

AMBROSIASTER'S COMMENTARY ON THE
PAULINE EPISTLES: ROMANS

SBL Press

WRITINGS FROM THE GRECO-ROMAN WORLD

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AMBROSIASER'S COMMENTARY ON THE
PAULINE EPISTLES: ROMANS

Translated with Notes by Theodore S. de Bruyn,
with an Introduction by Theodore S. de Bruyn,
Stephen A. Cooper, and David G. Hunter

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Theodore S. de Bruyn

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Theodore de Bruyn
Stephen Cooper
David Hunter

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Abbreviations

Ambrosiaster's Works

| | |
|----------------|--|
| In 1 Cor. | Commentarius in Epistulam ad Corinthios primam |
| In 1 Thess. | Commentarius in Epistulam ad Thessalonicenses primam |
| In 1 Tim. | Commentarius in Epistulam ad Timotheum primam |
| In 2 Cor. | Commentarius in Epistulam ad Corinthios secundam |
| In 2 Thess. | Commentarius in Epistulam ad Thessalonicenses secundam |
| In 2 Tim. | Commentarius in Epistulam ad Timotheum secundam |
| In Col. | Commentarius in Epistulam ad Colossenses |
| In Eph. | Commentarius in Epistulam ad Ephesios |
| In Gal. | Commentarius in Epistulam ad Galatas |
| In Phil. | Commentarius in Epistulam ad Philippenses |
| In Philem. | Commentarius in Epistulam ad Philemonem |
| In Rom. | Commentarius in Epistulam ad Romanos |
| In Titus | Commentarius in Epistulam ad Titum |
| <i>Quaest.</i> | <i>Quaestiones veteris et novi testamenti</i> |

Additional Ancient Sources

| | |
|-----------------------|--|
| <i>Ab. urbe cond.</i> | Livy, <i>Ab urbe condita</i> |
| Acts Pet. | Acts of Peter |
| <i>An.</i> | Tertullian, <i>De anima</i> |
| Ap. John | Apocryphon of John |
| <i>Ar.</i> | Marius Victorinus, <i>Adversus Arium</i> |
| Bar | Baruch |

| | |
|----------------------------|--|
| <i>Basil. reg.</i> | Rufinus, <i>Regula Basilii</i> |
| <i>C. du. ep. Pelag.</i> | Augustine, <i>Contra duas epistulas Pelagianorum ad Bonifatium</i> |
| <i>Cat.</i> | Cicero, <i>In Catalinam</i> |
| <i>Cod. Justin.</i> | Codex justinianus |
| <i>Comm. Os.</i> | Jerome, <i>Commentariorum in Osee libri III</i> |
| <i>Comm. Rom.</i> | Origen-Rufinus, <i>Commentarii in Romanos</i> |
| <i>Comm. Tit.</i> | Jerome, <i>Commentariorum in Epistulam ad Titum liber</i> |
| <i>Conf.</i> | Augustine, <i>Confessionum libri XIII</i> |
| <i>Did. Spir.</i> | Jerome, <i>Liber Didymi de Spiritu Sancto</i> |
| <i>Div. quaest. Simpl.</i> | Augustine, <i>De diversis quaestionibus ad Simplicianum</i> |
| <i>Enarrat. Ps.</i> | Ambrose, <i>Enarrationes in XII Psalmos Davidicos</i> ; Augustine, <i>Enarrationes in Psalmos</i> |
| <i>Ep.</i> | Augustine, <i>Epistulae</i> ; Cyprian, <i>Epistulae</i> ; Innocent I, <i>Epistulae</i> ; Jerome, <i>Epistulae</i> ; Leo I, <i>Epistulae</i> ; Siricius, <i>Epistulae</i> |
| <i>Exp. Ps. 118</i> | Ambrose, <i>Expositio Psalmi CXVIII</i> |
| <i>Faust.</i> | Augustine, <i>Contra Faustum Manichaeum</i> |
| <i>Gos. Jud.</i> | Gospel of Judas |
| <i>Haer.</i> | Augustine, <i>De haeresibus</i> |
| <i>Hist.</i> | Tacitus, <i>Historiae</i> |
| <i>Hist. eccl.</i> | Eusebius, <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i> ; Theodoret, <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i> |
| <i>Idol.</i> | Tertullian, <i>De idolatria</i> |
| <i>In Phil.</i> | Pelagius, <i>Commentarius in Epistulam ad Philipenses</i> |
| <i>In Rom.</i> | Pelagius, <i>Commentarius in Epistulam ad Romanos</i> |
| <i>Inv.</i> | Cicero, <i>De inventione rhetorica</i> |
| <i>Inst.</i> | Cassiodorus, <i>Institutiones divinarum et saecularium litterarum</i> ; Lactantius, <i>Divinarum institutionem libri VII</i> ; Quintilian, <i>Institutio oratoria</i> |
| <i>Jov.</i> | Jerome, <i>Adversus Jovinianum libri II</i> |
| <i>Marc.</i> | Tertullian, <i>Adversus Marcionem</i> |
| <i>Med.</i> | Celsus, <i>De medicina</i> |
| <i>m. Qidd.</i> | Mishnah Qiddushin |
| <i>m. Yevam.</i> | Mishnah Yevamot |
| <i>Off.</i> | Ambrose, <i>De officiis ministrorum</i> |

| | |
|--------------------------|--|
| <i>Orat. paneg.</i> | Gregory of Nazianzus, <i>Oratio panegyrica in Origenem</i> |
| <i>Pan.</i> | Epiphanius, <i>Panarion (Adversus haereses)</i> |
| <i>Prax.</i> | Tertullian, <i>Adversus Praxean</i> |
| <i>Qu. hebr. Gen.</i> | Jerome, <i>Quaestionum hebraicum liber in Genesim</i> |
| <i>Quaest. hom. Odd.</i> | Porphyry, <i>Quaestionum homericae ad Odysseam pertinentium reliquae</i> |
| <i>Rec.</i> | Pseudo-Clementines, <i>Recognitions</i> |
| <i>Res.</i> | Tertullian, <i>De resurrectione carnis</i> |
| <i>Retract.</i> | Augustine, <i>Retractionum libri II</i> |
| <i>Rhet. Her.</i> | Rhetorica ad Herennium |
| <i>Serm.</i> | Augustine, <i>Sermones</i> |
| <i>Sifre Deut.</i> | Sifre Deuteronomy |
| <i>Test.</i> | Cyprian, <i>Ad Quirinium testimonia adversus Judaeos</i> |
| <i>Tract. ep. Jo.</i> | Augustine, <i>In epistulam Johannis ad Parthos tractatus</i> |
| <i>Trin.</i> | Hilary of Poitiers, <i>De Trinitate</i> ; Novatian, <i>De Trinitate</i> |

Sigla

| | |
|----------|--|
| α | <i>recensio</i> α |
| β | <i>recensio</i> β |
| γ | <i>recensio</i> γ |
| § | section in introduction |
| ┌ 1 | indicates passage where text is attested only by “mixed” manuscripts |
| f. | folio |
| MS(S) | manuscript(s) |

Manuscripts

| | |
|---------------|---|
| Amiens 87 | Manuscript Amiens 87. Amiens, France, Bibliothèque municipale |
| Ashburnham 60 | Manuscript Ashburnham 60. Florence, Italy, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana |
| Augiensis 108 | Manuscript Augiensis CVIII. Karlsruhe, Germany, Badische Landesbibliothek |

| | |
|-------------------|---|
| Brussels 971 | Manuscript Brussels 971. Brussels, Belgium, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique |
| Brussels 972 | Manuscript Brussels 972. Brussels, Belgium, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique |
| Budapest 1 | Codex latinus medii aevi 1. Budapest, Hungary, Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum |
| Clm 6265 | Manuscript Clm 6265. Munich, Germany, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek |
| Cologne 34 | Manuscript Cologne 34. Cologne, Germany, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek |
| Cologne 39 | Manuscript Cologne 39. Cologne, Germany, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek |
| Dublin 52 | Manuscript Dublin 52. Dublin, Ireland, Trinity College |
| Fulda Aa 18 | Manuscript Fulda Aa 18. Fulda, Germany, Hessische Landesbibliothek Fulda |
| Göttweig 42 | Manuscript Göttweig 42. Göttweig, Austria, Stiftsbibliothek |
| Graz 369 | Manuscript Graz 369. Graz, Austria, Universitätsbibliothek |
| Guelf. 64 Weiss | Manuscript Guelferbyitano 64 Weiss. Wolfenbüttel, Germany, Herzog-August-Bibliothek |
| Laon 107 | Manuscript Laon 107. Laon, France, Bibliothèque municipale |
| Laud. Misc. 106 | Manuscript Miscellaneos Laudianos complectens 106. Oxford, England, Bodleian Library |
| Lyell 9 | Manuscript Lyell 9. Oxford, England, Bodleian Library |
| Monte Cassino 150 | Manuscript Monte Cassino 150. Monte Cassino, Italy, Biblioteca del Monumento Nazionale di Monte Cassino |
| Monza C 2 | Manuscript Monza C 2. Monza, Italy, Biblioteca Capitolare della Basilica di San Giovanni Battista |
| Oxford 157 | Manuscript Oxford 157. Oxford, England, Balliol College |
| Oxford 756 | Manuscript Oxford 756. Oxford, England, Bodleian Library |
| Padua 94 | Manuscript Padua 94. Padua, Italy, Biblioteca Antoniana |

| | |
|------------------|---|
| Paris lat. 1759 | Manuscript Paris lat. 1759. Paris, France, Bibliothèque nationale de France |
| Paris lat. 1761 | Manuscript Paris lat. 1761. Paris, France, Bibliothèque nationale de France |
| Paris lat. 1763 | Manuscript Paris lat. 1763. Paris, France, Bibliothèque nationale de France |
| Paris lat. 13339 | Manuscript Paris lat. 13339. Paris, France, Bibliothèque nationale de France |
| Salzburg a IX 25 | Manuscript Salzburg a IX 25. Salzburg, Austria, Benediktiner-Erzabtei Sankt Peter |
| St. Gall 100 | Manuscript St. Gall 100. Saint-Gall, Switzerland, Stiftsbibliothek |
| St. Gall 101 | Manuscript St. Gall 101. Saint-Gall, Switzerland, Stiftsbibliothek |
| St. Gall 330 | Manuscript St. Gall 330. Saint-Gall, Switzerland, Stiftsbibliothek |
| St. Mihiel 16 | Manuscript St. Mihiel 16. Saint-Mihiel, France, Bibliothèque municipale |
| Trier 122 | Manuscript Trier 122. Trier, Germany, Stadtbibliothek |
| Troyes 128 | Manuscript Troyes 128. Troyes, France, Bibliothèque municipale |
| Troyes 432 | Manuscript Troyes 432. Troyes, France, Bibliothèque municipale |
| Vat. lat. 4919 | Manuscript Vatican lat. 4919. Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana |
| Verona 75 | Manuscript Verona 75. Verona, Italy, Biblioteca Capitolare |
| Vienna 743 | Manuscript Vienna 743. Vienna, Austria, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek |
| Vienna 4600 | Manuscript Vienna 4600. Vienna, Austria, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek |
| Zwettl 33 | Manuscript Zwettl 33. Zwettl, Austria, Bibliothek des Zisterzienserstifts |

Modern Journals and Series

| | |
|-------|---|
| AARRT | American Academy of Religion Religion in Translation Series |
|-------|---|

| | |
|----------------|--|
| AB | Anchor Bible |
| AChrT | Ancient Christian Texts |
| AGLB | <i>Aus der Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel</i> (= <i>Vetus Latina: Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel: Aus der Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel</i>). Freiburg: Herder, 1957– |
| AJSUFS | Arbeiten aus dem Juristischen Seminar der Universität Freiburg (Switzerland) |
| <i>AmJT</i> | <i>American Journal of Theology</i> |
| <i>AnCl</i> | <i>Antiquité classique</i> |
| AnNic | Analecta Nicolaiana |
| ANRW | Temporini, Hildegard, and Wolfgang Haase, eds. <i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i> . Part 2, <i>Principat</i> . Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972– |
| APB | <i>Acta Patristica et Byzantina</i> |
| ASEs | <i>Annali di storia dell'esegesi</i> |
| <i>Aug</i> | <i>Augustinianum</i> |
| <i>AugStud</i> | <i>Augustinian Studies</i> |
| AUS | American University Studies |
| BAug | Bibliothèque augustinienne |
| BAC | Bible in Ancient Christianity |
| BBB | Bonner biblische Beiträge |
| BETL | Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium |
| BGBE | Beiträge zur Geschichte der biblischen Exegese |
| <i>BJHS</i> | <i>British Journal for the History of Science</i> |
| <i>BLE</i> | <i>Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique</i> |
| BNP A | Cancik, Hubert. <i>Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World. Antiquity</i> . 15 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2002–2010. |
| BPat | Biblioteca patristica |
| BZNW | Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft |
| CBET | Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology |
| CBiPa | Cahiers de Biblia Patristica |
| CCAM | Clavis Commentariorum Antiquitatis et Medii Aevi |
| <i>CCICr</i> | <i>Civiltà classica e cristiana</i> |

| | |
|---------------|--|
| CCSL | Corpus Christianorum: Series Latina. Turnhout: Brepols, 1953– |
| CCT | Corpus Christianorum in Translation |
| <i>ClM</i> | <i>Clio Medica</i> |
| <i>CIR</i> | <i>Classical Review</i> |
| CNS | <i>Cristianesimo nella storia</i> |
| CRINT | Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum |
| CSEL | Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum |
| CSLMA | Clavis Scriptorum Latinorum Medii Aevi |
| CSPC | Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology |
| CTePa | Collana di testi patristici |
| CTSt | Collana di testi storici |
| <i>DA</i> | <i>Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters</i> |
| <i>DBSup</i> | Pirot, Lous, and André Robert, eds. <i>Dictionnaire de la Bible: Supplément</i> . Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1928– |
| <i>DNP</i> | Cancik, Hubert, and Helmuth Schneider, eds. <i>Der neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike</i> . Stuttgart: Metzler, 1996– |
| ECC | Eerdmans Critical Commentary |
| <i>EDST</i> | <i>Excerpta e Dissertationibus in Sacra Theologia</i> |
| <i>EE</i> | <i>Estudios Eclesiásticos</i> |
| EHS | Europäische Hochschulschriften |
| <i>EO</i> | <i>Ecclesia orans</i> |
| EPRO | Etudes préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain |
| ErasSt | Erasmus Studies |
| ET | English translation |
| <i>ETJ</i> | <i>Eastern Theological Journal</i> |
| <i>ExpTim</i> | <i>Expository Times</i> |
| FC | Fathers of the Church |
| <i>FG</i> | <i>Filologia Germanica</i> |
| FGJ | Forschungen zur Geschichte der Juden |
| <i>FZPhTh</i> | <i>Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie</i> |
| GCS | Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten [drei] Jahrhunderte |
| <i>GIF</i> | <i>Giornale Italiano di Filologia</i> |
| Greg | <i>Gregorianum</i> |

| | |
|------------------|---|
| HCS | Hellenistic Culture and Society |
| <i>HeyJ</i> | <i>Heythrop Journal</i> |
| HOB | Handschriftenverzeichnisse Österreichischer Bibliotheken |
| HOSt | Handbook of Oriental Studies |
| <i>HTh</i> | <i>Ho Theològos</i> |
| <i>HTR</i> | <i>Harvard Theological Review</i> |
| <i>IDS</i> | <i>In die Skriflig</i> |
| <i>IJOT</i> | <i>International Journal of Orthodox Theology</i> |
| IPM | Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia |
| <i>JAC</i> | <i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i> |
| <i>JAC.E</i> | <i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i> —Ergänzungsband |
| <i>JBL</i> | <i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i> |
| <i>JECS</i> | <i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i> |
| <i>JEH</i> | <i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i> |
| <i>JR</i> | <i>Journal of Religion</i> |
| <i>JSJ</i> | <i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods</i> |
| <i>JTS</i> | <i>Journal of Theological Studies</i> |
| <i>Laur</i> | <i>Laurentianum</i> |
| LCC | Library of Christian Classics |
| LCL | Loeb Classical Library |
| LNTS | The Library of New Testament Studies |
| LWQF | Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen |
| LXX | Septuagint |
| <i>MH</i> | <i>Museum Helveticum</i> |
| <i>MilS</i> | <i>Milltown Studies</i> |
| NA ²⁸ | Aland, Barbara, Kurt Aland, et al., eds. <i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> . 28th ed. 2nd corr. printing. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2013 |
| NAWG | <i>Nachrichten (von) der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen</i> |
| NHMS | Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies |
| NovTSup | Supplements to Novum Testamentum |
| <i>NRTh</i> | <i>La nouvelle revue théologique</i> |
| NTAbh | Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen |
| NTL | New Testament Library |
| NTS | <i>New Testament Studies</i> |

| | |
|----------|---|
| OECS | Oxford Early Christian Studies |
| PAB | Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge |
| PG | Patrologia Graeca [= Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Graeca]. Edited by Jacques-Paul Migne. 162 vols. Paris, 1857–1886 |
| PhA | Philosophia Antiqua |
| PL | Patrologia Latina [= Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Latina]. Edited by Jacques-Paul Migne. 217 vols. Paris, 1844–1864 |
| PLS | Patrologia Latina supplementum [= Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Latina. <i>Supplementum</i>]. Edited by Adalbert Hamman. 5 vols. in 6. Paris: Garnier, 1958–1974 |
| PPSD | Pauline and Patristic Scholars in Debate |
| PPSer | Popular Patristics Series |
| ProOr | Pro Oriente |
| PW | <i>Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> . New edition by Georg Wissowa and Wilhelm Kroll. 50 vols. in 84 parts. Stuttgart: Metzler and Druckenmüller, 1894–1980 |
| RAC | Klauser, Theodor, et al. <i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i> . Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1950– |
| RBén | <i>Revue bénédictine</i> |
| RBPH | <i>Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire</i> |
| RCT | <i>Revista catalana de teologia</i> |
| REAug | <i>Revue des études augustiniennes</i> |
| RechAug | <i>Recherches Augustiniennes</i> |
| Rec.LLTC | Recentiores: Later Latin Texts and Contexts |
| RGRW | Religions in the Graeco-Roman World |
| RHLR | <i>Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses</i> |
| RHR | <i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i> |
| RicRel | <i>Ricerche religiose</i> |
| RicSRel | <i>Ricerche di storia religiosa</i> |
| RQ | <i>Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte</i> |
| RSPT | <i>Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques</i> |
| RSR | <i>Recherches de science religieuse</i> |
| RSV | Revised Standard Version |
| RTAM | <i>Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale</i> |

| | |
|----------------|--|
| <i>RThom</i> | <i>Revue thomiste</i> |
| <i>RTSFR</i> | <i>Rivista trimestrale di studi filosofici e religiosi</i> |
| <i>SacEr</i> | <i>Sacris erudiri: Jaarboek voor Godsdienstwetenschappen</i> |
| <i>SAChr</i> | <i>Studia Antiquitatis Christianae</i> |
| <i>SBS</i> | Stuttgarter Bibelstudien |
| <i>SC</i> | Sources chrétiennes |
| <i>S&C</i> | <i>Scrittura e Civiltà</i> |
| <i>Schol</i> | <i>Scholastik</i> |
| <i>SEAug</i> | Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum |
| <i>SFAM</i> | Studi di filologia antica e moderna |
| <i>SGLG</i> | Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia |
| <i>SO</i> | <i>Symbolae Osloenses</i> |
| <i>SPAA</i> | Spicilegium Pontificii Athenaei Antoniani |
| <i>SPAW.PH</i> | <i>Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philosophisch-Historische Klasse</i> |
| <i>SSRel</i> | <i>Studi storico-religiosi</i> |
| <i>ST</i> | <i>Studia Theologica</i> |
| <i>STAC</i> | Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum |
| <i>StMed</i> | <i>Studi Medievali</i> |
| <i>StOr</i> | Studia Orientalia |
| <i>StPatr</i> | Studia Patristica |
| <i>STPIMS</i> | Studies and Texts, Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies |
| <i>StT</i> | Studi e Testi, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana |
| <i>TK</i> | Texte und Kommentare |
| <i>TRE</i> | Krause, Gerhard, and Gerhard Müller, eds. <i>Theologische Realenzyklopädie</i> . Berlin: de Gruyter, 1977– |
| <i>TS</i> | Texts and Studies |
| <i>TS</i> | <i>Theological Studies</i> |
| <i>TTH</i> | Translated Texts for Historians |
| <i>VC</i> | <i>Vigiliae Christianae</i> |
| <i>VCSup</i> | Supplements to <i>Vigiliae Christianae</i> |
| <i>VetChr</i> | <i>Vetera Christianorum</i> |
| <i>VL</i> | Vetus Latina |
| <i>VLB</i> | Vetus Latina, Beuron |
| <i>VoxPat</i> | <i>Vox Patrum</i> |
| <i>WGRW</i> | Writings from the Greco-Roman World |
| <i>WiWei</i> | <i>Wissenschaft und Weisheit</i> |

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| WolfMS | Wolfenbütteler Mittelalter-Studien |
| WS | <i>Wörter und Sachen</i> |
| WSA | The Works of Saint Augustine |
| WSt | <i>Wiener Studien</i> |
| WTJ | <i>Wesleyan Theological Journal</i> |
| WUNT | Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament |
| ZKG | <i>Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte</i> |
| ZKT | <i>Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie</i> |
| ZNW | <i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i> |
| ZTK | <i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i> |
| ZWT | <i>Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie</i> |

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Part 1
Introduction

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1. The Author, Date, and Provenance

“Ambrosiaster” is the name coined in the early modern period to refer to the author of the first complete Latin commentary on the Pauline epistles (hereafter, the Commentary).¹ The word is derived from the pejorative suffix *-aster* attached to “Ambrosius,” the name of the famous bishop of Milan to whom the Commentary was attributed in most of the manuscript tradition.² Some scholars have claimed that Erasmus or the Maurists first coined the term Ambrosiaster, but the recent study of Jan Krans has shown that Erasmus did not use the word and that its use predates the Maurist edition of Ambrose’s works, which was published in 1686–1690.³ According to Krans the name goes back at least to the *Notationes in sacra biblia* of Lucas Brugensis, a collection of text-critical notes on the Vulgate that appeared in 1580.⁴

Several other works have been attributed, with greater or lesser confidence, to Ambrosiaster. In 1905 Alexander Souter definitively demonstrated that the same author was responsible for the *Questions on the Old and New Testaments* (*Quaestiones veteris et novi testamenti*), a collection of questions and answers on biblical topics (as well as treatises on other matters) that circulated in the Middle Ages under the name of Augustine.⁵ Like the Commentary, the *Quaestiones* exist in multiple versions or recen-

1. The critical edition is Heinrich J. Vogels, ed., *Ambrosiastri qui dicitur commentarius in epistulas paulinas*, CSEL 81.1–3 (Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1966–1969).

2. The commentary on Romans circulated in at least one branch under the name of Hilary of Poitiers. See below §2.

3. Jan Krans, “Who Coined the Name ‘Ambrosiaster?’,” in *Paul, John, and Apocalyptic Eschatology: Studies in Honour of Martinus C. de Boer*, ed. Jan Krans et al., NovT-Sup 149 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 274–81.

4. *Ibid.*, 279–80.

5. Alexander Souter, *A Study of Ambrosiaster*, TS 7.4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1905). Souter’s work confirmed the earlier work of Josef Langen, “De

sions: one with 151 questions, another with 127.⁶ Fragments of several other works have been attributed to Ambrosiaster: a discussion of the parable of the three measures of flour into which the woman poured the yeast (Matt 13:33; Luke 13:21), a commentary on Matt 24, and a treatment of the arrest of Jesus in Gethsemane and Peter's denial.⁷ It has been suggested that Ambrosiaster was also the compiler of the curious collection of legal materials known as the *Mosaicarum et Romanarum legum collatio*, but this attribution has not received the unanimous support of scholars.⁸

One peculiar feature of the Commentary and the *Quaestiones* is that both works seem to have been issued anonymously in all of the recensions. This apparently deliberate anonymity has naturally led scholars to attempt to discern the true identity of Ambrosiaster. Educated guesses were attempted as early as the seventeenth century and have continued

commentariorum in epistulas Paulinas qui Ambrosii et quaestionum biblicarum quae Augustini nomine feruntur scriptore dissertation" (PhD diss., Bonn, 1880).

6. Souter published the critical edition: *Pseudo-Augustini Quaestiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti CXXVII*, CSEL 50 (Vienna: Tempsky; Leipzig: Freytag, 1908). Unfortunately, he did not fully present both versions of the *Quaestiones*. A full critical addition of the *Quaestiones* is presently being prepared by Marie-Pierre Bussières for the CCLL series.

7. These fragments were edited by Giovanni Mercati, "Anonymi chiliastae in Matthaeum c. XXIV fragmenta," in Giovanni Mercati, *Varia Sacra I*, StT 11 (Rome: Tipografia Vaticana, 1903), 3–49. The texts are reprinted in A. Hamman, PLS 1:655–70. The most thorough arguments for the attribution of these fragments to Ambrosiaster can be found in Coelestinus Martini, *Ambrosiaster: De auctore, operibus, theologia*, SPAA 4 (Rome: Pontificium Athenaeum Antonianum, 1944), 50–73. Most recently Emanuele Di Santo has affirmed this attribution: *L'Apologetica dell'Ambrosiaster: Cristiani, pagani et giudi nella Roma tardoantica*, SEAug 112 (Rome: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 2008), 21–22.

8. For positive attribution of *Mosaicarum et Romanarum legum collatio*, see now the edition and translation by Robert M. Frakes, *Compiling the "Collatio Legum Mosaicarum et Romanarum" in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). For debate about this attribution, see Alexander Souter, "Prolegomena," in CSEL 50:xxiii: *fortasse ipse quoque est auctor illius Mosaicarum et Romanarum legum collationis*. Both the *Collatio* and Ambrosiaster refer to a lost rescript of Diocletian against the Manichaeans. Di Santo, *L'Apologetica*, 22, seems doubtful, but see Andrew Jacobs, "Papinian Commands One Thing, Our Paul Another": Roman Christians and Jewish Law in the *Collatio legum Mosaicarum et Romanarum*," in *Religion and Law in Classical and Christian Rome*, ed. Clifford Ando and Jörg Rüpke, PAB 15 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2006), 85–99.

to the present day.⁹ Distinguished patristic scholar Dom Germain Morin offered no less than five different suggestions over the course of nearly thirty years.¹⁰ The most recent (and unsuccessful) candidates to have been proposed are Maximus of Turin and Simplicianus of Milan.¹¹ Given the inconclusiveness of all these attempts, it seems best to maintain agnosticism on the question.¹²

Despite our ignorance of Ambrosiaster's real name, it is possible to discern some salient facts about the date and place of his literary activity. It is certain that the anonymous author composed some of his work in Rome during the pontificate of Damasus, that is, between October 366

9. E.g., Richard Simon, *Histoire critique des principaux commentateurs du Nouveau Testament, depuis le commencement du Christianisme jusques à nôtre tems: Avec une dissertation critique sur les principaux actes manuscrits qui ont été citez dans les trois parties de cet ouvrage* (Rotterdam: Leers, 1693), 133–34. Simon thought the most probable guess to be the Roman deacon named Hilary, who had been associated with the Luciferian party against which Jerome polemicized in his *Altercatio Luciferiani et orthodoxi seu dialogus contra Luciferiano*. Further discussion of Ambrosiaster's identity can be found in Marie-Pierre Bussières, ed., *Ambrosiaster: Contre les païens (Question sur l'Ancien et le Nouveau Testament 114) et Sur le destin (Question sur l'Ancien et le Nouveau Testament 115)*, SC 512 (Paris: Cerf, 2007), 30–38; also Di Santo, *L'Apologetica*, 21–25.

10. Dom Germain Morin, "L'Ambrosiaster et le Juif converti Isaac, contemporain du pape Damase," *RHLR* 4 (1899): 97–121 (Isaac, a converted Jew); "Hilarius l'Ambrosiaster," *RBén* 20 (1903): 113–31 (Decimius Hilarianus Hilarius); "Qui est l'Ambrosiaster? Solution nouvelle," *RBén* 31 (1914–1919): 1–34 (Evagrius of Antioch); "Una nuova possibilità a proposito dell'Ambrosiastro," *Athenaeum* 6 (1918): 62–71 (Cl. Callistus); "La critique dans une impasse: À propos du cas de l'Ambrosiaster," *RBén* 40 (1928): 251–59 (Nummius Aemilianus Dexter, son of Bishop Pacian of Barcelona).

11. Maximus of Turin: Othmar Heggelbacher, "Beziehungen zwischen Ambrosiaster und Maximus von Turin? Eine Gegenüberstellung," *FZPhTh* 41 (1994): 5–44. The suggestion of Maximus has been subjected to decisive critique by Andreas Merkt, "Wer war der Ambrosiaster? Zum Autor einer Quelle des Augustinus—Fragen auf ein neue Antwort," *WiWei* 59 (1996): 19–33. Simplicianus of Milan: Maciej Bielawski, "Simpliciano e Ambrosiaster: potrebbero essere la stessa persona?," in *Le "Confessioni" di Agostino: Bilancio e prospettive, 402–2002* (Rome: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 2003), 533–39. The suggestion of Simplicianus is highly unlikely; if he were the author of the commentary, Augustine's *Ep.* 37 to him and the *Div. quaest. Simpl.* would surely contain some reference to the work.

12. See Bussières, *Ambrosiaster*, 38: "En effet, si son identité devait rester inconnue de ses contemporains, quelle chance aurions-nous de pouvoir le démasquer plus d'un millénaire de demi plus tard?"

and December 384. In his commentary on 1 Tim 3:15, he refers to the church “whose rector at present is Damasus.”¹³ In *Quaest.* 115, “On Fate,” Ambrosiaster speaks of being “here in the city of Rome and its environs,” and in one of the recensions of his comment on Rom 16:3–5 he mentions being “here, that is, in Rome.”¹⁴ Ambrosiaster also gave attention to issues specific to the church at Rome. For example, one of the *Quaestiones* is a treatise attacking deacons at Rome who claimed to be the equal of presbyters.¹⁵ There can be little doubt that the bulk of the Commentary and *Quaestiones* was produced at Rome at some point during the reign of Damasus, although it is possible that individual questions were composed and circulated after this date.

But even greater precision can be reached regarding the date of Ambrosiaster's floruit. There are numerous indications that portions of the Commentary and the *Quaestiones*—at least in their later recensions—were composed in the early to mid-380s. In 1956 Heinrich Vogels published an article that demonstrated connections between a letter of Jerome, written in 384, and the commentary on Romans by Ambrosiaster.¹⁶ In *Ep.* 27, addressed to Marcella, Jerome complains of certain “two-legged asses” who are criticizing his revision of the New Testament gospels based on Greek codices. Jerome cites a handful of disputed readings, and Vogels showed that these were taken from Ambrosiaster's commentary on Romans. Moreover, Vogels also demonstrated that one of the later recensions of Ambrosiaster's Romans commentary contains a more elaborate defense of his preference for the Old Latin versions (VL) and an explicit defense of the readings that Jerome had criticized. Vogels concluded that Ambrosiaster had first criticized Jerome in the first edition of his Romans commentary, then Jerome had responded in *Ep.* 27, and then Ambrosiaster had revised and reissued the Romans commentary to respond to Jerome.

13. In 1 Tim. 3:15 (CSEL 81.3:270): *ecclesia ... cuius hodie rector est Damasus.*

14. *Quaest.* 115.16 (SC 512:168): *Hic enim in urbe Roma et in finibus...*; In Rom. 16:3–5 (CSEL 81.1:479): *Hic, id est Romae* (in the *gamma* recension). On the recensions of the Commentary, which Vogels identified as *alpha* (α), *beta* (β), and *gamma* (γ), see below §2.1. See also below §2.2 n. 89.

15. *Quaest.* 101, “The Boasting of the Roman Deacons” (CSEL 50:193–98). It is worth noting that *Quaest.* 101 is followed by *Quaest.* 102, “Against Novatian.” Novatianists were a persistent problem at Rome, even in the fourth century.

16. Heinrich Vogels, “Ambrosiaster und Hieronymus,” *RBén* 66 (1956): 14–19.

Vogels's thesis has garnered widespread support from scholars.¹⁷ Although he did not draw out all of the implications for dating, his arguments show that Ambrosiaster was active in Rome during the years of Jerome's sojourn there, that is, between 382 and 385. More recent studies have confirmed this. In her *Sources Chrétienne*s edition of *Quaest.* 114 and *Quaest.* 115, Marie-Pierre Bussièrès has dated the composition of these texts to shortly after 386.¹⁸ Likewise, in her monograph on Ambrosiaster's political theology, Sophie Lunn-Rockliffe has suggested a date of circa 384 for *Quaest.* 115 and a date of no later than the mid-380s for the rest of his work.¹⁹ A collection of articles examining Ambrosiaster's revisions of his own writings by Bussièrès, Theodore S. de Bruyn, Stephen A. Cooper, and David G. Hunter has presented evidence that suggests the influence of the Council of Constantinople I (381) and a Roman synod of 382 on Ambrosiaster's theology of the Holy Spirit.²⁰ Cooper and Hunter have also argued for further literary encounters between Ambrosiaster and Jerome. The emerging consensus is that the later revisions of the Commentary and the *Quaestiones* date from the mid-380s. The earlier versions would have been written in the early 380s, or perhaps sometime in the later 370s.

In addition to these chronological indications, there is internal evidence in the *Quaestiones* and the Commentary that contributes to a biographical sketch of our author. It seems virtually certain, for example, that he was a member of the Roman clergy. Although Souter thought that Ambrosiaster was a layman, he admitted that his arguments were not

17. E.g., Henry Chadwick, *The Church in Ancient Society: From Galilee to Gregory the Great*, Oxford History of the Early Church (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 380; and Andrew Cain, "In Ambrosiaster's Shadow: A Critical Re-evaluation of the Last Surviving Letter Exchange between Pope Damasus and Jerome," *REAug* 51 (2005): 257–77, esp. 268–72.

18. Bussièrès, *Ambrosiaster*, 40–41.

19. Sophie Lunn-Rockliffe, *Ambrosiaster's Political Theology*, OECS (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 12–17. As Lunn-Rockliffe, 15, observes, the existence of multiple versions of both the *Quaestiones* and the Commentary complicates the question of dating. We cannot be sure how much time elapsed between the recensions, and some *quaestiones* may have circulated independently.

20. "L'Ambrosiaster révisé l'Ambrosiaster/Ambrosiaster Revising Ambrosiaster," *REAug* 56 (2010): 21–91. The importance of the councils of 381 and 382 for the development of Ambrosiaster's pneumatology had already been noted in regards to the *Quaestiones* by Marie-Pierre Bussièrès, "L'influence du synode tenu à Rome en 382 sur l'exégèse de l'Ambrosiaster," *SacEr* 45 (2006): 107–24.

conclusive, and most scholars have not followed him.²¹ There are many good reasons to think that Ambrosiaster was a presbyter. First, his writings show extensive knowledge of ecclesiastical customs, especially those pertaining to church office.²² For example, he had a special interest in the origins of the office of bishop and provides a historically nuanced account of the distinction between presbyters and bishops.²³ In several places Ambrosiaster refers to liturgical practices such as the singing of hymns, fasting, and the bestowal of nuptial blessings at marriages of Christians.²⁴ His writings offer early evidence for the requirement of permanent sexual continence for the higher clergy, a practice he defended enthusiastically.²⁵ As noted above, his *Quaest.* 101, “The Boasting of the Roman Deacons,” contains a vigorous defense of the authority of presbyters, their (nearly equal) status with bishops, and their superior status over deacons. It is difficult to imagine anyone but a Roman presbyter investing himself so deeply in these issues.

Perhaps the most compelling argument for Ambrosiaster's status as presbyter is that several of his *quaestiones* appear to be sermons directed to an audience of “beloved brethren,” and in one he even refers to the speaker (almost certainly himself) as a *sacerdos* (“priest”).²⁶ Lunn-Rockcliffe has proposed that Ambrosiaster may have been a presbyter attached to one of

21. Alfred Stuiber, “Ambrosiaster,” *TRE* 2:357, says that Ambrosiaster's clerical status cannot be determined for certain. Peter Brown refers to him without discussion as an “anonymous Roman priest”: *The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 377. Lydia Speller suggests that Ambrosiaster was “a presbyter who once hoped to be bishop”: “Ambrosiaster and the Jews,” *StPatr* 17 (1982): 75.

22. See the extensive discussion in Lunn-Rockcliffe, *Ambrosiaster's Political Theology*, 106–26, and the discussion below in §7.1.

23. See In Eph. 4:11–12 (§§2–5) and the discussion in Maurice Bévenot, “Ambrosiaster's Thoughts on Christian Priesthood,” *HeyJ* 18 (1977): 152–64; and David G. Hunter, “The Significance of Ambrosiaster,” *JECs* 17 (2009): 1–26.

24. In 1 Cor. 14:14: on Latin Christians singing hymns in Greek; *Quaest.* 120 (CSEL 50:361–63): on fasting; *Quaest.* 127.3 (CSEL 50:400), In 1 Cor. 7:40, and In 1 Tim. 3:12 (§1): on nuptial blessings.

25. *Quaest.* 127.35–36 (CSEL 50.414–16); see In 1 Cor. 7:5 (§§1–2).

26. See the opening words of *Quaest.* 120 (CSEL 50:361): *Congruum est, fratres carissimi, devotissime dei sacerdotem et praepositum plebes Christi exortari populum suum sub cura sua positum in doctrina sana, sicut mandat apostolus.* Lunn-Rockcliffe, *Ambrosiaster's Political Theology*, 74–75, provides an extensive list of the sermonic elements in Ambrosiaster's *Quaestiones*.

the great cemetery churches at Rome outside the city walls. These Roman presbyters, unlike those within the city proper, had the right to preside, preach, and consecrate the eucharistic elements.²⁷ This suggestion is very convincing, and it helps to explain what seems to be Ambrosiaster's status as simultaneously an insider and an outsider to clerical culture at Rome. He was deeply involved in pastoral and liturgical activities, and yet he sometimes cast a critical eye at the behavior of his confrères in church office. Nevertheless, he offers strong arguments for the authority of clerical office and, in particular, for the prerogatives of presbyters. While none of these arguments in itself is conclusive, the cumulative import of the evidence strongly suggests that Ambrosiaster was a Roman presbyter, most likely at one of the suburban churches.

27. Lunn-Rockliffe, *Ambrosiaster's Political Theology*, 80–86. Lunn-Rockliffe, 84, acknowledges the contribution of an unpublished paper by Janet Fairweather, which had previously pointed to the Church of St. Paul-outside-the-Walls as a possible location for Ambrosiaster's pastoral activity.