

Introduction

1 CHARACTERISTICS AND PROBLEMS

1.1 General Character, Date, Theological Context

The two books of *De vocatione omnium gentium* (hereafter abbreviated as *VocGen* and cited according to this edition) were written in Rome circa 450. The questions of dating, authorship, and theological content are mutually intertwined. There is now a strong consensus among scholars that the work was written by Prosper of Aquitaine after he had become a friend and secretary to Pope Leo I, that is, after 440,¹ but probably as late as 450. The work, which is about the relation between God's grace, original sin, and the abilities of the human will, is generally regarded as one of the first steps away from the hard-line Augustinianism set out in the works Augustine wrote in the last few years of his life.²

¹ The date of Prosper's move to Rome had traditionally been given as 435 based on the change of focus in the *Chronicle*. For the traditional dating see M. Cappeluyens, *Le premier représentant de l'augustinisme médiévale*, Prosper d'Aquitaine, *RecTh* 1 (1929), 309–337 (326, n. 47). A. Hwang, *Intrepid Lover of Perfect Grace: The Life and Thought of Prosper of Aquitaine* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press 2009), 184 says that the earlier dating of Prosper's move to Rome "has been refuted by Markus, who has found no evidence of any discernable difference in interest or information between the parts before and after the break in 433." See R. Markus, *Chronical and Theology: Prosper of Aquitaine*, in: *The Inheritance of Historiography 350 – 900*, edd. Ch. Holdsworth - T. P. Wiseman. *Exeter Studies in History* 12 (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press 1966), 31–43 (32–33).

² Cappeluyens, *Le premier représentant* (see n. 1), esp. 336–337.

Ironically, Prosper along with his friend, Hilary, who is otherwise unknown, provided the occasion of Augustine's late work *De praedestinatione sanctorum*, of which *De dono perseverantiae* was originally the second book, when they wrote letters to Augustine (*Epistulae* 225 and 226, in the letters of Augustine) in 428–429, in which they reported to Augustine how some of the monks of Provence – much to the distress of Prosper and Hilary – had departed from the teaching of Augustine on the necessity for grace, even for the beginning of faith (*initium fidei*). The irony lies in the fact that the differing stances with regard to the doctrine on grace and predestination between the younger Prosper who wrote to Augustine and the more mature Prosper of VocGen has led some scholars to question whether Prosper was the author of the latter work (see below p. 23). But scholars now see that Prosper's move from Gaul to Rome and his friendship with Pope Leo led him to adopt a new and more conciliatory approach to the topic, especially once the heat of controversy subsided after the death of Cassian. As Hwang in his recently published monograph on Prosper says of the period after 430, "Prosper no longer defended Augustine's doctrine of grace, but devoted himself solely to defending the catholic Church, which Prosper equated with the Roman Church. Prosper came to the conclusion that the Roman Church – through what it teaches through the popes and by its liturgy – determined the catholic doctrine on grace."³

As the very title indicates the work is about the calling of all nations to salvation in Christ. The work is an attempt to end the long-standing controversy between the anti-Augustinian monks of Provence and the followers of the late Augustinian doctrine on grace and predestination.⁴ Prosper proposes three proposi-

³ Hwang, *Intrepid Lover* (see n. 1), 9.

⁴ Since the 16th century the monks of Provence, whom Prosper in 1, 1, 1 calls "the defenders of free choice," have been known as "Semi-Pelagians," an appellation that wrongly implies that these men were heretics or

tions to be believed, namely, that God wills the salvation of all men, that no one is saved except by the grace of Christ, and that the judgments of God in distributing that grace are at present inscrutable to human minds. Given these three points, he claims that the controversy will cease if one does not try to pry into what cannot now be known (1, 1).

Central to the work is 1 Tim. 2, 4: *Deus vult omnes homines salvos fieri et ad agnitionem veritatis venire* – a text found already in the first lines of the work. Prosper’s interpretation of the text in VocGen represents a departure from Augustine’s views on the question of God’s salvific will, but the work remains thoroughly Augustinian on the necessity of grace, even for the *initium fidei*, and on the restricted sense of divine election. In his later works Augustine had himself interpreted the verse in a restricted sense so that “all men” meant some men from every class, nation, race, and age or so that God saves all whom he wills to save.⁵

Prosper’s interpretation of the text in VocGen represents a development not only from Augustine’s later works, but also

semi-heretics. John Cassian and Vincent of Lérins are saints of the Church, though some aspects of their teaching were condemned at the Council of Orange in 529. Moreover, the authority of that council was unknown until much later. – Others have proposed labeling the two sides: “Augustinians” and “anti-Augustinians” or “Massillians,” labels that also have their problems. See Hwang, Intrepid Lover (see n. 1), 2–6 for a discussion of the various terms used.

⁵ Augustine cited the verse in twelve passages from his works, letters, or sermons. In seven of them, all prior to 418, namely, in Rom. 1, 74, and in Gal. 28 (394/395), c. Faust. 12, 36 (397/399), spir. et litt. (412), and serm. 254 (412), epist. 149 to Paulinus (416), and serm. 304 (417), Augustine quoted the text without any further comment. In the remaining five passages he interpreted *omnes homines* to mean not all human beings, but only some. These passages are found in enchir. 103, 27, and c. Julian. 4, 8, 42–43, both from 421/422, in epist. 217, 6, 19 to Vitalis of Carthage, corrept. 14, 44, both from 426/427, and praed. 8, 23. See A. Hwang, Augustine’s Interpretations of 1 Tim. 2, 4 in the Context of his Developing Views of Grace, *Studia Patristica* 43 (Leuven: Peeters 2006), 137–142.

from his own earlier writings. In *Ad Rufinum* the young Prosper had explained to his friend that the monks of Provence were constantly raising 1 Tim. 2, 4 as an objection, as if it were opposed to the Augustinian doctrine on grace (13, 14).⁶ Prosper interpreted the verse in a restricted sense in that work where he said: *modo confiteamur neminem immerito perdi, neminem merito liberari, et omnipotentissimam domini bonitatem omnes salvare et omnes ad agnitionem veritatis imbuere, quos vult omnes fieri salvos et ad agnitionem veritatis venire* (epist. 2, 13, 14).⁷ By the time of the *Capitula responsionum ad Gallos*, however, Prosper softened the Augustinian position and said in his short reply to the objection that *non omnes deus velit salvos fieri, sed certum numerum praedestinatorum*, that someone who says that, *durius loquitur quam loquendum est de altitudine inscrutabilis gratiae Dei, qui et omnes vult salvos fieri atque in agnitionem veritatis venire* (2, 8, PL 51, 172A). In *VocGen*, however, 1 Tim. 2, 4 plays a central role, and Prosper cites it often, presents an exegesis of it, and shows how the universal salvific will has been carried out throughout history.

In the first book, after an introduction and a discussion of the state of the post-lapsarian human will, Prosper provides first a set of hermeneutic rules and applies them to the exegesis of 1 Tim. 2, 4 (1, 15–24). The rules that he provides, however, namely, that scripture at times means “some men” or “a part” when it speaks of “all” or “the whole” or people of a certain time when it speaks of people of all times, are not far from the rules that Augustine

⁶ See also epist. 1 (to Augustine) 5, PL 51, 70C, 71C; resp. ad Gall. 8, PL 51, 162A; resp. ad Vinc. 2, PL 51, 170A and 179A, where 1 Tim. 2, 4 is listed among the objections raised by the opponents of the Augustinian view.

⁷ In his article *L'Auteur du «De Vocatione Omnium Gentium»*, RBen 39 (1927), 198–226 (206), M. Cappuyens agrees that epist. 2 (= *Ad Rufinum*), 13, 14 (85B) expresses “l’une des interprétations restrictives de saint Augustin,” but in *Une étape vers l’affirmation du salut universel: Prosper d’Aquitaine: Lettre à Rufin sur la grâce et le libre arbitre, introduction et traduction*, RHE 90 (1995), 367–394 (377), Françoise Vinel sees the letter as a step toward a universal interpretation of the text.

himself used to justify his restricted interpretation, and Prosper is well aware that the anti-Augustinians would recognize that fact.⁸ Hence, he appeals to the prayers of the Church as indicative of the faith of the Church.⁹ The supplications of the Church for the salvation of all human beings confirm Prosper's unrestricted interpretation of the salvific will of God.¹⁰

Secondly, Prosper constructs a long scriptural proof (1, 43–57) that no one is saved by his own merits, but only by the grace of God, and that the initiative lies with God's grace from the beginning of faith to final perseverance. The reason, however, why God does not give the grace of salvation to all is hidden in the just, but inscrutable judgments of God, which one should not seek to know since God has not revealed his reason for judging as he does (1, 57–58).

In the second book Prosper repeats the three basic truths to be believed, namely, that God wills the salvation of all men, that no one is saved except by the grace of God, and that the judgments of God cannot be known by us in this life (2, 1). Prosper then illustrates how the universal salvific will of God has always been operative throughout the history of salvation from creation to the time of Noah (2, 16–22), from Noah to Abraham (2, 23–24), from Abraham to Christ (2, 25), and since the coming of Christ (2, 26–35). Key to Prosper's universal interpretation of the salvific will, as distinguished from the restricted election of those who will be saved – *multi autem sunt vocati, pauci vero electi*

⁸ See VocGen 1, 12, 25.

⁹ In his auct. de grat. 8, PL 51, 209C, Prosper said, *Legem credendi lex statuat supplicandi*. The rule became transformed into the maxim, *Lex orandi, lex credendi*.

¹⁰ See Paul De Clerk, La "prière universelle" dans les liturgies latines anciennes (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung 1977), 87–97. De Clerk sees Prosper's appeal to the prayer of the Church as a proof for the necessity of grace, even for the beginning of faith, which it certainly is, especially in the Auctoritates text, but in VocGen he uses it also and principally as proof of the universality of God salvific will.

(Matth. 22, 14) – is his distinction between general grace, which is always given to all men, and the special grace given only to the elect. The first stage of salvation history, that is, before the Mosaic Law, represents a *parcitas gratiae* (2, 14, 21) in all nations in comparison with the people of Israel, as the second stage under the Law also does in relation to the grace of Christ. De Letter claims that the concept of general grace marks “a break away from Augustine’s restricted universalism ...”.¹¹ Along with Cappuyns, but contrary to Pelland, De Letter holds that the grace of the first stage is not merely external grace, which, according to Prosper, can never be effective, but along with the second and third stages includes internal grace.¹² De Letter writes: “When Prosper speaks of *bonitas generalis*, or *dona communia*, or *dona generalia* he includes internal grace.”¹³

Equally significant of the development of Prosper’s thought in VocGen is the omission of any mention of Augustine or of predestination, the term that had so offended the monks of Provence. He also clearly rejected a doctrine of positive reprobation, arguing that no one perishes by God’s plan or decree: *Haec autem summam breviterque perstricta ad id valeant, ut certissime noverimus nullum fidelium a deo non discedentem relinqui neque cuiusquam ruinam ex divina esse constitutione dispositam ...* (2, 20). No one perishes who does not deserve to perish, just as no one who is saved merits the grace of election. De Letter claims that Prosper suggests another secondary reason why God’s special grace is not given to all men, namely, man’s refusal of grace. “This is not mentioned in Augustine. Here no doubt is the new-

¹¹ P. De Letter, *Gratia Generalis* in the *De vocatione omnium gentium* and in St. Augustine, *Studia Patristica* 14/3. Texte und Untersuchungen 117 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag 1976), 393–401 (394).

¹² See Cappuyns, *Le premier représentant* (see n. 1), 332, and L. Pelland, *S. Prosperi Aquitani doctrina: De praedestinatione et voluntate Dei salvifica, De eius in augustinismum influxu* (Montreal: College of the Immaculate Conception, 1936), 166–170.

¹³ De Letter, *Gratia Generalis* (see n. 11), 395.

ness of *De vocatione*: while respecting the mystery of divine election, Prosper turns to man and sees in his refusal of God's offer of a more abundant grace, in addition to the general grace, a sign or reason why one is not included in the divine election."¹⁴ This solution, however, cannot explain the lot of infants who die without baptism. On their lot Prosper explains that, just as some infants believe by the faith of their parents who bring them to baptism, so others fail to believe by the unbelief of theirs. For everything at their age depends upon the actions of adults (2, 40).

At the same time, *VocGen* owes much to Cassian's *Collatio* 13,¹⁵ a text, which Prosper had attacked fiercely in his earlier *Contra collatorem*. In *VocGen* Prosper assigns high importance to 1 Tim. 2, 4 and seems to refuse Augustine's interpretation that "all men" means "some men," as Cassian had previously done (coll. 13, 7 *qui enim ut pereat unus ex pusillis non habet voluntatem, quomodo sine ingenti sacrilegio putandus est non universaliter omnes, sed quosdam salvos fieri velle pro omnibus?*). Besides, Prosper not only knew Cassian's concept of salvation coming about by God's grace and the human will which cooperate, but also seems to follow it, though he avoids clearly agreeing with it (2, 43, 5–14 *gratia dei illa quidem in omni iustificatione principaliter praeeminet suadendo exhortationibus, monendo exemplis, terrendo periculis, incitando miraculis, dando intellectum, inspirando consilium corque ipsum illuminando et fidei affectionibus imbuendo, sed etiam voluntas hominis subiungitur ei atque coniungitur, quae ad hoc praedictis est excitata praesidiis, ut divino in se coope-retur operi et incipiat exercere ad meritum, quod de superno semine concepit ad studium, de sua habens mutabilitate si deficit, de gratiae opitulatione si proficit*). Even Pope Leo's works left traces in *Voc Gen*: Apart from stylistic features (see below p. 33), it is mainly

¹⁴ De Letter, *Gratia Generalis* (see n. 11), 400.

¹⁵ On this see Hwang, *Intrepid Lover* (see n. 1), 217–218.

the concept of Roman history governed by divine providence¹⁶ that finds an echo in Prosper: (2, 53) *Nulla pars mundi ab evangelio vacat Christi, et licet illa generalis vocatio non quiescat, tamen etiam ista specialis iam universis est facta communis: Ex omni gente, ex omni condicione adoptantur cotidie milia senum, milia iuvenum, milia parvulorum, et effectibus gratiae Christianae etiam ipsa quibus mundus atteritur arma famulantur.* (54) ... *Quidam ecclesiae filii ab hostibus capti dominos suos Christi evangelio manciparunt, et quibus condicione bellica serviebant, iisdem fidei magisterio praeferunt. At alii barbari dum Romanis auxiliantur, quod in suis locis nosse non poterant, in nostris didicere regionibus et ad sedes suas cum Christianae religionis iustificatione remearunt. Ita nihil obsistere divinae gratiae potest, quominus id quod voluerit impleatur, dum etiam discordiae ad unitatem trahunt et plagae in remedia vertuntur, ut ecclesia unde metuit periculum, inde sumat augmentum.*

By the time of VocGen Prosper's concern is not mainly the defense of Augustine's teaching, but of the faith of the Roman Church. Hwang concludes that Prosper learned in the Rome of Leo that the Catholic faith is the faith taught by the Church of Rome rather than that taught by Augustine of Hippo.¹⁷ In any case, the irenic, conciliatory tone of VocGen and its lack of a manifest position in favor of or against Augustine can be interpreted as significant for the author's position: After the aggressive discussion about inherited sin and free will which is found in Augustine's late writings, had cooled down, Prosper as papal secretary must have been more interested in presenting a compromise than stirring up the controversy.

¹⁶ Tract. 82, 2, version β: *Ut autem huius inenarrabilis gratiae per totum mundum diffunderetur effectus, Romanum regnum divina providentia praeparavit, cuius ad eos limites incrementa perducta sunt, quibus cunctarum undique gentium vicina et contigua esset universitas. Disposito enim divinitus operi maxime congruebat, ut multa regna uno confoederarentur imperio, et cito pervios haberet populos praedicatio generalis, quos unius teneret regimen civitatis.*

¹⁷ See Hwang, Intrepid Lover (see n. 1), chapter six, "Servus Ecclesiae (440–455): The Primacy of the Roman Church," especially 187–188.

Despite Prosper's movement away from the late Augustine, he still maintains the Augustinian position that no one is saved except by the grace of God and that every step on the path to salvation from the beginning of faith to final perseverance is a gift of divine grace. When at the Council of Orange in 529 the Catholic Church put an end to the second half of the controversy between the Augustinians and anti-Augustinians, the canons were largely drawn from Prosper's *Praeteritorum episcoporum sedis apostolicae auctoritates*.¹⁸

1.2 Content

Book One

1–2: Introduction

Prosper sets out to resolve the dispute between the monks of Provence and the defenders of the Augustinian account of grace, that is, between the defenders of free will and the preachers of grace. The solution cannot lie in the merits of human beings without destroying the concept of grace as a gift. Why God does not give the grace of salvation to everyone is unknowable in this life.

3–8: The Human Will

The will of fallen man is either sensual in infants or animal in adults, but can become spiritual by grace (3–4). Those whose will remains animal may live lives according to the rules of justice and morality, but cannot attain eternal happiness, because they do not refer their correct actions to the praise and honor of God. Even if they come to know God through creation, they fail to acknowledge him as the source of their gifts and sin through pride. Hence, since they were given God's gifts, yet fell into idolatry, they were without excuse. All of Israel would have fallen into the same idolatry without the support of God's grace (5–7). The spiritual man loves in himself God's work in him, and

¹⁸ M. Cappuyns, *L'origine des 'Capitula' d'Orange 529*, *RecTh* 6 (1934), 121–142, especially 140–141.

good will, the first sprout of all the virtues, becomes spiritual when one refers all his actions to God (8).

9–14: God’s Work upon and Transformation of the Will

When God transforms the will by grace, the old will is not replaced by a new will; rather the same will is healed and repaired (9–10). Man born of Adam cannot rise to a spiritual dignity except under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, and without the grace of God we can partake of no true virtue. No one, whether learned or unlearned of any race or rank, comes to God unless moved by the grace of God. When the word of God is preached exteriorly, the grace of God transforms the heart of the listener interiorly. The law gave commandments, but only grace enables us to fulfill them. Despite grace, temptations remain to our great benefit for they keep us from pride and show that we need the continuous help of grace (11–14).

15–24: The Rules for the Interpretation of 1 Tim. 2, 4

Given the firm faith that all good things come from God, we must not obscure what is clear nor stubbornly pursue what is hidden. God’s foreknowledge and plan cannot fail, and his promises are fulfilled since God cannot lie (15–17). Scripture provides some hermeneutic rules: “All men” at times refers to only some, and “the whole” often refers to a part (18–21). The Bible provides many examples of such expressions (22–23). The Bible, at times, also speaks of the people of a certain time as if it were speaking of the people of all time (24).

25–40: Exegesis of 1 Tim. 2, 4

These rules of interpretation do not run counter to 1 Tim. 2, 4, which must be read in its whole context (25). 1 Tim. 2, 1 asks us to pray for the salvation of all people, and Prosper appeals to the prayer of the universal Church as normative for interpreting the apostle’s words (26).

27–28: Yet, why some of these prayers are not answered remains hidden, as Rom. 11, 25–36 shows.

29–30: The reasons for many things that God does cannot be known by us.

31–35: The explanation, however, cannot lie in human merits. This is clear from the case of innocent infants who die without baptism and of sinful adults who die immediately after baptism (32–33); the parable in Matth. 20 also confirms this same fact (34–35).

36: It is simply up to God's choice to whom he grants the grace of salvation.

37: Without God's grace all men are sinful.

38–39: But all can be saved by his grace.

40: Still, the details of God's election are unknown and unknowable in this life.

41–42: The Pelagians have to admit that the reasons why God chooses some and rejects others are unknown to us in this life, and these reasons cannot lie in human merits, as can be seen from the case of infants.

43–57: As Prosper shows, the Bible supplies ample evidence that all human virtues and merits are the effects of grace.

44–49: First of all, texts are presented to show that faith is the mother of every good will and just action; the faith by which the impious are justified comes only from the gift of God and can be attributed to no merits. Rather, faith is given in order that it might be the beginning of merit.

50–55: Secondly, texts are presented to prove that any increase in virtue and merit comes from grace, first, from the OT (Psalms, Proverbs, Sirach, Wisdom [with parallel texts from the NT], Isaiah, Job, and Jeremiah [and Baruch]), and then from the NT (Paul's Letters, Matthew, and John).

56: Finally, texts are presented from the NT (Paul's Letters, Luke, and John) to show that final perseverance is a gift of God's grace.

57–58: The texts cited make clear that nothing that pertains to meriting eternal life can be begun, increased, or brought to perfection except by the grace of God. But why God, who wills to save all human beings (1 Tim. 2, 4), does not give the grace of salvation to all remains an inscrutable mystery.

Book Two

1: Introduction

Three truths must be held: 1) that God wills the salvation of all human beings, 2) that no one comes to salvation except by the help of grace, and 3) that God's judgments cannot be fathomed. If we do not ask about what cannot be known, no basis for dispute remains between the first two points.

2–10: God's Universal Salvific Will

2–4: Prosper turns to scriptural proofs of God's will to save all men in the missioning of the apostles to teach and baptize all nations, and yet many people rejected their ministry.

5–6: The call of some peoples was mysteriously delayed, by which we are taught that amid his general promises, works, and commands God arranges others in a special order.

7: In the past God poured out his special grace upon the people of Israel, although his goodness never left other peoples without the means to know and fear him through his creation.

8: Before the coming of Christ grace worked in two ways: through the testimony of creation and miracles of God's goodness in all nations, but more abundantly in Israel through the law and the prophets.

9–10: Even in the NT times grace is not given to all in the same measure, and each one advances in the measure that the Lord grants.

11–13: 1 Cor. 12, 3–11 shows the diversity of gifts that the one Spirit gives to each as he wills. Each person is given without merit the grace by which to earn merit.

14: We cannot know the reason for the inequality of grace, and we should stand in awe of it, as Saint Paul did, rather than attempt to explain it.

15–35: But we can know that the mercy and justice of God have always nourished the bodies and helped the minds of human beings (15).

16–25: OT times: Prosper shows this in the times from creation to the flood (16–22), from the time of Noah to Abraham (23–

24), and from the time of Abraham to Christ (25). In an excursus (17–20) he argues that grace may have its effects on individuals immediately or only after some time and on peoples only after many generations or never at all. The texts show, he claims, that no one is abandoned by God unless that person first abandoned God and no one's fall comes about by God's disposition, although many depart from him by their free wills.

26–31: NT times: At the time of Christ's coming the Jewish people were no better than earlier ones. Rather, by his coming and grace Christ gathered a people for himself through persecution and sufferings (26–28). Christ died for the impious and sinners, from whose number no one is found to be free (29–30). On Pentecost the apostles proclaimed the gospel of Christ to people gathered from throughout the Roman Empire (31).

32–35: Present times: If the grace of Christ has not yet shone forth for people in some parts of the world, we should believe that the time of their calling has been arranged by the just judgment of God and that he has not denied them the general help always offered to all men (32). Although the mystery of salvation in Christ was hidden from previous generations, it was not also hidden from the prophets (33) or the apostles (34). The grace by which all the nations are called into the kingdom of Christ was concealed from earlier ages by God's hidden plan, and yet it is piously believed that God willed the salvation of all men (35).

36–48: The Difficulty Posed by Unbaptized Infants

36–41: The multitude of infants who die without baptism poses no small difficulty (36). In their case we must firmly believe in God's justice and not seek to know what he willed to be hidden (37). There is no reason to complain about an untimely death since every day of our life is subject to the mortality contracted through sin (38). Under the just providence of God no one is born or dies except how and when divine wisdom arranges it (39). Asked why God does not give to all the chance to embrace the faith, Prosper suggests that such people receive the grace always given to all. He explains that, as in baptism infants believe

by the faith of others, so other infants do not believe because of the unbelief of others (40). The hearts of the faithful would become careless if there was nothing to fear in neglecting the baptism of infants. If the happiness of infants could not be lost, the error that grace is given in accord with merits would seem to find strong support (41).

42–48: Whether we contemplate the past or present, we reasonably believe that God wills and has always willed the salvation of all human beings by his general gifts to all and by his special grace to some (42). God's grace is powerful, but does not act with violence (43). There is no virtue, whether in the beginning, growth, or final perseverance of the faithful that comes about without God's gift and without the consent of our will (44), which is brought about not only by preaching and teaching, but also by fear (45). God gives us the grace of believing in Christ, but does not take from us the mutability of the will by which we can abandon the faith. Because of our proclivity to temptation, we need not merely to watch, but also to pray (46). Peter's three-fold denial of Christ, despite Christ's having prayed for him, shows that weakness and mutability of the will remains even in those who are given the grace of perseverance (47–48).

49: Prosper concludes that the goodness of God has always cared for and continues to care for the whole of mankind by common gifts and by special protections so that no one who perishes has any excuse and so that no one can boast of his own righteousness.

50–59: He repeats the three truths stated at the beginning of the second book (50) and cites 1 Tim. 4, 10 to illustrate God's general goodness given to all and his special benefits given to the faithful (51). The inequality of God's gifts affords no grounds for complaint (52–53). Under the mercy and justice of God no one perishes who ought not to perish (54). Eph. 1, 3–6 prove God's eternal foreknowledge of the elect (55). Yet no one should maintain that good works or prayer are useless (56). God's immutable knowledge and plan neither imposes necessity on our will nor

dispenses us from the need for good works. Grace is not given to the elect in order to free them from temptation (57). A passage from Tobit shows that God's election does not abolish the need for prayer (58). No one's correction should be neglected, nor should anyone's salvation be despaired of. Thus the Church prays for the perseverance of believers and for the conversion of nonbelievers (59).

1.3 Question of Authorship

Whether VocGen was written by Prosper or someone else had been debated since the 17th century, and the debate continued through the 20th century, although the question of the work's authenticity is now considered settled. Prosper's move to Rome and his friendship with Leo the Great along with the fact that after the death of Cassian the controversy in Gaul had quieted down are now taken to explain the more moderate and more polished tone of Prosper's writing. Of the two recent books on Prosper, that by Elberti argues convincingly and conclusively for the Prosperian authorship, while that by Hwang simply takes it as an accepted fact.¹⁹ Since, however, the authenticity of the work had long been debated, it seems good to review the main arguments for the Prosperian authorship, for which the present work offers some new support.

a) External Evidence

The manuscript tradition (see p. 44) offers only three names. Of the twenty-nine extant mss. of the work, fifteen attribute it to Prosper, that is, all those pertaining to the family κ , among which are the oldest manuscripts dating from the 9th and 10th centuries (*PWL*),²⁰ one of the μ family (*G*, 15th century), and one of the two oldest manuscripts of the λ family (*M*, 12th century).

¹⁹ A. Elberti, *Prospero d'Aquitania: teologo e discepolo* (Roma: Edizioni Dehoniane 1999). Hwang, *Intrepid Lover* (see n. 1), 19–20.

²⁰ For the sigla see p. 78.

Two other late manuscripts of the μ family (*Ma* and *X*) attribute it to Augustine. Ten manuscripts of the λ family attribute the work to Ambrose,²¹ and one is unclear.²² The Ambrosian authorship is rejected by everyone since the bishop of Milan died in 397, well before the Pelagian controversy arose, not to mention the controversy with the so-called Semi-Pelagians, which began only in the last years of Augustine's life.²³ This attribution may have come about by reason of the fact that codex *V*, to which the later members of family λ can be traced back, was written in Milan where Ambrose was bishop. No scholar has, it seems, noticed or commented on the attribution of the work to Augustine; the fact that the author of *VocGen* says that the controversy has been going on for a long time,²⁴ coupled with the universalistic interpretation of the salvific will of God in 1 Tim. 2, 4, seems to preclude the possibility of Augustine as author of the work. Besides, style and patterns of argumentation do not fit with Augustine, nor is *VocGen* mentioned in the *Retractationes* or in the *Indiculum* of Augustine's works. The title attributed to the work in the oldest manuscript of the μ family, *De libero arbitrio et gratia*, could well have been the starting point for this false attribution in other members of the μ family. Given the impossibility of an Ambrosian or an Augustinian authorship, coupled with the antiquity of the mss. that attribute the work to Prosper, the weight of ms. evidence clearly points to Prosper as the author.

Furthermore, two 9th century clerics, Ratramnus, a priest of Corbie, and Hincmar, archbishop of Reims, attributed *VocGen*

²¹ Of these only *V* stems from the 12th century, while all the rest date from the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries.

²² *Q*, which dates from the 12th century, gives *De libero arbitrio et gratia* as the title of the work, but the name of the author is illegible, though a note from the 12th century says that the ms. contains works of Augustine.

²³ For the term "Semi-Pelagian" see n. 4.

²⁴ See *VocGen* 1, 1, 2 *magna et difficilis dudum vertitur quaestio*.

to Prosper.²⁵ Thus we can conclude that in the 9th century Prosper's authorship was commonly accepted in the West. Other documents do not contribute to the solution of this problem. Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople in the 9th century, spoke of a certain Prosper who published at Rome some small books (*libelli*) against the Pelagian heresy.²⁶ It is not clear, however, that the books are those of VocGen. Pope Gelasius quoted the work late in the 5th century, but referred to the author only vaguely as *quidam magister ecclesiae*.²⁷ His omission of any name has led some to the view that the work was published anonymously as well as to the view that Prosper could not have been the author of VocGen.²⁸ But the vague reference to the author by Gelasius provides an even stronger argument against a Leonine authorship which was held by Quesnel (see below).

b) Status quaestionis

A. Elberti's recent book provides an excellent summary of the debate on the authorship of the work.²⁹ Apart from Erasmus, who attributed the work to Eucherius of Lyon and G. J. Vossius, who attributed it to Hilary of Arles,³⁰ the Prosperian authorship was unquestioned by scholars until the time of P. Quesnel, who

²⁵ See Ratramnus, *De praedestinatione Dei et libero arbitrio* 1 (PL 121, 27C) and Hincmar, *De praedestinatione Dei et libero arbitrio posterior dissertatio* (PL 125, 117–475). Hincmar quotes 21 passages from VocGen, and it is clear that he is quoting from a ms. in the κ family (see below p. 42).

²⁶ See Phot., *Bibl. cod.* 54 (PG 103, 97).

²⁷ In *Adversum Pelagianam haeresim* (= coll. Avell., epist. 97) 47, Gelasius (pope from 492 to 496) quotes 1, 13, 13–14. The words quoted are from the passage omitted in λ . See below p. 70.

²⁸ "L'idée de l'anonymat voulu fut lancée par Quesnel et Antelmi et vulgarisée par Dupin" (Cappuyns, *L'Auteur* [see n. 7], 199, n. 1).

²⁹ Elberti, *Prospero d'Aquitania* (see n. 19), 143–160.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 143.

proposed Leo the Great as its author.³¹ His strongest argument for a non-Prosperian authorship rests upon the difference between Prosper's doctrine of grace and that found in VocGen. The latter work certainly places an emphasis of the universal salvific will of God, frequently quoting or alluding to 1 Tim. 2, 4, while not interpreting it in a particularist sense, as Augustine himself had done.³² VocGen also does not mention Augustine at all and mentions predestination only once in a quotation from Eph. 1, 5 (2, 55). Quesnel also claimed that the author of VocGen was the same as the author of Epistula ad Demetriadem de vera humilitate, which he considered not to be the work of Prosper. Quesnel's view was followed by L. E. Du Pin, but strongly opposed by J. Antelmi (Antelmy).³³ The Ballerini brothers rejected both Leo and Prosper of Aquitaine as the author, while proposing another author also named Prosper.³⁴

³¹ P. Quesnel, *Dissertatio secunda de auctore librorum de vocatione omnium gentium*, in: S. Leonis Magni Papae primi Opera omnia ..., vol. 2 (Lutetiae Parisiorum 1675), reprinted in PL 55, 339–372.

³² See, for example, Aug., ench. 103, 27, where Augustine explains that the verse means either that there is no human being saved whom God does not will to be saved or that *omnes homines* means some human beings from every nation, class, occupation, age, social condition, and so on. See below p. 39 for further discussion of Augustine's views.

³³ L. E. Du Pin, *Nouvelle bibliothèque des auteurs ecclésiastiques* (Paris, 1695). See PL 51, 639–647 for the Latin translation of Du Pin's article. J. Antelmius, *De veris operibus SS. Patrum Leonis Magni et Prosperi Aquitani dissertationes criticae* (Lutetiae Parisiorum: Dezallier 1689).

³⁴ See *Admonitio in libros de Vocatione omnium Gentium*, in: S. Leonis Magni, *Romani Pontificis, Opera ...* vol. 2 (Venetiis: Occhi 1756), 163–166 (reprinted in PL 55, 157–159): “Difficultates enim a Quesnello objectae ... id solum evincunt horum librorum auctorem non esse Prosperum Aquitanium. At si dicatur esse aliquis alius Prosper aliunde non cognitus, qui sub Leonis aevum et ante Gelasium vixerit; ea objecta nihil offi-ciunt...” (166).

Early in the 20th century L. Valentin regarded favorably the Prosperian authorship,³⁵ and soon afterward M. Cappuyns argued that it was certain that Prosper was the author of the work.³⁶ L. Pelland, however, regards the Prosperian authorship as merely very probable, but not certain.³⁷ At mid-century P. De Letter, S.J., examined Cappuyns' arguments and agreed with his acceptance of the Prosperian authorship.³⁸ A few years later, however, G. de Plinval cast doubts on it: "En dépit des arguments qui ont été avancés, nous ne croyons pas que Prosper soit l'auteur du *De vocatione omnium gentium* ... encore qu'il en ait sans doute inspiré certains passages, mais à coup sûr, il a été le

³⁵ L. Valentin, *St. Prosper d'Aquitaine. Étude sur la littérature latine ecclésiastique au V^e siècle en Gaule* (Toulouse, 1900).

³⁶ "Ces coïncidences nombreuses d'expression, tant pour les idées simples et ordinaires que pour les réflexions plus originales, ce parallélisme poursuivi à travers toute l'étendue du *De Vocatione* et de l'œuvre de S. Prosper, nous ramènent forcément à la question que nous nous posions en terminant l'analyse doctrinale. Quel est donc cet auteur qui pense, raisonne, écrit comme Prosper sinon Prosper lui-même?" Cappuyns, *L'Auteur* (see n. 7), 220.

³⁷ Pelland, *S. Prosperi Aquitani doctrina* (see n. 12), 154: "Ex his breviter animadversis videtur concludendum: 1° Nulli auctori (praeter Prosperum Aquitanum) favere argumenta solide probabilia neque interna neque externa; 2° nulla argumenta peremptoria adversari origini prosperianae; 3° datis argumentis externis et praesertim internis, solide cum probabilitate posse hos libros *De voc. omn. gent.* Prospero Aquitano attribui. Non auderemus tamen hanc attributionem esse certam contendere, propter difficultates non utique apodicticas, sed non spernendas."

³⁸ P. De Letter, *St. Prosper of Aquitaine: The Call of All Nations. Ancient Christian Writers 14* (Westminster, MD: The Newman Press 1952), 9: "We may, then, align ourselves with a number of patristic scholars and safely accept Cappuyns' conclusion that St. Prosper's authorship of the *De vocatione* is historically established." – Among the other scholars whom De Letter cites as favoring Prosper as author are G. Bardy, *Prosper d'Aquitaine* (Saint), *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* 13, 1 (1936), 847, who regards it as certain, along with B. Altaner, *Patrologie*, 2nd ed. (Freiburg: Herder 1950), 400.

contemporain, l'ami et le confident du pape Saint Léon. ... Les arguments présentés par Quesnel ... gardent leur valeur. Ne pas oublier que l'auteur du *De vocatione* est aussi l'auteur d'une Lettre à Démétriade (PL 55, 162–180) qu'il paraît bien difficile d'attribuer à Prosper.³⁹ M. K. C. Krabbe, on the other hand, has argued that Prosper was the author of the Letter to Demetrias,⁴⁰ and A. Solignac claims that, despite the rejection of the authenticity of the letter by Cappuyns and de Plinval, "l'étude de Sister Krabbe conduit à reconsidérer la question."⁴¹ In his recent study of Prosper, A. Elberti considers at length the arguments of Quesnel and shows quite conclusively that they do not provide any sound reasons for rejecting the Prosperian authorship and good reasons for accepting it. He concludes regarding *VocGen*: "È un'opera di matrice fortemente agostiniana, in cui l'agostinismo primitivo appare molto attutito e a volte trasformato. Possiamo mantenere l'opinione che essa sia stata scritta a Roma verso la metà del V secolo. Vanno escluse chiaramente le due matrici ambrosiana et leoniana. Respecchia chiaramente il pensiero e la dottrina di uno dei discepoli più intimo e fedele di Agostino. Pertanto, ci sembra di poter tranquillamente sostenere che il *De vocatione omnium gentium* sia frutto del pensiero teologico et della penna de *Prospero d'Aquitania*."⁴² Following Cappuyns and Elberti, I have argued for a Prosperian authorship of *VocGen*, relying on the evidence of the oldest manuscripts, the

³⁹ G. de Plinval, *Prosper d'Aquitaine: interprète de saint Augustin*, *RecAug* 1 (1955), 339–355, here 351 with n. 51. In *L'universalisme de l'histoire du salut dans le "De vocatione omnium gentium"*, *RHE* 68 (1973), 731–758, Czelaw Bartnik prescinds from the question of authorship.

⁴⁰ See M. K. C. Krabbe, *Epistula ad Demetriadem De Vera Humiliate. A Critical Text and Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. *Patristic Studies* 97 (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press 1965).

⁴¹ A. Solignac, *Prosper d'Aquitaine*, *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* 12 (Paris: Beauchesne 1986), cols. 2446–2456, here 2452.

⁴² Elberti, *Prospero d'Aquitania* (see n. 19), 160.

impossibility of Ambrosian authorship, the great improbability of Augustinian authorship, and the weakness of the arguments favoring Saint Leo or anyone else.⁴³

c) Internal Evidence

Quesnel's argument for the non-Prosperian authorship rested mainly on the following five points of internal evidence. First, Quesnel argued that the initial paragraph of the work and especially the verb *annitar* (1, 1, 12) indicates that the author was first at that point undertaking – and undertaking rather timidly – to deal with the question, something that could hardly apply to Prosper, who had by 450 been long and vigorously involved in the controversy.⁴⁴ Secondly, he pointed to the differences between Prosper's teaching on grace and that found in VocGen (see above). Thirdly, he claimed that the polished style and eloquent diction of VocGen was markedly different from that of Prosper's works. Fourthly, he noted the absence of any mention of Augustine in VocGen, although Prosper had elsewhere shown himself a staunch defender and promoter of the fine points of Augustine's teaching,⁴⁵ and fifthly, he argued that Pope Gelasius' attribution of the work to *quidam magister ecclesiae* (see n. 27) indicates that the author of the work was unknown by the late 5th century.

In response to Quesnel's arguments, Elberti points out that the verb *annitar* need not mean a first attempt, but simply an

⁴³ See R. Teske, *The Augustinianism of Prosper of Aquitaine Revisited*, *Studia patristica* 23 (Leuven: Peeters 2006), 491 – 503.

⁴⁴ Appealing to the view of Vossius, Quesnel says of the author of VocGen, "ejus sententia non ex amussim quadrat doctrinae Prosperi, sed mediam potius viam sequitur inter Augustini sententiam et eam quae fuit Semipelagianorum" (*Dissertatio secunda* [see n. 31], 12, 1; PL 55, 344 – 345).

⁴⁵ Quesnel says of Prosper, "Hic enim palam et publice assertorem se vindicemque sancti Augustini exhibet, ejus doctrinae apices omnes ubique acriter ac strenue propugnat, premit studiose omnia ejus vestigia, ubique sancti doctoris animum, doctrinam, sensusque omnes spirat. Nihil tale in gemino libello" (*Dissertatio secunda* [see n. 31], 12, 3; PL 55, 345).

attempt, and he finds it a comparable expression of the author's supposed timidity in *Responsiones ad excerpta Genuensium*.⁴⁶ The second objection is at the heart of the question and has been discussed above (pp. 26–29). To the third objection Elberti suggests that the better style of *VocGen* compared to other works of Prosper can be explained by the fact that he wrote his other works in haste and amid full controversy, while at Rome, where he wrote *VocGen*, he had the time and leisure to refine the style and diction.⁴⁷ In reply to the fourth objection Elberti suggests that the absence of any mention of Augustine could simply be the result of the author's wanting “evitare ogni pretesto che potesse riaccendere la lotta e tentare così di convincere più facilmente gli avversari.”⁴⁸ Finally, to the fifth objection Elberti replies that Gelasius could quite properly have called Prosper *quidam magister ecclesiae* and notes that, if the pontiff were referring to Leo, he would more likely have referred to him as his predecessor.⁴⁹

Cappuyns has provided more detailed arguments for the Prosperian authorship. For instance, he singles out biblical citations the wordings of which differ from the Vulgate as evidence that Prosper is the author of *VocGen*. With modern electronic resources, the evidence can be made even stronger. He points to the passage from *Luc. 22, 31–32*, which is quoted in *VocGen* 1, 56, 65–68 and 2, 46, 30–33 *Dixit autem Iesus Petro* (these words are not quoted in 2, 46): *Simon, Simon, ecce Satanas (ex)postulavit, ut vos cerneret velut (sicut in 1, 56) triticum. Ego autem rogavi pro te, Petre* (not in 2, 46), *ne deficiat fides tua, et tu tandem* (not in

⁴⁶ See Elberti, *Prospero d'Aquitania* (see n. 19), 146–147.

⁴⁷ See Elberti, *Prospero d'Aquitania* (see n. 19), 147.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 148: “[I]nfatti attribuendo questi libri a quel pontifice, Gelasio avrebbe adottato la formula: ‘Il nostro predecessore’; referendo invece a Prospero, Gelasio poteva ben stimare che egli fosse così abbastanza noto come autore di questi libri, da poter tacere il nome.”

1, 56) *conversus confirma fratres tuos et roga, ne intretis in temptationem*. He notes that the readings *postulavit* (for *expetivit* in the Vulgate), *cerneret* (for *cribraret*), *velut* (for *sicut*) are quite frequent in patristic authors. The vocative *Petre* is found 11 times in Augustine, twice in Prosper, once in Leo, and 17 times in later authors in PL.⁵⁰ The reading *dixit autem Iesus Petro* (for *ait autem dominus* in the Vulgate), however, is found only in Prosper's *Ad Rufinum* and *VocGen* 1, 56.⁵¹ So too, *confirma fratres tuos et roga, ne intretis in temptationem* is found only in *Ad Rufinum* and *VocGen* 1, 56 and 2, 46.⁵² The reading *tandem* (for *aliquando*) is only found once in *VocGen* 2, 46, once in *Ad Rufinum*, and once in Eusebius of Vercelli.⁵³

So too, in the passage in *VocGen* 2, 5, 14–16, *Volentes apostoli evangelizare verbum in Asia vetiti sunt ab spiritu sancto et disponentes ire in Bithyniam prohibiti sunt ab spiritu Iesu ...* where the author is referring to *Act.* 16, 6–7, the words *prohibiti sunt a spiritu Iesu* have the closest parallel in Prosper's *Contra collatorem* 12 (PL 51, 245).⁵⁴

Cappuyns also points to the remarkable combination of the images of wandering, seeking, and finding from *Matth.* 18, 12–13 and of carrying on his shoulders from *Luc.* 15, 5 in *VocGen* 1, 14, 1–4, which is also found in *Ad Rufinum* 8, 9 (PL 45, 1796–1797).⁵⁵

Turning to literary parallels, Cappuyns provides lists of expressions, which he admits are “moins significatives en elles-

⁵⁰ Cappuyns, *L'Auteur* (see n. 7), 215 says, “Le vocatif *Petre* est particulier à S. Augustin”.

⁵¹ *VocGen* 1, 56, 65 and *Ad Rufinum* 10, 11 (PL 45, 1797).

⁵² Cappuyns does not mention this fact.

⁵³ Cappuyns, *L'Auteur* (see n. 7), 215 says that *tandem* is found only in Prosper and the *Quaestiones* of Pseudo-Augustine, which are now attributed to Ambrosiaster (*quaest. test.* 7, 9, 3).

⁵⁴ Cappuyns missed the occurrence in *Contra collatorem*, which strengthens the evidence in favor of Prosper's authorship of *VocGen*.

⁵⁵ Cappuyns, *L'Auteur* (see n. 7), 217.

mêmes, mais auxquelles leur commune inspiration et leur nombre donnent quelque importance.”⁵⁶ The texts he gives in parallel columns run five pages in his article on the author of VocGen,⁵⁷ the parallels that were found conclusive are cited in the apparatus similitum of this edition. Cappuyns adds other texts whose formulation is characteristic of the thought of Prosper. First, grace is not merely the *comes*, but also the *dux* of our actions.⁵⁸ Sin and redemption do not change the nature, but the quality of the will.⁵⁹ Free choice does not explain the *adoptio* or the *abdicatio* of infants,⁶⁰ the salvation of adults who remain all their life *excordes et fatui*,⁶¹ or that of those who are converted at the last moment, after living their life *in flagitiis*.⁶²

In his study of the vocabulary and style of VocGen, Joseph J. Young has argued that the author of the work is the same as the author of the Contra collatorem. He admits that the vocabulary does not prove the Prosperian authorship of VocGen, but claims that “[t]he study of the clausulae on the other hand furnishes strong evidence that the author of the De vocatione was the author of the Contra collatorem – Prosper of Aquitaine.”⁶³ Young’s study does not, however, achieve what he claims: The first part, which lists quite a number of Latin words occurring in the work and gives parallels in other authors, proves only that

⁵⁶ Ibid., 215.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 215–219.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 216. See VocGen 1, 2; epigr. 46 (512A); carm. de ingrat. 558–562 (124A); c. coll. 2, 3 (219B); epist. 1, 4 (71A).

⁵⁹ See VocGen 1, 9; c. coll. 9, 3 (236C–237A); 12, 4 (245C–246A); 18, 3 (264C–265A).

⁶⁰ See VocGen 2, 36; resp. ad Gall. 17, 8 (162C); in psalm. 102, 13–14 (286C).

⁶¹ See VocGen 1, 5; c. coll. 13, 6 (251A).

⁶² See VocGen 1, 33; epist. 2, 17, 18 (87B).

⁶³ J. J. Young, Studies on the Style of the *De vocatione omnium Gentium* Ascribed to Prosper of Aquitaine. Patristic Studies 87 (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press 1952), 179.

VocGen stems from the 5th century, something that has never been denied. The second part, which is dedicated to prose rhythm, compares VocGen with Prosper's *Contra collatorem*; again, though Young is able to find close similarities between both works, e.g., that both prefer accentual clausulae to metrical ones and that the different types of *cursus* are distributed in approximately the same proportions (see p. 35), his results remain inconclusive because these features were common to other authors of the time.

Nevertheless, there is strong external and internal evidence for the present consensus of scholars that the author of VocGen is Prosper of Aquitaine.

1.4 Language and Style

As Young has shown, the vocabulary of VocGen corresponds with the standards of late antique Christian prose works. In its syntax, which Young left aside, VocGen also has many characteristics of Late Latin. This holds true, for example, for the following phenomena: the indefinite pronoun *aliquis* occurs after *si* (2, 19, 14; 30, 3; LHS 195²);⁶⁴ in four places, the author uses the periphrastic form of the present perfect tense, i.e., *habere* plus the perfect passive participle (1, 57, 12 *donatum habet*; 2, 7, 21 *dispositum habens*; 37, 3sq. *habere cognitum*; 49, 17 *praecognitum habuit*, cf. LHS 319⁴); he construes *verba dicendi* and *sentiendi* with *quod* and subjunctive instead of the accusative with an infinitive (1, 2, 3; 5; 6, 1; 6, 16 etc.; LHS 576–578), but with *quia* (2, 35, 8) or *quoniam* (2, 24, 14) only in biblical allusions; *siquidem* introducing a subordinate clause is always followed by the subjunctive (2, 14, 9; 46, 36; 47, 15; 51, 17); Prosper has *iubere* with dative, something that occurs only rarely in classical Latin (2, 3, 1sq. *praedicatoribus evangelii quid a domino iubeatur*; ThIL VII/2, 577, 39–63); he

⁶⁴ M. Leumann-J.B. Hofmann-A. Szantyr, *Lateinische Grammatik, Zweiter Band: Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik. Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft II*, 2, 2 (München: Beck 1965).

uses *merito* as a preposition with the genitive as equivalent to *propter* (2, 51, 12), as other post-classical authors from Tertullian onwards did (LHS 133⁴; ThlL VIII, 817, 60–818, 19); in two instances he omitted, it seems, the accusative of the reflexive pronoun, *se*, which according to the rules of classical grammar would be needed as indicating the subject in accusativus cum infinitivo. This, however, is not certain since in both places *se* might have been omitted erroneously due to haplography: *cui commoriturum spoponderat* (2, 46, 39) and *qui hoc ingeniose arbitrantur opponere* (2, 56, 7; LHS 362^{3,4}).

With regard to the style, VocGen agrees with other writings of the fifth century, e.g., in enumerations, the last element is usually introduced by a copula, and in some places Prosper uses the abstract for the concrete (e.g., 2, 31, 1 [cf. Eph. 2, 11] *circumcisio ... praeputium* instead of *circumcisi ... non circumcisi*; 2, 12, 18sq. ... *duorum servorum vigilantissima industria non solum gloriosis laudibus honestatur, sed etiam in aeterna domini sui gaudia intrare praecipitur*). – The most significant features pertain to the word order: *igitur* sometimes occurs in the initial position (1, 38, 20; 2, 7, 17; 48, 14; cf. ThlL V/2, 760–761), but what strikes a reader most is Prosper's predilection to locate constructions with participles, which can be long and complex, either at the beginning of a clause (cf. 2, 11, 1 *haec magistro gentium tanta luce, tanta evidentia praedicante*...) or – more often – at the end of a clause, cf. 1, 5, 28–30 *incipientes in semetipsis etiam illa temporalia dei dona corrumpere et a bono eorum usu in consuetudinem innumera-bilium transire vitiorum*; 2, 16, 11sq. *sic impendens moderaminis sui regimen, ut declinandi ad vitia non adimeret potestatem*; 21, 3sq. *custodiens discretionem sui a permixtione carnalium*; 43, 13sq. *de sua habens mutabilitate si deficit, de gratiae opitulatione si proficit*; with ablative absolute see 1, 36, 3sq. *ab ea gratia incipientibus meritis*...; 2, 4, 5–7 *habente quidem salutis suae damnum rebellium portione, sed obtinente plenitudinis censum fidelium dignitate*; 5, 16sq. *non utique negata illis populis gratia, sed quantum apparuit retardata*; 7, 15 *implente omnia spiritu dei*; 26, 3sq. *vigente*

apud veros Israelitas spe redemptionis nostrae; 29,37–39 donante Christo imitatoribus suis de persecutionibus regum aeternarum stemmata coronarum.

VocGen is “one of the more carefully composed works of the fifth century” (Young [see n. 63], 179). As can be seen throughout the work, Prosper strives for rhetorical effects: For example, in 1,14,1–10 an exhortation is presented in a threefold anaphora (*quaerat dominus imaginem suam*); antithetic cola are arranged in parallelism to the effect of rhyme (1,58,11sq. *magis... in electione gratiae quam in retributione iustitiae*; 2,6,7sq. *dormitet assuetis, si non excitetur insolitis*; 2,48,19sq. *qui veniunt dei auxilio diriguntur, qui non veniunt sua pertinacia reluctantur*), some phrases sound stilted and sententious (e.g., 1,32,11sq. *opus exserit pietas, causam obscurat potestas*). – The prose rhythm, which Young compared with Prosper’s *Contra collatorem*, resembles the standards of many other writings of the same time: The rhythmical cursus is predominant over the metrical clausulae. The author has a predilection for the cursus planus (ca. 32%), the cursus tardus (ca. 24%), and the cursus velox (ca. 21%); within the clausulae one can find cretic combined with trochee (ca. 29%), dcretic (ca. 12%), and a variety of ditrochee forms (11%). In rhetorically elaborated passages as in 1,1–2, the metrical system prevails. Towards the end of VocGen cursus and clausulae occur more rarely.

VocGen is indebted to Augustine not only with regard to theological aspects. Phrasing and style come often close to Augustine, who is beyond any doubt the main point of reference. This is in some instances true even for the wording: For example, the superlative *annosissimus* (2,39,21) occurs only here and in Augustine (epist. 137,3; in psalm. 103, enarr. 3,15; serm. 110A,1; civ. dei 8,15; c. Donatist. 8,44), and the adjective *inamissibilis* (2,41,5) was used by Augustine (besides civ. dei 11,10 and 22,30 in the anti-Pelagian works: nat. grat. 51,59; c. Iul. op. imperf. 6,11,4; 19,1), by Prosper himself (c. coll. 9,3), and by Leo the Great (tract. 85, lin. 39; 92, lin. 73). Apart from the

wording, there are close similarities to Augustine in phrasing from the very beginning: In 1, 1, 1sq. the outline of the content (*inter defensores liberi arbitrii et praedicatores gratiae dei magna et difficilis dudum vertitur quaestio*) echoes the first words of Augustine's grat. lib. arb. (*propter eos qui hominis liberum arbitrium sic praedicant et defendunt, ut dei gratiam... negare audeant et conentur auferre, multa iam disseruimus litterisque mandavimus*), and the topos of modesty (*modulum facultatis meae*) is clearly modeled after Aug., in evang. Ioh. 99, 2 (*pro mei moduli facultate*). There are countless further parallels, something that is not surprising, given Prosper's indebtedness even to Augustine's theology. Identifying and analyzing them would go beyond the scope of this edition. – In some places the language of VocGen is close to Leo, which led scholars to attribute this work to him (cf. p. 23sq.); however, Prosper may have influenced Leo or may even have revised his works which would explain the similarities. The most significant examples are from book two:⁶⁵ 2, 8, 17–22 *nisi ipsa totius mundi inenarrabilis pulchritudo et inenarrabilium beneficiorum eius dives et ordinata largitio, per quae humanis cordibus quaedam aeternae legis tabulae praebebantur, ut in paginis elementorum ac voluminibus temporum communis et publica divinae institutionis doctrina legeretur...* – cf. Leo M., serm. 18, 2, 48–51 *quoniam et per ipsa elementa mundi tamquam per publicas paginas significationem divinae voluntatis accipimus nec umquam cessat superna eruditio, quando etiam de his quae nobis famulantur imbui-mur. 2, 12, 25–29 sedente filio hominis in sede maiestatis suae, ante quem facta congregatione omnium gentium alii dicuntur ad dexteram, alii ad sinistram constituendi, laudatis dextris de operibus caritatis nihil aliud sinistris obicietur quam misericordiae benevolentiae-que neglectus* – cf. Leo M., serm. 10, 2, 51–60 *cum autem venerit filius hominis in maiestate sua et sederit in throno gloriae suae, et congregatis omnibus gentibus, bonorum et malorum fuerit facta dis-*

⁶⁵ Cappuyns, L'Auteur (see n. 7), 221–224 discusses five of the examples given here.

cretio, in quo laudabuntur qui ad dexteram stabunt, nisi in operibus benevolentiae et caritatis officiis, quae Iesus Christus sibi impensa reputabit? ... Sinistris vero quid obicietur nisi neglectus dilectionis, duritia inhumanitatis et pauperibus misericordia denegata? 2, 31, 17sq. ad cuius rei (scil. ut evangelium totus audiret mundus) effectum credimus providentia dei Romani regni latitudinem praeparatam – cf. Leo M., serm. 82, 2, 40 – 44 (β) ut autem huius inenarrabilis gratiae per totum mundum diffunderetur effectus, Romanum regnum divina providentia praeparavit. 2, 46, 40 – 42 qui ergo tunc conturbatum cor apostoli non humanis, sed divinis convenit oculis et ad largos poenitudinis fletus potenti incitavit aspectu – cf. Leo M., serm. 60, 4, 93 – 96 ... Iesus... trepidationem discipuli foris positi divino vidit intuitu et paventis animum, mox ut respexit, erexit et in fletus poenitudinis incitavit. 2, 48, 1–3 hanc fortissimam petram, quae ab illa principali petra communionem et virtutis sumpsit et nominis... – cf. Leo M., epist. 28, 5 (PL 54, 773A) a principali petra soliditatem et virtutis traxit et nominis. 2, 59, 14–16 dum enim in hoc corpore vivitur, nullius est negligenda correctio, nullius desperanda reparatio – cf. Leo M., serm. 34, 5, 184sq. dum in hoc corpore vivitur, nullius est desperanda reparatio et omnium est optanda correctio.

1.5 Sources

a) Biblical

Prosper quotes extensively from both the Old and the New Testament,⁶⁶ whereas there is not a single instance where he refers explicitly to any patristic author. Some passages, mainly at the end of book one, consist almost entirely of biblical quotations arranged according to the order of the Bible, which seems

⁶⁶ From the Old Testament VocGen cites Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Deuteronomy, Tobit, Esther, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom, Sirach, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Baruch, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Zechariah, and Malachi. From the New Testament the work cites all the books except Philemon, 2 and 3 John, Jude, and Revelation.

to indicate that VocGen meant to provide the reader with an extensive manual of proofs from the Holy Scriptures to be used in further argumentation.

From the text of the quotations it is clear that Prosper had some Vetus Latina version as well as the Vulgate at his disposal. Early in the last century Cappuyns wrote, “L’on sait qu’au second tiers du V^e s., l’usage des versions hiéronymiennes de la bible n’était un phénomène isolé. Rien d’étonnant donc qu’on les trouve souvent sous la plume de Prosper et de l’auteur du *De Vocatione*.”⁶⁷ In his translation of VocGen De Letter adds, “Broadly speaking, we may say that the New Testament books are generally quoted according to the Vulgate, with occasional inversions in the order of words and slight variants that hardly affect the meaning. ... Of the Old Testament, the Psalms and Job are consistently quoted according to the Vulgate. Most of the other books are cited from older versions, especially the Prophets...”⁶⁸ De Letter is correct regarding the Psalms and Job where VocGen follows the Vulgate in all but a few words. VocGen also follows the Vulgate of Sirach and Psalms with only a few very slight variations. In the last fifty years more volumes of the edition of the Vetus Latina have been completed and the Vetus Latina Database is accessible online, so that there is now no doubt that Prosper used the Vetus Latina for Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Deuteronomy, Tobit, Esther, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Baruch, Hosea, Joel, Amos, and Zechariah, though it does not seem to be possible to identify his Bible with any specific pre-hieronymian tradition.⁶⁹ For the New Testament, in which the Vetus Latina and the Vulgate are frequently

⁶⁷ Cappuyns, *L’Auteur* (see n. 7), 214.

⁶⁸ De Letter, *St. Prosper* (see n. 38), 173–174.

⁶⁹ Some quotations that match texts in Leo were used by Quesnel (PL 55, 349–351) as a support of Leo’s authorship, though others do not match those in Leo. Besides, it should not cause surprise if Prosper, who was the pope’s secretary, had access to the same Bible texts Leo had at his disposal.

identical or almost so, it is in many cases difficult to say with certainty which version was used. It seems clear that VocGen used the Vetus Latina for the four Gospels and for 1 Corinthians. But the Vulgate, it seems, was used for 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, 1 and 2 Timothy, Titus, 2 Peter, and 1 John.

b) Patristic

The clearest patristic source for VocGen is the writings of Augustine. In his notes to the English translation, De Letter points out numerous examples of Augustinian themes and ideas that are found in VocGen. For example, he points to the presupposition underlying the initial dilemma in 1, 1, namely, “the Augustinian idea that God’s will and grace are always effective of their purpose.”⁷⁰ Similarly, the often repeated principle of Prosper’s solution to the dilemma, namely, that God’s judgments remain unknowable to us in this life, is Augustinian.⁷¹ Prosper’s teaching on the good works and virtues of the pagans, who do not refer their actions to God, is also clearly Augustinian.⁷² Augustine’s teaching that the virtues of the pagans are only vices is also found in Prosper.⁷³ His teaching that the *initium fidei* and every good will begins with God’s grace is characteristic of the late Augustine and is also found in canon five of the Council of Orange.⁷⁴ De Letter also points to Prosper’s claim that men

⁷⁰ De Letter, St. Prosper (see n. 38), 171, n. 3.

⁷¹ Ibid., n. 4.

⁷² Ibid., 173, nn. 16–17.

⁷³ See civ. dei 19,25; c. Iulian. 4,3,17; in evang. Ioh. 45,2. Augustine’s teaching needs to be carefully understood in its context, since the proposition was condemned among the errors of Michael Baius. See Enchiridion Symbolorum Definitionum et Declarationum de Rebus Fidei et Morum, ed. H. Denzinger and A. Schönmetzer, 32nd ed. (Herder: Freiburg im Breisgau 1963), 1925; hereafter DS.

⁷⁴ De Letter, St. Prosper (see n. 38), 176, n. 35, and DS 375; cf. Cappuyns, L’origine des ‘Capitula’ d’Orange (see n. 18).

come to the knowledge of God only by the grace of God, which is also found in Augustine's *civ. dei* 11, 2.

Prosper's statement that *totumque quod virtus est, deus est* (1, 11, 3), an idea that is also found in *Contra collatorem* 13, 1,⁷⁵ reflects and universalizes Augustine's puzzling inversion of the Johannine *deus dilectio est* (1 Ioh. 4, 8).⁷⁶ But Prosper also explicitly identifies charity with God in 2, 19, 10, where he says of charity, *quae non solum ex deo est, sed etiam deus est*. De Letter also points out that in 2, 22 Prosper follows Augustine's interpretation of Cain's sin in *civ. dei* 15, 7, 1, namely, that Cain divided the sacrifice incorrectly, keeping the *electiora* for himself.

Another influence upon VocGen came from the writings of the so-called Semi-Pelagians of Provence. That influence was largely negative, although Cappuyns noted that Prosper did not mention predestination even in the *Contra collatorem*, thus omitting the expression that they found most offensive.⁷⁷ But Cappuyns also makes the appealing suggestion that Cassian's eloquent argument in *Collatio* 13, 7 against a restricted interpretation of God's salvific will may have made an impression on him: "La tragique objection de Cassien, si éloquemment formulée, a-t-elle fini par lui faire l'impression et par mettre, une fois encore, sa science théologique en défaut? C'est possible. Ce qui est certain c'est que la prédestination n'était plus qu'avant, le souci dominant de Prosper."⁷⁸

After the death of Cassian the fierce struggle against "the enemies of grace" took on a milder tone, and it is possible that *Collatio* 13 led Prosper to a softening of his earlier position. His

⁷⁵ In c. coll. 13, 37, Prosper said, *Virtus namque principaliter deus est*.

⁷⁶ In "The Double Face of Love," *Louvain Studies* 12 (1987), 116–130, J. Van Bavel speaks of Augustine's daring inversion of St. John. See also R. Teske, "Augustine's Inversion of 1 John 4:8," *AugStud* 39 (2008), 49–60.

⁷⁷ "Le *Contra collatorem*, chose curieuse, ne dit pas un mot de la prédestination." Cappuyns, *Le premier représentant* (see n. 1), 321.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 322.

move to Rome could also have led him to the more irenic approach to an interpretation of God's salvific will.

The relationship between Prosper and Leo the Great has been discussed at length. The statement of Gennadius that Prosper is believed to have drafted correspondence for Leo in opposition to the Eutychians led J. Gaidioz to argue from internal evidence that Prosper helped Leo to draft the Tome to Flavian dating from 449.⁷⁹ Gennadius' language had also led to the common belief or legend that Prosper served as a papal notary.⁸⁰ In his study James provides "considerable evidence for Prosper as the drafter of a number of Leo's letters and sermons, particularly in key areas where he had specialist knowledge."⁸¹ He also presents strong arguments for the influence of Prosper on the Tome to Flavian, although on different grounds than those given by Gaidioz, and also on the Tome to the Palestinian Monks and on the Tome to the Emperor Leo.⁸² In his attempts to attribute VocGen to Leo, Quesnel (see n. 31) pointed to many parallels in language and style between the works of Leo and those of Prosper. James comments, "Considerable evidence was unwittingly provided by Quesnel in his mistaken attempt to attribute the *De Vocatione Omnium Gentium* to Leo."⁸³ James' case is made even stronger when the anti-Pelagian letters of Leo are

⁷⁹ Gennadius wrote: *Epistulae quoque Papae Leonis adversus Eutychem de vera Christi incarnatione ad diversos datae ab isto dictatae creduntur* (vir. ill. 85). See J. Gaidioz, *Saint Prosper d'Aquitaine et le tome à Flavien*, RSR 23 (1949), 270–301.

⁸⁰ See F. di Capua, *Leone Magno e Prospero d'Aquitania*, in: *Scritti Minori II* (Rome, 1959), 184–190, esp. 184. N. W. James comments that di Capua "is correct in demolishing the legend of Prosper as papal notary, attributed to Ado of Vienne, and based on a misreading of Gennadius." See N. W. James, *Leo the Great and Prosper of Aquitaine: A Fifth Century Pope and his Adviser*, JThS 44 (1993), 554–584 (568–569, n. 54).

⁸¹ James (see n. 80), 555–556.

⁸² Ibid., 557–564.

⁸³ Ibid., 579.

examined in comparison with Prosper's works.⁸⁴ Hence, it would seem that there is solid evidence for Prosper's influence on the writings of Leo, but it is also probable that Leo and the Roman Church softened Prosper's earlier ardent espousal of the late teachings of Augustine.

1.6 Reception

No ancient author mentions VocGen, although in the late 5th century Pope Gelasius I quoted with approval VocGen 1, 13, 12–14, which he ascribed to *quidem magister ecclesiae*.⁸⁵ It is first mentioned in the ninth century by Ratramnus, a priest of Corbie, in *De divina dispositione*⁸⁶ and by Hincmar, archbishop of Reims, who in the dispute with Gottschalk over predestination extensively quoted VocGen in *De praedestinatione Dei et libero arbitrio posterior dissertatio adversus Gothescalcum et ceteros Praedestinatianos*. Ratramnus argued in *De praedestinatione* for a double predestination, namely, to salvation and to damnation, but not to sin. His single, though lengthy quotation from VocGen emphasizes the inscrutability of God's judgments. On the doctrine of predestination, Ratramnus sided with Gottschalk and claimed to be following the doctrine of Augustine. He opposed Hincmar, who held a more moderate position. Hincmar, on the other hand, quoted much more extensively from VocGen as well as from other works of Prosper. The passages he cited from VocGen are: 2, 55, 5–33, on the immutability of God's foreknowledge and predestination; 1, 6, 15–7, 9, on God's providential care for all human beings and his special graces for the people of Israel; 1, 15, 17–19, on its being no surprise that some do not come to the sacraments of life, since others leave after having come; 1, 15, 28–16, 7, on those who are saved having received the desire for salvation from the inspiration of God; 1, 25, 1–27, 9,

⁸⁴ Ibid., 565–567.

⁸⁵ Gelasius, *Adversus Pelagianam haeresim*, PL 59, 127. See below p. 70.

⁸⁶ See PL 121, 27–28, where he quotes 1, 14, 1–49.

on 1 Tim. 2, 4 in its context and the prayers of the Church for the salvation of all human beings, although her prayers are not always heard; 1, 28, 9–29, 6, on the multitude of questions arising from Paul's words in Rom. 11, 33–36; 1, 40, 1–12, on the mystery of why the savior of all human beings does not save all; 2, 5, 6–12, that all human beings are called does not take from God the discretion over his gifts; 2, 7, 1–4, the grace of Christ was not lacking to generations before his resurrection; 2, 7, 7–9, God's goodness provided earlier human beings with the means to know and fear him; 2, 7, 17–24, on God's mercy and providence never having been lacking to previous generations, though it was given in differing measures; 2, 15, 4–9, the authority of God's words and the continuous experience of past ages confirm that God's mercy and justice were never lacking to human bodies and minds; 2, 35, 7–14, on God's universal salvific will being perpetual, but in accord with his general and specific gifts; 2, 42, 1–43, 5, on the manifestation of God's universal salvific will over the ages in his general and specific gifts, although the causes for his distributing his gifts remains hidden; 2, 48, 14–20, God wills that all human beings come to the truth, though in different ways, and those adults who do not come resist out of stubbornness; 2, 53, 4–7, under God's mercy and justice no one perishes who ought not perish; 1, 37, 32–40, 12, biblical texts show God calls all nations to salvation although in his inscrutable justice he does not give the grace of salvation to all human beings; 1, 10, 8–17, we should not trust our fallen human powers, even though we have not lost free choice; 2, 30, 1–31, 5, no human beings are exempt from sin, and Christ came to save sinners; 1, 38, 20–39, on the blindness of the human race that Christ came to save; and 2, 12, 12–15, that not everything that can be healed is healed, but what is healed is healed by grace.⁸⁷ Thus the quotations from VocGen quoted by Hincmar are extensive and provide a fairly

⁸⁷ The passages from Hincmar are found in PL 125, 117; 204; 256–260; 334–336; 473–474.

complete picture of the teaching of that work. The fact that Hincmar quoted VocGen along with other works of Prosper without any question about the Prosperian authorship of VocGen counts in favor of Prosper being the author of the work (see above p. 24).

2 THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION

2.1 General Outline

VocGen is handed down in 29 manuscripts, one of which (*Do*) contains only excerpts. At least four manuscripts are lost.⁸⁸ The extant codices go back to a pre-Carolingian copy that seems to have been almost free of errors. There is not a single place where the text had to be corrected by conjecture, and there are very few places where the correct text seems to be the result of a scribe's conjecture (see pp. 60, 64, 69).

As can be seen from various evidence (cf. p. 57), the manuscripts can be divided into three families κ , λ , and μ . Two of them, κ and μ , go back independently to the archetypus, whereas the third family, λ , offers a text contaminated between κ and μ . Manuscripts pertaining to λ were therefore eliminated from the constitution of the text, but were cited in the critical apparatus, because the former editors followed them in part. Hence, they are of some historical interest.

⁸⁸ Codex S. Martini Lovaniensis, codex Camberonensis, codex Bonefienensis (cf. PL 51, 11), and codex Villariensis (A. Sanders, *Bibliotheca belgica manuscripta, sive elenchus universalis codicum mss. in celebrioribus Belgii coenobiis ... adhuc latentium* [Insulis: Tussanus le Clercq 1641–1644], vol. I, 268). The old library catalogue of S. Nazarius in Lorsch from the 10th century mentions, apart from codex *P* (see p. 45), another one, cf. G. Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui. Im Anhang Rezension von M. Perlbach und Nachträge von G. Meier* (Bonn-Leipzig: Cohen 1885–1887, Reprint Hildesheim: Olms 2003), 102, n° 312. Codex Tungrensis was erroneously added to this list by Cappuyns, *L'Auteur* (see n. 7), 199, n. 3, on basis of Sanders II, 188, cf. Elberti, *Prospero d'Aquitania* (see n. 19), 279, n. 33.

2.2 Description of the Manuscripts

Family κ contains the oldest extant manuscripts from the 9th and 10th century, *WPL*, which, often followed by *C*, are the basis for two sub-families, κ^1 and κ^2 . The text of κ is almost exclusively handed down in codices written in French and German monasteries. All members of κ offer Prosper as author of *VocGen*. The title in *WPL C* κ^2 is given as *De vocatione omnium gentium* and in κ^1 as *De vocatione gentium*.

Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 179 Gud. Lat. 4° (Heinemann 4483),⁸⁹ probably written in Corvey by a scribe from Corbie in or shortly after the middle of the 9th century; *VocGen* (fol. 2r–77r) is attributed to Prosper (2r *incipit liber primus sancti Prosperi de vocatione omnium gentium*) and has at its end (fol. 77) the note: *de vocatione omnium gentium s. Prosperi finit liber secundus et contra collatorem feliciter*, though Prosper's *Liber contra collatorem* is not contained in the manuscript. There follow some letters of Leo the Great (78r) and three anti-Pelagian works of (Ps.-)Hieronimus: epist. 133 (100r); adv. Pelag. (108v); epist. supp. 16 (PL 30, 176; 167r).

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Palatinus Lat. 236,⁹⁰ written in the first half of the 9th century in Lorsch;⁹¹ the writing is uniform and very careful with only few corrections from the same time, which are placed above the line or in the margin.

⁸⁹ Die Handschriften der herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel, von O. von Heinemann, Bd. IV/9: G. Milchsack, Die Gudischen Handschriften (Wolfenbüttel: Zwissler 1913), 180–181. B. Bischoff, Die Schriftheimat der Münchener Heliand-Handschrift, Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur (Tübingen: Niemeyer 1979), 161–170 = id., Mittelalterliche Studien, vol. 3 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann 1981), 112–119 (115).

⁹⁰ Codices Palatini Latini Bibliothecae Vaticanae, rec. et digessit Henricus Stevenson iun., recogn. I. B. De Rossi, tom. 1 (Roma: Typ. Vaticana 1886), 58. The manuscript is mentioned in the catalogue of S. Nazarius from the 10th century (Becker [see n. 88], 105, n° 314).

⁹¹ See B. Bischoff, Die Abtei Lorsch im Spiegel ihrer Handschriften, 2., erw. Auflage (Lorsch: Laurissa 1989), esp. 44, *51, 66, 82A, 120sq.

VocGen, which can be found on 2r–53r, following a short text from the 10th century about a visionary appearance at Lorsch, lacks a title, but has a note attributing the work to Prosper at the end of book two (*explicit liber secundus sancti Prosperi de vocatione omnium gentium*). In 2, 31, 20sq. (*quamvis gratia Christiana non contenta sit eosdem limites habere*), a later scribe added in the margin: *nota vide franciscum petrarcham lib 2 de vita solitaria*.

L Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 122,⁹² written in the second quarter of the 9th century probably in Orléans. After VocGen (fol. 2r–60r) there follow five letters of Leo the Great on the heresy of Eutyches. Although VocGen is not attributed to any author either at the beginning or at the end, the index of contents on 1v, also belonging to the 9th century, has: *Prosperi de vocatione omnium gentium libri duo*. The text has only a few corrections from that time, but many that were added much later in the margin.

C Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Lat. 2156 (*Colbertinus*)⁹³ from the 12th century. VocGen (1r–36r), the title of which had been corrected from *liber primus Prosperi de vocatione gentium de gratia et libero arbitrio*, which gives evidence of the influence of family μ , is again followed by some letters of Leo (36r); the other works do not belong to the anti-Pelagian debate: Gennad., dogm. (46r); Fulg. Rusp., epist. (51v); Fulg. Rusp., ad Monim. (73r). The text of VocGen has many interlinear notes explaining grammatical aspects of the text; they are introduced by *s.* (for *scilicet*) or *i.* (for *id est*). Comments on the content are added in the margin.

⁹² Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France, vol. 1 (Paris: Impr. Nationale 1849), 106; J. Contreni, The Cathedral School of Laon from 850 to 930: Its Manuscripts and Masters. Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung 29 (München: Arbo Ges. 1978), 36–37; 44. B. Bischoff, Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen), Teil II: Laon – Paderborn (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2004), 27 n° 2080.

⁹³ Bibliothèque Nationale, Catalogue général des manuscrits latins, tome II (Nos. 1439 – 2692), publié sous la direction de P. Lauer (Paris: 1940), 345sq.

The manuscript was used by Quesnel and the later editions (*codex Thuanens*, named from its former owner, J.-A. de Thou).

The earlier manuscripts pertaining to κ^1 and κ^2 were mostly copied in Cistercian monasteries in France. Thus they are closely related. The subarchetype of κ^1 was evidently intended as a proper edition. Its text was established on the basis of some old manuscript belonging to κ , but also had a few characteristics from μ , and it contained a corpus of Prosper's writings (resp. ad Gen., resp. ad Gall., resp. ad Vinc., VocGen, epist. 2), which was to some extent modified by each member. The first two chapters of book one of VocGen were marked as the prologue and were thus distinguished from the rest of the work.

Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. 586,⁹⁴ written in two columns in the 12th century in the Abbey of Fontenay (*in abbatia Fontaneti et postea in Biblioteca domini De Paulmy*). The manuscript contains several works of Augustine and Prosper, VocGen is found on 77rb–102ra among several works of undoubtedly Prosperian origin. Its content is: 24 sermons of Augustine (1r); Aug., gen. Man. (45r); Prosp., resp. ad Gen. (63v); resp. ad Gall. (68r); resp. ad Vinc. (73v); VocGen (77r–102r); epist. 2 (102r); two sermons of Augustine (106v); Aug., nupt. et concup. (111r); c. Pelag. (132r); epist. 140 (163v). A

Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 140,⁹⁵ written in the 12th century in Cîteaux (see the note on 45r); the content is close to that of A: Aug., gen. Man. (2r); Prosp., resp. ad Gen. (23r); resp. ad Gall. (28r); resp. ad Vinc. (35r); VocGen (38r–62); epist. 2 (62v); Beda, expos. in Tob. (67r). Some omissions that occur in the text are corrected by a 12th century hand (e.g., 2, 8, 20sq.). D

⁹⁴ Catalogue des manuscrits de la bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, par H. Martin, tom. I (Paris: Plon 1885), 437–438.

⁹⁵ Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France, vol. 5: Dijon (Paris: Plon 1889), 37–39.

Though *D* is closely related with *A*, the corrections in *D* do not resemble the text of *A*.

F Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticanus Lat. 558,⁹⁶ from the 12th century, formerly owned by the Grande Chartreuse; the manuscript, which is written in two columns, contains only works (in some instances erroneously) ascribed to Prosper: resp. ad Gall. (1v, only a fragment); *De vita contemplativa* (9r, the author is Pomerius); resp. ad Gall. (73r); resp. ad Vinc. (80r); resp. ad Gen. (85v); epigr. (94r); *Poema ad uxorem* (Ps.-Prosop., PL 51,611–616; 106r); epist. 2 (107v); conf. (Ps.-Prosop., PL 51,607–610; 115r); sent. (119v); *VocGen* (140ra–186ra); c. coll. (186r). In book 1 the Bible quotations from chap. 50 onwards are numbered sequentially, probably by a later hand.

J Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Lat. 17413,⁹⁷ 12th century; the manuscript has among other works of Prosper *VocGen* on 45rb–74vb. In 1423 Johannes Brevis Coxae (Jean Cortecuisse) donated it to the chapter of Notre-Dame; after the death of Claude Joly (1607–1700), *canonicus ecclesiae metropolitanae* in Paris, it was transferred to Notre Dame. The flyleaf has the note *Joh. M. Maio 1654 / Mss Ecclesiae Parisiensis*. The codex is referred to by later editors (see below, p. 73sq.) as *codex Joliensis*.

⁹⁶ Codices Vaticani Latini, recensuerunt M. Vattasso, P. Franchi de'Cavalieri, tom. 1: Codices 1–678 (Roma: Typ. Vaticana 1902), 418–419. M. Oberleitner, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des Heiligen Augustinus*, Band 1/2 Italien, Verzeichnis nach Bibliotheken (Wien: VÖAW 1970), 272. R. Étaix, *Les manuscrits de la Grande-Chartreuse et de Portes*, *Scriptorium* 42 (1988), 49–75 (70). F. Georges-Pichot, *Lire la plume à la main: Tommaso Parentucelli et le De vocatione omnium gentium de Prosper d'Aquitaine* (autour du ms. Vat. lat. 262.), *Journal of Medieval Latin* 17 (2007), 342–360 (350–352).

⁹⁷ L. Delisle, *Inventaire des manuscrits latins de Notre-Dame et d'autres fonds conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale sous les numéros 16719–18613* (Paris: Durand et Pedone-Lauriel 1871; Reprint Hildesheim: Olms 1974), 43. Ch. Denoël, *Le fonds des manuscrits Latins de Notre-Dame de Paris*, *Scriptorium* 58 (2004), 131–173 (148 n. 84; 159).

Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 5,⁹⁸ written in the 12th century in Clairvaux; the manuscript has VocGen on 11rb–32ra among other works of Prosper and one of Augustine: Prosp., resp. Gen.; resp. Gall.; resp. Vinc.; VocGen; Aug., grat.; Prosp., epist. 1; c. coll.; Pomer., De vita contemplativa, in the manuscript attributed to Prosper; Rufin., Greg. Naz. orat.; Hier., Didym. spir.; Chrysost., De sacerdotio. There are no traces of later corrections or comments. T

Lisbon, Biblioteca nacional, cod. Alcobacensis 67,⁹⁹ written in the 13th century and containing several works of Prosper besides some other authors: Glossa ordinaria in Prov. (1r–37r); Hier., in eccles. (37v–64r); Prosp., resp. Gen. (64r–67v); resp. Gall. (67v–71v); resp. Vinc. (71v–74v); VocGen (74vb–93ra); epist. 2 (93v–96v); epist. 1 (96v–98v); c. coll. (96v–112r); Pomer., De vita contemplativa (112v–137v, ascribed to Prosper); Rufin., Greg. Naz. orat. 1–5, 7 (137v–169v). O

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticanus Lat. 559,¹⁰⁰ very carefully written in 1447, containing only works (allegedly) written by Prosper: De vita contemplativa (2r, author is Pomerius); Prosp., resp. ad Gall. (35r); resp. ad Gen. (43v); epigr. (48r); poema ad uxorem (PL 51, 611–616; 57v); epist. 2 (58v); conf. (PL 51, 607–610; 62r); sent. (65r); VocGen (80rb–105rb); c. coll. (105r). As in *F*, the biblical quotes in book one are numbered from 1, 52, 17 onwards, but the numbers start only with XIII, which has its exact parallel in codex *F* where the same quote bears this number. In *I*, though, numbers I to XII are missing. I

⁹⁸ Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France des départements, vol. 2 (Paris: Plon 1855), 9–10.

⁹⁹ J. Black - Th. L. Amos, *The Fundo Alcobaça* of the Biblioteca nacional, Lisbon, vol. III: Manuscripts 302–456 (Collegeville, Minnesota: HMML 1990), 89–92.

¹⁰⁰ Codices Vaticani Latini, recensuerunt M. Vattasso, P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, tom. 1: Codices 1–678 (Roma: Typ. Vaticana 1902), 419–420. Oberleitner (see n. 96), 272.

Do Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 533,¹⁰¹ produced in the 13th century in the Abbaye de Marchiennes, contains only very short excerpts from many classical and patristic authors; those of VocGen are found on 146r–147v; many, though not all, have a heading which indicates the content.

κ^1 consensus codicum *A D F J T O I* (*Do* which belongs to this family as well, will be listed separately in the apparatus)

R Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reginensis Lat. 293,¹⁰² written in the 11th/12th century in Moutiers-la-Celle in Troyes (*liber sancti Petri sanctique Frodoberti de cella*). It contains several exegetical works of Isidore of Seville (PL 83, 207–424; 1r–120v); VocGen (121r–162v); Leo M., epist. 139, 35, 31, 165 (163r–171v); Innocentii epist. 25 (PL 20, 551sq.; 171v–172v); Hier., epist. 70 (173v–175v). VocGen 1, 10–14 has marginal texts from the 16th century; underlining of words throughout the work may stem from the Ballerini brothers who used *R* as “codex Vaticanus 1” (cf. PL 55, 157sq.) for their edition.

K Charleville-Mézières, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 202/ 13,¹⁰³ written in the Cistercian Abbey Notre-Dame de Signy in the last part of the 12th century; the codex transmits several works of Augustine and Prosper: Aug., bapt.; un. bapt.; spir. et litt.; VocGen (91vb–128rb); Pomer., *De vita contemplativa* (in the manuscript attributed to Prosper); Aug., grat. (in the manuscript attributed to Prosper); Prosp., resp. Gall. There are almost no corrections or other traces of usage.

κ^2 consensus codicum *R K*

κ consensus codicum *W P L C \kappa^1 \kappa^2*

¹⁰¹ Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France des départements, vol. 6: Douai (Paris: Plon 1878), 321–333. C. Jeudy - Y.-F. Riou, Les manuscrits classiques latins des bibliothèques publiques de France, tom. 1 (Paris: CNRS 1989), 724.

¹⁰² Codices Reginenses Latini, tom. II: Codices 251–500, recensuit A. Wilmart (Roma: Typ. Vaticana 1945), 122–124.

¹⁰³ Catalogue général, vol. 5 (see n. 95), 640.

Family μ is comparatively small, but clearly presents a text tradition of its own. All four manuscripts ended abruptly at the same words in 2, 57, 36, although the rest was later added to G. They have VocGen among Augustinian works, which led to ascribing it to Augustine in *Ma* and *X*, whereas *G*, which seems to be slightly contaminated with κ , attributed it to Prosper.

Florence, Biblioteca San Marco, ms. 637,¹⁰⁴ written in the early 12th century. VocGen (1r–24r) for which the title does not give any author's name, but only provides as the title *De libero arbitrio et gratia*, ends in 2, 57, 36 at *felicius pug-* in the midst of a page, the rest of the page and the next page are empty; the text was corrected not much later than it was written. Few notes in the margin were added by the former owner, Niccolò Niccoli (1364–1437), e.g., *De magnitudine Romani imperii* at 2, 31, 17sq. The rest of the codex transmits several works of Augustine: duab. anim. (25r); perf. iust. (33r); epist. 163, 164 (43r); sermo 351 (47r); epist. 98, 102, 187, 156, 157, 93, 194 (54r); in Gal. (93r); in Rom. imperf. (103r); divers. quaest. (110v); de mend. (143v); c. Adim. (157r); c. Fort. (174r); fid. et symb. (180v); gen. ad litt. imperf. (185v); de serm. dom. (198r); on the flyleaf before fol. 1 Niccoli noted: *in hoc volumine continentur multa opera agustini* (sic).

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticanus Lat. 262,¹⁰⁵ from the first half of the 15th century. VocGen (59r–104v) which is attributed to Prosper in the title and is called *De vocatione omnium gentium*, follows Thaps., c. Arian. and the *Versus Sibyllae Erythraeae de iudicio* (Aug., civ. dei 18, 23; 57r); after VocGen there come two other works often attributed to Prosper: Ps.-Prosp., conf. (104v) and Ps.-Leo M., humil. (109r). The text is carefully written; initially it ended at 2, 57, 36 with *felicius pu-*

¹⁰⁴ Index manuscriptorum bibliothecae FF. Ordinis Praedicatorum Florentiae ad sanctum Marcum (1768); Oberleitner (see n. 96), 106–107. Georges-Pichot (see n. 96), passim (further literature: 343 n. 3).

¹⁰⁵ Codices Vaticani Latini (see n. 100), 189.

with approximately one empty page following, and was completed by what might be the same hand, but in a denser script. Codex G was used in the Ballerini edition ("Vaticanus 3").

Ma Mantova, Biblioteca comunale, ms. D.III.1,¹⁰⁶ written in Mantova in the 15th century; this manuscript transmits VocGen on 272rb–298vb among works of Augustine: immort. (1r); anim. (6v); epist. 166 (40r); duab. anim. (46v); quant. anim. (67r); lib. arb. (89v); soliloqu. (135r); epist. 98 (152r); bapt. (154v); nat. et grat. (216v); perf. iust. (234v); grat. (245r); corrept. (259r); ps.-spec. (299r); mus. lib. 6 (312v). The title of VocGen is: *Eiusdem liber de libero arbitrio et gratia*; the text ends in 2, 57, 36 at *felicius pug*;- half of the last column is empty.

X Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urbinas Lat. 69,¹⁰⁷ from the 15th century, presents VocGen on 176v–208v under the title *Liber beati Augustini Hipponensis episcopi de libero arbitrio* (the Explicit of book one, however, reads: *Augustini... de libero arbitrio et gratia*). The text breaks off at 2, 57, 36 (*felicius pug*-), where the scribe added in the margin: *Hic deficit. In vetustissimo codice dicitur esse beati Augustini opus et sic titulus est in exemplari. aliqui vero dubitant non esse opus beati Augustini*. The manuscript contains a corpus of works (sometimes erroneously) ascribed to Augustine: cons. evang. (1r); quaest. test. 122 (110v); mus. (115r); epist. 101 (175r); VocGen. (176v–208v); de duab. anim. (209v); serm. 351 (221r); 393 (228v); epist. 187 (229v); in Gal. (236v); in Rom. imperf. (248r); mend. (258r); c. Adim. (273v); c. Fort. (296v); fid. symb. (305v); gen. ad litt. imperf. (313r); Paulin. Aquil., lib. exhort. (327r). The text of VocGen and the content of the manuscript are close to Q.

μ consensus codicum Q G Ma X

¹⁰⁶ Oberleitner (see n. 96), 132–133.

¹⁰⁷ Codices Urbinae Latini, recensuit Cosimus Stornajolo, tom. I: Codices 1–500, accedit appendix ad descriptionem picturarum (Roma: Typ. Vaticana 1902), 87–88. Oberleitner (see n. 96), 349.

Family λ is largely attested, but has no value for constituting the text (see p. 68). With the exception of *M*, which is closer to κ than the other members (see p. 66), all manuscripts attribute VocGen to Ambrose, something for which codex *V* written in Milan seems to have been the starting point. Because of their almost identical texts some later manuscripts (*U Y Z* resp. *Br B E*) represent sub-families of λ and have therefore been assigned the sigla λ^1 resp. λ^2 .

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 17732,¹⁰⁸ arranged in two columns and written in a uniform script in the mid of the 12th century in the Abbey of Saint Mang; this codex comprises a corpus of works on grace: Aug., epist. 214, 215 (1r–3r); grat. (3r–15r); corrept. (15r–27v); Ps.-Aug., praed. et grat. (27v–34v); Aug., epist. 216 (34v–36r); VocGen (37ra–60vb); Ps.-Leo M., humil. (60v); Possid., vita Aug. (68r–80v). The title of *De vocatione* is: *Liber beati Prosperi episcopi de vocatione gentium et de gratia dei et libero arbitrio*. *M*

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticanus Lat. 268,¹⁰⁹ written between 1135 and 1152 in Milan. This manuscript is part of one volume of the huge edition of (Pseudo-)Ambrosian works that was undertaken by Martino Corbo. Today it contains only the following texts: VocGen (1ra–27rb); Ps.-Leo M., humil. (27r); Damiani epistula ad Constantinum (PL 87, 1261–1265; 36r); Expositio fidei patrum Mediolanensis synodi (PL 87, 1265–1267; 37r); frg. Ambr., epist. 56 (40r).¹¹⁰ VocGen has the title: *V*

¹⁰⁸ Catalogus codicum Latinorum bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis, secundum A. Schmelleri indices composuerunt C. Halm, F. Keinz, G. Meyer, G. Thomas, tom. II pars III, codices num. 15121–21313 complectens (München: Palm 1878; Reprint Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 1969), 118–119; R. Kurz, Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des Heiligen Augustinus, Band V/2: Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Westberlin. Bibliotheksverzeichnis (Wien: VÖAW 1979), 378.

¹⁰⁹ Codices Vaticani Latini (see n. 100), 195–196.

¹¹⁰ See G. Billanovich - M. Ferrari, La tradizione milanese delle opere di sant'Ambrogio, in: Ambrosius Episcopus, Atti del Congresso internaziona-

Liber de vocatione omnium gentium sancti Ambrosii Mediolansis (sic) *episcopi*. The text has corrections by a scribe from the 12th century. – Since Corbo used also some German manuscripts for his edition, he might have copied the text of VocGen from a German manuscript that was closely related with *M* and is now lost.¹¹¹ In the Ballerini edition codex *V* is listed as “Vaticanus 3.”

H Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticanus Lat. 281,¹¹² written in Milan by Andrea Serazoni in 1374 (cf. 78v *completa per manum fratris Andree de serazonibus de mediolano ordinis fratrum heremitarum sancti augustini die quinto mensis octobris anno domini 1374*); it was copied from *V*¹¹³ and some other manuscript; it contains: Ps.-Leo M., humil., several genuine works of Ambrose, and some pseudepigrapha; VocGen on 81ra–103vb has as title: *Liber de vocatione omnium gentium sancti Ambrosii mediolanensis episcopi*. Marginal notes from the 14th century either correct the text or comment it, e.g., *iam dixisti* or *inspice*.

N Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Lat. 1757,¹¹⁴ from the middle of the 14th century, copied from *V* in Milan for Petrarch;¹¹⁵ it came via Padova, Pavia, and Blois finally into the bibliothèque nationale.¹¹⁶ VocGen on 1r–23r, along with an introductory chapter

le di studi ambrosiani nel XVI centenario della elevazione di sant’Ambrogio alla cattedra episcopale, Milano 2–7 dicembre 1974 (Milano: Vita e pensiero 1976), 1–102 (18–19; 47–49).

¹¹¹ Petrarch himself used codex *V*; see the analysis by F. Santiroso, *Le postille del Petrarca ad Ambrogio* (Codice Parigino Lat. 1757). *Materiali per l’edizione nazionale delle opere di Francesco Petrarca* 2 (Firenze: Le Lettere 2004), 28–31.

¹¹² Vattasso - Franchi de’Cavalieri (see n. 100), 202–204.

¹¹³ See Billanovich (see n. 110), 22.

¹¹⁴ Bibliothèque Nationale, tome II (see n. 93), 158.

¹¹⁵ See Billanovich (see n. 110), 23 for traces of VocGen in Petrarch’s works; Santiroso (see n. 111), mainly 15–20.

¹¹⁶ See Santiroso (see n. 111), 17–22.

and marginal notes of Petrarch,¹¹⁷ precedes Ps.-Leo M., humil. and some writings of Ambrose, and has as title *Sancti Ambrosii Mediolanensis episcopi de vocatione omnium gentium*, to which Petrarch added: *Tractat hic liber difficillimam quaestionem a multis, ab Augustino praecipue integro volumine agitatam, quod inscribitur de gratia et libero arbitrio. Quarum ni fallor disputationum omnium haec summa est: et gratiam dei esse et arbitrii libertatem, nec unam per aliam tolli. Hac inconcussa pietate standum, de reliquo sapiencius in quaestionibus quae humani vires ingenii excedunt ...* (two [?] illegible words) *omnibus abstinendum stupendumque cum apostolo super altitudinem divini consilii et reverenter audiendum illud apostolicum suspirium. Nam ait: O altitudo divitiarum sapientiae et scientiae dei, quam incomprehensibilia sunt iudicia eius et investigabiles viae eius! Interea sit vivendum deo in timore et exultandum ei cum tremore. Similiter conandum et pro viribus est enitendum ut esse electorum in parte mereamus etc.* The manuscript also has some corrections by Petrarch.

Madrid, San Lorenzo del Escorial, Cod. Lat. Q.III.15,¹¹⁸ S written in Milan in the second half of the 15th century for the Escorial basilica;¹¹⁹ VocGen (60r–111r) is preceded by writings of Leo the Great and Ambrose, and followed by various historical and hagiographical texts. The title reads: *Sancti Ambrosii Mediolanensis ecclesiae archiepiscopi De vocatione omnium gentium*.

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Urbinas Lat. 39,¹²⁰ 15th U century; the script is small and uniform, the text has countless transpositions and omissions; VocGen is on 239ra–256vb at the end of several works of Ambrose. It bears the title: *De vocatione omnium gentium sancti Ambrosii episcopi Mediolanensis*.

¹¹⁷ From this manuscript, Santiroso (see n. 111) edited Petrarch's marginal notes to VocGen (77–131).

¹¹⁸ Catálogo de los códices Latinos de la real biblioteca del Escorial, por P. G. Antolín, vol. III (L.I.2.–R.III.23.) (Madrid: Helénica 1913), 433–435.

¹¹⁹ See Billanovich (see n. 110), 24–25.

¹²⁰ Codices Urbinae Latini (see n. 107), 43–44.

Y Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Laur. Lat. XIV, 9,¹²¹ also from the 15th century; VocGen follows three works of Ambrose (in psalm. 118; virginit.; vid.) on 246r–281r; the title reads: *De vocatione omnium gentium beati Ambrosii episcopi*; on 281r there is a subscription: *qui diu perditus credebatur de vocatione omnium gentium sacratissimi doctoris Ambrosii libellum clarissimus vir Cosma Iohannis de Medicis transcribendi curam adhibuit.*

Z Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Leopoldinus Laur. Lat. 23,¹²² a manuscript from the 15th century containing a corpus of (Ps.-)Ambrose's works (hex.; parad.; Cain et Ab.; paenit.; off.; Iac.; in Luc. exc.; Isaac; serm. 46; bon. mort.; fug. saec.; sacr.; myst.; virg.; apol. Dav.; Nab.; Hel.; laps. virg. exc.; Ioseph; patr.; [Ambrosiast.] in Rom.; trin.); VocGen on 178vb–197va is called in the title: *De vocatione omnium gentium... beati Ambrosii episcopi.*

λ^1 consensus codicum *U Y Z*

Br Bremen, Universitätsbibl.-Staatsbibliothek, msb. 0010,¹²³ written in 1528; VocGen on 207v–254r is transmitted amidst various texts on grace and free will and bears as title: *Sancti Ambrosii episcopi de vocatione omnium gentium.* The title is preceded by a note: *Non sunt Ambrosii hi libri de vocatione gentium ut dicit philippus melanchthon, sunt tamen utilissimi.*

¹²¹ Catalogus codicum latinorum bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae ... Ang(elus) Mar(ia) Bandinivs recensvit (etc.) (Florentiae: Typ. Caesareis 1774), tom. 1, col. 101–102.

¹²² Bibliotheca Leopoldina Laurentiana sev catalogus manusccriptorum qui ivssu Petri Leopoldi... Angelvs Maria Bandinivs recensvit (Florentiae: Typ. Caesareis 1792), tom. 2, col. 656–657.

¹²³ A. Hetzer - Th. Elsmann, Handschriften der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Bremen: Die neuzeitlichen Handschriften der Ms.-Aufstellung. Handschriften der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Bremen 2 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2008), 83.

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Lat. 965 (242–65),¹²⁴ written near Brussels in the middle of the 16th century, has VocGen on 94rb–113vb as part of a corpus of (Pseudo-)Ambrose’s works; the title (*De vocatione omnium gentium*) attributes it to Ambrose. B

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Lat. 966,¹²⁵ from the 16th century as well, transmits VocGen on 56r–103v, after some works of Ambrose and before various neo-latin texts; it is ascribed to Ambrose: *de vocatione omnium gentium sancti Ambrosii episcopi*. E

λ² consensus codicum Br B E

λ consensus codicum *M V H N S λ¹ λ²*

2.3 Manuscript Families

Each of the three families is characterized by principal errors (“Leitfehler”) that cannot have come about by mere chance in several mss. independently from each other.

Family κ shares the following principal errors (“Leitfehler”):

1, 15, 9–17 *non ignorantes nec aliquid aliquatenus ambigentes omne principium et omne profectum boni meriti unicuique homini ex dei donatione conferri nec posse fieri, ut qui omnes vult salvari nullis causis existentibus plerosque non salvet, sed has causas nostrae scientiae non patere. Quae utique non fuissent occultae, si debuissent esse manifestae, ut exerceatur per omnia fides earum rerum quae non videntur et pie semper de iustitia dei, etiam cum eam non intellegimus, sentiamus* – om. κ. These words, though not indispensable from the viewpoint of context, resemble the author’s style so closely that it is hardly probable that another author or a medieval scribe added them. The author of VocGen has a predilection for *ambigere*, which he uses as often as *dubitare*; the phrase *nec aliquid aliquatenus ambigentes* has a parallel in Augustine (epist. 147, 16 ... *nec de his omnino ... aliquid ambigis*), as has the expres-

¹²⁴ Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, par J. Van den Gheyn, S.J., tom. X: Patrologie (Bruxelles: Lamertin 1902), 40–42.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 42–43.

sion *fides rerum quae non videntur* which is even the title of a work of Augustine, but does not seem to be otherwise richly attested. The combination of *principium et profectum* reoccurs in 1, 56, 18; besides, the lines twice have a *cursus velox*, which is at the same time a metrical *clausula* (cretic dichoree). This is well attested in VocGen.¹²⁶

1, 16, 4–6 *et nullo segnitiae tepore torpescunt, quoniam a dei dilectione non excidunt* – om. κ . Again, these words fit well, though they are not indispensable; there are, however, some parallels in VocGen which make it highly probable that this passage was not added by μ , but omitted by κ (λ leaves out even more): cf. *non otio torpeant* (1, 48, 12); *nullo possit tepore languere* (2, 19, 6); *de promissionis veritate nihil excidit* (2, 49, 3sq.; closer, though, is Aug., grat. lib. arb. 13, 25, which is cited by Prosper in sent. 317 ... *eis qui volentes in lege iustificari, a gratia exciderunt*).

2, 29, 3 *quae ad se corda converterit* – om. κ . There is no reason why these words should be thought to be an interpolation; for a similar expression cf. 1, 52, 18sq. (*quod ad deum conversio cordis ex deo sit*).

2, 43, 2 *atque experimur potentem* μ λ – *benignam* κ . In this paragraph (the relevant sentence is: *hanc... abundantiore gratiam ita credimus atque experimur potentem, ut nullo modo arbitremur esse violentam, quod si quid in salvandis hominibus agitur, ex sola dei voluntate peragatur, cum etiam ipsis parvulis per alienae voluntatis subveniatur obsequium*), the two types of grace are set in contrast to each other: the *gratia generalis* directs all human beings toward what they should do, but needs the cooperation of human will in order to bring it to perfection, whereas the *gratia specialis*, which is here said to be *abundantior*, calls human beings to salvation even against their will or if they do not have a will, which is the case with infants. Hence, that God's special grace is good (*benigna*), is not in question here, but rather its power at

¹²⁶ For parallels see Young (see n. 63), 85.

work (*potentem*), which is the *differentia specifica*; besides, the author might have had in mind 2 Cor. 9, 8 (*potens est autem Deus omnem gratiam abundare facere in vobis...*). Perhaps the words *atque experimur potentem* were first omitted in κ and then, after a lacuna was noticed, *benignam* was somehow ineptly supplied.

Apart from these omissions the mss. of κ share some other significant errors:

1, 4, 9 *impos* μ λ – *impotens* κ . The reading *impos* is preferable because it is *lectio difficilior*.

1, 10, 17 *interfectum* μ λ – *ereptum* κ . Within the metaphor of a struggle between the devil and man over the *iudicium voluntatis* (*a quo* [scil. *diabolo*] *iudicium voluntatis depravatum est, non ablatum. Quod ergo non interfectum/ereptum est per vulnerantem, non tollitur per medentem; vulnus sanatur, non natura removetur...*) the verb *interficere*, which can be used as a synonym of *eripere* (cf. Plaut., *Merc.* 833),¹²⁷ is more appropriate. The conjecture proposed in PL 51, *infectum*, does not correspond well with the metaphor.

1, 15, 24 The sentence reads as follows: *Nam cum scriptum sit: 'Omnis qui invocaverit nomen domini salvus erit' (Rom. 10, 13), de quibusdam tamen dominus ait: 'Non omnis qui dicit mihi: domine, domine, introibit in regnum caelorum' (Matth. 7, 21), et: 'Multi mihi dicent in illa die: domine, domine, nonne in nomine tuo prophetavimus et in nomine tuo daemonia eiecimus et in nomine tuo virtutes multas fecimus? Et tunc dicam illis: numquam vos cognovi; discedite a me, operarii iniquitatis!' (Matth. 7, 22sq.) Tales non invocant nomen domini, quia non habent 'spiritum adoptionis filiorum, in quo clamamus: abba, pater' (Rom. 8, 15). – κ adds after *introibit in regnum caelorum* the words that follow in Matth. 7, 21, *sed qui facit voluntatem patris mei qui in caelis est ipse intrabit in regnum caelorum*. Not only does the positive part of the*

¹²⁷ Cf. ThIL VII 2192, 10–29.

quote not fit into the context, but its wording is, unlike the first part transmitted in all mss., taken from the Vulgate (*intrabit* instead of *introibit*); thus, a scribe completed the quote by adding the words in exactly that form which he was familiar with, i.e., the Vulgate text.

1, 47, 11 *consensionem* μ λ – *confessionem* κ . The words *unitatem rectae fidei et consensionem in honorem dei* introduce the quote of Rom. 15, 5sq. (*deus autem patientiae et consolationis det vobis idipsum sapere in alterutrum secundum Iesum Christum, ut uno animo, uno ore honorificetis deum et patrem domini nostri Iesu Christi*); the biblical words *uno animo uno ore* correspond with *unitas* and *consensio* much better than *unitas* and *confessio* would do; the paleographic difference however is so small that *consensio* might even have been conjectured by a scribe if his copy had *confessio*.

1, 52, 23sq. *item idem praedicans* μ λ – *Baruch quoque praedicat* κ . Most authors from the patristic age regarded the biblical book Baruch from which the quote is taken, as part of the book of Jeremiah or as written by Jeremiah,¹²⁸ for example Augustine (civ. dei 18, 33; c. Faust. 12, 43; in the list of canonical books in doctr. christ. 2, 28 Baruch is not mentioned), Cassian (c. Nest. 4, 9, 1), and Quodvultdeus (prom. 2, 9, 16; 33, 71; 3, 3, 4). Thus, *idem* (referring to Jeremiah quoted before) resembles this older, patristic view, whereas the reading of κ , though it attributes the quote correctly, is apparently a correction that was made later.

1, 57, 12 *bonum nolle* μ λ – *bonum velle et nolle* κ . The sentence reads: ... *quia licet insit homini bonum (velle et κ) nolle, tamen nisi donatum non habet bonum velle, et illud contraxit natura per culpam, hoc recipit natura per gratiam*. Apart from doctrinal aspects,

¹²⁸ See R. Feuerstein, Das Buch Baruch: Studien zur Textgestalt und Auslegungsgeschichte. Europäische Hochschulschriften Reihe 23, Theologie 614 (Frankfurt a. Main, etc.: Lang 1997), 177–194. P.-M. Bogaert, Le livre de Baruch dans les manuscrits de la bible latine: disparition et réintégration, RBen 115 (2005), 286–342.

the text of μ and λ is correct, because the author uses *illud* to signify *bonum nolle* (only this is, of course, contracted by *sin*), not *bonum velle et nolle* (which describes the innocent status of man).

2, 11, 5 *aequaliter* μ λ – *aliter* κ . This seems to be a simple scribal error which happened in κ and has been followed by all members of this family.

Subdivisions of κ : *W P L C*, κ^1 , κ^2

Within κ , *W P* and *L*, which is often followed by *C*,¹²⁹ are not a very homogenous group, therefore they were not assigned a siglum of their own. Sometimes only *W* shares readings with μ (and λ), but at the same time differs from variants of the other three manuscripts (1, 12, 4 *cor suum*; 15, 5 *de non omnium*; 28, 23 *salvandi*). At other times, though less often, only *P* has what is transmitted by μ and eventually λ (1, 34, 7 *adfuerit*; 2, 37, 11 *quantum ad proprias pertinet voluntates*); *L* (and *C*) are even less closely related to μ , but they share a subarchetype with *P*.¹³⁰ Apart from biblical quotes, which are left out from the stemma argumentation, there is no single piece of evidence that *L* (and *C*) alone, eventually together with κ^1 und κ^2 , presents what must be con-

¹²⁹ Common errors are countless, see, for example, 1, 29, 2 *effectus*] *affectus* *L C* (ac.); 34, 1 *probari possit* *L C* (ac.) κ^2 ; 36, 4 *ea*] *eo* *L C*; 1, 54, 25 *tribuat*] *tribuantur* *L* (ac.) *F J* (ac.) *I R* (ac.); *tribuantur* *L* (pc.) *C* κ^1 (exc. *F I*; pc. *J*) κ^2 (pc. *R*) *ba mip*; 56, 11 *excellentissimus*] *excellentissimae* *L C K*; 58, 6 *probabuntur*] *probabunt* *L C* etc. Sequential errors make clear that *C* stems from a codex similar to the corrected form of *L*, cf. 1, 18, 6 *incredulitas*] *tamen* add. *L* (sl.) *C*; 54, 25 *tribuat*] *tribuantur* *L* (ac.); *tribuantur* *L* (pc.) *C*; since *L* has some readings of its own (1, 16, 26 *qua*] *quia* *L*; 2, 5, 17 *illis*] *his* *L*; 42, 7 *deum verum* tr. *L*), *C* was not copied from *L* itself. In its corrected form, *C* bears similarities with κ^1 : 1, 13, 4 *formavit*; 34, 1 *probari posset*, etc. This can easily be explained by the fact that all of these codices were written in French monasteries which probably had close contacts to one another.

¹³⁰ Cf. 1, 12, 4; 15, 5 (see above); 24, 2 *qua*] *quia*; 27, 8sq. *impossibile erat*] *impossibile erant* (which led the corrector of *L* to change *impossibile* to *impossibilia*); 31, 4 *nulla* om.; 2, 12, 15 *quibus*] *qui*; 15, 12; 21, 7 *eandem nequitiam*] *eadem nequitia*.

sidered the correct reading; on the contrary, there are many instances of evident errors in *L* (and *C*).¹³¹ Thus, when two variants are transmitted, one in μ (λ) and in *W* and /or *P*, the other in *L C* (κ^1 and κ^2), where a decision has to rely only on stemmatic grounds, we decided for the variant of *W P* μ (λ).

κ^1 and κ^2 can easily be identified as sub-families:

κ^1 , which consists of five French mss. from the 12th century and three later ones, has many common errors: 1, 3, 3 *appetit, declinat*; 4, 6 *odiunt*; 6, 22 *facti* om.; 8, 15 *sit vere*; 9, 20 *extrudi*; 11, 17 *temporalibus*] *corporalibus*; 13, 7 *moratur*; 15, 1 *humiliter-que*; 4 *quod* om.; 17, 13 *terra*] *tota*; 24, 13 *nunc* om. etc. All members of this group mark 1, 1–2 as the prologue of the two books. The fact that most of the codices of this sub-family were written in French monasteries situated near one another explains why a hierarchical order within them cannot be determined; though *F*, before undergoing correction, has some striking similarities with *P* and, above all, with *L*,¹³² which could prove this manuscript to be the ancestor of the rest of κ^1 , the contamination within this group makes it impossible to reconstruct the exact lines of their relationship, though it is evident that *A D T* are rather closely related to one another¹³³ and that *O* often follows *T*.¹³⁴

¹³¹ See n. 129.

¹³² See 1, 39, 2 where the reading of κ^1 , which is clearly an error (cf. 1, 33, 6sq.), is not transmitted by *F* (*ac.*). Similar to this are, for example, 2, 31, 5 *quandoquidem*] *quando* κ^1 (*exc. F*); 39, 19 *longaeva*] *longaevam* κ^1 (*exc. FI*). In 2, 12, 1 (*datur ergo unicuique sine merito unde tendat ad meritum, et datur ante ullum laborem unde quisque mercedem accipiat secundum suum laborem*) *A* and *F* omit the words *datur ... ullum laborem* which might have caused the rest of this group also to omit the following words *unde ... suum laborem* due to a lapsus oculorum. 2, 12, 24 has an interesting problem: The correct text, *quo*, is preserved in μ and λ , whereas *W P L C* κ^2 have *quoque*; *F* seems to have misread this and has *quo quam*; this could have led the rest of κ^1 to conjecture the correct text, *quo*.

¹³³ Cf. 1, 19, 31 *munere dei*; 44, 24 *inquit agimus*; 53, 1 *bonum* om.; 57, 12sq. *bonum velle habet*; 2, 9, 23sq. *auctor incrementi*.

From some sequential errors it follows that κ^l depends on *WPL*,¹³⁵ the closest similarities occur with *L*.¹³⁶ This is supported by at least two further sequential errors: 2, 23, 10 *esu suffocatorum et sanguinis interdicto*] *suffocatorum et sanguinis interdicto* *LC* → *suffocato et sanguine interdicto* κ^l ; 2, 48, 5sq. *ut vir martyrii avidissimus adepturus quidem denuntiaretur victoriam passionis*] *ut vir martyrii avidissimus adepturus quidem denuntiaretur victoria passionis* *L* → *ut viro martyrii avidissimo adepturus quidem denuntiaretur victoria passionis* κ^l . There is, however, some evidence that κ^l is slightly contaminated with or was corrected with the help of μ : For example, in 2, 1, 20 *enim* is erroneously omitted by *WPLC*, but appears in most of the more recent members of κ , and in 2, 12, 24 κ^l (*in subsequenti parabola sermo quo apertissime declaratur futuri forma iudicii*) has a text which is in between the oldest manuscripts of κ (*in subsequenti parabola sermo quoque apertissime declaratur futuri forma iudicii*) and μ (*in subsequenti parabola sermone quo apertissime declaratur futuri forma iudicii*).¹³⁷

¹³⁴ Cf. 1, 12, 24sq. *scribebat digito*; 30, 9 *manifestantur*; 32, 5 *usum om.*; 51, 6 *dei sint*; 2, 5, 17 *populi*; 7, 7 *vivere om.*; 8, 28 *eis om.*, etc. For the combination *ADTO* see, for example, 1, 35, 4 *responsum*] *dictum*; 42, 6 *omnibus naturaliter tr.*; 56, 4 *scribens ait Philippensibus tr.*; 2, 22, 20 *ambiguus*; 26, 22 *vocatum*, etc.

¹³⁵ 1, 6, 11 *dicant*] *dicebant WPLC* → *dixerint ADFT*; *dixerunt JOI*; 9, 3 *indatur*] *datur WPLR* → *detur C* κ^l ; 2, 7, 22 *quidque*] *quisque WPL* → *quaeque* κ^l .

¹³⁶ For example, 1, 7, 3 *sustentandis*; 25, 5 *suscipimus*; 42, 12 *doceatur*; 51, 19 *scribentis*.

¹³⁷ It is sometimes hard to tell whether κ^l was influenced by μ or conjectured the correct text on its own, e.g., in 1, 7, 13 *avidior* (the rest of κ has *avidique* resp. *avida*); 26, 6 *in apostolum* (*WPL* have *in apostolo*); 2, 5, 16 *ire in Bithyniam* (*ire Bithyniam WPLCK*); 43, 6 *praeeminet* (*praemonet WPL*). Further examples for influence from μ are 2, 5, 16sq. *non utique negata illis populis gratia, sed quantum apparuit retardata* (*negat illis [his L; aliis κ^2] populis gratiam... retardata [retardatam κ^2] WPL κ^2*); 8, 3 *roravit*

κ^2 is represented only by two manuscripts, *R* and *K*; significant common errors are, for example: 1, 2, 9 *cepimus*; 5, 25 *dei om.*; 6, 4 *et cum scriptum sit*; 8, 10 *amet] habet*; 17, 11 *omnes*; 18, 3 *dissolvatur*; 21 *promisit credituros*; 20, 2 *appellat*; 26, 1 *universalis ecclesia*; 12 *renatis*; 21 *obligati*; 32, 3 *genus humanum*; 32, 10sq. transposition, etc. Within the κ family, κ^2 has many connective errors ("Bindefehler") with *L* (and *C*), as for example in 1, 4, 7 *et*; 26, 4 *esse dubium*; 56, 11 *excellentissimae*; 2, 23, 10 *solo suffocatorum et sanguinis*; 38, 9 *adiciatur*, etc. Sequential errors prove that this subfamily stems from *W P L* (and *C*);¹³⁸ in fact, it seems to have been copied from a manuscript which had close similarities to *L* (*ac.*): In 1, 5, 9 *exorment* was misread by *W* (*ac.*) and *L* as *exhorrent*; since a subjunctive is needed, κ^2 changed it to *exhorreant* (*exhorneant K*); in 1, 36, 10 the incorrect text of *L* (*ac.*), *per aqua et spiritu renasci*, was emended in κ^2 to the result of *per aquam spiritu renasci*, whereas *L* (*pc.*) and *C* conjectured *aqua et spiritu renasci*. Some places show that *R* followed the old codices of κ , *W P L*,¹³⁹ especially *L*,¹⁴⁰ more strictly than did *K*, which in some instances changed the text found in *R* and which seems to be contaminated with *C* and κ^1 .¹⁴¹

(*erogavit W P L C* κ^2); 45, 9 *quae* (*quo W P L C* κ^2); 48, 5 *obluctatio* (*oblectatio W P L* κ^2).

¹³⁸ Cf. 1, 6, 11 *dicant] dicebant W P L C* κ^2 ; 2, 38, 5sq. *numquam corruptio ita incorruptionis] corruptio numquam ita incorruptionis* tr. *W P L C* $\kappa^1 \rightarrow$ *tam corruptionum quam incorruptionum* κ^2 .

¹³⁹ Cf., e.g., 1, 9, 3 *indatur] datur W P L R \rightarrow detur C* $\kappa^1 K$; 2, 7, 22 *quisque W P L R \rightarrow quaeque* $\kappa^1 K$; 25, 6 *laudabili] laudabilis W P L R* (*ac.*); 43, 5 *quidem dei illa quidem P* (*ac.*) *L* (*ac.*) *R* (*ac.*).

¹⁴⁰ See 1, 54, 25 *tribuat] tribuatur L* (*ac.*) *F J* (*ac.*) *I R* (*ac.*); *tribuantur L* (*pc.*) *C* κ^1 (*exc. F I; pc. J*) κ^2 (*pc. R*); 2, 8, 5 *praesidebat] praesidebant L* (*ac.*) *R* (*ac.*); 21, 8 *conspiravitur L* (*ac.*), *conspirabitur R*; 40, 1 *donorum] dolorum L* (*ac.*) *R*.

¹⁴¹ See the sequential errors in 1, 9, 3 (see above n. 139); 32, 10sq. *in... donum post non dubium est* (1, 34, 14) tr. *R* (*ac.*) *K* (*pc.*); 2, 41, 4 *ut tales] vitales R; vitali K*; 56, 10 *quae ut R; quae K*; for contamination with κ^1 see 2, 7, 22 *quaeque*.

Family μ which, as shown above, preserves many correct, genuine readings one of which is even attested as early as the late 5th century (see below, p. 70), goes back to a subarchetype, the age of which remains unclear: it might stem from the 9th century, thus being of the same age as *WPL*, as well as from pre-Carolingian times. Within μ , despite a few sequential errors (2, 3, 20sq. and 2, 43, 5sq., see below; cf. also p. 51 on the attribution of VocGen in this family) codex Q was not directly copied neither by *Ma* and *X*, which have some similarities in common,¹⁴² nor by *G* which has many individual errors, but is close to *Q*.¹⁴³ From all this we can infer that there existed three or more manuscripts of μ that are now lost.

Contrary to the κ family, μ does not have significant omissions. Principal errors ("Leitfehler") of μ are:

1, 9, 29sq. *nec aliud ab eo aufertur nisi quod natura non habuit* κ – *nec aliud ab eo aufertur nisi vitium quod natura non habuit* μ λ . *vitium* seems to have been inserted for the sake of smoothing the text, thus the reading of μ λ is *lectio faciliior*.

1, 19, 15 *extorrem* κ – *exsortem* μ λ . Again, κ has the *lectio difficilior*.

1, 30, 8 *non subtraherentur* κ – *cognoscibilia essent* μ λ . Since this sentence (*quae utique opera dei humanae intelligentiae non subtraherentur, si innotescere debuissent...*) has a dative object, it is highly plausible that *subtraherentur*, which needs a dative object, is the right text; whereas *cognoscibilia essent* might have resulted of a lacuna that the scribe of μ tried to fill by inserting words that fit the context, but do not necessarily have a dative object.

2, 3, 19 – 21 ... *non hoc ut nihil patiamini, sed quod multo maius est praestiturus, ut nulla saevientium crudelitate superemini* κ – *non ad hoc ut nihil patiamini, sed quod multo maius est (et X; atque G) praestantius, ut nulla saevientium crudelitate superemini* μ . The

¹⁴² Cf., e.g., 1, 9, 3 *indatur*] *videatur*; 2, 43, 6 *iustificationibus*.

¹⁴³ E.g., 1, 9, 29 *eadem*] *ea*; 11, 12 *hanc ullo tr.*; 2, 9, 11 *agricultura*] *cultura agri*; 19, 13 *huius*] *istius*.

construction with the main clause being followed by a bulky phrase unfolding from a participle (*praestiturus*) is so common in VocGen (see above, p. 34) and is at the same time *lectio difficilior*, so that μ can be assumed to be wrong. The fact that the oldest manuscript of μ , Q, does not insert a copula (*et* or *atque*), indicates a sequential error within μ . The scribes of the later μ manuscripts realized that something was wrong, so that they tried to heal the corruption by departing even further from the correct wording.

2, 24, 13 *coaptatura* κ – *vocatura* μ λ . Two arguments are in favor of *coaptatura*: First, the verb is not as common as *vocare* is, thus it is the *lectio difficilior*; secondly, there is a parallel in Prosper (in psalm. 111, lin. 5 ...*spiritaliter figurabatur fabrica istius templi, cuius Christus est fundamentum, in quo etiam angulari lapide, vivis lapidibus coaptatis, caelestis aedificii structura consurgit, ut ex ruina vetere, quae facta est in Adam, novum dei templum cum reparatione omnium gentium reformetur*).

2, 43, 5sq. *gratia dei illa quidem in omni iustificatione* κ – *gratia dei quidem in omnibus iustificatione* Q; *gratia dei quidem in omnium iustificationem* G; *gratia dei quidem in omnibus iustificationibus* Ma X; clearly the text of κ is better than that of Q, because what follows is true of the universal grace; that this grace is meant, can only be understood, if the text reads *illa*, which differentiates it from the other form of grace mentioned in line 1 (*hanc... gratiam*). μ left out *illa*, and perhaps for some other reason misread *omni* as *omnibus*; this caused a sequential error, so that Q misled the rest of μ .

Family λ : Significant errors that prove λ to be a family of its own are, for example, 1, 5, 6 *etiam ingenia si*; 8, 9 *malae voluntatis fuerit*; 16, 21sq. *et iterum* om.; 24, 10 *praedicarentur haec*; 25, 1 *legerint haec*; 10 *magister gentium* om.; 30, 2 *devenire in*; 32, 14 *incognitae*; 36, 1 *gentis et* om.; above all, λ has a huge lacuna (1, 10, 20–16, 10).

Within λ the codex *M* has an exceptional position because it shares a few readings with κ where the others agree with μ (1, 17,

13/16 *ut/benedicant et laudent*; 49,4 *praecedentibus meritis*; 2, 20, 10 *irruit/incidit*). It was probably a manuscript not too closely related with *M*, which was copied by *V* and thus became the ancestor of λ .¹⁴⁴ This manuscript, however, is no longer extant. – λ has two sub-families, λ^1 (*U Y Z*, 15th century)¹⁴⁵ and λ^2 (*Br B E*, 16th century),¹⁴⁶ containing only late manuscripts; thus, variants found in only one member of λ^2 have not been noted in the apparatus. λ^2 would have been left aside completely, if it did not present what can be called a late medieval koiné text of VocGen which was used by the earlier editions.¹⁴⁷

2.4 Stemma Codicum

a) Two main families: κ and μ

Considering textual variants that cannot have come about in different manuscripts independently (by aberratio oculorum, haplography, dittography, etc.), one can clearly distinguish two major groups, i.e., on the one hand manuscripts pertaining to κ , on the other hand those pertaining to μ (and for the most part λ), for example:

1, 6, 15sq. *secundum ipsam tamen credimus* μ λ – *credimus tamen* κ
 1, 7, 13 *conscientiae* μ λ – *scientiae* κ

¹⁴⁴ Subsecutive errors are: 1, 30, 2 *definire*] *devenire* *M*; *devenire* in λ (*exc. M*); 2, 5, 16 *spiritu Iesu*] *spiritu sancto* *MN*; *spiritu sancto vel Iesu* *V* (*sl.*) *H* λ^1 ; 39, 4 *ne*] *nec* *M* (*ac.*); *nec ut* *M* (*pc.*); *non ut* λ (*exc. M*).

¹⁴⁵ Common errors are countless, e.g., 1, 1, 9 *suspicionum*; 2, 4 *advertunt*; 6sq. *nisi... nisi*] *ubi... non*; 8 *ipso*; 3, 2 *vis*; 7, 5 *dilectionis* etc.

¹⁴⁶ 1, 5, 5 *sui*; 10, 6 *sic*; 19, 21 *autem*] *enim*; 24, 16 *agebat* om.; 17 *sit*; 26, 3 *quid in*, etc.; the three manuscripts equally divide the text in chapters to which they attribute the same titles. The titles are in *Br* at the beginning of each chapter, in *B* and *E* only in indexes at the beginning of each book. With the exception of chapter VIII of book one (1, 44 in this edition) which is marked as chapter only in *E*, the chapter divisions are identical with those found in PL 17.

¹⁴⁷ 1, 35, 12 *bonitas miserantis* tr.; 54, 2 *dominus donaverit* tr.; 56, 3sq. *scribens Paulus apostolus Philippensibus* tr.; 2, 29, 4 *quoniam*, etc.

- 1, 14, 17 *illuminati* μ – *correcti* κ
 1, 17, 12 *erudiantur* μ – *custodiantur* κ λ
 1, 34, 8 *regeneratio* μ λ – *miseratio* κ
 1, 34, 22 *exaequati* μ λ – *aggregati(s)* κ
 1, 51, 7 *donaverit* μ λ – *voluerit* κ
 2, 17, 7 *seminis* μ λ – *generis* κ
 2, 20, 6sq. *eorum, quorum* μ λ – *eius, cuius* κ

As can be seen from the above mentioned variants *erudiantur* – *custodiantur*, family λ , though most of the time closely connected to μ , sometimes sides with κ . Since there are other evident signs of contamination with κ (for examples see below), argumentation regarding the stemma will primarily rely only on κ and μ . These two groups are best distinguished from each other, i.e., where the oldest members of κ differ from μ , neither κ^1 nor κ^2 follows μ .

With respect to the quality of the text, an editor cannot rely on κ only, or on μ only, because there are evident errors in κ , where μ (and λ) have the correct reading, and vice versa. Evident errors in κ , where μ has the correct reading, include some passages where κ has omissions.

b) Position and value of family λ

Though λ often shares incorrect readings with μ (for examples see above, p. 65), it is posterior to μ as can be seen from sequential errors:

- 2, 37, 6 *nihil inde*] *nihil de ea* μ ; *nihil sit quod de ea* λ
 2, 38, 10sq. *ab initio sui*] *ab initii sui* X ; *ab initii sui die* λ
 2, 43, 5sq. *in omni iustificatione*] *in omnibus iustificatione* Q ; *in omnium iustificationem* G ; *in omnibus iustificationibus* $Ma X \lambda$

Furthermore, λ has some evident traces of contamination with members of κ : 1, 4, 7 *autem est* tr. $CF\lambda$; 9, 3 *detur* $C\kappa^1 K\lambda$; 22, 1 *promittit* $\kappa \lambda$ (exc. λ^2), etc. Since there are some parallels only with W (1, 22, 1 *hac regula*; 39, 6 *factus est* [*est* not added to the following *factus* as well]; 2, 6, 9 *multi*] add. *in*; 44, 3 *occurrit*) and others only with P (apart from many instances in the Bible quotes, 2, 39, 19 *in*), neither manuscript was directly copied by λ .

There are also instances in which the variants of κ and μ are mingled together:

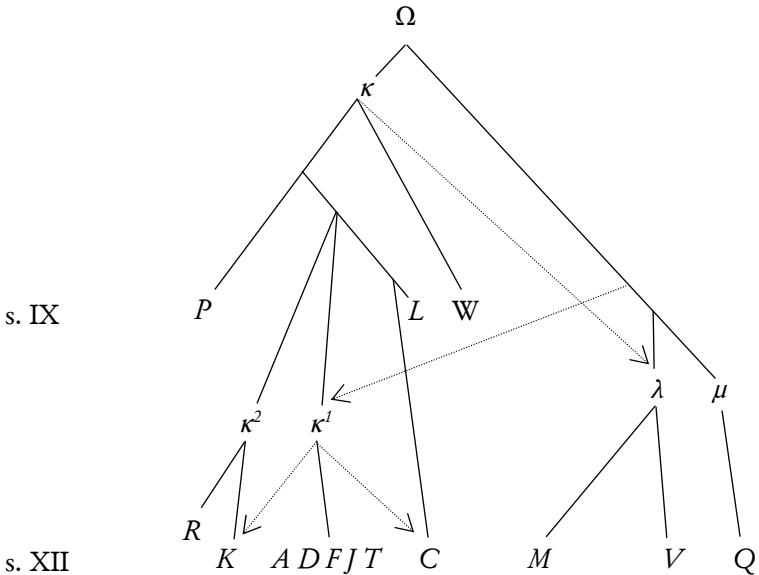
1, 30, 5 *originalibus*] *naturalibus* *originalibus* μ (*naturalibus* seems to have originally been a gloss in μ); *naturalibus* λ

2, 29, 12 *dominicae segetis*] *dominici agri* μ ; *dominici agri segetis* λ (exc. B)

2, 39, 4 *ne WP* μ ; *nec* κ (exc. WP) *M(ac.) V(ac.)*; *nec ut M(pc.)*; *non ut* λ (exc. M λ^2 ; pc. V); om. λ^2

The only place where λ seems to have preserved the correct text alone or independently from other manuscripts (2, 1, 10 *non omnes*: *non omnes homines* κ ; *omnes non* μ), might easily be the result of conjecture.

Thus, the relations between the mss. up to the 12th century lead to this stemma (dotted lines indicate contamination):



2.5 Indirect Text Tradition: Testimonies in Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages

The earliest known quote from VocGen is found in the late 5th century in Pope Gelasius (*Adversus Pelagianam haeresim* = Coll. Avell., epist. 97, 47, CSEL 35, 419): *Ad magnam enim utilitatem fidelium materia est servata certaminum, ut non superbiat sanctitas, dum pulsatur infirmitas* (1, 13, 12–14). It is of particular importance for textual criticism, because it bears witness to a variant found only in μ (*servata*; κ has *reservata*, λ omits the passage) and thus confirms that μ goes back to an old, valuable sub-archetype.

Ratramnus of Corbie, *De praedestinatione Dei* 1 (PL 121, 27C) quotes VocGen 1, 29–30 in extenso; since there is no critical edition of Ratramnus, it is hard to tell whether the agreements between his text and lectiones variantes in VocGen (1, 29, 1sq. *divinorum operum*; 17 *exordio*; 30, 18 *dei iudicia*; 29 *perdet*) attest that the respective variants go back to Ratramnus' time, i.e., to the 9th century.

Hincmar of Reims in his *De praedestinatione Dei et libero arbitrio* (PL 125, 117–475) has 21 quotations from VocGen. It is clear that he is quoting from a ms. that belongs to the κ family because he omits those words which are absent from κ (for example, 1, 16, 4–6). – On a more general discussion of the passages quoted by Ratramnus and Hincmar, see above p. 42.

3 EDITING DE VOCATIONE OMNIUM GENTIUM

3.1 Earlier Editions¹⁴⁸

The first printed edition of VocGen by Georgius Cribellus, which Leonhard Pachel printed in Milan,¹⁴⁹ included a corpus of works ascribed – partly incorrectly – to Ambrose: *Epistolae*, *De vocatione omnium gentium*, *Sermones*, *Orationes dicendae ante missam*, *De sacramentis et mysteriis*, *De virginibus*, *De viduis*, *De cohortatione virginum et de dedicatione templi a Iuliana structi*, *De institutione virginis ad Eusebium*, *De Helia et ieiunio*. The ascription to Ambrose gives rise to the suspicion that this edition used a manuscript of the family λ. The same holds true for the immediately following edition, which was printed in Milan by Antonius Zarotus in 1491,¹⁵⁰ and for the three-volume Ambrose edition of Johannes Amerbach (Basel 1492).¹⁵¹ Publishing VocGen among the works of Ambrose was abandoned in the

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Schoenemanni *Notitia historico-litteraria* in S. Prosperum, reprinted in PL 51, 43–64; later works, such as L. Couture, *Saint Prosper d'Aquitaine*, BLE 1900, 269–282, and *Saint Prosper d'Aquitaine II*, BLE 1901, 33–49, contain nothing that goes beyond that. Extremely helpful is the virtually complete list of printings in Elberti, *Prospero d'Aquitania* (see n. 19), 279–290.

¹⁴⁹ *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* (GW), vol. 1–7 edited by the Kommission für den Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, vol. 8–9 edited by the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin; vol. 2: *Alfarabius – Arznei* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann 1926, Nachdruck 1968), Nr. 1600.

¹⁵⁰ Containing: *Epistolae*, *De Isaac et anima*, *De fuga saeculi*, VocGen, *De aedificatione urbis Mediolani*; GW 1601.

¹⁵¹ GW 1599. VocGen is listed as the first Pseudo-Ambrosian writing after *De officiis ministrorum*, *Hexameron*, *De Paradiso*, *De Cain et Abel*, *De Noe et arca*, *De Abraham*, *De Isaac vel de anima*, *De bono mortis*, *De fuga saeculi*, *De Iacob et vita beata*, *De Ioseph patriarcha*, *De patriarchis*, *De Nabuthae*, *De Helia et ieiunio*, *De Tobia*, *De interpellatione Iob et David*, *De apologia David*, *De mysteriis*, *De sacramentis*, and before *De dignitate humanae conditionis*, *De Salomone* (Gregorius Illiberitanus), *De dignitate sacerdotali*, *Oratio praeparativa ad missae celebrationem* (Johannes Fiscamensis), *Orationes* (Ambrosius Autpertus).

middle of the 16th century.¹⁵² Johannes Sotellus (Leuven 1565) brought out VocGen under Prosper's name with the use of three codices no longer extant ("antiquissima manuscripta") from Belgian libraries, all of which stem from the Cistercian tradition and seem to have belonged to family κ : "codex S. Martini Lovaniensis," "Boneffiensis" (from the Abbey in Boneffe), "Camberonensis" (from the Abbey Cambron in Cambron-Casteau). Since some variants of the last mentioned manuscript are noted in the margin in the edition that Jacobus Olivarius brought out (Douai 1577) in close dependence on that of Sotellus,¹⁵³ a more accurate classification of this old manuscript ("vetustissimum volumen") within the family κ is possible.¹⁵⁴ Errors in Olivarius' edition were corrected by reprints, e.g., the Cologne edition of 1630.¹⁵⁵ The next new edition of VocGen is of special interest with

¹⁵² Before that also, for example, Johannes Oecolampadius (Basileae: Volffius 1524).

¹⁵³ Divi Prosperi Aquitanici episc. Rhegiensis Opera... a mendis repurgata (Duaci: Bogardus 1577).

¹⁵⁴ Cod. Camb(e)ronensis does not belong to λ (it does not have the omission of 1, 10, 20–16, 10 with it) or μ (1, 17, 12 *custodiantur*), but manifests such clear characteristics of κ that the few variants it has in common with $\mu + \lambda$ (1, 24, 14 *in ignorantia sua* om.; 1, 31, 21 *laudemus*) must have come about by chance: As is the case with several other members of κ^l , this manuscript contains, besides VocGen, also (Pomerius) De vita contemplativa; errors in common with κ are, for example: 1, 23, 19 *voluntaria* om.; 1, 24, 19 *generis*; 1, 28, 31 *conditione*; 1, 51, 7 *voluerit*; 1, 54, 17 *abundantem facere*; 2, 8, 26 *quia viis*; 2, 13, 7 *et...fecunda* om.; 2, 23, 10 *esu* om.; 2, 37, 13 *in Adae praevagatione*; within family κ , the manuscript has some similarities with WPJO (1, 37, 30 *etiam] autem*; 2, 9, 4 *directos*), but at other times with C (1, 27, 8sq. *impossibilia erant narrari*; 1, 58, 6 *probabunt*; 2, 8, 2sq. *quam... erogavit*; 2, 51, 4sq. *multimoda diversaue mensura*). Few readings might have resulted from conjecture (2, 7, 22 *quid quibus temporibus*).

¹⁵⁵ Divi Prosperi Aquitanici, Episcopi Rhegiensis, Viri eruditissimi, Opera, Accurata Exemplarium Vetustorum Collatione A Mendis penè innumeris repurgata. Quid Vero in Hac Editione Praeter ditissimum indicem, tam scripturarum quam rerum accesserit, pagina septima demonstrat (Coloniae Agripinae: Sumptibus Haeredum Ioannis Crithii Sub Signo Galli 1630).

respect to the history of the humanities; it was published by Paschasius Quesnellius in 1675 in the context of his edition of the works of Leo and was ascribed to Leo.¹⁵⁶ Because of the suspicion of Jansenism this edition was placed on the Index already in 1676. Besides the Cambronensis manuscript, whose variants Quesnel presumably took from earlier editions, he used the “codex Thuaneus” (C in the present edition). Its marginal glosses are found now and then also printed by Quesnel in the margin.¹⁵⁷ The edition by Johannes Lebrun de Marette and Lucas Mangeant (Paris 1711,¹⁵⁸ often reprinted) brought a clear improvement in quality; it rested upon the collation of three codices: codex Thuaneus, Cambronensis, and Joliensis (codex J of the present edition), and took the previous editions into account: the editio Lovaniensis (1565), Duacensis (1577), Colonien-sis (1630, this edition was an emended reprint of the editio Duacensis), and that provided by Quesnel. The reprint of the edition of Lebrun de Marette and Mangeant which appeared in Paris in 1782,¹⁵⁹ contains the text that is normative up to today, since it

¹⁵⁶ Sancti Leonis Magni Papae primi Opera omnia, nunc primum Epistolis XXX. tribusque de Gratia Christi Opusculis auctiora: secundum ... annorum seriem ... ordinata; a Supposititiis ... expurgata; Appendicibus, Dissertationibus, Notis ... illustrata; Accedunt S. Hilarii Arelatensis Episcopi Opuscula ... Una prodit è tenebris genuinus Codex Canonum et constitutio-nium Sedis Apostolica /... Cum dedicatione Paschasii Quesnelli ... (Lutetiae Parisiorum 1675).

¹⁵⁷ For example, 2, 39, 2 *eis*] s. *iugo* add. C (*mg.*); *idest iugo Quesnel* (*mg.*).

¹⁵⁸ Sancti Prosperi Aquitani, S. Augustini Discipuli, S. Leonis Papae Primi Notarii Opera omnia: Ad manuscriptos Codices, nec non ad editiones temporum disposita, Et Chronico Integro ejusdem, Ab Ortu rerum, usque ad obitum Valentini tertii, & Romam a Vandalis captam pertinentem locupletata. Quibus praefigitur ejusdem S. Prosperi Aquitani Vita ... (Pari-siis: Desprez Et Desessartz 1711).

¹⁵⁹ Prosperi Aquitani Opera omnia: ad mss. codd. nec non ad editiones antiquiores et castigatiores emendata, nunc primum secundum ordinem temporum disposita et chronico integro ejusdem ab ortu rerum usque ad obitum Valentiniani tertii...locupletata; quibus praefigitur Prosperi Aqu-

was included in *Patrologia Latina* 51,¹⁶⁰ although Migne had at his disposition an edition that rested upon an essentially broader base of manuscripts. For their edition (Venice 1756),¹⁶¹ Petrus and Hieronymus Ballerini had – apart from the codices Thuanensis, Camberonensis, and Joliensis – examined a series of Vatican manuscripts, of which they used three for the constitution of the text: “Vaticanus 1” (Vat. Reg. 293 [codex *R* of our edition]), “Vaticanus 2” (Vat. Lat. 268 [codex *V*]), and “Vaticanus 3” (Vat. Lat. 262 [codex *G*]).¹⁶² Thus, representatives of all three manuscript families were available to them. Hence, their text comes closest to the requirements of the modern technique of editing.

3.2 Principles of this Edition, List of Text Changes

For this edition, all extant manuscripts have been collated. The variant readings of the manuscripts from the 9th to the 12th century are completely documented in the critical apparatus. Variants from the later ones were skipped when they occur only in a single manuscript and are evident errors. Isolated errors in one of the three manuscripts from the 16th century, *Br*, *B*, and *E*, have been omitted. Though, as shown above (see p. 44), one can rely only on the old manuscripts of κ and on μ for constituting the text, we did not eliminate any codex from the apparatus,

tani...vita / additis nunc primum S. Asterii episc. homiliis. Ed. 2 Veneta juxta Parisiensem anni 1711 (Venetiis: Remondini 1782).

¹⁶⁰ Cf. PL 218, 1168 (*Index Bibliographicus*, exhibens Patrum et Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum varias editiones quae inde ab inventa arte typographica lucem viderunt, et in *Patrologiae Latinae Cursu* constituendo sunt adhibitae, s. v. Prosper): ...Venetiis, 1782, in-4. Migne had printed an edition of *VocGen* in *Patrologia Latina* 17, 1073–1132 from an unknown source.

¹⁶¹ S. Leonis Magni, Romani Pontificis, Opera post Paschasii Quesnelli recensionem...emendata et ineditis aucta curantibus Petro & Hieronymo fratribus Balleriniis... (Venetiis: Occhi 1753–1757), tomus secundus (1756).

¹⁶² Palatinus 236 (codex *P* of the present edition), Vaticanus Lat. 558 (codex *F*), 559 (codex *I*), and 281 (codex *H*) were only examined, but not used systematically.

because the more recent ones are often important for the textual tradition and for the former editions. Since biblical quotations could have been normalized by each scribe individually, in these cases the stemma is not applicable. – We re-numbered the chapters, adding the numbers used in *Patrologia Latina* 51 in brackets.

Places where the text differs from *Patrologia Latina* 51

Book 1: 2, 3 (*aestimantium*); 4, 7 (*est autem*); 7, 15 (*facilitatem*); 9, 3 (*indatur*). 20 (*retrudi*). 27 (*revertens*). 28 (*illo*). 29 (*labefacta*). 30 (*nisi quod*); 10, 1 (*sine*). 9 (*hostem non*). 10sq. (*fidat viribus*); 11, 13 (*accepit de*). 15 (*non potest captivo corde*). 18 (*intellegenda*); 12, 1 (*indocti nec*). 2 (*ad deum ratione*). 10 (*arbitrio usus*). 25 (*terra*); 13, 4 (*format; dulcescit animae*). 10 (*carnis autem*); 14, 17 (*illuminati*); 15, 9 – 17. 18 (*veniunt*). 21 (*sunt et*). 24 (*introibit; caelorum et*). 27 (*vos cognovi*); 16, 4 – 6. 14 (*neglexi eos*). 21 (*et iterum*). 26 (*dominus de gratia sua*). 27 (*facit creaturam*); 17, 16 (*inundati*); 18, 16 (*omnibus*); 19, 15 (*extorrem*). 18 (*hereditatem*). 24 (*omnia*); 20, 3 (*generalitate*). 11 (*sunt*); 21, 10 (*ipsis Christus*). 12 (*iisdem*); 22, 1 (*hanc regulam; promit*); 23, 15 (*genu ante*). 16 (*per*). 17 (*salvae*). 21 (*et*¹); 25, 10 (*magister gentium*); 26, 7 (*et*). 21 (*malae*). 24 (*dominus et iustus*); 27, 3 (*est*). 4 (*est*). 8 (*his*). 13 (*eruet; avertet*); 28, 3 (*ad*). 11 (*gratiae causa*). 17 (*gentibus*). 20 (*facta*). 25 (*tanta*); 29, 1sq. (*operum divinorum*). 6 (*creetur*); 30, 12 (*fecundam*). 13 (*dixit deus*). 27 (*hos*). 34 (*faciet*); 31, 2 (*velimus*). 12 (*populus; misertus est*). 16 (*et horum misertus sit*); 32, 1 (*universalem*); 34, 1 (*posset probari*). 8 (*cessarit*). 21 (*denarii pactione ubi*); 35, 2 (*exaequantur*). 10 (*dispensationis revelata*). 12 (*est miserantis bonitas*). 14 (*sic fecisti*); 36, 16 (*quae*); 37, 5 (*dicens cum*). 8 (*filiis*). 11 (*qui*); 38, 7 (*confiteor*). 18 (*et*¹). 21 (*in mundum*). 30 (*eam*); 40, 2 (*dederit*). 5 (*consequentibus*). 7 (*sibi populum*). 12 (*his*); 41, 16sq. (*quos finis*); 42, 3sq. (*enim vocati*). 12 (*afferre*). 17 (*ullorum; fortuitu*). 23 (*ergo de*). 31 (*omnibus tractatur*); 43, 6 (*omittantur*). 7 (*omne*); 44, 20 (*deo placentes*). 21 (*omni*). 25 (*memoriam facientes*); 45, 5 (*nosmetipsi*). 11 (*vestra conversatione*); 46, 6 (*nos audit*). 8sq. (*fidem per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum*); 47, 14 (*uno animo*); 48, 11 (*sunt dei*); 49, 4 (*praecedentibus meritis*). 6 (*conferantur*); 50, 4 (*item*). 8 (*fortitudinem meam*). 15 (*recte possit*). 17 (*intellegit*); 51, 1 (*dicitur*). 5 (*parcet*). 7 (*voluerit*). 20 (*autem*); 52, 3 (*de; omnia superposuit*). 4 (*dei*). 23sq. (*item idem praedicans*); 53, 10 (*alii sermo*). 12 (*prophetia*); 54, 2 (*donaverit deus*). 5 (*omnes et*). 12 (*nostra*). 13 (*nos fecit*). 15 (*docens; affectum*). 25 (*tribuat*); 55, 6 (*voluntarie genuit*). 8 (*salvabit*). 20 (*inquit*); 56, 3sq. (*Paulus apostolus Philippensibus scribens*). 17 (*operari*). 21 (*caritate*). 23 (*Iesu cum*). 30 (*confirmavit*). 34 (*aliud est*). 37 (*aestimati*). 40 (*peccatum virtus*). 43 (*et*). 55 (*vero*). 57 (*aeternam gloriam modicum*). 69 (*rapuntur*). 72 (*dabo*). 76 (*venerit*). 78 (*me misit*).

Book 2: 1, 6 (*agnitionem*). 10 (*omnes salvet qui omnes vult*). 20 (*enim*); 3, 3 (*potestas omnis*). 6 (*ego*). 8 (*et*). 19 (*relinquam*); 5, 7 (*vellet salvos*). 13 (*consederet*); 7, 15 (*et*¹); 8, 14 (*eis*). 17 (*ac potestate*). 23 (*terra et mare*). 28 (*eis*); 9, 14 (*autem*); 10, 11 (*prophetia*); 11, 7 (*ipsum*). 11 (*et*); 12, 13 (*sanatus*). 15 (*sana-tum*). 24 (*parabola*). 28 (*obicietur*); 13, 1 (*ideo*); 14, 10 (*testimonio*). 12 (*mirabilium*). 16 (*eum*). 27 (*aestimetur*). 28 (*silendo*); 15, 12 (*impertiit*); 17, 7 (*generis*); 18, 9 (*domine*); 19, 14 (*gustarunt*); 22, 20 (*ad medendi*); 25, 12 (*accepit*). 16 (*Christo regenerati*); 26, 5 (*sit tam*). 7 (*sunt*). 13 (*suffecit*). 15sq. (*superabundaret gratia*). 16 (*humanum genus*). 19 (*animos*); 27, 4 (*peccata*); 28, 15sq. (*de tenebris et potestate tenebrarum*); 29, 4 (*quando*). 21 (*fidei*). 29 (*aestimati*); 30, 4sq. (*est nemo*). 6 (*impius dicente*). 11 (*in*); 31, 12 (*habitant*; *et*²); 32, 6 (*audiant atque suscipiant*). 10 (*spontanea valeat*). 13 (*et apostolus Paulus*); 33, 4 (*boc*). 7 (*quarum*). 8 (*irritatus*). 16 (*te et*). 18 (*et*). 27 (*nostro*). 28 (*per me ad te*); 34, 1 (*hi*). 24 (*dimitte*). 25 (*secundum*). 26 (*in*); 36, 13 (*inciderent neque*). 18 (*de*); 37, 11sq. (*bonum aliquid neque malum*). 13sq. (*praevericatione primi parentis*); 39, 3 (*defectores*). 5 (*omnes omnia*). 19 (*ad*); 40, 17 (*habuerint*). 23 (*his*). 29 (*simili*); 41, 1 (*in*). 3 (*mortalitate*); 42, 4 (*his*; *eaque*; *quam*). 6 (*eiusmodi dona ista*). 6sq. (*per ipsorum testimonia*); 43, 3 (*si quid*). 5 (*dei illa quidem*). 7 (*monendo*); 45, 5 (*fecit*). 9 (*gratia*); 46, 30 (*expostulavit*). 32 (*roga*). 34 (*ea*). 39 (*eius*; *commoriturum sponderat*); 47, 9 (*insidiant*); 48, 8 (*provectis*). 9 (*inferas*). 11 (*superentur ipsamque victoriam*); 49, 11 (*his*). 14 (*adiuta*). 20 (*proventu*). 21 (*pro*); 53, 1 (*his*). 4 (*quoniam iustus*). 10 (*gente ex*); 54, 4 (*subito*). 10 (*iustificatio*); 55, 15 (*in ipso*). 18 (*dei semper*). 25 (*numeratus*); 57, 7 (*propriis*). 10 (*destructionem*; *his*).

3.3 Abbreviations

<i>ac.</i>	ante correctionem	<i>om.</i>	omisit / omiserunt
<i>add.</i>	addidit / addiderunt	<i>p(p).</i>	pagina(e)
<i>cap.</i>	caput / capita	<i>par.</i>	loci paralleli
<i>cett.</i>	ceteri	<i>pc.</i>	post correctionem
<i>cf.</i>	confer	<i>praef.</i>	praefatio(nem)
<i>cod(d).</i>	codex / codices	<i>praem.</i>	praemisit / praemiserunt
<i>corr.</i>	correxerunt / correxerunt	<i>praes.</i>	praesertim
<i>del.</i>	delevit / deleverunt	<i>ras.</i>	rasura
<i>ed(d).</i>	editio(nes)	<i>saec.</i>	saeculo
<i>exc.</i>	excepto / exceptis	<i>scil.</i>	scilicet
<i>exp.</i>	expunxit / expunxerunt	<i>sec.</i>	secundum
<i>fol.</i>	folium	<i>sequ.</i>	sequitur / sequuntur
<i>inc.</i>	incipit / incipiunt	<i>sl.</i>	supra lineam
<i>iter.</i>	iteravit / iteraverunt	<i>sq(q).</i>	sequens / sequentes
<i>lib.</i>	liber	<i>suppl.</i>	supplevit / suppleverunt
<i>lin.</i>	linea(e)	<i>tr.</i>	transposuit / transposue- runt
<i>litt.</i>	littera(e)	<i>v.</i>	vide
<i>lnp.</i>	legi non potest	<i>VL</i>	Vetus Latina
<i>LXX</i>	Septuaginta	<i>Vulg.</i>	Vulgata
<i>mg.</i>	in margine		

* in apparatu lectionem fortasse praefarendam designat

- ba* Sancti Leonis Magni ... Opera post Paschasii Quesnelli recensionem ... emendata ... curantibus Petro & Hieronymo fratribus Balleriniis ..., Venetiis (Occhi) 1753 – 1757, tomus secundus (1756)
- mia* editio ab ignoto quodam parata et a J.-P. Migne in Patrologiae Latinae vol. 17 (Parisiis, annis 1857/60) iterata, in qua opus Ambrosio tribuitur
- mip* editio a J. Lebrun de Marete et L. Mangeant Parisiis 1782 publici iuris facta et a J.-P. Migne vol. 51 iterata, in qua opus Prospero attribuitur

Conspectus siglorum

- ω consensus omnium codicum
 κ consensus codicum *W P L C* κ^1 κ^2
 κ^1 consensus codicum *A D F J T O I* (*Do*)
 κ^2 consensus codicum *R K*
 λ consensus codicum *M V H N S* λ^1 λ^2
 λ^1 consensus codicum *U Y Z*
 λ^2 consensus codicum *Br B E*
 μ consensus codicum *Q G Ma X*
A Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, ms. 586, saec. 12 (cf. p. 47)
B Bruxelles, Bibl. Royale, Lat. 965 (242–65), saec. 16 (cf. p. 57)
Br Bremen, Universitätsbibl.-Staatsbibl., msb. 0010, an. 1528 (cf. p. 56)
C Paris, Bibl. nationale, Lat. 2156 (*Colbertinus*), saec. 12 (cf. p. 46)
D Dijon, Bibl. municipale, ms. 140, saec. 12 (cf. p. 47)
Do Douai, Bibl. municipale, ms. 533, saec. 13 (excerpta, cf. p. 50)
E Bruxelles, Bibl. Royale, Lat. 966, saec. 16 (cf. p. 57)
F Roma, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 558, saec. 12 (cf. p. 48)
G Roma, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 262, saec. 15 (cf. p. 51)
H Roma, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 281, an. 1374 (cf. p. 54)
I Roma, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 559, an. 1447 (cf. p. 49)
J Paris, Bibl. nationale, Lat. 17413 (*Joliensis*), saec. 12 (cf. p. 48)
K Charleville-Mézières, Bibl. municipale, ms. 202/13, saec. 12ex. (cf. p. 50)
L Laon, Bibl. municipale, ms. 122, saec. 9 (cf. p. 46)
M München, Bayerische Staatsbibl., Clm 17732, saec. 12 (cf. p. 53)
Ma Mantova, Bibl. comunale, ms. D.III.1, saec. 15 (cf. p. 52)
N Paris, Bibl. nationale, Lat. 1757, saec. 14 (cf. p. 54)
O Lisboa, Bibl. nacional, cod. Alcobacensis 67, saec. 13 (cf. p. 49)
P Roma, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. Lat. 236, saec. 9 (cf. p. 45)
Q Firenze, Bibl. San Marco, ms. 637, saec. 12in. (cf. p. 51)
R Roma, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. Lat. 293, saec. 11/12 (cf. p. 50)
S Madrid, San Lorenzo del Escorial, Cod. Lat. Q.III.15, saec. 15 (cf. p. 55)
T Troyes, Bibl. municipale, ms. 5, saec. 12 (cf. p. 49)
U Roma, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. Lat. 39, saec. 15 (cf. p. 55)
V Roma, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 268, saec. 12 (cf. p. 53)
W Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibl., Cod. Guelf. 179 Gud. Lat. 4°, saec. 9med. (cf. p. 45)
X Roma, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. Lat. 69, saec. 15 (cf. p. 52)
Y Firenze, Bibl. Medic. Laurenz., Laur. Lat. XIV, 9, saec. 15 (cf. p. 56)
Z Firenze, Bibl. Medic. Laurenz., Leop. Laur. Lat. 23, saec. 15 (cf. p. 56)
edd consensus editionum *ba*, *mia* et *mip* (cf. p. 77)