosophicae sapientiae, quae limandae veritatis causa...: Cf. Cic. II.35: 'alia est illa, cum veritas ipsa limatur in disputatione, subtilitas...'. A. goes further than Cic. here: Cic. says simply that in popular thought one man is thought to be brave while another is good or wise, while philosophers (of the Platonist and Stoic tradition) argue that he who has one virtue has them all; A., however, alleges that the whole fourfold scheme of virtue is a popular rather than a technical concept. Perhaps we are to see here an implicit attempt to justify his adoption of the scheme. But his claim that the cardinal virtues were thought up by the man in the street is obviously an exaggeration. He adopts Cic.'s artificial distinction, but sees it as a further opportunity to depreciate pagan philosophy; yet the divisio which he makes is more classical than Christian.

quasi ex adyto: Adytum is a common Vergilian word (e.g., Aen. II.297; VI.98; VII.269); the figurative use is exemplified, as Banterle, 211n.4, notes, by Lucretius, I.737 ('ex adyto tamquam cordis responsa dedere').

retrahentes pedem: Cf. Vergil, Aen. X.307: 'retrahitque pedem'.

revertamur ad propositum: Cf. Cic. II.35: 'Sed ad propositum revertamur'.

X: COUNSEL IS NATURALLY SOUGHT FROM A PRUDENT AND JUST MAN, SUCH AS SOLOMON, JOSEPH, OR DANIEL.

50. Prudentissimo cuique causam nostram committimus, et ab eo consilium promptius quam a ceteris poscimus. Praestat tamen fidele iusti consilium viri...: Cf. II.43nn.

'Utilia enim vulnera amici...': Prov. 27.6.

calliditas: Cic. uses the comparative adjective 'callidior' in II.34.

51. admiratione: A. seems to anticipate the third of the Ciceronian points listed in II.40, though he does not deal with it properly until II.56.

sicut quaerebant omnes reges terrae videre faciem Salomonis et audire sapientiam eius: Cf. 3 Kings 10.24; 2 Paral. 9.23.

ita ut et Saba regina veniret ad eum, et temptaret eum in quaestionibus...: Cf. 3 Kings 10.1-3 (and the whole section, vv. 1-13); 2 Paral. 9.1-2 (and vv. 1-12). The last words of the quotation, nec ullam verbum praeterivit eam (explained also thus at the start of II.52), reverse the sense of 3 Kings 10.3; 2 Paral. 9.2 given in the LXX and the Vulgate, which is that 'no word eluded the king', not that the queen of Sheba did not miss one of his words. A. is doubtless quoting from memory.

52. 'Verus est,' inquit, 'sermo quem audivi...': 3 Kings 10.6-8; 2 Paral. 9.5-7.

The words et viderunt oculi mei are echoed by Simeon in the Nunc dimittis: 'quia viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum' (Lk. 2.30) - further evidence of an early association between Solomon and Christ (cf. the mention of Simeon below).

convivium veri Salomonis: Cf. I.162-165 for a different treatment of the feast of Solomon. In the present passage, Christ is the true Solomon, whose

fame stretches even further than the king's, to the ends of the earth.

contemplantibus...quae non videntur. Quoniam 'quae videntur, temporalia sunt...': 2 Cor. 4.18.

53. illae de quibus dicitur, quia multae verbum Dei audiunt et pariunt: See Lk. 11.28.

'Quicumque enim verbum Dei fecerit...': Matt. 12.50 (and Mk. 3.35; Lk. 8.21).

'Usque in hunc diem sto protestans...': Acts 26.22.

Simeon qui exspectabat in templo ut videret consolationem Israel: Cf. Lk. 2.25.

Quomodo ergo dimitti posceret...?: See Lk. 2.29-32.

54. Ioseph quoque nec in carcere feriatu erat...:

While in prison for allegedly having raped Potiphar's wife, Joseph interpreted the dreams of Pharaoh's cupbearer and baker (Gen. 40); more importantly, he then explained the dreams of Pharaoh himself, predicting that Egypt would have seven years of plenty followed by seven years of famine; Pharaoh rewarded him by appointing him to collect the surplus harvests of the first period to store them up for the years of want, which Egypt thus easily survived (Gen. 41).

ut non sentiret septem annorum sterilitatem...: See Gen. 41.54-57. Among the other peoples who came to Egypt to buy grain were of course Joseph's brothers, and so the family reunion came about (Gen. 42ff.).

55. Daniel ex captivis regalium consultorum arbiter factus...: Daniel was elevated from his position as a Hebrew captive in Babylon to become the interpreter of the dreams of kings Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, and Darius (Dan., passim).

adnuntiavit futura: Cf. II.42n.

adnuntium: The noun is found only in late Latin (while the verb is used by silver authors) [TLL].

XI: MOSES, DANIEL, AND JOSEPH WON ADMIRATION FOR THEIR COUNSEL

56. Sed etiam tertius locus de his qui admiratione digni aestimarentur...: [Banterle's aestimantur is a misprint.] This is the third Ciceronian point given in II.40; it is covered from II.56 to II.67. Cf. Cic. II.36: 'Erat igitur ex iis tribus, quae ad gloriam pertinerent, hoc tertium, ut cum admiratione hominum honore ab iis digni iudicaremur'. Typically, A. gives biblical illustrations of the Ciceronian theme.

Nam quid de Moyse loquar, cuius omnis Israel cotidie consilia praestolabatur...?: See esp. Ex. 18.13-16. quorum vita fidem faciebat prudentiae admirationemque eius augebat: A combination of both the second and the third Ciceronian points from II.40: fides and admiratio. These haphazard allusions to the Ciceronian arrangement strongly suggest that A. is relying on his memory of the classical text.

The survival of the Israelites proved the reliability of Moses's wisdom, and increased people's admiration for him.

cui seniores, si qua supra suum intellectum et virtutem esse arbitrarentur, diiudicanda servabant: See Ex. 18.13-27, esp. v.26. The illustration is biblical; the language is suggested by Cic.: cf. Cic. II.33: 'Nam et iis fidem habemus, quos plus intellegere quam nos arbitramur...'; II.37: 'Admiratione autem afficiuntur ii, qui anteire ceteris virtute putantur...'

57. 'Quis Daniele sapientior?': Ezek. 28.3.

Moysi consilio bella conficiebantur: See, e.g., Ex. 17.8-16; Num. 31.1ff. A. seems to be echoing words from Cic. I.79: 'in quo non minorem utilitatem afferunt, qui togati rei publicae praesunt, quam qui bellum gerunt. Itaque eorum consilio saepe aut non

suscepta aut confecta bella sunt, non numquam etiam illata...'; Cic.'s comments about the worth of 'togati' (those in civilian politics as opposed to military life) are applied to Moses [so Testard, 'Recherches', 100].

de caelo affluebat alimonia: Cf. II.13n.

potus e petra: See Ex. 17.1-7 (cf. also Num. 20.2-13).

58. Quam purus Danielis animus, ut mulceret barbaros mores, mitigaret leones!: Daniel twice escaped the mouths of lions: Dan. 6.1-28; 14.23-42.

Quae in illo temperantia!...: See, e.g., Dan. 1.8-16.

Nec immerito mirabilis factus omnibus...: See, e.g., Dan. 6.3-5; in this case, Daniel was in the favour of Darius.

vehementer: Cic. II.37 has 'vehementissime', though used differently.

aurum non quaerebat: See Dan. 6.4-5.

honorem: Cic. uses the word in II.36.

fidem: The sense of the word here seems to shade into 'faith in God', more than the classical 'good faith' which has been dominant in recent paragraphs, since A. goes on to state that Daniel endangered himself pro lege Domini.

Quin etiam periclitari malebat pro lege Domini quam pro gratia hominis inflecti: Daniel was thrown into the lions' den for worshipping the Lord only (Dan. 6.5; 14.24); note also his scruple about eating pagan food (Dan. 1.8).

Throughout this paragraph, A. is picking up points made by Cic. in II.36-38: freedom from sensual 'voluptates', honesty, and contempt for riches and for death are all features which win admiratio. In the case of periclitari malebat (Daniel's contempt of death), though, A. emphasises that it was pro lege Domini, and not for the sake of winning human

admiration.

59. castimonia et iustitia..., quarum altera illecebras eriles respuit, refutavit praemia: On Joseph's resistance of the advances of Potiphar's wife, cf. II.20n. As with Daniel, Joseph's temperance/chastity is noted, just as Cic. speaks of the rejection of 'voluptates' in II.37.

altera mortem contempsit, metum reppulit, carcerem praeoptavit: Cic. says that contempt for death elicits admiration (II.37), and the man who is just has no fear of death, pain, exile, or need (II.38). In effect, both Cic. and A. bring all the cardinal virtues into the treatment of admiratio: prudence and justice are obviously stressed; temperance is seen in the rejection of sensual pleasures, and fortitude is implied in the despising of monetary gain and of death.

temporis sterilitatem quodam consiliorum et cordis ubere fecundavit: Cf. II.54n.

XII: THE COUNSELLOR MUST BE UPRIGHT OF LIFE AND APPROACHABLE

60. vitae probitas: Cic. uses the word probitas in II.34; on the necessity for integrity, cf. Cic. II.36-38.

virtutum praerogativa: 'Sure signs of virtues'. Cf. Cic. II.36: 'Itaque eos viros suspiciunt maximisque efferunt laudibus, in quibus existimant se excellentes quasdam et singulares perspicere virtutes'; II.37: 'Admiratione autem afficiuntur ii, qui anteire ceteris virtute putantur...'

benevolentiae usus: Benevolentia is Cic.'s first means of acquiring glory (Cic. II.32,38), which A. had designated caritas and dealt with in II.29-39 [cf.

II.40n.].

Quis enim in caeno fontem requirat? Quis e turbida aqua potum petat? ...quis inde sibi aliquid hauriendum existimet?...colluvionem: Cic. uses the image of a fountain in a different context in II.52 ('fontem ipsum benignitatis exhaurit'), and such imagery is common in Scripture (cf., e.g., Prov. 10.11; 13.14; 14.27; 16.22; 25.26; Eccli. 21.16 ['Scientia sapientis tamquam inundatio abundabit, et consilium illius sicut fons vitae permanet']; Jas. 3.11-12). Note the series of rhetorical questions with anaphora here and in II.61-62.

luxuria...vitiorum confusio: Cf. Cic.'s warning against sensual vitia in II.37.

Quis utilem causae alienae iudicet, quem videt inutilem suae vitae?: Cf. Cic. II.36: '...contemnuntur ii, qui "nec sibi nec alteri", ut dicitur...' [Reid in Holden, 301, says that Cic. is alluding to Hesiod, W.D. 291ff.].

Quis iterum improbum, malevolum, contumeliosum non fugiat et ad nocendum paratum...?: Cf. Cic. II.36: 'Nam quos improbos, maledicos, fraudulentos putant et ad faciendam iniuriam instructos, eos contemnunt quidem neutiquam, sed de iis male existimant'.

61. Quis vero ...difficilem ...accessu ambiat...?: Augustine testifies that A. himself could be approached freely, and advice was continually sought from him by large numbers of people (Conf. VI.3).

Note the continuity of the water imagery from II.60: tamquam si qui aquae fontem praecludat; Si consulendi intercludas copiam, clausisti fontem, ut nec aliis influat....

ut nec aliis influat, nec tibi prosit: Cf. II.60n.

62. commaculat eam vitiorum sordibus: Cf. Cic. II.37. eo quod aquae exitum contaminet: Further water imagery.

Degeneres animos vita arguit: An adaptation of Vergil, Aen. IV.13: 'degeneres animos timor arguit'.

Quomodo enim eum potes iudicare consilio superiorem, quem videas inferiorem moribus?: The whole argument here is similar to that of Cic. in II.36-38, though Cic. does not relate the admiratio theme to the subject of counsel (mentioning 'consilium' only under the second head, fides, in II.33); A. makes the giving of advice a prominent feature because of his ecclesiastical addressees.

cuius animum voluptates occupent, libido devincat: Cf. Cic. II.37 on 'voluptates, blandissimae dominae'.

avaritia subiuguet, cupiditas perturbet: On freedom from greed, cf. Cic. II.37-38.

quatiat metus: Cic. II.37 mentions fear of 'dolorum...fames', and II.38 speaks of fear of death, pain, exile, and need.

ubi nullus quieti: The counsellor must have an inner calmness, undisturbed by fear or desire; in effect, a sort of Stoic *ἡσυχία* is prescribed for the Christian cleric.

63. consiliarius, quem propitius Dominus patribus dedit, offensus abstulit: Cf. Is. 3.1-3; one of the marks of the Lord's judgement on His people was the removal of wise counsellors; when His favour was upon His people, prudent advisors were available.

On patribus, see Introduction, II.v.

'nihil inquinatum in illam incurrit': Wisd. 7.25.

XIII: THE BEAUTY OF WISDOM

64. Quis igitur tamquam vultu speciem praeferat pulchritudinis...?: Cf. Cic. II.37: '...tum quis non admiretur splendorem pulchritudinemque virtutis?'

The combination of the beauty of a human face with the

lower parts of an animal, as in hybrid mythological creatures like the Centaurs or Triton, is regarded as ridiculous; cf. Horace, A.P. 1ff. [and see C.O. Brink, Horace on Poetry: the 'Ars Poetica', Cambridge, 1971, 85ff.]. On the superiority of the human body to the bodies of beasts, cf. Hex. VI.54.

et specialiter pulchritudo sapientiae: A. consistently ranks wisdom as supreme among the virtues, and so here it is pre-eminent in beauty (contrast the primacy of justice in Cic. II.38).

Note that sapientia is used here, rather than prudentia, under the influence of the biblical quotations which follow below.

'Est enim haec speciosior sole...': Wisd. 7.29-30.

65. Scripturae testimonio comprobavimus; superest ut doceamus Scripturae auctoritate...: On this habitual appeal to Scriptural authority, see Introduction, II.v.

'cuius spiritus est disertus...': Wisd. 7.22-23.

'Sobrietatem enim docet...': Wisd. 8.7. This verse is celebrated as a formulation of the scheme of the cardinal virtues in the Wisdom tradition, under the influence of Greek thought.

XIV: PRUDENCE IS LINKED TO ALL OTHER VIRTUES, AND ESPECIALLY TO THE DESPISING OF RICHES.

66. prudentia: A. returns to the usual Ciceronian term, after the quotations of I.65; he continually uses prudentia and sapientia interchangeably.

Nam quomodo potest utile consilium dare, nisi habeat iustitiam: Cf. Cic. II.34 on the essential link between prudence and justice.

ut...mortem non reformidet, nullo terrore, nullo revocetur metu: Cf. Cic. II.38: 'Nemo enim iustus

esse potest, qui mortem, qui dolorem, qui exsilium, qui egestatem timet...'. This is thoroughly Stoic sentiment.

nulla adulatione a vero deflectendum putet: Cf. I.209n. on fortitude's role in ignoring flattery; here, A. suggests that this is part of justice.

exsilium non refugiat...egestatem non timeat: Cf. Cic. II.38, as above.

quae noverit sapienti patriam mundum esse...cui totus mundus divitiarum est: A clear fusion of Stoic principle and Prov. 17.6 (VL); see art. cit. in I.118n.

qui auro moveri nesciat, contemptum habeat pecuniarum: Cf. Cic. II.38: 'Maximeque admirantur eum, qui pecunia non movetur' (also Cic. II.37).

et velut ex arce quadam despiciat hominum cupiditates: Cf. I.192n.; and Cic. II.37: 'Quae qui in utramque partem excelso animo magnoque despiciunt...'; II.38: 'haec animi despicientia'. Again (as with flattery, above), A. is implicitly attributing to justice an attitude which he classified under fortitude in Book I.192.; here he is under the influence of Cic. II.38.

Quod qui fecerit, hunc homines supra hominem esse arbitrantur: Cf. Cic. II.38: '...quod in quo viro perspectum sit, hunc igni spectatum arbitrantur'.

'Quis est,' inquit, 'hic, et laudabimus eum?...': Eccli. 31.9.

qui divitias spernit, quas plerique saluti propriae praetulerunt: A Christian turn is given to Cic.'s Stoic language; cf. Cic. II.38: 'quod [sc. admiratio] eas res spernit et neglegit, ad quas plerique inflammati aviditate rapiuntur'. To Cic., most men are preoccupied with externals like wealth, and hence do not attain the sage's inner contentment in his virtue; to A., the majority of men are taken up with the pursuit of riches at the expense of their eternal

salvation.

67. qui honore praestet: Honor is the Ciceronian synonym for gloria in the development which inspires this whole section of A. (Cic. II.29,36).

et pecuniis seruiat qui praeest liberis: A. pictures slavery to money as a real possibility. The idea that the ostensibly free man can be morally enslaved to sin is biblical (e.g., John 8.34; Rom. 6.14-23; 2 Pet. 2.19); A. also espouses the Stoic belief that the wise man is free, regardless of his condition, whereas the fool is in bondage to his vices (cf., e.g., Iacob II.12; Ioseph 20; Ep. 37). Qui praeest liberis seems suited more to a political than an ecclesiastical addressee; for a moment, A. appears almost to put himself in Cic.'s place.

primario viro: A classical élitism seems to intrude, but it is in the context of Christian humilitas and the despising of wealth; the criteria of admiratio are inverted.

cum Tyriis negotiatoribus et Galaaditis mercatoribus: Traders from two of the most renowned mercantile centres of antiquity. Phoenician Tyre was famed as a financial centre and for trade in textiles (especially the purple cloth stained with dye extracted from local snails), slaves, and white marble. Gilead, in Transjordan, provided spices, balm, myrrh, and other medicinal plants; it was well-known also for its goats and its timber. In the case of Tyre, cf. Is. 23.2,8; it is quite possible that A. thinks also of Horace, Od. III.29.60: 'Cypriae Tyriaeque merces'. On the Gileadites, cf., e.g., Gen. 37.25.

turpis lucri cupidinem: Cf. Tit. 1.7 (also 1 Tim. 3.8; Tit. 1.11; 1 Pet. 5.2).

et tamquam mercenario munere...: On A.'s attitude to trade, cf. I.243n.

calculari: A late verb [TLL].

XV: LIBERALITY AS A WAY TO POPULARITY, ESPECIALLY BY THE RANSOM OF CAPTIVES.

68. II.68-85 covers liberality. Cic. divides this expedient into financial kindness (II.52-64) and liberality by service (II.65-87). A. does not make a clear-cut distinction between the two types of liberality, but covers both in II.68-85 and II.102ff. In II.69-75, A. discusses some of the types of liberality, both financial and otherwise.

quanto illud praestantius si dilectionem multitudinis liberalitate acquiras: Cf. Cic. II.32: 'quae [sc. benevolentia] quidem capitur beneficiis maxime...; vehementer autem amor multitudinis commovetur ipsa fama et opinione liberalitatis, beneficentiae...'. A. is in fact echoing language from the first of Cic.'s categories of winning popularity by glory [cf. II.40n.], not from his section on liberality. Dilectio is a late noun.

neque superflua...neque restricta: Cf. Cic. II.55: 'Quam ob rem nec ita claudenda res est familiaris, ut eam benignitas aperire non possit, nec ita reseranda, ut pateat omnibus'. On importunos, cf. I.159n.

69. verum etiam his qui publice egere verecundantur...: Cf. I.148n.; I.158; II.77. In II.61-63 and 69-71, Cic. argues that individual cases for financial help must be treated differently: the unfortunate, and those of good character but not necessarily of any means, must come first, unless they deserve their misfortune; and in II.54 he speaks of the needy who are 'idonei homines' to receive aid.

exhauriatur: Cic. uses this verb in II.52.

ut si officium sacerdotis gerat aut dispensatoris...: A priest or deacon (dispensator must refer to a deacon, who performs the task of an almoner [so Gryson, Prêtre, 143n.56]) should submit to his bishop

information about those whom he knows have by a misfortune (such as robbery or loss of inheritance) fallen into need from a position of means, and who are ashamed to seek assistance openly (cf. Const. Apost. II.4.32).

maxime si non effusione adolescentiae: In II.54, Cic. speaks of those who 'effuderunt' their inheritance, though by means of indiscriminate giving, not through luxury. The extravagance of youth is reminiscent of the spendthrift young men of Roman comedy (e.g., Terence, Ad.).

sumptum exercere: Courcelle, Recherches, 44, points out that these words are an echo of Terence, Heaut. 143: 'sumptum exercerent suum' (cf. also Nab. 15; Ep. 81.2; Interp. I.6).

70. Summa etiam liberalitas captos redimere: Cf. Cic. II.55: 'liberales autem, qui suis facultatibus... captos a praedonibus redimunt...'; II.63: 'Atque haec benignitas etiam rei publicae est utilis, redimi e servitute captos...'

et maxime feminas turpitudini: A Christian moral point is added: the salvation of women's virginity is a prominent aim in ransoming prisoners (cf. II.136,138; Augustine, C.D. I.16ff.; Ep. 111.7,9 [other texts in H. Leclercq, 'Captifs,' DACL 2.2, 2112-2127]). The likelihood of lupanaria was clearly strong (cf. Tertullian, Apol. 50; Pudic. I.14; Cyprian, Ep. 62.2.3; Mort. 15; Gregory Thaumaturgus, Ep. can., can. 1).

reddere...parentes liberis: Children often sought themselves to buy back their parents (Ep. 37.13).

The ransom of prisoners of war was a very real issue in an empire troubled by barbarian incursions. The early Church saw the OT obligation of redemption as binding (e.g., Hermas, Sim. I; X.10.2-3; 1 Clem. 55.2; Const. Apost. IV.9 [Didasc. 18]; V.1-2; Tertullian,

Idol. 25) [and see Carolyn Osiek, 'The Ransom of Captives: Evolution of a Tradition,' HTR 74, 1981, 365-386]. A. urges it upon his clerics (cf. also Expos. Ps. 118.8.41) as a commendable method of Christian charity, and practised it himself (cf. below, and II.136-143; also Paulinus, Vita 38). Lactantius also adopts Cic.'s concern for the deliverance of captives: Inst. VI.12; cf., too, Augustine, Enchir. 72. For a third-century case, cf. Cyprian, Ep. 62. Over the fifth and sixth centuries, the practice was recognised in law as an ecclesiastical right (cf. C.Th. I.2.21; Justinian, Nov. VII.8.120.10; 65.120.9 [so A.H.M. Jones, The Later Roman Empire, 284-602 (3 Vols., Oxford, 1964), III, n.73 on 854]). [See Biondi II, 241-249, and II.136n.] The spread of orthodox Christianity among the barbarians of the North was furthered by this Church practice in the fourth century [see E.A. Thompson, 'Christianity and the Northern Barbarians,' in Arnaldo Momigliano, ed., The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century (Oxford, 1963), 56-78].

Nota sunt haec nimis Illyrici vastitate et Thraciae: Following the rout of the Roman forces and the death of Valens at Hadrianople on 9 August, 378, the Goths swiftly ravaged Thrace, Moesia, and Illyricum to the foot of the Julian Alps, causing great destruction and much loss of life; many women were raped and large numbers of people were taken captive, including clerics of every rank. Many of the refugees reached Italy (Ep. 2.28). For descriptions of the horrors of the time, cf. Fide II.139-141; Expos. Luc. X.10; [probably] Noe 1-2; Jerome, Ep. 60.16. A. sees the spread of Arianism (under Valens) in these areas as a reason for such a visitation of divine judgement (Ep. 2.28). He identifies the Goths as the wicked Gog of

Ezek. 38-39 and Apoc. 20.8 (Fide II.137-138), and suggests that the period might be the final tribulation before the end of the world (Expos. Luc. X.10). On the battle of Hadrianople and its aftermath, cf. Ammianus Marcellinus XXXI.12-16; Socrates, H.E. IV.38; Sozomen, H.E. VI.39-40; Theodoret, H.E. IV.33-37; and see Dudden I, 167-172.

Fuerunt tamen qui...: The Arians of Milan, who strongly criticised A. for breaking up and selling the plate of the Church in order to redeem some of the captives; cf. II.136-143.

Ipsi si in captivitate venissent...non recusarent: A. is repeating what the Arians said.

et volunt alienam libertatem rescindere...: Somewhat obscure. A. seems to mean that the Arians wish to reduce to servile status those who have been ransomed by the Church, yet they themselves are enslaved in their spiritual condition (heresy, like paganism, being bondage).

71. et maxime ab hoste barbaro qui nihil deferat humanitatis ad misericordiam: A.'s attitude to barbarians is consonant with his view that the well-being of the Church is inextricably linked with the stability of the Roman empire [cf. I.144n.]; hence he speaks in harsh terms of the impurities of these enemies (II.136; III.84), of 'ferae gentes' (Hex. II.12) and 'barbaricus furor' (Hex. III.22).

nisi quod avaritia reservaverit ad redemptionem: The barbarians spare some of their prisoners from further atrocities only out of greedy anticipation of selling them back.

aes alienum subire, si debitor solvendo non sit...: Cf. Cic. II.55: '...aut alienum suscipiunt amicorum'. Cic. speaks of helping out one's friends who are in debt; A. does not confine the practice to friends. (cf. I.253). On the example of a debtor being dragged

off to prison and deliberating as to whether to sell one of his children in order to pay his debt, cf. Nab. 21ff. (the story is told by Basil, among others [In Ps. 14.4], and may or may not be factual; it does at any rate illustrate the reality of debt in the social situation of the fourth century).

enutrire: Quite a rare verb, though classical [TLL].

pupillos tueri: Cf. I.63n.

72. Sunt etiam qui virgines orbatas parentibus tuendae pudicitiae gratia connubio locent, nec solum studio, sed etiam sumptu adiuvent: Cf. Cic. II.55: '...aut in filiarum collocatione adiuvant...'. Cic. commends those who help to provide dowries for the daughters of impoverished friends; A., typically, is more concerned to safeguard the chastity of girls who have been orphaned, and concedes that it is better for them to be married than debauched, and so money may be used for this end.

genus illud liberalitatis: Cf. Cic.'s use of 'genera' in II.55, and 'genere' in II.72.

'Ut si quis fidelis habet viduas...': 1 Tim. 5.16. Cf. I.248n. on the order of widows; those not in the category to be supported by the Church should receive private help.

73. viri boni: Cic. uses the term in II.63; neither there nor here is there a socio-political overtone: the meaning is simply 'good' in a moral sense.

tenues: Cic. uses the word in II.63,70, for the man of slender means, vulnerable in society.

idonei: The word appears, though in different contexts, in Cic. II.54,62.

Est enim duplex liberalitas...: Cf. Cic. II.52: 'cuius [beneficentiae ac liberalitatis] est ratio duplex: nam aut opera benigne fit indigentibus aut pecunia'. Cic. deals with kindness by 'pecunia' in II.52-64, and kindness by personal service in II.65-71

(plus service to society and the state in II.72-87).

multo frequenter splendidior multoque clarior: Cf. Cic. II.52: 'sed illa lautior ac splendidior et viro forti claroque dignior'. A. shares Cic.'s greater esteem for personal service compared with financial help. Cic. argues that monetary assistance is easier, especially for a rich man, whereas personal service costs virtus as well as money (Cic. II.52). A.'s preference for opera is doubtless motivated in particular by Christian teaching on good works, and also by his own general depreciation of money.

74. Quanto illustrius Abraham...!: Abraham (or Abram, as he then still was) fought against Kedorlaomer and his confederates, who had captured his nephew Lot; Lot and his possessions were recovered (Gen. 14, esp. vv. 12-16). The praise of Abraham's armed raid as opposed to redemption by money is a different thing from the commendation of redemption in II.70-71.

armis victricibus: Perhaps an echo of Vergil, Aen. III.54: 'victriciaque arma'.

Quanto utilius regem Pharaonem sanctus Ioseph consilio prudentiae iuvit...!: Cf. II.54n.

per septennium: With Krabinger-Banterle, I follow this emendation of the MSS.' per quinquennium. The Maurists retain the MSS.' reading, claiming [PL 16.130n.77] that the Egyptians survived the first two years of the seven-year famine by living on grain privately stored up in the preceding fruitful period, only seeking the help of Joseph and his granaries once the famine had begun to take hold (Gen. 41.53-56). Quinquennium might be better defended on the basis of Gen. 45.6, where Joseph says to his brothers that two years of famine have already passed and five years of dearth are to follow. However, since A. in II.54 and II.83 correctly says that Joseph staved off seven

years of famine in all, the emendation to quinquennium seems preferable.

75. Facile autem pecunia consumitur, consilia exauriri nesciunt: Cf. Cic. II.52: 'largitioque, quae fit ex re familiari, fontem ipsum benignitatis exhaurit'.

atque ipsam destituit benignitatem, ut, quo pluribus largiri volueris, eo pauciores adiuves...: Cf. Cic. II.52: 'Ita benignitate benignitas tollitur, qua quo in plures usus sis, eo minus in multos uti possis'. (Jerome also evokes this phrase in Ep. 58.7; Lactantius, Inst. VI.11, misunderstands Cic. - thinking that he is against generosity - and strongly criticises him.)

Consilii autem operisque collatio, quo in plures diffunditur...: Cf. Cic. II.53: 'At qui opera, id est virtute et industria, benefici et liberales erunt, ...quo pluribus profuerint, eo plures ad benigne faciendum adiutores habebunt...'

fontem: Cf. first n. on II.75, above.

et quo pluribus fluxerit, eo exercitius fit omne quod remanet: Cf. Cic. II.53: '...dein consuetudine beneficentiae paratiores erunt et tamquam exercitatiores ad bene de multis promerendum'.

Notice how A. develops the water image of Cic.'s 'fontem...exhaurit': in addition, A. has diffunditur; redundantior; refluit; fluxerit (and perhaps ubertas as well - 'abundance' suggesting literally the fecundity of a well-watered piece of land).

The equation of consilia with benignitas/opera is part of A.'s conflation of the consilia theme with Cic.'s arrangement in Book II [cf. II.40n.].

XVI: MEASURE IS REQUIRED IN LIBERALITY, AS THE EXAMPLE OF JOSEPH DEMONSTRATES.

76. Liquet igitur debere esse liberalitatis modum...: Cf. Cic. II.55: 'Quam ob rem nec ita claudenda res est familiaris, ut eam benignitas aperire non possit, nec ita reseranda, ut pateat omnibus; modus adhibeatur isque referatur ad facultates'.

maxime sacerdotibus: As ever, the highest standards are incumbent upon priests [cf. I.184n.].

ut non pro iactantia, sed pro iustitia dispensent: Cf. I.147. Cic. disapproves of extravagant expenditure on public shows by aediles who seek popularity; money is better spent on public building programmes (though Panaetius and others did not approve of this either); overall, the golden mean must be observed where public benefaction is necessary (Cic. II.55-60). A. applies this principle to almsgiving: the temptation to give for the sake of display must be resisted.

Veniunt validi, veniunt nullam causam nisi vagandi habentes...: Professional, wandering beggars, who seek to usurp the right of the genuinely poor in an area by feigning poverty; cf. I.149. For the need of discernment in responding to such mendicants, cf. Const. Apost. IV.4 (cf., too, II.4). For some of their practices, cf. Paulinus of Nola, Carm. 24.323-332.

ambitu vestium: The vagrants parade their rags as 'proof' of their poverty.

natalium simulatione: They claim noble birth, which may give them prior claim (cf. I.158).

licitantes: The word is ante- and post-classical; it is used literally of raising the price in an auction. These sham beggars solicit higher sums by claiming good birth.

77. Plerique simulant debita: sit veri examen: Having recommended charity towards debtors (II.71), A. adds the warning that there are charlatans about, whose professions of debt are not genuine.

Exutos se per latrocinia deplorant: aut iniuria fidem faciat aut cognitio personae...: Those who have genuinely been robbed deserve help (I.158), and relations (I.150) and fellow-Christians (I.148) should take priority.

propensius: Cic. has 'propensior' in II.62.

Ab Ecclesia relegatis sumptus impartendus...: This probably refers to those who have been debarred from the Church services as part of public penance, rather than the formally excommunicated [so PL 16, 131n.81, and pace Gryson, Prêtre, 300-301; Banterle]. On the details of public penance, including confession, exclusion from the eucharist, fasting, and works of charity, see Gryson, Prêtre, 275-290; also Gryson's edition of Paen. [Sch 179, Paris, 1971], 31-50.

ille qui erubescit videri: Cf. I.148n.; II.69.

Ille etiam clausus in carcere occurrat tibi, ille affectus aegritudine mentem tuam personet...: Corporal works of mercy, including visiting the imprisoned and the sick, were designated as prime duties of Christian charity from earliest times (under the inspiration of Matt. 25.31-46): e.g., Heb. 10.34; 1 Clem. 59.4; Aristides, Apol. 15; Tertullian, Apol. 39; esp. Augustine, Enchir. 72.

78. Quo plus te operari viderit populus, magis diliget: This harks back to the winning of popularity by good will in Cic. II.32; cf. Cic. II.31: 'si diligit multitudo'; cf. A. II.68, and II.40n.

Scio plerosque sacerdotes, quo plus contulerunt, plus abundasse...: A. adds an appeal to self-interest, based on his observation of real cases. People will give more generously if they see that a priest desires

to help the needy rather than fill his own pockets; in the process, the cleric himself benefits with a greater return of favour for his greater charity.

Cyprian, De op. et eleem. 9ff., urges believers to go so far as to exhaust their patrimonies through giving; God always provides for those who are generous in almsgiving, and is never any man's debtor.

From NT times, collections were typically made once a week for the relief of the needy (cf. 1 Cor. 16.2; Justin Martyr, Apol. I.67), and distributed by deacons (Justin says that the money is deposited with the 'president' of the assembly). Tertullian, Apol. 39.6, speaks of a monthly collection. A. does not specify the chronology of the system, but it is clear that the dispensator (deacon; cf. II.69n.) distributed money gathered from the faithful on a regular basis.

[On almsgiving generally, see A. Beugnet, 'Aumône', DTC I.ii, 2561-2571, esp. 2564 on patristic passages. See in particular Ramsey's article, cited in I.39n.; and, generally, Adolf Harnack, The Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries (ET: London, 1904), I, 181-249.]

ut quod benefacis, id cotidie facere possis, ne subtrahas necessitati quod induleris effusioni: Cf. Cic. II.54: 'Quid autem est stultius quam, quod libenter facias, curare ut id diutius facere non possis?'; Cic. also uses the verb 'effuderunt' earlier in II.54.

Cave ne intra oculos tuos includas salutem inopem...: A warning is added to the appeal given above: money is not to be sought for one's own gain, but for the salvation of the poor. Cf. Nab. 39: 'Quanto melius est liberalem esse dispensatorem quam sollicitum custodem! Quantum tibi prodesset ad gratiam multorum pupillorum patrem nominari quam innumeras stateras in sacco obsignatas habere!'

79. In II.79-85, A. presents the liberality of Joseph, already mentioned in II.74. The development is essentially biblical, but into it A. weaves various Ciceronian motifs [more so than Testard, 'Recherches', 100, seems to notice]. On the presentation of Joseph as a model for priestly charity, see Anna Maria Piredda, 'La tipologia sacerdotale del patriarca Giuseppe in Ambrogio,' Sandalion 10-11, 1987-88, 153-163.

Potuit donare Ioseph totas opes Aegypti...: Joseph sold rather than gave away the grain stored up for the seven years of famine in Egypt (Gen. 41.56-57; 42.3,5,6,10; 43.20).

quia, si paucis donasset, plurimis defuisset: Cf. Cic. II.52: 'Ita benignitate benignitas tollitur, qua quo in plures usus sis, eo minus in multos uti possis'.

The point that A. seeks to make is not at all obvious from the Gen. narrative. By selling the grain and by acquiring the Egyptians' livestock, land, and finally their own persons (Gen. 47.13-26), Joseph astutely enriched his master Pharaoh. It is not clear how he could have provided grain for more people through selling it rather than giving it away, since the famine is said to have been so severe throughout the ancient world (Gen. 41.57) that Joseph could not have bought grain from other countries. And the notion that by buying the grain the Egyptians were forced to continue to cultivate their own land (ne gratis accipiendo cultus terrarum relinquerent...) is rather weak: in a time of drought, their fields presumably could not bear any substantial crops in any case, no matter how assiduously they were cared for. A. seems to think that the Egyptians continued to tend and harvest their own crops, and perhaps just supplemented these with the grain bought from Joseph, but there is

no clue to this effect in the Gen. narrative. A. is attempting to fit to the biblical story Cic.'s idea about the exhaustion of kindness, without much regard for the actual implications of the Gen. account.

Patefacit horrea...: Cf. Gen. 41.56-57.

80. Itaque primum omnium coacervavit pecunias...: Joseph collected all the Egyptians' money, then their livestock, then their land, and finally bought their own freedom, in return for grain (Gen. 47.13-26).

publicum tributum constituerit...: Seed was given to the Egyptians on condition that they would give a fifth of the crop to Pharaoh (Gen. 47.23-24,26). Cic. speaks of the moderate corn dole inaugurated by M. Octavius in c. 120 B.C., which, unlike the large-scale distribution of very cheap corn arranged by C. Gracchus in 123 B.C., benefited the state as well as the people (Cic. II.72); M. Octavius raised the price of corn, and perhaps reduced the number of recipients, so that the state could bear the cost. Cic. also says that 'tributum' should not be levied unless it is absolutely necessary, and 'danda erit opera, ut omnes intellegant, si salvi esse velint, necessitati esse parendum' (Cic. II.74). Joseph's policy fulfilled both conditions: both state and people benefited, and the people realised that the measure was their salvation. Careful generosity won Joseph lasting gratitude (cf. Cic. II.63).

'Sanasti nos, invenimus gratiam...': Gen. 47.25.

81. O virum magnum...!: Cf. Cic. II.83: 'O virum magnum dignumque, qui in re publica nostra natus esset!'. Cic. is eulogising Aratus of Sicyon (271-213 B.C.), who, having returned to his native city from Argos, banished tyranny, brought back six hundred wealthy exiles, and gained generous financial help from his friend Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt in order to deal with the problem of the Sicyonians'

lands: some who had taken land unjustly were persuaded to relinquish it in return for money, while others who had lost their land were reimbursed with its cash value (Cic. II.81-82; cf. Plutarch, Arat. 9, 12-14). Aratus exemplifies the taking of money for the good of the public, rather than the seizure of their property rights.

nec in tempore necessitatis aliena subsidia desiderarent: Joseph effectively outstripped Aratus, since he did not have to go elsewhere for money (the people provided it themselves).

Quintam portionem collationis statuit: Cf. II.80n.

82. Somnium regis primum hoc fuit...: See Gen. 41.1-4.

in ipso riparum toro: An echo of Vergil, Aen. VI.674-675: 'riparumque toros et prata recentia rivis/incolimus', lines also evoked in Hex. I.28 and III.65 (cf., too, Statius, Theb. IV.820-821). Reminiscence of classical poetry intrudes into scriptural narrative.

Et somnium secundum hoc fuit...: See Gen. 41.5-7.

83. Hoc somnium ita aperuit sanctus Ioseph...: See Gen. 41.26-36.

Quae ideo ascendebant de flumine, quod dies, anni ac tempora fluminum praetereunt modo et cursim labuntur: The explanation is not given in Gen. 41, but fluere is very commonly used classically for time (cf., e.g., Horace, Ep. I.1.23; Seneca, Brev. vit. 10.6; Ep. 123.10; N.Q. VI.32.10).

84. in ipsum...cubile: A classical phrase: cf., e.g., Cic., Verr. II.190; Clu. 82.

This paragraph perhaps implicitly offers another summarising list of the cardinal virtues: Joseph showed wisdom, in discerning the truth; justice, in maintaining equity in all his provisions for the people; fortitude, in enduring the hardship of

slavery; and temperance, in sparing and helping his brothers who had treated him so badly. Cf. II.59.

venditus a fratribus in servitutem: Cf. II.20n.

non retulit iniuriam, sed famem depulit: Joseph provided his brothers with grain when they came to Egypt; he recognised them, though they did not recognise him (Gen. 42ff.).

qua dilecti fratris praesentiam pia fraude quaesivit...: Benjamin, Jacob's other son by Rachel, had stayed at home in Canaan, his father not wishing to risk losing him as well as Joseph. Joseph insisted on seeing his brother (Gen. 42), and did so (Gen. 43). When the brothers left, Joseph ordered that his silver cup be placed in Benjamin's sack, so that Benjamin might be detained on a charge of theft (Gen. 44, esp. vv. 1-17). When the brothers were brought back, Joseph made himself known to them, and sent them away to bring their father to Egypt (Gen. 45ff.).

85. ei a patre dicitur: Jacob's dying blessing to Joseph.

'Filius ampliatus meus Ioseph...adulescentior': Gen. 49.22 (LXX).

'Adiuvit te Deus meus...': Gen. 49.25-26 (again, closer to the LXX than to the Vulgate).

'Qui visus est,' inquit, 'in rubo...': Deut. 33.16-17.

For an exposition of these verses, cf. Patr. 46-56.

XVII: THE VIRTUES OF AN EXEMPLARY COUNSELLOR, SUCH AS JOSEPH OR PAUL.

86. In II.86ff., the liberality theme is put aside, as A. resumes the subject of consilium, which is so much in his mind from II.41 onwards [cf. II.40n.].

ut se ipsum formam aliis praebeat ad exemplum bonorum operum, in doctrina, in integritate, in gravitate, ut sit eius sermo salubris atque irreprehensibilis: Cf. Tit. 2.7-8: 'In omnibus te ipsum praebe exemplum bonorum operum, in doctrina, in integritate, in gravitate; verbum sanum, irreprehensibile...'.
consilium utile, vita honesta, sententia decora: The Stoic terms are appended artificially to the scriptural quotation.

87. Paulus, qui consilium dabat virginibus: See 1 Cor. 7.25-28.

magisterium sacerdotibus: See, e.g., 1 Tim. 3-4; 6.11ff.; 2 Tim., passim; Tit. 2-3.

A. clearly models himself on Paul in these two areas in particular, as an advocate of virginity [see Introduction, I] and an instructor of priests [Off. esp.].

ut primum se ipsum nobis formam praeberet ad imitandum: Cf. 1 Cor. 11.1 ('Imitatores mei estote...'); Phil. 3.17 ('Imitatores mei estote, fratres...'); 1 Thess. 1.6 ('Et vos imitatores nostri facti estis et Domini'); 2 Thess. 3.7 ('Ipsi enim scitis quemadmodum oporteat imitari nos...'); also 1 Cor. 4.6; Phil. 4.9.

On Paul as an example, cf. Ep. 63.61-64.

Ideo humiliari sciebat: Cf. Phil. 4.12: 'Scio et humiliari...'.
Ioseph, qui summo ortus patriarchorum genere: Joseph came from the illustrious line of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

non dedignatus degenerem servitutem: Cf. II.20n.

'Si dominus meus propter me nihil scit in domo sua...': Joseph's words to the temptress wife of his master Potiphar: Gen. 39.8-9.

88. nihil nebulosum...nihil fallax, nihil fabulosum, nihil simulatum...nihil improbum ac malevolum.... Alia sunt enim quae fugiuntur, alia quae contemnuntur...:

Cf. Cic. II.36: '...despiciunt autem eos et contemnunt, in quibus nihil virtutis, nihil animi, nihil nervorum putant. Non enim omnes eos contemnunt, de quibus male existimant. Nam quos improbos, maledicos, fraudulentos putant et ad faciendam iniuriam instructos, eos contemnunt quidem neutiquam, sed de iis male existimant.' A. also seems to be evoking a sentence from Cic. III.68: 'Ratio ergo hoc postulat, ne quid insidiosae, ne quid simulate, ne quid fallaciter'. Diverse snippets of Cic.'s language are lodged in A.'s mind.

In sentiment, A. repeats here what he has already said in II.60-67.

ut si hi qui consulitur, dubia sit fide et pecuniae avidus...: Cf. II.58,60,62,66-67 and nn. on Cic. II.36-38.

voluptarius: Cf. Cic. II.37 on 'voluptates'.

cupidor lucri turpis: Cf. II.67n.

89. 'Ego autem didici...': Phil. 4.11.

Sciebat enim omnium malorum radicem esse avaritiam: 1 Tim. 6.10.

Signato: Signatus is post-classical for significans.

Hoc de pecunia: Paul is talking about sufficiency of material goods in Phil. 4.11. Pecunia here does not [pace Testard, 'Recherches', 101] attempt to tie the paragraph to the subject of liberality discussed in the previous chapter, since the theme of greed is in II.88, under the influence of Cic. II.36-38.

90. indebite: The adverb (but not the adjective) is post-classical [TLL].

sed debiti finem certaminis...securus meriti praestolabatur: Cf. 2 Tim. 4.7-8 (cf. also Phil. 3.13-14).

patiens laboribus: Cf. 2 Cor. 6.4ff.; 11.23ff.

'Scio,' inquit, 'humiliari': Phil. 4.12.

'Et humiles spiritu salvabit': Ps. 33.19.

Nescivit Pharisaeus humiliari...; scivit publicanus ...: The contrasting men in Jesus's parable: the self-righteous Pharisee, who was condemned, and the penitent publican, who was justified (Lk. 18.9-14).

91. Sciebat et abundare Paulus: Cf. Phil. 4.12.

'Os nostrum patet ad vos...': 2 Cor. 6.11.

92. In omnibus erat imbutus et saturari et esurire: Cf. Phil. 4.12.

Beatus qui sciebat saturari in Christo: Cf. Matt. 5.6: 'Beati qui esuriunt et sitiunt iustitiam, quoniam ipsi saturabuntur'; Lk. 6.21: 'Beati, qui nunc esuritis, quia saturabimini'.

'non in pane solo vivit homo...': Deut. 8.3 (quoted by Christ when He was tempted by Satan: Matt. 4.4; Lk. 4.4).

qui sciebat quia esurientes manducabunt: Paul knew the truth expressed in the Beatitude (above).

qui nihil habebat et possidebat omnia: Cf. 2 Cor. 6.10.

XVIII: JUSTICE IS EXPEDIENT IN OFFICIALS; CONTRAST THE CASE OF REHOBOAM.

93. itaque: The sequence of thought between this chapter and the preceding paragraphs is not immediately clear, since justice has not been mentioned since II.84, and the last section above is about Paul's contentment with his lot as a hallmark of his worth as a counsellor. However, the subject of counsel links the two sections: Rehoboam's injustice took place because he rejected the counsel of elders and adopted the advice of young men. There may also

be inspiration from Cic. II.77, with praesidentes muneri: Cic. says that 'avaritia' is particularly offensive in those who hold political office; A. perhaps thinks of this argument in the context of Paul's contentment (Paul shunned avaritia: II.89).

cum populus Israel post mortem Salomonis rogasset filium eius Roboam ut relevaret...: See 3 Kings 12.1-16; 2 Paral. 10.1-16.

94. 'Non est nobis portio cum David...': 3 Kings 12.16; 2 Paral. 10.16.

vix duarum tribuum propter David meritum habere potuit societatem: The folly of Rehoboam precipitated the division of the tribes of Israel and Judah in 930 B.C. Judah remained loyal to the house of David, in accordance with the Lord's promise, for the sake of the merits of David (3 Kings 11.12-13; 12.20; 2 Paral. 10.19), while Israel elected Jeroboam I as its new king.

XIX: JUSTICE, GOOD WILL, AND GENUINE AFFABILITY WIN PEOPLE OVER.

95. Claret ergo quoniam et aequitas imperia confirmet et iniustitia dissolvat: The example of Rehoboam in II.93-94 as a despot ruining his country replaces Cic.'s allusions to Julius Caesar and others in II.23-29. On the necessity of justice, cf. Cic. II.29 and II.40.

Nam quomodo potest malitia regnum possidere, quae ne unam quidem privatam potest regere familiam?: Cf. Cic. II.29: 'Quae si populo Romano iniuste imperanti accidere potuerunt, quid debent putare singuli?'. Cic. refers to the collapse of the Republic as a result of the political injustice of Caesar.

ut non solum publica gubernacula sed etiam privata

iura tueamur: Cic. says that the use of 'caritas' rather than 'metus' brings success 'et privatis in rebus et in re publica' (II.24). The political language which A. uses here is obviously taken from Cic. without strict relevance to his ecclesiastical addressees.

96. Affabilitatem quoque sermonis diximus ad conciliandam gratiam valere plurimum: Cf. II.29 and n.

sine ulla adulatione...: Cf. I.209n., and Cic. II.43,63.

forma enim esse debemus ceteris...: Cf. II.86-87, and 1 Tim. 4.12: 'sed exemplum esto fidelium, in verbo, in conversatione, in caritate, in fide, in castitate'.

Quales haberi volumus, tales simus...: Cf. Cic. II.43: 'Quamquam praeclare Socrates hanc viam ad gloriam proximam et quasi compendiariam dicebat esse, si quis id ageret, ut qualis haberi vellet, talis esset' (the saying of Socrates is recorded in Xenophon, Mem. II.39).

Neque dicamus in corde nostro verbum iniquum: Dicamus in corde nostro is reminiscent of such verses as Deut. 9.4; Is. 14.13; 47.8; 49.21; Rom. 10.6.

quia audit in occulta dicta: A. is probably alluding to Cic. II.44: the young man who is born into an illustrious family lives in the public gaze, 'ita nullum obscurum potest nec dictum eius esse nec factum'; but this idea is synthesised with the biblical thought of living in the sight of God, from whom nothing can be hidden (cf. I.9,53-56).

cognoscit secreta viscerum: Cf. Ps. 43.22: 'Ipse enim novit abscondita cordis'.

Ergo, tamquam sub oculis constituti iudicis...: As ever, A. urges his addressees to live as those who must give account to God. This ultimate reference-point is of course foreign to Cic.

XX: YOUNG MEN PROFIT FROM THE COMPANY OF ELDERS

97. II.97-101 is on the benefits of older company for young men, a theme of particular relevance to the younger clerics whom A. is addressing in the work (cf. I.65,81,87,212). The force of itaque at the beginning of II.97 is not immediately obvious, but in fact there are two reasons why the section follows on from the preceding paragraphs: (i) the story of Rehoboam in II.93 shows the folly of ignoring the counsel of elders and heeding the advice of adulescentes, so the subject of older company is in A.'s mind; (ii) II.96 exploits Cic. II.43-44, and in II.44ff. Cic. outlines ways in which a young man of obscure birth may make a name for himself, such as (II.46-47) by associating with distinguished elders.

Adulescentibus quoque utile ut claros et sapientes viros sequantur...: Cf. Cic. II.46: 'Facillime autem et in optimam partem cognoscuntur adulescentes, qui se ad claros et sapientes viros bene consulentes rei publicae contulerunt...'. Cic. thinks of men of distinction in politics (and, in Cic. II.47, of eminent lawyers and orators); A. has the counsel of spiritual sages in mind.

qui congregatur sapientibus sapiens est: Cf. Prov. 13.20: 'Qui cum sapientibus graditur, sapiens erit; amicus stultorum efficietur similis'. As so often, biblical quotation is joined to Ciceronian language.

Ostendunt enim adulescentes eorum se imitatores esse, quibus adhaerent: Cf. Cic. II.46: 'quibuscum si frequentes sunt, opinionem adferunt populo eorum fore se similes, quos sibi ipsi delegerint ad imitandum'.

98. A typical move from Ciceronian point to biblical illustration.

Inde tantus Iesus Nave...: From an early age, Joshua was Moses's 'minister' (Ex. 33.11); he was renamed

'Joshua' by Moses (Num. 13.17; originally he was 'Hosea', 'salvation', and Moses prefixed the divine name, hence 'the Lord is salvation'); as Moses's successor he knew the Lord's presence in the same way as his mentor (Deut. 34.9; Josh. 1.5), and was shown equal reverence by the Israelites (Josh. 4.14).

Moses and Joshua here replace Cic.'s example of the influence of P. Mucius Scaevola the jurist (cos. 133 B.C.) on the young P. Rutilius Rufus (cos. 105 B.C.).

Denique cum in eius tabernaculo...: See Ex. 33.11.

Moyses cum Deo loquebatur, Iesus pariter nube sacra tegebatur: See Ex. 33.7-11.

Presbyteri et populus deorsum stabant, Iesus cum Moyse ad accipiendam Legem ascendebat: See Ex. 24.13-14.

A. runs together two incidents: the presence of the Lord with Moses (and Joshua?) in the tent of meeting, and the giving of the Law on Mt. Sinai. Joshua set out with Moses to climb Mt. Sinai (Ex. 24.13), and was there when Moses descended to the Israelite camp (Ex. 32.17, but the Ex. narrative makes no mention of his being with Moses when the Lord spoke from the cloud (Ex. 24.15 - 31.18). Did Joshua wait somewhere up the mountain, while Moses met the Lord alone, and then rejoin his leader on the return journey? A. thinks that Joshua was there with Moses, though in III.2 he clearly implies that Moses was alone. The conflation of the two passages (Sinai and the tent of meeting) in A.'s mind is perhaps because both speak of the other Israelites standing back while Moses and Joshua go to the sacred place (Ex. 24.13-14 and Ex. 33.8-10).

Omnis populus intra castra erat, Iesus extra castra in tabernaculo testimonii: See Ex. 33.7-11.

quasi fidus adstabat minister...iuvenis: Cf. Ex. 33.11. The Vulgate there calls Joshua a 'puer' (LXX: *ἄρσ*), though he had already led in battle (Ex. 17.8-13).

99. reveranda secreta: Typical of A.'s view of the mystic secrets of holy matters; cf. I.251n.

fieret successor potestatis: See Deut. 1.38; 3.28; 34.9; etc.

Merito vir huiusmodi evasit, ut sisteret fluminum cursus: At Joshua's word, the ark of the covenant preceded the Israelites across the Jordan as if on dry land (Josh. 3.5-17).

diceret: 'Stet sol', et staret sol: Cf. I.196n.

ille mari: See Ex. 14.13-31.

100. Pulchra itaque copula seniorum atque adulescentium: On the sentiment, cf. Cic., Sen. 20,26,28-29.

Omitto quod Abrahae adhaesit Lot adulescentulus etiam proficiscenti...: Lot followed his uncle Abram from Haran (Gen. 12.4-5).

Licet non expresse Elisaeum iuvenem Scriptura significaverit...: A. is right to say that Scripture does not call Elisha a young man, but it is an obvious assumption from the fact that he is described as ploughing, running after Elijah, and kissing his parents farewell (3 Kings 19.19-21).

Barnabas Marcum assumpsit, Paulus Silam: See Acts 15.39-40. Mark's youth is perhaps inferred from his desertion (youthful fickleness?) in Acts 15.38. He and Barnabas were cousins (Col. 4.10). There is no indication in Acts that Silas was younger than Paul. Silas is described as a leader (Acts 15.22) and prophet (Acts 15.32) in the Church at Jerusalem; unlike Barnabas (Acts 14.14), he is not called an apostle.

Paulus Timotheum: See Acts 16.1-3. Timothy clearly was a young man (1 Tim. 1.2,18; 4.12; etc.).

Paulus Titum: See Gal. 2.1 (cf. also 2 Cor. 2.13; 7.13). Like Timothy, Titus was Paul's 'son' (Tit. 1.4). A. is mistaken in thinking that Paul chose

Titus in Acts: Titus does not appear there.

101. sicut delectabantur Petrus et Iohannes: See Lk. 22.8; John 20.2-9; and esp. Acts 3-4; 8.14.

Nam adulescentem legimus in Evangelio Iohannem et sua voce: John is not said anywhere in the gospels to have been a young man (nor is Peter said to be older), but A. thinks that he was: et sua voce (which has caused problems for editors) may allude to the action, described in John's gospel, of 'the disciple whom Jesus loved' (who almost certainly is John; John 13.23; 19.26; 20.2; 21.7,20) leaning on Jesus's breast, in John 13.23-25, as the intimacy of a young man. John's youth might also possibly be inferred from John 20.1-9: John outstrips Peter in running to Jesus's tomb (youthful vigour?), but waits outside until Peter arrives (youthful timidity?). A. takes John to be the unnamed young man who flees at Jesus's arrest, in Mk. 14.51-52: cf. Expl. Ps. 36.53: 'Novit [Scriptura] et Iohannem adulescentem in Christi pectore recumbentem.... Hic est puer qui patrem genitalem reliquit, secutus est patrem eum quem cognovit aeternum, adulescens amictus sindone, Dominum sequebatur tempore passionis, qui sua omnia derelinquerat....' (The identification of John as the figure of Mk. 14.51-52 is made also by Gregory, Moral. XIV.23, and Bede, In Marc. IV.969.) Jerome, Adv. Iovin. I.26, speaks of John as a 'puer'.

Vita enim immaculata bonae senectutis stipendium: 'For an unblemished life is the reward of a good old age'; i.e., an unblemished life brings the reward of venerable longevity. John, though a young man, showed the prudence of an older man; his life was as unblemished as the lives of those who have reached old age.

XXI: INTERCESSION ON BEHALF OF THE CONDEMNED INCREASES ONE'S REPUTATION, AS DOES HOSPITALITY. KINDNESS SHOULD BE GENEROUS TO MANY RATHER THAN EXTRAVAGANT TO A FEW.

102. II.102ff. resumes the liberality theme, covering both personal service and financial generosity.

Adiuuat hoc quoque ad profectum bonae existimationis, si de potentis manibus eripias inopem: A synthesis of a biblical verse with a Ciceronian statement. Cf. Ps. 81.4: 'Eripite pauperem, et egenum de manu peccatoris liberate' (cf. also Prov. 24.11; Eccli. 4.9; Jerem. 21.12); and Cic. II.51 (on advocacy): 'Maxime autem et gloria paritur et gratia defensionibus, eoque maior, si quando accidit, ut ei subveniatur, qui potentis alicuius opibus circumveniri urgerique videatur...'. For other abuses by a potens, cf. I.63.

de morte damnatum eruas: Cf. Prov. 24.11: 'Erue eos qui ducuntur ad mortem...'. A. quotes this verse also in Expos. Ps. 118.8.41: 'Eripe eum qui ducitur ad mortem, hoc est: eripe eum intercessione, eripe gratia tua, sacerdos, aut tu, imperator, eripe subscriptione indulgentiae, et soluisti peccata tua, exuisti te e vinculis tuis'. The right of episcopal intercessio on behalf of the condemned (cf. Council of Sardica [343], can. 7-9 [Gk.]; 8-10 [Lat.]) was an important ecclesiastical responsibility in the late fourth century; indeed, so successful were the appeals of clerics that a series of state acts was passed in the 390's to curtail the Church's power on behalf of convicted criminals (C.Th. IX.10.15 [13 March, 392] forbade intercessio if the condemnation were for a very serious crime, and C.Th. XI.36.31 [9 April, 392] prohibited it if the criminal had made a frank confession; cf. also C.Th. IX.45.1-2; IX.14.3.2; IX.40.16; XI.30.57; IX.45.3). A.'s own successful exercise of the right is illustrated by a story told

by Sozomen, H.E. VII.25, in which A. secured a repeal of the death sentence on a man who had insulted Gratian [see Palanque, 113-115]; for other examples, cf. Paulinus, Vita 34,37; A., Epp. 40.25; 54.1; and the requests to Theodosius to show clemency to the supporters of Eugenius after the usurper's defeat (Epp. 61-62; Paulinus, Vita 31). In the present paragraph he cautions discretion: a cleric who intercedes only out of a desire to make a name for himself may do more harm than good (cf. Expos. Ps. 118.8.25), but in III.59 he argues that failure to intervene in capital cases (in the context of episcopal adjudication) is a grave sin. (For other patristic references, cf., e.g., Jerome, Ep. 52.11; Augustine, Epp. 113-116,133-134,139.2,151-153; Serm. 302.17; Tract. ev. Ioh. XXV.10; see also Dudden I, 121n.1.) [On the whole subject, see Gaudemet, 282-287, 351; G. Le Bras, 'Asile', DHGE 1, 1035-1047.]

ne videamur iactantiae magis causa facere quam misericordiae: Cf. I.147.

et graviora inferre vulnera dum levioribus mederi desideramus: Carmelo Curti, 'Una reminiscenza di Novaziano nel De officiis ministrorum di Ambrogio,' in Mnemosynum. Studi in onore di Alfredo Ghiselli (Bologna, 1989), 149-153, has suggested that A. may here be following two passages in letters of Novatian, preserved in Cyprian, Ep. 30.3.3 and Ep. 31.6.2-3.

Iam si oppressum opibus potentis...: Cf. n. above on Cic. II.51.

convalescit opinionis testimonium: Convalescit opinio appears in II.97; the phrase must be lodged in A.'s mind.

103. Commendat plerosque etiam hospitalitas: II.103-108 is on hospitality, a subject suggested by Cic. II.64. There is a notable contrast between the emphases of Cic. and A. Cic. treats hospitality as a

means towards a political end (as Lactantius, Inst. VI.12, notes): by entertaining foreign guests Rome builds up a network of valuable links with other peoples. A.'s focus, on the other hand, is not on self-interest - though he does point out the gain in public esteem (II.103), the advantages of friendships acquired by kindness and self-denial generally (II.106), and the eternal reward which hospitality earns (II.107) - but on charitable generosity to strangers. Hospitality - especially support of visiting Christians and tuitio of the needy and the oppressed - is stressed as an important duty in the early Church, as semitic and Greek notions merged in a concern for disinterested charity to visitors: cf., e.g., Rom. 12.13; 1 Tim. 3.2; 5.10; Tit. 1.8; Heb. 13.2; 1 Pet. 4.9; 3 John 8; Didache 11-13; 1 Clem. 1.2; Shepherd of Hermas, Mand. VIII.10; Justin Martyr, Apol. I.67; Cyprian, Ep. 7; Const. Apost. III.3. According to Eusebius, H.E. IV.26.2, Melito of Sardis wrote a book on the subject. The example of Abraham (cf. II.104,107) is celebrated as a model of hospitality (cf. Abr. I.32ff.; Paulinus of Nola, Epp. 13.21; 23.40). For other references in A., cf. Hex. V.54; Expos. Luc. VI.66 (cf. also V.35); Epp. 19.6; 63.105. Cf. also I.167, and I.39,86. He set an example with his hospitality to those of every rank, including (according to Sulpicius Severus, Dial. I.25) consuls and prefects, and other officials (cf. Paulinus, Vita 30; A., Ep. 87.1). [On hospitality generally, see O. Hiltbrunner, D. Gorce, H. Wehr, 'Gastfreundschaft', RAC VIII, 1061-1123.]

publica species humanitatis: Cic. II.64 says that hospitality is 'rei publicae...ornamento'. A. does not use Cic.'s argument about the political advantages of such liberality, but he says that hospitality is observed by the public, and so contributes to the

general esteem of the host.

ut peregrinus hospitio non egeat: Cf. Cic. II.64: '...homines externos hoc liberalitatis genere in urbe nostra non egere'.

pateat advenienti ianua: Cf. Job 31.32 (quoted in a similar context in I.167).

Valde id decorum totius est orbis existimatione...: Cf. Cic. II.64: 'Recte etiam a Theophrasto est laudata hospitalitas [in his lost De divitiis; cf. Cic. II.56]. Est enim, ut mihi quidem videtur, valde decorum patere domos hominum illustrium hospitibus illustribus....'

104. Quod Abrahae laudi est datum, qui ante ianuam suam specularatur...: The promise of a son was given to Abraham when he showed hospitality to three strangers (Gen. 18.1-22) Two of the guests were angels (Gen. 19.1), and the third may have been the Lord Himself. The incident is traditionally taken in patristic exegesis to be a theophany of the trinity: cf. II.107).

'Domine, si inveni gratiam ante te...': Gen. 18.3.

105. Lot quoque nepos eius non solum genere sed etiam virtute proximus...: Lot showed hospitality to the two angels (Gen. 19.1ff.).

106. Decet igitur hospitem esse, benignum, iustum, non alieni cupidum, immo de suo iure cedentem...: Cf. Cic. II.64: 'Conveniet autem cum in dando munificum esse, tum in exigendo non acerbum in omnique re contrahenda, vendendo emendo, conducendo locando, vicinitatibus et confiniis aequum, facilem, multa multis de suo iure cedentem, a litibus vero, quantum liceat et nescio an paulo plus etiam, quam liceat, abhorrentem. Est enim non modo liberale paulum non numquam de suo iure decedere, sed interdum etiam fructuosum.' Fugitantem litium is perhaps an echo of Terence, Phorm. 623: 'fugitans litium'. On avoiding

lawsuits, cf. I.185.

amicitia, ex qua oriuntur plurimae commoditates: An echo of Cic., Amic. 23: 'Cumque plurimas et maximas commoditates amicitia contineat...'. On the advantages of friendship, cf. III.125-138.

fructuosae: Cic. uses the word in II.64.

107. In officiis autem hospitalibus omnibus quidem humanitas impartienda est, iustis autem uberior deferenda honorificentia: Cic. argues that good character is more important than wealth as a criterion for deserving kindness (Cic. II.69-71); A. probably blends this with the NT principle that fellow-believers have first claim on our generosity (Gal. 6.10).

'Quicumque enim iustum receperit...': Matt. 10.41.

ut ne potus quidem aquae frigidae a praemiis remunerationis immunis sit: Cf. Matt. 10.42 (and Mk. 9.41).

Vides quia Abraham Deum recepit hospitio...: Cf. II.104n.

Vides quia Lot angelos suscepit: Cf. II.105n.

The author of Hebrews is probably thinking of these stories when he says, 'Hospitalitatem nolite oblivisci, per hanc enim latuerunt quidam angelis hospitio receptis' (Heb. 13.2).

'In carcere eram et venistis ad me...': Matt. 25.36.

108. Verum hoc malum iam dudum humanis influxit mentibus...: On the role of Original Sin in the introduction of greed and private property, cf. I.137 (and I.132). The sequence of thought from hospitality in the previous paragraph to greed here is suggested by Cic.'s mention of both subjects in II.64. Note also Cic.'s comments on avarice in II.58,75,77; and cf. A. II.129ff.

ut pecunia honori sit: Cic. laments this in II.69-71 (cf. also Cic. II.37-38). Cf., too, Sallust, Cat. 12.

et animi hominum divitiarum admiratione capiantur:
Cf. Cic. II.71: 'Sed corrupti mores depravatique sunt
admiratione divitiarum'.

ut homines damnum putent quidquid praeter morem
impenditur: Out of an excessive regard for wealth,
people become parsimonious, considering anything more
than a token gift as money wasted.

'Quia melior est hospitalitas cum oleribus': Prov.
15.17.

'Melior est panis in suavitate cum pace': Prov. 17.1.
Non enim prodigos nos docet esse Scriptura, sed
liberales: The terminology of prodigi and liberales
is Ciceronian (Cic. II.55), and Cic. commends the
latter rather than the former. A. adopts the language
and sentiment, but attributes the teaching to
Scripture.

109. Largitatis enim duo sunt genera: unum
liberalitatis, alterum prodigae effusionis: Cf. Cic.
II.55: 'Omnino duo sunt genera largorum, quorum alteri
prodigi, alteri liberales...' (the idea is originally
Aristotelian: cf. N.E. IV.1).

nudum vestire: Cf. Matt. 25.36, in II.107.

redimere captivos: Cf. II.70n.; the subject appears
as a practice of the liberales in Cic. II.55.

non habentes sumptu iuvare: Cf. Cic. II.61-63 on
helping the needy.

prodigum est sumptuosis effluere conviviis et vino
plurimo: [The reading of PL, effluescere, is a hapax
legomenon - TLL.] Cf. Cic. II.55: 'prodigi, qui
epulis...pecunias profundunt'. On A.'s fierce
condemnation of the feasting and drinking of the rich
Milanese, see Dudden II, 461-469.

'Prodigum est vinum...': Prov. 20.1.

Prodigum est popularis favoris gratia exinanire
proprius opes: Cf. Cic. II.54,64 on not wasting one's
wealth (and so squandering one's resources for doing

good).

quod faciunt qui ludis circensibus vel etiam theatralibus et muneribus gladiatoriiis vel etiam venationibus patrimonium dilapidant suum: Cf. Cic. II.55: 'prodigi, qui...gladiatorum muneribus, ludorum venationumque apparatu pecunias profundunt in eas res...'. Cic. is condemning the extravagant public entertainment laid on by aediles in their bid for popularity. Dilapidare is a rare verb [TLL]; lit. 'to cast stones', hence 'to scatter, dissipate, squander'.

ut vincant superiorum celebritates: Cf. Cic. II.57: 'omnes autem P. Lentulus in me consule [63 B.C] vicit superiores'.

quandoquidem etiam bonorum operum sumptibus immoderatum esse non deceat: Cic. advises moderation in public expenditure in II.59-60; A. relates this to bona opera generally.

110. erga ipsos quoque pauperes mensuram tenere, ut abundes pluribus: Cf. Cic. II.52-64, esp. 55 ('modus adhibeatur isque referatur ad facultates'), 60 ('et ad facultates accommodanda et mediocritate moderanda est'). In II.136, however, A. urges us to 'give as much as we can, and sometimes more than we can'. Here, he follows Cic.'s advice, that giving with discretion and moderation ensures that one's resources may be stretched to help many, rather than benefiting only a few.

non superfluas aedificationes aggredi, nec praetermittere necessarias: Reminiscent of Cic. II.60, where it is said that money is better spent on public works, such as 'muri, navalia, portus, aquarum ductus', which last, than on transient entertainments. In view of Dei templum in II.111, it appears that A. envisages clerics spending their money on Church buildings [on a basilica as a Dei templum, cf. Serm.

c.Aux. 35]. Necessary expenditure on ecclesiastical buildings is permissible.

111. impensas: Cf. Cic.'s 'impensae' in II.60.

nec restrictiorem...aut indulgentiorem: Cf. Cic. II.55.

Moderation must govern donations to Church building projects and to clerics, lest the funds for the relief of the poor be depleted.

a sordidis negotiationis aucupiis retrahere: A. is prominent among the Fathers in his polemic against the evils of usury (on the basis of such texts as Ex. 22.25; Lev. 25.35-38; Deut. 23.19-20; Ps. 14.5; Ezek. 18.8,13,17; 22.12). He paints vivid pictures of the cruelty and dishonesty of money-lenders; and his treatise De Tobia is devoted to an attack on their evil trade. Usury is contrary to divine law, contrary to nature, and invariably associated with the oppression of the poor. Cf. III.20,41. The trade is despised by Cic. in I.150 and II.89 (the latter passage is evoked by A. in Tob. 46); cf. also Cato, De agric., praef. [On A.'s position, and the influence on him of the condemnation of usury by Greek authors, especially Basil, see S. Giet, 'De saint Basile à saint Ambroise. La condamnation du prêt à intérêt au IV^e siècle,' RSR 31, 1944, 95-128 (though Giet wrongly believes that A. was not proficient in Greek); Salvatore Calafato, La proprietà privata in S. Ambrogio (Turin, 1958), 119-135; Dudden II, 470-474; Vasey, 165-171 (discussing also the legislation of the late fourth century against some of the excesses of the money-lenders). A convenient general survey (citing the relevant earlier literature) is given by R.P. Maloney, 'The Teaching of the Fathers on Usury: An Historical Study on the Development of Christian Thinking,' Vig.Chr. 27, 1973, 241-265 (251-256 on A.).]

XXII: INSINCERE GENEROSITY DOES NOT BRING LASTING POPULARITY, AS THE CASE OF ABSALOM SHOWS.

112. ne aut nimia remissio videatur aut nimia severitas: Cf. Cic. II.55.

sed nihil simulatum et fictum verae virtutis esse certum est; quin etiam diuturnum esse non solet. In principio vernat, in processu tamquam flosculus dissipatur et solvitur; quod autem verum ac sincerum, alta fundatur radice: Cf. Cic. II.43: 'Vera gloria radices agit atque etiam propagatur, ficta omnia celeriter tamquam flosculi decidunt nec simulatum potest quicquam esse diuturnum'. It is noteworthy that A. speaks of 'true virtue' instead of Cic.'s 'true glory' (cf. II.40). The fleeting beauty of flowers or grass is of course a common image in the Bible as well (e.g., Ps. 89.6; Is. 40.6-8 [and 1 Pet. 1.24-25]; Jas. 1.10-11).

113. Et ut exemplis assertiones nostras probemus, ...ex ea familia...unum...proferamus testimonium: Cf. Cic. II.43: 'Testes sunt permulti in utramque partem, sed brevitatis causa familia contenti erimus una'. Cic. illustrates the transience of the reputation gained by feigned generosity with the example of the Gracchi family. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, the distinguished consul of 177 and 163 B.C. and victor over the Celtiberians, has achieved lasting glory for his military and political achievements, while his sons, Tiberius (tribune of the plebs in 133 B.C.) and Gaius (tribune of the plebs in 123,122 B.C.), were revolutionaries who deserved to be killed and whose honour has faded. A. similarly points to one family, but it is the illustrious house of David, as he contrasts the enduring glory of David and the short-lived esteem of his usurper-son Absalom. The assertiones are as much Cic.'s as nostras.

ad virtutis profectum: Cf. I.233n.

114. Abessalon erat David regis filius, decore insignis, egregius forma, praestans iuventa...: See 2 Kings 14.25. A. makes Absalom sound rather like a Vergilian hero: cf. Aen. V.295: 'Euryalus forma insignis viridique iuventa'; IV.559: (Aeneas) 'membra decora iuventae'.

Is fecit sibi currus et equos...: See 2 Kings 15.1-4. Talibus deleniebat singulos sermonibus: Cf. Cic. II.48 (in A. II.30n.).

Et cum accederent adorare eum...: See 2 Kings 15.5-6.

115. Ubi parva processit dilatio, quam prudens omnium propheta paulisper cedendo interponendam putavit: The prudens omnium propheta is David, who sent Hushai the Arkite to feign loyalty to Absalom and advise him to delay his attack on David's forces (2 Kings 15.32-37; 16.15-19; esp. 17.1ff.); the delay enabled David to get safely away across the Jordan.

David commendabat filium dimicaturis, ut ei parcerent: See 2 Kings 18.5.

Ideoque nec proelio interesse maluit, ne vel referre arma...: A.'s account is somewhat idealised; in fact, David fully intended to fight, but was dissuaded by his men on the grounds that the risk of losing him was too great (2 Kings 18.2-4).

parricidae licet: Translate: 'although he was attempting parricide', since Absalom of course did not actually achieve the death of his father.

116. assentatione: Note Cic.'s 'assentatorum' in II.63.

XXIII: THOSE WON OVER BY BRIBERY OR FLATTERY ARE NOT GENUINELY LOYAL

117. Quis igitur vel illos qui pecunia ad oboedientiam redimuntur, vel eos qui assentatione invitantur, fidos sibi arbitretur?: Cic. condemns the winning of popular support through bribery: cf. Cic. II.21-22: '...aut postremo pretio ac mercede ducuntur, quae sordidissima est illa quidem ratio et inquinatissima et iis, qui ea tenentur, et illis, qui ad eam confugere conantur. Male enim se res habet, cum quod virtute effici debet, id temptatur pecunia....' He also points out the instability of allegiance achieved this way: cf. Cic. II.53: 'Praeclare in epistula quadam Alexandrum filium Philippus [cf. A. II.30n.] accusat, quod largitione benevolentiam Macedonum consecetur: "Quae te, malum," inquit, "ratio in istam spem induxit, ut eos tibi fideles putares fore, quos pecunia corrupisses?..." [etc.]'.

assentatiuncula: A rare diminutive [TLL].

118. The relevance of this to the clergy of Milan is less than obvious; A. expresses sentiments which seem more suited to Cic.'s political readership. However, perhaps he envisages clerics who try to buy loyalty in the interests of their preferment in the Church (do they attempt to acquire a reputation for charity by tactical beneficence?), since he goes on to speak about ambition in the next chapter.

XXIV: CLERICS MUST STRIVE FOR DISTINCTION BY HONEST GIVING, NOT OUT OF AMBITION.

119. II.119ff. consists of a series of instructions to clerics in particular, covering relationships among the clergy, concern for the poor, a right attitude to

wealth, and so on. Into this personal development a number of Ciceronian phrases are woven.

et maxime ecclesiasticum: As ever, ecclesiastical standards must be the highest of all.

On the conduct prescribed here, cf. I.225-227.

120. nec nimiam remissionem, ne aut potestatem exercere...videamur: On a due balance between severity and leniency in office, cf. Cic. I.88.

aut susceptum officium nequaquam implere videamur: Cf. I.213-218; this Panaetian-Ciceronian realism is applied to clerical responsibilities.

121. Enitendum quoque ut beneficiis atque officiis obligemus plurimos et collatam reservemus gratiam:

Cf. Cic. II.17: 'proprium hoc statuo esse virtutis, conciliare animos hominum et ad usus suos adiungere'; and esp. II.65: 'Haec igitur opera grata multis et ad beneficiis obstringendos homines accommodata'; also II.67. Winning popularity through beneficia is discussed by Cic. in II.65ff.

sacerdotem: Here, as often = 'bishop' [see Gryson, Prêtre, 134-136]. Bishops are not to antagonise their clergy by treating them unjustly, but should show deference to their priests and deacons as if to their parents (hence the father-son relationship - cf., e.g., I.24 - effectively works both ways).

minister: = 'Deacon'. On the order of bishop, priest, deacon here, cf. Expos. Ps. 118.2.23: 'sacerdos summus, presbyter, minister altaris sacri' [cf. also the references cited in Gryson, Prêtre, 134n.3].

122. Neque hos, quia semel probati sunt, arrogantes esse oportet...: Those who are approved must remain humble, and bishops must not become jealous if lesser clerics win favour by their good deeds; the popularity of any cleric is to the credit of the Church. On humility, see Gryson, Prêtre, 311-317.

aut quisquam de clero: Such as a reader or an

exorcist; cf. I.216.

ieiunio: The duty of fasting is propounded in De Elia et ieiunio; cf. also Ep. 63.15-31. On A.'s personal fasting, see Dudden I, 108-110. [On the subject generally, see F. Cabrol, 'Jeûnes', DACL 7.2, 2481-2501, esp. 2483ff.; R. Arbesmann, 'Fasten', RAC VII.471-493.]

doctrina aut lectione: Cf. 1 Tim. 4.13.

Laudent enim unumquemque proximorum labia et non suum os: Cf. Prov. 27.2: 'Laudet te alienus, et non os tuum: extraneus, et non labia tua'.

123. Ceterum si quis non oboediat episcopo...: On A.'s lofty view of the episcopal office, see Dudden II, 497-498. While the bishop must not mistreat his clergy or be jealous of them if they enjoy high public esteem (II.121-122), at the same time the clergy must not fail to show deference to their bishop, or try to promote themselves at his expense.

ut nihil facias commendandi tui causa quo minor alius fiat: To the se commendare theme which has been a major theme in the argument from II.29 onwards, a significant caveat is added: the seeking of this expedient must not be at the expense of others.

deformationem: Generally late in the sense of 'defaming' a person [TLL].

124. Non defendas improbum et sancta indigno committenda arbitraris...: Cic. in II.51 argues that the innocent must be spared prosecution on a capital charge (i.e., on a charge where their civic status is at risk); but he also advises that a guilty man may be defended, so long as he is not 'nefarius impiusque'. The idea of not committing sancta to an unworthy person is set out by Paul in 1 Cor. 6.1-11: disputes among Christians should be settled within the Church and not in the secular courts. These sancta must primarily be issues relating to the doctrine or

practice of clerics, since in II.123 A. is speaking about ambitious clerics who seek to advance themselves, without respect for their bishop, by feigning distinction in doctrine and piety. As A. constantly insists, such matters of the Faith must be judged within the Church, and not by secular authorities (cf., e.g, Epp. 5-6; 21.2). Bishops deal with the discipline of their clergy.

Below, and in II.125, A. refers to the trying of civil cases before ecclesiastical courts. With corruption rife in the secular legal system (cf., e.g, Ammianus Marcellinus, XXX.4), very large numbers of private cases were brought before Church courts, presided over by bishops, where justice was more likely and costs were lower. There had been a long-standing tradition of episcopal adjudication, as the early Church sought to obey Paul's injunctions not to take disputes before pagan courts (besides 1 Cor. 6.1-11, cf. such examples of procedure as 1 Cor. 5; 2 Cor. 13.1-10; 1 Tim. 5.19), and the third-century Didascalia gives valuable details of the practice of episcopal authority in such cases (II.37-56). The legitimacy of the (often severe) judgements passed by bishops was established by legislation under Constantine (C.Th. I.27.1 [318]; cf. Sozomen, H.E. I.9; A., Ep. 82.1). By the late-fourth and fifth centuries, it is clear that the burden of the audientia episcopalis, though limited by various legislative acts, had become severe: Augustine was frequently engaged upon arbitrating between litigants (Christian, heretical, and pagan) from early morning till late afternoon (Possidius, Vita Aug. 19), and he deplored the time and energy that this duty demanded (Enarr. Ps. 118.24.3-4; De op. monach. 29,37), as he settled disputes over money, land, and cattle (Ep. 33.5), as well as matters of the Faith. Nevertheless, Augustine still insists that Christians

should take their cases before ecclesiastical rather than civil courts (Enarr. Ps. 80.21; cf. Ambrosiaster, Comm. in 1 Cor.6). [See Peter Brown, Augustine of Hippo: A Biography (London, 1967), 195-196].

Surprisingly little is known of A.'s arbitration. In II.125 (cf. III.59; also Expos. Luc. VII.122) he says that adjudication in sordid financial disputes may be declined, though he did settle at least one such case, where a Christian widow, having been left land by her brother, a bishop, on the condition that she should bequeath it to the Church after her death, was challenged by another brother to give up the property; A. settled the case by ruling that the brother could have the land, but must pay an annual revenue of its produce to his sister, after whose death he would be freed from his obligation; the only loser was the Church (Ep. 82 [see F. Martroye, 'Une sentence arbitrale de saint Ambroise,' Revue Historique de Droit Français et Étranger, ser. 4,8, 1929, 300-311]). We can imagine that A.'s personal experience of civil administration and his training in jurisprudence were of significant advantage to him in his task. In several passages, he mentions the qualities necessary in a judge (Cain II.38; Expos. Ps. 118.20.36ff.; there are possibly allusions to his judicial experience in Expos. Ps. 118.8.25; Parad. 56; Tob. 36) [see Vincent R. Vasey, 'St. Ambrose's Mirror for Judges,' The Jurist 39, 1979, 437-446]. [The Ph.D. thesis of Richard John Hebein, St. Ambrose and Roman Law (St. Louis University, 1979) is very disappointing in its analysis of imperial legislation, and is astonishingly out of date in treating Ambrosiaster and other spurious works in PL 17 as Ambrosian; Hebein is doubtless right, however, to conclude that A. is more interested in ius than lex, and in the theological dimensions of the higher law of God in man's life

(esp. 58-87, 143-163, 164-167). Andrew Lenox-Conyngham, 'Law in St. Ambrose,' St.Patr. 23, 1989, gives some examples of places where A. uses lex for ius, stressing the superiority of natural/divine law to positive (Mosaic/Roman) law; positive law is necessary because of man's inability to keep natural/divine law. (Lenox-Conyngham might have discussed III.20ff.) On the audientia episcopalis, see Gaudemet, 229-240; Biondi I, 435-461; Dudden I, 121-122; Monachino, 279-301.]

tum maxime in Ecclesia: Again, the highest standards must apply in the Church. On the Church as a model of justice, cf. I.142.

aequitatem: Cf. Cic. II.71: 'Extremum autem praeceptum in beneficiis operaque danda, ne quid contra aequitatem contendas, ne quid pro iniuria; fundamentum enim est perpetuae commendationis et famae iustitiae, sine qua nihil potest esse laudabile'.

potentior...ditior: Cic. mentions the 'fortunatus et potens' in II.69.

in Christo unum sunt: Cf. Gal. 3.28: 'omnes enim vos unum estis in Christo Iesu' (cf. also John 17.20-23).

125. Sed nec personam alterius accipiamus in iudicio: Cf. Jas. 2.1ff.

si sacerdos es aut si quisquam alius: Sacerdos probably = 'bishop' (in the context of episcopal jurisdiction); quisquam alius would then mean a priest or deacon.

Licet tibi silere in negotio dumtaxat pecuniario: Cf. II.124n.

In causa autem Dei, ubi communionis periculum est...: In a dispute which threatens the harmony of the Church, a bishop must not turn a blind eye. Cf. Ep. 40.4: 'Causam ergo Dei tacebo?'; and see Gryson, Prêtre, 253-259 (cf., too, Morino, 69-72), on A.'s

courage in situations where he believed the cause of God was at issue.

XXV: SERVICES SHOULD BE DONE FOR THE POOR RATHER THAN THE RICH

126. Quid autem tibi prodest favere diviti? An quia citius amantem remuneratur? His enim favemus frequentius...: Cf. Cic. II.69: 'sed quis est tandem, qui inopis et optimi viri causae non anteponat in opera danda gratiam fortunati et potentis? A quo enim expeditior et celerior remuneratio fore videtur, in eum fere est voluntas nostra propensior [etc.]'. In II.124-125, A. is thinking about rich litigants: favouritism must not be shown to them because of their money, in hope of some personal return. Cf. I.166, where it is said that the grateful good will of a poor man may be a greater repayment for a kindness than the gold or silver of the wealthy.

qui sub specie convivii generalem virtutis edidit formam...: See Lk. 14.12-14.

remuneratorem nobis faciunt Dominum...: Cf. I.39n.

127. Ad ipsum quoque saeculi usum collatio beneficii facta in pauperes magis quam in locupletes plus iuvat, quia dives dedignatur beneficium...: Cf. Cic. II.69: 'At qui se locupletes, honoratos, beatos putant, ii ne obligari quidem beneficio volunt; quin etiam beneficium se dedisse arbitrantur, cum ipsi quamvis magnum aliquid acceperint, atque etiam a se aut postulari aut exspectari aliquid suspiciantur, patrociniis vero se usos aut clientes appellari mortis instar putant'.

pauper vero, etsi non habet unde reddat pecuniam, refert gratiam: Cf. Cic. II.69: 'Nimirum enim inops ille, si bonus est vir, etiam si referre gratiam non

potest, habere certe potest'.

gratia numquam exinanitur. Reddendo vacuatur pecunia, gratia autem et habendo solvitur et solvendo retinetur: Cf. Cic. II.69: 'Commode autem, quicumque dixit, "pecuniam qui habeat, non reddidisse, qui reddiderit, non habere, gratiam autem et, qui rettulerit, habere et, qui habeat, rettulisse"' (the saying is found also in Cic., Planc. 68; Post red. ad Quir. 23 [Holden, 329]).

Quanto igitur melius apud bonos quam apud ingratos locare beneficium!: Cf. Cic. II.71: 'Quam ob rem melius apud bonos quam apud fortunatos beneficium collocari puto' (cf. also Cic. II.63, on the ungrateful person as the common enemy of the poor).

128. The warnings against favouring the rich develop into a section on the evils of avaritia (II.128-133). On Cic.'s remarks on avarice, cf. II.108n. Paulinus records how A. detested greed (Vita 41), and A. frequently evokes 1 Tim. 6.10 on cupidity as the 'radix omnium malorum' (II.89; Exc. fr. I.55; Expl. Ps. 1.28.5; Expl. Ps. 61.31; Paen. II.75; Elia 69; Ep. 2.15). For an account of his tireless condemnation of avarice, see Vasey, 176-181; also Dassmann, 247-250. An interesting parallel attack can be read in Augustine, Ep. 125. From the frequency and vehemence of the assaults on greed in Off., it is clear that avarice among clerics was a genuine problem; the vice of legacy-hunting is singled out for condemnation (cf. III.57-58).

'Nolite possidere aurum...': Matt. 10.9.

pullulantem in pectoribus humanis succidit avaritiam: Christ came to cut the 'radix' [cf. 1 Tim. 6.10 in n. above] of avarice. On its insidious growth, cf. Paen. II.75: '...tamquam sub terra occulte in nostro corpore'.

Petrus quoque claudo...ait: 'Argentum et aurum non

habeo...': Acts 3.6 (on the whole incident, see vv. 1-10).

Quanto melius est salutem habere sine pecunia quam pecuniam sine salute!: Reminiscent of Eccli. 30.14-16. Salus goes beyond the sanitas which was restored to the lame man: it covers spiritual salvation, which is of infinitely greater worth than pecunia.

Sed haec vix in sanctis Domini reperiuntur, ut divitiae contemptui sint: Cf. I.192n.

XXVI: THE ANTIQUITY OF AVARICE, AND THE WORTHLESSNESS OF MONEY.

129. Ceterum ita incubuerunt mores hominum admiratione divitiarum: Cf. Cic. II.71: 'Sed corrupti mores depravatique sunt admiratione divitiarum'.

Neque hic recens usus, sed iam dudum, quod peius est, inolevit hoc vitium humanis mentibus: Avarice entered at the Fall; cf. I.137n. The 'radix' image is continued from II.128.

Siquidem, cum Hiericho magna civitas tubarum sacerdotalium sono corruisset...: On the fall of Jericho, see Josh. 6.1-27. It was, of course, the walls of the city which fell down at the trumpet blast, not the civitas itself (though it was destroyed by the Israelites).

Nam, cum de spoliis urbis incensae sustulisset Achar...: [Achar is the LXX's transliteration, and also that of A.'s Latin Bible; Achan is the usual form.] Achan's sin of plundering the city was discovered when the initial attack on Ai was repulsed (Josh. 7.1-26, esp. vv. 19ff.)

oblatus Domino: When solemnly charged to tell the truth on oath to the Lord (Josh. 7.19).

130. quae cum ipsis divinae Legis coepit oraculis, immo propter ipsam reprimendam Lex delata est: This is akin to the Pauline argument that the Law was given in order to check sin and to highlight the need for forgiveness (Rom. 3.19ff.; 5.13ff.; Gal. 3.19ff.). A. probably thinks of the tenth commandment in particular (Ex. 20.17; Deut. 5.21).

Balach putavit Balaam praemiis posse temptari...: Balak king of Moab attempted to bribe the seer Balaam to invoke curses on the Israelites, who were posing a threat to his people; but the Lord prevented it (Num. 22.1 - 24.25).

praecipitatus Achar: See Josh. 7.24-26.

Iesus Nave, qui potuit solem statuere: Cf. I.196n.

paene amisit victoriam: The victory over Ai was jeopardised.

131. Fortissimum omnium Samson nonne Dalilae mulieris avaritia decepit?: The persistent nagging of Delilah led Samson in the end to reveal the secret of his massive strength, his hair, and he was shaved as he slept on her lap. She was rewarded by the Philistines. (Judges 16.1-22, esp. vv. 15ff.)

qui rugientem leonem manibus discerpit suis: See Judges 14.5-6.

qui vinctus...mille ex his peremit viros: When handed over to the Philistines on one occasion, Samson broke his bonds and killed 1,000 men with the jaw-bone of a donkey (Judges 15.9-17).

qui funes intextos nervis velut mollia sparti fila disruptit: With these Delilah had bound him in an earlier attempt to overpower him and deliver him to the Philistines (Judges 16.6-9).

132. quae habentes contaminat, non habentes non iuvat. Esto tamen ut aliquando adiuvet pecunia inferiorem...: Cf. Cic. II.71: 'Illum fortasse adiuvat, qui habet; ne id quidem semper; sed fac iuvare; utentior sane sit,

honestior vero quomodo?'. The fallacy of imagining that riches are always a blessing is a *τόπος* in classical poetry; among many examples, cf. Horace, Od. III.24. 45ff.; Sat. I.1.41ff.; Juvenal, X.23ff.; XIV.107ff.

XXVII: JUSTICE, LOVE, UNITY, AND HUMILITY MUST BE PRESERVED AMONG THE CLERGY. A BISHOP MUST ONLY EXCOMMUNICATE AS A LAST RESORT.

133. This paragraph not only concludes the section on avarice (II.128-133) but also sums up the treatment of justice, which leans upon Cic. II.38-43 and 71.

iustitiae forma: Cf. the designation of the Church thus in I.142.

134. commendare nos: The motif which is dominant throughout the Book, from II.29, appears again; here, it is commendation of self to God rather than to men. caritatem habeamus, unanimes simus, humilitatem sequamur, alterutrum existimantes superiorem sibi: A. is echoing Phil. 2.2-4: 'implete gaudium meum, ut idem sapiatis, eandem caritatem habentes, unanimes, id ipsum sentientes; nihil per contentionem neque per inanem gloriam, sed in humilitate superiores sibi invicem arbitantes: non quae sua sunt singuli considerantes, sed et ea quae aliorum'.

Episcopus ut membris suis utatur clericis et maxime ministris...: Cf. I.215-218, esp. 216. Membris evokes the frequent NT image of the Church as Christ's body (Rom. 12.4-5; 1 Cor. 12.12ff.; Eph. 1.22-23; 2.16; 3.6; 4.4,12,16; 5.23; Col. 1.18,24; 2.19; 3.15) [see Toscani, 179-182; the metaphor is originally classical: cf. III.17n.]; the image is continued in II.135 below.

Ministri = 'deacons', 'who are truly the sons' of the bishop [cf. I.24n.].

135. Cum dolore amputatur etiam quae putruit pars corporis...: Cf. Expos. Ps. 118.8.26: 'Medicus ipse si serpentis interius inveniatur vulneris cicatricem, cum debeat resecare ulceris vitium, ne latius serpat, tamen a secandi urendique proposito lacrimis inflexus aegroti, medicamentis tegat quod ferro aperiendum fuit: nonne ista inutilis misericordia est, si propter brevem incisionis vel exustionis dolorem corpus omne tabescat, vitae usus intereat? Recte igitur et sacerdos vulnus grave, ne latius serpat, a toto corpore Ecclesiae quasi bonus medicus debet abscidere, et prodere virus criminis quod latet, non fovere, ne, dum unum excludendum non putat, plures dignos faciat quos excludat ab Ecclesia.' (Cf. also Expos. Ps. 118.9.16; and on the bishop as a physician, cf. Ep. 63.46.) [On A.'s knowledge of medicine, see Dudden I, 19-20, and esp. Gerhard Müller, 'Arzt, Kranker und Krankheit bei Ambrosius von Mailand (334-397),' Südoffs Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften 51.3, 1967, 193-216 (though Müller makes no mention of the present passage); note, too, Gryson, Prêtre, 287nn.157-158.] Notably, the imagery is used by Cic. in I.136, where he is talking about administering rebukes: 'Sed ut ad urendum et secandum, sic ad hoc genus castigandi raro invitique veniemus, nec umquam nisi necessario, si nulla reperietur alia medicina...'; and III.32, where he is justifying the extermination of tyrants from society: 'Etenim, ut membra quaedam amputantur, si et ipsa sanguine et tamquam spiritu carere coeperunt et nocent reliquis partibus corporis, sic ista in figura hominis feritas et immanitas beluae a communi tamquam humanitate corporis segreganda est'. A. insists that only with extreme reluctance and sorrow (cf. 2 Cor. 2.4), should the amputation of a 'sick' member of the body of the Church - excommunication - be carried out, lest the

contagion spread (cf. 1 Cor. 5.6). Before this, 'medicinal' remedies should be tried: in other words, public penance must be administered [on which, cf. II.77n.]. All favouritism for beloved or esteemed members must be put aside. A. implicitly threatened to excommunicate Valentinian II if he gave in to the pagan demands in the Altar of Victory dispute in 384 (Ep. 17), and actually did excommunicate Theodosius until he did public penance for having ordered the massacre at Thessalonica in 390 (Ep. 51). Paulinus notes that the exposure of gross sin always caused A. great grief (Vita 39, drawing on Paen. II.73); cf. the sorrow which is expressed in Ep. 51 [similar expressions of anguish at excommunication are found in many conciliar documents, as the Maurists, PL 16.147n.47, note]. On discipline as cauterisation, cf., e.g., Jerome, Ep. 117.2.

postremo quod sanari non potest, cum dolore abscidere:
These words are missing in Banterle's Latin text, though he translates them.

ut cogitemus non quae nostra sunt, sed quae aliorum:
Phil. 2.4, quoted in II.134n.

XXVIII: BESTOWING MERCY ON CAPTIVES BY SELLING CHURCH PLATE. THE CHURCH'S TRUE TREASURES ARE THE POOR, AS LAWRENCE BOLDLY ASSERTED.

136. incentivum: The word is ante- and post-classical [TLL].

calamitatibus: Cic. uses the word in II.61-62.

quantum possumus...et plus interdum quam possumus:
Cf. Cic. II.64: 'quantum liceat et nescio an paulo plus etiam quam liceat...'; also 2 Cor. 8.3. [These Ciceronian reminiscences are overlooked by Testard, 'Recherches', 102, who claims that there is no

evocation of Cic. in II.136-151. And pace Testard, 'Étude', 180-181, 'Recherches', 102, I am not inclined to believe that II.136-151 truly corresponds with the comparison of utilia in Cic. II.88-89, since A. makes no mention of the theme in this section; A. does argue that it is better to favour the poor than the rich, and better to spend resources on the needy than to retain them for the wealth of the Church, but these ideas have appeared earlier in Book II (e.g., II.126ff.), and nowhere in II.136-151 does he give them a ranking as expedients. If he means to echo the Ciceronian note, why does he not do so clearly? It seems more likely that he forgets the Ciceronian development at the close of the Book, taken up as he is with personal reminiscences and exhortations to his clergy - and quite probably with the insertion of separate material.]

ut nos aliquando in invidiam incidimus, quod confregerimus vasa mystica ut captivos redimeremus...:

A. incurred the criticism of the Arians for having broken up and sold Church vessels in order to ransom some of the captives taken by the Goths after the battle of Hadrianople in 378 [cf. II.70n.]. He argues that it is better to use such resources to help the needy than to preserve them simply for the wealth of the Church. Augustine also broke up and sold Church plate for this purpose, citing A.'s action as a precedent (Possidius, Vita Aug. 24). For other fifth-century cases, cf. Jerome, Ep. 125.20 (Exsuperius of Toulouse); Socrates, H.E. VII.21 (Acacius of Amida); Vita Hilarii 11 (Hilary of Arles); and Victor Vitensis, Hist. persec. Afr. prov. I.24-26 (Deogratias); for another fourth-century instance, cf. Sozomen, H.E. IV.25 (Cyril of Jerusalem). In the sixth century, legislation was passed forbidding the selling or melting of Church plate for any purpose

other than the ransom of prisoners or relief of the poor (C.J. I.2.21; I.2.23; Inst. II.1.7-9). [See Gaudemet, 310.]

Quis autem est tam durus, immitis, ferreus...?: A typically Ciceronian question: cf., e.g., Verr. V.121: 'Quis tam fuit...ferreus, quis tam inhumanus...?'; Arch. 17: 'Quis nostrum tam animo agresti ac duro fuit, ut...non commoveretur?'; Or. 148: 'quis...se tam durum agrestemque praeberet...?'

femina ab impuritibus barbarorum, quae graviore morte sunt: Cf. II.70n.

ab idolorum contagiis, quibus mortis metu inquinabantur: The 'pollution' of idolatry is an OT concept, especially common in Ezek.: cf., e.g., Ezek. 20.31,39; 22.4; 23.7,30,37; 36.18,25; 37.23 (cf. also Acts 15.20). The children to whom A. refers were being apparently forced by the pagan Goths to worship idols, on fear of death. For a sixth-century example of Christian prisoners being martyred for refusing to worship idols, cf. Gregory the Great, Dial. III.28.

137. ita in populo persecuti sumus, ut confiteremur...: The bishop's action clearly surprised many besides the Arians. There is a strong note of self-justification running through the extended discussion here and in II.70.

Qui enim sine auro misit apostolos: Cf. Matt. 10.9, quoted in II.128.

An ignoramus quantum auri atque argenti de templo Domini Assyrii sustulerint?: When Nebuchadnezzar's forces captured the temple at Jerusalem in 597 B.C. (4 Kings 24.13; 2 Paral. 36.9-10).

Nonne dicturus est Dominus...?: A. visualises a Judgement-Day scene of accusation, as the Lord asks terse, searching questions about whether the transient riches of the world have been preferred to the eternal wealth of His kingdom; cf. I.63.

vasa viventium: On a soul/person as a 'vessel', cf. Acts 9.15; Rom. 9.21-23; 1 Thess. 4.4; 2 Tim. 2.21; 1 Pet. 3.7 (cf. also 2 Cor. 4.7, quoted in II.140).

138. Aurum sacramenta non quaerunt, neque auro placent quae auro non emuntur: The sacraments (i.e., the eucharist; though the plural is used, the reference is clearly to this - cf. I.205) 'are not bought with gold', but with the cost of Christ's blood, and do not require gold, i.e., cheaper vessels will do. On the antithesis of gold and Christ's blood in redemption, cf. 1 Pet. 1.18-19.

Et vere illa sunt vasa pretiosa quae redimunt animas a morte. Ille verus est thesaurus Domini, qui operatur quod sanguis eius operatus est....: The sacramental cup contains the blood of Christ, shed to redeem souls (cf. Eph. 1.7; Col. 1.14; 1 Pet. 1.18-19 [and see Seibel, 146ff.; A.-L. Fenger, Aspekte der Soteriologie und Ekklesiologie bei Ambrosius von Mailand (Frankfurt & Barn, 1981), 41ff.]). If the cup itself is then used to redeem captives, it is in a sense effecting a similar release. Both cup and contents are redemptive [cum in utroque viderit redemptionem...]. The sacrament is adorned with a practical demonstration of the divine ransom. A. is surely quite daring here; but the association of earthly, physical ransom with the eternal redemption of souls by Christ's blood is only made because it is the eucharistic chalice of which he speaks. Another striking idea is found in Cyprian: Christ is in our captive brethren, and tests our faith; He shed His blood to ransom us, we use our money to ransom Him (Ep. 62.2.2).

Ecce aurum quod probari potest, ecce aurum utile...!: This gold, unlike most wealth, is utile (cf. II.15,16,23). What matters is the use to which wealth is put.

pudicitia...castitas: Cf. II.70n.

139. Huic muneri proficere debuit aurum Redemptoris, ut redimeret periclitantes...: The gold of the chalice and the 'gold' of the Redeemer, i.e., the blood of Christ (cf. Expl. Ps. 35.1), are both redemptive.

140. Tale aurum sanctus martyr Laurentius Domino reservavit...: On Lawrence, cf. I.205n. Lawrence had sold the treasures of the Church in order to pay the poor, and so had nothing but the poor themselves, the Church's true wealth, to present.

'Habemus thesaurum istum in vasis fictilibus': 2 Cor. 4.7.

'Esurivi, et dedistis mihi manducare...': Matt. 25.35.

'Quod enim uni horum fecistis, mihi fecistis': Matt. 25.40.

141. et vicit: Martyrdom is true victory [cf. I.187,202nn.].

persecutor: Valerian, or perhaps the urban prefect of Rome, P. Cornelius Saecularis, before whom Lawrence presented the poor.

Itaque Ioachim...se in captivitatem deduci: The young king Jehoiachin was taken captive to Babylon, along with the treasures of the Jerusalem temple, by the forces of Nebuchadnezzar in 597 B.C. (4 Kings 24.10-16; 2 Paral. 36.9-10).

pro singulari suae interpretationis vivacitate: I.e., because of his bold presentation of the poor as the real thesauri Ecclesiae.

142. Nemo enim potest dicere...: The opposition of the Arians is so absurd: they are complaining that the poor are kept alive, captives are ransomed, the Church grows, and the faithful are given Christian burial.

templum Dei: In the spiritual sense - the Church (cf. 1 Cor. 3.16-17; 6.19; 2 Cor. 6.16 - 7.1; Eph. 2.19-22) [and see Toscani, 175-179]. By ransoming captives,

the Church is built up (many of the prisoners would be Christians, and others were doubtless converted after their emancipation).

quia humanis fidelium reliquiis spatia laxata sunt;...quia in sepulchris Christianorum requies defunctorum est: Some of the money from the sale of the Church plate was used to buy burial plots for Christians killed in the Gothic ravages. On providing burial as a duty of humanitas, cf. Aristides, Apol. 15; Tertullian, Apol. 39; Const. Apost. III.7; Lactantius, Inst. VI.12; A., Tob. 4-5,36; Expos. Ps. 118.21.13; Augustine, C.D. I.12-13; [and see Biondi II, 249-261].

In his tribus generibus: The relief of the poor, the building of the Church, and the provision of burial for deceased Christians.

143. Opus est ut de Ecclesia mystici poculi forma non exeat, ne ad usus nefarios sacri calicis ministerium transferatur: Sacred chalices must not be sold for profane use as cups, but should be broken up and melted down and sold as precious metal.

primum quaesita sunt vasa quae initiata non essent...: A. first looked for vessels which had not yet been consecrated; sacred ones should only be touched if there are insufficient unconsecrated ones to meet the needs of the poor or the ransom-price for prisoners.

XXIX: DEPOSITS MUST BE CAREFULLY GUARDED; EXAMPLES FROM SCRIPTURE AND FROM RECENT HISTORY.

144. Illud sane diligenter tuendum est, ut deposita viduarum intemerata maneant...: On the Church's function as a bank for the deposits of the vulnerable, cf. I.253n.; and cf. generally I.253-254.

maior est viduarum causa et pupillorum: Cf. I.63n.

145. sicut in libris Maccabaeorum legimus...: See 2 Macc. 3. A. accurately relates the story of the attempted seizure of the deposits in the treasury at Jerusalem by Heliodorus, the regent of Seleucus IV Philopator (reigned 187-175 B.C.). However, Antiocho regi, below, is a slip: the king is Seleucus, not Antiochus IV Epiphanes (reigned 175-164 B.C.), his brother who succeeded him.

In this paragraph, see 2 Macc. 3.1-9.

summo sacerdoti: Onias.

146. See 2 Macc. 3.10-22.

et clausae virgines pulsabant ianuam: ad muros alii currebant, per fenestras alii prospectabantur: As Banterle, 267n.4, notes, the details are altered a little in A.'s memory: in 2 Macc. 3.19, the normally confined virgins run outside, some to the gates, some to the walls, while others look out through the windows (LXX); or they run to Onias or to the walls, or look out of the windows (Vulgate). Pulsabant ianuam is not found in either the LXX or the Vulgate.

147. See 2 Macc. 3.23-31.

armis praefulgens aureis: Cf. Aeneas's special horse in Vergil, Aen. VIII.552-553: 'quem fulva leonis/pellis obit totum praefulgens unguibus aureis'; A.'s memory of Vergil is such that he incorporates a classical phrase into the narrative of a biblical incident; 2 Macc. 3.25 has 'videbatur arma habere aurea'.

Oborta est laetitia: Probably a reminiscence of Terence, Heaut. 680: 'tanta haec laetitia obortast'; 2 Macc. 3.30 has 'laetitia impletum est'.

148. See 2 Macc. 3.32-39.

149. Servanda est igitur, filii, depositis fides, adhibenda diligentia: Cf. I.253-254.

impressio potentis: An example of such an assault follows in II.150-151 below.

150. Meministis: An incident in recent history; cf. I.72.

regales: 'Overbearing, despotic'.

Recens exemplum Ecclesiae Ticinensis proferam...: The date of the incident is difficult to pin down. Dudden I, 119-120, suggests 386, since Valentinian II was resident at Ticinum (Pavia) on 15 February of that year (C.Th. XII.12.11); the Maurists, PL 16, 25-26; and Cavasin, 549, also suggest 386 (the time of the Arian crisis under Justina), as does Fedele Savio, Gli antichi vescovi d'Italia, dalle origini al 1300: Milano (Bologna, 1975 reprint of 1913 ed.), 135. On the other hand, Palanque, 192-193, 526-527, thinks that the matter is more appropriately linked to the 'arbitrary confiscations' of Italian property by the invading force of the usurper Maximus in the spring of 388. Palanque's view is accepted by L. Cracco Ruggini, 'Ambrogio di fronte alla compagine sociale del suo tempo,' Ambr.Episc. I (230-265), 248n.45; and (tentatively) by Paredi, 297; Banterle, 16 (though in 269n.9 Banterle is less decisive). The 388 date is perhaps right, but it is impossible to be sure. Testard I, 46; 'Recherches', 102n.124, remains non-committal.

imperiali rescripto: An imperial decision on a particular issue, authoritative because it was the emperor's word; see Jean Gaudemet, La formation du droit séculier et du droit de l'Église aux IV^e et V^e siècles (Paris, 1979), 34ff. In this case, it was a binding warrant for the confiscation of the widow's property.

magistri officiorum: The chief civil official who controlled the great imperial 'scrinia'. His identity here is unknown (for either early 386 or 388).

151. Tamen communicato mecum consilio obsedit sanctus episcopus...: In his capacity as metropolitan of

North Italy, A. was consulted on the matter [see Gryson, Prêtre, 155-158]. His uncompromising attitude here is typical of his fierce resistance to imperial interference in the authority of the Church. The bishop of Pavia was Pompeius Eventius (bishop, 381-390) [so Savio, op. cit., 17,20].

XXX: CONCLUDING EXHORTATIONS ON THE VIRTUES OF CLERICS

152. The Book closes with an address specifically to A.'s 'sons' (II.152-156; note Filii...Filii at the beginning of II.152 and 153); cf. the clerical section at the close of Book I (I.246-259). These paragraphs consist of a mosaic of biblical verses. The Ciceronian philosophical base is wholly out of sight; no attempt is made to address the issue of the comparison of utilia (Cic. II.88-89); indeed, the words utile/utilitas do not appear anywhere in the Book after II.97. Nevertheless, there is one brief Ciceronian phrase in II.154, and a possible allusion to Cic. II.32 in II.154 [both unnoticed by Testard, 'Recherches', 102, and Banterle]. A. moves away from the Ciceronian framework, but a vestige of Cic.'s text from earlier in Book II remains in his mind.

fugite improbos, cavete invidos: Cf. the advice of Ps. 1; Prov. 1.10ff.; 4.14ff.; etc.

153. Laudabilis mortis cum occasio datur, rapienda est ilico: The opportunity for martyrdom should be seized (not shunned: cf. II.24), but it ought not to be deliberately sought (I.187,208; cf. Virg. II.22-23; III.32-36).

154. Iosias magnum sibi ab adversariis amorem acquisivit...: The reference to amor possibly looks back to Cic.'s argument about winning the 'amor multitudinis' by good will, and a reputation for

virtues such as 'fides', in Cic. II.32 (though in the present passage fides clearly means religious faith). King Josiah instituted a revival of the Passover, with unprecedented grandeur, in the eighteenth year of his reign (4 Kings 23.21-23; 2 Paral. 35.1-19) [though A. thinks that Josiah was eighteen years old: cum esset annorum decem et octo]. The reading of the majority of MSS., adversariis, is defensible [so PL 16.154n.63; Krabinger, 372], if we take it that A. is following the 2 Paral. account: in 2 Paral. 35.20-21, the Egyptian king, Neco, is unwilling to fight Josiah himself, saying that his quarrel is not personally with the king but with the house of Judah generally (since Judah was perhaps allied with Babylon at this time); in the end Josiah insists on fighting, in disguise, and is fatally wounded (2 Paral. 35.22-23). A. perhaps thinks that Neco's attitude was the result of a regard for Josiah's fides et devotio.

vicit superiores: An echo of Cic. II.57: 'omnes autem P. Lentulus me consule vicit superiores' (Cic. is speaking about the public entertainments laid on by aediles, in this case in 63 B.C.).

'Exquisivit me zelus domus tuae': Ps. 68.10.

Apostolus Christi zelotes dictus: Simon the Zealot (Lk. 6.15; Acts 1.13).

'Zelus domus tuae comedit me': John 2.17 (quoting Ps. 68.10).

non iste humanus, quem invidia generat: A. commends 'zeal' in the sense of religious fervour, not human envy or jealousy. On invidia, cf. Rom. 1.29; Phil. 1.15; 1 Tim. 6.4; Tit. 3.3; Jas. 4.5.

155. Sit inter vos pax quae superat omnem sensum: Cf. Phil. 4.7: 'et pax Dei, quae exsuperat omnem sensum, custodiat corda vestra et intellegentias vestras in Christo Iesu'. For further injunctions to be at peace, cf., e.g., 2 Cor. 13.11; Col. 3.15; 1 Thess.

5.13; 2 Thess. 3.16; 2 Tim. 2.22; Heb. 12.14.

Amate vos invicem: Cf. John 13.34; 15.12,17; 1 Thess. 4.9; 1 John 3.11,23; 4.7,11-12; 2 John 5.

Et vos ipsi scitis quod prae ceteris vos semper dilexi et diligo: A rather touching picture of A.'s abiding love for his clerical 'sons'; cf. I.24.

coaluistis: Cf. the growth together mentioned in Eph. 4.15; 1 Pet. 2.2; etc.

in affectum germanitatis: Cf. Rom. 12.10; Heb. 13.1; 1 Pet. 2.17; 2 Pet. 1.7; etc. [and see Pétré, Caritas, 104-140, esp. 129-133].

156. 'Quae bona sunt tenete': 1 Thess. 5.21.

'et Deus pacis et dilectionis erit vobiscum in Domino Iesu': 2 Cor. 13.11.

cui est honor et gloria...in saecula saeculorum.

Amen.: Cf. the doxologies of, e.g, Rom. 16.27; 1 Pet. 4.11. The doxological conclusion is a fitting climax to paragraphs composed almost entirely of a series of apostolic injunctions (contrast I.259, where the liturgical phrase which appears in PL's text is a later addition to the Book). It is also perhaps more appropriate to oral than to written delivery (Books I and III end without any doxological or benedictory phrase: the work consists of a mixture of untouched and reworked sermonic material [Introduction, III]).

BOOK III

I: BUSINESS DURING LEISURE: THE RIGHTEOUS OUTSTRIP
SCIPIO AFRICANUS.

1. III.1-7 constitutes a prologue to Book III. Unlike the prologues to Books I and II, this introduction is based on a Ciceronian passage: Cic. III.1-6. There, Cic. compares his own enforced solitude and otium, as he writes his philosophical treatises while removed from his political and legal career in Rome, with the voluntary leisure of the elder Scipio Africanus [on whom cf. III.2n.], whose practical achievements were carefully planned in his free hours, so that he was never idle or alone (Cic. III.1-4). Cic. also exhorts Marcus to pursue his studies diligently, and to emulate his father's industry and fame (Cic. III.5-6). A. ignores the personal side (just as in II.1-21 he replaces the personal remarks in Cic. II.2-8), but he does evoke the rest of Cic.'s preface to Book III. The section offers him another opportunity to argue for the superiority of biblical exemplars to classical ones (very much a key theme of the third Book), and to highlight the virtues of active otium which are mentioned elsewhere (cf., e.g., I.9 and I.88): communion with God and with Christ (III.2 and III.7), and the achievement of amazing feats by divine power, (III.3-6) are the hallmarks of the negotiosum otium of the righteous.

David propheta docuit nos tamquam in ampla domo
deambulare in corde nostro...: Cf. Ps. 100.2:
'Perambulabam in innocentia cordis mei, in medio domus
meae'.

et loqueretur secum: Cf. Cic. III.1: (of Scipio)
'quae declarat illum...in solitudine secum loqui

solitum'.

'Dixi, custodiam vias meas': Ps. 38.2.

'Bibe aquam de tuis vasis...': Prov. 5.15.

'Aqua enim alta consilium in corde viri': Prov. 20.5.

'Nemo,' inquit, 'alienus particeps sit tibi...':

Prov. 5.17-19. The water images are confused here. In Prov. 5, water signifies a man's wife: be satisfied with the 'spring' of your own wife's affections, and do not go after prostitutes, or let other men near your wife; it is only in Prov. 20 that water refers to one's counsel.

2. Non ergo primus Scipio scivit solus non esse cum solus esset, nec minus otiosus cum otiosus esset: Cf. Cic. III.1: 'P. Scipionem...eum, qui primus Africanus appellatus est, dicere solitum scripsit Cato..., numquam se minus otiosum esse, quam cum otiosus, nec minus solum, quam cum solus esset'. Cic. quotes a bon mot preserved by the elder Cato (234-152 B.C.), probably in his collection of Apothegmata mentioned by Cic. in I.104 (and De Or. II.271). The elder P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus (236-184/3 B.C.), successfully oversaw the expulsion of the Carthaginians from Spain during the Second Punic War, and invaded Africa, where he defeated Hannibal at Zama in 202 B.C. In 190 B.C., he shared with his brother Lucius the command against Antiochus in the East, but was subsequently implicated in Lucius's trial for financial misconduct during this war; he escaped indictment by voluntarily retiring to Liternum, where he died. Scipio's saying is quoted by Cic. also in Rep. I.27, where it is taken to mean that Scipio found philosophy in solitude to be the highest intellectual activity. A. quotes it in Ep. 49.1, too, where he describes to his friend Sabinus his own activity in solitude; and cf. Iacob I.39. Paschasius Radbertus, Expos. Ps. XLIV.1 quotes the maxim, applying it to the

context of the contemplative religious life.

In Cic. III.1-4, Cic. is playing with the different senses of otiosus: 'having leisure-time' (Scipio), and 'being absent from public activity' (Cic. himself): 'otiosum' in Cic. III.1 has the first meaning, and 'otiosus' the second [Holden, 349]. [In Cic. III.3, Cic. also uses otium to mean 'freedom from civil strife', referring to the political stability of Rome - Holden, 351]. Classically, the most common notion of otium is that of leisure-time spent on literary pursuits (especially in a country retreat): cf., e.g., Cic., Tusc. I.3-8; Ovid, Trist. I.41; Pliny, Epp. I.9; VIII.9; otium also means peace of mind generally (e.g., Horace, Od. II.16), and the contemplative life as opposed to political activity (e.g., Seneca, Ot. sap.; Brev. vit. 14ff. [Seneca lays much more stress than orthodox Stoicism does on the virtues of a life of quietism, which is traditionally associated with an Epicurean perspective]). A. shares Cic.'s preference for the βίος πρακτικός : otium is to be employed on spiritual pursuits (cf. I.88), not idleness. His own energetic career as pastor and politician in the see of Milan testifies to a traditionally Roman enthusiasm for activity. Lactantius evinces a similar regard for action as opposed to quietism: Inst. III.16. [A useful summary of the classical senses of otium is given by W.A. Laidlaw, 'Otium,' G & R, n.s. 15, 1968, 42-52. On the Christian tradition, see Hermann Josef Sieben, '"Quies" et "Otium"', DSp. 12.2, 2746-2756, esp. 2748-2751. Sieben argues that a positive sense of otium as contemplation enters with Augustine, in contrast to the earlier view of otium as idleness susceptible to danger (cf., e.g., C.D. XIX.19). Of course, Augustine was also forced to come to terms with the great change in his own circumstances from the 'Christian otium' (Retract. I.1) of Cassiciacum to

the demands of his bishopric in Hippo; see John Burnaby, Amor Dei: A Study of the Religion of St. Augustine (London, 1938), 60-73. In III.6, A. contrasts the otium of the righteous with the otium of secular definition (withdrawal from business and society for the sake of recreation): it is clear that a positive Christian nuance is being given to otium in A. as well as in Augustine. (Sieben's article does not mention A.)]

scivit ante Moyses: See Introduction, II.iv (iv).

qui cum taceret, clamabat: An echo of Cic., Cat. I.21: 'cum tacent, clamant'; cf. I.9n.

When Moses assured the Israelites at the Red Sea that the Lord would deliver them if they kept quiet, the Lord asked Moses why he was crying out to Him, and instructed him to command the people to advance (Ex. 14.14-15). Moses was silent because he was praying; cf. the case of Susanna in I.9 and I.68.

adeo otiosus ut manus eius alii sustinerent...: As long as Moses's hands remained raised, the Israelites triumphed over the Amalekites; when he grew tired, his hands were held up by Aaron and Hur (Ex. 17.8-16, esp. vv. 11-12). Again, his otium was used for supplicatory prayer.

ceteri: Possibly suggested by Cic. III.1: 'Ita duae res, quae languorem adferunt ceteris, illum acuebant, otium et solitudo'.

qui quadraginta diebus positus in monte totam legem complexus est: Moses communed with the Lord and received the Law in a forty-day period of human solitude on Mt. Sinai (Ex. 24.15 - 31.18).

Et in illa solitudine qui cum eo loqueretur non defuit: Cf. Cic. III.1: (of Scipio) 'quae declarat illum...in solitudine secum loqui solitum, ut neque cessaret umquam et interdum colloquio alterius non egeret'. According to tradition, Scipio himself

meditated daily in the Capitoline temple of Jupiter, and his mystical inspiration guided his public actions (cf. Polybius, X.2; Livy, XXVI.19.4-9; Aulus Gellius, N.A. VI.1.6). Such contemplation was unusual in Roman religion, and is regarded with scepticism by the classical historians.

'Audiam quid loquatur in me Dominus Deus': Ps. 84.9.
Et quanto plus est, si cum aliquo Deus loquatur quam ipse secum: The implication is that Scipio communed with himself, whereas Moses and David had fellowship with God. As noted above, though, the Scipio legend does describe Scipio's communion with the gods. A. might have better contrasted Scipio's meditation on the pagan gods with the saints' fellowship with the true God, instead of suggesting a contrast of human cogitation with prayer.

3. Transibant apostoli, et umbra eorum curabat infirmos: Peter's passing shadow cured the sick (Acts 5.15).

Tangebantur vestimenta eorum, et sanitas deferebatur: Clothing touched by Paul healed the sick (Acts 19.11-12).

4. Sermonem locutus est Elias, et pluvia stetit...: Cf. II.14n.

et hydria farinae non defecit...: Cf. II.14n.

5. Et quoniam plerosque delectant bellica: Cf. I.196n. on Cic. I.74.

Sedebat Elisaeus in uno loco...: See 4 Kings 6.8-23.

6. Conferamus hoc otium cum aliorum otio. Alii enim requiescendi causa abducere animum a negotiis solent...: Cf. Cic. III.2: 'Sed nec hoc otium [i.e., Cic.'s own] cum Africani otio nec haec solitudo cum illa comparanda est. Ille enim requiescens a rei publicae pulcherrimis muneribus otium sibi sumebat aliquando et coetu hominum frequentiaque interdum tamquam in portum se in solitudinem recipiebat,

nostrum autem otium negotii inopia, non requiescendi studio constitutum est.' A. transfers Cic.'s contrast of his own otium and Scipio's to an antithesis of Elisha's otium and the secular practice of withdrawing from business and company in order to seek refreshment in the country, or in relaxation within the city [cf. III.2n.]. Secular otium is relaxation of the mind, whereas Elisha's otium was used to perform mighty feats by the power of the Lord. As well as being earlier (III.2), the biblical exempla are superior in quality. On Elisha's otium - bodily leisure but spiritual industry - cf. Ep. 15.7.

aut in solitudine Iordanem transitu suo dividit...: Elisha used Elijah's cloak to repeat Elijah's miracle (4 Kings 2.13-14; cf. vv. 7-8).

aut in Carmelo resoluta difficultate generandi...: Elisha predicted the birth of a son to a Shunnamite woman married to an aged husband (4 Kings 4.8-17). The prediction was not given on Mt. Carmel, but the woman came to see Elisha there when the child died [next n.].

aut resuscitat mortuos: The boy died, but was restored to life by Elisha (4 Kings 4.18-37).

aut ciborum temperat amaritudines et facit farinae admixtione dulcescere: The addition of flour rendered harmless a stew containing wild fruit which was feared to be deadly (4 Kings 4.38-41).

aut decem panibus distributis, reliquias colligit, plebe saturata: See 4 Kings 4.42-44. Twenty loaves, not ten, were in fact distributed.

aut ferrum securis excussum...facit supernatare: See 4 Kings 6.1-7.

aut emundatione leprosum: The healing of Naaman (4 Kings 5.1-27).

aut siccitatem imbribus: See 4 Kings 3.5-27, esp. vv. 9, 15ff., where, according to the prophecy of Elisha,

the desert of Edom is filled with water. In 4 Kings 3.17, though, it is specifically said that rain will not be seen.

aut famem mutat fecunditate: Perhaps a reference to Elisha's prediction, during the famine in besieged Samaria, that grain would soon become plentiful - as it did by the plunder of the abandoned Syrian camp (4 Kings 6.24-25; 7.1-20).

7. Quando ergo iustus solus est, qui cum Deo sumper est?: In Ep. 49.5, A. extols the virtues of being alone in order to know the Lord's presence; cf. I.88.

'Quis nos,' inquit, 'separabit a dilectione Christi?':
Rom. 8.35.

'Confido quia neque mors neque vita neque angelus':
Rom. 8.38.

cui totus mundus divitiarum possessio est: Cf. I.118n.; II.66. The privileges of the Christian believer and the Stoic sage are synthesised.

quasi ignoratur et cognoscitur, quasi moritur et ecce vivit...: Cf. 2 Cor. 6.8-10.

qui non eorum quae caduca, sed eorum quae aeterna sunt...: Cf. 2 Cor. 4.18.

II: THE HONOURABLE AND THE EXPEDIENT ARE IDENTICAL. DEGREES OF PERFECTION. SEEKING THE GOOD OF OTHERS RATHER THAN OF SELF.

8. III.8-12 introduces the theme of the third Book, the impossibility of conflict between the honestum and the utile.

Et quoniam de duobus superioribus locis diximus...:
On the Panaetian-Ciceronian threefold division of the work, cf. I.27n.

utrum honestum illud an turpe esset et, secundo loco, utrum utile an inutile: Although A. does not

specifically say in either I.27 or II.22 that Book I is on the honestum versus the turpe, and Book II is on the utile versus the inutile, this is of less significance than Testard, 'Étude', 182n.56, implies: he is here following Cic. III.7, where these descriptions of each part of the theme appear: '...uno cum dubitarent, honestumne id esset, de quo ageretur, an turpe, altero, utilene esset an inutile, tertio, si id, quod speciem haberet honesti, pugnaret cum eo, quod utile videretur, quomodo ea discerni oporteret...'

nonnulli requirendum putant: A typically vague allusion to Panaetius and Cic.

9. Nos autem: A sharp antithesis with the pagan nonnulli in III.8.

compugnantia: Note Cic.'s use of 'pugnare' for the apparent conflict between the honourable and the expedient in III.7,9,19.

quae iam supra unum esse ostendimus: Cf. esp. II.22-28, and Cic. III.11.

quia non sequimur sapientiam carnis...sed sapientiam quae ex Deo est: Cf. 2 Cor. 1.12 on 'sapientia carnalis', and 1 Cor. 1.18-31 for the contrast of the wisdom of the world and the wisdom of God.

apud quam utilitas pecuniariae istius commoditatis pluris habetur: Cf. I.28-29; II.23,25-26. The idea of tension between the honourable and the expedient is, to A., only possible if the expedient is equated with monetary gain, according to 'the wisdom of the flesh'. Cic. speaks of the apparent expediency of profits in III.18.

pro detrimento habentur: Cf. Phil. 3.8.

10. Hoc etenim κατόρθωμα: Cf. I.37n. on Cic. I.8.

quod perfectum et absolutum officium est: Cf. Cic. III.14: 'Illud autem officium, quod rectum idem [the Stoics] appellant, perfectum atque absolutum est...'

Cui secundum est commune officium...: Cf. Cic. III.14: 'Haec enim officia, de quibus his libris disputamus, media Stoici appellant; ea communia sunt et late patent...'; and esp. III.15: 'Haec igitur officia, de quibus his libris disserimus, quasi secunda quaedam honesta esse dicunt, non sapientium modo propria, sed cum omni hominum genere communia'.
elegantiori convivio et suavioribus delectari epulis usitatum est: Cf. II.109n. on A.'s condemnation of such extravagance.

ieiunare autem et continentem esse paucorum est: On fasting, cf. II.122n. Continentem clearly means chastity, on which cf. I.218,248-249.

contra autem detrahere velle alteri: Cf. Cic. III.21: 'Detrahere igitur alteri aliquid...'; III.23: '...et id, quod alteri detraxerit, sibi adsumat'.

Prima cum paucis, media cum pluribus: A. presents perfect duty as asceticism, a higher path on which only a few can walk; cf. I.36-37. Unlike Cic. (Cic. III.14-17), he does not say that he is concerned only with the media officia to which ordinary people can aspire. On the contrary, although he concedes in III.11 that absolute perfection is unattainable in this world (hence in a sense the tone is eschatological rather than Middle-Stoic), he urges the pursuit of perfection in III.12, in accordance with biblical teaching (III.11; cf. I.36-37). It is the goal of those who serve the Church, from whom greater sacrifice is demanded.

11. Aliter enim bonum Deum dicimus, aliter hominem; aliter iustum Deum appellamus, aliter hominem. Similiter et sapientem Deum aliter dicimus, aliter hominem: Cf. Cic. III.16: 'Nec vero, cum duo Decii aut duo Scipiones fortes viri commemorantur aut cum Fabricius aut Aristides iustus nominatur, aut ab illis fortitudinis aut ab his iustitiae tamquam a sapiente

petitur exemplum; nemo enim horum sic sapiens, ut sapientem volumus intellegi, nec ii, qui sapientes habiti et nominati, M. Cato et C. Laelius, sapientes fuerunt, ne illi quidem septem, sed ex mediolorum officiorum frequentia similitudinem quandam gerebant speciemque sapientium'. Cic. argues that the classical heroes [on whom, see the biographical notes to the translation of Cic. by Griffin & Atkins] are only examples of approximate bravery, justice, and wisdom because they frequently fulfilled 'middle' duties; even they were not perfect. A. reinforces the point by replacing these exempla with the distinction between God and men: no-one is good or just or wise as He is (the discrepancy between eminent and ordinary men comes in III.12, below). Perfect duty is the emulation of God, but of course only a semblance of His perfection is ever attainable by men.

'Estote ergo et vos perfecti...': Matt. 5.48.

'Non quod iam acceperim aut iam perfectus sim...': Phil. 3.12.

'Quicumque ergo perfecti sumus': Phil. 3.15.

alia plenos numeros habens: Cf. Cic. III.14: 'Illud autem officium...perfectum atque absolutum est, et, ut idem dicunt, omnes numeros habet...'. The metaphor may stem from the Pythagorean belief that certain numbers stand for perfection of certain kinds, hence when all the numbers are fulfilled there is absolute perfection [so Walter Miller's Loeb translation of Cic., 282n.a]; for a different view, see Holden, 358.

alia hic, alia ibi...: Cf. I.239 and nn.

12. 'Quis Daniele sapientior?': Ezek. 28.3.

Salomon, qui repletus est sapientia super omnem sapientiam antiquorum et super omnes sapientes Aegypti: Cf. 3 Kings 4.29-34.

Aliud est enim communiter sapere, aliud sapere perfecte: Cf. III.11n. on Cic. III.16.

Qui communiter sapere, pro temporalibus sapit, pro se sapit...: 'Middle' duty is associated with self-interest and the acquisition of temporal goods, whereas 'perfect' duty is the practice of altruism (and so it aspires to heavenly reward). In Cic. III.18, Cic. asserts that 'boni viri' do not measure expediency in terms of profits and personal advantages, but consider the honestum in everything. A. transfers the view of the Stoic sage, whose concern is for the honestum and the service of the cosmopolis, to the model of the Christian worker whose care is for others and whose eye is on eternal gain.

ut alteri detrahat aliquid: Cf. III.10n.

quaerens non quod sibi utile est, sed quod omnibus: Cf. 1 Cor. 10.24, quoted in III.13.

13. III.13-28 develops the theme of expediency as altruism and the avoidance of seeking one's own advantage at others' expense. This is the first argument for the correspondence of the honourable and the expedient, based essentially on Cic. III.21-34, but drawing on a number of other Ciceronian passages also, as well as on Scripture.

Itaque haec sit formula, ut inter duo illa...errare nequeamus: eo quod iustus nihil alteri detrahendum putet nec alterius incommodo suum commodum augeri velit: Cf. Cic. III.19: 'Itaque, ut sine ullo errore diiudicare possimus, si quando cum illo, quod honestum intellegimus, pugnare id videbitur, quod appellamus utile, formula quaedam constituenda est; quam si sequemur in comparatione rerum, ab officio numquam recedemus'; III.20: 'Erit autem haec formula Stoicorum rationi disciplinaeque maxime consentanea...'; III.21: 'Detrahere igitur alteri aliquid et hominem hominis incommodo suum commodum augere magis est contra naturam quam mors, quam paupertas...[etc.]'. A formula in Roman civil law was a 'rule of procedure',

in which the praetor detailed the facts of a case on which a decision had to be made by the judge; Cic. applies the term to the assessment of apparent expediency: one should proceed according to this principle [see Holden, 392-393].

Hanc formam tibi praescribit Apostolus: The Stoic rule (formula) is taken from Cic., but the principle is sought in a NT example (forma). Praescribit is used by Cic. in III.27.

'Omnia licent, sed non omnia expediunt...': 1 Cor. 10.23-24.

'Alter alterum existimantes superiorem sibi...': Phil. 2.3-4.

14. dicente Sancto per Salomonem Spiritu: On the doctrine of the divine inspiration of Scripture, see Dudden II, 576.

'Fili, si sapiens fueris...': Prov. 9.12.

Sapiens...sicut iustus...: Note the association of wisdom and justice here once again. Wisdom and charity go together.

III: SEEK THE GOOD OF ALL; DO NOT ASPIRE TO SELFISH GAIN AT OTHERS' EXPENSE.

15. Cic. adduces three arguments against unjust gain. It is contrary (i) to the law of nature, which demands that humanity should function together as a body (Cic. III.21-22); (ii) to the laws of nations (Cic. III.23); and (iii) to reason, which is 'lex divina et humana' (Cic. III.23). A. evokes Cic.'s first point in III.17-19 (adding, in III.15-16, the example of Christ and the significance of the etymology of homo); and his second and third points are covered in III.20-21.

Hoc est enim conformari Christo: Cf. Rom. 8.29: 'Nam quos praescivit et praedestinavit conformes fieri

imaginis Filii eius...'.
cum esset in Dei forma, exinanivit se, ut formam
susciperet hominis: Cf. Phil. 2.6-7.

Hoc enim agis, quando alterius detrimento tua commoda
augere expetis: Cf. III.13n. on Cic. III.21.

Selfish gain involves robbery from others, which amounts to a dishonouring of the human form which Christ by His incarnation has enriched.

16. Considera, o homo, unde nomen sumpseris, ab humo utique: For this conventional (and probably correct) etymology of homo, cf. Quintilian, Inst. I.6.34; Isidore, Orig. I.29.3; XI.1.4. The association is made in Scripture between "Ādām" = 'man' and 'ʾădāmâ' = 'ground', in Gen. 2.7 (Vulgate: 'Formavit igitur Dominus Deus hominem de limo terrae'); cf. also Gen. 2.19; 3.19; John 3.31; 1 Cor. 15.47; and the Greek myth of Prometheus, which pictures man as formed from the earth. Christian authors often allude to this etymology: cf., e.g., Tertullian, Adv. Marc. V.10; Apol. 18.2; Lactantius, Inst. II.11; Ira 10. [See Ilona Opelt, 'Christianisierung heidnischer Etymologien,' JAC 2, 1959, (70-85) 82-85; also TLL, s.v. 'homo'. On A.'s interest in etymologies, see Introduction, VI.]

quae...omnia largitur omnibus...: Cf. I.132-134 for a biblical justification of this Stoic argument that the earth's productivity for all is a model for men's obligation to help one another because of their common humanity. On humanity as nature's law, cf. also Cic. III.21-22, 27-28.

Inde appellata humanitas specialis et domestica virtus hominis: Humanitas is also derived from humus, and so is (or ought to be) the innate virtue of a homo; cf. Hex. VI.46. In III.45, A. evokes the celebrated words of Terence, Heaut. 77 (quoted by Cic. in I.30; also Leg. I.33; and cf. Fin. III.63): 'Homo sum:

humani nil a me alienum puto'. The phrase is exploited by numerous authors, both classical and Christian (e.g., Seneca, Ep. 95.51-53; Lactantius, Inst. VI.10; Paulinus of Nola, Ep. 13.20; Augustine, Ep. 155.14; c. Iulian. IV.83); all of these later writers (including Seneca) inject the sense of miseriordia into the Terentian view of humanitas [see H.D. Jocelyn, '"Homo sum: humani nil a me alienum puto"', Antichthon 7, 1973, 14-46, esp. 37ff.; and Pétré, 200-221].

17. Ipsa te doceat forma tui corporis membrorum usus. Numquid membrum tuum alterius officia sibi vindicat...?: A synthesis of biblical and Ciceronian language. Cf. 1 Cor. 11.14 ('Nec ipsa natura docet vos...?') and Cic. III.22: 'Ut, si unum quodque membrum sensum hunc haberet, ut posse putaret se valere, si proximi membri valetudinem ad se traduxisset, debilitari et interire totum corpus necesse esset, sic, si unus quisque nostrum ad se rapiat commoda aliorum detrahatque quod cuique possit emolumenti sui gratia, societas hominum et communitas evertatur necesse est. ...illud natura non patitur, ut aliorum spoliis nostras facultates, copias, opes augeamus.' The metaphor of society as a body is Greek in origin (cf., e.g., Aesop, 197); it is taken up by Livy in the famous parable/fable of Menenius Agrippa in the struggle of the orders (Livy II.32.8ff. [on the Greek antecedents, see R.M. Ogilvie, A Commentary on Livy Books 1-5 (Oxford, 1965), 312-313]), and finds natural affinity with the Stoic view of the universe and the individual man as possessing a share in the same all-pervasive cosmic anima; Stoicism believes in a universal human brotherhood which must function cooperatively as a body. Most significantly, A. finds a convenient overlap between Cic.'s language about human society as a body and the NT teaching about the Church

as a body in 1 Cor. 12.12-27 [for other references, cf. II.135n.], and he is able to exploit the biblical passage in III.18 (plus a similar reference to Eph. 4.16 in III.19). [See Pétré, 275-293, esp. 285-293.]

si aut de sinistra cibum suggeras aut de dextera fungaris ministerio sinistrae, ut reliquias ciborum abluas, nisi forte poscat necessitas: The usual etiquette is to take food with the right hand and to use the napkin with the left hand (the convention being to recline on one's left side); obviously this cannot be done if one hand is incapacitated.

18. ut possit detrahere...: Cf. Cic. III.22, as cited in III.17n.

'Si totum corpus oculus, ubi auditus? Si totum auditus, ubi odoratus?': 1 Cor. 12.17.

Omnes ergo unum corpus sumus et diversa membra: Cf. 1 Cor. 12.12,14,20; and Rom. 12.4-5.

non enim potest membrum de membro dicere: 'Non est mihi necessarium': Cf. 1 Cor. 12.21.

Quin etiam ipsa, quae videntur infirmiora membra esse, multo magis necessaria sunt...: Cf. 1 Cor. 12.22-23.

Et si quid dolet membrum unum...: Cf. 1 Cor. 12.26.

19. Haec utique lex naturae est, quae nos ad omnem stringit humanitatem...: In Cic. III.21-23 (and 26-

28), nature's law ordains the common rights and mutual responsibilities of all men. Below [et sanctae Ecclesiae congregatio], A. brings the imagery of the body back to its strict scriptural application, as followed in III.18. On nature, cf. esp. Noe 94: 'Eadem enim natura omnium mater est hominum, et ideo fratres sumus omnes una atque eadem matre generati cognationisque eodem iure devincti'.

The synthesis of Stoic and biblical conceptions of nature is typical in A.: he believes that natural law is imprinted, as an expression of the divine will, on the heart of man created in God's image, and in the

spiritual import of the Mosaic Law. Though the image of God was lost at the Fall, by the redeeming grace of Christ restoration is possible. To live according to nature (the Stoic principle of following the internal law of reason) and to live according to the image of God (by shunning sin and by practising charity to one's fellow-men, after the example of Christ) are indistinguishable ideals. New content is injected into Stoic terminology. [See Maes, passim, and esp. 6-8, 123-138, 151-203; also Michel Poirier, '"Consors naturae" chez saint Ambroise: Copropriété de la nature ou communauté de nature?', Ambr. Episc. II, 325-335 (though Poirier does not make enough of the Stoic side).]

communio totius humanitatis solvitur: Cf. Cic. III.26: 'dissolvetur omnis humana consortio'.

violatur natura generis humani et sanctae Ecclesiae congregatio: Both mankind and the Church are represented as a body, as A. combines Stoic and NT ideas. Both are damaged by a failure in mutual co-operation and respect.

quae in unum conexum corpus atque compactum...: Cf. Eph. 4.16: 'ex quo [sc. Christus] totum corpus, compactum et conexum per omnem iuncturam subministrationis, secundum operationem in mensuram uniuscuiusque membri, augmentum corporis facit in aedificationem sui in caritate' (note also Eph. 4.13: 'in unitatem fidei'; Eph. 4.2: 'supportantes invicem in caritate').

Christus quoque Dominus qui pro universis mortuus est: Cf. 2 Cor. 5.14-15.

mercedem sanguinis sui evacuatam dolebit: The loss of the unity of the Church by the damage of a member of the body will cause Christ to grieve that the purchase of His blood has been cancelled - a somewhat daring notion. For a rather similar thought, cf. II.24.

20. quod etiam ipsa Lex Domini hanc formam tenendam edocet...: In III.20-21, A. picks up the second and third points which Cic. makes against wrongful gains, namely that such gains violate the laws of men and of reason, which is the rule of men and gods [cf. III.15n. on Cic. III.23]. The forma/formula of Cic. [cf. III.13n.] is taught in Scripture.

'Non transferas terminos...': Prov. 22.28.

cum vitulum errantem fratris tui reducendum praecipit: See Ex. 23.4.

cum furem mori iubet: Not strictly true. If a householder killed a thief breaking in at night, he was not guilty of bloodshed (Ex. 22.2), though he was if the act occurred in daylight (Ex. 22.3). In general, theft was punished not with death but with reparation (Ex. 22.1-9).

cum vetat mercenarium debita mercede fraudari: See Lev. 19.13; Deut. 24.14-15. In Ep. 19.3, A. tells Vigilius to warn the merchant who defrauds his worker that he will be denied his heavenly reward.

cum pecuniam sine usuris reddendam censuit: See Ex. 22.25; Lev. 25.36-37; Deut. 23.19-20; and cf. II.111n. Absolvit igitur alteri debitorem ut condemnes tibi: Probably an echo of Cic., Verr. II.22: 'Hunc hominem Veneri absolvit, sibi condemnat'.

21. Hoc praestamus ceteris animantibus...: The ultimate difference between man and beast [on which, cf. Noe 94] is man's possession of reason [cf. I.124n.]. A. probably has this in mind here, because in Cic. III.23 Cic. argues that unjust gain is contrary to 'ipsa naturae ratio'. Reason causes men to share, while irrational beasts generally snatch away one another's food. For a different view of animals' habits, cf. III.45.

'Iustus miseretur et tribuit': Ps. 36.21.

et aves cibo suo pullos satiant suos: Birds at least

provide for their own young. For A.'s knowledge of birds and their habits, cf. Hex. V.36ff.

Nec ipsae leges nos docent? Quae ea, quae detracta sunt alicui cum iniuria personae aut rei ipsius, cumulo restitui iubent...: Cf. Cic. III.23: 'Neque vero hoc solum natura, id est iure gentium, sed etiam legibus populorum, quibus in singulis civitatibus res publica continetur, eodem modo constitutum est, ut non liceat sui commodi causa nocere alteri. Hoc enim spectant leges, hoc volunt, incolumem esse civium coniunctionem; quam qui dirimunt, eos morte, exsilio, vinculis, damno coercent.'

22. ut aliqui alteri detrahant: Cf. Cic. III.21: 'Detrahere igitur alteri aliquid...'; III.23: 'cui [sc. rationi] parere qui velit...numquam committet, ut alienum appetat et id, quod alteri detraxerit, sibi adsumat'.

adeo contra naturam, ut inopia magis hoc extorquere videatur quam natura suadere: In Cic. III.26, Cic. claims that a man is mistaken if he thinks that physical or material privations are worse than the crime of violating nature by injuring his fellow-man for the sake of personal advantage.

Servorum tamen occulta furta, divitum rapinae publicae: The petty theft of slaves remains a private matter within a household, but the large-scale extortion of the rich is seen by all.

23. Quid autem tam contra naturam quam violare alterum tui commodi causa...?: Cf. Cic. III.26: 'qui alterum violat'; 'nihil existimat se facere contra naturam...'; 'Si nihil existimat contra naturam fieri hominibus violandis...'; III.27: 'certe violare alterum naturae lege prohibemur'.

cum pro omnibus excubandum, subeundas molestias, suscipiendum laborem naturalis affectus persuadeat et gloriosum unicuique ducatur, si periculis propriis

quaerat universorum tranquillitatem...: Cf. Cic. III.25: 'Itemque magis est secundum naturam, pro omnibus gentibus, si fieri possit, conservandis aut iuvandis, maximos labores molestiasque suscipere imitantem Herculem illum, quem hominum fama beneficiorum memor in concilio caelestium collocavit, quam vivere in solitudine non modo sine ullis molestiis, sed etiam in maximis voluptatibus, abundantem omnibus copiis, ut excellas etiam pulchritudine et viribus'. A. inherits Cic.'s anti-Epicurean attitude to the duties of political leadership [note also quam si in otio positus tranquillam vitam voluptatum copiis functus egisset, below]. He finds the Stoic-Ciceronian ideal of participation in the hazards and glories of politics an admirable one, as contrasted with a dishonourable life of selfish otium (cf. III.2n.; for a similar description in Cic., cf. Sest. 139). [See Vermeulen, 45-47.] One may see a comparable self-sacrifice in the bishop's own leadership of the Milanese Church, as he suffered attacks from Arians and other heretics and risked the wrath of emperors in a fearless assertion of truth and the rights of the Church, unlike more flexible clerics, who doubtless sought personal ease at the expense of their principles. A.'s courage has, of course, also brought him glory. It is surprising that he makes no attempt to relate the sentiment to ecclesiastical leadership, substituting 'cleric' for Cic.'s 'statesman' as he so often does elsewhere.

IV: CONSCIENCE FORBIDS US TO INJURE OTHERS. THE CHRISTIAN MUST ALWAYS PUT OTHERS BEFORE HIMSELF.

24. Hinc ergo colligitur quod homo, qui secundum naturae formatus est directionem, ut oboediat ei,

nocere non possit alteri: Cf. Cic. III.25: 'Ex quo efficitur, hominem naturae oboedientem homini nocere non possit'. Nature's norm and God's design seem to be interchangeable in A.'s thinking [cf. III.19n.].

quod si cui noceat, naturam violet: Cf. III.23n.

nec tantum esse commodi...: Note that A. conflates two constructions in this sentence. After colligitur, he initially has quod and the subjunctive; here, still with colligitur understood, he has an accusative and infinitive construction.

Quae enim poena gravior quam interioris vulnus conscientiae?...?: Cf. Cic. III.26: '...errat in eo, quod ullum aut corporis aut fortunae vitium vitiis animi gravius existimat' (cf. also Cic. III.85).

quod iniuriam fratri indigne fecerit: Cf. Cic. III.26: 'facere cuiquam iniuriam'. As Testard, 'Conscientia', 244-245n.5, rightly notes, A. changes Cic.'s 'cuiquam' to fratri, to give a Christian tone to the expression. Cf. the point of 1 Cor. 6.8: 'Sed vos iniuriam facitis, et fraudatis, et hoc fratribus'. Testard, ibid., 246, claims that A. is generally more Ciceronian than scriptural in his presentation of conscience here [iudicium domesticum, quo unusquisque sibi est reus seque ipse arguit...]. It is true that there is no mention of sinning in God's sight here, but A. tends to combine Stoic and Christian views of nature throughout this section; to him, the inner norm of human conscience is part of the imprint of God's image in the heart of man [see Maes, 173ff.].

'Ex ore stultorum baculus contumeliae': Prov. 14.3.

Nonne hoc magis fugiendum quam mors, quam dispendium...? Quis enim vitium corporis...?: Cf. Cic. III.26: 'Sin fugiendum id quidem censet, sed multo illa peiora, mortem, paupertatem, dolorem, errat in eo, quod ullum aut corporis aut fortunae vitium vitiis animi gravius existimat'; Cic. also mentions in

III.26 'mortem, paupertatem, dolorem, amissionem etiam liberorum, propinquorum, amicorum'.

existimationis dispendio: A. adds a further calamity to Cic.'s mention of 'vitia animi'. On the importance which A. places on maintaining a good reputation, cf. I.247; II.29ff.

25. Liquet igitur id spectandum et tenendum omnibus, quod eadem singulorum sit utilitas, quae sit universorum: Cf. Cic. III.26: 'Ergo unum debet esse omnibus propositum, ut eadem sit utilitas uniuscuiusque et universorum'.

Etenim si una lex naturae omnibus, una utique utilitas universorum...: The core of this whole argument: the law of nature and the expedient are synonymous.

ad consulendum utique omnibus naturae lege constringimur: Cf. Cic. III.27: 'Quod si ita est, una continemur omnes et eadem lege naturae...'

Non est ergo eius, qui consultum velit alteri secundum naturam, nocere ei adversus legem naturae: Cf. Cic. III.27: 'Atque etiam si hoc natura praescribit, ut homo homini, quicumque sit, ob eam ipsam causam, quod is homo sit, consultum velit, necesse est secundum eandem naturam omnium utilitatem esse communem'.

26. Etenim si hi qui in stadio currunt ita feruntur praeceptis informari atque instrui ut...: An oblique reference to Cic. III.42: 'Scite Chrysippus, ut multa, "qui stadium," inquit, 'currit, eniti et contendere debet quam maxime possit, ut vincat, supplantare eum, quicum certet, aut manu depellere nullo modo debet; sic in vita sibi quemque petere, quod pertineat ad usum, non iniquum est, alteri deripere ius non est''. [Chrysippus (250-207/6 B.C.) was head of the Stoa after Cleanthes, from 232 B.C., and was the first to systematise Stoic doctrines.] A., like Cic., is attracted by the illustration of fair play in athletics, but he merely says feruntur, not

attributing the example to either Cic. or Chrysippus. hi qui in stadio currunt comes from 1 Cor. 9.24.

27. Quaerunt aliqui, si sapiens in naufragio positus...: The question is asked by Hecaton of Rhodes [a second-century B.C. Stoic, who wrote a work On Duties, only fragments of which survive], according to Cic. III.89: 'Quaerit..., "Si tabulam de naufragio stultus arripuerit, extorquebitne eam sapiens, si potuerit?" Negat, quia sit iniurium.' (Cf. also Cic. III.90; and Rep. III.30 [Lactantius, Inst. V.16-17].) Cic. is showing how the formula [cf. A. III.13] of not harming others must be applied in the case of the survival of the sage. In Cic. III.29-31, Cic. argues that the expediency of the sage's survival does not allow the injustice of his survival at the cost of another's life, unless the sage is going to render service to the state and to human society, in which case nature's law entitles him to survive though an idle, foolish man perishes. A. does not allow such casuistry, though he concedes that the survival of the sapiens (to him, the vir Christianus et iustus et sapiens - the Stoic sage becomes the Christian believer) seems more beneficial to the common good (cf. Lactantius, Inst. VI.17). He goes on to say that the believer must harm no-one, even if harmed himself. Note that A. again omits to specify the source of the question.

utpote qui etiam si latronem armatum incidat, ferientem referire non possit: Unlike Cic. (II.18; cf. esp. Mil. 10), A. is insistent that revenge must not be taken on attackers; cf. I.131n. and the article cited there.

contaminet: Cic. uses the verb in III.37.

'Reconde gladium tuum...': Matt. 26.52 (cf. John 18.11), Jesus's words to Peter when the disciple drew his sword and cut off the ear of Malchus, the high

priest's servant, at the arrest in the garden.

qui voluit suo vulnere omnes sanare: Cf. Is. 53.5; for some of A.'s many references to Christ's work in terms of medicine and healing (e.g., III.94; Expl. Ps. 35.3; Expl. Ps. 37.4), see Gryson, Prêtre, 287n.157.

28. Cur enim te potiozem altero iudices...?: Cic. III.31 warns that the wise, good, and brave man who is preserved at the cost of the life of an idle and worthless person must not be led by excessive self-esteem and self-love to do injury to others. A. is probably thinking also of Phil. 2.3-4.

Deinde cur non tuum tolerare potius incommodum quam alienum commodum diripere assuescas?: Cf. Cic. III.30: '...suum cuique incommodum ferendum est potius quam de alterius commodis detrahendum' (cf. also Cic. III.28).

Nam si honestas secundum naturam, ...turpitudine utique contraria est. Non potest ergo honestati convenire et turpitudini, cum haec inter se discreta naturae lege sint: Cf. Cic. III.35: 'Quod si nihil est tam contra naturam quam turpitudine - recta enim et convenientia et constantia natura desiderat aspernaturque contraria - nihilque tam secundum naturam quam utilitas, certe in eadem re utilitas et turpitudine esse non potest'.

non esse contentum eo quod habeas: Contentment with one's lot is a standard principle in both ancient philosophy (esp. Stoicism: e.g., Cic., Parad. VI.51) and the Scriptures (e.g., Phil. 4.11-13; 1 Tim. 6.6ff.; Heb. 13.5).

omnia enim fecit Deus bona valde: Cf. Gen. 1.31: 'Viditque Deus cuncta quae fecit: et erant valde bona' (cf. also Gen. 1.4,10,18,21,25). This phrase may well be inserted to replace Cic.'s description (in Cic. III.35) of the honestum as 'aut solum aut summum bonum; quod autem bonum, id certe utile, ita, quidquid honestum, id utile'. God has constituted the

honourable as 'very good' since it is in conformity with the good design of His creation; turpitude, sin, is contrary to God's design and contrary to both the honourable and the expedient. The reference to God's creation is a clear indication that A.'s use of natura in this section must not be read as purely Stoic.

V: THE WISE MAN DOES NOT ACT DISHONOURABLY EVEN IN SECRET; THE CONDUCT OF GYGES CONTRASTS WITH THAT OF DAVID AND JOHN THE BAPTIST.

29. III.29ff. develops the theme that nothing must be sought except the honestum, the argument which dominates the third Book. In III.29-36, this is illustrated by setting biblical exempla against the classical story of Gyges and his ring, to show that the wise man will not violate his conscience by doing wrong even when he could escape detection. Mention of the utile is not made in this section; the main point is the observance of what is right according to the inner law of nature, the conscience (cf. esp. III.31). Sed iam ut etiam in hoc libro ponamus fastigium...: ut nihil expetendum sit nisi quod honestum: Cf. Cic. III.33: 'Sed quoniam operi inchoato, prope tamen absoluto, tamquam fastigium imponimus..., ego a te postulo, mi Cicero, ut mihi concedas, si potes, nihil praeter id, quod honestum sit, propter se esse expetendum [etc.]'. A. shares this Stoic 'capstone' of Cic.'s edifice: the honestum is uniquely important (and can never conflict with the utile, since they are the same thing).

neque quicquam facit, in quo se crimine quoquam obliget, etiam si latere possit: Cf. Cic. III.38: 'Satis enim nobis, si modo in philosophia aliquid profecimus, persuasum esse debet, si omnes deos

hominesque celare possimus, nihil tamen avare, nihil iniuste, nihil libidinose, nihil incontinenter esse faciendum' (cf. also Cic. III.39).

Sibi enim est reus priusquam ceteris...: The role of conscience here is suggested by Cic.'s argument in Cic. III.38-39 (though Cic. does not explicitly mention conscience). Nevertheless, the biblical quotation and the comment which follow in III.31 below suggest that conscience is visualised as the natural law which God has imprinted on the heart of man.

Quod non fictis fabulis, ut philosophi disputant, sed verissimis iustorum virorum exemplis docere possumus: A. alludes to Cic.'s recounting of Plato's story [cf. III.30n.] about Gyges; Cic. has 'ut ferunt fabulae' in III.38, and 'philosophi' in III.39 (though 'philosophi' refers there to the critics of the myth, the Epicureans). But A. is using praeteritio: he says that he has no need of such tales, but proceeds to tell the story anyhow. The biblical exempla follow in III.33-36. A. cannot resist pointing up the superiority of biblical exemplars; to do so, he has to recount the Gyges myth in detail.

It is worth noting the stress on the fictitious nature of the Gyges story: fictis fabulis (III.29); non simulabo; fabulosum (III.30); non fabulosa pro veris, sed vera pro fabulosis exempla; figere; figmento (III.32); fabula, etsi vim non habet veritatis (III.36). This is in contrast to the historical veracity of the scriptural illustrations which follow: verissimis iustorum virorum exemplis (III.29); vera exempla; ex rebus gestis (III.32). Philosophi (III.29) have invented the tale in order to illustrate their hypothesis about the honour of the sage; Scripture proves the point with real happenings. [At the same time, note that Cic. himself concedes that the story is fictitious, as 'certain [Epicurean]

philosophers' have alleged: Cic. III.39. He himself uses it only to highlight a moral point. A. evokes these words of Cic. in III.36 below. But the bishop is still concerned to contrast the fictitious tale of pagan philosophy with the true accounts of Scripture, which illustrate the same moral.]

30. Cic. III.38 relates the story as told by Plato in Rep. 359C - 360B. Gyges was king of Lydia, c. 685-657 B.C. He secured the throne and founded the Mermnad dynasty by murdering King Candaules with the co-operation of the queen. (For a different version of the usurpation, cf. Herodotus, I.8-12; also Justin, I.7.15-19.)

The whole of this paragraph follows Cic. III.38 very closely.

exanimum corpus iaceret: An echo of Vergil, Aen. VI.149: 'praeterea iacet exanimum tibi corpus amici' (cf. also Lucretius, VI.705-706).

31. Da, inquit, hunc anulum sapienti...: Cf. Cic. III.38: 'Hunc igitur ipsum anulum si habeat sapiens, nihil plus sibi licere putet peccare, quam si non haberet; honesta enim bonis viris, non occulta quaeruntur'. The subject of inquit is Plato rather than Cic., since in III.30 above A. says that the story a Platone inducitur (Cic. III.38: 'inducitur a Platone'). In Plato, Rep. 360B-D, Glaucon applies the tale as described here.

'lex non iusto, sed iniusto posita est': 1 Tim. 1.9. quia iustus legem habet mentis suae et aequitatis ac iustitiae suae normam...: The lex mentis of the just man is his conscience, part of his creation in the image of God [see Maes, 173ff.].

32. ut ad propositum redeamus: Cf. Cic. III.39: 'Sed iam ad propositum revertamur'. A. uses the Ciceronian phrase to return to his point that he can prove the wise man's honesty with true rather than fictitious

examples (though his references to the Gyges tale are not over). Cic., on the other hand, employs the phrase to resume the theme of the expediency of the honestum (from Cic. III.37) when he has finished with the Gyges story.

Nempe eo tendit istud, utrum sapiens etiam si isto utatur anulo...?: Cf. Cic. III.39: 'Haec est vis huius anuli et huius exempli: si nemo sciturus, nemo se suspicaturus, quidem sit, cum aliquid divitiarum, potentiae, dominationis, libidinis causa feceris, si id diis hominibusque futurum sit semper ignotum, sisne facturus? [etc.]'.

vir sapiens: David; the story comes in III.33-34, below.

33. Denique David, cum fugeret a facie regis Saul...: A. accurately relates the narrative from 1 Kings 26. On this paragraph, see 1 Kings 26.1-11. David could have killed Saul, as Abishai suggested, and seized the throne, but - unlike Gyges - he was not prepared to be guilty of regicide, even if he could escape detection. 'Conclussit hodie Dominus...': 1 Kings 26.8.

'Non consumas illum...?': 1 Kings 26.9.

'Vivit Dominus...': 1 Kings 26.10-11.

34. See 1 Kings 26.12-25.

'Et Dominus,' inquit, 'restituatur unicuique...': 1 Kings 26.23.

sedem exsilio mutans: A classical phrase, probably an echo of Vergil, Georg. II.511: 'exsilioque domos et dulcia limina mutant' (cf. also Ovid, Fast. VI.665; Curtius Rufus, III.7.11). A. evokes the phrase also in Hex. V.27.

35. Ubi opus fuit Iohanni Gygaeo anulo, qui, si tacuisset, non esset occisus ab Herode?...: John the Baptist was imprisoned and subsequently beheaded by Herod Antipas for having condemned the king's relationship with Herodias, the wife of his brother

Philip (Matt. 14.1-12; Mk. 6.14-29). John was more concerned to condemn immorality than to save his own life.

Certe hoc negare non possunt potuisse fieri ut taceret, qui de illo Gyge negant potuisse fieri ut anuli beneficio absconderetur: Cf. Cic. III.39: 'Negant [sc. 'philosophi quidam', the Epicureans esp.] id fieri posse. Quamquam [potest] id quidem, sed quaero, quod negant posse, id si posset, quidnam facerent. ... Negant enim posse et in eo perstant, hoc verbum quid valeat non vident'. Those who deny the possibility of the miracle of Gyges cannot deny that John the Baptist could have kept quiet about Herod's sin. The one is miraculous, the other was perfectly possible. Of course, there is a difference between Gyges's commission of crime because he could count on being invisible and John's ability/inability to turn a blind eye to the crime of another. Since in John's case it was the crime of another, not his own, that was the issue, A. implies that his honour was substantially greater.

36. Sed fabula, etsi vim non habet veritatis, hanc tamen rationem habet: Cf. Cic. III.39: 'Haec est vis huius anuli et huius exempli...'; Cic. concedes that the story is not true, but he uses it by way of illustration. A. does the same, especially to contrast the 'true examples' of Scripture, which emphasise the same point even better.

ut, si possit celare se vir iustus, tamen ita peccatum declinet, quasi celare non possit: Cf. Cic. III.39: 'Cum enim quaerimus, si celare possint, quid facturi sint, non quaerimus, possintne celare...'.

nec personam suam indutus anulum, sed vitam suam Christum indutus abscondat: The idea of 'putting on Christ' (Rom. 13.14; Gal. 3.27; and cf. Eph. 4.24) or 'hiding with Christ in God' [next n.] is, however,

different from the point of the Gyges myth. The ring is put on to escape detection in crime yet to be committed, in order to escape the punishment of men; the believer 'puts on Christ' or 'hides with Christ in God' to cover sins which have already been committed, in order to escape the condemnation of God. The idea of hiding suggests these biblical verses to A., but in evoking them he wanders from the question at issue.

'Quia vita nostra abscondita est cum Christo in Deo':
Col. 3.3.

Nolebat se Christus hic cognosci, nolebat praedicari in Evangelio nomen suum...: See Matt. 8.4; 16.20; 17.9; Mk. 1.44; 5.43; 7.36; 8.26,30; Lk. 5.14; 8.56; 9.21. Again, this is a completely different matter from the invisibility of Gyges: Christ was certainly not hiding in the doing of evil. A. digresses to insist that the Christian's life in this world must, in imitation of his Lord's, be self-effacing, since glory will be his portion in the world to come.

'Cum Christus,' inquit, 'apparuerit...': Col. 3.4.

VII: THE HONOURABLE MUST COME BEFORE THE SUPPOSED EXPEDIENCY OF FINANCIAL GAIN: SPECULATION BY FARMERS IN TIMES OF SHORTAGE IS EVIL.

37. III.37-44 condemns those who seek to capitalise on food-shortages by selling grain at higher prices. The subject is suggested by Cic. III.50-53. III.45-52 is on the evil of banishing foreigners from a city during times of famine; A. is inspired by Cic. III.47. As Testard, 'Recherches', 105, notes, A. reverses the order in which these passages appear in Cic.'s text; and in the second section he considerably expands the Ciceronian treatment by detailing two examples from recent history. The most obvious question that arises

is; what relevance do these two blocks of text have to a clerical audience? Does A. not say in II.25 that he is not addressing merchants but his 'sons'? Clearly these sections are aimed at a wider audience, and it is quite possible that they have been inserted into the Book when A. has reworked oral addresses for publication (though cf. third n. on text below). A. may have re-read Cic.'s third Book and been drawn to develop the subjects of grain-trafficking and the treatment of foreigners by a city during a time of crisis. There must have been merchants, farmers, and other officials among A.'s flock who needed to heed such messages about exploitation and cruelty, and the themes naturally appeal to a bishop who had experienced the problems of civil administration in his earlier career [so Testard, 'Recherches', 106]; cf. his attack on selfish hoarding in his exposition of the story of the rich fool in Nab. 29-40.

Non vincat igitur honestatem utilitas, sed honestas utilitatem: Cf. Cic. III.19: 'Vicit ergo utilitas honestatem? Immo vero, honestatem utilitas secuta est'.

secundum vulgi opinionem: Cf. Cic. III.84: 'Non habeo ad vulgi opinionem quae maior utilitas...'; cf. also II.43n. Cic. and A. are referring to the popular view that expediency is personal gain.

Mortificetur avaritia, moriatur concupiscentia: Cf. Col. 3.5: 'Mortificate ergo membra vestra quae sunt super terram:...concupiscentiam malam, et avaritiam...'. It is noteworthy that A. evokes Col. 3.5 here and Col. 3.3-4 in III.36. If III.37ff. is inserted from a separate treatment, he tries to link it to the preceding passage by alluding to the same biblical paragraph; alternatively, it is possible that III.37ff. is not from a different source, and A. presents both this and the preceding passage to his

clerics, though III.37ff. is more appropriate to merchants. The composition of the text here is as enigmatic as ever.

Sanctus in negotiationem introisse se negat: An allusion to the Old Latin reading of Ps. 70.15, which accords with the Codex Vaticanus version of the LXX: 'quoniam non cognovi negotiationes' (πραγματείας); the standard LXX text reads γραμματείας, which in the Vulgate is 'litteraturam'. The sanctus is David.

On A.'s attitude to trade, cf. I.185, 243.

alius: Solomon, whom A. takes to be the author of Prov.

'Captans pretia frumenti...': Prov. 11.26. Both the LXX and the Vulgate in fact speak of the hoarding of grain rather than speculation on the price of grain, as Banterle, 297n.2, points out.

38. Definita est sententia, nihil disputationis relinquens, quale controversiarum genus solet dicendi esse: A. pictures a rhetorical dispute between the farmer who sells his grain at a higher price in a time of famine and one who argues that this is dishonourable greed (III.38-40). The idea is based on Cic. III.51-53, where Cic. presents a debate between the Stoic Diogenes of Babylon (c. 240-152 B.C.) and his successor, Antipater of Tarsus (head of the Stoa in the mid-second century and teacher of Panaetius): Diogenes contends that the seller is justified in seeking the highest possible price for his goods, so long as there is no trickery, while Antipater maintains that the vendor is duty-bound to reveal to his clients that other supplies are available, and so to serve the interests of society. (On genus, note that Cic. III.37 speaks of 'hoc...deliberantium genus'.) A. would, of course, be familiar with such scholastic controversiae from his schooldays. Although he generally depreciates the value of

rhetoric (Expl. Ps. 36.28; Expos. Luc. VII.218; VIII.13), the section affords another insight into his ability as an orator (cf. esp. III.39,41).

cum alius allegat agriculturam laudabilem apud omnes haberi: Cic. celebrates agriculture in I.151: 'Omnium autem rerum, ex quibus aliquid acquiritur, nihil est agricultura melius, nihil uberius, nihil dulcius, nihil homine libero dignius', and he refers to the treatment of the theme in his Cato Maior (Sen. 51-60, esp. 51); he probably thinks of the large-scale farming practised by senators, rather than the labour of small-holders (for celebrations of the life of the latter, cf., e.g., Vergil, Georg. II.513ff., and - with some irony - Horace, Epod. II). In Cic. II.12, Cic. praises the effort which has made agriculture possible, and in II.87 he mentions that in his youth he translated Xenophon's Oeconomicus, a treatise on the management of household and estate. A., in approving of agriculture, is continuing a long-standing classical tradition which embraced Roman sentiment and Greek economics. John Chrysostom expresses a similar esteem: agriculture is the most necessary of the arts (Hom. in 2 Cor. XV.3).

39. 'Aravi,' inquit, 'studiosius, uberius seminavi, diligentius excolui.... Nunc...vendo.... ...non pluris quam ceteri, immo etiam minore pretio. Quid hic fraudis est...?' Cf. the protest of Diogenes's merchant in Cic. III.51: 'Advexi, exposui, vendo meum non pluris quam ceteri, fortasse etiam minoris, cum maior est copia; cui fit iniuria?'.

'Et Ioseph frumenta in abundantia collegit...': Cf. II.79-85 and nn. The speculator, given his words by A., can cite Scripture; but his interpretation of Joseph's action is corrected in III.42.

in caritate: Cic. has the phrase in III.50.

iniuria: Cf. n. above on Cic. III.51.

40. exurgit aliquis dicens: Cf. Cic. III.52: 'Exoritur Antipatri ratio ex altera parte...'

quae fructus ministrat omnibus: Cf. Antipater's appeal to the interests of human society in Cic. III.52.

tritici: Cic. mentions wheat in III.52.

Fecunda terra multiplicatum reddit quod acceperit; fidelis ager faeneratos solet restituere proventus: Cf. I.160-161 and nn. Antipater argues that man is obliged to follow the 'principia naturae' (Cic. III.52).

41. This paragraph resumes A.'s own address, after the debate of III.38-40, but the style is no less rhetorical.

uberis glabrae: Cf. Vergil, Aen. I.531: 'terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glabrae'.

Cic. III.50 asks the following question: if, in a time of famine at Rhodes, an honest merchant who has imported grain from Alexandria discovers that others have set sail from Alexandria to bring supplies to Rhodes, should he inform the Rhodians of the imminent arrival of the other resources, or should he keep quiet and sell his own stock at the highest possible price? In Cic. III.57, Cic. replies that the man should not conceal the truth for the sake of his own profit. A. does not explicitly refer to this illustration, but it is clear that he has it in mind here. Although Cic.'s point is, strictly speaking, about honesty versus concealment of the truth for selfish gain, his argument involves the condemnation of financial speculation at the expense of the needy, and A. is content to endorse this at length.

Votis tuis gaudes arrisisse maledictum...: The speculator has prayed that there will be a blight (a divine curse) on the crops of others, so long as his own are favoured. Cf. Augustine's condemnation of

this practice in Enarr. Ps. 70.1.17.

et hanc tu 'industriam' vocas, hanc 'diligentiam' nominas : Picking up the other man's words in III.39.

quae calliditatis versutia, quae astutia fraudis est : Cf. Cic. III.57: (on the nature of the man who deliberately conceals the truth for his own profit) 'Certe non aperti, non simplicis, non ingenui, non iusti, non viri boni, versuti potius, obscuri, astuti, fallacis, malitiosi, callidi, veteratoris, vafri'.

et hoc tu 'remedium' vocas : The first speaker does not actually use the word remedium in III.39, but he claims 'subvenio esurientibus'.

usura: Cf. II.111n.

Lucrum tuum publicum damnum est : Cf. again Antipater's argument in Cic. III.52-53.

42. Ioseph sanctus omnibus aperuit horrea... : Cf. Gen. 41.56, and nn. on II.79-85. A. is correcting the speculator's interpretation of Joseph's behaviour given in III.39. The example of Joseph is held up in a similar context in Nab. 33.

43. Legisti: On the use of singular addresses to the hearer/reader, see Introduction, III.

hunc frumentarium pretii captatorem exponat in Evangelio Dominus Iesus...: See Lk. 12.16-21.

'Quid faciam? Non habeo quo congregem...': Lk. 12.17-18. In Nab. 29ff., A. makes use of Basil's homily Destruam (In Luc. xii.18) [PG 31] in his exposition of this story [see Vasey, 99ff.].

utrum sequenti nocte anima sua ab eo reposceretur: Cf. Lk. 12.20.

44. 'Qui continet,' inquit, 'frumentum...': Prov. 11.26 (LXX, VL).

emolumentum: Cic. uses the word in III.57.

'Captans annonam maledictus in plebe est...': Prov. 11.26 (a fusion of the version found in III.37 [cf. n. there] with the LXX/VL version). A., doubtless

relying on his memory, thinks that both of the versions quoted here in III.44 are included in the biblical text, since he says Et addidit.

VII: THE EXPULSION OF FOREIGNERS FROM A CITY IN A TIME OF FAMINE; CONTRASTING EXAMPLES FROM RECENT HISTORY.

45. The references in this chapter have elicited several scholarly discussions. The fundamental treatments are: J.-R. Palanque, 'Famines à Rome à la fin du IV^e siècle,' REA 33, 1931, 346-356 [hereafter cited as 'Palanque, "Famines"']; Lellia Cracco Ruggini, Economia e società nell' "Italia annonaria": rapporti fra agricoltura e commercio dal IV al VI secolo d.C. (Milan, 1961), 96-146 [hereafter cited as 'Ruggini (1)']; ead., 'Ambrogio di fronte alla compagine sociale del suo tempo,' in Ambr.Episc. I, 230-265, esp. 253ff. [hereafter cited as 'Ruggini (2)']; Edgar Faure, 'Saint Ambroise et l'expulsion des pérégrins de Rome,' in Études d'histoire du droit canonique dédiées à Gabriel Le Bras (Paris, 1965), I, 523-540 [hereafter cited as 'Faure']; Hans Peter Kohns, Versorgungskrisen und Hungerrevolten im spätantiken Rom (Bonn, 1961), 71ff., 145ff., 168ff. [hereafter cited as 'Kohns'].

Sed et illi qui peregrinos urbe prohibent nequaquam probandi...: Cf. Cic. III.47: 'Male etiam, qui peregrinos urbibus uti prohibent eosque exterminant, ut Pennus apud patres nostros, Papius nuper. ... Usu vero urbis prohibere peregrinos, sane inhumanum est.' Cic. refers first to Marcus Iunius Pennus, tribune of the plebs in 126 B.C., who carried a law forbidding the settling of peregrini in or around Rome and expelling those who had settled; then he mentions Gaius Papius, tribune in 65 B.C., who carried a

similar law of *ξενηλασία*, expelling from Rome non-Italians (especially the Transpadanes whose citizenship cause was being supported by the censor M. Licinius Crassus); Cic. defended the poet Archias on an indictment under this law in 62 B.C. Cic. also refers in III.47 to the legislation of the consuls L. Licinius Crassus and Q. Mucius Scaevola in 95 B.C. against aliens who posed as citizens; he carefully distinguishes this from the cruel expulsion of aliens by Pennus and Papius. A. takes up the theme of *ξενηλασία* as mentioned by Cic. (though Cic. does not relate it to times of famine), and illustrates it with two contrasting examples from the fourth century A.D.: the first, which came earlier chronologically, is in III.46-48; the second is in III.49-51, and happened proxime (III.49), which clearly corresponds with 'nuper' in Cic. III.47. While Cic. distinguishes the two cases of expulsion from the legislation of Crassus and Scaevola against aliens' rights, A. contrasts one incidence of expulsion with the other.

communis parentis: Pace the Maurists (PL 16.167n.23); Cavasin, 443n.2; Banterle, 303n.2, although A. goes on to speak of famines at Rome, this does not refer to Rome as the mother-city of the empire, but to the earth as the common mother of all men (cf. parentis in I.161, and the biblical-mythological idea of man's origin in the earth in III.16; cf. also Noe 94), as Niederhuber correctly understands it in his translation. See the comments of Testard, 'Problèmes de critique verbale dans le De Officiis, III,45, de saint Ambroise,' REL 66, 1988, (219-228), 224 and n.20. To banish the peregrini is to prevent the common produce of the common mother, the earth, from being traded among all her sons.

Testard, ibid., 227, argues convincingly that the text

of the sentence should read: 'Sed et illi qui peregrinos urbe prohibent nequaquam probandi: expellere eo tempore quo debet iuvare, separare a commerciis communis parentis fusos omnibus partus, negare inita iam consortia vivendi; [averruncare is poorly attested and very strange in a non-religious context, and should be deleted] cum quibus fuerint communia iura, cum his nolle in tempore necessitatis subsidia partiri'.

consortia vivendi: 'Partnerships of life' probably refers to relationships between those who live close together, perhaps sharing a house. Cf. the references to nostra familia and nostri parentes at the end of III.46. Relatives and friends are among those who suffer when peregrini are banished.

Ferae non expellunt feras, et homo excludit hominem!
Ferae ac bestiae communem putant omnibus victum quem terra ministrat: In III.21, A. compares the sharing instinct of (rational) men with the grasping tendencies of (irrational) animals (cf. Noe 94). Here, though, man's inhumanity to man is worse than bestial: even wild animals do not prevent their own kind from eating. For similar arguments that man's selfishness is lower than the ways of the animals, cf., e.g., Nab. 12; Tob. 5.

homo...qui nihil a se alienum debet credere quidquid humani est: On the evocation of Terence, Heaut. 77, here, cf. III.16n.

46. Quanto ille rectius, qui cum iam provecta processisset aetate et famem toleraret civitas...: The identification of this incident depends upon the identification of the urban prefect whom A. mentions. Two details are clear: (i) he is a Christian: he is sanctissimus (III.48); he wins great commendatio apud Deum (III.48); in his speech below in III.46 A. puts Deut. 8.3 into his mouth, and he probably also alludes

to Matt. 15.26-27/Mk. 7.27-28 with Canes ante mensam impastos esse non patimur, below; (ii) he is a senex (III.48). The consensus of opinion is that he is Aradius Rufinus, urban prefect of Rome in A.D. 376. A corn dole is mentioned by C.Th. I.6.7 on 13 July, 376; the shortage may well have been caused by the Danubian invasion of 375. [See Palanque, 'Famines', 347-349; Ruggini (1), 118-119nn.316-318; Ruggini (2), 256; A. Chastagnol, La préfecture urbaine à Rome sous le Bas-Empire (Paris, 1960), 267,436; Kohns, 149-153; Testard I, 45. On Aradius Rufinus, see A.H.M. Jones, J.R. Martindale, & J. Morris, The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire (2 Vols., Cambridge, 1971,1980), I, 775-776 (though he is there said to be a pagan). Ihm, 6, thought that the prefect is Aemilius Magnus Arborius (379-380); Godefroy Hermant, La vie de saint Ambroise (Paris, 1679), 159, believed him to be Sallustius Aventius (383-384); and Baronius, Annales Ecclesiastici V, ad ann. 383, suggested Furius Maecius Gracchus (376-377), whom Faure, 527, also holds to be a possibility; on these suggestions, see Ruggini (1), 118-119n.316.]

ut in talibus solet: This does not mean that expulsion of foreigners was frequent during the fourth century, only that the crowd often demanded it [Faure, 531]; on the murmurings of the vulgus for food, cf. Ammianus, XIX.10; XXI.12.24; Symmachus, Epp. II.6-7. On the Romans' habit of clamouring for expulsion, cf. Libanius, Orat. XI.174; Themistocles, Orat. XVIII.222a; Ammianus, XIV.6.19; XXVIII.4.32.

ut peregrini urbe prohiberentur: It seems likely that the peregrini would be of similar social and economic background in both incidents. What can be gleaned from A.'s descriptions? They are Roman citizens (cf. III.49: velut civibus), but not 'cives Romani domo Roma', despite having lived there for most of their

lives (III.49); hence they are not automatically entitled to 'frumentum publicum'/'panis popularis': see Faure, 529ff. They are free men (implied by Servum retines, trudis parentem! in III.49), with communia iura (III.45). Some engage in business (III.45: a commerciis; III.46: vel in celebrandis commerciis), probably as grain merchants; they are members of trade guilds (III.50: corporatorum subsidiis). A large number of them seem to be skilled cultores or agricolae (III.46); they are a plebs rusticanorum (III.51), qui victum nobis inferre consuerunt (III.46). Their precise ethnic provenance is not entirely clear, though two hints are given: they are provinciae totius populi (III.48), and Italorum filii (III.49). Faure, 534, challenges the assumption of Palanque, 'Famines', 350; Chastagnol, op. cit., 267-268; Ruggini (1), 140-141n.389, that they are Northern Italians, probably Cisalpines. It is certainly true that they need not all be from the North, since grain-supplies were also likely to come from Southern regions such as Campania, though many of them probably are Northerners. Provinciae totius populi could refer simply to the area of the urban prefect's jurisdiction, extending over a 100-mile radius from Rome, rather than an area of Italy [so Palanque, 349n.3; Ruggini (1), 140-141n.389; Faure, 534. Several times it is suggested that these people are relatives or friends of the influential, the honorati et locupletiores viri (III.46), or locupletes (III.51), who are probably senators, since in III.48 it is with the help of the senatus/curia that the foreigners are saved in the first famine: Nostra illic familia, plerique etiam nostri parentes sunt (III.46); trudis parentem (III.49); necessitudines...affinitates (III.49) (cf. also consortia vivendi in III.45, and quasi suum in III.49). Faure, 530, attempts to

explain this in terms of the citizens being a kind of family, but it is more likely that some (at least) of the peregrini are related to the wealthy senators. Ruggini (1), 124ff., suggests a hierarchy: some are privileged relations of the influential, others are of more humble rank, Italian cultores. Probably there is a social and economic mix in the group: corporati (grain merchants and perhaps naviculares as well) who are related to the wealthy, and peasant cultores who are employed on the estates of the wealthy (and whose skills could not easily be replaced: III.47).

'Canes ante mensam impastos esse non patimur, hominem extrudimus': Reminiscent, probably, of Matt. 15.26-27/ Mk. 7.27-28. Dogs are treated better than human beings.

Quam inutile quoque...: A. reports what he believes the good prefect said.

neminem famem alienam iuvare; protrahere ut plurimum diem posse, non inopiam repellere: The Latin is not very clear, but the sense seems to be, literally: '[he said that] no-one alleviates the hunger of another; [yet] he can [only] put off [his own] need for a day at the most, not drive it away'. In other words, 'You ought to share what you have, since you too are going to suffer soon enough; by keeping your food for yourself, you are only hanging on to your own life a day at a time: better to share your supplies, so that you may struggle along together'.

'Hos igitur excludimus...': A. returns to the direct speech of the prefect, as in 'Canes...extrudimus' above.

'Quanta sunt quae ab ipsis nobis hoc ipso tempore ministrantur!': 'How many things are being supplied for us by these people at this very time!' In a time of famine, the peregrini are not supplying food; the prefect envisages other services which they perform,

besides the normal provision of 'bread alone' [cf. next n.]. Ammianus XIV.6.19 speaks of foreigners who are professors of the liberal arts, and dancers.

"Non in sole pane vivit homo": Deut. 8.3.

47. 'non alii nobis redimendi cultores videntur': Pace Faure, 535, this does not necessarily mean that the agricultural peregrini would have to be replaced with servile labour; redimere could simply mean 'hire'. There would apparently be a shortage of skilled cultores to employ.

'Quanto vilis est pascere quam emere cultorem!': For an estimate of the costs, see Ruggini (1), 125-126n.338.

'Ubi etiam repares, ubi invenias quem reformes?...'': Skill in cultivating seems to have been a surprisingly rare aptitude, if we are to believe the prefect.

48. Quid plura?...: A. continues in his own words, after the direct speech of the prefect in the previous paragraph.

qui vere potuit imperatori dicere, demonstrans provinciae totius populos...: The emperor is Gratian, who visited Rome during Aradius Rufinus's prefecture in the summer of 376. Despite the objection of Ruggini (1), 118-119n.316, followed by Faure, 527, that the words might come from a written relatio and do not demand that the prefect spoke to the emperor in person, I believe that Palanque, 'Famines', 349, is probably right to take the statement as spoken in person to Gratian: demonstrans...: 'Hos tibi...,hi vivunt...,hos...' is surely more appropriate to a deictic statement than to a written message.

On provinciae totius populos, cf. III.46n.

49. Quanto hoc utilius quam illud quod proxime Romae factum est, eiectos esse urbe amplissima...: Proxime corresponds to the 'nuper' of Cic. III.47; like Cic., A. is giving two examples of ζευλασία, one from

several years previously and one from quite recent times (though in both cases Cic. goes further back into history than A. does). Utilius (and turpius, below) are also, of course, evocative of Ciceronian language [see Testard, 'Recherches', 105n.133].

Palanque, 'Famines', 349-355; Ruggini (1), 140ff.; (2), 256ff.; Kohns, 168-182; and (tentatively) Faure, 527-528; Chastagnol, op. cit., 268; Testard I, 45, date this famine to the end of A.D. 384, when the urban prefect was Q. Aurelius Symmachus (in office from the summer of 384 to Jan./Feb., 385), with whom A. clashed earlier that year in the Altar of Victory affair [Introduction, I]. The reference cannot be to 383 [pace Dudden I, 259-260; Paredi, 218-219; Ihm, 26], when there was an extreme failure of crops throughout the Mediterranean, especially in Central and Southern Italy (Symmachus, Rel. III.15-17; Ep. II.6; A., Ep. 18.17-21), since A. clearly says that the year had been fruitful (III.49: Et certe arriserat anni fecunditas; cf. Ep. 18.20). The problem was confined to a food-shortage at Rome itself [III.49: invecticio urbs sola egebat frumento], and the Italians could have helped [III.49: potuisset iuvari, si peteretur ab Italis frumentum...], which obviously implies that their own crops had not suffered. At the end of 384, there was a delay in importing the corn to Rome (probably due to unfavourable winds: cf. III.50), and the mob became restive. Symmachus, Ep. II.7.3, speaks of a 'defectus annonae' and 'fames', mentioning no crop failure. In this tense situation, Symmachus ordered the peregrini to be expelled. This is very likely to be the same expulsion to which Ammianus indignantly refers (probably as one of the ejected himself) in XIV.6.19.

It is noteworthy that A. does not mention the urban prefect in this case. But it is clear that he is

contrasting the two situations: in the first famine, the official is a Christian, who is moved with compassion for the peregrini and persuades the senate to help them; in the second case, no such Christian mercy is shown, and the resident aliens are ejected from the city, even though the situation could have been remedied by seeking corn from the Italians. The plight of the expelled is graphically described by A. [flentes cum filiis abiisse...], quite probably with a degree of exaggeration; together with the stress on the mildness of the situation (only Rome was suffering shortages, and help was at hand), this highlights the heartlessness of the $\xi\epsilon\nu\eta\lambda\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha$ order. The failure to mention the prefect is surely deliberate: despite A.'s dispute with the noble orator, and implicit criticism of him here, he does not wish to appear motivated by personal enmity (there is even a possibility that the two men were related: see Dudden I, 2n.3). [On Symmachus, see Jones, Martindale, & Morris, The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, I, 865-870.]

invecticio: A very rare word, though used in silver prose [TLL].

50. Quantis corporatorum subsidiis dudum Roma fraudata est!: Some (at least) of the expelled foreigners have commercial interests. Qui te pascit/ frumentum suscipis/ victum extorques in III.49 suggest that some are grain-merchants.

expectatis ventorum opportunis flatibus et speratarum comteatu navium: Unfavourable winds caused the delay in the corn imports at Rome. The ships must have arrived not long after the foreigners were banished. For a similar situation of popular unrest due to the delay, caused by bad weather, in the arrival of the corn-ships at Ostia in 359, cf. Ammianus, XIX.10.

51. Note the cluster of Ciceronian vocabulary which

rounds off the famines section: honestum; utile; decorum (also in III.52; and cf. inutile; utile; deceat in III.50). The charitable collatio organised by the Christian prefect was a clear example of the convergence of the honestum and the utile. The cultores/plebs rusticanorum were fed, which was honourable, and they were retained to continue the farming, which was expedient for the city. A. is notably pragmatic as well as charitable.

VIII: GOD APPROVES THOSE WHO PUT THE HONOURABLE BEFORE EXPEDIENCY, AS SEVERAL OT EXAMPLES SHOW.

53. III.53-56 offers examples from the story of the Exodus and the conquest of Canaan which show that the honourable is more important than apparent expediency. The section is entirely biblical, without any allusions to Cic. except for the basic vocabulary of honestum-utile-turpe.

maiores nostri: See Introduction, II.v.

servitio exire: A Vergilian phrase (Ecl. I.40), which A. evokes in numerous places (e.g., Hex. V.49; Cain I.20; II.9; Ioseph 19) [for other references, see Antonio V. Nazzaro, 'La I Ecloga virgiliana nella lettura di Ambrogio,' in Ambr.Episc. II, (312-324), 317-319].

nisi id non solum turpe, sed etiam inutile credidissent regi servire Aegyptiorum: See Ex. 2.23-25 on the Israelites' complaint to the Lord about their slavery (cf. also Ex. 4.31); for the account of their deliverance, see Ex. 5-14.

54. Iesus quoque et Caleb missi ad explorandam terram...: Joshua and Caleb were among the twelve spies sent to explore Canaan, and they alone sided with Moses in urging the Israelites to invade the

fertile land, confident that the Lord would give them victory over its fierce inhabitants. The people of Israel, however, threatened to stone them. (See Num. 13.1 - 14.45.)

On this paragraph, see Num. 14.1-10.

nationibus: 'Gentiles'.

alii: The other spies (cf. Num. 13.32).

55. Exarsit Domini indignatio...: See Num. 14.10ff.

sed pueri et mulieres...: The children were reprieved (Num. 14.31; Deut. 1.39); A. infers, reasonably, that the women were as well, though the biblical narrative does not say so.

56. Pars igitur melior gloriam saluti praetulit, deterior salutem honestati: Gloria here is obviously positive, and equated with honestas. Salus means 'life, safety', not 'salvation' in the spiritual sense. Again (cf. I.177), A. admires the traditional Roman-Stoic aspiration to courageous glory at the risk of personal safety.

qui honesta utilibus praestare arbitrabantur: As in III.37, A. is arguing for the primacy of the honourable over expediency, rather than the convergence of the honourable and the expedient (as in III.51-52). But clearly he means expediency as popularly conceived (cf. III.37), which puts salus before gloria or honestas. (Possibly videbantur hints vaguely at this idea of apparent expediency; see Testard, 'Étude', 184-185n.59.)

IX: CLERICS MUST SHUN DISHONOURABLE GAINS, SUCH AS THOSE OBTAINED BY LEGACY-HUNTING, AND THEY SHOULD STAY ALOOF FROM FINANCIAL DISPUTES. THE EXAMPLES OF DAVID AND NABOTH.

57. Nihil itaque deformius quam nullum habere amorem honestatis...: Sums up the previous paragraphs, and makes it clear that the utile is visualised here as the apparent expediency of selfish gain.

usu quodam degeneris mercaturae: Cf. I.243; II.25.

diebus ac noctibus hiare in alieni detrimenta patrimonii: Legacy-hunting had been prevalent in Roman society for centuries (cf. the evidence from the turn of the third-second centuries B.C. in Plautus, Miles 705ff.). Captatores are a frequent butt of invective in satire: cf. esp. Horace, Sat. II.5; Juvenal, I.37-41; X.202,236-239; XII.121ff.; Petronius, Sat. 116,125,141; Martial, XI.55; XII.10. [For an analysis of the theme in Horace, Martial, Juvenal, and Lucian, see Dankwart Schmid, Der Erbschleicher in der antiken Satire (Inaug. diss., Tübingen, 1951).] Cf. also Cic., Parad. 39; Off. III.74-75 (evoked by A. in III.58 below); Pliny, Epp. II.20.7; VIII.18. Note that the verb hiare is used of the greedy attitude of the captator: Horace, Sat. II.5.56 calls him a 'corvus hians'. Legacy-hunting was common in the fourth century A.D., as Ammianus attests (XIV.6.22; XXVIII.4.22 [cf. 26]). Clerics were often assiduous captatores, and A. elsewhere expresses disapproval: cf. Expos. Ps. 118.8.54: '...qui ad lectum aegrotantis adsidet, non ut capiendae hereditatis tendat aucupium, sed ut morbi vim sollicito mitiget ministerio, ut sedulo fessum sermone demulceat...'; 9.21: 'pecuniosus, qui cotidiana emolumenta sollicito rimatur affectu, qui cotidie opes aggerat, qui hereditatis tendit aucupia,

qui circa aegrotantis lectulum indefessas exercet excubias'. It is perhaps partly for this reason that A. warns his younger clergy to avoid personal visits to the homes of widows (I.87; though the main point there is clearly the avoidance of sexual temptation or scandal). A ruling of Valentinian I to pope Damasus in July, 370 (C.Th. XVI.2.20) ordered ecclesiastics not to frequent the homes of widows and other women, and declared invalid the bequests of women to such clerics. A. refers to this law in Ep. 18.13ff. (esp. 14), and Jerome, Ep. 52.6 says, 'nec de lege conqueror, sed doleo, cur meruerimus hanc legem'. Ten years later, this was extended to cover bishops as well as lower clergy (C.Th. XVI.2.22), but it is clear that the problem of ecclesiastical captatio was still acute in 390 (cf. C.Th. XVI.2.27; 2.28); and the fact that A. finds it necessary to condemn the practice here indicates that the law was commonly flouted.

58. Hinc nascuntur aucupio quaesitae hereditates, continentiae atque gravitatis simulatione captatae:

Cf. Cic. III.74: 'Mihi quidem etiam verae hereditates non honestae videntur, si sunt malitiosis blanditiis, officiorum non veritate, sed simulatione quaesitae'.

In ipsis qui nullum Ecclesiastici ordinis officium receperint, incongrua iudicatur affectatae ambitio hereditatis:

Probably a reference to Cic.'s condemnation of fraudulent inheritance in Cic. III.74-75. This is the first allusion to a clerical audience in Book III.

cum vel sacerdotis vel ministri sit prodesse, si fieri potest, omnibus, obesse nemini: Cf. I.26, and III.59n. below.

59. Ideoque in causis pecuniariis intervenire non est sacerdotis...: The bishop may refuse to adjudicate in a financial case, where it is impossible to avoid offending some party; cf. II.125n. However, cases of

life and death are different.

The mention of civil adjudication by clerics is A.'s application of the Ciceronian argument; Cic. talks simply about fraud and cheating in general.

Proposita igitur forma in sacerdotis officio teneatur: ut nulli noceat, ne lacesitus quidem, et aliqua iniuria offensus: Cf. Cic. III.76: '...iam se ipse doceat eum virum bonum esse, qui prosit, quibus possit, noceat nemini nisi lacesitus iniuria' (cf. also Cic. III.64, and I.20). On A.'s dissent from Cic.'s rule that revenge is permissible, cf. I.131 and n. Once again, he is emphasising the superiority of the ethic of the sacerdotis officium over the officium prescribed by Cic.

Bonus est enim vir qui dixit: The bonus vir appellation comes from Cic. III.75-76 (and 64), but it is applied to David.

'Si reddidi retribuentibus mihi mala': Ps. 7.5: 'Si reddidi retribuentibus mihi mala, decidam merito ab inimicis meis inanis'. Somewhat ironically, this verse in context upholds rather than rejects the concept of vengeance: David acknowledges his enemy's right to kill him if he has acted evilly.

Quae enim est gloria...?: An echo of 1 Pet. 2.20: 'Quae enim gloria est, si peccantes et colaphizati suffertis?' (cf. also Matt. 5.38ff.; Lk. 6.27ff.).

60. Quam honestum quod, cum potuisset regi inimico nocere, maluit parcere! Quam etiam utile, quia successori hoc profuit...!: It has been thought that this paragraph follows rather strangely after III.59. Although in III.59 A. alludes to David as the bonus vir who speaks the words of Ps. 7.5, he makes no mention there of David's sparing of Saul, the rex inimicus of III.60, or of David as the successor of Saul; indeed David himself is not actually named anywhere in III.59-62. In III.60, A. is evoking the

biblical narrative which last appeared in III.33-34, in the midst of the discussion of Gyges and his ring. III.60 looks as if it could follow III.33-34; and yet there is no mention of the Ciceronian honestum and utile in III.33-34 (though the honestum is mentioned in the opening of the Gyges section, in III.29). Testard, 'Recherches', 76-84, suggests that A. has used an earlier treatment of David (just as in Book I he uses an earlier sermon on Psalm 38). In this earlier text, what is now III.60-62 followed III.33-34. A. split the earlier text into two: III.33-34 is inserted into the Gyges section, between the tale of Gyges himself (III.30-32) and the example of John the Baptist (III.35). The allusion to David in III.59 leads him to return to the earlier treatment of David, and he inserts a paragraph, now coloured with Ciceronian language (III.60), which originally followed the substance of III.33-34; he then uses more of the earlier text in III.61-62. III.37-59 consists of other earlier texts which are reshaped into a Ciceronian perspective and inserted into Off. at the redaction stage. All of this is a matter of fairly ingenious conjecture, and seems to be much less certain than the argument for the use of a sermon on Psalm 38 in Book I. It is one attempt to explain why it is that in III.60 A. speaks of a rex inimicus whom he has not named in III.59, and why it is that he never actually names David anywhere in III.59-62. I am inclined to think that a more natural explanation is that A. expects his addressees to know the biblical passages to which he refers: surely those who recognise Ps. 7.5 know at once who the bonus vir of III.59 is, and can readily identify the rex inimicus of III.60. Nocere in III.60 continues the theme of III.58-59, and the insertion of the Ciceronian terms, honestum and utile, in III.60 is part of A.'s habitual

attempt to fit the Stoic terminology to scriptural narratives, while the absence of Ciceronian evocation in III.61-62 surely does not have to mean that A. is using an earlier text on David, only that he gets a little carried away with his illustration. In short, I believe that Testard's case is not proven.

On the biblical references in this paragraph, cf. III.33-34nn.

Itaque et honestas utilitati praelata est et utilitas secuta honestatem est: Cf. Cic. III.19: 'honestatem utilitas secuta est'. Put the honourable first, and the expedient will follow.

61. addidit quod etiam in bello doluit occisum, et flebiter deploravit, dicens: 'Montes qui estis...': 2 Kings 1.21-27.

62. Aruerunt montes prophético maledicto...: This picks up the words of David's lament in 2 Kings 1.21, though there is no mention of their fulfilment in the biblical narrative. Testard, 'Recherches', 81n.48, points out the famous parallel of the enchantment of nature by the despairing songs of Orpheus (Vergil, Georg. IV.507ff.; Ovid, Met. X.86ff.; XI.1ff.).

63. Quid vero de sancto Nabuthe...?: Cf. II.17n.

indecorum pretium: Surrender of the inheritance would have been shameful; hence the proposed compensation was indecorum.

'Non mihi,' inquit, 'faciat Dominus...': 3 Kings 21.3.

vulgarem utilitatem loquor: I.e., earthly gain: financial reward and royal favour.

64. mulieris: Jezebel.

congruo supplicio plectendam: Her body was eaten by dogs (3 Kings 21.23; 4 Kings 9.10, 30-37).

65. In III.65-75, A. deals with the dishonour, and so false expediency, of fraud, in commercial dealings and in pacts. He is exploiting Cic.'s argument about

expediency and morality in business and law in Cic. III.50-78, but, as ever, he synthesises this with biblical material.

Turpis itaque omnis est fraus: Cf. Cic.'s rejection of 'fraus omnis' in Cic. III.71.

Denique etiam in rebus vilibus: In commerce.

exsecrabilis est staterae fallacia et fraudulenta mensura: Cf. nn. below, on Prov.

Si in foro rerum venalium, in usu commerciorum fraus plectitur, potestne irreprehensibilis videri inter officia virtutum?: Typical of A.'s arguments from lesser to greater. If such-and-such is necessary in the secular/commercial/pagan sphere, how much more in the realm of Christian morality?

'Pondus magnum et exiguum...': Prov. 20.10.

'Statera adultera abominatio est Domino...': Prov. 11.1.

X: FRAUD IS WRONG IN ALL AGREEMENTS: THE SCRIPTURES SHOW THIS AS WELL AS DO THE LAWS OF THE JURISTS.

66. de contractibus ceteris, ac maxime de coemptione praediorum: Cic. discusses the law concerning the sale of praedia in Cic. III.65 (cf. also Cic. III.71). vel transactionibus atque pactis: Cic. III.70-71 mentions various transactions in which good faith is necessary, and Cic. III.73-74 discusses honesty with regard to testamentary inheritance.

A. rejects these as topics which he needs to discuss [Quid autem loquar...?].

Nonne formulae sunt, dolum malum abesse: In Cic. III.60, Cic. mentions the 'de dolo malo formulae' of C. Aquilius Gallus, his friend and colleague in the praetorship in 66 B.C.; his rules of procedure enabled either party in a contract to plead the bad faith of

the other (cf. Cic., N.D. III.74). Cf. also Cic. III.61: 'Atque iste dolus malus et legibus erat vindicatus, ut tutela duodecim tabulis, circumscriptio adulescentium lege Plaetoria...'; 'Dolus autem malus in simulatione, ut ait Aquilius, continetur'; III.64: 'Sed sive et simulatio et dissimulatio dolus malus est, perpaucae res sunt, in quibus non dolus malus iste versetur...'. In Cic. III.61, Cic. is referring to the Twelve Tables, the basic codification of Roman law completed in the mid-fifth century B.C., and the Lex Plaetoria of 192 B.C., which recognised as an offence fraud practised on minors.

eumque cuius dolus fuerit deprehensus, duplici poenae obnoxium fore: Cf. Cic. III.65: 'Nam cum ex duodecim tabulis satis esset ea praestari, quae essent lingua nuncupata, quae qui infitiatus esset, dupli poenam subiret...'.
Unde recte generalem David propheta prompsit sententiam...: The generalis sententia of David is to be seen as Scripture's condemnation of the dolus malus proscribed by Roman civil law. In III.67, below, A. argues for the anteriority of the biblical prohibition.

'Nec fecit proximo suo malum': Ps. 14.3. The verse is obviously suggested to A. by its mention of malum, in the present context of dolus malus.

in contractibus, in quibus etiam vitia eorum quae veneant prodi iubentur...: Cf. Cic. III.65: 'Ac de iure quidem praediorum sanctum apud nos est iure civili, ut in iis vendendis vitia dicerentur, quae nota essent venditori. ...a iuris consultis etiam reticentiae poena est constituta. Quidquid enim est in praedio vitii, id statuerunt, si venditor sciret, nisi nominatim dictum esset, praestari oportere.' (Cf. in general Cic. III.51-68.)

aperienda simplicitas: Cf. Cic. III.61,71-72.

In all of this talk of laws against dolus malus, it is worth remembering that A. speaks as a former advocate and magistrate, who doubtless has some knowledge of the technicalities of such formulae as they apply to the law of the late fourth century A.D.

67. Veterem autem istam de dolo non iuris peritorum formulam, sed patriarcharum sententiam Scriptura divina evidenter expressit...: See Introduction, II.iv (iv).

siccatum esse mare in Hebraeorum transitu: The miraculous crossing of the Red Sea: see Ex. 14.

fluxisse aquam de petra: See Ex. 17.1-7; Num. 20.1-13.

de caelo diurnam ministrari alimoniam tot populi millibus abundantem: Cf. II.13n.

corruisse muros Hiericho sacro tubarum sono, ictu et ululatu plebis arietatos: Cf. II.129n.

Gai quoque regem victum et suspensum in ligno usque ad vesperam: On the destruction of Ai [Gai is the transliteration of the LXX's rendering], see Josh. 8.1-29; on the king's fate, see v. 29.

Gabaonitae metuentes validam manum, venerunt cum versutia...: On the Gibeonites' deception, see Josh. 9.3-27; on this paragraph, see vv. 3-15.

68. Adeo sancta erat temporibus illis fides, ut fallere aliquos posse non crederetur. ...mentiri neminem putant, fallere quid sit ignorant...: The gullibility of Joshua and the Israelites is presented as a holy innocence. Josh. 9.14 implies that their fault lay in not seeking divine guidance in the matter.

'Innocens credit omni verbo': Prov. 14.15.

69. On this paragraph, see Josh. 9.15-27.

vilioris obsequio ministerii: The Gibeonites were to be wood-cutters and water-carriers for the Israelites (Josh. 9.21,23,27).

in hunc diem: So Josh. 9.27. A. presents this as if he believes that the Gibeonites are still slaves of the Israelites in the late fourth century A.D., rather than in the time of the writer of Josh. 9.

XI: FRAUD IS CONDEMNED IN BIBLICAL EXAMPLES AS MUCH AS IN CLASSICAL ONES

70. Non ego in hereditatibus adeundis digitorum percussiones et nudi successoris saltationes notabo...: Cf. Cic. III.75: 'Itaque si vir bonus habeat hanc vim, ut, si digitis concrepuerit, possit in locupletium testamenta nomen eius inreperere, hac vi non utatur, ne si exploratum quidem habeat id omnino neminem umquam suspicaturum. At dares hanc vim M. Crasso, ut digitorum percussione heres posset scriptus esse, qui re vera non esset heres, in foro, mihi crede, saltaret.' [Cic. refers to M. Licinius Crassus, consul in 70 and in 55 B.C., member of the 'first triumvirate' with Caesar and Pompey in 60 B.C., who was killed in battle with the Parthians at Carrhae in 53 B.C.; he was famed for his vast wealth.] The phrase 'digitorum percussione' is also used by Cic. in III.78; and on dancing publicly cf. Cic. III.93: 'Quid? Si qui sapiens rogatus sit ab eo, qui eum heredem faciat, cum ei testamento sestertium milies relinquatur, ut ante quam hereditatem adeat luce palam in foro saltet, idque se facturum promiserit, quod aliter heredem eum scripturus ille non esset, faciat quod promiserit necne? Promisisse nollem et id arbitror fuisse gravitatis; quoniam promisit, si saltare in foro turpe ducet, honestius mentietur, si ex hereditate nihil ceperit, quam si ceperit, nisi forte eam pecuniam in rei publicae magnum aliquod tempus contulerit, ut vel saltare, cum patriae

consulturus sit, turpe non sit.' On the disgrace of singing 'in foro', cf. Cic. I.145; and on the Roman attitude to dancing, cf. esp. Cic., Mur. 13: 'Nemo enim fere saltat sobrius, nisi forte insanit' (words which A. quotes in Virg. III.25, attributing them to 'quidam saecularium doctor'; see in general Virg. III.25-31, where, as in Off. III.77 below, A. illustrates the disgrace of dancing with the story of Herodias's daughter). A. seeks to distance himself from the antics of men who would have their names inserted in a will falsely and dance in the forum as a condition of inheriting: such behaviour is counted notoriously shameful even among the ordinary masses. non simulatae piscationis compositas copias, ut emptoris illiceretur affectus: A. alludes to Cic.'s story about Gaius Canius and Pythius (Cic. III.58-60); cf. III.71n., below. He employs the device of praeteritio here (as with the snapping of fingers and dancing allusions earlier in the sentence) and at the beginning of III.71, but goes on to recount the story in detail in III.71-72.

piscatio is a post-classical word.

71. illo: A. seems to expect Cic.'s story to be known by his addressees. A sophisticated eques, Gaius Canius, was taken in by a Syracusan banker, Pythius, who persuaded him to pay an extortionate price for his Sicilian estate in the belief that it was the recipient of the bounty of all the local fishermen, whereas in fact no fishing at all was done there. According to Cic. III.60, Canius was powerless in the face of Pythius's deception, since the event took place prior to the passing of Aquilius's formulae de dolo malo in 66 B.C., and so Pythius was not legally obliged to reveal the truth about his property (his moral obligations were another matter).

Siculi hominis: Pythius.

peregrinum aliquem: C. Canius. Note that A. typically refuses to name the characters of the classical story.

ad cenam in hortos rogavit; promisisse invitatum, postridie venisse: Cf. Cic. III.58: '...et simul ad cenam hominem in hortos invitavit in posterum diem. Cum ille promisisset....' ...et ab iis petivit, ut ante suos hortulos postridie piscarentur.'

piscatorum multitudinem: Cf. Cic. III.58: 'cymbarum ...multitudo'.

resilientes oculos recumbentium verberabant: Cf. Cic. III.58: 'ante oculos'.

Mirari hospes: Cf. Cic. III.59: 'Et ille "Quid mirum?" inquit'.

tantam copiam piscium tantumque numerum cymbarum: Cf. Cic. III.59: '"Tantumne piscium? Tantumne cymbarum?"'.

Responsum quaerenti aquationem illic esse...: Cf. Cic. III.59: '"hoc loco est Syracusis quidquid est piscium, hic aquatio..."'.

Quid multa?: Cic. has the phrase just so in Cic. III.59.

vendere volens cogitur: Pythius pretended that the estate was not for sale, but his reluctance was not genuine.

pretium gravatus suscipit: Cf. Cic. III.59: 'Gravate illo primo'.

72. Sequenti die ad hortos emptor cum amicis venit...: Cf. Cic. III.59.

num aliqua piscatoribus eo esset die feriarum sollemnitas: Cf. Cic. III.59: 'quaerit...num feriae quaedam piscatorum essent...'.

'Nulla, nec umquam illic praeter hesternum diem piscari solitos': Cf. Cic. III.59: '"Nullae, quod sciam," ille inquit, "sed hic piscari nulli solent. Itaque heri mirabar, quid accidisset"'.

Quam hic redarguendi haberet auctoritatem doli, qui

tam turpe captarit aucupium deliciarum: Cic. in III.60 reserves all his condemnation for Pythius, and regrets the fact that the incident took place prior to the enactment of Aquilius's formulae de dolo malo. To A., Canius was no better than Pythius, since he had so greedily insisted on having the estate. Turpitude was there on both sides.

Qui enim alterum peccati arguit, ipse a peccato debet alienus esse: A scriptural sentiment: cf. Matt. 7.3-5/Lk. 6.41-42; John 8.7.

huiusmodi nugas: The matter is denigrated by A., but he still relates it in order to demonstrate a Christian moral point (that he who casts the first stone must be without sin), and to make an implicit comparison with the weighty (not nugatory) biblical exempla which follow in III.74-75.

in hanc Ecclesiasticae censionis auctoritatem: The Church condemns greed on the basis of Scripture's teaching. [On the auctoritas of the Church according to A., see Thomas Gerhard Ring, Auctoritas bei Tertullian, Cyprian und Ambrosius (Würzburg, 1975), 196-220.] Censio is an ante- and post-classical word. lucris turpis appetentiam: Cf. II.67n.

73. Nam de illo quid loquar, qui de eo testamento, quod ab aliis licet factum, falsum tamen cognoverit...?: Cf. Cic. III.73: 'L. Minuci Basili locupletis hominis falsum testamentum quidam e Graecia Romam attulerunt. Quod quo facilius obtinerent, scripserunt heredes secum M. Crassum et Q. Hortensium, homines eiusdem aetatis potentissimos. Qui cum illud falsum esse suspicarentur, sibi autem nullius essent conscii culpa, alieni facinoris munusculum non repudiaverunt. Quid ergo? Satis est hoc, ut non deliquisse videantur? Mihi quidem non videtur....' [L. Minucius Basilius was a legatus under Sulla, and a distinguished military tribune at the battle of

Orchomenus in 86 B.C.; he was dead by 70 B.C.; on Crassus, cf. III.70n.; Q. Hortalus Hortensius (114-50 B.C.) was the most renowned orator of his age, until he was surpassed by Cic.; he was the main opponent of Cic. in the case against Verres.]

leges publicae: Cf. the references to leges against fraud in Cic. III.65-74.

74. Having dismissed the Ciceronian exempla, A. brings forward biblical illustrations of the evil of fraud.

Quid evidentius eo quod Ananias...?: Ananias and his wife Sapphira brought to the apostles only part of the price which they had received for a piece of land, claiming that it was the whole sum; their 'lie to the Holy Spirit' was punished with death (Acts 5.1-11).

75. 'Vulpes foveas habent': Matt. 8.20/Lk. 9.58. In context, this is not a condemnation of dolus but part of an argument about the cost of following the Son of Man: Jesus contrasts His homelessness with the state of the foxes which have their holes. A. thinks of the cunning of foxes (cf. Lk. 13.32, where Jesus calls Herod a fox; and Cic. I.41: 'fraus quasi vulpeculae...videtur'). (On heretics resembling foxes, cf. Expos. Luc. VII.30-31.)

'Sicut novacula acuta fecisti dolum': Ps. 51.4.

nequitiae arguens proditorem: David condemns Doeg the Edomite (Ps. 51.2), who informed Saul that Ahimelech the priest had shown hospitality to David during David's flight from Saul (1 Kings 22.9-23). The reading Abimelech (here and in III.125) is a transliteration of the name as it appears in the LXX in 1 Kings 21-22 (though not in Codex Alexandrinus); Pss. 33.1; 51.2; the Vulgate correctly transliterates the Hebrew, with Achimelech. (Abimelech was in fact the name of Philistine kings of Gerar in Gen. 20.1-18 and 26.1-33, and of a murderous son of Gideon in

Judges 8.29 - 10.1.)

rex: Saul.

XII: DISHONOURABLE PROMISES: THE EXAMPLES OF HEROD AND JEPHTHAH. EVEN GOD HIMSELF DOES NOT ALWAYS CARRY OUT A SEVERE THREAT. THE FILIAL OBEDIENCE OF JEPHTHAH'S DAUGHTER IS SUPERIOR TO THE MUTUAL LOVE OF THE PYTHAGOREANS DAMON AND PHINTIAS.

76. III.76-79 discusses the subject of oaths and promises which turn out to necessitate immoral actions. A. is following Cic. III.94-95, where Cic. argues that promises whose fulfilment would be inexpedient for the person to whom they were given are not binding. This casuistry has already been adopted by A. in I.255, under the influence of Cic. I.31-32 and III.94-95. It is noteworthy that A., unlike Cic., makes no mention of expediency in this section of Book III: his argument concentrates on the avoidance of the turpe as the antithesis of the honestum; the primacy of the honestum is increasingly the key idea in Book III.

Purum igitur ac sincerum oportet esse affectum, ut unusquisque simplicem sermonem proferat: Honest speech comes from a pure and sincere heart: this sums up the preceding paragraphs on the evil of dolus, and leads into the next passage on the avoidance of promises whose fulfilment is turpe.

vas suum in sanctificatione possideat: Cf. 1 Thess. 4.4: 'ut sciat unusquisque vestrum suum vas possidere in sanctificatione et honore'.

nec fratrem circumscriptione verborum inducat: Cf. 1 Thess. 4.6: 'ut ne quis supergrediatur neque circumveniat in negotio fratrem suum'.

nihil promittat inhonestum; ac si promiserit, tolerabilius est promissum non facere quam facere quod turpe sit: Cf. Cic. III.93: (on one who has promised to dance in public in order to inherit a fortune) 'Promisisse nollem et id arbitror fuisse gravitatis; quoniam promisit, si saltare in foro turpe ducet, honestius mentietur, si ex hereditate nihil ceperit, quam si ceperit...'

77. Saepe plerique constringunt se ipsos iuris iurandi sacramento et, cum ipsi cognoverint promittendum non fuisse, sacramenti tamen contemplatione faciunt quod sponponderunt: Cf. Cic. III.94-95.

sicut de Herode supra scripsimus: Cf. I.255; III.35. On the details, cf. I.255n. On scripsimus, see Introduction, III.

qui saltatrici praemium turpiter promisit: A. links the scriptural example to the Ciceronian passage, evoked in III.76 above, by way of the dancing theme. A promise of turpe conduct was made in the context of dancing, which is itself turpe [cf. III.70n.].

Quanto tolerabilius tali fuisset periurium sacramento...!: Cf. Cic. III.94: 'Quanto melius fuerat in hoc promissum patris non esse servatum!'. Cic. is talking about the promise of Sol to his son Phaëthon that he would do whatever his son wished: Phaëthon asked to ride in his father's chariot, but disaster struck when Phaëthon was consumed by a stroke of lightning. Herod's promise to his niece replaces Sol's promise to his son Phaëthon (Cic. also mentions Neptune's promise to Theseus and the death of Hippolytus).

Cf. Virg. III.28, on Herod's oath: 'Tolerabiliora periuria quam sacramenta sunt tyrannorum'.

si tamen periurium posset dici, quod ebrius inter vina iuraverat, quod eviratus inter saltantium choros promiserat: Casuistry: A. suggests that the oath

probably did not even count since it was made in a situation of drunkenness and dancing. The gospel accounts do not specifically say that Herod was drunk, though it is no doubt a reasonable inference. Inter saltantium choros also makes it sound as if Herod was in the midst of a 'Come Dancing' session, though the gospels mention only Herodias's daughter as dancing.

78. Iephthe: On the story of Jephthah's solemn vow and the tragic sacrifice of his daughter, cf. I.255n. Jephthah and his daughter here replace Agamemnon's vow to Diana and the slaughter of his daughter Iphigenia in Cic. III.95. The similarities between the stories of Jephthah's daughter and Iphigenia have, of course, been noted by many authors; the synthesis of biblical and classical features is perhaps most strikingly represented in the character of Iphis in George Buchanan's Iephthes.

'Heu me, filia, impedisti me...!': Judges 11.35.

'Ambulabant,' inquit, 'filiae populi Israel...': Judges 11.40.

Non possum accusare virum qui necesse habuit implere quod voverat...: Jephthah's fides cannot be censured, but the fulfilment of his vow had such terrible consequences that it would have been better if he had committed perjury. Cf. Cic. III.95: (of Agamemnon) 'Promissum potius non faciendum, quam tam taetrum facinus admittendum fuit'.

79. Melius est non vovere, quam vovere id quod sibi, cui promittitur, nolit exsolvi: Cf. Eccl. 5.4: 'Multo melius est non vovere, quam post votum promissa non complere' (cf. also Prov. 20.25). In III.77, A. follows Cic. in saying that perjury is preferable to the evil of fulfilling an oath like Herod's; here, he evokes the biblical principle that vows must not be made rashly, lest one be unable to fulfil them: the implication is that, with such risk involved, it is

better not to make vows at all.

Denique in Isaac habemus exemplum, pro quo arietem Dominus statuit immolari sibi: See Gen. 22, esp. v.13. The Lord did not desire the sacrifice of Isaac (He was merely testing Abraham's fides), and a ram was provided as a substitute. But A. suggests that the Lord changed His mind when faced with the horror of the slaughter of Isaac.

proposuerat percutere morte et perdere populum; sed postea rogatus a Moyse, reconciliatus est populo suo: See Num. 16 (esp. v.22) on the rebellion of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, and the intercession of Moses (and Aaron) on behalf of the other Israelites. Again, the implication is that there is divine authority for changing one's mind and not fulfilling a promise if the consequences are going to be so dire.

'Dividite vos de medio synagogae eius...': Num. 16.21.

80. In III.80-81 A. returns to the Jephthah story, to argue that the filial piety of Jephthah's daughter is superior to the mutual love shown by two celebrated Pythagorean philosophers, as described in Cic. III.45. He moves away from the subject of oaths and promises, but is able to work in another contrast of biblical and classical exemplars.

Praecellentius et antiquius istud exemplum de filia Iephte: See Introduction, II.iv (iv).

quam illud quod memorabile habetur apud philosophos de duobus Pythagoreis...: The famous friendship of the Pythagorean philosophers Damon and Phintias, outlined by Cic. in Cic. III.45. Apud philosophos is another vague reference to Cic. in particular (Cic. simply has 'ferunt'. The tyrant is probably Dionysius I of Syracuse (born, 431 B.C.; ruled 406-367 B.C.). On Damon and Phintias, cf., e.g., Cic., Tusc. V.63; Fin. II.79); Diodorus Siculus, VI.243; Valerius Maximus,

IV.7.1; Lactantius, Inst. V.17; Porphyry, Vita Pythag. 60-61; Iamblichus, Vita Pythag. 234; Pacatus, Paneg. Theod. XVII.1; Jerome, In Michaeam II.7.5/7. A. tells the story also in Virg. II.34-35: his sources there are clearly Cic., Off. III.45, as here, and, for other details about Dionysius's blasphemies mentioned in Virg. III.36-37, Cic., N.D. III.83-85 [see Pierre Courcelle, 'Les sources de saint Ambroise sur Denys le Tyran,' RPh. 43, 1969, 204-210].

praescripto mortis die poposcit ut domum pergendi ei facultas daretur, quo commendaret suos: Cf. Cic. III.45: '...paucos sibi dies commendandorum suorum causa postulavisset'.

ac, ne revertendi mutaret fides, vadem mortis obtulit...: Cf. Cic. III.45: 'vas factus est alter eius sistendi, ut si ille non revertisset, moriendum esset ipsi'.

alter ad diem recepit: Cf. Cic. III.45: 'Qui cum ad diem se recepisset...'

Quod eo usque fuit mirabile, ut tyrannus eos sibi in amicitiam adscisceret...: Cf. Cic. III.45: 'admiratus eorum fidem tyrannus petivit, ut se ad amicitiam tertium adscriberent'.

81. in spectatis et eruditis viris: Pagan thinkers like Cic.

in virgine: Jephthah's daughter (on her virginity, see Judges 11.37-39).

'Fac mihi ut exivit de ore tuo': Judges 11.36.

XIII: JUDITH PUT THE HONOURABLE BEFORE HER OWN SAFETY, AND WON DELIVERANCE FOR HER PEOPLE.

82. In III.82-90, A. returns to the theme of the convergence of the honourable and the expedient, demonstrating from scriptural examples how a concern

for the honourable always gains that which is genuinely expedient, whereas to seek false expedients such as personal safety is turpe.

Iudith...quae formidatum populis virum Holophernem adit...: On Judith's visit to, and murder of, Holophernes, Nebuchadnezzar's commander-in-chief, see Judith 8ff.

Quem primo formae gratia et vultus decore perculit...: See Judith 10.20 - 13.20.

Primum triumphus eius fuit, quod integrum pudorem de tabernaculo hostis revexit: Holophernes desired to seduce Judith, but became too drunk (Judith 12.16ff.); she affirmed subsequently that her honour was intact (Judith 13.20).

fugavit populos consilio suo: Judith's killing of Holophernes so intimidated the Assyrians that they fled, pursued by the Israelites (Judith 15.1-8).

83. Horruerunt Persae audaciam eius: See Judith 15.1ff.

Utique quod in illis Pythagoreis duobus miratur...: Damon and Phintias (III.80) are surpassed by Judith as well as by Jephthah's daughter (III.81).

non expavit mortis periculum, sed nec pudoris, quod est gravius bonis feminis: Typical of A.'s concern for virginity. [On the emphasis which A. places on Judith's virginity, see the interesting outline of Jean Doignon, 'La première exposition ambrosienne de l'exemplum de Judith (De virginibus, 2,4,24),' in Y.-M. Duval, ed., Ambroise de Milan (Paris, 1974), 219-228.] On A.'s admiration for courage which overcomes the fear of death, cf. I.177n.

inter victricia arma: An echo of Vergil, Aen. III.54: 'res Agamemnonias victriciaque arma secutus'.

quantum ad fidem, dimicatura: On the 'fight of faith', cf. 1 Tim. 6.12; 2 Tim. 4.7.

84. Honestatem igitur secuta est Iudith et, dum eam

sequitur, utilitatem invenit: By pursuing the honourable, Judith won the expedient of deliverance for her people.

Honestatis enim fuit...: The key elements of the honourable listed here are similar to those mentioned in II.70 and II.136: deliverance from the evil of false religion; preservation of virginity; and self-sacrifice.

85. ut Deum adiutorem praesumeret: Cf. Pss. 29.11; 53.6; 117.6; Heb. 13.6; and see Judith's prayers for divine help in Judith 9 and 13.9, and her assurance of God's presence in Judith 13.13 (cf. also Judith 16).

XIV: BIBLICAL EXAMPLES OF CONCERN FOR THE HONOURABLE;
A COMPARISON BETWEEN ELISHA AND A CLASSICAL INCIDENT.

86. cum exercitus Syriae, qui ad obsidendum eum venerat, captivum introduxit in Samariam...: See 4 Kings 6.8-23; and cf. I.139-140nn.

'Domine, aperi oculos eorum...': 4 Kings 6.20.

87. Quanto hoc sublimius quam illud Graecorum, quod, cum duo populi adversum se de gloria imperioque decertarent...!: Once again, a biblical incident is superior to a classical one. A. is alluding to Cic. III.49. The duo populi are the Athenians and the Spartans, who were locked in a power-struggle following the defeat of Persia in 479 B.C. Cic. tells how Themistocles declared to the Athenian Assembly that he had a plan which would benefit their city, and that he wished to discuss it secretly with someone. The people appointed Aristides, to whom Themistocles revealed his plan to burn secretly the Spartan fleet at Gytheum, a blow which would crush the Spartans' power. Aristides did not disclose the details of the plan to the Assembly, but announced that the scheme

was 'minime honestum': on the basis of this knowledge alone, the Athenians rejected it, 'quod honestum non esset, id ne utile quidem putaverunt'. (For the story, cf. Plutarch, Themist. 20, where it is said that the plan was to burn the whole Greek fleet, not just the Spartan ships, and that the ships were stationed at Pagasae, not Gytheum; also Plutarch, Arist. 22; Valerius Maximus, VI.5.2.) On fighting de gloria imperioque, cf. Cic. I.38 and esp. Livy, XXVIII.19.7.

Et isti quidem sine flagitio hoc facere nequibant, ut eos, qui consummandi belli Persici gratia in societatem convenerant, hac fraude deciperent...: The implication is that Elisha's action was superior because in his case he had the opportunity to bring about the death of ambushed enemies, whereas in the Athenians' case the idea which they rejected was to harm former allies (in the Persian War). Also, the Athenians shrank only from burning ships, while Elisha spared the lives of the Syrians.

Elisaeus autem non fraude, deceptos licet, sed potestate Domini percussos maluit tamen servare quam perdere...: Elisha's case had nothing to do with fraus; the Syrians were struck blind by the Lord's power. Even so, Elisha wished to save them. His action is presented as much loftier than that of the Athenians.

88. quod decorum est, semper esse utile: A. typically uses decorum as a synonym for honestum.

Nam et Iudith sancta...: Judith's bravery was decorum and honestum, and by it she won the utilitas of salvation for her people.

et Elisaeus...: Elisha granted a reprieve to the Syrian enemy, rather than allowing them to be slaughtered, and so he observed the honestum; at the same time, by ordering the Syrians to be given a feast

as though they were guests, he won the expediency of an end to raids on Israelite territory.

89. Quid autem aliud Iohannes nisi honestatem consideravit...?...: Cf. III.35n.

'Non tibi licet illam uxorem habere': Mk. 6.18 (cf. Matt. 14.4). Herod's relationship contravened Lev. 18.16; 20.21.

quid utilius quam quod passionis viro sancto advexit gloriam?: By putting the honestum first and acting with fortitude, John the Baptist gained the ultimate expediency (according to the formulation of the utile in Book II as that which is conducive to the attainment of eternal life): the glory of martyrdom.

90. Sancta quoque Susanna...: See Dan. 13, esp. v.23. dum honestati intendit, etiam vitam reservavit: By refusing to yield to the elders' advances, even though the alternative was the public disgrace of a false indictment and the sentence of death, Susanna obtained the 'expediency' of justice and the sparing of her life (through the intervention of Daniel). If she had consented to the elders' desires, she would have forfeited the glory of the honourable and lost the expediency of her salvation. What is turpe cannot be utile.

There is a clear equation made in these paragraphs between the honestum and fortitude, especially in the face of death and/or sexual disgrace. The mention of gloria here (cf. III.89, and gloriosius in III.88) is probably evocative of Cic.'s contrast of the pursuit of power and glory via honourable conduct, and the supposed expediency of dishonourable behaviour, in Cic. III.79-88 (esp. 86-87), since A. goes on to exploit Cic. III.86 in III.91 below.

complex: A late word [TLL].

XV: MOSES'S ACTION IS SUPERIOR TO THAT OF A CLASSICAL GENERAL

91. III.91-93 continues on the theme of the honestum versus the turpe; A. contrasts the action of a Roman general, described by Cic. in Cic. III.86, with that of Moses.

Memorable ferunt rhetores quod dux Romanorum, cum ad eum adversarii regis medicus venisset...: A. evokes Cic. III.86, where Cic. tells how C. Fabricius Luscinus, consul in 282 and 278 B.C. and successful general in Rome's war with King Pyrrhus of Epirus (280-275 B.C.), sent back a deserter from Pyrrhus who promised to poison the king in return for a reward; Fabricius, supported by the Roman senate, was unwilling to defeat his enemy by such a dishonourable ploy. The deserter was an Ambracian called Timochares (or, in some accounts, Nicias); for varying versions of the story, cf. Livy, XXXIX.51.11; Aulus Gellius, N.A. III.8; Plutarch, Pyrrhus 20-21; Flaminius 20; Tacitus, Ann. II.88; Valerius Maximus, VI.5.1; Florus, I.13.21; Cassius Dio, fr. 40.44; Cic. does not name him. A. seems to know the story independently of Cic.'s account, since, unlike Cic., he calls the deserter a medicus (so also Florus, who however says that the general is M. Curius Dentatus, cos. 290 B.C., not Fabricius). The fact that the man was sent back to the enemy camp vinctum is not mentioned by Cic. Cic. I.40, where the anecdote is also told, is missing from most MSS. of Cic. and is bracketed by editors; nonetheless, it is possible that A. knows it: cf. Cic. I.40's 'pollicitus se venenum regi daturum et eum necaturum' with A.'s pollicens daturum se regi venenum; while Cic. III.86 has 'pollicitus...se, ut clam venisset, sic clam in Pyrrhi castra rediturum et eum veneno necaturum'. Perhaps A.'s text of Cic.

includes both passages.

Rhetores is another vague reference to classical authors, and to Cic. in particular.

virtutis certamen: Cf. Cic. III.86: 'sed magnum dedecus et flagitium, quicum laudis certamen fuisset, eum non virtute, sed scelere superatum'.

92. Redeamus ad nostrum Moysen atque ad superiora revertamur: As well as being a typical contrast of pagan exemplar and 'our' biblical hero [see Introduction, II.v], A. is perhaps thinking also of Cic. III.99, where Cic. turns away from mythological and foreign illustrations to tell the story of the celebrated Marcus Atilius Regulus: 'Sed omittamus et fabulas et externa; ad rem factam nostramque veniamus'. One is tempted to wonder if Moses is supposed to replace Regulus (who occupies the major section of Cic. III.99-111) as the champion of honestum in Book III; but in fact A. only devotes III.92-95 to Moses, and in III.94-95 looks, by way of typology, beyond Moses to Christ.

ut quanto praestantiora, tanto antiquiora promamus: See Introduction, II.iv (iv).

Nolebat Aegypti rex populum dimittere patrum: See Ex. 5.1ff.

Dixit Moyses sacerdoti Aaron ut extenderet virgam suam...: See Ex. 7.19-21.

sincera autem fluentia patribus abundabant: It is not specifically said that the Israelites escaped the effects of the plague of blood, though it is a reasonable inference from the fact that they were spared during the plagues of flies (Ex. 8.20-24), murrain (Ex. 9.1-7), hail (Ex. 9.22-26), and darkness (Ex. 10.21-23), and at the destruction of the first-born (Ex. 11.1 - 12.30).

Iactaverunt favillam in caelum...: See Ex. 9.8-12.

Deduxerunt grandines in igne flammeo...: See Ex.

9.13-35, esp. vv. 22ff.

93. Iterum caligantibus tenebris operata erat terra per triduum...: See Ex. 10.21-23.

Moriebatur omne primogenitum Aegypti...: See Ex. 11.1 - 12.30.

Rogatus Moyses ut his quoque finem exitiis daret, oravit et impetravit: See Ex. 8.8-15,28-32; 9.27-35; 10.16-20.

In illo: In the case of Fabricius, in III.91.

in hoc mirabile, quoniam divinitus intenta supplicia virtute propria etiam ab hoste detorserit: Moses's action was better than Fabricius's: while Fabricius refused to overcome his enemy by fraus, Moses actually brought relief to his enemy by his intercession with the Lord.

vere nimium, sicut scriptum est, mansuetus et mitis: Cf. Num. 12.3: 'Erat enim Moses vir mitissimus super omnes homines qui morabantur in terra'.

laesus benediceret: Cf. I.235n.

94. The praise of Moses in the preceding paragraphs leads into a typological exposition of Moses's actions in III.94-95: Christ is to be seen in these ancient incidents.

Proiecit virgam, et serpens factus est, qui devoravit serpentes Aegyptiorum: See Ex. 7.8-13. The staff is Aaron's.

significans quod verbum caro fieret: Cf. John 1.14.

quae serpentis diri venena vacuaret per remissionem et indulgentiam peccatorum: Christ, the incarnate Word, took away the poison of the serpent Satan, the pollution of sin which has been transmitted throughout the generations of man since the wound was inflicted by the devil in Adam's heel (cf. Expl. Ps. 48.8).

On Christ's redemptive work as a healing process, see Gryson, Prêtre, 287n.157.

Virga est enim verbum...: A. pictures the rod as a

symbol of the word of God in Sacr. V.3. The most common idea is that the rod is a type of the cross (e.g., Origen, Hom. in Ex. IV.6).

qui erat Filius Dei, ex Deo Patre natus, Filius hominis factus est: Note the orthodoxy of A.'s Christology.

natus ex Virgine: The interpretation is helped by the word-play of virga - virgo; as the virga became a serpent, so the Son of God became the Son of Man by being born of the Virgo.

qui quasi serpens exaltatus in cruce...: The serpens which came from Moses's virga typifies Christ; the serpentes Aegyptiorum symbolise Satan, whom Christ overcomes.

'Sicut Moyses exaltavit serpentem in deserto...': John 3.14, alluding to Num. 21.8-9. This statement of Christ is the basis for the common equation [e.g., Tertullian, Adv. Marc. III.18.7] of the serpent with the Son of Man. Moses raised a bronze serpent on a pole in order that those who had been bitten by the venomous snakes could look at it and be healed; so Christ was raised on the cross so that those who look to Him might be healed of the deadly disease of sin which was inflicted by the serpent Satan at the Fall.

95. 'Misit manum suam in sinum...': Ex. 4.6-7.

primum fulgorem divinitatis: Cf. such verses as Heb. 1.3.

in qua fide credere omnes gentes populosque oportet: Cf. Rom. 1.5, etc.

quia dextera Dei Christus est: Cf. Acts 2.33; 5.31; Rom. 8.34; Eph. 1.20; Col. 3.1; Heb. 1.3; 8.1; 10.12; 12.2; etc.

iste rex: Pharaoh.

et eo maxime quod se obiciebat pro populo dicens ut remitteret populo Deus aut certe de libro viventium se deleret: See Ex. 32.31-32. Moses's intercession is a

is a type of Christ's - voluntary penal substitution in the place of the people.

The allegorical and typological exegesis of these passages from the life of Moses is typical of A.'s approach to the OT Scriptures [Introduction, II.vii]. But his enthusiasm for the spiritual significance of the Pentateuch takes him some considerable way from the Ciceronian subject-matter with which he began the chapter; the only allusions to the classical theme are the brief references to honestum in III.93 and honestatis affectus in III.95.

XVI: HONESTY IN THE DISCLOSURE OF DEFECTS: BIBLICAL AND CLASSICAL CASES CONTRASTED.

96. In III.96-124, A. presents further biblical examples of those who put the honourable first. Except for III.97, the rest of the Book up to III.125 contains no major evocation of Cic. It is quite likely that A. has made use of earlier sermonic treatments of these biblical passages, and he has attempted to join them to the Ciceronian theme by adding link-passages such as III.98,110-111,118,124 which mention honestum/honestas and decorum.

Tobis quoque formam expressit honestatis evidentius, cum reliquo convivio mortuos sepeliret et ad cibos pauperis mensae invitaret inopes: See Tobit 2.1ff. A.'s De Tobia, a treatise consisting of reworked sermon material, commences with reference to the opening of the Book of Tobit, but is in fact more taken up with a fierce attack on the practice of usury.

Pace Testard, 'Recherches', 108-109, evidentius need hardly be taken as an admission on A.'s part that the preceding section is weak: surely it can just mean

'quite clearly'.

Raguel praecipue...cum rogaretur ut filiam suam in coniugium daret, vitia quoque filiae non tacebat...:

Raguel's daughter Sarah was sought by her kinsman Tobias, son of Tobit (with the help of Azarias, the angel Raphael); Raguel revealed that she had already been married to seven husbands (not six, as A. says), all of whom had been slain by a demon on their wedding-night (Tobit 7). But Tobias married her, and the demon was repelled, on the advice of Raphael, by burning the heart and liver of a fish on the ashes of incense in the wedding chamber, and was subsequently caught and bound by the angel (Tobit 8.1ff.).

et malebat innuptam sibi manere filiam quam propter nuptias eius extraneos periclitari: This is perhaps going a little beyond what Tobit 7 says, so keen is A. to emphasise Raguel's regard for the honourable. All the same, Raguel did dig a grave for Tobias during the night, in the expectation that he too would be killed by the demon (Tobit 8.10ff.).

97. Quam breviter absolvit omnes quaestiones philosophorum! Illi de vitiis tractant domorum, tegenda an prodenda a venditore videantur; noster...:

A. is referring to a question raised by Cic.: cf. Cic. III.54: 'Vendat aedes vir bonus, propter aliqua vitia, quae ipse norit, ceteri ignorent...; quaero, si haec emptoribus venditor non dixerit aedesque vendiderit pluris multo, quam se venditulum putarit, num id iniuste aut improbe fecerit?'. In Cic. III.51 and 55, Cic. presents the opinions of the Stoics Antipater and Diogenes on this subject: Antipater argues that concealment of faults is dishonest, while his master Diogenes insists that, if the law allows a man to keep quiet, only a fool would declare all the defects in an article which is for sale. In Cic. III.57, Cic. gives his own judgement, and says that if a vendor stays

silent with deliberate intent to profit at the expense of someone else, then, and only then, is his action wrong (this is in accordance with the formula which is laid down in Cic. III.21). Merely keeping quiet is not dishonourable concealment. A. claims that these quaestiones philosophorum (philosophorum taking in Diogenes and Antipater as well as Cic.) are clearly settled by the example of Raguel. The contrast of biblical and pagan subjects is heightened by a stress on the superiority of the matter at issue - a daughter's marriage, as compared with the mere selling of a house for the sake of monetary gain [si conferamus quanto praestantior sit filiae causa quam rei venalis pecunia]. Cf. also Lactantius, Inst. V.16.

celanda: Cic. uses the verb in this context in Cic. III.57.

XVII: THE FATHERS OBSERVED THE HONOURABLE WHEN THEY HID SACRED FIRE AS THEY WERE TAKEN INTO CAPTIVITY

98. in captivitate: During the Babylonian captivity; deportations of Jews followed the fall of Jerusalem on 16 March, 597 B.C., the sack of the city in 587 B.C., and in 582/1 B.C.

Nullis enim adversis honestas impeditur, quae in his eminent et magis praecellit quam in prosperis: Cf. I.200; II.10-21.

servitutum, quae liberis omni supplicio gravior est: On A.'s thought on the dishonour and oppression of slavery, cf. I.20n.

patriae cineres: A classical phrase: cf. Vergil, Aen. X.59; Auctor ad Herennium, IV.8.12; Cic., Sull. 19; Seneca, Troad. 29. Vergil is doubtless A.'s likeliest source.

99. Dei omnipotentis: Cf. Gen. 17.1; 35.11; etc.
acceptum ignem de altari sacerdotes Domini occulte in
 valle absconderunt...: See 2 Macc. 1.19. The priests
 sought to obey the Lord's instructions that the sacred
 fire on the altar must not be allowed to go out (Lev.
 6.13).

Non illis studio fuit aurum defodere, argentum
 abscondere...: The priests were concerned with the
 preservation of the pure worship of the Lord, not with
 the material enrichment of their descendants - such
 was their honestatis cura.

100. regi Persarum: Artaxerxes I (465-424 B.C.).
 Nehemiah was privileged cupbearer to the king; in
 March-April, 445 B.C., he was granted permission to
 return to Jerusalem to rebuild the walls of the city,
 a task which was completed, despite intense
 opposition, in fifty-two days (so Nehem. 6.15; see in
 general Nehem., passim). Artaxerxes I was continuing
 the policy of restoration begun under Cyrus the Great
 (559-530 B.C.), who allowed some of the exiles to
 return to Jerusalem with the treasures of the Temple
 and to commence the rebuilding of the Temple, which
 was dedicated in the reign of Darius I (522-486 B.C.)
 (see Ezra 1-6). A. follows 2 Macc. 1.18 in suggesting
 that the Temple was completed in the time of Nehemiah
 and Artaxerxes I; it was in fact finished in 516 B.C.
 On the narrative in this paragraph, see 2 Macc. 1.20-
 32.

One is reminded of the way in which Aeneas and his men
 took with them their Trojan penates (Vergil, Aen.
 I.68).

adolerent altaria: The words appear in classical
 poetry (Lucretius, IV.1237; Vergil, Aen. VII.71; cf.
Aen. I.704; Georg. IV.379) and in Tacitus's prose
 (Hist. II.3; cf. Ann. XIV.30).

visu mirabile: Also a well-known Vergilian phrase

(Aen. VII.78; X.637). It is used here in place of 'ita ut omnes mirarentur' in 2 Macc. 1.22.

101. On this paragraph, see 2 Macc. 1.33-36.

Appellaverunt autem illud, qui erant cum sancto Neemia, 'ephthar', quod interpretationem habet purificationis; a plurimis 'nephthe' vocatur: Cf. 2.

Macc. 1.36. The author of 2 Macc. thinks that the name is related to the Hebrew nephtār/niphtār, which literally means 'released, free from obligation', and hence, by a somewhat forced extension, 'purified'; he is attempting to find authority for the Feast of Purification in the mysterious event recorded here. According to Jonathan A. Goldstein's commentary on 2 Macc. in the Anchor Bible series (New York, 1983), 181, the root of the word is in fact the Akkadian naptu, which in Hebrew becomes nēpht, and in Aramaic nephtā/naphtā, and hence the Greek νέφθα (the Greek world probably hearing of it from Aramaic-speaking Syrians). Naphtha, a pitch-like substance with properties akin to petroleum, was known to the ancients to come from Babylonia/Assyria (Strabo, Geog. XVI.1.4,15,24; Pliny, N.H. II.235; XXIV.158; Ammianus, XXIII.6.16,38). The first name which A. gives, ephthar, is strange, since the initial 'n' is missing (as it is in all the variants in the MSS.: epathar/ephata/phatur/ephitar). A. cannot be thinking of some other Hebrew derivation, since he does not know Hebrew, and a Greek etymology appears inconceivable; he must simply be relying on his memory of the text of 2 Macc. He correctly speaks of 'naphtha' in Elia 19.

Invenitur autem in descriptionibus Ieremiae prophetae...: See 2 Macc. 2.1-8. The author of 2 Macc. draws on texts such as the Epistle of Jeremiah. Hic est ignis qui cecidit super sacrificium Moysi et consumpsit illud: Cf. 2 Macc. 2.10.

'exivit ignis a Domino et consumpsit universa, quae

erant super altare, holocausta': Lev. 9.24.

ideoque et in filios Aaron, qui alienum ignem inferre voluerunt...: Nadab and Abihu were destroyed for offering unauthorised fire to the Lord (Lev. 10.1-5). 102. On this paragraph, see 2 Macc. 2.5-8.

curiosius: The word carries its typically pejorative force: they sought to pry into sacred things; cf. I.122n.

'Ignotus erit locus...': 2 Macc. 2.7-8.

As Testard, 'Étude', 188n.70, notes, A. appears to run together two different episodes in III.101-102: the discovery of the sacred fire (2 Macc. 1.19 - 2.1), and Jeremiah's hiding of the sacred objects of the tabernacle, the ark, and the altar of incense in a cave (2 Macc. 2.4-8). The reason for A.'s confusion is that the episodes are adjacent in the narrative of 2 Macc., and fire is mentioned again after the second incident in 2 Macc. 2.10.

XVIII: TYPES OF BAPTISM IN THE OT

103. III.103-110 constitutes an excursus (A.'s word: III.110) on baptismal typologies in the OT Scriptures. The main part of the section (III.103-106) is taken up with an exposition of the sacred fire and water mentioned in the narrative of 2 Macc. which is evoked in III.99-102. To this, A. appends the types of baptism to be seen in the sacrifice of Elijah (III.107-108), the crossing of the Red Sea (III.108), and the Flood (III.109). The passage may have been inserted from a separate treatment; there is no mention of any Ciceronian vocabulary except in the link-passage in III.110.

Congregationem populi tenemus...: Evoking 2 Macc. 2.7, quoted in III.102 above. A. visualises the

Church as the counterpart of the OT believers, the descendants of patres nostri mentioned in III.99. This continuity is a major clue to the typological exegesis which follows in this chapter: our ancestors went through experiences which foreshadowed the Christian sacraments; the people of God in every age know something of the divine mysteries.

cum legerimus quia baptizat Dominus Iesus in Spiritu Sancto et igni, sicut in Evangelio dixit Iohannes: Cf. John the Baptist's words in Matt. 3.11/Lk. 3.16. 'Et factum est in corde meo ut ignis ardens...': Jerem. 20.9.

Sed etiam in Actibus Apostolorum, cum descendisset super apostolos Spiritus...legimus: Cf. Acts 2.3-4. Denique sic vaporabatur animus singulorum, ut musto repleti esse existimarentur...: Cf. Acts 2.13.

104. spiritalis gratia per ignem exurit, per aquam mundat peccata nostra: The mysterious transformation of the water into fire in 2 Macc. 1, and the references to fire in connection with the baptism administered by Christ and by the Holy Spirit, suggest to A. the purging effect of baptism. The fire symbolises the Holy Spirit, who appears as fire at Pentecost, and who descends on the baptismal font when the priest invokes the Triune Name [see the references cited by Dudden II, 579,643-644, such as Spir. III.138; Expos. Luc. II.79; Sacr. II.11,14-15; Myst. 26]; it is the power of the Spirit's presence which effects the work of regeneration. Elsewhere (e.g., Expos. Ps. 118.3.14-17; 20.12-15; cf. Expl. Ps. 1.38), A. explains a verse such as Ps. 65.12 ('Transivimus per ignem et aquam') as teaching a twofold purging of sins: first, by the water of baptism in this world, and second, by purgatorial fire at the entrance to paradise [his presentation of purgatory is probably indebted to Origen; see Dudden II, 660n.4]. The

verses of 1 Cor. 3 which he quotes below were traditionally cited in support of the doctrine of purgatory, but it is unlikely that he is thinking of purgatorial fire here. Elia 83, a passage which is very similar to III.107-108, takes the fire as that of the Holy Spirit, whose presence at baptism achieves the 'burning up' of 'culpa' (as also in Sacr. and Myst., cited in this n. above).

'Uniuscuiusque opus quale sit ignis probabit': 1 Cor. 3.13.

'Si cuius opus arserit, detrimentum patietur...': 1 Cor. 3.15.

106. Hic igitur ignis absconditur captivitatis tempore, quo culpa regnat; tempore autem libertatis promitur: The period of the Babylonian captivity symbolises the time of sin's bondage, when the rite is hidden; in an age of liberty and grace, the significance of baptism is revealed. A. is probably thinking of Rom. 5.14,17,21; 6.12, on the contrast of the reigns of sin/death and of grace.

'Ego sum ignis consumens': Deut. 4.24 (cf. Deut. 9.3).

'Me dereliquerunt fontem aquae vivae': Jerem. 2.13.
nam ipse in Evangelio suo dicit quod ideo venerit, ut ignem in terras mitteret: Cf. Lk. 12.49.

et potum sitientibus aquae vivae ministraret: Cf. John 7.37-38 (cf. also John 4.13ff.).

107. Eliae quoque tempore descendit ignis, quando...: The scene on Mt. Carmel in 3 Kings 18.20-40: the prophets of Baal could not invoke fire on their sacrifice, but Elijah called down fire from the Lord even when the altar had been drenched with water.

A. pictures this incident as a type of baptism also in Elia 83: 'Si quis autem non est baptizatus, securior convertatur remissionem accipiens peccatorum. Siquidem baptismus velut ignis quidam peccata

consumit, quia Christus in igne et Spiritu baptizat. Denique hunc typum legis in Regnorum libris, ubi Elias super altare ligna imposuit...[the narrative from 3 Kings 18 follows]. For another similar use of the story, cf. Sacr. II.11. The scene of Elijah's sacrifice is not commonly used as a baptismal type, though cf. Gregory of Nyssa, In bapt. Christi (PG 46, 592A ff.). [See Jean Daniélou, The Bible and the Liturgy (London, 1960), hereafter cited as 'Daniélou, Bible', 106-107.] The typology of Elijah is fostered by the connection which is made in the NT between Elijah and John the Baptist (Matt. 11.14; 17.10-13), on the basis of a prophecy of a revival of Elijah's ministry before the coming of the Day of the Lord (Mal. 4.5-6).

108. Hostia illa es tu. Considera tacitus singula...: Cf. Elia 83: 'Tu es homo super altare, qui ablueris aqua, cuius exuritur culpa ut vita renovetur; lignum enim et stipulam consumit ignis. Noli timere ignem per quem illuminaris... [etc., into 84-85]'. The similarity between the present passage and this portion of Elia suggests that A. uses a familiar sermonic presentation of the Mt. Carmel scene; it certainly does not tell us anything about the chronological relationship of Elia and Off. [see Introduction, II.ii].

tacitus: Silence is a necessary part of the disciplina arcani in the sacramental context [cf. I.251n.].

Denique, quod consumptum est sacrificium Moysi tempore, sacrificium pro peccato erat: On the sin-offering, see Lev. 4; 5.8-13.

'eo quod non sit manducatum...': 2 Macc. 2.11.

homo...exterior: Cf. 2 Cor. 4.16 on the 'outer man'.

Vetus homo noster confixus est cruci, Apostolus clamat: A mélange of Rom. 6.6 and Gal. 2.19.

Illic, sicut patrum exempla te docent, Aegyptius demergitur, Hebraeus resurgit, Sancto renovatus Spiritu, qui etiam mare Rubrum inoffenso transivit vestigio, ubi baptizati sunt patres sub nube et in mari:

An allusion to 1 Cor. 10.1-2: '...quoniam patres nostri omnes sub nube fuerunt, et omnes mare transierunt, et omnes in Mose baptizati sunt in nube et in mari'. Paul is referring to the cloud of the divine presence (Ex. 13.21-22; 14.19,24; etc.); A. possibly links the reference to the clouds which preceded the sunshine and fire in the case of Nehemiah's sacrifice (2 Macc. 1.22), though he does not say so; in Sacr. I.22 he sees the cloud as a 'shadow' of the Holy Spirit. Under the influence of 1 Cor. 10.1-2, the crossing of the Red Sea is very frequently taken as a type of baptism in early Christian exegesis: among many examples, cf. Tertullian, Bapt. 9; Origen, Hom. in Ex. V; Didymus of Alexandria, Trin. II.14; and in A., Hex. I.14 (cf. V.17); Ep. 19.2; Sacr. I.12,20; II.9; Myst. 12. The Egyptian is generally taken to represent the old, sinful, outer man who perishes in the baptismal font, and the Hebrew is the new man, the believer who emerges safely from the waters. [See Jean Daniélou, 'Traversée de la mer Rouge et baptême aux premiers siècles,' RSR 33, 1946, 402-430 (also id., Bible, 86-98); Per Lundberg, La typologie baptismale dans l'ancienne Église (Leipzig & Uppsala, 1942), 116-145.]

109. In diluvio quoque Noe tempore mortua est omnis caro: Cf. Gen. 7.21.

iustus tamen cum sua progenie servatus est: See Gen. 7.23; 8.15-18.

Denique exterior corrumpitur, sed interior renovatur: Cf. 2 Cor. 4.16.

Nec solum in baptisate: On the Flood as a type of baptism, cf. 1 Pet. 3.20-21. Again, this becomes a

very common image of baptism, often associated with the idea of the Church as the ark of salvation. Examples include Tertullian, Bapt. 8; A., Sacr. I.23; II.1,9; Myst. 10-11. [See Lundberg, op. cit., 73-116; Daniélou, Bible, 75-85.]

sed etiam in paenitentia: On the discipline of public penance, cf. II.77n.

'Iudicavi ut praesens eum, qui sic operatus est...':
1 Cor. 5.3,5.

110. Prolixior excursus...factus videtur: The digression on baptism is rounded off; or, perhaps more likely, A. seeks to link the preceding paragraphs, perhaps inserted from a different source, to the Ciceronian theme, by mentioning honestas, below. For a similar self-consciousness about the length of a section, cf. I.232.

gratia mysterii...revelatum...sacramentum: A. emphasises the mysticism of the sacrament which has been revealed to the faithful.

quod eo usque plenum honestatis est, ut sit plenum religionis: The contrived link between the mystical digression and the Ciceronian moral theme offers, almost incidentally, a significant hint about A.'s overall attitude: the honourable is essentially equated with religio; virtue is truly performed by those who have experienced the grace of God, the death of the old man, and the regeneration of Christian baptism. [See Löpfe, 46-52.]

XIX: THE REVENGE OF THE ISRAELITES ON THE BENJAMITES IS A FURTHER ILLUSTRATION OF THE FATHERS' CARE FOR THE HONOURABLE

111. ut unius mulieris iniuriam stupro illatam intemperantium bello persequerentur...: The concubine

of a Levite was raped by the men of Gibeah (Benjamites); the Israelites en masse avenged the crime with war against all the Benjamites, who had refused to hand over the guilty men of Gibeah (Judges 19-20). The Israelites also swore not to give their daughters in marriage to the Benjamites; but, to save the tribe of Benjamin from extinction, they gave the Benjamites wives from Jabesh Gilead and from Shiloh (Judges 21).

ut rapto inirent coniugia: By the seizure of the girls of Shiloh (Judges 21.15-23).

non conubii sacramento: Coniugium is physical union, conubium is marriage properly constituted in civil law. On marriage as an indissoluble sacramentum in A.'s thought, conceived generally as a figure of the union between Christ and the Church, see Monachino, 175-178.

112. See Judges 19.1-3.

iugalem (quam a concubitu concubina appellatam arbitror): A. is rather coy about calling the woman a concubine. The Vulgate calls her both 'uxor' (Judges 19.1,9,29; 20.5) and 'concubina' (Judges 19.10,24,25,27); the LXX has γυνή or παλλακή. A. is once again interested in etymologies; both concubina and concubitus obviously stem from concumbere.

113. See Judges 19.3-10.

die septimo: Not so; the man leaves on the evening of the fifth day (see Judges 19.5-10). A. is doubtless relating the story from memory, and a seventh day would naturally seem to be the significant one in terms of spiritual numerics.

114. See Judges 19.10-22.

ad urbem Iebusaeorum: The ancient name for Jerusalem (Judges 19.10). The group had travelled only about nine kilometres north from Bethlehem.

vir peregrinus: An Ephraimite (Judges 19.16).

115. See Judges 19.22-26.

mensae remotae: An echo of Vergil, Aen. I.216: 'Postquam exempta fames epulis mensaeque remotae'.

Notice A.'s discretion: he does not record the specific demand of the pestilentes viri to the old man in Judges 19.22: 'Educ virum qui ingressus est domum tuam, ut abutamur eo'. A similar incident happened with Lot in Sodom (Gen. 19.1ff.).

coaequalem eius, cum qua cubitare solita esset: A. uses a periphrasis instead of simply calling the woman concubina.

116. See Judges 20, esp. vv. 8ff.

Condemnatus quoque ne quis ei ex numero patrum filiam suam daret in uxorem...: See Judges 21.1.

ut orbatas parentibus virgines in coniugium sibi adsciscerent, quarum patres pro delicto perempti forent: The men and married women of Jabesh Gilead were put to the sword for having failed to assemble with the other Israelites at Mizpah, but 400 virgins were saved to be wives for some of the Benjamites (Judges 21.6-14).

vel prato copulam sociarent: The Benjamites hid in vineyards and seized the girls of Shiloh who had come out to dance (Judges 21.20-23).

117. quadraginta milia virorum: Probably a corruption of quadringenta (Judges 20.2,17), which appears as a gloss in some MSS.

sexaginta quinque milia: This is the total if the figures of Judges 20.21,25, and 46 are added together; the precise figure, if Judges 20.21,25,31/39, and 35 are totalled, is 65,130.

et exustae urbes: Gibeah itself was burned (Judges 20.38), as were the other Benjamite towns (Judges 20.48).

Et cum inferior primo fuisset populus Israel: The Israelites lost 40,000 men in the first two engagements (Judges 20.19-25).

sequestravit: A post-classical word; 'disregarded, put aside'.

XX: THE LEPERS OF SAMARIA OBSERVED THE HONOURABLE

118. quando etiam leprosis, sicut in libris Regnorum legimus, honestatis non defuit consideratio: The lepers felt that it was not right to keep to themselves the plunder of the Syrian camp, but informed the starving people of Samaria that the enemy had fled (4 Kings 7.3-20).

119. Fames erat magna in Samaria...: See 4 Kings 6.24-31.

Rex: Probably Joram.

vel quia non permiserat regi ut perculeret Syros quos caecitate perfuderat: See 4 Kings 6.18-23.

120. Sedebat Elisaeus cum senioribus in Bethel...: See 4 Kings 6.32 - 7.2. Elisha was not, in fact, in Bethel, but in his own house in Samaria.

121. See 4 Kings 7.6-7.

nec praetendere audebant: This is not mentioned in the biblical text, though it is perhaps a fair inference from the description of need and dejection in Samaria.

122. Erant autem leprosi quattuor ad portam civitatis ...: See 4 Kings 7.3-9.

mori lucrum: An echo of Phil. 1.21.

123. Quo indicio egressus est populus...: A. does not mention the reconnaissance party sent out first by the king, who feared an ambush (4 Kings 7.10-20).

On the fate of the nuntius, see 4 Kings 7.17-20.

XXI: EXAMPLES OF HONOURABLE CONDUCT FROM THE BOOK OF ESTHER. THE HONOURABLE ALWAYS COMES FIRST IN TRUE FRIENDSHIP.

124. Quid Esther regina, nonne, ut populum suum periculo exueret, ...morti se obtulit nec immitis regis trepidavit furorem? See Esther 4ff. (note esp. 4.16). The king, Ahasuerus, is generally thought to be Xerxes I (486/5-465 B.C.). Esther revealed to him the plot of his favourite official Haman (which was uncovered by her cousin Mordecai) to massacre the Jews.

ei qui: Haman.

Denique, quem secundum a se ac praecipuum inter omnes amicos haberet, cruci tradidit...: Haman was hanged on the gallows which he had prepared for Mordecai (Esther 7).

125. Ea enim amicitia probabilis quae honestatem tueatur, praeferenda sane opibus, honoribus, potestatibus...: Cf. Cic. III.43: 'Quae enim videntur utilia, honores, divitiae, voluptates, cetera generis eiusdem, haec amicitiae numquam anteponenda sunt' (cf. also Cic. III.46; Amic. 63). The breach of honourable standards of amicitia by Haman mentioned in III.124 is related to Ciceronian sentiment; A. returns to his model after the extensive biblical illustrations of the preceding chapters. Almost all of the remainder of the work is taken up with a discussion of friendship (III.125-138). A. has already mentioned amicitia in several passages, most importantly in I.167,171-174, and II.36-37, drawing on Cic. I.55-56 and Cic. II.30-31; cf., too, A. I.207, and the section on hospitality, II.103-108. Here, he exploits Cic. III.43-46, where Cic. discusses how expediency ought to function in friendship: the honourable must prevail, and apparent expediency must be disregarded. Besides this passage of Cic., A. uses Cic.'s treatise

Laelius (de amicitia), written in the summer or early autumn of 44 B.C., in which Cic. puts into the mouth of the main character Gaius Laelius (cos. 140 B.C.) a celebration of friendship which combines the fruits of his own researches into Stoic and Peripatetic thought on the subject. A. evidently works from memory of the De amicitia, for his reminiscences are in no clear order but come from various parts of the treatise. It is possible that this section comes from a separate source, perhaps from a sermon on friendship; but III.125-127 is certainly based on Cic.'s Off., and there is probable evocation of Cic.'s Off. in III.135 and perhaps also in III.134, so if A. has incorporated the passage from elsewhere he weaves into it some language which connects it with his theme, especially in the opening paragraphs.

The theme of friendship ($\phi\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha$) is much discussed in the Greek tradition of moral philosophy, as a practical subject of obvious interest to those concerned to 'live well'. The first significant contribution, albeit a dense one, is found in Plato's Lysis, in which Socrates draws attention to the ambiguities of the word $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, which can mean both 'friendly' (active) and 'loved, dear' (passive), and the argument develops into a sophistic debate about 'which is friend of which?'. Much more attractive is the treatment of the subject by Aristotle in Nichomachean Ethics VIII-IX (cf. Eudemian Ethics VII), where the author analyses the ethical and practical aspects in terms of a true type of friendship, that between good men, and contrasts this with the inferior friendships of those who seek profit or pleasure. Aristotle's successor, Theophrastus, wrote a three-volume work on friendship (now lost), which according to Aulus Gellius, N.A. I.3.11, seemed to have been used by Cic. in his Amic.. To the Epicureans,

friendship was essentially a utilitarian affair, justifiable in terms of a mutual exchange of benefits (cf., e.g., Cic., Fin. I.65-70; II.78-85; N.D. I.122; Amic. 46). Stoicism, on the other hand, was closer to the Aristotelian position: wisdom and virtue are prerequisites for friendship, and friends are drawn to one another by a sharing of interests and aspirations in order to enjoy companionship for its own sake, not for the expedients which it brings (later Stoics, especially Seneca in Epp. 3 and 9, concede that friends do not have to be perfect sages, and argue that the practical benefits of friendship, while not the main desiderata, are still of importance; similar points are developed by Laelius in Cic.'s Amic.). In Amic., Cic. synthesises what he regards as the best features of the orthodox Stoic ideal with a realism born of his own experience and from his reading of Peripatetic sources such as Theophrastus. The most celebrated statement in the work is the definition of amicitia which appears in Amic. 20: 'Est enim amicitia nihil aliud nisi omnium divinarum humanarumque rerum cum benevolentia et caritate consensio', a formulation which Augustine is able to quote with approval (C. Acad. III.13; Ep. 258), but which A., surprisingly, does not mention.

In the Scriptures, the duties and pleasures of friendship are highlighted in numerous verses in the Wisdom literature (e.g., Job 6.14ff.; 17.5; 19.13-22; Prov. 12.26; 13.20; 14.20; 16.28; 17.17; 18.24; 19.4,6,7; 22.11,24-25; 27.5-6,9-10,17; Eccli. 6.5-17; 27.17-24); and there are other references in the Psalms and in the NT which A. is able to evoke. Models of friendship are provided in David and Jonathan; Jesus and Peter, James, and John; and Jesus and the Bethany family of Martha, Mary, and Lazarus; and there are interesting portraits of the

relationships between men like Paul and Barnabas. Friendship with God, such as Abraham's (2 Paral. 20.7; Judith 8.22; Jas. 2.23) or Moses's (Ex. 33.11), is seen as the ultimate dimension. And there is, of course, much emphasis in the NT on love and unity among believers.

In the early Church, we read of the close friendships of men like Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus, or Paulinus of Nola and, say, Sanctus and Amandus, or Augustine and Alypius. It is clear that A. himself was a man who enjoyed close friendships: the warmth of his relationship with Paulinus of Nola can be gauged from Paulinus's Ep. 3.4 and A.'s Ep. 58, though none of their correspondence survives; and we can learn of the affection of his friendship with his erstwhile tutor and episcopal successor Simplicianus in Epp. 37-38, 65, 67; another regular correspondent was Sabinus of Piacenza (Epp. 45-49, 58). Christian spokesmen tend to contrast the intimacy of love shared by believers with the shallower feeling which they consider to exist between non-Christians. Christians love one another in accordance with God's electing grace; their charity reflects the ἀγάπη of God Himself, so that their active benevolence extends even to their enemies. Notable passages on these lines can be found in Augustine, Conf. IV.4-9; Paulinus of Nola, Epp. 3.1; 40.2.

[On the classical and Christian conceptions of friendship, fundamental outlines can be found in K. Treu, 'Freundschaft', RAC VIII.418-434 (with only a fleeting mention of this section of Off., however, on 430); and G. Vansteenbergh, 'Amitié', DSp. I.500-529, esp. 501-518. On classical thought, see Jean-Claude Fraise, Philia: la notion d'amitié dans la philosophie antique (Paris, 1974), esp. 375ff. An excellent review of the range of meanings covered by amicitia in

Cic.'s time is provided by P.A. Brunt, '"Amicitia" in the late Roman Republic,' PCPS 191, n.s. II, 1-20, esp. 1-8 (also in R. Seager, The Crisis of the Roman Republic (Cambridge, 1969) and in Brunt's The Fall of the Roman Republic (Oxford, 1988)). A useful anthology of Latin patristic passages, chiefly from Augustine, is to be found in L.F. Pizzolato, Agostino di Ippona - L'amicizia cristiana: antologia dalle opere e altri testi di Ambrogio di Milano, Gerolamo e Paulino di Nola (Turin, 1973): on Augustine, 3-125; on A.'s Off., 129-142; and on Paulinus, 153-158. Paulinus of Nola's theory of Christian friendship is set out by Pierre Fabre, Saint Paulin de Nole et l'amitié chrétienne (Paris, 1949), 137-154. On Augustine, see Marie Aquinas McNamara, Friendship in Saint Augustine (Fribourg, 1958), esp. 193-225.]

What does A. do with the friendship theme in III.125-138? First of all, it is worth saying that he obviously does not aim to produce an elaborate theoretical treatment of amicitia. As ever, A. speaks as a practical pastor and teacher, not as a moral philosopher; he is interested in presenting the joys and responsibilities of friendship within the context of the community of the faithful (and especially among the clergy), not in rivalling the enquiries of Aristotle or Cic. In content, he finds himself in agreement with a good deal of the thought of Cic.'s Off. and Amic.. No overall definition of friendship is given; as noted above, it is surprising that A. never mentions the celebrated definition of Laelius in Amic. 20. The closest he comes to a comprehensive description is probably his statement in III.134: 'Quid est enim amicus nisi consors amoris, ad quem animum tuum adiungas atque applices et ita misceas, ut unum velis fieri ex duobus, cui te tamquam alteri tibi committas, a quo nihil timeas, nihil ipse commodi tui

causa inhonestum petas?'. This formulation evokes Ciceronian phrases [cf. n. ad loc.], and is in no sense particularly Christian. In his insistence on the primacy of the honestum (III.125-126), and his rejection of any sort of utilitarian or contractual basis for friendship (III.125,134), A. is agreeing with Peripatetic and Stoic sentiment. In the exhortation to oneness in joy and sorrow (III.129-132), he is evoking an argument which goes back to Plato (cf., e.g., the cohesion of society as the result of a ἡδονῆς τε καὶ λύπης κοινωνία in Rep. 462B). The sharing of secrets (III.129,132,136), the altruistic correction of a friend's faults (III.128,133-134), the avoidance of flattery (III.134-135), and the necessity for faithfulness (III.128,129-131,137) are all obligations which Cic. presses upon his readers, and thus have no specifically Christian force. Unlike Augustine or Paulinus of Nola, A. makes no overt distinction between natural human amicitia and the unity of believers who have come to share in God's grace. In these respects, one has to agree with the judgement that A. 'speaks of friendship with something of the old pre-Christian enthusiasm' [Dudden II, 532-533] and expresses several thoughts which are just as much pagan as they are biblical [see Thamin, 229-230; Fabre, op. cit., 152-154].

At the same time, we must not overlook the significance of the Christian texture which A. gives to the classical theme. The most obvious feature here is his habitual citation of biblical exempla and of biblical verses. In place of classical illustrations, we find the friendship of Jonathan and of Ahimelech for David (III.125); the relations of Saul and Jonathan, and of the three Hebrew youths in Daniel (III.132); the failure of Job's friends (III.131,138); the treachery of Judas Iscariot (III.137); and the

intimacy between Jesus and His disciples (III.136). And A. is able to find authentication in the Wisdom literature, the Psalms, and the Gospels for many of the Ciceronian ideas; in III.126-127, Scripture settles the philosophorum quaestiones (albeit with an essentially Ciceronian answer). Consors amoris in III.134 (cf. also the mention of amor in III.132) uses a common Ciceronian word for love, but A.'s use of the word elsewhere is clearly influenced by OT language, and it becomes a virtual synonym for Christian caritas [see Pétré, 81-85]. Duty to one's country is more important than friendship, as Cic. says, but A. mentions Dei causa and religio (altering Cic.'s sense of the latter word - cf. III.127n.) as also of greater importance (III.127). In III.132, in persecutionibus adds a Christian dimension to the adversae res mentioned by Cic. A. follows Cic.'s thoughts on aequalitas in III.133, but in III.129 he is thinking in terms of Christian humility. Fides in the classical sense between friends (cf. III.126-127) is said to be impossible without fides towards God (III.133). Though the definition of an amicus in III.134 sounds classical, alongside it one should note III.137: 'Ergo qui facit mandata Dei, amicus est et hoc honoratur nomine'. The insincerity of the friendship often shown to the rich as compared with the genuine love bestowed on the poor (from whom no material reward can be expected), in III.135, is a point made by Laelius; but A.'s reproduction of it is doubtless coloured by the equation which he habitually makes between poverty and spiritual worth as contrasted with the spiritual bankruptcy of the wealthy (cf., e.g., I.59). In III.136, A. speaks of friendship as shared by angels and men, and in III.132 he specifically exhorts his clerical 'sons' to maintain the 'initam cum fratribus amicitiam, qua

nihil est in rebus humanis pulchrius': clearly, the primary focus is on the unity of the clerical brotherhood. Christ has set the example of friendship for His people (III.136). Friendship with God through Christ is the ultimate dimension (III.136).

Overall, then, the section may be seen as typical of A.'s perspective throughout the work: he retains an enthusiasm for such aspects of classical thought as seem to him congenial to a Christian attitude, and at the same time colours his presentation of the argument with clear references to scriptural authority. A. is the heir of two traditions; where he believes that they do not conflict, he seeks to merge them, in praise of a divine gift which is, as he says, precious to both men and angels.

[See E. Boularand, 'L'amitié d'après saint Ambroise dans le De officiis ministrorum, Lib. III, cap. XXI-XXII,' BLE 73, 1972, 103-123; M.D. Diederich, 'Cicero and Saint Ambrose on Friendship,' CJ 43, 1948, 219-222; C. Peroni, 'Amicizia e mistero cristiano in S. Ambrogio,' SC 102, 1974, 429-450 (some of the fruit of Peroni's research, presented at length in the thesis, L'amicizia in Sant' Ambrogio (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milan, Anno Accad. 1970/71); of which see esp. 277-292); L.F. Pizzolato, 'L'amicizia nel De officiis di Sant' Ambrogio e il Laelius di Cicerone: tradizione lessicale e originalità ideologica,' in Ricerche storiche sulla Chiesa ambrosiana (Milan, 1974), 53-67; Sauer, 184-191.]

Qualis fuit Ionathae, qui pro pietate nec offensam patris nec salutis periculum refugiebat: See 1 Kings 20, esp. vv. 30ff.

Qualis fuit Abimelech, qui pro hospitalis gratiae officiis necem potius sui...: Ahimelech [on the spelling of the name, cf. III.75n.] the priest showed

hospitality to the fugitive David and his men, and provided David with Goliath's sword (1 Kings 21.1-9); he incurred the wrath of Saul when Doeg the Edomite informed the king of his action, and Ahimelech and the other priests of the Lord were put to death (1 Kings 22.9-23). On the duties of hospitality as part of good will or friendship, cf. I.167; II.103-108.

XXII: THE DUTIES AND PLEASURES OF FRIENDSHIP.

CONCLUSION TO THE WORK.

126. quae tamen ne amicitiae studio praetereatur: As Banterle, 351n.1, points out, tamen points to the implied thought which is made explicit in what follows: Scripture clearly teaches that enthusiasm for friendship must not take priority over the honourable. Translate: 'Nothing, therefore, is to be put before the honourable; indeed, Scripture advises that it should not be passed over even by an enthusiasm for friendship' [de amicitia being virtually redundant in translation].

Sunt enim pleraeque philosophorum quaestiones: utrum amici causa quisquam contra patriam sentire necne debeat, ut amico oboediat; utrum oporteat ut fidem deserat...: Cf. Cic. III.43: 'At neque contra rem publicam neque contra ius iurandum ac fidem amici causa vir bonus faciet...'. In Amic. 36-37, Laelius argues that it would have been wrong for friends to help (say) Coriolanus, in his attack on his own land, or to assist other aspiring despots of the fifth century B.C.; hence it was right that the tribune Tiberius Gracchus was deserted by his friends in 133 B.C. A. is therefore alluding to quaestiones mentioned by Cic., but he claims that the warning about the primacy of honestas comes from Scripture.

127. 'Clava et gladius et sagitta ferrata...': Prov. 25.18.

Quid enim si Dei causa, quid si patriae cogatur aliquis dicere testimonium?: Responsibility to God and responsibility to one's country must come before the claims of friendship; cf. I.127, where the order of priority is 'Deus, patria, parentes, omnes'. On A.'s patriotism, cf. I.144n.; I.254; III.23.

Numquid praeponderare debet amicitia religioni, praeponderare caritati civium?: Cf. Cic. III.46: 'Cum autem in amicitia, quae honesta non sunt, postulabuntur, religio et fides anteponatur amicitiae'. From the mention of Dei causa above, it is clear that A. means 'religion' not 'scruple' by religio.

neque innocenti insidiari: Cf. such verses as Prov. 1.11 and 24.15.

128. si quid in amico vitii cognoverit, corripere occulte; si non audierit, corripere palam: An allusion to Matt. 18.15-17: 'Si autem peccaverit in te frater tuus, vade et corripe eum inter te et ipsum solum: si te audierit, lucratus es fratrem tuum. Si autem non te audierit, adhibe tecum adhuc unum vel duos, ut in ore duorum testium vel trium stet omne verbum. Quod si non audierit, dic Ecclesiae. Si autem et Ecclesiam non audierit, sit tibi sicut ethnicus et publicanus.' (Cf. Lk. 17.3.) On the administering of rebukes in friendship, cf. Amic. 44,88-91; on the value of correction generally, cf. Prov. 10.17; 12.1; 13.18; 15.5,10,31-32; 17.10; 28.23. 'Tolerabilia sunt,' enim, 'amici vulnera...': Prov. 27.6.

Constans enim debet esse amicitia, perseverare in affectu: On constantia in friendship, cf. Amic. 62-65.

non puerili modo amicos mutare vaga quadam debemus

sententia: Cf. Amic. 33-34 (also 74), where it is said that the friendships of 'pueri' (33) often do not last beyond the age of taking the 'toga praetexta', i.e., sixteen. Instability in friendship is a mark of youthful immaturity. In Amic. 67-68, Laelius says that it may sometimes be right to prefer new friends to older ones, but only if the new ones are worthy.

129. Aperi pectus tuum amico, ut fidelis sit tibi...: Cf. Amic. 97: 'In qua nisi, ut dicitur, apertum pectus videas tuumque ostendas, nihil fidum, nihil exploratum habeas, ne amare quidem aut amari, cum id quam vere fiat ignores'. On this proverbial expression of 'apertum pectus videas', cf. Seneca, Ep. 59.9; Pliny, Ep. VI.12.3.

Fidelis enim amicus medicamentum est vitae et immortalitas gratia: Cf. Eccli. 6.16.

Defer amico ut aequali nec te pudeat ut praevenias amicum officio; amicitia enim nescit superbiam: In Amic. 64, it is said that one who prefers his friend's 'honor' to his own is hard to find, and that it is also rare for people to lower themselves to associate with the unsuccessful; cf. also III.133 below.

'Amicum salutare non erubescas': Eccli. 22.31.

Nec deseras amicum in necessitate, nec derelinquas eum...: Laelius in Amic. 64 speaks of those who 'in malis deserunt' their friends; on the advantages of sharing troubles, cf. Amic. 22.

Ideo onera nostra portemus, sicut Apostolus docuit: Cf. Gal. 6.2.

dicit enim his quos eiusdem corporis complexa est caritas: On the NT image of the Church as a body, cf. nn. on II.135; III.17-19.

in adversis...rebus: Cf. Amic. 22 for the phrase.

130. 'Etsi mala mihi evenerint propter amicum, sustineo': Eccli. 22.31.

In adversis enim amicus probatur; nam in prosperis

amici omnes videntur: Cf. Amic. 22 on 'haec duo levitatis et infirmitatis', of those who 'aut si in bonis rebus contemnunt aut in malis deserunt'. On 'adversae res' and 'prosperae res', cf. Amic. 22. A. may well also be thinking of Prov. 17.17: 'Omni tempore diligit qui amicus est, et frater in angustiis comprobatur' (cf. also Eccli. 12.8-9).

auctoritas: Cic. uses the word in Amic. 44.

131. 'Miseremini mei, amici, miseremini': Job 19.21. Job's friends ought to have shown him compassion in his sufferings, instead of rebuking him; rather than imploring their pity, he criticises them for their failure.

132. Servate igitur, filii, in vitam cum fratribus amicitiam: By addressing his clerical 'sons' directly here, A. strikes the same note as at the end of Books I and II (cf. esp. II.152-156). His main concern is clearly for the cultivation of unity and closeness among his clergy.

qua nihil est in rebus humanis pulchrius: Cf. Cic. I.55, and Amic. 47: 'amicitia...qua nihil a dis immortalibus melius habemus, nihil iucundius'; 20: 'amicitia...qua quidem haud scio an excepta sapientia nihil melius homini sit a dis immortalibus datum'.

ut habeas cui pectus aperias tuum: Cf. III.129n.

cum quo arcana participes, cui committas secretum pectoris tui: Cf. Amic. 22: 'Quid dulcius quam habere quicum omnia audeas sic loqui tecum?' (cf. also Cic., Tusc. V.72).

qui in prosperis gratuletur tibi, in tristibus compatiatur, in persecutionibus adhortetur: Cf. Amic. 22: 'Qui esset tantus fructus in prosperis rebus nisi haberes qui illis aequae ac tu ipse gauderet? Adversas vero ferre difficile esset sine eo qui illas gravius etiam quam tu ferret. ... Nam et secundas res splendidiore facit amicitia, et adversas partiens

communicansque leviores.' Persecutionibus adds a Christian side to the adversae res.

Quam boni amici Hebraei pueri, quos a suo amore nec fornacis ardentis flamma divisit!: On Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, see Dan. 3.

De quo loco superius diximus: A.'s memory fails him: he has not, in fact, mentioned the Hebrew youths earlier in the work. Quite probably this statement belongs to a separate piece from which the present section has been adapted.

'Saul et Ionathan...': 2 Kings 1.23.

133. non ut fides propter amicitiam destruat: Cf. Cic. III.43-44,46.

non potest enim homini amicus esse qui Deo fuerit infidus: Fides in God is the prerequisite for fides among men. In III.43-44, Cic. says that the man who is sitting as a judge in his friend's case must remember his oath of integrity, to which God, that is, his own 'mens', is witness. Cic. speaks with a Stoic view of immanent Reason; A.'s perspective is entirely different: he relates human reliability to Christian fides.

ut superior inferiori se exhibeat aequalem, inferior superiori: Cf. Amic. 69: 'Sed maximum est in amicitia parem esse inferiori'; 71: 'Ut igitur ei qui sunt in amicitiae coniunctionisque necessitudine superiores exaequare se cum inferioribus debent...; 72: 'Quamobrem ut ei, qui superiores sunt, submittere se debent in amicitia, sic quodam modo inferiores extollere'. However, in Amic. 71 it is also said that the inferior should not be distressed if they are surpassed by the superior 'aut ingenio aut fortuna aut dignitate'. A., on the other hand, probably thinks of the equality of all men before God.

Inter dispares enim mores non potest esse amicitia...: Cf. Amic. 74: 'dispares enim mores disparia studia

sequuntur, quorum dissimilitudo dissociat amicitias' (also 20,48,50,82); Cic. I.56: 'Nihil autem est amabilius nec copulatus, quam morum similitudo bonorum ...[etc.]'.

Nec auctoritas desit inferiori, si res poposcerit:

Cf. Amic. 44: 'plurimum in amicitia amicorum bene suadentium valeat auctoritas; eaque et adhibeatur ad monendum, non modo aperte sed etiam acriter, si res postulabit, et adhibitae pareatur'.

et ille quasi amicus moneat, obiurget: Cf. III.134n. below.

134. Neque monitio aspera sit neque obiurgatio contumeliosa: Reminiscent of the language of Cic. I.137: '...ut et severitas adhibeatur et contumelia repellatur, atque etiam illud ipsum, quod acerbitatis habet obiurgatio, significandum est ipsius id causa, qui obiurgetur, esse susceptum'. And cf. Amic. 88-91, esp. 89: 'Omni igitur hac in re habenda ratio [et] diligentia est, primum ut monitio acerbitate, deinde ut obiurgatio contumelia careat'.

sicut enim adulationis fugitans amicitia debet esse: On the importance of avoiding flattery, cf. Amic. 89-100. The flatterer is a type against whom ancient authors often warn; cf. Theophrastus, Characters II; Plutarch, Moral. 48E-74E, 'How to tell a flatterer from a friend'. Cf. also I.209n.

Quid est enim amicus nisi consors amoris, ad quem animum tuum adiungas atque applices et ita misceas ut unum velis fieri ex duobus...: Cf. Amic. 48: '...ad quam se similis animus applicet et adiungat'; 81: '...qui et se ipse diligit et alterum anquirit cuius animum ita cum suo misceat ut efficiat paene unum ex duobus'; 80: 'verus amicus...qui est tamquam alter idem'; 92: 'Nam cum amicitiae vis sit in eo unus quasi animus fiat ex pluribus...'. The idea that a friend is 'another self' is both Aristotelian (N.E. 1166a;

1170b6; Diogenes Laertius, V.20) and Stoic (Zeno: Diogenes Laertius, VII.23). A. quotes it also in Spir. II.154, where he argues from the unity of friends to the oneness of the Trinity. According to Cic. I.56, 'ut unus fiat ex pluribus' is Pythagorean.

Non enim vectigalis amicitia est...: On friendship not being based on utilitarian gain, cf. Amic. 30-31,51,58; Cic. is of course attacking an Epicurean idea in particular.

benevolentiae: On good will as the basis of friendship, cf. I.167n.; I.171-174.

135. et frequenter divites sine amici sunt, quibus abundant pauperes: Cf. Amic. 52-55, esp. 54: '...sic multorum opes praepotentium excludunt amicitias fideles'; cf. also Cic. II.69-71; and II.132n. on the dangers of wealth.

ubi est fallax adulatio: Cf. III.134n.

136. quae angelis communis et hominibus est: Angels and men are linked in 1 Cor. 13.1; it seems likely that the celebration of caritas in 1 Cor. 13 would be in A.'s mind in these paragraphs [so Boularand, art. cit., 122], so perhaps this is a reminiscence. A. believes in guardian angels (C. Aux. 11; Expl. Ps. 37.43; Expl. Ps. 38.32; Spir. I.83), and apparently also in prayer to angels (C. Aux. 11; Vid. 55). Believers should strive to please angels (Expos. Luc. VII.210); giving to the poor is one way of befriending them (Expos. Luc. VII.245, on Lk. 16.9, quoted here below). Augustine, C.D. VIII-IX (and XIX.9) argues strongly against the Platonist idea (known to him esp. from Apuleius) of men cultivating the friendship of the *δαίμονες* as mediators with God; no such mediation is possible, and there is to be no worship of the good angels either. However, there is a community between Christians and the good angels in their worship of the true God, even though the human worship requires

stronger faith (C.D. VIII.25). [On A.'s doctrine of the angels, see Dudden II, 586-589. On the Fathers generally, see the detailed survey of G. Bareille, 'Angélologie d'après les Pères,' DTC I.1.1192-1222.]

'Facite vobis amicos de iniquo mammona...': Lk. 16.9. Ipse nos Deus amicos ex servulis facit, sicut ipse ait: 'Iam vos amici mei estis...': Cf. John 15.14-15: 'Vos amici mei estis, si feceritis quae ego praecipio vobis. Iam non dico vos servos, quia servus nescit quid facit dominus eius; vos autem dixi amicos, quia omnia quaecumque audivi a Patre meo, nota feci vobis.' Note that A. describes Jesus's words as the words of God Himself.

Dedit formam amicitiae quam sequamur: On Christ's giving His followers an example, cf. John 13.15; 1 Pet. 2.21. The pattern of friendship given by Christ is the standard to which His disciples should aspire. The exchange of the innermost secrets of the heart between men should emulate His revelation of the mysteries of the Godhead, which is the supreme paradigm for sharing intimate matters. There is probably also a hint that in calling His servants 'friends', Christ befriended those who were beneath Him as the incarnate Son of God; so too, the friendship practised by A.'s 'sons' is to transcend divisions of rank and wealth (cf. III.129,135).

ut aperiamus secreta nostra amico, quaecumque in pectore habemus...: Cf. III.132n.

Ostendamus illi nos pectus nostrum, et ille nobis aperiat suum: Cf. III.129n. The practice advocated by Laelius was exemplified by Christ.

'Ideo,' inquit, 'vos dixi amicos...': John 15.15.

effundit animum suum: On 'pouring out' one's heart or soul, cf. Pss. 41.5; 61.9.

sicut effundebat mysteria Patris Dominus Iesus: Cf. John 15.15, above, and John 1.18: 'Deum nemo vidit

umquam; unigenitus Filius, qui est in sinu Patris, ipse enarravit'.

137. Ergo qui facit mandata Dei, amicus est et honoratur nomine: A Christian definition is added to the classical description of a friend in III.134. The implication is that only an obedient believer can be a true friend. Perhaps A. is thinking of John 14.15,21, where Jesus says that the disciple who loves Him keeps His commandments. The 'friend' of Christ (cf. III.136) keeps the divine commandments; so too does the true friend of man.

unanimis: A late word, here suggested by the quotation of Ps. 54.14 below.

Unde in proditore Dominus hoc gravissimum invenit...: On the betrayal of Jesus by Judas Iscariot, see Matt. 26.14-16,20-25,47-50; Mk. 14.10-11,17-21,43-46; Lk. 22.1-6,21-23,47-48; John 13.2,18-30; 18.1-11.

conviviis amicitiae: In particular, the Last Supper. Judas mixed the venenum malitiae with the dulces cibos [cf. next n.] which he shared with Christ.

'Tu vero, homo unanimis, dux meus et notus meus...': Ps. 54.14.

'Nam si inimicus meus maledixisset mihi...': Ps. 54.13. The interpretation of these verses as referring to Judas is traditional (e.g., Hilary of Poitiers, Tract. in Ps. 54. 13-14; Cassiodorus, Expl. Ps. 54.13ff.); Jesus Himself applies the similar sentiment of Ps. 40.10 in this way in John 13.18.

Testard, 'Recherches', 113-114, suggests perceptively that the evocation in III.136-137 of the gospel narratives of the Last Supper reveals A.'s purpose in this closing section on friendship. The amicitia of Christ and His disciples in the upper room, where He manifests to them the mysteries of the Godhead (see esp. John 13-16), is the pattern for true friendship among the brotherhood (cf. III.132). The betrayal of

Christ by Judas Iscariot in this very context of intimacy is the worst possible kind of treachery against amicitia: a servant, an apostle, a friend of one mind with Him betrayed Him. Furthermore, the sequel to the teaching of John 13-16 is the high priestly prayer of Jesus in John 17, where He prays especially for the unity of all believers. The implication may well be that this is A.'s plea to his spiritual 'sons' as he nears the end of his work - 'that they may be one' (cf. John 17.20-23). The evocation of Cic.'s description of friendship in the preceding paragraphs is here combined with the most exalted revelation of the divine will for the unity of Christ's followers; A. shares his Master's longing for the oneness of spiritual amicitia among his clergy and people.

138. a tribus regibus: Cf. I.41n.

Itaque rogavit Iob, et Dominus ignovit: See Job 42.7-10. A. adds a final point in celebration of friendship: the efficacy of the prayer of a friend, even on behalf of those who have themselves failed to fulfil the duties of friendship (cf. III.131).

139. CONCLUSION

This closing paragraph comes abruptly. There is no indication that the friendship section is over, nor is there any mention of the philosophical theme of the Book, the relationship of the honestum and the utile (contrast the close of Cic.'s work, in Cic. III.118-120). The honestum/honestas is last mentioned in III.125-126, at the beginning of the discussion of friendship; the utile/utilitas disappears after III.90. It is quite possible that a concluding paragraph has been appended to a series of oral texts as part of a redaction process.

There are three main features to notice:

First of all, though scholars seem, remarkably, not to have noticed it, A. is surely evoking the close of Cic.'s third Book. Cf. Cic. III.121: 'Habes a patre munus, Marce fili, mea quidem sententia magnum, sed perinde erit, ut acceperis. Quamquam hi tibi tres libri inter Cratippi commentarios tamquam hospites erunt recipiendi....' A. addresses his filii in place of Cic.'s filius, Marcus (cf. I.24), and refers to the tres libri of his work as Cic. does. A.'s estimation of the merits of his work is different, however: while Cic. calls his treatise a 'munus...magnum', A. returns to the self-depreciation which we find at the commencement of Book I (1-4), with etsi sermo nihil deferat gratiae.... This may or may not be conventional modesty (rather than a genuine admission of poverty of style and of the faults of the work's structure [cf. I.116; and see Testard, 'Étude', 191]), but at any rate it contrasts strikingly with Cic.'s conviction of the worth of his three Books.

Secondly, A. adopts a quasi-apostolic persona. While Cic. calls his work a 'munus' to his son, A. thinks of his as a deposit to be guarded. This is reminiscent of Paul's words to his 'son' Timothy; cf. 1 Tim. 6.20: 'O Timothee, depositum custodi...'; 2 Tim. 1.14: 'Bonum depositum custodi...'. Like a deposit of the mysteries of the Faith, A.'s work is entrusted to the faithful family of his clerics, that they might learn from its spiritual instruction. This biblical teaching is 'handed on' to them to be faithfully kept (cf. I.2-3).

Thirdly, we should notice the stress which A. lays on the biblical exempla which in many ways are at the core of the didactic approach throughout his work. Having put together a series...vetustatis [cf. Expos. Ps. 118.7.15] of the words and deeds of characters

good and bad, from almost every part of Scripture, A. wishes these to be the abiding study of those who desire to please God by their officia. As Testard, 'Étude', 190-191, says, the closing sentiment is much less banal than it may appear: the moral lessons to be learned from the scriptural figures are the bishop's ultimate concern. While Cic. urges Marcus to study his father's work in tandem with his notes from the lectures of his mentor, the Peripatetic Cratippus, A. asserts that the worth of his three Books lies in their presentation of biblical illustrations. Scripture is held up as the supreme source of instruction for the faithful, while Cic.'s philosophical framework is quite forgotten. [On A.'s exempla, see Introduction, II.v.]

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