John Howell David Scourfield

Jesus College

A LITERARY COMMENTARY ON JEROME, LETTERS 1, 60, 107

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Oxford

Michaelmas Term 1983

Volume 2



LETTER 107

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Introduction

The date of the letter can be established with reasonable accuracy. It must have been written before the death of the elder Paula (cf. 4.8 with n.), and probably before her protracted terminal illness, of which nothing is said in c.13; she was certainly ill by the second half of 402 (cf. epist. 102.1.2, with Kelly, p. 277). 2.3 Marnas Gazae luget inclusus et eversionem templi iugiter pertremescit makes it clear that the date of the letter must fall later than 398 and before May 402, and almost certainly after Porphyrius had obtained a destruction order for the temple in 401 (see n. ad loc.). I would agree with Kelly, p. 273, that 401 or early 402 is likely to be right. Grützmacher, 1.85, and Cavallera, 2.47, wrongly date the destruction of the Marneion to 401 (see RE s.n. Marna, Marnas), and give the date of the letter as late 400/401 and 400 respectively.

Of the addressee, Laeta, little is known beyond her family connections, and those mainly through this letter; there are a few further references to her in epist. 108 and 153. The daughter of Publilius Ceionius Caecina Albinus (cf. 1.2-3), she married Toxotius (cf. 1.2), son of the elder Paula and brother of Eustochium;

the date of the marriage is unknown, although if 3.2 luctuosam fecunditatem refers to miscarriages (see n. ad loc.), it will have taken place a few years earlier. See PLRE 1.492, RE s.n. Laetus 7. The importance in J.'s life of St. Paula's family, particularly Paula herself and Eustochium, is evident throughout his writings; see Kelly, passim.

The aim of the letter is stated explicitly at 3.1 propositum enim mihi erat sanctae Marcellae et tuis precibus invitato ad matrem, id est ad te, sermonem dirigere et docere, quomodo instruere Paululam nostram debeas, quae prius Christo est consecrata quam genita, quam ante votis quam utero suscepisti. The same intention underlies epist. 128, written eleven or twelve years later in 413. Though much shorter than the letter to Laeta, and with a far smaller proportion of its space devoted directly to the giving of precepts, it nevertheless provides many useful parallels, some of which are given in the commentary. There is also in epist. 107 a minor, secondary aim: the first two cc. are quite unconcerned with the correct upbringing of the younger Paula, and are devoted mainly to encouraging Laeta that her father Albinus, despite his age, may yet be converted to Christianity. J. would certainly have liked Paula to be able to grow up in a fully Christian environment; cf. c.13, where he finally suggests that the best place for her education is with him in Bethlehem. The

references to Albinus and other members of Laeta's family give the letter a personal stamp; much of it is otherwise of general application to the education of *virgines dei*.

The letter lacks a logical and coherent structure. J. certainly believed that there should be development in Paula's education, and 7.1 *postquam grandicula esse coeperit ...* suggests a break in flow; but it is clear that much of what is said after 7.1 is also applicable to Paula when she is much younger, and with the exception of c.4, which teaches how the little girl is to be given the rudiments of reading and writing, the whole letter must be regarded as providing a course of education for her whole childhood. Nor is any attempt made to group the precepts by kind. Where one might have expected J. to deal with the various categories in an orderly fashion, one is met with a jumble. The rules on Paula's literary studies, for instance, are scattered throughout the letter. First steps are treated, as has been said, in c.4; but not until c.12 does J. give a detailed exposition of the course in Scripture and Patristics which he intends to put her through and for the sake of which alone she has to learn to read, and by then he has already mentioned the importance of Scriptural studies several times - at 9.1, 9.3, and, couched in mystical language, in c.7. Precepts on eating and drinking are dealt with in cc.8 and 10, but forgotten in c.9. Having discussed the

matter of dress in c.5, J. returns to it briefly at 10.1. Certain rules, to which little space is given, are jammed in apparently at random; at the end of 8.3, for example, he says a few words about music, between sections on abstinence and learning the Scriptures. The overwhelming impression is that he put down many of the precepts as they occurred to his mind; he seems to have had not the vaguest conception of the overall plan of the work when he put his hand to it, and it may be that it was written in some haste. Even the rearranging of the order of the precepts borrowed from Quintilian in c.4 does not appear to have been carefully thought out (see on 4.3-4 *syllabas ... transeat*). For all that, however, the type of life J. has in mind for Paula is more than adequately spelled out to her mother; the important things - good company, Biblical study, prayer, fasting and other types of mortification - are made crystal clear.

It is the intellectual side of Paula's education to which J. turns to first (c.4), after a few preliminary remarks concerning her general behaviour and the sort of people she is to have around her (4.1). This has attracted some attention, for its enlightened view of educational methods, with learning treated as a game and encouraged by reward rather than punishment, and because it is taken almost wholesale from Quintilian; cf. e.g. Hagendahl, pp. 197-200, C. Favez, 'Saint Jérôme pédagogue', *Mélanges de philologie, de*

littérature et d'histoire anciennes offerts à J. Marouzeau (Paris, 1948), pp. 173-81. Without mentioning his source, J. has simply regurgitated material written some three hundred years previously, his only original contribution being to shuffle the precepts around and to adapt them to Christianity; for example, Paula is to learn to read by spelling the names of people in the Bible (cf. 4.4). The technical methods used accord with what is known from elsewhere about the elementary teaching of letters in the ancient world; on this see H. I. Marrou, Histoire de l'éducation dans l'Antiquité (6th edn., Paris, 1965), pp. 389-99, and esp. S. F. Bonner, Education in Ancient Rome: from the Elder Cato to the Younger Pliny (London, 1977), pp. 165-80. The absence of arithmetic from J.'s scheme is noteworthy: while the really important thing is that Paula should learn to read in order to be able to study the Bible and the works of the Fathers (cf. c.12), basic numeracy must have been important, not merely for practical day-to-day purposes, but even as an aid to Scriptural studies; cf. Aug. doctr. christ. 2.62 'numerorum etiam imperitia multa facit non intelligi translate ac mystice posita in scripturis. ingenium quippe, ut ita dixerim, ingenuum non potest nisi movere quid sibi velit quod et Moyses et Helias et ipse dominus quadraginta diebus ieiunaverunt. cuius actionis figuratus quidam nodus nisi huius numeri cogitatione et consideratione non solvitur'.

J. may have felt that such usage of numbers was unimportant in the early stages of education, and that in any case the rudiments of counting would be acquired naturally as the girl grew up.

Once Paula has learned to read, the only strictly intellectual activity of her life is to be Biblical and patristic study, with avoidance of doctrinally doubtful works and - by implication, for it is unmentioned - of pagan literature (cf. c.12). It is the simplest of schemes, with no room for the variety of studies for which Augustine found a place in De doctrina christiana; nor is J. interested in the sort of groundwork envisaged by Augustine for the instruction of catechumens in basic theology and set out in De catechizandis rudibus. He wishes merely to ensure that Paula has a thorough knowledge of the word of God and is familiar with the works, both Greek and Latin, of the best theologians of the early Church.

This kind of education was not typical of the teaching given to the children of Christians in the first few centuries of the era (for which see Marrou, Histoire de l'éducation, pp. 451-71). Although tensions were created by the clash of two fundamentally different cultures, the traditional Classical education was still provided in the schools, even after the Empire had become officially Christian; even J. himself taught the works of Virgil and other pagan writers to

boys sent to him at Bethlehem (cf. Rufin. apol. adv. Hier. 2.11, with Hagendahl, pp. 325-6). With Paula, however, the case was different. She was no ordinary child. She had been dedicated to God, was intended to be sponsa Christi (cf. 7.1), and had to be protected at all costs from the dangers of the saeculum, a point brought out forcibly at many points in the letter. While most Christian children would take their place in the day-to-day affairs of the world, she would shun them as completely as possible. In short, the difference in the intellectual side of her education reflects a difference in her lifestyle: her total dedication to God's service demanded a training of the mind that was wholly Christian. A similar scheme was laid down a little earlier by Basil for the instruction of young children sent to his monasteries (cf. reg. fus. tract. 15, esp. c.3 on literary studies); the adaptation to Christianity of old methods of teaching and learning is again apparent here (cf. on 4.4). The comments of Marrou, Histoire de l'éducation, pp. 472-6, on this monastic type of education, are illuminating.

In Antiquity, however, education was not something which concerned the mind alone. The question of virtue is important for both Quintilian and Ps.-Plutarch, for example. Quintilian felt that the perfect orator, whom he was attempting to produce, would necessarily have to be a 'vir bonus'; cf. inst. 1 pref. 9. Ps.-Plutarch is anxious that children should have their characters

moulded so that their behaviour is impeccable; cf. lib. educ. 5 (3E-F), 14 (9F-11C). So with Paula, important though study of the Bible and the Fathers is, it is only one aspect of a greater whole. Her total dedication to God, the fact that she was to be the bride of Christ and to spend her life as far as possible in communion, or union, with him, demanded first and foremost a life of virginity: her commitment had to be corporal as well as spiritual. For J. the virginal life was in any case desirable. His attitude to the subject has been thoroughly examined in a clearly expounded and well documented book by D. Dumm, The Theological Basis of Virginity according to St. Jerome (Latrobe, Pa., 1961). Chastity for him had been characteristic of the life of man in the Garden of Eden, and would again be the state of affairs in paradise to come. Matrimony was granted to man only as an indulgence; virginity remained the ideal state to which he should always aspire. Much of the treatise against Jovinian is devoted to showing the superiority of virginity to marriage (cf. adv. Iovin. 1.3ff. (PL 23.212ff.)). The life of chastity also had practical advantages for the Christian. Lacking the distractions of marriage (cf. 1 Cor. 7.32-4, with adv. Iovin. 1.13 (PL 23.230-1); also virg. Mar. 20 (PL 23.203-4), epist. 22.22.1-2), it rendered much easier the practical means of communion with God, meditation on the Scriptures and above all, prayer (cf. on 9.3); and it will have

allowed time for labour in the service of God, the value of which for the interior life is made clear at epist. 130.15.2-4 (quoted at n. on 10.1 Discat ... ducere).

The essentially contemplative activities of prayer, Bible reading, and manual labour, which are to be the main occupation of the virgin's life, are necessarily best fostered by dissociation from the 'world' and worldly values; cf. adv. Iovin. 2.9 (PL 23.299). Thus there is no place in J.'s scheme for secular music or for jewellery and fine clothes, which may in any case have a morally corrupting effect; cf. on 8.3, 5.1. The virgin should live a life of simplicity and seclusion, and in Paula's case this is best achieved with J., the elder Paula, and Eustochium in the monasteries at Bethlehem (cf. c.13).

The fallen nature of man, however, means that the state of chastity is not easy to maintain. Hence the need for mortification. All stimulants to lust must be avoided: wine, meat, warm baths, and so on. The rules J. gives on these topics are by no means given for their own sake; they have this very definite practical purpose (cf. on 8.2, c.10, 11.1-2), and sometimes added advantages: satiety, for instance, dulls the mind, and therefore hinders prayer and study (cf. on c.10).

The programme laid down by J. for Paula's education has, then, a distinct rationale, though this is not made explicit: it outlines the way in which her

spiritual union with Christ may be successfully achieved. The same ideas may be found in other letters of J., though nowhere else, save in the case of Pacatula (epist. 128), does he deal with the upbringing of a child. In fact, it is much less important that Paula is a little girl than that she is a virgo dei. Although J. does bear her age in mind while writing the letter, the theory underlying much of what he teaches is equally applicable to older virgins. Eustochium is the classic example. The letter written to her in 384 (epist. 22), the aim of which is to lay down guidelines as to how she is to conduct her life of virginity, is full of parallels to the present letter. The same is true of epist. 54, written to the widow Furia around 395-6, encouraging her in her resolve not to remarry; and of epist. 130, which gives practical advice to Demetrias, who had voluntarily dedicated herself to the virgin's profession. epist. 125, written to Rusticus in 412, shows that very many of the same precepts are applicable also to monks, who after all are nothing other than the male counterparts of virgins. It is also instructive to compare epist. 79.7, 117.6-7, and 123.

Equally valuable for understanding J.'s intentions is composing this plan of life for Paula are those letters where he tells of women who have been successful in their calling as virgins or chaste widows. The virtues he extols, often in glowing terms,

are the very qualities which he wishes Paula to have: control over the body, restraint in eating and drinking, love of the Scriptures, avoidance of worldly men, hard work, and so on. Asella was one such woman (cf. epist. 24); she was the ideal example for young girls (cf. epist. 24.1.2). More significant, perhaps, are the elder Paula and Marcella, who had been the magistra of Eustochium and of the great Paula herself (cf. epist. 46(Paula and Eustochium).1.1). Marcella's virtues are praised in epist. 127, the memoir of her life written to Principia in 413; Paula's in epist. 108, the great epitaphium composed shortly after her death. J. will certainly have hoped that the younger Paula would emulate them and others like them; indeed, at 13.3 he declares that if Laeta does send her to Palestine, Eustochium will be a pattern for her to follow, and doubtless Paula, who is envisaged rather as a teacher, will have been too. For further consideration of the kind of lifestyle J. has in mind for virgins, widows, monks, and clergy too, with evidence drawn mainly from his letters, see F. Cavallera, 'Saint Jérôme et la vie parfaite', Revue d'ascétique et de mystique 2 (1921), 101-27; also valuable is P. Antin, 'Le Monachisme selon saint Jérôme', Mélanges bénédictins publiés à l'occasion du XIVe centenaire de la mort de S. Benoit (S.-Wandrille, 1947), pp. 71-113 (= Antin, Recueil, pp. 101-33).

Generally, the letter falls into the tradition of ascetical literature which belonged to the early centuries of Christianity and continued into the Middle Ages. Such works took many different forms. Considering Greek and Latin writings only, in addition to letters, there were sermons, such as Basil's Sermo de renuntiatione saeculi; tracts on various aspects of the ascetic life, such as fasting, and on virginity itself, by Gregory of Nyssa, John Chrysostom, and Ambrose, among others; lives, such as Athanasius' Vita Antonii and Gregory of Nyssa's Vita sanctae Macrinae, in addition to the three by J. himself (PL 23.18-60); even poems, such as the Poemata moralia of Gregory of Nazianzus, particularly nos. 2, 3, and 6. Different approaches, but the same underlying question. Some works deal specifically with how the virgin or the monk is to live, and lay down appropriate precepts. It is especially instructive to read Athanasius' De virginitate in conjunction with the present letter in this respect. More interesting still is the work entitled Sententiae ad virgines by Evagrius Ponticus, extant only in a Latin version, which, short though it is, contains a great deal of parallel material; one might also compare parts of the Practicus of the same man, esp. cc.15-17, which deal with ways of coping with troublesome human desires. M. J. Rouët de Journel and J. Dutilleul, Enchiridion asceticum: loci ss. patrum et scriptorum ecclesiasticorum ad ascesim spectantes (4th

edn., Friburgi Brisgoviae, 1947), is an indispensable collection of relevant passages.

At adv. Iovin. 1.13 (PL 23.230), in the context of virginity and marriage, J. refers to Gregory of Nazianzus as 'praeceptor meus'. The phrase, however, is used by J. of Gregory in other places where the context is quite different (cf. e.g. epist. 52.8.2, vir. ill. 117 (PL 23.707)), and there is no reason to assume that J.'s teaching on virginity is based on Gregory. Indeed the question of sources for the precepts given in this letter does not arise. J. is merely giving his own ideas on the virgin life, which are framed within a firm and established tradition to which most of the great Fathers belonged.

On the ascetic movement generally see Viller, Dictionnaire de spiritualité, 1.936-1010, s.vv. Ascèse, Ascétisme, esp. 964-77. On the dedication of virgins to God in the first three centuries AD see H. Koch, Virgines Christi (Texte und Untersuchungen 31.2; Leipzig, 1907). On ascetism in the West see in particular G. D. Gordini, 'Forme di vita ascetica a Roma nel IV secolo', Scrinium theologicum 1 (1953), 7-57, and 'Origine e sviluppo del monachesimo a Roma', Gregorianum 37 (1956), 220-60, and the philosophical study of E. Bickel, 'Das asketische Ideal bei Ambrosius, Hieronymus und Augustin', Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum 37 (1916), 437-74. On the Greek side D. Amand, L'Ascèse monastique de saint

Basile (Maredsous, 1949), goes into the subject in great depth. P. Resch, La Doctrine ascétique des premiers maîtres égyptiens du quatrième siècle (Paris, 1931), covers the subject from the Egyptian angle, and for Syria, A. Vööbus, History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient (2 vols., Louvain, 1958-60), is invaluable. What emerges from consideration of the different regions is just how similar the ascetic practices - fasting, abstinence from wine and meat, simplicity of dress, and so on - often were.

AD LAETAM DE INSTITUTIONE FILIAE. The MSS generally agree on the title, though Laeta's name is sometimes given incorrectly as Aleta. The variant reading of B^1, ad letam consolans eam pro interitu filiae, is a scribal error caused by confusion with J.'s consolatory letters; probably no more than a mental aberration.

cc.1-2. The first two cc. are only indirectly linked to the main purpose of the letter, the education of the younger Paula. They deal with her family, particularly her grandfather Albinus, who, unlike his daughter and son-in-law, is not a Christian. J. is clearly concerned for the conversion of Albinus, not only, perhaps, for his own sake, but also so that Paula may have a fully Christian context in which to grow up before she is sent, as he hopes, to Palestine (cf. 13.1). He is also anxious to reassure Laeta that her father's conversion is still possible, despite his age. External factors favour it: he is surrounded by a believing family (1.3), and paganism at Rome is generally in decay (1.4); there are good precedents for conversion, even late in life and among the most unlikely people, both in the Bible (2.1) and in Laeta's own family (2.2), and in any case recent years have seen the triumph of Christianity over paganism the world over (2.2-3).

1.1. Beatus apostolus Paulus. beatus is read by only three of the MSS, but it is quite impossible to judge whether it should or should not stand. For a parallel opening cf. epist. 34.1.1 'beatus Pamphilus martyr'; but Paul is often referred to more simply, as at epist. 57.1.1 'Paulus apostolus', where J. again opens a letter with a quotation from his words (actually Paul's address to Agrippa at Acts 26.2-3). A number of J.'s letters begin with a Biblical passage, which thereby immediately sets the tone for the piece; cf. e.g. epist. 12.1.1 (words of Jesus at Matt. 18.3, slightly adapted), 13.1.1 'Iohannes idem apostolus et evangelista in epistula sua ait: quicumque odit fratrem suum, homicida est, et recte'. Sometimes J. plunges in directly with a quotation, without giving the context or even a reference to the writer or book from which it comes; cf. e.g. epist. 22.1.1, 58.1.1.

To use a Scriptural text as a starting-point is an obvious technique for a Christian writer to employ, but the words of pagan authors too may provide a useful lead-in; cf. epist. 8.1.1 'Turpilius comicus tractans de vicissitudine litterarum: sola, inquit, res est, quae homines absentes praesentes faciat', epist. ad Praesidium p. 54.1-2 Morin 'nulla res, vetus inquit comicus, tam facilis est, quin difficilis fiat, quam invitus facias'.

sacris instruens disciplinis. There may here be a vague connection between the first two cc. and the rest of the letter. The Pauline quotation is introduced in connection with Albinus, but disciplinis is a hint of what is to come: J. himself is in Paul's position in as much as his role is to give precepts for the instruction of Paula. He is not drawing a parallel, but this phrase may have been suggested by his conception of his task in writing this little treatise.

si qua mulier ... sancti sunt: 1 Cor. 7.13-14 (Vulg.: 'si qua mulier habet virum infidelem et hic consentit habitare cum illa, non dimittat virum. sanctificatus est enim vir infidelis in muliere fideli, et sanctificata est mulier infidelis per virum fidelem. alioquin filii vestri inmundi essent, nunc autem sancti sunt'). in fratre may seem odd, but it is conceivably the right reading; while it is not noted as a variant in the Vulgate, the Greek MSS of 1 Cor. 7.13-14 witness to both 'ἀδελφῷ' and 'ἀνδρί' , the former picking up the 'ἀδελφὸς' (Vulg. 'frater') of v.12, where it certainly means 'husband' as well as 'brother' in the Christian sense. It is, however, not nearly as well attested in the MSS as in viro fideli. Given the possibility of textual changes made by scribes wishing to match the quotation with the text of 1 Cor. with which they were familiar (see general introduction, sect. 4), what J. actually wrote is anyone's guess.

1.2. si cui ... sudarent. Paul's precept at 1 Cor. 7.13-14 had the happy outcome that it allowed Albinus and his Christian wife (cf. inpari matrimonio below) to remain married and bear Laeta (and ultimately, through her, Paula). At adv. Iovin. 1.10 (PL 23.223-4) J. strongly opposes marriage between Christians and non-Christians, citing 2 Cor. 6.14 as testimony. In this he agrees with other Fathers; cf. e.g. Cypr. testim. 3.62. In the present case it is probably his friendship with Laeta and her family which induces him to take a more liberal view.

videbantur. Many of the MSS have videbuntur, which is printed by Labourt; hactenus will then mean 'up to this point in my letter'. But the context favours the imperfect, with hactenus = 'up to now'; i.e. if anyone hitherto has thought Paul over-indulgent, he should now consider the case of Laeta's parents (which shows the value of Paul's attitude).

praeceps indulgentia praeceptoris: a neat play on words; cf. introduction to epist. 1.

patris tui: Albinus; see on 1.3 Albini pontificis.

clarissimi: a technical term, referring to a specific grade of the senatorial order. By the time of this letter, the title had ceased to carry any great

distinction. See Jones, LRE, 1.8, 143, 379, 2.528-31, 542.

ambulantis in tenebris. The metaphor of light and darkness is a common one in Christian Latin, and tenebrae is used in a number of ways. It sometimes denotes life on earth, in comparison with the life to come; cf. e.g. epist. 39.3.3 'si Cedar tenebrae sunt et mundus iste sunt tenebrae, quia lux lucet in tenebris et tenebrae eam non conprehenderunt, faveamus Blesillae nostrae, quae de tenebris migravit ad lucem', 129.3.1, Ambr. obit. Valent. 64 'existi de tenebris istius saeculi'; also Ambr. obit. Theod. 39 'transivit enim pius de caligine saeculari ad lumen aeternum'. Hell too can be tenebrae; cf. e.g. epist. 23.3.2, 88.1.1 'nequaquam antiquus serpens sibilat, sed contortus et evisceratus, in cavernarum tenebris delitescens solem clarum ferre non sustinet', 93(tr. from Jerusalem synod).1.2. In the present instance, of course, it is unbelief which is meant. Generally the image of darkness is used to indicate godlessness or ungodliness as seen in unbelief, false belief (as of the Origenists; cf. e.g. epist. 98(tr. from Theophilus). 13.1 'ad aliam eius [sc. Origenis] veniamus inpietatem, quam velut de profundissimis tenebris eructans loquitur'), wrong action (cf. e.g. epist. 77.4.2, where J. declares that David, having committed murder and adultery, 'iacebat in terra, volutabatur in cinere et

oblitus regiae potestatis lumen quaerebat in tenebris'), and so on. Darkness is the antithesis of God; cf. e.g. epist. 49.15.6 'nihil deo clausum est et tenebrae quoque lucent apud eum'.

This light-darkness imagery has a basis in Scripture. ambulare in tenebris is itself a common Biblical phrase; cf. e.g. Job 24.17, 29.3, 1 John 2.11 'qui autem odit fratrem suum in tenebris est et in tenebris ambulat et nescit quo eat'. God himself is light (cf. 1 John 1.5); upon the earth there may be darkness (cf. e.g. Isa. 5.30), but the light shines in that darkness for those who wish to see it (cf. Isa. 9.2 'populus qui ambulabat in tenebris vidit lucem magnam'). There are many instances of the metaphor. In the present context one might note particularly 2 Cor. 6.14 'nolite iugum ducere cum infidelibus. quae enim participatio iustitiae cum iniquitate, aut quae societas luci ad tenebras?'. It is possible that J.'s quotation of 1 Cor. 7.13-14 triggered off a recollection of this other Pauline passage, which may in turn have turned his thoughts to the lux-tenebrae contrast.

radicis ... sudarent: a most carefully constructed pair of subordinate clauses, with chiasmus in each noun-group (radicis ... fructuum, viles ... pretiosa), and the order of subject and object reversed in the second clause in comparison with the first; i.e.

ignoring the verbs, which remain in the customary final position in each clause, and the connecting particle et, there is chiasmus within chiasmus: ABBA CDDC, or XYYX. The structural balance sharpens the purely verbal contrasts between amaritudinem and dulcedo, viles and pretiosa, etc.

The image of the bitter root and the sweet fruit is common enough in Classical literature. Otto, s.v. litterae 1, and the Nachträge collect instances of its use in relation to literature and to education generally, tracing it back to a saying of Isocrates. J. himself uses the image in this way; cf. epist. 125.12.2 'quod de amaro semine litterarum dulces fructus carpo', in Ier. 1.12 (CCSL 74.8 = PL 24.685). At epist. 78.27.1 it is expanded: 'ascendisti in excelsum, admiratus es virtutum choros, timuisti ruinam, abegisti insidiatores: dulcis te protinus fructus laboris insequitur et in morem litterarum radicum amaritudinem pomorum suavitas conpensabit'. Otto quotes the present instance along with the others, but there is no thought of litterae or doctrina here. The image is applied to an altogether different subject, the relation between Albinus and Laeta (and perhaps the younger Paula too); there is a similar usage at epist. 22.19.4 'ut scias virginitatem esse naturae, nuptias post delictum: virgo nascitur caro de nuptiis in fructu reddens, quod in radice perdiderat' and at adv. Iovin. 1.27 (PL 23.249).

One might note that the same idea is used at epist. 130.3.1, but in reverse: 'rhetorum disciplina est abavis et atavis et omni retro nobilitate ornare, quem laudes, ut ramorum sterilitatem radix fecunda conpenset et, quod in fructu non teneas, mireris in trunco' (for this rhetorical precept see on epist. 60.8.1).

fructuum. The notion of children as fruit of the womb or of a parent is very common in ecclesiastical writers and in the Bible (cf. e.g. Gen. 30.2).

balsama. Not only was balsam highly valued for its scent, but it could be obtained only from the region of the Holy Land, which, if J. is thinking of Paula as well as of Laeta, may give the metaphor more point here (cf. 13.1); cf. Plin. nat. 12.111 'omnibus odoribus praefertur balsamum, uni terrarum Iudaeae concessum'. J. is fond of the image of balsam; for a more daring use of it cf. epist. 66.5.3 'Pammachius noster sanctam favillam ossaque veneranda elemosynae balsamis rigat'.

inpari matrimonio: i.e. a marriage between Christian and non-Christian.

Toxotio: the son of the elder Paula. Almost all our information about him comes from this letter and epist. 108. See PLRE 1.921, RE s.n. Toxotius 3, and

introduction.

Paula. She is mentioned in a number of J.'s later letters, though he tells us very little about her. See PLRE 1.675, and introduction.

1.3. quis ... senex? Albinus has not yet been converted, but Christianity is making considerable inroads into the Roman nobility. J. speaks with the same apparent amazement of the conversion of Pammachius; cf. epist. 66.6.1 'quis hoc crederet, ut consulum pronepos et Furiani germinis decus inter purpuras senatorum furva tunica pullatus incederet, ut non erubesceret oculos sodalium, ut deridentes se ipse rideret?'. On the subject of paganism and Christianity among the nobility at this time see P. R. L. Brown, 'Aspects of the Christianization of the Roman Aristocracy', JRS 51 (1961), 1-11. Brown points out that in fact intermarriage with Christians did not put a quick end to paganism among the upper classes; and one of the Ceionii, the gens of Albinus, is known to have been faithful to the old religion as late as the time of his death in 437.

Albini pontificis. For Albinus see PLRE 1.34-5, RE s.n. Ceionius 30, and introduction. pontificis emphasises his paganism and thereby makes more marked the extraordinary fact that a grandchild should be born

to him as the result of a vow made by a Christian mother.

repromissione: 'vow'. Originally the word belonged to the language of business, meaning a promise made in return for something else; cf. e.g. Cic. Q. Rosc. 39. But it became common in Biblical and ecclesiastical Latin for 'vow'; cf. e.g. Judith 16.22. Here the meaning is that Laeta vowed to the service of Christ any child God might give her; cf. 3.1 'prius Christo est consecrata quam genita', epist. 108.26.5 (quoted below at gaudente avo). The practice of dedicating children as yet unborn was not without its critics; cf. Gaudent. serm. 8 (PL 20.889, where see n.).

matris. Clearly not martyris, attested in some MSS; cf. 2.1, 3.1-2 with nn., and F. Cavallera, 'Hieronymiana, 4e série', BLE 24 (1923), 298-9.

gaudente avo. So too the elder Paula rejoiced; cf. epist. 108.26.5 'non debeo silentio praeterire, quanto exultaverit gaudio, quod Paulam, neptem suam Laeta et Toxotio generatam, immo voto et futurae virginitatis repromissione conceptam, audierit in cunis et crepitaculis balbutiente lingua alleluia cantare aviaeque et amitae nomina dimidiatis verbis frangere'.

lingua balbuttiens: cf. on epist. 60.1.2.

alleluia: a Christian Latin import, ultimately from Hebrew. J. of course understood its meaning; cf. epist. 26.3 'igitur alleluia exprimitur laudate dominum'. For his knowledge and understanding of Hebrew generally see J. Barr, 'St. Jerome's Appreciation of Hebrew', BRL 49 (1966-7), 281-302.

virginem Christi: i.e. a girl dedicated to God in a life of virginity; see introduction.

nutriret et senex. This is the reading of only two of the MSS (senix K); the great majority have senex nutriret. As the text stands the force of et is not clear - neither 'even the old man' nor 'though an old man' has point here - and it looks very much like scribal dittography after nutriret. nutriret senex would do, but there is no compelling reason for J. to have moved the verb from the final position in the clause, and senex nutriret gives a better clausula accentually (metrically neither ending is very good). I would print senex nutriret.

bene ... expectavimus. Exactly what is meant by expectavimus is not clear. It may refer to the expectations held from the time that Laeta made her vow, viz. that a child would be born to her, who might make an evangelistic impact on Albinus; or perhaps to the simple hope that Albinus would be taken with the

child, as he clearly is, and so make himself more open to Christ. In any case, bene and feliciter seem to refer to the outcome of the expectations: 'our expectations have been happily realised'.

sancta ... infidelem. J. here expands Paul's idea at 1 Cor. 7.13-14 (cf. 1.1-2 with nn.). Albinus was sanctified by a believing wife, and the product of the marriage was the Christian Laeta; now he is surrounded by a whole family of believers, who make him a candidate for the Christian faith himself (cf. candidatus ... circumdat below).

candidatus est fidei. candidare originally referred particularly to the whitening of the toga by those seeking election to a magistracy, whence they became known as candidati; cf. e.g. Cic. Verr. 2.5.37 'aedilitas ... alicui candidato data', Isid. orig. 19.24.6 'toga candida eademque cretata in qua candidati, id est magistratum petentes, ambiebant, addita creta quo candidior insigniorque esset'. In ecclesiastical writings it came to be applied to martyrs (who are described at Rev. 7.9 as wearing white robes - 'amicti stolas albas') and to the recently baptised (who actually wore white robes; cf. e.g. ps. Ambr. sacr. 5.3.14 'ecclesia ... astare sibi familiam candidatam spiritali exultatione laetatur'), and sometimes, by extension, to the pure generally. The

present case, however, is an instance of the usage that developed out of its being applied to candidates for office, whereby it came to refer to candidates for, or those who strove after, anything; cf. e.g. Val. Max. 7.3.ext.2 'sex reliqui summae potestatis candidati', and, among ecclesiastical works, Tert. orat. 3.3 'angelorum, si meruerimus, candidati'. There are a number of such instances in J., especially with fides; cf. epist. 69.3.6 'catechumeni, qui sunt fidei candidati', 85.5.1, 122.4.3.

Iovem. Most of Hilberg's MSS read Iovem; all those I have consulted read iuvenem, with the exception of Bodleian MS Canon. Misc. 32 (Iovem). Vallarsi defends iuvenem, which gives adequate sense - Albinus could have been converted in his youth, if he had then had the kinsmen he has now - but looks out of place with etiam ipsum. The image of Jupiter believing in Christ is grotesque, but the sentence is then altogether more telling: if Jupiter could have been converted, Albinus certainly can. Iovem should remain.

1.4. despuat ... crederet. Labourt, looking at this sentence in the light of the one which follows it, suggests that it owes something to that same section in Tert. apol. 18.4 from which J. quotes fiunt ... Christiani. Writing of natural phenomena which bear witness to the reality of the true God, Tertullian adds: 'haec et nos risimus aliquando. de vestris

sumus'. But the connection is tenuous: while inrideat may pick up risimus, and though the thought is similar, one may doubt whether J. had the context of Tertullian's famous statement even at the back of his mind. It has a memorable, epigrammatic quality.

The word-order in despuat ... clamitet is again carefully balanced; cf. on 1.2 radicis ... sudarent.

hoc ... crederet. It is not surprising that the younger Toxotius, despite having the elder Paula for his mother, should not have been a Christian from the start of his life, as his father was an aristocratic pagan; cf. epist. 66.13.2, 108.4.1.

fiunt, non nascuntur Christiani: taken verbatim from Tert. apol. 18.4; cf. Tert. test. anim. 1.7 'fieri enim, non nasci solet Christiana'.

Although J. stood by the Church's condemnation of Tertullian as a Montanist heretic (cf. adv. Rufin. 3.27 (PL 23.477)), he admired him as a writer; cf. e.g. epist. 70.5.1 'quid Tertulliano eruditius, quid acutius? Apologeticus eius et contra gentes libri cunctam saeculi continent disciplinam'. See further C. Mohrmann, 'Saint Jérôme et saint Augustin sur Tertullien', VChr 5 (1951), 111-12 (= Mohrmann, Études, 3.387-8), and Wiesen, St. Jerome as a Satirist, passim, who connects J. and Tertullian in a satiric literary tradition.

auratum ... verecundia. The theme of the decay of paganism is taken up again in c.2; cf. also e.g. adv. Iovin. 2.38 (PL 23.338) 'squalet Capitolium, templa Iovis et caerimoniae conciderunt' and Prud. perist. 2.509-28, where the poet writes of the 'mors templorum'. The picture J. paints here is exaggerated. The official pagan cults had been dismantled by Gratian and Theodosius, but paganism was not dead; cf. Brown, JRS 51 (1961), 1-11, J. Geffcken, The Last Days of Greco-Roman Paganism (Engl. tr., Amsterdam, 1978), cc. 3-4, passim. J., however, wishes to stress the triumph of Christianity in order to encourage Laeta in the hope that Albinus will be converted.

Capitolium: the temple on the Capitoline hill; see on epist. 60.5.3.

fuligine ... cooperta sunt. For the exaggeration cf. epist. 60.1.2 'stilus ipse quasi sentiens et cera subtristior vel rubigine vel situ obducitur' with n. The image of spiders' webs to indicate long abandonment had become something of a cliché. Several instances are recorded by Otto, p. 34, going back to Hom. Od. 16.34-5; cf. e.g. Prop. 2.6.35-6 'velavit aranea fanum ¦ et mala desertos occupat herba deos'. J.'s description is unconvincing in any case: he had not set foot in Rome for more than fifteen years!

movetur ... tumulos. Wright and Labourt misunderstand movetur ... suis ('the city is shaken to its foundations' (Wright); 'la ville est remuée jusqu'en ses assises' (Labourt)); in this sense it cannot be taken literally here, and it is not probable that it refers metaphorically to the originally pagan city yielding to Christianity. It is better taken closely with what follows; i.e. 'the city [with one accord] moves from its homes', and pours out to visit the tombs of the martyrs, which lay outside it (cf. Brown, The Cult of the Saints, p. 42). Cf. Cic. Phil. 13.49 'moveri sedibus huic urbi melius est atque in alias, si fieri possit, terras demigrare', Pis. 52 'mihi ipsa Roma prope convolsa sedibus suis ad complectendum conservatorem suum progredi visa est'. For the personification of urbs cf. on epist. 1.7.1.

For the importance of martyr-cults in the early Church see Delehaye, Les Origines du culte des martyrs, and for J.'s own attitude to the veneration of martyrs see on 9.2.

verecundia: presumably shame at seeing the physical signs of the decay of paganism.

2.1. religiosissima in Christo filia: cf. epist. 123.10.1 'religiosa in Christo filia'. Augustine applies the title religiosa or religiosissima to female correspondents in the address of several of his

letters, e.g. epist. 99, 262. The use of the title was not limited by social considerations; cf. O'Brien, Titles of Address in Christian Latin Epistolography, pp. 114, 139, 166. This kind of phrase is quite common in J.; cf. e.g. epist. 79.11.3 'filia in Christo carissima', 123.17.1. There are many instances of in Christo filia by itself, a natural extension of the simple, affectionate way in which the clergy called their colleagues of equal or lower rank and members of the laity filia or filius. in Christo marks the person concerned as a spiritual as opposed to a carnal child, and goes beyond the simple term of endearment that filia/-us often was among pagans; it is a common Pauline phrase (cf. e.g. 1 Cor. 4.15).

ut non desperes. The negative particle in a purpose clause would normally be ne, but non attaches itself closely to the single word desperes; cf. on epist. 1.1 non tacerem. There is the added advantage here that the succession of clauses dependent on dictum sit flows more smoothly than it would have if J. had written ne desperes followed by ut ... recipias ....

meruisti. This helps to shed light on the repromissio of 1.3: by her vow, which was made in faith (fide), Laeta 'earns' a daughter. For the significance of mereo and the idea of 'desert' in Latin theology see J. Burnaby, Amor Dei: a Study of the Religion of St.

Augustine (London, 1938), pp. 235-8.

tota: ablative; i.e. 'enjoy the completed happiness of the house'.

repromissum: cf. on 1.3 repromissione. Again the idea of a bargain struck between God and Laeta: God makes all things possible to those who have faith in him.

quae ... sunt: Luke 18.27 (Vulg.: 'quae inpossibilia sunt apud homines possibilia sunt apud deum'). As J. is referring to the possibility of Albinus' conversion, the quotation is most apt, for v.27 gives Jesus' reply to the question of those troubled by his comment (v. 25) that it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God: 'et quis potest salvus fieri?' (v.26).

numquam ... conversio: cf. epist. 39.1.4 'probas vera, quae dicimus: numquam est sera conversio' (of Blesilla, converted only a few months before she died), 147.9.2 'numquam est sera paenitentia'.

conversio, used for 'change of mind' certainly from the time of the younger Pliny (cf. Plin. epist. 9.13.18), was applied by ecclesiastical writers to the act of becoming a Christian, of turning from evil ways; cf. e.g. Tert. adv. Marc. 5.2.7 'conversionis suae de

persecutore in apostolum'. For the greater complexities of meaning of conversio and 'conversion' in Christian usage see G. B. Ladner, The Idea of Reform: its Impact on Christian Thought and Action in the Age of the Fathers (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), passim, esp. pp. 32 f., 366 ff.

latro ... paradisum: cf. Luke 23.39-43; a particularly suitable example, as the robber turned to Christ right at the end of his life. J. uses it in a similar way at epist. 39.1.5, in connection with Blesilla (see above). Cf. also in a different context epist. 16.1.2 'Christus in paradisum de cruce latronem tulit et, ne quis aliquando seram conversionem putaret, fecit homicidii poena martyrium'.

J. again alludes to the passage, to make a completely different point, at epist. 60.3.3, where see n.

For exempla generally see on epist. 1.9.

paradisum: see on epist. 60.3.3.

Nabuchodonosor ... humanam: cf. Dan. 4.25-34, where Nebuchadnezzar for his pride is maddened so as to be like a wild beast, but eventually restored to sanity; esp. v.31 'igitur post finem dierum ego Nabuchodonosor oculos meos ad caelum levavi et sensus meus redditus est mihi', with J. in Dan. 4.31 (CCSL 75A.817 = PL

25.517) 'nisi oculos levasset ad caelum, sensum pristinum non reciperet'. Nebuchadnezzar's restoration to normality depended on his turning to God and accepting his lordship: a very real conversio.

efferationem. efferare, = 'to make wild', is common enough, but TLL quotes only two instances of efferatio, the present one and Tert. paenit. 12.7 'diu enim paenitentiam domino immolarat septenni squalore exomologesin operatus, unguium leoninum in modum efferatione et capilli incuria horrorem aquilinum praeferente', which also refers, interestingly, to Nebuchadnezzar. Neither efferatio nor efferare appears in the passage in Daniel.

2.2. ut omittam ... videantur. As J.'s purpose in providing the exempla is to encourage Laeta that Albinus' conversion is a real possibility, it may seem strange that the third exemplum is brought in to confront unbelievers who doubt the Biblical instances. But ut omittam ... videantur does not, I think, suggest that J.'s letter is directed to a wider readership, which includes non-Christians - the tone of this part of the letter is far too personal for that - nor that incredulos is a veil for Albinus, who might possibly read it. It seems more probable that he is speaking very generally, i.e. 'to pass over examples from antiquity, which sceptics might find too fantastic, I

can quote another instance from just a few years ago'. incredulos does not refer to anyone in particular; J. is merely pointing out to Laeta that there are plenty of cases of unlikely conversions, not only in the Bible but in recent history too.

For the readership of J.'s letters generally see general introduction, sect. 2.

ante ... Christi. This Gracc(h)us was praefectus urbis Romae in 376-7; cf. PLRE 1.399. The same event is mentioned by Prud. c. Symm. 1.561-5. He is probably to be identified with one Furius Maccius (or Maecius) Gracchus; cf. R. Syme, Ammianus and the Historia Augusta (Oxford, 1968), pp. 162-3, PLRE 1.400. If this is correct, the relationship with Laeta may come partly through her sister-in-law Blesilla, who married a Furius (cf. J. epist. 54.2.1.); it certainly comes through the line of the elder Paula, who is said to be 'Gracchorum stirps, suboles Scipionum' (epist. 108.1.1). For nobilitatem cf. on 13.4.

The destruction of the Mithraeum and its contents was another blow in the struggle between Christianity and the pagan religions, among which Mithraism had undergone a revival from the 350s (cf. Geffcken, Last Days, p. 124). Gracchus seems to have been using his position as praefectus urbis to further the cause in which he believed; cf. Matthews, Western Aristocracies, pp. 22-3.

specu Mithrae. Only K and Ψ (before correction) read specu; the rest of the MSS have specum. The normal form of the word is specus, 4th declension masc. (occasionally fem. or neut.). The neuter form specu is doubtful, its existence being testified chiefly by the passage at Prisc. gramm. 2.192 Keil 'hoc specus specoris, hic specus specus, haec specus specus, hoc specu specu', and I would restore specum in J.'s text: the final m could easily have fallen out before mitrae (thus spelt in most of the MSS).

omnia ... initiantur. This is the most important extant literary text on the grades of Mithraic initiation. All the grades have been corroborated by inscriptions, though it has been shown conclusively by B. M. Metzger, 'St. Jerome's Testimony concerning the Second Grade of Mithraic Initiation', AJPh 66 (1945), 225-33, that cryphius, introduced into the text by Hilberg without MS support, is an unnecessary conjecture reached by consideration of two inscriptions which may or may not designate cryphius as a grade of initiation, and that the reading of the MSS, nymphus (variously spelt), which has now been corroborated by archaeological evidence, should be retained. For discussion of the meaning and function of the various grades see Metzger and F. Cumont, Les Mystères de Mithra (3rd edn., Bruxelles, 1913), pp. 155 ff.; and for Mithraism generally Cumont, op. cit. and Les

Religions orientales dans le paganisme romain (4th edn., Paris, 1929), and Daremberg and Saglio, Dictionnaire des antiquités, s.v. Mithra.

subvertit, fregit, exussit. For the asyndeton cf. on epist. 60.16.2. exussit, read only by K and by Bodleian MSS Canon. Pat. Lat. 155 and Canon. Misc. 32, gives a better sense in the context than excussit: 'threw down, broke, and burnt' seems a more likely progression than 'threw down, broke, and drove out'.

quasi obsidibus: i.e. as guarantors of his allegiance to Christianity; his destruction of the Mithraic grotto and images gave proof of his faith.

2.2-3. solitudinem ... confidunt. J. shifts from particular instances of conversion to the general idea that paganism has been defeated at Rome and throughout the world; the picture is reminiscent of his account of the spread of Christianity at epist. 60.4.

2.2. solitudinem ... gentilitas: an exaggerated view; see on 1.4.

Although gentilitas is found only once in the Vulgate (Judith 14.6), gentes (= ἔθνη) is used in both OT and NT to denote those who do not worship the one true God; cf. e.g. Jer. 3.17, Matt. 20.19. So too ecclesiastical writers used gentes and gentiles, like

nationes (cf. nationum below), for 'the heathen', and gentilitas for 'heathenism'. There are numerous instances; cf. e.g. Tert. idol. 22.1 'benedici per deos nationum maledici est per deum', Lact. inst. 2.13.13, J. epist. 65.16.2 'veteris gentilitatis et idolatriae errore contempto', Aug. serm. 17.6 'ethnicus gentilis est: gentilis ille est, qui in Christum non credit'.

et in urbe: 'even in the city'; where particularly paganism had once flourished, as all its monuments indicated.

dii ... remanserunt. J. connects the bubo (eagle-owl) and noctua (little owl) with the pagan gods because they played a part in heathen superstition. The noctua (γλαυξ) was sacred to Minerva (Athena); the bubo was regarded as a bird of ill omen (cf. e.g. Plin. nat. 10.34 'bubo, funebris et maxime abominatus publicis praecipue auspiciis'), and there may be intentional irony in the reference to bubones here - their bad omens found accomplishment in the collapse of the pagan religion itself.

The dii are probably to be thought of as statues standing on the roof or in the pediment of a temple.

vexilla ... condecorat. vexilla ... sunt means that the banners of the army bore the sign of the cross painted or inwoven, not that banners were supplanted by actual crosses. The reference is to the labarum, the

military standard on which Constantine first placed a cross. Labourt believes that it is the labarum which is meant by regum purpuras, too, but it seems more likely that J. is speaking more generally: the sign of the cross may have decorated other imperial accoutrements in purple cloth.

For the use of the cross as the army's symbol cf. also Prud. c. Symm. 1. 486-8 'Christus purpureum gemmanti textus in auro ¦ signabat labarum, clipeorum insignia Christus ¦ scripserat, ardebat summis crux addita cristis'.

2.3. iam ... Christianus. The reference is to the destruction of the temple of Serapis at Alexandria c. 391, an attack recorded by e.g. Socr. hist. eccl. 5.16, Soz. hist. eccl. 7.15, Theodoret hist. eccl. 5.22. The event fits into the general pattern of Theodosius' assault on paganism at this time; cf. Matthews, Western Aristocracies, pp. 236-7, and see below on Marnas ... pertremescit. factus est Christianus alludes to the fact that a Christian church was afterwards built on the site.

Marnas ... pertremescit. The cult of Marnas was strong at Gaza; J. tells an interesting story illustrating the conflict between the Christians and supporters of the cult at vita Hilar. 20. The clash came to a head around the turn of the century. In 398 the Emperor

Arcadius, in response to the request of Porphyrius, Bishop of Gaza, ordered the pagan temples at Gaza to be closed. In practice, however, the command was ineffective, and it was only after Porphyrius himself had gone to Constantinople to see Arcadius in 401 and returned with permission to destroy the Marneion that the temple, along with others, was finally destroyed (May 402). It is clear from the present passage that at the time of writing Arcadius' initial order had been issued (cf. inclusus); and eversionem ... pertremescit strongly suggests that Porphyrius was on the point of destroying the temple. The passage is therefore of great value in dating the letter (see introduction). The story is told in the Vita Porphyrii of Mark the deacon; see also RE s.v. Marna, Marnas, and Geffcken, Last Days, pp. 235-6 (who suggests that the letter was written before Porphyrius obtained his destruction order; which seems most unlikely). For the attack on paganism by Theodosius and his successors generally see P. de Labriolle, 'Le Destruction du paganisme', Histoire de l'Église, edd. Fliche and Martin, 4.15-30.

iugiter: 'continually'; rare before the ecclesiastical writers.

de India ... Armenius. For early Christianity in India, Persia, and Armenia see on epist. 60.4.2. The religion was introduced into Ethiopia in the fourth

century; see ODCC s.vv. Ethiopian Church, with appended bibliography. For early monasticism see on epist. 60.10.2.

Huni discunt psalterium. Labourt, and earlier Vallarsi, suggested that J. may here be thinking of epist. 106, his letter to Sunnia and Fretela on the Psalter; but the suggestion is not well founded. Admittedly, the fact that Sunnia and Fretela were not Huns but Goths is not particularly relevant: for J. distinctions between different Germanic and eastern European peoples may have been blurred or unimportant, and in what would be not so much an allusion to epist. 106 as a reminiscence of it one need not expect strict accuracy. But B. Altaner, 'Wann schrieb Hieronymus seine Ep. 106 ad Sunniam et Fretelam de Psalterio?', VChr 4 (1950), 246-8, has made a strong case that that letter was not written until 404 at the earliest, and thus J. cannot be recalling it here. Huni discunt psalterium is probably no more than a way of saying that Christianity has penetrated even to the Huns, with the reference to the Psalter unimportant in itself: to read the Bible, and especially the Psalms, held in great esteem as they were (cf. on 12.1 discat primum Psalterium), would certainly be a practice of new Christians.

Scythiae ... fidei. The barrenness of Scythia, though not the cold, is mentioned in literature at least as early as Aes. PV 2. By the time of the end of the Roman Republic its coldness had become proverbial among Latin writers; cf. e.g. Ov. met. 2.224, 8.788, Virg. georg. 3.349-83, a passage in which the imaginative element may owe something to Homer's description of the city of the Cimmerians at Od. 11.14-19. It has been suggested, however, by R. Martin, 'Virgile et la "Scythie"', REL 44 (1966), 286-304, that to Virgil at least Scythia was not merely an imaginative symbol used to indicate cold, but referred to a well-defined region, Moesia. J. here is unlikely to have a specific geographical region in mind, more probably a vague area around the Black Sea; the point about the cliché Scythiae frigora for him is that it enables him both to introduce another barbarous part of the world into which Christianity has made inroads and to work in a verbal play with calore. The contrast between frigus and calor is of course an obvious one, and J. uses it elsewhere; cf. e.g. epist. 98(tr. from Theophilus). 24.1 'frigusque odiorum dilectionis calore conmutent'. calor fidei can also be readily paralleled; cf. e.g. Cypr. epist. 19.2, J. epist. 95(Anastasius).3, 118.2.1. For Scythia cf. epist. 120.1.14 'quid, si Scythiae frigora sint et Alpinae nives, quae non duabus et tribus tunicis, sed vix pecudum pellibus repelluntur?'.

Getarum ... confidunt. By Getarum J. means the Goths, not the Thracian Getae, whose name was often used for the Goths by Roman writers. Sunnia and Fretela are referred to as Getae, while coming from 'Germania' (epist. 106.1.1). At other times J. may use the word Gothi; cf. e.g. epist. 60.4.2, 16.2.

For the adoption of Christianity by the Goths see on epist. 60.4.2. The notion of religious faith going hand in hand with military excellence, implicit here, is found also at epist. 60.17, where see nn. There, Roman defeats are attributed to the Romans' own sins; here, the military strength of the Goths is put down to their positive acceptance of Christianity.

For incursions by the Goths into Roman territories in the last quarter of the fourth century see on epist. 60.16.2 Scythiam ... rapiunt and 16.4 quid ... barbari?. The troubles culminated in the capture and sack of Rome in 410.

ecclesiarum ... tentoria. ecclesiarum tentoria = 'tent-churches' (Wright), tents used for worship. It is a striking phrase, if slightly odd; one might have expected ecclesias tentoriorum, 'churches consisting of tents', though tentoriorum would be ugly.

pugnat. pugnant, which is read by all but two of the MSS, looks better, with confidunt following: the close connection between the ideo-clause and the quia-clause

suggests that they should have the same subject.

c.3. J. at last comes to the main object of the letter and declares his intention to instruct Laeta in how she is to bring up her daughter in a way appropriate to one who has been dedicated to Christ. He does not, however, move on to the precepts immediately, but first draws Biblical parallels to Paula, as a child offered to the service of God, and one whose education should match her ortus.

3.1. Paene ... materiam. J. stops and turns to his main theme; he is effectively saying redeo (more accurately, eo) ad rem. The idea is common; in J. cf. e.g. epist. 18A.12.3, 128.4.1 'declinavi parumper de via occasione aliorum [disputatione] et, dum infantem Pacatulam instituo, immo enutrio, multarum subito male mihi pacatarum bella suscepi. revertar ad propositum'. J. shows similar regard for not losing his main subject in digressions at epist. 1.15.3 and 60.16.5. This notion may be connected with the idea that a letter should be short, for which see on epist. 60.5.2 vel libris vel epistulis, and in the present context cf. esp. epist. 3.6 'plura fortasse, quam epistulae brevitas patiebatur, longo sermone protraxerim, quod mihi semper accidere consuevit, quando aliquid de Bonosi laude dicendum est. sed ut ad id redeam, unde discesseram, obsecro te ...'.

currente ... manus: cf. Hor. ars 21-2 'amphora coepit ¦ institui: currente rota cur urceus exit?'. Horace's point is that in making a work of art one should not be diverted from one's original intention; the example of the amphora and the urceus is introduced to typify a plan gone wrong. This is exactly what J. claims to have done here, though he reverses the roles of amphora and urceus. It is not, however, without a hint of self-depreciation. Although the point about the possibility of Albinus' conversion is made at great length, J. has done it for a purpose, and the result is certainly not accidental.

The Horatian vv.are quoted directly, and in a like context, at epist. 27.3.1.

sanctae ... invitato. For the request-τόπος cf. on epist. 1.1. Its position here is unusual - such τόποι normally occur at the beginning of a piece - but cf. epist. 128.5.4, where reference to the request is made right at the end of the letter.

sanctus/-a is a title frequently applied to Christians of both clergy and laity. There are numerous examples in J., often in reference to women (cf. e.g. epist. 4.2.1, 45.3.1), but in such cases the word is always applied to a third party, never to the addressee.

For Marcella see PLRE 1.542-3, RE s.n. Marcella 5, and introduction. She had close links with the family

of Paula; cf. Kelly, pp. 92 ff.

3.2. vidimus ... libris: cf. epist. 60.10.4 'vidimus Timotheum nostri temporis' with n. J. likes to connect the present day with Biblical times, perhaps seeing a continuity in the history of God's people.

1 Samuel, in which the story of Hannah occurs, is not a book of prophecy; but in the Hebrew Bible it was included among the 'former prophets', as J. may have known, and in any case the whole of the OT may be regarded as prophetales libri, in as much as it leads up to the coming of Christ and foreshadows the new dispensation (for the adumbration of NT by OT in J. cf. e.g. epist. 112.14.3 'pro umbris et imaginibus veteris instrumenti veritas per Iesum Christum facta est', 121 pref. 3 'veterem scripturam ... quae tantis obscuritatibus et futurorum typis involuta est, ut omnis interpretatione egeat').

Anna ... conmutasti: cf. 1 Sam. 1.1-20, where the barren Hannah vows to God any son he may grant her, and subsequently gives birth to Samuel. The parallel with Laeta is obvious. The meaning of luctuosam ... liberis, however, is not so clear. The probable implication is that Laeta has had a string of miscarriages, and that vitalibus liberis means simply 'live children' in contrast to this (so Cavallera, BLE 24 (1923), 299). But it is possible that a quite

different point is being made, namely, that Laeta has exchanged the luctuosa fecunditas of her pagan ancestors (cf. c.1) - luctuosa, because such children were born simply for damnation - for vitales liberi, i.e. children who will enter not into eternal death but into life.

fidens ... in lege. The function of these two sentences in the c. as a whole is a little unclear. fidens ... reddidisti is probably best taken as picking up liberis: J. assures Laeta that, having dedicated Paula to God, she will bear other children (there seems no reason to take filios strictly as 'sons'). ista ... in lege - 'it is the first-born which are offered [i.e. are the offerings due] under the law' - may then be regarded as helping to explain the previous sentence. The first-born are the offerings due to God, and once the offering has been made, it is reasonable to expect that God will grant further children.

ista ... in lege is a reference to Exod. 13.1-2 and 12-13, and it is from there that J. draws the neuter form primogenita; in that passage the word is applied to the first-born not only of people but of animals too. He conveniently forgets, however, that it is first-born males which are meant (cf. v.12). Labourt fudges the meaning in his translation: 'C'est le droit d'aînesse, dont on fait l'offrande légale'. primogenita refers not to the rights of primogeniture

but to the first-born themselves.

sic natus ... lusit. The common ground of these three exempla, which provide patterns and encouragement to Paula as she begins her life of service to God, should be that all three figures were born de repromissione. According to the accounts in the Bible, however, this is true only of Samuel (1 Sam. 1.1-20; see above on Anna ... conmutasti). The birth of Samson to Manoah's barren wife, and the angel's declaration that he would begin to deliver Egypt out of the hands of the Philistines, are recorded at Judg. 13, but there is no notion of repromissio, of the granting of any human request, rather of a determined action on God's part. John the Baptist too is born to an apparently barren mother, but again there is no suggestion of repromissio in the Bible account (Luke 1.5-25), and it is most unlikely, given the context, that Zechariah's prayer, mentioned at v.13, was a prayer for a son. But J. certainly believed that Samson was born de repromissione (cf. adv. Iovin. 2.15 (PL 23.309), where he and Samuel are called 'filii repromissionis'), and given this, it seems reasonable to assume that he felt the same about John as well. At the very least the birth of all was essentially a gift from God.

For Iohannes ... lusit cf. Luke 1.41. exultavit et lusit = 'leaped for joy'.

audiebat ... erumpere: gratuitously supplied by J.; it merely explains Iohannes ... lusit.

3.3. dignam ... parentum: i.e. her education should be worthy of one whose birth God was instrumental in bringing about.

Samuel ... exuviis. Superficially the implication of these exempla seems to be that there is no single form of training or education for one dedicated to God, but a number of possibilities; J. thus prepares the way for and justifies the precepts he is about to give concerning Paula's upbringing. There is, however, much complexity of thought and allusion in the passage, and the importance of the parallels appears to lie fundamentally in their value as models for the ascetic life. The demand J. makes on the reader, if he is to grasp the meaning fully, is a great one. Understanding is achieved by the use of an association-technique requiring knowledge of the appropriate Biblical contexts.

Samuel ... praeparatur. For Samuel cf. 1 Sam. 2.11, 3.1; for John cf. Luke 1.80. The emphasis here is very much on preparation (cf. nutritur, praeparatur), and as such wholly appropriate to Paula. templo and solitudine may forge another link with the little girl. Her life, as conceived by J., is to be quiet and rather

lonely. This is particularly evident at 7.2 imitetur Mariam, quam Gabriel solam in cubiculo suo repperit. templo in turn foreshadows the templum veri patris of 7.1, with its complexity of meaning (see n. ad loc.). It seems highly likely that in J.'s mind templo and solitudine deepen the parallels between Paula and John and Samuel, indicating a training of devotion, Bible-reading, and withdrawal.

sacro ... non bibit. For crine cf. 1 Sam. 1.11 'novacula non ascendet super caput eius', in conjunction with Num. 6.5 (on the consecration of Nazirites) 'omni tempore separationis suae novacula non transibit super caput eius usque ad conpletum diem quo domino consecratur; sanctus erit crescente caesarie capitis eius'. Samuel is sacro crine venerabilis because he is a Nazirite. J. uses the same phrase to describe him at epist. 65.1.4. A connection is made here between Samuel and Samson; cf. Judg. 13.5 (the words of the angel of the Lord to Manoah) 'concipies et paries filium [sc. Samson] cuius non tanget caput novacula; erit enim nazareus dei ab infantia sua et ex matris utero'. vinum ... non bibit continues the parallel. There is no specific Biblical reference to Samuel's abstention from alcohol, but it was forbidden to Nazirites (cf. Num. 6.3), and thus to Samson (cf. Judg. 13.14 'et quicquid ex vinea nascitur non comedat, vinum et siceram non bibat'). John the Baptist also

fits into this category; cf. Luke 1.15 'vinum et sicera non bibet'. J. seems to have seen a connection between abstaining from alcohol and being born de repromissione; cf. adv. Iovin. 2.15 (PL 23.309) 'Samson et Samuel vinum et siceram non bibunt. erant enim filii repromissionis'. The fact that all three models were abstemious is important in the light of J.'s views about Paula and drink; cf. 8.2 discat iam tunc et vinum non bibere, in quo est luxuria. The parallels run very deep.

siceram. sicera = σίκερα , a word of Hebrew origin found several times in LXX (cf. e.g. Lev. 10.9), meaning some kind of strong drink.

adhuc ... sermocinatur: cf. 1 Sam. 3.4-21. The young Paula, too, will be able to communicate with God, through prayer and reading; cf. 9.3 with n.

hic ... exuviis: cf. Matt. 3.1-4, Mark 1.2-6. The simplicity of John's lifestyle - rough clothes, plain food - made him highly suitable as an ascetic model. At c.5 and 10.1 J. is at pains to stress simplicity of dress and diet for Paula. The notion that John's clothing was a symbol of the paenitentia he preached (cf. Matt. 3.2, Mark 1.4) belongs, however, not to Scripture but to symbolic and allegorical exegesis. J. makes a similar comment at in Matt. 3.4 (CCSL 77.17 =

PL 26.29) 'zona autem pellicia qua accinctus fuit et Helias [cf. 2 Kgs. 1.8] mortificationis σύμβολον est'. On allegorical exegesis generally see H. de Lubac, Exégèse mediévale: les quatre sens de l'Écriture (3 vols., Paris, 1959-64), and for J.'s exegetical methods, L. N. Hartmann, 'St. Jerome as an Exegete', in Murphy, Monument, pp. 35-81.

pellicia. The first instance of the word in extant literature appears to be in the jurist Iulius Paulus (fl. c. AD 210); cf. dig. 34.2.24. It occurs a number of times in the Vulgate.

lucustis ... silvestri. It is possible that the Biblical phraseology has here been adapted for reasons of style. In the Vulgate Matt. 3.4 reads 'esca autem eius erat lucustae et mel silvestre', Mark 1.6, 'lucustas et mel silvestre edebat', both versions keeping quite closely to the Greek original. Here, however, the choice of the passive verb alitur and its careful positioning make for a neat, compact clause and a fine rhythmical ending in melle silvestri. J. does the same thing, with vescitur in place of alitur, at epist. 121.1.6. For the influence of prose-rhythm and other factors on J.'s word-order and style generally see general introduction, sect. 3.

in typum ... exuviis. vestitus is Hilberg's conjecture for MSS vestitur; where he prints praedicat most of the MSS have praedicatae. There seems to me little reason to ignore the MS evidence here. praedicatae and vestitur make perfectly good sense - paenitentiae praedicatae = 'the penitence he preached' - while paenitentiae praedicat gives a strong clausula which seems wholly out of place: in typum paenitentiae depends not on praedicat but on tortuosissimi ... exuviis. I would emend accordingly.

tortuosus is often used of snakes; cf. e.g. Isa. 27.1, Job 26.13. J. uses it of camels elsewhere; cf. e.g. epist. 79.3.2, 120.1.8 'camelus tortuosus et curvus est', in Is. 21.6 (CCSL 73.292 = PL 24.263); TLL s.v. camelus, however, quotes only one other instance of the combination, in the ancient Latin translation of Origen in Matt. 18.19.

c.4. J. now begins his account of the rules which Laeta should follow in bringing up Paula. This c. deals particularly with her education as a very young child - probably no more than about three years old, as far as most of it is concerned.

The practical aspects of Paula's intellectual education are drawn largely from Quint. inst. 1.1, though this is not acknowledged. The relevant passages are discussed by Hagendahl, pp. 197-200, and by Favez, Mélanges Marouzeau, pp. 173-81. It seems certain that

J. had a text of the Institutio before him when he wrote the c. However, J. breaks away from the arrangement of the precepts as presented by Quintilian, at the cost of some coherence and clarity; cf. esp. on 4.3-4 syllabas ... transeat. This change in structure may indicate a wish to vest his account with a semblance of originality; but whether deliberate or not, he will not have been troubled about the logical shortcomings, in a letter which shows little concern to maintain a coherent order generally.

4.1. templum domini. The image of the Christian as a temple of God appears to go back to Pauline and Johannine theology; cf. John 2.21 'ille autem dicebat de templo corporis sui', 1 Cor. 3.10-17, esp. 16 'nescitis quia templum dei estis et spiritus dei habitat in vobis?', 6.19, 2 Cor. 6.16. Although there are no Biblical instances of the soul as templum domini, the expression is entirely natural, as the metaphor is designed to indicate the indwelling of God in the person, which will include both soul and body. J. uses the idea again elsewhere; cf. e.g. epist. 22.23.2 'neque enim aureum vas et argenteum tam carum deo fuit, quam templum corporis virginalis', 58.7.1 'verum Christi templum anima credentis est', and esp. adv. Iovin. 1.33 (PL 23.256) 'hoc enim verum templum dei est, et haec sancta sanctorum, quae virginitatis puritate domino consecrantur'. Among other Fathers,

Athanasius calls virginity 'ναὸς θεοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος οἰκητήριον' (virg. 24).

turpia verba non intellegat: cf. epist. 128.4.1 'nullum inpudicum verbum noverit et, si forte in tumultu familiae discurrentis aliquid turpe audierit, non intellegat'. J. would have expected adult virgins to pay no attention to turpia verba; cf. epist. 22.24.1 'ne declines aurem tuam in verba mala', where he goes on to outline the dangers of doing so, 130.13.1.

cantica mundi: i.e. pop-songs, as opposed to holy songs (psalmis dulcibus below). For the opposition of J. and other Fathers to secular music generally see on 8.3 surda ... nesciat.

adhuc ... inbuatur. The importance of Psalm-singing is emphasised more strongly at 9.3 and 12.1, where see nn. In epist. 128 too J. says that learning the Psalms should begin early (cf. 1.3 'psalmos mercede decantet'), and, when the child is a little older, she should commit them to memory (cf. 4.2).

procul ... puerorum. J. seems here to forget that Paula is so young: boys could hardly be a corrupting influence yet. At a later age the warning may be justified and J. repeats the idea at 9.2. But at epist. 128.4.1 a warning is given that the very young

Pacatula should avoid the company of boys, and it looks as though J.'s fears, if unjustified, are at least genuine.

ipsae ... doceant. The importance of having attendants and teachers of upright character comes out very clearly in the letter; cf. also 4.5, 4.7, 9.3. This requirement will naturally have applied throughout the time of her education. A similar point is made at epist. 128.4.3 'puellarum quoque lascivia repellatur, quae, quanto licentius adeunt, tanto difficilius evitantur et, quod didicerunt, secreto docent inclusamque Danaen vulgi sermonibus violant'. The associates of a virgin should always be above reproach; cf. e.g. epist. 22.17.1 (quoted at 9.3 placeat ... veterana), 130.13.1 'eunuchorum quoque tibi et puellarum ac servulorum mores magis eligantur quam vultuum elegantia, quia in omni sexu et aetate et truncatorum corporum violenta pudicitia animi considerandi sunt, qui amputari nisi Christi timore non possunt. scurrilitas atque lascivia te praesente non habeat locum'. Quintilian too, who is also very concerned with morality (cf. inst. 1.2.3 'neque enim esse oratorem nisi bonum virum iudico et fieri, etiam si potest, nolo'), naturally wishes the moral standard of attendants and other associates to be high (cf. inst. 1.1.4 'et morum quidem in his [sc. nutricibus] haud dubie prior ratio est', 1.1.8 'de pueris inter quos educabitur ille huic spei destinatus idem quod de

nutricibus dictum sit'). Cf. also ps. Plut. lib. educ. 6 (3F-4A), John Chrys. inan. glor. 37. J., of course, sees moral corruption in 'worldly' terms; cf. saecularium consortiis, cantica mundi just above, etc.

4.2. fiant .... At this point J. turns to the practical aspects of Paula's education without having finished discussing the social environment in which it is to take place; he returns to this at 4.5. Quintilian, in contrast, first describes what he would like the character of nurses, teachers, and others to be, before going on to the practical side of the education question.

fiant ... eruditio sit: cf. Quint. inst. 1.1.26 'non excludo autem id quod est notum irritandae ad discendum infantiae gratia, eburneas etiam litterarum formas in lusum offerre, vel si quid aliud quo magis illa aetas gaudeat inveniri potest quod tractare intueri nominare iucundum sit', 1.1.20 (quoted at 4.3-4 syllabas ... transeat).

ludat in eis = 'let her play among them'. One might have expected a simple ablative, i.e. 'with them'.

et non solum ... noverit: cf. Quint. inst. 1.1.24-5 'neque enim mihi illud saltem placet, quod fieri in plurimis video, ut litterarum nomina et contextum prius

quam formas parvoli discant. obstat hoc agnitioni earum, non intendentibus mox animum ad ipsos ductus dum antecedentem memoriam secuntur. quae causa est praecipientibus ut, etiam cum satis adfixisse eas pueris recto illo quo primum scribi solent contextu videntur, retro agant rursus et varia permutatione turbent, donec litteras qui instituuntur facie norint, non ordine'. This method of teaching the alphabet was used in the case of Greek as well as of Latin; cf. J. in Ier. 25.26 (CCSL 74.245 = PL 24.838) 'apud nos Graecum alfabetum usque ad novissimam litteram per ordinem legitur ... rursumque propter memoriam parvulorum solemus lectionis ordinem vertere, et primis extrema miscere'.

memoria ... transeat: for such 'sing-song' in the early stages of education cf. Cic. leg. 2.59 'discebamus enim pueri XII [i.e. the Twelve Tables] ut carmen necessarium', Aug. conf. 1.13.22 'iam vero unum et unum duo, duo et duo quattuor odiosa cantio mihi erat'.

sonu. The regular Latin word for 'sound' is sonitus, which is found consistently from Ennius on. sonus -i, the second declension form, is also frequent. Much rarer is sonus -us, cited as an unusual form by the grammarian Nonius Marcellus (p. 789 Lindsay), who quotes Sisenna hist. 3.26 'postquam sonu signorum

proelium magno cum clamore virorum commissum est', the earliest extant instance. It appears in Apuleius (cf. met. 8.30 'tinnitu cymbalorum et sonu tympanorum') and several times in Ammianus (cf. e.g. 30.6.3 'increpabat verborum obiurgatorio sonu nationem omnem', 20.4.14 (gen. sing.), 22.9.15 (nom. pl.)). J.'s use of the word here is governed to some extent by his choice of visu, with which it achieves an obvious balance. Hilberg is almost certainly right to ignore the sono of the great majority of the MSS, which is clearly the lectio facilior.

4.3. cum ... evagari: cf. Quint. inst. 1.1.27 'cum vero iam ductus sequi coeperit, non inutile erit eos tabellae quam optime insculpi, ut per illos velut sulcos ducatur stilus. nam neque errabit quemadmodum in ceris (continebitur enim utrimque marginibus neque extra praescriptum egredi poterit) et celerius ac saepius sequendo certa vestigia firmabit articulos neque egebit adiutorio manum suam manu super imposita regentis'. J.'s debt to Quintilian is particularly apparent here, although he makes a few adaptations. The form of some of the words and phrases is altered, 'insculpi' and 'imposita', for example, being supplanted by sculpantur and superposita, and 'neque extra praescriptum egredi potest' by foras non queant evagari, and the layout of the section as a whole is revised. Although he is borrowing wholesale, J. is

clearly concerned to impose something of his own stamp on what Quintilian says.

For guiding the hand of a child learning to write cf. also Sen. epist. 94.51.

4.3-4. syllabas ... transeat: cf. Quint. inst. 1.1.20 'id in primis cavere oportebit, ne studia qui amare nondum potest oderit et amaritudinem semel perceptam etiam ultra rudes annos reformidet. lusus hic sit, et rogetur et laudetur et numquam non fecisse se gaudeat, aliquando ipso nolente doceatur alius cui invideat, contendat interim et saepius vincere se putet: praemiis etiam, quae capit illa aetas, evocetur'. J.'s changes in Quintilian's structure cause a slightly unsatisfactory result. In Quintilian the theory of education by enjoyment, competition, and rewards, follows naturally from the starting-point that studies must not be made a distasteful chore. J. links this idea with his account of progressive reading development - Quintilian keeps them apart - with the result that the warning about not allowing work to be dull follows his list of ways in which boredom may be prevented.

For the importance of maintaining the interest of children in learning and the use of rewards to do so cf. epist. 128.1.3 'iungat syllabas, discat nomina, verba consociet atque, ut voce tinnula ista meditetur, proponatur ei crustula mulsi praemia et, quicquid gustu

suave est, quod vernat in floribus, quod rutilat in gemmis, quod blanditur in pupis, acceptura festinet ... psalmos mercede decantet, amet, quod cogitur dicere, ut non opus sit, sed delectatio, non necessitas, sed voluntas'. Basil has the same idea in his teaching programme for boys sent to his monastery; cf. reg. fus. tract. 15.3 'δεῖ ... ἆθλα μνήμης ὀνομάτων τε καὶ πραγμάτων αὐτοῖς προτιθέναι, ὥστε μετὰ τερπνότητος καὶ ἀνέσεως ἅμα αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀπροσκόπως τὸν σκοπὸν διανύεσθαι'. The practice of offering rewards was long established; cf. Hor. sat. 1.1.24-6 'ridentem dicere verum | quid vetat? ut pueris olim dant crustula blandi | doctores, elementa velint ut discere prima'.

For the value of rivalry with other pupils cf. also Quint. inst. 1.2.21ff., esp. 22 'excitabitur laude aemulatio, turpe ducet cedere pari, pulchrum superasse maiores'.

The principle of using encouragement and praise, rather than punishment, to bring about a required end, may also extend to the moral sphere; cf. ps. Plut. lib. educ. 12 (8F-9A).

4.4. ipsa nomina ... praeparetur. From 4.2 the precepts have had no religious colour; now they are fixed in a Christian setting. Just as Paula must know only holy songs (cf. 4.1), so the material which she uses in learning to read and to spell must be Biblical;

it will give her a head start in her theological studies later (cf. c.12). Cf. Bas. reg. fus. tract. 15.3 'δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν γραμμάτων μελέτην οἰκείαν εἶναι τῷ σκοπῷ· ὥστε καὶ ὀνόμασιν αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἐκ τῶν γραφῶν κεχρῆσθαι, καὶ ἀντὶ μύθων τὰς τῶν παραδόξων ἔργων ἱστορίας αὐτοῖς διηγεῖσθαι'. Quintilian does not specify what material should be used in teaching very young children, but he is concerned that it should be edifying; cf. inst. 1.1.35-6 'ii quoque versus qui ad imitationem scribendi proponentur non otiosas velim sententias habeant, sed honestum aliquid monentis. prosequitur haec memoria in senectutem et inpressa animo rudi usque ad mores proficiet'. For the use of proper names in teaching spelling and reading cf. Bonner, Education in Ancient Rome, pp. 170-1.

consuescet: read only by K. The rest of the MSS have consuevit or consuescit, but the future looks better in the context.

paulatim: to be taken more closely with consuescet than with verba contexere, I suspect; i.e. 'gradually accustom herself', rather than 'build up words bit by bit'. But both senses may be present in some degree.

fortuita: 'taken haphazardly'.

omnis ... descendat: cf. Matt. 1.1-17, Luke 3.23-38. descendat goes in sense with ab Adam, i.e. 'the whole list of patriarchs from Adam down'. The form of the expression releases J. from the necessity of a third genitive (omnium patriarcharum) dependent on nomina.

patriarcha = πατριάρχης , the father of a race; cf. e.g. LXX 1 Chr. 27.22, Acts 2.29. In Latin it appears to have been used in the present sense first by Tertullian; cf. e.g. idol. 17.1. From the sixth century it was also the title borne by the bishops of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople, and Jerusalem, followed later by others.

futurae ... praeparetur: 'she may be equipped for remembering the names in the future'; the meaning is very awkwardly expressed.

4.5. magister .... Having dealt with the purely practical side of Paula's education, J. returns to discussion of its social context. For a similar view of the importance for children of a good home background one might compare Tac. dial. 28.4-29.

magister ... eligendus. Like all the girl's associates, her teacher must be of sound character; he must also be a man of ability. One might compare J.'s words to Furia: 'habes sanctum Exsuperium probatae aetatis et fidei, qui te monitis suis frequenter

instituat' (epist. 54.11.2). Concern that a teacher should be of good morality is expressed also by Quintilian (cf. inst. 1.2.5) and by Ps.-Plutarch (cf. lib. educ. 7 (4B) 'διδασκάλους γὰρ ζητητέον τοῖς τέκνοις, οἳ καὶ τοῖς βίοις εἰσὶν ἀδιάβλητοι καὶ τοῖς τρόποις ἀνέπιληπτοι καὶ ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις ἄριστοι').

The notion that uprightness is measured by aetas and vita is dear to J.; cf. e.g. epist. 22.17.1, 79.7.3.

nec, puto ... profertur. The exemplum of Aristotle and Alexander is derived from Quint. inst. 1.1.23 'an Philippus Macedonum rex Alexandro filio suo prima litterarum elementa tradi ab Aristotele summo eius aetatis philosopho voluisset, aut ille suscepisset hoc officium, si non studiorum initia et a perfectissimo quoque optime tractari et pertinere ad summam credidisset?'. Quintilian uses the exemplum to illustrate the importance not of private tuition - the question of public and private education does not concern him here - but of good teaching in the early stages. It is this, too, which concerns J., as ipse ... profertur and what follows in 4.6-7 make clear. non sunt contemnenda ... non possunt is a natural thing to say here, and need not necessarily be derived, as Hagendahl, p. 199, suggests, from Quint. inst. 1 pr. 5 'ego cum existimem nihil arti oratoriae alienum sine

quo fieri non posse oratorem fatendum est, nec ad ullius rei summam nisi praecedentibus initiis perveniri, ad minora illa, sed quae si neglegas non sit maioribus locus, demittere me non recusabo' and 1 pr. 21.

nobili. J. is probably thinking of Paula's family; but cf. 13.4 with n.

librariorum vilitate. This phrase has been much misunderstood. Wright translates, 'like some humble clerk'; Labourt, 'tel un humble professeur de lecture'. If J. wished to say that, he expressed himself very badly: vilitate must be taken as a sort of abl. of manner without cum. The true meaning must be 'because of his low esteem for librarii'; cf. Sen. contr. 8.4, Sen. clem. 1.3.4, epist. 121.24 'in nullo deprendes vilitatem sui, <ne> neglegentiam quidem', ps. Quint. decl. min. 260 p. 66.22-4 Ritter 'nihil est periculosius, iudices, in hominibus mutata subito fortuna; nihil ad vilitatem sui pronius miseris delicatis'. For librarius meaning one who taught writing, rather than simply a clerk, cf. e.g. Tarr. Pat. dig. 50.6.7(6) 'librarii quoque qui docere possint', Aug. ord. 2.12.35 'nata est illa librariorum et calculorum professio velut quaedam grammaticae infantia'.

traderet. Most of the MSS have monstraret; but traderet looks better, particularly in the light of 'tradi' at Quint. inst. 1.1.23 (see above on nec, puto ... profertur).

4.6. providendum ... officit. J. is brutal about women whose speech is clipped (dimidiata) at epist. 22.29.6 'non delumbem matronarum salivam delicata secteris, quae nunc strictis dentibus, nunc labiis dissolutis balbutientem linguam in dimidiata verba moderantur rusticum putantes omne, quod nascitur. adeo illis adulterium etiam linguae placet' (but contrast epist. 108.26.4 (quoted at 1.3 gaudente avo)). Quintilian too expresses concern about the speech of those in close contact with the children (cf. inst. 1.1.4-5 'ante omnia ne sit vitiosus sermo nutricibus ... et morum quidem in his haud dubie prior ratio est, recte tamen etiam loquantur. has primum audiet puer, harum verba effingere imitando conabitur'); and the same view is expressed by Cicero and Ps.-Plutarch (cf. Cic. Brut. 210, ps. Plut. lib. educ. 6 (3F-4A)). Interestingly, there was an old idea that purity of speech was best preserved by women; cf. Plato Cratyl. 418B, Cic. de orat. 3.45. As for dress and adornment, J. attacks worldly women from this point of view at 5.1 and 10.1, where see nn. The notion that a soft and luxurious upbringing is detrimental to a child's character is also found in Quintilian; cf. inst. 1.2.6

'utinam liberorum nostrorum mores non ipsi perderemus! infantiam statim deliciis solvimus. mollis illa educatio, quam indulgentiam vocamus, nervos omnis mentis et corporis frangit. quid non adultus concupiscet qui in purpuris repit? nondum prima verba exprimit, iam coccum intellegit, iam conchylium poscit'.

ne discat ... dediscendum est: the crux of the matter; J. goes on to illustrate the difficulty of unlearning something learnt at an early age. Cf. Quint. inst. 1.1.5 'non adsuescat ergo, ne dum infans quidem est, sermoni qui dediscendus est'. In what immediately follows J. has correctness of speech more closely in mind, but it is apparent from what has just preceded and from 4.7 that the principle has wider application. In epist. 128.2-4 he expatiates at length on the importance of beginning as one means to continue, specifically in the matter of morality, which includes dress; cf. 2.1 'solent quaedam, cum futuram virginem spoponderint, pulla tunica eam induere et furvo operire palliolo, auferre linteamina, nihil in collo, nihil in capite auri sinere re vera bono consilio, ne habere discat in tenero, quod postea deponere conpellatur'. Young minds are impressionable and should be properly directed from the start; cf. epist. 128.4.4 'ut enim aqua in areola digitum sequitur praecedentem, ita aetas mollis et tenera in utramque partem flexibilis est et, quocumque duxeris, trahitur'. This idea is common; cf. e.g. Sen. dial. 4.18.2 'facile est ... teneros adhuc

animos componere, difficulter reciduntur vitia quae nobiscum creverunt', ps. Plut. lib. educ. 5 (3E-F) 'ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὰ τῶν τέκνων ἤθη ῥυθμίζειν προσήκει. εὐπλαστον γὰρ καὶ ὑγρὸν ἡ νεότης, καὶ ταῖς τούτων ψυχαῖς ἁπαλαῖς ἔτι τὰ μαθήματα ἐντήκεται. πᾶν δὲ τὸ στερρὸν χαλεπῶς μαλάττεται. καθάπερ γὰρ ⟨αἱ⟩ σφραγῖδες τοῖς ἁπαλοῖς ἐναποπάττονται κηροῖς, οὕτως αἱ μαθήσεις ταῖς τῶν ἔτι παιδίων ψυχαῖς ἐναποτυποῦνται', Bas. reg. fus. tract. 15.4 'εὐπλαστον οὖν ἔτι οὖσαν καὶ ἁπαλὴν τὴν ψυχήν, καὶ ἕως κηρὸν εὐείκτον, ταῖς τῶν ἐπιβαλλομένων μορφαῖς ῥᾳδίως ἐκτυπουμένην, πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀγαθῶν ἄσκησιν εὐθὺς καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐνάγεσθαι χρή' , Pelag. epist. ad Demetr. 13.

Graccorum ... coaluit. Both exempla are derived from Quint. inst. 1.1.6 'Gracchorum eloquentiae multum contulisse accepimus Corneliam matrem, cuius doctissimus sermo in posteros quoque est epistulis traditus ... et Hortensiae Q. filiae oratio apud triumviros habita legitur non tantum in sexus honorem'. Quintilian's purpose in using the exempla is slightly different from J.'s. J. introduces them to illustrate the importance of good early training; cf. esp. ab infantia, in paterno sinu. Quintilian, though he has just stated the value of this himself (inst. 1.1.5), uses them in support of his assertion that 'in parentibus vero quam plurimum esse eruditionis optaverim', and that this applies to women no less than to men. Cornelia's influence on Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus was well known; Quintilian may have got at the detail of her influence on their oratorical ability

through Cic. Brut. 211. J. refers to her again, without specific reference to her oratory, at in Soph. pref. (PL 25.1337). The oratorical skill of Hortensia is noted also by Val. Max. 8.3.3.

Hortensiae is certainly the true reading: Quintilian's context makes it clear that he is dealing with women. The variants presented by the MSS of this letter, and indeed by those of the Institutio, suggest that Hortensia's prowess as an orator was not well known in the Middle Ages; it may have seemed strange to the scribes that a woman should be an orator at all.

difficulter ... imbuta est: cf. Quint. inst. 1.1.5 (on being taught correct speech early) 'natura tenacissimi sumus eorum quae rudibus animis percepimus: ut sapor quo nova inbuas durat, nec lanarum colores quibus simplex ille candor mutatus est elui possunt'. The image of dyeing wool is taken over straight from this passage, and Quintilian's use of the idea of taste prompts J., as Hagendahl sees (p. 200), to adapt Hor. epist. 1.2.69-70 'quo semel est inbuta recens servabit odorem ¦ testa diu'. The Horatian words are not taken out of context: Horace is dealing with a different situation, but making much the same point. J. adapts the passage elsewhere, too, in a variety of contexts, but always to express the same fundamental idea; cf. epist. 10.3.3, in Eph. 1.13 (PL 26.457), and esp. adv. Rufin. 1.30 (PL 23.422) 'si litteras didicisses, oleret testa ingenioli tui, quo semel fuisset imbuta. lanarum conchylia nullae aquae diluunt'.

4.7. Graeca ... infectus: cf. Quint. inst. 1.1.9 'nec minus error eorum [sc. paedagogorum] nocet moribus, si quidem Leonides Alexandri paedagogus, ut a Babylonio Diogene traditur, quibusdam eum vitiis inbuit quae robustum quoque et iam maximum regem ab illa institutione puerili sunt persecuta'. The story is not found in any extant Greek historian; cf. H. Berve, Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage (2 vols., München, 1926), 2.235-6, s.n. Λεώνιδας . The detail about Leonidas' gait (incessu) seems to be J.'s own invention; he may have had some sympathy with this affliction (cf. epist. 45.2.2 'alius incessum meum calumniabatur'). The rest of the story must come directly from Quintilian; J. follows him very closely, and is most unlikely to have read Diogenes of Babylon.

This exemplum is basically directed at mores, as the first two have been at speech. In Quintilian it relates to paedagogi; this is of no particular concern to J., as the point is not from whom the bad habits come but that they do so, and it clearly applies more generally here.

proclivis ... vitia. For the idea that it is easier to have faults than virtues cf. Quint. inst. 1.1.5 'haec ipsa magis pertinaciter haereant quae deteriora sunt. nam bona facile mutantur in peius; quando in bonum verteris vitia?'.

All the MSS bar K Ψ read not virtutem but virtutes, which looks better in view of vitia following. virtutum K Ψ is an easy error after quorum, the correction to virtutem in Ψ being made subsequently in the interests of sense.

nutrix ... gravem. Paula's later attendants will be equally staid (cf. 9.3), and nothing different is envisaged for Pacatula (cf. epist. 128.4.4 'sit ei magistra comes, paedagoga custos non multo vino dedita, non iuxta apostolum otiosa atque verbosa, sed sobria, gravis, lanifica et ea tantum loquens, quae animum puellarem ad virtutem instituant'). J. is regularly down on drunkenness and wantonness, which go together; cf. 8.2 with n. Garrulousness is seen as a fault also at epist. 108.20.6 'quam linguosam et garrulam ac procacem rixisque prospexerat [sc. Paula senior] delectari et saepius conmonitam nolle converti, inter ultimas et extra conventum sororum ad fores triclinii orare faciebat et separatim cibum capere, ut, quam obiurgatio non correxerat, emendaret pudor'; but in young children it may have a certain charm (cf. epist. 79.6.2 'garrula atque balbutiens linguae offensione fit dulcior').

gerulam. gerulus, 'one who bears or carries', is found, albeit rather infrequently, from Plautus on. The feminine form is very much rarer, most of the

instances occurring in Tertullian and particularly J. himself; cf. e.g. Tert. anim. 19.8, J. epist. 14.3.2, 54.5.1 'cave nutrices et gerulas et istius modi vinosa animalia', 128.1.2 'tristior gerulae vultus', c. Ioh. 21 (PL 23.372). The gerula here is probably an under-nurse whose task it is to carry the little child around, like the nurse at Hom. Il. 6.389 'φέρε δ' ἅμα παῖδα τιθήνη'.

nutricium: a guardian or tutor to the young girl; his exact role is not clear.

4.8. cum avum viderit .... From teachers and nurses J. moves on to Paula's family and her relations with them. Except in rapiat eam avia, the suggestion is that the initiative is always to be with Paula herself: she must show her love for her relatives. There is nothing comparable in Quintilian: close personal relationships will have been of no great importance in the training of orators.

cum avum ... decantet: an obvious way of attempting to batter down Albinus' pagan defences; cf. 1.3 with nn. J.'s attitude to little children is quite different when his object is to dissuade Furia from remarrying; cf. epist. 54.4.2 'vereris, ne proles Furiana deficiat et ex te parens tuus non habeat pusionem, qui reptet in pectore et cervices eius stercore linat?'.

e collo pendeat: cf. epist. 60.9.1 with n.

avia: the wife of Albinus, otherwise unknown.

patrem risibus recognoscat: a reminiscence of Virg. ecl. 4.60 'incipe, parve puer, risu cognoscere matrem'; cf. epist. 130.16.3 'infans parvulus et qui vix matrem risu et vultus hilaritate cognoscat'. cognoscat is read by the majority of the MSS in the present case, but recognoscat, which is also well attested, gives a better rhythm, and should stand.

Although Virgil's fourth Eclogue was felt by some, including Augustine (cf. civ. 10.27, epist. 258.5), to be a work of Messianic prophecy, there is no suggestion that J. is here drawing a parallel between Paula and Christ by the allusion: he did not accept the 'Messianic' interpretation (cf. epist. 53.7.3 'quasi non legerimus Homerocentonas et Vergiliocentonas ac non sic etiam Maronem sine Christo possimus dicere Christianum, quia scripserit: iam redit et virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna, ¦ iam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto [Virg. ecl. 4.6-7], et patrem loquentem ad filium: nate, meae vires, mea magna potentia solus [Virg. Aen. 1.664], et post verba salvatoris in cruce: talia perstabat memorans fixusque manebat [Virg. Aen. 2.650]. puerilia sunt haec et circulatorum ludo similia, docere, quod ignores, immo, ut cum Clitomacho

loquar, nec hoc quidem scire, quod nescias'). See further H. C. Coffin, 'The Influence of Vergil on St. Jerome and on St. Augustine', Classical Weekly 17 (1923-4), 170-5.

propinquitas: the word is common enough at all times for 'kinship', but does not appear to be used in a concrete sense until quite late; cf. e.g. Amm. 14.11.7 'in propinquitatis perniciem inclinatior'.

rosam ... gaudeat. The image of the little girl as a rose owes nothing to the Bible (though in a letter where she is envisaged as sponsa Christi (cf. c.7 with nn.) there may be some influence from the flower-imagery of the Song of Solomon (cf. S. of S. 2.1-2)). rosa occurs only five times in the Vulgate, roseus only once, and none of these instances can have directly inspired the use of the image here. The idea of the beloved as a rose appears in Plautus (cf. e.g. Asin. 664, Bacch. 83, Men. 191), but I have noticed no examples in other authors. Beyond the simple parallel between the girl and the beautiful flower, however (with which cf. epist. 79.6.2, where Nebridius' little daughter is 'rosarum et liliorum calathus'), J. may be thinking of the contrast between a rose and a thorn. Philostratus uses such an image to suggest the difference between a woman when angry and when calm: 'τὰς ἀκάνθας τῶν ῥόδων λέγομεν, ὅτι ἐξ ἀγρίου θάμνου καὶ λυπεῖν καὶ κεντεῖν εἰδότας γελῶσιν ἐν τοῖς ῥόδοις.

'ἄνθος ἐστὶ καὶ γυναικὸς ἡ τοῦ προσώπου χλήνη' (epist. 25). At vita Hilar. 2 (PL 23.29) the contrast is between a Christian and his pagan parents: 'Hilarion ortus vico Tabatha ... cum haberet parentes idolis deditos, rosa, ut dicitur, de spinis floruit'; but J. is clearly not referring here to the relationship between Paula and Albinus. He is more likely to have in mind the contrast between a virgin and her family, who are not virgins; cf. epist. 22.20.1 'laudo nuptias, laudo coniugium, sed quia mihi virgines generant: lego de spinis rosas, de terra aurum, de conca margaritum'. Virgins and virginity are frequently compared with flowers; cf. e.g. epist. 54.14.1 'virginum lilia', 130.8.2 'rosae virginitatis', and esp. 65.2.2 'quia de floribus et liliis loqui coepimus semperque virginitas floribus conparatur, oportunum mihi videtur, ut ad florem Christi scribens de multis floribus disputem'.

The last passage is particularly interesting: J. has just described Asella as 'flos domini', and has been talking about flowers of Scripture, which is another frequent use of the flower-image; cf. e.g. epist. 114.1.2, 123.1.1, 130.9.1. At epist. 125.2.1 he mentions flowers of virtue. He clearly regarded flowers as a symbol of all things beautiful and good.

Cf. also epist. 60.13.2 with n.

discat ... abscessum. The altera avia is the elder Paula, on whom see PLRE 1.674-5, RE supp. 10.508-9, and

introduction; the amita Eustochium, for whom see on 5.2 and introduction. Later Paula is to be sent to Bethlehem to join them (cf. 13.1), but J. wishes her education to be such that she will develop a strong love for the ascetic life, and threaten to leave her parents for Palestine before the right time has arrived.

cui imperatori ... tiruncula. The notion of the body of Christians as an army with Christ as its imperator is not infrequent in Christian literature. In Latin it appears first with Tertullian and Cyprian; cf. e.g. Tert. orat. 29.3 (for imperator), Cypr. mort. 15 (for exercitus). The idea may have originated with St. Paul, in passages such as Rom. 6.13, 2 Cor. 6.7, and esp. Eph. 6.11-17 'induite vos arma dei ...'. It occurred too in the worship of Isis, whose initiates were regarded as soldiers; cf. W. W. Tarn and G. T. Griffith, Hellenistic Civilisation (3rd edn., London, 1952), p. 358. In J. the basic military metaphor of fighting for God is common (cf. e.g. epist. 14.7.1, 22.39.4, 130.5.3); he speaks of the Christian exercitus at e.g. epist. 58.1.3, and at epist. 14.2.1 Christ is represented as imperator.

The diminutive of tiro is occasionally found in the masculine form from the first century AD; the feminine form is, as one would expect, much less common, the only other instances I have found being

Colum. 7.12.11 (where it is used of a bitch which has littered for the first time), and J. epist. 30.14.1 'saluta Blesillam et Eustochium, tirunculas nostras', 130.4.3 'Christi tiruncula' (of Demetrias). J. uses tirunculus in the same, Christian, sense at epist. 118.2.2, 145.1.5, and tiro itself at epist. 3.5.2. The words are normally applied - always, in J. - to the new Christian or the young Christian; cf. epist. 3.5.2 'memento, quaeso, istum bellatorem tuum mecum quondam fuisse tironem', 14.2.2 'recordare tirocinii tui diem, quo Christo in baptismate consepultus in sacramenti verba iurasti'. Later, in Gildas and Aldhelm, the expression seems to have become a simple equivalent for miles Christi, without the implicit distinction between a new and an experienced Christian; cf. F. Kerlouégan, 'Une Liste de mots communs à Gildas et à Aldhelm', EC 15 (1976-8), 553-67 (564-5 on tiro), who quotes relevant passages from both authors.

On militia Christi generally see A. Harnack, Militia Christi: die christliche Religion und der Soldatenstand in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten (Tübingen, 1905), and Viller, Dictionnaire de spiritualité, s.vv.

c.5. Having dealt with Paula's early education and the character of her attendants, J. turns to the important question of dress and adornment. It is to be simple;

he inveighs against the practice of wearing rich clothes and making up heavily, recounting the story of Praetextata as an edifying admonitory tale. It is illuminating to compare Cyprian's treatise De habitu virginum, which makes the same kind of points as J. does here, and at greater length; this may be the work mentioned by J. at epist. 22.22.3 as 'beati Cypriani volumen egregium'.

5.1. Ipse ... auspiceris. J. had plenty of Biblical support for his belief in simplicity of dress and adornment, both in the words of Jesus himself (cf. e.g. Matt. 6.19-20 'nolite thesaurizare vobis thesauros in terra ...', 6.25 'ne solliciti sitis ... corpori vestro quid induamini'), and in the writings of others (cf. e.g. 1 Tim. 2.8-10 'volo ... mulieres in habitu ornato, cum verecundia et sobrietate ornantes se, non in tortis crinibus aut auro aut margaritis vel veste pretiosa, sed quod decet mulieres promittentes pietatem per opera bona', Rev. 17.4 (on the great harlot) 'et mulier erat circumdata purpura et coccino, et inaurata auro et lapide pretioso et margaritis' (quoted in support of non-adornment at Cypr. hab. virg. 12)). True adornment he held to be internal; cf. epist. 69.8.7 (discussing 1 Tim. 3.2) 'ornatum quoque ἐπίτασις est prioris verbi, id est inreprehensibilis. qui vitia non habet, inreprehensibilis appellatur; qui virtutibus pollet, ornatus est ... sunt ... quidam ignorantes mensuram

suam et tantae stoliditatis ac vecordiae, ut et in motu et in incessu et in habitu et in sermone communi risum spectantibus tribuant et quasi intellegentes, quid sit ornatus, comant se vestibus et munditiis corporis et lautioris mensae epulas parent, cum omnis istius modi ornatus et cultus sordibus foedior sit'. The danger of physical ornatus is a sexual one, and it is therefore particularly important that Christians should not over-adorn themselves; cf. epist. 38.3.2 'erubescat mulier Christiana, si naturae cogit decorem, si carnis curam facit ad concupiscentiam', 54.7.1 'quid facit in facie Christianae purpurissus et cerussa? quorum alterum ruborem genarum labiorumque mentitur, alterum candorem oris et colli: ignes iuvenum, fomenta libidinum, inpudicae mentis indicia'. Cyprian makes a similar point at hab. virg. 5 'continentia vero et pudicitia non in sola carnis integritate consistit sed etiam in cultus et ornatus honore pariter ac pudore'; for him the choice is very definitely between adornment and Christ (cf. hab. virg. 13). Athanasius too is concerned that a virgin should be dressed plainly, in a manner pleasing to Christ (cf. virg. 6, 11); and see also Greg. Naz. poem. mor. 29.

J. returns briefly to the theme of dress later in the letter, at 9.3 and esp. 10.1 spernat bombycum telas, Serum vellera et aurum in fila lentescens. talia vestimenta paret, quibus pellatur frigus, non quibus corpora vestita nudentur. There are a

considerable number of instances in the rest of his works where he makes the same points, often in scathing satirical attacks on women like the present, on which see Wiesen, St. Jerome as a Satirist, pp. 113-65. Particularly incisive is epist. 22.16; a little closer to the present instance are epist. 127.3.3-4 'illae [sc. mulieres saeculares] enim solent purpurisso et cerussa ora depingere, sericis nitere vestibus, splendere gemmis, aurum portare cervicibus ac auribus perforatis Rubri Maris pretiosissima grana suspendere, flagrare mure ... nostra vidua [sc. Marcella] talibus usa est vestibus, quibus obstaret frigus, non membra nudaret' and 130.7.13 'quando eras [sc.Demetrias] in saeculo, ea, quae erant saeculi, diligebas: polire faciem purpurisso et cerussa ora depingere, ornare crinem et alienis capillis turritum verticem struere, ut taceam de inaurium pretiis, candore margaritarum Rubri Maris profunda testantium ... ad quae ardent et insaniunt studia matronarum'. One might also compare epist. 45.3.1, 66.5.1 'ardentes gemmae, quibus ante collum et facies ornabatur, egentium ventres saturant; vestes sericae et aurum in fila lentescens in mollia lanarum vestimenta mutata sunt, quibus repellatur frigus, non quibus nudetur ambitio' (very close to c. 10.1), 77.5.2, 130.18.2, and perhaps the grotesque description of the worldly deacon Sabinianus at 147.8. 2-3; for gold jewellery, 24.3.2; for cosmetics, 38.3.2, 79.7.7, and 108.15.4; for fancy clothes, 43.2.2.

It is no surprise that J. expresses the same disapproval of over-dressing and adornment when discussing the upbringing of Pacatula too; cf. epist. 128.2.1 (quoted at 4.6 ne discat ... dediscendum est), where he goes on to consider the arguments in favour of allowing little girls to dress in pretty clothes and ornaments, but rejects them.

The attack on over-dressing, the wearing of jewellery, and so on, does not, however, have a merely Christian basis. It belongs to declamation, which influenced J. (cf. esp. on epist. 1.3-6, with introduction); it is part of the general declamatory topic on women, wealth, and the like. Cf. e.g. Sen. contr. 2.5.7 'numquid gemmas et ex alieno litore petitos lapillos et aurem vestemque nihil in matrona tecturam concupivit?', Petron. 55; for jewellery, Sen. ben. 7.9.4, nat. 1.17.8 'postea iam rerum potiente luxuria specula totis paria corporibus auro argentoque caelata sunt, gemmis deinde adornata et pluris unum ex his feminae constitit, quam antiquarum dos fuit [non] illa, quae publice dabatur imperatorum pauperum liberis'; for transparent clothes, Sen. contr. 2.7.4 (make-up also mentioned), Sen. benef. 7.9.5 'video sericas vestes, si vestes vocandae sunt, in quibus nihil est, quo defendi aut corpus aut denique pudor possit, quibus sumptis parum liquido nudam se non esse iurabit', dial. 12.16.4 'numquam tibi placuit vestis quae nihil amplius nudaret cum poneretur', epist.

90.20. The similarity in subject-matter, expression, and tone between these examples and the instances in J. is obvious.

The wearing of expensive and exotic clothes goes back certainly to Hellenistic times; cf. Tarn and Griffith, Hellenistic Civilisation, pp. 256-7.

premas, oneres: the key words for the satire here, as Wiesen, St. Jerome as a Satirist, p. 141, points out.

inrufes: 'make red'. The simple rufare is more common; TLL notes only three instances of inrufare, the other two being Tert. apol. 22.12 'barbam tactu irrufatam', ieiun. 17.2.

gehennae ignibus. Unlike infernus, which did not always, among Christian writers, refer to the place of punishment for malefactors after death (see on epist. 60.3.2), gehenna seems always to have had this sense. In the NT cf. Matt. 5.22, 10.28, 18.9, Jas. 3.6; in J. cf. e.g. epist. 22.7.2, 124.7.1 'ignem quoque gehennae et tormenta, quae scriptura sancta peccatoribus comminatur, non ponit [sc. Origenes] in suppliciis, sed in conscientia peccatorum'. gehennae/-am ignis is a Biblical phrase; cf. Matt. 5.22, Mark 9.44, 46. At in Ier. 7.30-1 (CCSL 74.84 = PL 24.735) J. gives a Jewish etymology for the word: 'traduntque Hebraei ex hoc

loco [sc. Tofeth Gehennom] appellatam gehennam, quod scilicet omnis populus Iudaeorum ibi perierit offendens deum, in quo loco etiam filios suos in igne idolis consecrarint sive holocaustum optulerint, quae non praeceperit eis nec ulla legis iusserit sanctione'.

auspiceris: 'portend'; a rare extension of the ordinary meaning 'begin'. Cf. Apul. flor. 16. p. 25 Helm 'renuntiavere ... hesternum illi<s> imbrem lacrimas auspicasse' and esp. Cypr. hab. virg. 16 'malo praesagio futurorum capillos iam tibi flammeos auspicaris'.

habet ... margaritum. The allusion is to Matt. 13.45-6 'iterum simile est regnum caelorum homini negotiatori quaerenti bonas margaritas; inventa autem una pretiosa margarita abiit et vendidit omnia quae habuit, et emit eam'. Despite the fact that 'regnum caelorum' is compared directly with the 'homini negotiatori', the comparison is really with the 'pretiosa margarita'; i.e. here Paula is being prepared for the kingdom of heaven. J. describes the pearl of great price in slightly different terms at in Matt. 13.45-6 (CCSL 77.113-4 = PL 26.94-5): 'bonae margaritae quas quaerit institutor [leg. institor] lex et prophetae sunt. audi Marcion, audi Manichee, bonae margaritae sunt lex et prophetae et notitia veteris instrumenti, unum autem est pretiosissimum margaritum: scientia salvatoris et

sacramentum passionis illius et resurrectionis arcanum ... non quo inventio novae margaritae condemnatio sit veterum margaritarum, sed quo comparatione eius omnis alia gemma sit vilior'. At epist. 66.8.4 the precious pearl is Christ, who is wisdom; it is not easy to acquire (cf. epist. 125.4).

The aliae margaritae here probably have a wider significance than the lex et prophetae of J.'s Commentary on Matthew. Above all they will be the Scriptures (cf. 12.1 pro gemmis aut serico divinos codices amet, epist. 22.8.4 'margarita ... est sermo dei'), and other Christian writings (cf. epist. 10.3.2, 54.11.1 'post scripturas sanctas doctorum hominum tractatus lege, eorum dumtaxat, quorum fides nota est. non necesse habes aurum in luto quaerere: multis margaritis unam redime margaritam'); but J. may also be thinking of other things, such as useful domestic accomplishments (cf. c.10.1) and a moderate diet (cf. 10.1-2). True gems are such; cf. e.g. epist. 79.7.7 'ieiunium, pallor et sordes tuae gemmae sint'. By collecting jewels of this kind throughout her life, Paula will eventually be able to cash them in for the most valuable of all.

habet. I would print habeat with previous editors and the majority of the MSS; the sense seems superior, especially after the series of commands in the preceding sentences.

pretiosissimum margaritum. Whether the neuter or the feminine form, both of which occur in the MSS, should stand here, it is impossible to say. Both forms are generally well attested; cf. TLL s.v. margarita, esp. the discussion by the grammarian Charisius on which is correct (TLL 8.391.19-32). It may seem strange that J. should use both forms in the same sentence, but he certainly does so at in Matt. 13.45-6 (quoted above at habet ... margaritum; only one MS attempts to reconcile the difference) even though he has just quoted the Matthew passage, where the form used in his quotation is feminine in both cases ('bonas margaritas', 'pretiosissima margarita').

5.2. Praetextata .... The story is introduced very abruptly; contrast epist. 22.33, 68.2, 123.9, all anecdotes of comparable length.

For Praetextata see PLRE 1.721. The idea that her death, and that of her family, was brought about by God as a punishment for her sin will have appealed to J.; cf. epist. 60.17.1 nostris peccatis ... exercitus with n. The dream looks distinctly post eventum, but there is no reason to suppose that J. doubted that it happened.

nobilissima: certainly referring to her family; but cf. 13.4 with n.

Hymetio: Iulius Festus Hymetius; see PLRE 1.447, RE s.n. Festus 9.

Eustochiae: Iulia Eustochium; see PLRE 1.312 and introduction; also P. Antin, 'Sainte Eustochium', Recueil, pp. 321-5.

neglectum ... texuit. For criticism, normally implicit, of dressing and adorning the hair cf. e.g. epist. 38.4.2 (on Blesilla's lifestyle before her conversion) 'crines ancillulae disponebant et mitellis crispantibus vertex artabatur innoxius', 130.7.13 (quoted at 5.1 Ipse ... auspiceris).

undanti gradu is a much more telling phrase than mundano more, the reading of the majority of the MSS. Though I have noticed no exact parallels, gradus is certainly used of layers of hair (cf. e.g. Suet. Nero 51, Quint. inst. 1.6.44 'comam in gradus frangere'), and the combination with undare looks natural enough. mundano would be an easy corruption of undanti after the final m of crinem, more subsequently supplanting gradu in the interests of sense.

ecce tibi. tibi, and not the variants ibi or sibi, is clearly right: ecce tibi, where tibi is an ethic dative, is a common phrase (cf. TLL s.v. ecce, epist. 1.7.3 et 'en tibi' with n.), and does not look out of place here.

cernit ... angelum. This seems rather long-winded; it is surprising that J. did not say simply cernit in somnis angelum.

verba frangentem. frangere is occasionally used of sounds which are not continuous, but broken up or disjointed; cf. e.g. Virg. georg. 4.71-2 'vox ¦ auditur fractos sonitus imitata tubarum', Paneg. 4(Nazarius). 26.2, Tac. Germ. 3, J. epist. 39.2.1 'non est optimus consolator, quem proprii vincunt gemitus, cuius visceribus emollitis fracta in lacrimis verba desudant', 108.26.5, vita Pauli 7 (PL 23.22) 'frangens potius verba quam proloquens'. In the present case, however, the words can hardly be disjointed; the angel seems to speak out loudly and forcibly, and frangentem should mean something like 'uttering', perhaps with an idea of breaking into speech, which would normally be expressed by a phrase like in verba prorumpere (cf. e.g. epist. 60.1.2 with n.). I have noticed no exact parallels.

tune ... manibus? For this type of rhetorical question cf. Quint. inst. 9.2.8 'interrogamus etiam quod negari non possit: dixitne tandem causam C. Fidiculanius Falcula?'. The angel's questions are effectively causal, giving the reasons for the punishment of Praetextata.

sacrilegis ... manibus. sacrilegae manus is a common expression in Latin literature. Praetextata's hands were not sacrilegae in themselves, but by virtue of the fact that they improperly treated one who was a virgo dei and therefore sacra.

5.2-3. quae ... interitus: '"This very moment they shall wither, so that in pain you will feel what you have done, and at the end of the fifth month you will be led off to hell. But if you persist in your crime, you will be simultaneously deprived of your husband and children as well." All these things were fulfilled, one after another, and death, coming swiftly, marked the wretched woman's late repentance'.

ducaris makes no sense as a verb expressing purpose after arescent, ut, and there is no other obvious way of taking it. duceris, which is read by two of the MSS, and printed by Erasmus and Victorius, is much better. After the rhetorical questions, the angel states Praetextata's punishment: (a) her hands will wither, as a reminder of her misdeed, and (b) she will die. The angel then adds a further point: if, despite what he has already said, Praetextata persists in her sin, then she will lose her husband and children too, i.e. they will predecease her. The sera paenitentia of the next line must then mean that she repented too late, after the death of Hymetius and the children.

5.2. inferna: 'hell'; see on epist. 60.3.2.

5.3. templi sui: cf. on 4.1. Particularly relevant here is 1 Cor. 6.19, where Paul speaks of the body as the temple of the Holy Spirit, setting the idea in a context of fornication: it is to avoid such a possibility that girls should not be over-adorned (cf. on 5.1).

gemmas ... defendit. The image of precious jewels introduced at 5.1 is here altered and developed. Whereas earlier Paula was to have certain metaphorical margaritae, with which she would eventually buy the pearl of great price, here she herself is seen as a jewel. pretiosissima establishes a strong connection with the imagery at 5.1, and it may be that Paula is meant to parallel the pretiosissimum margaritum which she seeks. At epist. 66.1.2 Paulina is described directly by this phrase: 'fractum est pretiosissimum margaritum, virens zmaragdi gemma contrita est'.

Personification of words such as gemma and margaritum is rare, and does not occur in the Vulgate. Significant examples are ps. Damas. epigr. 67.2 (gemma as one of Christ's cognomina), Victric. 6 'nulla nox vigiliarum est, in qua talis gemma [sc. femina casta] non micet'. For margaritum cf. e.g. the letter of Augustus at Macr. sat. 2.4.12, Petron. 63.3. The image was one which probably came easily to J.; cf. e.g.

epist. 22.20.1 (quoted at 4.8 rosam ... gaudeat), 66.1.2 (quoted above), 108.3.4 (simile, not direct personification), perhaps 108.4.1 'Eustochium, quae nunc ... monile pretiosissimum est'. He certainly understood the jewels of which the city described at Rev. 21.16-21 was built to refer to people; cf. epist. 108.16.3 'nolebat [sc. Paula] in his lapidibus pecuniam effundere, qui cum terra et saeculo transituri sunt, sed in vivis lapidibus, qui volvuntur super terram, de quibus in Apocalypsi Iohannis civitas magni regis extruitur, quos in sapphirum et smaragdum et iaspidem et ceteras gemmas esse vertendos scriptura commemorat'.

c.6. After stating the importance of parental responsibility for children in the sphere of dress in c.5, J. moves on to more general consideration of the question, discussing the overall responsibility of parents for their children, especially in the case of those who have consecrated their child to Christ.

6.1. Heli ... differentiam: two examples from the Bible to show God's view of parental responsibility, with an a fortiori argument to indicate the responsibility of parents for very young children. The example of Eli and most of the quotation from 1 Tim. are found also at epist. 79.7.4, apparently illustrating the same point, although this is less clear from the context.

Heli ... non subditos. For Heli ... liberorum cf. 1 Sam. 2.12-36, where the priesthood of the house of Eli is brought to an end and Eli's sons killed because of their sin against the Lord. J. is not interested in the fact that God wanted to kill them (v.25) and may on that account have incited them to sin; he is concerned only to point out the effect on Eli of his sons' misdeeds, as his argument demands.

On the qualities required of an episcopus cf. 1 Tim. 3.1-7, esp. v.4 'filios habentem subditos cum omni castitate [sc. oportet episcopum esse]'. At epist. 69.9.3, while discussing what the character of episcopi and sacerdotes should be, J. expands on this verse: 'ne scilicet imitentur filios Heli, qui in vestibulo templi cum mulieribus dormiebant et religionem praedam putantes, quidquid optimum in hostiis erat, in suas delicias convertebant'; cf. also adv. Iovin. 1.35 (PL 23.259). J. is not reading the concept of episcopacy back into the time of Eli; he is rather explaining the reason for and effect of God's being offended with Eli in fifth-century terms. It is a general comment illustrating the preceding statement, though it brings no gain in clarity; the meaning of Heli ... liberorum in context is obvious.

The parallelism between the OT priesthood, here typified by Eli, and the episcopate of the early Church is first witnessed to by 1 Clement 40-4, written near the end of the first century. For episcopus itself see

on epist. 60.7.3.

habuerit: future perfect, after the idea of futurity implicit in fieri.

salva ... pudicitia: 1 Tim. 2.15 (Vulg.: 'salvabitur autem per filiorum generationem si permanserint in fide et dilectione et sanctificatione cum sobrietate'). The obvious difference from the Vulgate text is that J. has pudicitia for 'sobrietate' as a translation of 'σωφροσύνης'. J. seems always to interpret 'σωφροσύνης' in this verse as having a sexual meaning; cf. e.g. epist. 79.7.4, 121.4.6, and esp. adv. Iovin. 1.27 (PL 23.249) 'non enim (ut male habetur in Latinis codicibus) sobrietas est legenda, sed castitas, id est, σωφροσύνη '. Elsewhere, too, J. sometimes makes a verbal substitution, with a slight change of meaning, when quoting a Scriptural text; cf. e.g. epist. 77.11.1 'timentibus dominum omnia cooperantur in bonum', where 'timentibus' replaces the 'diligentibus' ('ἀγαπῶσιν') of Rom. 8.28.

All the MSS have permanserit, although B shows a correction in a second hand to permanserint. The Greek at 1 Tim. 2.15 is 'μείνωσιν'. A number of MSS of the Vulgate text have the singular form. At epist. 79.7.4 and adv. Iovin. 1.27 (PL 23.249) J. certainly wrote permanserint, and in the present case the quotation makes good sense only if the plural form is read: the

mother is responsible for her children's actions, and if they live in a correct fashion, she will be saved. The false reading of the MSS is probably due to scribal misunderstanding, with mulier presumably taken as the subject of permanserit; some of the MSS of epist. 121 show the same mistake at c.4.6. The verb was certainly not intended to be singular with generatio as subject; in the Vulgate 'per filiorum generationem' is a translation of 'διὰ τῆς τεκνογονίας', i.e. 'generationem' refers to the act of producing offspring, not to the offspring themselves.

perfecta ... inputatur: i.e. the actions of those of maturity and self-responsibility are imputed .... Although Eli's sons are called pueri (1 Sam. 2.17, etc.), they were certainly of perfecta aetas, as one of their sins was to sleep with women (cf. 1 Sam. 2.22). puer in any case frequently refers to those who have long passed puberty (so also at epist. 1.9.1). The age of the filii at 1 Tim. 2.15 is indeterminate.

quae ... differentiam. A young child will not have learnt the difference between right and wrong, and therefore cannot be held responsible for its actions. Heretics are characterised in a similar way at epist. 98(tr. from Theophilus).19.2, but they of course will have been considered fully responsible for their actions: 'bonis mala praeferunt nec noverunt, quae sit

differentia vitiorum atque virtutum'. Quintilian felt that right and wrong could easily be taught to a little child; cf. inst. 1.3.12.

The sententia domini appears to be the words spoken by God at Jonah 4.11 'ego non parcam Ninive civitati magnae, in qua sunt plus quam centum viginti milia hominum qui nesciunt quid sit inter dexteram et sinistram, et iumenta multa?'. J. is merely borrowing a phrase from Scripture, and does not intend any parallel between Paula and Nineveh beyond the implication that Paula, like Nineveh, should not be held responsible for her misdeeds when she does not know the difference between right and wrong. At in Ion. 4.10-11 (CCSL 76.419 = PL 25.1152) he describes the city, which he sees as a type of the Church, in terms of a young child, and there too makes it clear that he understands 'dexteram' and 'sinistram' to refer to good and evil.

J. uses the images of right and left hand for good and evil elsewhere; cf. e.g. epist. 78.6.2, in eccles. 10.2-3 (CCSL 72.333-4 = PL 23.1090-1), in Ezech. 41.22b-26 (CCSL 75.604 = PL 25.405-6). Cf. also Aug. epist. 215.7 'viae sunt bonae quae a dextris sunt', and the whole of that passage. The idea belongs fundamentally to the ancient notion that the right side was propitious, the left unpropitious.

At epist. 49(48).8.2 J. employs the different idea of left and right being two extremes on either side of

a middle course, which one should take.

dexteram aut sinistram. LXX Jonah 4.11 has 'יָמִין', which Hilberg calls on to support aut; but this is scarcely enough, in a passing phrase, to reject the reading of the vast majority of the MSS, which have et.

6.2. sollicita ... tunicas? Again J. shows his concern that Paula should be protected from moral corruption, here typified by Babylon and the case of Dinah.

ne feriatur ... Babylonis: two warnings concerning 'Babylon'. Cf. Jer. 50-1, which contains the words of God attacking Babylon and his judgement on the city, esp. 50.23 'confractus est et contritus malleus universae terrae', where 'malleus' certainly refers to Babylon, 51.7 'calix aureus Babylon in manu domini inebrians omnem terram; de vino eius biberunt gentes et ideo commotae sunt'. The image of the hammer of the whole earth, or simply a hammer, came to be a symbol for evil or for the devil; cf. e.g. epist. 21.11.1 '... principi mundi huius, id est diabolo, rectori tenebrarum istarum, quem nunc inimicum hominem, nunc iudicem iniquitatis, nunc draconem, nunc satan, nunc malleum ... et multis aliis vocabulis scriptura cognominat', 121.5.2, in Nah. 3.18-19 (CCSL 76A.577 = PL 25.1272). J. translated a homily of Origen which

deals with the identity of the malleus (hom. Orig. in Ier. 3 (PL 25.606-15)). The calix aureus is alluded to also at epist 65.4.3, 98(tr. from Theophilus).21.1, 133.3.8. Generally Babylon was an obvious symbol of moral decay, and was often used to represent the bad, in contrast to Jerusalem, the good; cf. e.g. epist. 45.6.1 'ora autem, ut de Babylone Hierosolyma regrediar', where Babylon stands for Rome, 96(tr. from Theophilus).16.5, 98(tr. from Theophilus).19.4. The idea of using Babylon as a symbol in this way originates probably in the NT; cf. 1 Pet. 5.13, Rev. 17.1ff.

ne egrediatur ... alienae: cf. Gen. 34, where Dinah, daughter of Jacob, who 'egressa est ... ut videret mulieres regionis illius' (34.1), was raped by Shechem, son of Hamor prince of that land. The parallel between Dinah and Paula is obvious. The story is also brought in in the letter to Eustochium; cf. epist. 22.25.2 'cave ne domum exeas, ne velis videre filias regionis alienae, quamvis fratres habeas patriarchas et Israhel parente laeteris: Dina egressa corrumpitur'.

ne ludat pedibus. If this does not refer directly to dancing, it at least indicates an act of frivolity; cf. epist. 22.13.1 'videas plerasque viduas ante quam nuptas infelicem conscientiam mentita tantum veste protegere, quas nisi tumor uteri et infantum prodiderit

vagitus, erecta cervice et ludentibus pedibus incedunt'.

ne trahat tunicas: a mark of extravagance or decadence; cf. Plaut. Cist. 115, Hor. carm. 2.18.7-8 'nec Laconicas mihi ¦ trahunt honestae purpuras clientes' (with Nisbet and Hubbard, Horace: Odes 2, pp. 295-7, who provide further references), Ov. fast. 1. 407-9 'illa super suras tunicam collecta ministrat, ¦ altero dissuto pectus aperta sinu; ¦ exserit haec umerum, vestes trahit illa per herbas', Sen. contr. 2.6.2, Quint. inst. 11.3.143 (both in reference to the toga).

venena ... virtutum. The meaning seems to be that those vices are particularly dangerous which have the appearance of being good things. J. may have felt that ludere pedibus and trahere tunicas, which might be fun, fell into this category: hence the sequence of thought. venena should therefore mean 'poisons', not 'medications' or 'drugs'; drugs might taste bad (hence the need for honey), but their effect would be good. The second half of the sentence effectively repeats what is said in more colourful terms in the first. It is, then, on the face of it unlikely that J. was thinking of Lucr. 1.936-8 'sed veluti pueris absinthia taetra medentes ¦ cum dare conantur, prius oras pocula circum ¦ contingunt mellis dulci flavoque liquore' when

he wrote this line, as Wright would have it, though it is true that when he quotes these vv., with some errors, at epist. 133.3.7, he uses them to make a point similar to that made here, is so doing running the risk of unclarity. It is in any case not necessary always to assume a literary debt when J. uses the images of venenum and mel, which may be taken directly from life. There are a number of instances; cf. e.g. epist. 15.4.5, 128.2.3 (in a similar context), adv. Rufin. 1.7 (PL 23.402) 'manifesti criminis argueris, idcirco te veneni calicem circumlinere melle voluisse, ut simulata dulcedo, virus pessimum tegeret', c. Ioh. 3 (PL 23.357) 'venenaque erroris circumlinebant [sc. Ariani] melle verborum', in Ier. 3 pref. (CCSL 74.119 = PL 24.757), in Ezech. 6 pref. (CCSL 75.225 = PL 25.167), in all of which venenum certainly means 'poison'. One might also compare Ov. am. 1.8.104 'impia sub dulci melle venena latent', Isid. sent. 2.30.5 (= 3.26.4) 'latent saepe venena circumlita melle verborum', and perhaps the story of the poor beekeeper at ps. Quint. decl. mai. 13, e.g. c.19 p. 264 Lehnert (a work which was known to J.; cf. epist. ad Praesidium pp. 54.13-55.15 Morin).

inquies. For the technique of using an imaginary interruption to express an objection or put a question see on epist. 60.16.1 Dicat aliquis.

peccata ... parentibus. The idea that God will visit the sins of fathers upon their children (but not vice versa) is found at Exod. 20.5 (the Ten Commandments), 34.7, Num. 14.18, Deut. 5.9.

anima ... morietur: Ezek. 18.4 and 20 (text as Vulgate). It is from the latter v. that J. draws the notion of fathers suffering for the sins of their children: 'filius non portabit iniquitatem patris et pater non portabit iniquitatem filii'. For J.'s acceptance of Ezekiel's view rather than the Mosaic view see on epist. 60.8.2.

6.3. hoc ... loquatur. The quotation aetatem ... habet comes from John 9.21 (Vulg.: 'ipse de se' for pro se). The words are spoken by the parents of the man born blind, after he has been healed, but J. is not interested in the context; it is merely a way of saying 'adults' by use of the Scriptures.

J.'s argument falters here. His limitation of the field of operation of Ezekiel's dictum is understandable; but he seems to have forgotten that at the beginning of the c. he has used examples to suggest that even men of perfecta aetas have their sins attributed to their parents. Admittedly Eli's sons were punished by losing their lives, but Eli's own suffering certainly conflicts with Ezekiel's words, which imply no transference of responsibility at all,

and it is clear from the contrast between peccata ... parentibus and anima ... morietur that J. does not assume that they do (equally there is no hint of such a belief in his later Commentary on Ezekiel; cf. in Ezech. 18.3-4, 19-20 (CCSL 75.229-31, 244 = PL 25.169-70, 179-80)). Cf. also epist. 60.8.2.

qui ... ut parvulus: a clear reminiscence of 1 Cor. 13.11, missed by Hilberg and others: 'cum essem parvulus, loquebar ut parvulus, sapiebam ut parvulus, cogitabam ut parvulus; quando factus sum vir evacuavi quae erant parvuli'. The connection is purely verbal; J. is not interested in the Pauline context.

Pythagorae ... bivium. The idea of the two ways, the easy path of vice and the steep ascent of virtue, is at least as old as Hesiod; cf. Op. 287-92. Pythagoras developed the notion, using the symbol  or  to represent human life, the stem indicating childhood, when character was as yet undeveloped, the left-hand branch the way of vice, the right, the difficult route of virtue. For other instances of the idea cf. e.g. Pers. 3.56-7 'et tibi quae Samios diduxit littera ramos ¦ surgentem dextro monstravit limite callem', 5.34, Auson. comm. prof. Burd. 11.5, tech. 13.9, Serv. Aen. 6.136, 295, 477, J. epist. 66.11.2 'Loth, quod interpretatur declinans, campestria eligat et iuxta Pythagorae litteram facilia magis et sinistra et

peritura sectetur; tu in arduis et saxosis cum Sarra tibi monumentum para'. The same sort of notion is found at Matt. 7.13-14 'intrate per angustam portam, quia lata porta et spatiosa via quae ducit ad perditionem ... quam angusta porta et arta via quae ducit ad vitam'.

Hilberg understands anni sapientiae as the subject of perducant, litterae presumably then being a genitive after bivium. But the word-order is then very strange, and I would prefer to take litterae as the subject, or better, to read littera and perducat, with two of the MSS and most of the earlier editions; the singular is more natural, and the rhythm seems superior.

nisi ... lucrum est. Children have original sin, and it is the responsibility of parents to remove it by having their children baptised. Guilt (scelus) will attach to the parents if they fail to do this; equally, it will be a gain (lucrum) for them if they carry it out. Parents will of course still be responsible for their children's actions until they come of age, even after baptism.

Baptism was regarded as essential for salvation. Much is said on this topic by Aug. epist. 166 (= J. epist. 131); cf. e.g. c.7 'certi sumus, omni animae etiam parvuli infantis necessariam esse liberationem ex obligatione peccati eamque nullam esse nisi per Iesum Christum', c.21 (the Church hastens the baptism of

infants, believing it to be necessary for salvation). In the same letter Augustine makes it clear that J. believed in the reality of original sin; cf. 6.2 'liber tuus [sc. Hieronymi] in Ionam prophetam satis hoc insigniter dilucideque declarat, ubi ieiunare parvulos propter ipsum originale peccatum merito coactos esse dixisti'. Cf. also J. epist. 122.3.13.

tantum implies that children share in the responsibility for their actions; their parents do not bear it alone. At epist. 121.8.14, however, J. seems to suggest that the opposite is the case: 'hanc legem [i.e. the natural law which everyone recognises by conscience] nescit pueritia, ignorat infantia et peccans absque mandato non tenetur lege peccati. maledicit patri et parentes verberat et, quia necdum accepit legem sapientiae, mortuum est in eo peccatum. cum autem mandatum venerit, hoc est tempus intellegentiae adpetentis bona et vitantis mala, tunc incipit peccatum reviviscere et ille mori reusque esse peccati'.

esse peccati. I would place a comma after peccati, with Labourt; this is a fine clausula.

poterant, accepturi erant. Strictly these verbs should be in the subjunctive, as the clauses are still subordinate after aestimas, but the distance from the verbum sentiendi has caused a loosening in the

construction.

sicut ... lucrum est: 'just as, on the other hand, the procurement of salvation for children is a gain for their parents'. It is by baptism, of course, that salvation is procured. For e regione see on epist. 60.8.1.

6.4. offerre ... punietur. Laeta does not merely bear responsibility for Paula to the extent that all parents are responsible for their children until they have grown up; her responsibility is greatly increased by virtue of the fact that she has dedicated the little girl to God. This new point is introduced rather abruptly; J. makes no attempt to link it neatly to what has immediately preceded.

conceperis. Most of the MSS have the imperf. subj. conciperes, which would be much more usual (cf. K.-S. 2.370-1), and I would follow them.

qui ... reus est: cf. Lev. 22.20, Deut. 15.21, 17.1.

inlibatae animae puritatem. J. is certainly not suggesting that Paula is without sin. Among Christian writers illibatus seems to be used generally as a term describing Christians who live as Christians should; cf. e.g. Cypr. epist. 41.1 'mihi propositum semper et

votum sit universam fraternitatem nostram incolumem continere et inlibatum gregem secundum quod caritas exigit reservare', Aug. c. Parm. 1.5.10 'sanctorum et illibatorum numerus'.

regiis amplexibus. This notion of a royal embrace is developed in the next c., where Christ is seen as Paula's sponsus.

c.7. Having dealt with the question of parental responsibility (cc.5-6), J. turns again to the task of giving precepts for Paula's education, now considering the time when she is a little older (grandicula). The c. is full of quotations from and allusions to the Song of Solomon, and its tone is highly mystical. J. is speaking in metaphor, the general sense being that Paula should spend her life in contemplation of the Scriptures, a topic he deals with in a more literal way in cc.9 and 12. There appears to be hardly any literal dimension here: the templum of 7.1 must be understood metaphorically, and in context 7.3 is best taken in the same way (but cf. on 7.2 introduxit ... suum).

The passage is paralleled elsewhere in J.'s letters, particularly in epist. 22. It is especially instructive to compare epist. 22.25-6, where there are a number of the same quotations and allusions, and many of the same ideas. It is made quite clear there that the virgin's relationship with her sponsus is formed by

withdrawal and inward contemplation, and that they communicate by prayer and reading; cf. 25.1 'semper te cubiculi tui secreta custodiant, semper tecum sponsus ludat intrinsecus. oras: loqueris ad sponsum; legis: ille tibi loquitur'. One might also compare epist. 66.10, where the imagery is different and there is no obvious idea of scripturae, but there is a similar air of mysticism and plenty of allusion to the Song, and epist. 108.28.3.

Allegorical interpretation of the Song, with its sexual/bridal theme, was practised by both Jewish and Christian exegetes. St. Hippolytus (c. 170 - c. 236), followed by many others, understood it as dealing with the relationship between God and the Church (cf. Eph. 5.22ff.), or God and the individual soul, in which sense Origen had already written his famous commentary on it. Many other commentaries on the book followed; J. severely criticises that of Reticius, Bishop of Augustodunum (Autun), in epist. 37. Once it had been accepted that it was susceptible of this kind of interpretation, it must have seemed a particularly appropriate source of imagery in ascetical literature, where the life of the virgin was geared to the one end of apprehending God through contemplation and dissociation from the saeculum: this was the one relationship which mattered.

For consideration of the treatment of the Song through the Middle Ages see R. Herde, Das Hohelied in

der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters bis zum XII Jahrhundert (Spoleto, 1968), and F. Ohly, Hohelied-Studien (Wiesbaden, 1958), esp. pp. 13-63.

7.1. grandicula. J. is probably thinking of the age of about seven; cf. epist. 128.4.2 'cum autem virgunculam et rudem edentulam septimus aetatis annus exceperit et coeperit erubescere, scire, quid taceat, dubitare, quid dicat, discat memoriter psalterium et usque ad annos pubertatis libros Salomonis, evangelia, apostolos ac prophetas sui cordis thesaurum faciat'.

in exemplum ... homines: cf. Luke 2.52 'et Iesus proficiebat sapientia aetate et gratia apud deum et homines'; a very close reminiscence indeed.

To have examples to follow in one's life was considered of great importance; cf. e.g. epist. 127.1.1 'saepe et multum flagitas ... ut memoriam sanctae feminae Marcellae litteris recolam et bonum, quo diu fruiti sumus, etiam ceteris noscendum imitandumque describam'. The supreme example was of course Christ himself, and patristic writings contain many instances of the idea that Christ is to be set up as a pattern to follow; cf. e.g. Greg. Nyss. hom. in Cant. 15 'Ὥσπερ ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ πίνακος ἰδὼν τὴν γραφὴν δι' ἀκριβείας πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ἀρχετύπου μεμορφωμένην, μίαν ἀμφοτέρων εἶναι τὴν μορφὴν ἀποφαίνεται, καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς εἰκόνας κάλλος τοῦ πρωτοτύπου λέγων εἶναι, καὶ τὸ ἀρχέτυπον ἐναργῶς ἐν τῷ μιμήματι καθορᾶσθαι· τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἡ εἰποῦσα, ὅτι· ἐγὼ τῷ

ἀδελφιδῷ μου, καὶ ὁ ἀδελφιδός μου ἐμοί· συμμεμορφῶσθαι λέγει τῷ Χριστῷ, τὸ ἴδιον κάλλος ἀπολαβοῦσα, τὴν πρώτην τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν μακαριότητα κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν τοῦ πρώτου κάλλους τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ καὶ μόνου ὡραιοθεῖσα' , John Chrys. hom. in 1 Cor. 25.3, J. epist. 66.12.1 'imiteris filium hominis', 130.12.1 'imitare sponsum tuum'.

sponsi sui. The image of Christ as the virgin's sponsus (νυμφίος) - or of the virgin as Christ's sponsa (νύμφη) - is very common; cf. e.g. epist. 22.24.2, Greg. Naz. poem. mor. 3, John Chrys. reg. fem. 9. The idea originates with the Song, as interpreted by the Fathers, and with passages such as 2 Cor. 11.2, Eph. 5.22ff., Rev. 21.2, 9 (with the individual soul substituted for the Church). It is because of this total dedication to God, thus described in terms of marriage, that the virgin must keep herself pure, 'sanctam ... corpore et spiritu' (virg. Mar. 20 (PL 23.203-4)).

pergat ... templo: cf. Luke 2.41-52. Like Jesus, Paula is to remain behind in the templum after her parents have left it. J. is certainly speaking in metaphor here; templum veri patris is adequately explained by adyto scripturarum just below. The meaning seems to be that Paula is to steep herself in the Scriptures to a far greater extent than her parents, who will introduce her to them; this is natural enough considering that she has been dedicated to God.

veri patris is in rhetorical juxtaposition with parentibus: God is Paula's true father, as Toxotius is her earthly one. It is just possible that veri also foreshadows the idea of the adytum scripturarum: J. may have in mind not only the true God but the God who utters truth, which is contained in Scripture.

The image of the temple, and the idea of remaining enclosed (cf. 7.3 numquam exeat foras), are found again in a similar sort of context at epist. 39.4.8 'postquam credimus in Christo et oleo unctionis eius accepto illum portamus in nobis, non debemus exire de templo, id est de proposito Christiano, non foras egredi, incredulitati videlicet gentilium commisceri, sed esse semper intrinsecus, voluntati domini ministrare'. quaerant ... sciscitantem. The parallel with Jesus is here made clearer; cf. Luke 2.44-6 'existimantes autem illum esse in comitatu venerunt iter diei; et requirebant eum inter cognatos et notos. et non invenientes regressi sunt in Hierusalem requirentes eum. et factum est, post triduum invenerunt illum in templo sedentem in medio doctorum, audientem illos et interrogantem'. itinere saeculi and adyto scripturarum indicate with certainty that the meaning of the sentence is metaphorical. Paula's parents may seek her in the 'world', but will not find her, for she will be tucked away in the adytum of the Scriptures; the prophets and apostles of the Bible are to be for her

what the doctores were for Jesus. The notion that Paula must keep clear of the iter saeculi is again introduced at 7.3.

in adyto scripturarum: cf. epist. 30.13.1 'qui cibi, quae mella sunt dulciora dei scire prudentiam, in adyta eius intrare, sensum creatoris inspicere et sermones domini tui, qui ab huius mundi sapientibus deridentur, plenos docere sapientia spiritali!'.

The great variety of readings for in adyto in the MSS suggests that the scribes had difficulty in eliciting J.'s meaning or were unfamiliar with the word adytum. adyto is certainly right. It is not rare at this time, and is found regularly in a metaphorical sense; cf. e.g. Tert. anim. 28.2 'de adytis fallaciae emergit', Ambr. Iob 3.7.19 'ingrediamur adytum cognitionum sacrarum atque interiora penetralia veritatis'.

spiritalibus nuptiis: i.e. Paula's relation to Christ, looking back to sponsi sui. The theme is developed in the rest of the c. The phrase spiritales nuptiae recurs at 12.2.

7.2. imitetur ... aspexit. For the visit of Gabriel to Mary cf. Luke 1.26-9, esp. v.29 'quae cum vidisset, turbata est [sc. Maria] in sermone eius et cogitabat qualis esset illa salutatio'. The suggestion that

Mary's fear was occasioned simply by seeing a man is not Biblical, but introduced by J. to indicate Mary's purity; cf. epist. 22.38.3, in a similar context: 'propone tibi beatam Mariam, quae tantae extitit puritatis, ut mater esse domini mereretur. ad quam cum angelus Gabriel in viri specie descendisset dicens: ave, gratia plena, dominus tecum, consternata [perterrita] respondere non potuit; numquam enim a viro fuerat salutata'. (The whole of 22.38.3-6 is worth comparing.) Ambrose makes a similar point at in Luc. 2.8. Paula is meant to imitate this purity. A second point of comparison is that of withdrawal: cubiculo suo is also J.'s invention; it seems to pick up adyto scripturarum above.

The symbolism here becomes rather complex. Paula is to be both like Jesus (understood in 7.1 sponsi sui) and like Mary; she is also to be the bride of the rex (see below), i.e. Christ. But J. is not deliberately creating a tangled web of imagery. In each of these aspects the character of Paula, as she is to be, is illuminated. See again epist. 22.38.3-6 for the idea of the virgin as both mother and bride of Christ.

omnis ... ab intus: Ps. 44.14 (Vulg.: (LXX) 'omnis gloriae eius filiae regis ab intus', (Hebr.) 'omnis gloriae filiae regis intrinsecus'); the fact that the quotation is closer in form to the LXX version indicates only that J. was quoting from memory (cf.

e.g. on epist. 60.3.2, 6.1).

The Psalm celebrates the marriage of a royal prince, but lends itself readily to Messianic interpretation. In the Hebrew the word rendered in LXX by 'ἐσωθεν' and here by ab intus, and in the Psalter from the Hebrew by 'intrinsecus', really means 'within the palace'; cf. C. A. and E. G. Briggs, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms (2 vols., Edinburgh, 1906-7), 1.390. But the literal translations - 'ἐσωθεν', ab intus, 'intrinsecus' - provide scope for a more mystical interpretation. In the present context the verse must refer to Paula's inward state, her presence in the adytum scripturarum, etc. It is most illuminating to compare epist. 65.19, where J., in his commentary on the Psalm, discusses this verse; esp. 19.1-2 'pro eo, quod in Septuaginta scriptum est ἐσωθεν et nos vel ab intus vel intrinsecus interpretati sumus, in quibusdam exemplaribus invenitur esebon, quod cogitationes sonat. ex quo ostenditur omnem gloriam ecclesiae, cui supra dictum est: audi, filia, et vide et: o filia Tyri, et nunc appellatur filia regis, esse intrinsecus et in cogitationibus, id est in interiori homine ...'. There too J. brings in the quotation 'introduxit ... suum'; cf. 19.4 'ut intellegere possimus omnem ornatum filiae regis intrinsecus, ipsa loquitur in Cantico: introduxit me rex in cubiculum suum, in quo cluso ostio labiorum deum patrem iubemur orare'.

caritatis ... vulnerata. J. certainly intended this to be a reminiscence of the Song; cf. epist. 65.12.1 'hic versiculus [Ps. 44.6] tibi potissimum aptus est, quae iaculo domini vulnerata cum sponsa in Cantico canis: vulnerata caritatis ego'. He seems to be thinking of S. of S. 2.5 (LXX 'τετρωμένη ἀγάπης ἐγώ'), though in the Vulgate this is rendered 'amore langueo'.

For the notion of the dart of love see on epist. 60.1.1.

introduxit ... suum: S. of S. 1.3 (Vulg.: 'cellaria sua' for cubiculum suum). The rex must be Christ, whose bride Paula is to be; he must therefore be identified with the electus, J. representing the girl as addressing him in the third person. In the opening verses of the Song the same figure (the king) appears to be addressed in both the second and the third person. cubiculum picks up cubiculo above, and connects with the adytum scripturarum in contrast to the iter saeculi. Cf. epist. 54.14.1 'redime virgines, quas in cubiculum salvatoris inducas'. Elsewhere J. may interpret the verse in a different way; cf. e.g. epist. 18A.8.1, 74.4.2, where 'me' is the Church.

Although cubiculum is used metaphorically, J. may also have at the back of his mind the little room in which Paula's Scriptural studies and periods of contemplation will probably have taken place. He sometimes uses the word where the context demands that

it be understood literally; cf. e.g. epist. 22.17.1 'rarus sit egressus in publicum: martyres tibi quaerantur in cubiculo tuo', 128.4.2 'nec liberius procedat ad publicum nec semper ecclesiarum quaerat celebritatem. in cubiculo suo totas delicias habeat'. This literal meaning is, however, at best secondary here.

7.3. numquam ... derelinquant: cf. S. of S. 5.7 (words of the bride) 'invenerunt me custodes qui circumeunt civitatem; percusserunt me, vulneraverunt me, tulerunt pallium meum mihi custodes murorum'. J. outlines the dangers of leaving the templum, adytum, or cubiculum. Paula should continue reading the Scriptures, where there is protection from the saeculum. Cf. epist. 22.24.1 and esp. 22.25.2-3 'cave ne domum exeas ... nolo te sponsum quaerere per plateas, nolo circumire angulos civitatis ... sponsus in plateis non potest inveniri - arta et angusta via est, quae ducit ad vitam -; denique sequitur: quaesivi eum et non inveni eum, vocavi eum et non respondit mihi. atque utinam non invenisse sufficiat! vulneraberis, nudaberis et gemebunda narrabis: invenerunt me custodes, qui circumeunt civitatem; percusserunt me, vulneraverunt me, tulerunt theristrum meum a me'.

theristrum: = θέριστρον, a light summer garment; cf. in Is. 3.23 (CCSL 73.57 = PL 24.70) 'habent et theristra, quae nos appellare possumus pallia, quo obvoluta est et Rebecca. et hodieque Arabiae et Mesopotamiae operiuntur feminae; quae Hebraice dicuntur ardidim, Graece θέριστρα, ab eo quod in θέρει, hoc est in aestate et caumate corpora protegant feminarum', Isid. orig. 19.25.6. It is rather an exotic word, and as such perhaps appropriate to the somewhat exotic imagery of this c.

cum aliquis ... pulsaverit. It is possible that there is another allusion to the Song here, for it contains some references to knocking at doors (cf. e.g. 5.2); but if so it indicates no more than loose connection of thought in J.'s mind, for after the images of templum and cubiculum that of knocking follows easily.

ego ... eos: S. of S. 8.10, 5.3 (Vulg.: 'ego murus et ubera mea sicut turris', 'lavi pedes meos, quomodo inquinabo illos?'). There is no obvious connection between the Biblical contexts of these words and the idea J. is trying to express here, which is that Paula is to stay safe in the templum/cubiculum and refuse entry to anyone who might harm or defile her; it follows quite naturally after numquam exeat foras.

By the end of the c. there appears to have been a slight shift in emphasis. The idea of the importance

of the Scriptures, prominent in 7.1, has faded a little, and the emphasis is now more on the notion of withdrawal from the saeculum. The two ideas are, however, complementary: the adytum scripturarum, the temple, the king's chamber, offer protection from the world outside.

Cf. epist. 22.26.2, where S. of S. 5.3 is again used in a like context, but in a slightly different way.

c.8. J. now returns to a more straightforward account of how Paula is to be brought up. He does not in this c. deal with the intellectual side of her education, as in cc.4, 9, and 12, but lays down practical rules for living, as at 5.1; he is mainly concerned with precepts on eating and drinking, as he is again in c.10. Where possible he connects his rules with Biblical passages, so as to have an authoritative source for what he says.

It cannot be assumed that all the precepts given after the beginning of c.7 (postquam grandicula esse coeperit ...) refer exclusively to the second stage of Paula's education. While some certainly do, e.g. those on reading the Scriptures and works of the Fathers (c. 12), others must be applicable to her whole life, e.g. the rules on dress (10.1), which J. has already brought up in c.5.

8.1. Non vescatur ... consuescere. For the general sentiment cf. epist. 128.2-3, where it is treated at length. J. rejects the idea that 'melius ... est, ut satiata contemnat, quam non habendo habere desideret' (128.2.2), using Biblical material to defend his view against imaginary opponents who can also call on Scriptural evidence in their support. Cf. also adv. Iovin. 1.3 (PL 23.213) 'quantoque maior est difficultas expertae quondam voluptatis illecebris abstinere, tanto maius est praemium' (in a sexual context).

nec videat. Several later MSS in the Bodleian Library, and one of Hilberg's (after erasure), have ne, which is read by earlier editors and by Labourt. The purpose clause looks much better than a second jussive. ne videat ... explains the non vescatur clause, which otherwise lacks full meaning. Hilberg must be mistaken here.

legi ... consuescere. J. uses the quotation again, though to illustrate a different point, at epist. 128.4.5. It is generally considered to be a line of Publilius Syrus, of whose mimes certain lines survive in collections of sententiae, although it cannot with certainty be ascribed to him (cf. Hagendahl, p. 187, and for fuller discussion, O. Friedrich (ed.), Publilii Syri mimi sententiae (Berolini, 1880), pp. 6-8). J. as

a schoolboy is likely to have learnt the maxim in a florilegium of edifying lines: it is the sort of thing we may expect to have played a part in Roman education; cf. Quint. inst. 1.1.35 (on primary education) 'ii quoque versus qui ad imitationem scribendi proponentur non otiosas velim sententias habeant, sed honestum aliquid monentis. prosequitur haec memoria in senectutem et inpressa animo rudi usque ad mores proficiet'.

All the MSS have reprehendas; the contracted form reprendas is read by one MS of epist. 128, before correction by a second hand. reprendas should certainly be printed here; though either form would fit into the line as an iambic senarius, reprendas gives a proper iambus in the second foot.

8.2. discat ... luxuria. The quotation is from Eph. 5.18 'nolite inebriari vino in quo est luxuria, sed implemini spiritu'. J. often expresses the view that wine should be avoided, as well as rich food, and particularly meat. Marcella's eating pattern was exemplary; cf. epist. 127.4.2 'moderata ieiunia, carnium abstinentia, vini odor magis quam gustus propter stomachum et frequentes infirmitates'. The danger is that wine and meat are liable to foment the natural instinct to passion and wantonness (cf. Ter. Eun. 732 'sine Cerere et Libero friget Venus'), which is especially strong among the young; cf. e.g. epist.

22.8.1-2 'hoc obtestor, ut sponsa Christi vinum fugiat pro veneno. haec adversus adulescentiam prima arma sunt daemonum ... vinum et adulescentia duplex incendium voluptatis', 52.11.4 'quodsi absque vino ardeo et ardeo adulescentia et inflammor calore sanguinis et suculento validoque sum corpore, libenter carebo poculo', 54.9-10 'iuvenibus et puellis incentiva esse adsero voluptatum [sc. quosdam cibos]. non Aetnaei ignes ... tantis ardoribus aestuant, ut iuveniles medullae vino plenae, dapibus inflammatae ... primum igitur, si tamen stomachi firmitas patitur, donec puellares annos transeas, aquam in potum sume, quae natura frigidissima est ... deinde in ipsis cibis calida quaeque devita; non solum de carnibus loquor ... sed etiam in ipsis leguminibus inflantia quaeque et gravia declinanda sunt', 79.7.7 'quarum uteri portant fetus, earum et intestina carnibus inpleantur', in Eph. 5.18 (PL 26.527-8). Cf. also Ambr. virg. 3.2.8 'escis quoque omnibus quae gignant membris calorem, parce utendum puto'. Another reason for abstaining from alcohol is that it takes away one's wits; cf. epist. 52.11.3.

Although Paula is really far too young for wine and certain foods to arouse sexual passions in her, J. is concerned that she should begin as she is to continue; in the next three sentences he qualifies this, however, in recognition of her extreme youth.

iam tunc. This can hardly be right, as tunc looks to the past, while the sense required is 'let her learn right now'; I would print iam nunc with earlier editors and the majority of the MSS.

ante ... incipiant. Strictly, abstinentia is the abstaining from certain types of food or drink - here J. refers particularly to wine and to those foods he has in mind at the beginning of the c.; ieiunium, with which he is mainly concerned in c.10, is fasting, i.e. the intake of only a small amount of food, irrespective of its kind. In practice ieiunia must have included abstinence from certain foods (cf. 10.2) and the distinction between them often seems to be blurred, but in essence abstinentia and ieiunia were different.

J. realises the need for a very young child to have a diet that will not weaken her, and so permits Paula to have a little wine and meat, which should in theory be no part of her diet (cf. 10.1 and above on discat ... luxuria). At 10.2 he adds that in the case of young children fasting should be moderate too. The cenobites in Egypt are said to have had a similar relaxation of their dietary rules for the old and young; cf. epist. 22.35.4.

The restriction on wine-drinking is sometimes lifted from adults, too, but always, as here, for health reasons. 1 Tim. 5.23 'noli adhuc aquam bibere, sed vino modico utere propter stomachum tuum et

frequentes tuas infirmitates' is generally adduced in support of the concession; the allusion to it here is clear. Cf. e.g. epist. 22.8.3 'Paulus ad Timotheum: iam noli, inquit, aquam bibere, sed vinum modicum utere propter stomachum et frequentes tuas infirmitates. vide, quibus causis vini potio concedatur: vix hoc stomachi dolor et frequens meretur infirmitas. et ne nobis forsitan de aegrotationibus blandiremur, modicum praecepit esse sumendum', 52.11.4 'modum et aetatis et valetudinis et corporum qualitates exigimus in potando', 54.10.2, 130.17.2. In the first three of these instances J. either quotes or alludes to the passage in 1 Tim. He is careful not to bring in other Scriptural passages which would allow the drinking of wine without making Paul's health qualification, such as Prov. 31.6, Ps. 74.9.

J.'s rules on abstinence are of course directed particularly at those who are intended to live a life of chastity - the virgin, widow, monk, and priest. The restrictions will not have applied to married Christians in the same way (though J. would have condemned excess); hence Laeta and Toxotius may eat things which should on no account be allowed to Paula (cf. 8.1).

necessitas postularit. Most of the MSS have postulaverit, but the contracted form is ensured by the clausula.

balneas adeat: a great concession to youth; cf. 11.1-2 with n.

ne prius ... incipiant. The metaphor seems to be from running a race, the goal presumably being heaven, the path that of continentia. One's strength must be built up before the race is begun, otherwise one may fail through physical collapse. The same sort of idea occurs at 10.2, though there the metaphor appears to come from journeying (see n. ad loc.).

haec ... imperium: 1 Cor. 7.6 (Vulg.: 'hoc autem dico secundum indulgentiam, non secundum imperium'). The Pauline context is that of sexual relations: Paul allows marriage as a concession (indulgentia), though believing chastity to be best. J. applies the v. to what he has just been saying about food and wine: abstinence is best, but exceptions to the rule may be made.

8.3. alioquin ... laborem. alioquin = 'apart from these considerations', i.e. apart from this concession made to Paula's youth. J. now adduces an a fortiori argument as another reason why Paula should avoid wine and certain foods. If unbelievers abstain from some things, surely a virgo Christi should outdo them and undertake complete abstinence? This is naturally an exaggerated position, and J. will not have meant it

seriously: abstinence from everything is, after all, a complete fast, and he was concerned that her fasting should be moderate (cf. 10.2). But the point is that as a Christian she ought in theory to go one better than Jews and heathens. In her case, of course, abstinence would be prompted not by superstitio but by continentia; superstitio should certainly be avoided (cf. epist. 60.10.7 'mensae avunculi intererat [sc. Nepotianus] et sic adposita quaeque libabat, ut et superstitionem fugeret et continentiam reservaret', where see n.).

Iudaica ... escarum: cf. epist. 121.10.23 'non parcunt Iudaei corporibus suis in adsumptione ciborum contemnentes interdum, quae habent, et quaerentes, quae non habent - ex qua necessitate debilitatas interdum et morbos contrahunt -, nec honorant semet ipsos, cum omnia munda sint mundis nihilque possit esse pollutum, quod cum gratiarum actione percipitur, et idcirco a domino sit creatum, ut saturitate et adinpletione carnis humanos artus vegetet atque sustentet'. J. had no love for the Jews (cf. epist. 84.3.3 'si expedit odisse homines et gentem aliquam detestari, miro odio aversor circumcisos; usque hodie enim persequuntur dominum nostrum Iesum Christum in synagogis satanae'), and liked to inveigh against Jewish superstitio in general (cf. e.g. epist. 39.4.6, 52.10.3). For his satirical attacks on them see Wiesen, St. Jerome as a

Satirist, pp. 188-94.

eiuratione = 'rejection'; a rare word. Cf. e.g. Tert. pudic. 1.3 'de qua incipimus eo usque exolevit, ut non eiuratio sed moderatio libidinum pudicitia credatur'.

Indorum ... gymnosophistae. There are a number of references to these eastern sects in Latin literature from the time of the elder Pliny on. It is not always clear whether the two groups are distinct; cf. e.g. Apul. flor. 15 p. 21 Helm, Iul. Val. 3.10, J. adv. Iovin. 2.14 (PL 23.303-4) (a passage which, like the present one, deals with the abstinentia of various peoples and sects) 'Bardesanes, vir Babylonius, in duo dogmata apud Indos, Gymnosophistas dividit: quorum alterum appellat Brachmanas; alterum Samanaeos: qui tantae continentiae sint, ut vel pomis arborum iuxta Gangen fluvium, vel publico orizae, vel farinae alantur cibo' (J. would probably have regarded this continentia as dependent on superstitio; cf. above on alioquin ... laborem). Certainly the two groups are frequently mentioned in conjunction with each other. The Bragmanae - presumably Hindu Brahmins - appear to have been a kinship group as well as a philosophical sect; cf. e.g. Plin. nat. 6.64, J. epist. 70.4.2 'Pantaenus, Stoicae sectae philosophus, ob praecipuae eruditionis gloriam a Demetrio, Alexandriae episcopo, missus est Indiam, ut Christum apud Bragmanas et illius gentis

philosophos praedicaret'. A particularly interesting document is the Collatio Alexandri cum Dindimo rege Bragmanorum per litteras facta, of uncertain date and authorship, and probably from a Greek original, in which customs of the Bragmani are described. The gymnosophistae do not appear to have been confined to India; in addition to the present instance cf. J. epist. 53.1.4 'Aethiopiam adivit, ut gymnosophistas ... videret', in Ezech. 13.17-23 (CCSL 75.146 = PL 25.115).

si tanti ... margaritum? J. returns to the image of Paula as a precious gem (cf. 5.3). The contrast between a pearl and glass seems quite natural, and J. uses it again at epist. 130.6.6, where his expression suggests that the idea was proverbial: 'tanti, ut dicitur, vitrum, quanti margaritum'. Cf. also Tert. mart. 4.9 'si tanti vitreum, quanti verum margaritum?'. The passages are noted by Otto, p. 376.

quae ... generati sunt. The reference to qui ... generati sunt may be general, but it is quite possible that J. is looking back to 3.2-3, and particularly to the example of Samuel, who is said explicitly to have practised continentia (3.3 vinum et siceram non bibit); John and Samson, whom J. seems to have considered to have been born de repromissione (see on 3.2 sic natus ... lusit), were also abstinent (cf. on 3.3 sacro ... non bibit).

gratia: i.e. the grace of God in giving Paula life. All those born as the result of a vow owe God a special debt.

surda ... nesciat. At this point J. moves on for a while to other precepts, to return to the question of eating and drinking in c.10. As far as music is concerned he is very austere. Although it is permissible, indeed desirable, to sing hymns and Psalms (cf. e.g. 9.3, epist. 128.1.3), music used for any other purpose than to praise God is considered potentially corrupting. He has already laid down that Paula should not know cantica mundi (4.1). For the contrast between secular and religious music cf. epist. 54.13: '[1] cantor pellatur ut noxius; fidicinas et psaltrias et istius modi chorum diaboli quasi mortifera sirenarum carmina proturba ex aedibus tuis ... [5] tenet [sc. Eustochium] tympanum in exemplum Mariae et Pharaone submerso virginum choro praecinit: cantemus domino; gloriose enim magnificatus est, equum et ascensorem deiecit in mare. [6] has docet psaltrias Christo, has fidicinas erudit salvatori'. At epist. 117.6.4 J. declares that a singer at a meal may be dangerously alluring; and cf. adv. Iovin. 2.8 (PL 23.297) 'auditus vario organorum cantu, et vocum inflexionibus delinitur: et carmine poetarum et comoediarum, mimorumque urbanitatibus et strophis, quidquid per aures introiens, virilitatem mentis

effeminat'. On J.'s views see further Eiswirth, Hieronymus' Stellung, pp. 66-8. For the resistance of the early Church and the Fathers in general to secular music - it was associated with pagan religious ceremonies and the immodesty of the theatre - see the clear and well-documented account of E. Wellesz, A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography (2nd edn., Oxford, 1961), pp. 78-97, esp. 79-85, 91-7.

Plato too had worries about the possible bad effect of music on morals; cf. leg. 700.

organa. This may refer to musical instruments generally, not simply to organs; cf. Aug. in psalm. 150.7 'organum autem generale nomen est omnium vasorum musicorum; quamvis iam obtinuerit consuetudo, ut organa proprie dicantur ea quae inflantur follibus: quod genus significatum hic [sc. Ps. 150.4] esse non arbitror. nam cum organum vocabulum graecum sit, ut dixi, generale omnibus musicis instrumentis, hoc cui folles adhibentur, alio Graeci nomine appellant. ut autem organum dicatur, magis latina et ea vulgaris est consuetudo'.

c.9. Now follows a collection of jumbled precepts of both an intellectual and a moral nature. The scattered references to reading the Scriptures in this and the following c., however, which culminate in the detailed Biblical reading programme in c.12, make it clear how

important this was to be in Paula's upbringing, and it becomes obvious that the method of learning to read outlined in c.4 has a basis of expediency: it is necessary so that she may be able to read the Bible and the Fathers, the only fundamentally intellectual activity in an austere mode of life.

9.1. Reddat ... numerum. For learning by heart at an early age cf. Corpus glossariorum Latinorum, ed. G. Goetz (7 vols., Lipsiae, 1888-1923), 3.381.54-382.8. Although reddere need not necessarily imply memorisation (cf. Cic. Brut. 301 'memoria tanta [sc. erat Hortensius] quantam in nullo cognovisse me arbitror, ut quae secum commentatus esset, ea sine scripto verbis eisdem redderet quibus cogitavisset'), in the present case it is likely that this implication is present (cf. ediscat following and 12.2 mandet memoriae Prophetas ...). To commit the Scriptures to memory was a characteristic of the devout (cf. e.g. epist. 108.26.1 (of the elder Paula)), and its importance is recognised by Augustine (cf. doctr. christ. 2.30). Among pagans, too, memory was considered of great value; ps. Plut. lib. educ. 13 (9D) refers to it as 'τῆς παιδείας... τιμιώτερον'.

It is natural enough that after learning to read (cf. c.4) Paula should go on to reading the Scriptures. The present stage, however, appears to be an intermediate one: 12.1 describes a more scholarly

approach to her Biblical studies (ad fidem placeat emendata et erudita distinctio).

The text as punctuated by Hilberg presents minor problems. ediscat ... numerum is translated by Labourt 'qu'elle apprenne le rhythme des vers grecs'; but instilling a sense of rhythm seems unlikely to have been uppermost on J.'s list of concerns, and it does not in any case seem very appropriate in the study of the LXX and the Greek NT. It would be more natural for J. to say that Paula should learn by heart a number of verses in Greek, and ediscat certainly makes better sense with the notion of words than with that of rhythms. If taken in this sense, however, numerum would be better if qualified by an adjective; cf. e.g. Caes. Gall. 6.14.3 'magnum ibi numerum versuum ediscere dicuntur', J. epist. 54.11.1 'de scripturis sanctis habeto fixum versuum numerum'. Consequently it would seem sensible to take certum with ediscat ... numerum, especially as cotidie scripturarum gives an excellent clausula (cretic double spondee, velox). pensum is in no need of qualification. It properly refers to a quantity of wool to be spun, but is often used metaphorically; cf. e.g. Cic. de orat. 3.119 'meque ad meum munus pensumque [i.e. task] revocabo', J. epist. 125.15.2 'non facias, quod vis, comedas, quod iuberis ... operis tui pensa persolvas', and esp. 54.11.1 (continuing directly from the quotation above) 'istud pensum domino tuo redde nec ante quieti membra

concedas, quam calathum pectoris tui hoc subtegmine inpleveris'.

sequatur ... sordidatur. To learn Greek was characteristic of the aristocratic class to which Paula belonged (cf. Marrou, Histoire de l'éducation, p. 384), and J. may also have wanted her to learn the language for reasons of Biblical scholarship, with which he is certainly concerned at 12.1. But it was important that she should be properly trained in Latin, too, to prevent her picking up a foreign accent and using Greek idioms in her Latin speech (this seems to be the meaning of externis ... sordidatur). The passage seems to be based on Quintilian; cf. inst. 1.1.12-14 'a sermone Graeco puerum incipere malo, quia Latinum, qui pluribus in usu est, vel nobis nolentibus perbibet, simul quia disciplinis quoque Graecis prius instituendus est, unde et nostrae fluxerunt. non tamen hoc adeo superstitiose fieri velim ut diu tantum Graece loquatur aut discat, sicut plerisque moris est. hoc enim accidunt et oris plurima vitia in peregrinum sonum corrupti et sermonis, cui cum Graecae figurae adsidua consuetudine haeserunt, in diversa quoque loquendi ratione pertinacissime durant. non longe itaque Latina subsequi debent et cito pariter ire'. Quintilian here displays the same concern for correct accent and idiom as does J. in the present passage.

conposuerit means something like 'modify' or even 'mould'; cf. e.g. Sen. dial. 4.18.2 (quoted at 4.6 ne discat ... dediscendum est), 5.13.6. In os tenerum Hilberg and Labourt see a possible reminiscence of Hor. epist. 2.1.126 'os tenerum pueri balbumque poeta figurat', but it is too vague to be convincing.

te habeat ... voce. te habeat magistram appears to act as a sort of bridge-passage between the section on language which has just preceded and that on general behaviour which follows; in the course of reading it seems at first that Laeta is to be Paula's magistra in matters of speech, but it becomes clear that this role is to extend to many other spheres of life too. Cf. epist. 128.4.1 'matris nutum pro verbis ac monitum pro imperio habeat. amet ut parentem, subiciatur ut dominae, timeat ut magistram'. In the matter of speech-training, one is not to suppose that it is to be left to the mother or parents alone (cf. 4.5-6); it is simply that the child should look particularly to the parents for an example in this as in everything else.

Quintilian too is concerned that parents should avoid doing things by which a child may be corrupted; cf. inst. 1.2.6-8. In the case of Paula, her parents have a special responsibility, as she is a virgo Christi (cf. 5.3). Teaching by example is of course an obvious requirement: not that they should not give verbal instruction as well; J. merely recognises the

fact that commands necessarily seem less cogent if they do not accord with the actions of those who give them. There are many instances in his works of the importance of giving a good example; cf. e.g. epist. 23.2.2, 24.1.2, 52.4.4 'scio quidem ab avunculo tuo ... te et didicisse, quae sancta sunt, et cotidie discere normamque vitae eius exemplum habere virtutum', and on 7.1 in exemplum ... homines.

cito flores ... corrumpit. For the image of flowers fading in a quite different context cf. epist. 60.13.2 with n. For the notion of flowers fading quickly cf. ps. Quint. decl. mai. 13.12 p. 258 Lehnert.

The sentence does not seem to fit particularly well in the context. The flowers must refer metaphorically to Paula, as at 4.8, and presumably the pestilens aura is intended to represent vice and wickedness generally, in which case the sentence may go more closely with what follows than with what has preceded: because a flower like Paula can easily be corrupted by the wickedness of the world, her mother must protect her by keeping close to her. The flower-imagery is rather unconvincing, as flowers inevitably wither away anyway, as J. appears to recognise in cito flores pereunt. The same sort of idea occurs also at epist. 79.8.1 'tenera res in feminis fama pudicitiae est et quasi flos pulcherrimus cito ad levem marcescit auram levique flatu corrumpitur, maxime ubi et aetas

consentit ad vitium et maritalis deest auctoritas'.

9.2. numquam ... non adeat. So Asella 'ita se semper moderate habuit et intra cubiculi sui [cf. on 7.2] secreta custodiit, ut numquam pedem proferret in publicum, numquam viri nosset adloquium' (epist. 24.4.1) and Eustochium 'ita semper adhaesit matri et eius oboedivit imperiis, ut numquam absque ea cubaret, numquam procederet, numquam cibum caperet' (epist. 108.26.4). Marcella too was 'nusquam sine matre' (epist. 127.3.4). All are models for Paula. The same instruction is given to Pacatula (cf. epist. 128.4.2; there is no reference to her mother), and applies to all virgins, not merely those of extreme youth (cf. epist. 130.19.2 'quae vivunt in monasterio et quarum simul magnus est numerus, numquam solae, numquam sine matre procedant'). To the widow Furia J. says: 'noli ad publicum subinde procedere' (epist. 54.13.1). Dangers lurk outside for those whose virginity or chaste widowhood is to be preserved.

At epist. 22.17.1 (quoted at 7.2 introduxit ... suum) J. suggests that Eustochium should not go out of the house even to visit martyrs' shrines. Asella, however, certainly did so (cf. epist. 24.4.2), as did Marcella (cf. epist. 127.4.2). Generally J. was in favour of venerating martyrs; cf. e.g. epist. 109, where he defends the practice against Vigilantius, esp. 1.3 'honoramus autem reliquias martyrum, ut eum, cuius

sunt martyres, adoremus, honoramus servos, ut honor servorum redundet ad dominum'. The practice was widespread; cf. e.g. epist. 46(Paula and Eustochium). 8.1 'martyrum ubique sepulchra veneramur et sanctam favillam oculis adponentes, si liceat, etiam ore contigimus'. See further on epist. 60.12.4.

basilicas martyrum: for the phrase cf. c. Vigil. 10 (PL 23.348); for basilica see on epist. 60.12.4.

nullus ei ... adrideat. adrideat = 'eye with a smile'. There is an obvious danger in the opposite sex, and J. frequently makes this kind of point; cf. e.g. epist. 54.13.1 (to Furia) 'iuvenum fuge consortia. comatulos, comptos atque lascivos domus tuae tecta non videant', 79.9.1 'non ambulet iuxta te calamistratus procurator, non histrio fractus in feminam, non cantoris diaboli venenata dulcedo, non iuvenis vulsus et nitidus', 130.19.1, and esp. 128.4.3 'numquam iuvenculos, numquam cincinnatos videat vocis dulcedine per aures animam vulnerantes'. Even young girls are at risk (cf. on 4.1). The elder Paula and Marcella were very solicitous about avoiding the company of men, even clerics; cf. epist. 108.15.2 'numquam post viri mortem usque ad diem dormitionis suae cum ullo comedit [sc. Paula] viro, quamvis eum sanctum et in pontificali sciret culmine positum', 127.3.4 (Marcella).

Equally, male virgins (clerici and monachi) had to beware of the sexual dangers of women; cf. e.g. epist. 52.5.4 'hospitiolum tuum aut raro aut numquam mulierum pedes terant ... memento semper, quod paradisi colonum de possessione sua mulier eiecerit', 125.6.2. At epist. 128.3.4-6 J. points out the dangers of the opposite sex to both men and women.

vigiliarum ... pernoctationes. On the practice of keeping vigils, common in the early Church, see ODCC s.v. Vigil, with appended bibliography; on its history and development see C. Callewaert, 'De vigiliarum origine', Sacris erudiri (Steenbrugge, 1940), pp. 329-33. J. defends the practice at epist. 109.3. It was certainly part of the life of a monk (cf. epist. 58.6.2); according to Evagrius Ponticus vigils purified the mind (cf. sent. virg. p. 149.59-60 Wilmart). Vigils did not necessarily last the whole night. sollemnes pernoctationes here will refer to the most important vigils, such as Easter Eve, which did; vigiliarum dies to those days at the end of which there would be a shorter vigil.

ne transversum ... discedat: a proverbial expression, of which the earliest instance in extant literature is Plaut. Aul. 56-7 'si hercle tu ex istoc loco ¦ digitum transvorsum aut unguem latum excesseris ...'. Many instances are collected by Otto, s.v. unguis 4, and

the Nachträge. J. uses it several times; cf. epist. 120.10.3 'ne puncto quidem, ut dicitur, atque ungue transverso ab illius sententiis recedamus', 123.3.1, 127.8.1 'in nostrum locum statim audivimus te illius adhaesisse consortio et numquam ab illa ne transversum quidem unguis, ut dicitur, recessisse', in Ioel 2.1-11 (CCSL 76.178 = PL 25.964). For the form of the proverb he consistently employs (transversum unguem, etc.) cf. Cic. ad Att. 13.20.4 (with 'traversum' for 'transversum'), ad fam. 7.25.2.

nolo ... sciant. J. now turns to Paula's relations with her attendants, and first, with her ancillulae. It is impossible to determine their exact role; the suggestion that Paula might treat one of them as a special confidante gives the impression that they would be quite young, probably younger than the nutrix and gerula of 4.7. Perhaps the role is that of a nanny to a little girl. J. is not here directly concerned with their character, as he is in the case of the nutrix and the others in c.4 and of the comes just below; the emphasis is rather on Paula, who must beware of too great intimacy with them. She must have no secrets from her parents. Cf. epist. 128.3.6 'bonus sermo secreta non quaerit, quin potius delectatur laudibus suis et testimonio plurimorum'.

9.3. placeat ... veterana. The comes and the virgo veterana are presumably one and the same woman. She is clearly to be of some importance in Paula's life. Her avoidance of music and austerity in dress accord with what J. has said elsewhere (8.3, 5.1) about Paula herself. In character she is to resemble the attendants of c.4 (cf. e.g. 4.5 magister probae aetatis et vitae atque eruditionis est eligendus), and is very like the comes outlined for Pacatula (cf. epist. 128.4.4 (quoted at 4.7 nutrix ... gravem)). The importance of character in the people with whom a virgin is to associate is made clear elsewhere; cf. e.g. epist. 22.17.1 'sint tibi sociae quas videris quod ieiunia tenuant, quibus pallor in facie est, quas et aetas probavit et vita', 130.13.1 (quoted at 4.1 ipsae ... doceant), 130.18.2 'graves feminae - et maxime viduae ac virgines - tibi comites eligantur, quarum probata est conversatio, sermo moderatus, sancta verecundia'. The life of Marcella showed the principle put into practice; cf. epist. 127.3.4 'semper in comitatu suo virgines ac viduas et ipsas graves feminas habuit sciens ex lascivia puellarum saepe de dominarum moribus iudicari'.

The implication of placeat seems to be that Paula should be brought to a psychological state where it is this austere companion with whom she would feel most at home and would perhaps most desire to imitate: certainly the comes, like her parents, is to teach by

example (cf. immediately below). Her attitude to such imposed authority should be not merely passive acceptance but positive pleasure.

liquido ... moduletur. The image of sound being liquidus is not rare; cf. e.g. Lucr. 2.145-6 'volucres ... liquidis loca vocibus opplent'. What is unusual here is that J. has transferred the idea from the sound itself to the source of the sound; contrast Ov. am. 1.13.8 'liquidum tenui gutture cantat avis'. I have noticed no exact parallels, though there are numerous instances in Latin of hypallage generally.

pallens: perhaps on account of fasting; cf. epist. 60.9.2 'lurida ieiuniis ora portaverit [sc. Nepotianus]' with n. J. goes on to discuss fasting in the next c.

subtristis: cf. epist. 60.1.2 with n.

veterana: 'experienced'; but the military connotation is certainly present (cf. bellatricem Christi below, and 4.8, where Paula is a tiruncula, for whom a virgo veterana would be the obvious guide).

ad orationem ... vespertinum. While secular music is forbidden (cf. 8.3), singing hymns and Psalms is to be a regular part of Paula's training. This passage clearly indicates the importance of hymns, prayer, and

ritual in J.'s scheme: the child will even have to rise in the middle of the night to practise her devotions.

The same sort of instruction is given to Eustochium and Demetrias; cf. epist. 22.37.1-2 'quamquam apostolus semper orare nos iubeat et sanctis etiam ipse somnus oratio sit, tamen divisas orandi horas habere debemus, ut, si forte aliquo fuerimus opere detenti, ipsum nos ad officium tempus admoneat: horam tertiam, sextam, nonam, diluculum quoque et vesperam nemo, qui nesciat ... noctibus bis terque surgendum, revolvenda de scripturis, quae memoriter tenemus', 130.15.1 'praeter psalmorum et orationis ordinem, quod tibi hora tertia, sexta, nona, ad vesperum, medio noctis et mane semper est exercendum, statue, quot horis sanctam scripturam ediscere debeas, quanto tempore legere non ad laborem, sed ad delectationem et instructionem animae'. The elder Paula and her nuns are an example of the precept put into practice, and the implication of the same passage may be that the routine outlined for little Paula here is to embrace all her formal worship except for one weekly visit to Church; cf. epist. 108.20.2-3 'mane, hora tertia, sexta, nona, vespera, noctis medio per ordinem Psalterium canebant nec licebat cuiquam sororum ignorare psalmos et non de scripturis sanctis cotidie aliquid discere. die tantum dominico ad ecclesiam procedebant'.

The specification of various times when the devotions are to be performed provides focal points for worship which is in essence to be continual. Reference to the third, sixth, and ninth hours as times for prayer is found much earlier; cf. Tert. orat. 25, where they are said to coincide with the times of certain important events in Acts. Tertullian does not, however, consider such times for prayer as binding; cf. orat. 24 'de temporibus orationis nihil omnino praescriptum sit, nisi plane omni in tempore et loco orare'. For public worship and ritual in the early Church see L. Duchesne, Christian Worship: its Origin and Evolution (Engl. tr., 5th edn., London, 1919), and the relevant cc. of The Study of Liturgy, edd. C. Jones, G. Wainwright, E. Yarnold (London, 1978). The Itinerarium Egeriae gives a first-hand account of the liturgy as performed at Jerusalem in the late fourth century.

For the importance of the Psalms see on 12.1.

bellatricem ... acie: for the military metaphor cf. on 4.8.

lucernula. According to TLL the diminutive occurs only in Arnobius (once) and J. (four times, the other instances being epist. 117.12.2, in Ezech. lib. 7 pref. (CCSL 75.277 = PL 25.199) and 44.4-5 (CCSL 75.648 = PL 25.430)).

sacrificium vespertinum: i.e. her evening devotions. sacrificium may mean anything which is offered to God, including prayers and other acts of worship; cf. e.g. Ps. 49.14 (LXX) 'immola deo sacrificium laudis', Ecclus. 35.2 'sacrificium salutare adtendere mandatis et discedere ab omni iniquitate', and esp. Ps. 140.2 (LXX, Hebr.) 'elevatio manuum mearum sacrificium vespertinum'.

orationi ... oratio. Prayer and the reading of Scripture are the cornerstones of Paula's education, as they would be of that of anyone who took up the religious life. Paul often recommends prayer (cf. e.g. Eph. 6.18, 1 Thess. 5.7 'sine intermissione orate', 1 Tim. 2.8), and declares the value of the Scriptures at 2 Tim. 3.15. The overriding importance given to prayer among Christian activities by early monasticism is one of its most significant contributions to Christianity; cf. K. E. Kirk, The Vision of God: the Christian Doctrine of the Summum Bonum (London, 1931), pp. 203-4. There are numerous instances in J.'s works of exhortation to pray and read and of the precept put into practice; cf. e.g. epist. 39.5.1 'abiectis calcatisque deliciis orationi, ieiuniis, lectioni vacare cotidie [sc. te (Paulam) scio]', 43.1 'Ambrosius ... refert numquam se cibos Origene praesente sine lectione sumpsisse ... hoc diebus egisse vel noctibus, ut et lectio orationem susciperet et oratio lectionem',

58.6.2 'semper in manu tua sacra sit lectio, frequenter orandum et flexo corpore mens erigenda ad dominum', 125.11.1 (of a monk). The practices are important because they are means of communication with God; cf. e.g. epist. 22.25.1 'oras: loqueris ad sponsum; legis: ille tibi loquitur', Ambr. off. 1.20.88 'cur non illa tempora, quibus ab ecclesia vacas, lectioni impendas? cur non Christum revisas, Christum alloquaris, Christum audias? illum alloquimur cum oramus, illum audimus cum divina legimus oracula'. They also enable the thoughts which particularly trouble the young to be repelled; cf. epist. 79.9.2 'semper in manibus tuis divina sit lectio et tam crebrae orationes, ut omnes cogitationum sagittae, quibus adulescentia percuti solet, huiusce modi clipeo repellantur'. Reading Scripture is in fact virtually a means of mortification; cf. epist. 125.11.2 'ama scientiam scripturarum et carnis vitia non amabis'. It is also interesting that prayer is easier for a virgin than for someone who is married; cf. epist. 122.4.2, adv. Iovin. 1.7 (PL 23.220) (based on 1 Cor. 7.5).

J.'s views are shared by many of the Fathers; cf. e.g. Athan. virg. 12 'νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας μὴ ἀποστήτω ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκ τοῦ στόματός σου. ἧτω δὲ τὸ ἔργον σου διαπαντὸς μελέτη τῶν θείων γραφῶν', Bas. epist. 42.3, Greg. Nyss. vita Macr. (PG 46.969-72) 'μόνη δὲ ἡ τῶν θείων μελέτη, καὶ τὸ τῆς προσευχῆς ἀδιάλειπτον, καὶ ἡ ἄπαυστος ἐμνωδία· κατὰ τὸ ἴσον

συμπληρουμένη τῷ χρόνῳ, διὰ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας πάσης· ὥστε δυτὰς καὶ ἔργον εἶναι τοῦτο, καὶ ἔργον, 'ἀνάπαυσιν', Ambr. virg. 3.4.18 'oratio quoque nos deo crebra commendet'.

See further c.12 with nn.

breve ... occupatur: cf. epist. 130.15.1-2 (after precepts concerning prayer, Scripture-reading, and spinning (cf. 10.1)) 'si tantis operum varietatibus fueris occupata, numquam tibi dies longi erunt, sed ... breves videbuntur'. This attitude seems remarkable, but it is possible that certain girls and young women would have had so strong a sense of religious duty that such an austere mode of life might have seemed positively pleasurable.

c.10. Most of this c. is devoted, like c.8, to precepts on eating and in particular fasting. There are numerous passages in the works both of J. and of other Fathers in praise of ieiunium, which was both practised by Jesus (cf. Matt. 4.2) and encouraged by him (cf. Matt. 6.16-18, Mark 2.18-20). Athanasius and Ambrose, for example, extol it in glowing terms; cf. Athan. virg. 6-7, Ambr. Hel. 2.2. Basil regards restraint in eating as essential for salvation; cf. renunt. saec. 7 'καὶ, ἵνα πάντα συνελὼν εἴπω, ἐὰ κρατήσεις γαστρὸς, οἰκήσεις τὸν παράδεισον· ἐὰ δὲ οὐ κρατήσεις, γέγονας θανάτου παράβλωμα' . Its great virtue is that it counteracts lust, which is encouraged by too much food as well as

by rich food (cf. on 8.2); cf. e.g. epist. 22.11.1 'non quo deus, universitatis creator et dominus, intestinorum nostrorum rugitu et inanitate ventris pulmonumque delectetur ardore, sed quo aliter pudicitia tuta esse non possit', 79.9.5 'nostrum est voluptatis ardorem maiore Christi amore restinguere et lasciviens iumentum frenis inediae subiugare, ut non libidinem, sed cibos desideret', Ambr. virg. 3.2.5 'infrenent etiam teneram aetatem ieiunia, et parcimonia cibi retinaculis quibusdam indomitas cohibeat cupiditates', Aug. epist. 211.8 'carnem vestram domate ieiuniis et abstinentia escae et potus, quantum valetudo permittit', Evagr. sent. virg. p. 149.59-60 Wilmart 'fames et sitis macefaciunt concupiscentias malas'. It is therefore particularly important that virgins should practise it. Satiety also blunts the mind (cf. e.g. epist. 52.11.1 'pulchre dicitur apud Graecos, sed nescio, utrum nos aeque resonet: pinguis venter non gignit sensum tenuem', adv. Iovin. 2.12 (PL 23.302)), and so fasting is a good preparation for prayer and study: it is in fact 'non perfecta virtus, sed ceterarum virtutum fundamentum' (epist. 130.11.2), and J. regards it as one of the characteristics of paradise before the Fall (cf. adv. Iovin. 2.15 (PL 23.305)), and one of the requirements if man is to return to that state.

10.1. Discat ... ducere. Such domestic accomplishments would be vital for a girl who was to

undertake a monastic life, but J. considered them important for religious reasons too; cf. epist. 130.15.2-4 'habeto lanam semper in manibus vel staminis pollice fila deducito vel ad torquenda subtemina in alveolis fusa vertantur aliarumque neta aut in globum collige aut texenda conpone ... nec idcirco tibi ab opere cessandum est, quia deo propitio nulla re indiges, sed ideo cum omnibus laborandum est, ut per occasionem operis nihil aliud cogites, nisi quod ad domini pertinet servitutem'. Furthermore, the products of one's own hands were particularly pleasing to Christ (cf. epist. 130.15.5), and could have been given to the poor: such acts of charity must have bound the doer closer to God. At a very early age Pacatula is to be introduced to such tasks (cf. epist. 128.1.3); her comes is to be lanifica (cf. epist. 128.4.4), and doubtless this skill too is to be passed on to her charge. Asella too 'operabatur manibus suis' (cf. epist. 24.4.1). Male virgins, equally, should undertake manual work appropriate to them (cf. epist. 125.11.2-5), thus avoiding distraction by wicked thoughts. Basil agreed that physical labour should be a part of the ascetic life; cf. e.g. renunt. saec. 9, reg. fus. tract. 51.

During the Late Republic and Early Empire such domestic activities played a part in the life of any Roman woman (cf. e.g. Inscriptiones Latinae selectae, ed. H. Dessau (5 vols., Berolini, 1892-1916), 8393,

8394 (laudatio Turiae, laudatio Murdiae)); but the practices dwindled among women of the better classes, and it is doubtful whether they continued to more than the most limited extent at this period. See J. P. V. D. Balsdon, Roman Women (revised impression, London, 1962), pp. 207, 270-1.

spernat ... nudentur. J. gets rather carried away here and forgets how young the girl is. For parallels cf. on 5.1.

Serum vellera. The Chinese were famous for their silks and other kinds of cloth; cf. e.g. Virg. georg. 2.121, Plin. nat. 6.54, Amm. 23.6.67.

aurum in fila lentescens: for the phrase cf. epist. 66.5.1.

cibus ... pisciculi. After outlining at 8.2 what Paula should not eat, J. here states what her basic diet should be. It is very like that laid down for Paulinus if he is to be a monk; cf. epist. 58.6.1 'sit vilis et vespertinus cibus holera et legumina interdumque pisciculos pro summis ducas deliciis'. The diet of the elder Paula was exemplary; cf. epist. 108.17.3 'non Paula talis, quae tantae continentiae fuit, ut prope mensuram excederet ... quae exceptis festis diebus vix oleum in cibo acceperit, ut ex hoc uno aestimetur, quid

de vino et liquamine et piscibus et lacte ac melle et ovis et reliquis, quae gustu suavia sunt, iudicarit'. holus is recommended at epist. 54.10.2, and at epist. 43.3.1 J. praises the simple foods of the country. He bases his view on Scriptural authority (cf. epist. 22.10.1 'innumerabilia sunt scripturis respersa divinis, quae gulam damnent et simplices cibos praebeant'), and on considerations of health (cf. adv. Iovin. 2.11 (PL 23.300-1)).

gulae praecepta. gula often means 'gluttony'; cf. epist. 22.10.1 (quoted above) and c.10.2 gulosa abstinentia. The tone here, however, is not so scathing, and gulae praecepta probably means little more than 'rules for eating'.

in alio loco. This can hardly refer to c.8; the reference is too vague, and c.8 is scarcely plenius than what J. is about to say. Clearly the text which J. is here indicating was available to Laeta. It is possible that he had written her another letter which we do not possess, but the reference may be to epist. 54, in which (cc.9-10) he discourses on food at some length, or to adv. Iovin. 2.5-17. Although the treatise against Jovinian deals with the matter more fully than epist. 54, J. is there less concerned with giving praecepta than with refuting Jovinian's proposition that there is no difference, morally,

between one who fasts and one who takes food of all kinds with thanksgiving. epist. 54 seems more likely; it is known to have circulated beyond the addressee (see general introduction, sect. 2).

sic ... esuriat. Wright gets the sense exactly: 'let her meals always leave her hungry'. Cf. epist. 22.17.2 'moderatus cibus et numquam venter repletus'.

ut statim ... psallere: cf. epist. 31.3.3 'ita tibi semper comedendum est, ut cibum et oratio sequatur et lectio', 54.11.1 'quando comedis, cogita, quod statim tibi orandum, ilico legendum sit'.

10.2. displicent ... ieiunia. Fasting must be continual (cf. perpetuo ieiunio below), but moderate, and this is true not merely of the very young (though they above all are likely to suffer weakness as a result of excessive fasting); cf. e.g. epist. 22.17.2 'sint tibi cotidiana ieiunia et refectio satietatem fugiens. nihil prodest biduo triduoque transmisso vacuum portare ventrem, si pariter obruitur, si conpensatur saturitate ieiunium', 52.12.1, 125.7.1, 130.11.1-2 'neque vero inmoderata tibi imperamus ieiunia et inormem ciborum abstinentiam ... sic debes ieiunare, ut non palpites et respirare vix possis et comitum tuarum vel porteris vel traharis manibus, sed, ut fracto corporis appetitu nec in lectione nec in

psalmis nec in vigiliis solito quid minus facias'. Other Fathers agreed (cf. e.g. Athan. virg. 8, Evagr. sent. virg. pp. 148.13-149.15 Wilmart 'ne dixeris: hodie non edam et crastino manducabo, - quia non in sapientia facis istud; erit enim haec inaequalitas noxia corpori tuo et dolor stomacho tuo'); Nilus believed that immoderate fasts were prompted by the devil (cf. Nilus epist. 3.46).

ieiunia ... ebdomades: for iunguntur ebdomades cf. epist. 2.4.2 (quoted at 10.3 continentiae ... properantibus).

oleum ... vitantur. Temporary abstinentia from certain foods must have played a part in fasting, but completely to cut out harmless things like oil and fruit, which did not arouse lust, will have seemed excessive to J.

asellum ... quaerere. experimento didici strongly suggests that this expression is not proverbial, though it has something of an apophthegmatic quality. The same image is used in a quite different context at adv. Rufin. 1.30 (PL 23.422) 'etiam asini et bruta animalia, quamvis in longo itinere, noverunt secundo diverticula. miraris si ego litteras Latinas non sum oblitus, quum tu Graecas sine magistro didiceris?'. The meaning in the present case is clear: excessive rigour will cause straying from the true path, when in fact sibi meminerint semper esse currendum (10.3). diverticula

is difficult to translate. 'Inn' (Wright) and 'auberges' (Labourt) rather lose the contrast between diverticula and via, but quaerere may imply that the ass does more than simply turn off into a by-way, and at adv. Rufin. 1.30 'diverticula' seems to mean a hostelry. 'Tavern off the main road' may get somewhere near.

faciant hoc: i.e. go in for (apparent) abstinence; it refers back to the previous sentence but one.

cultores ... contaminent. Strictly, the comparison made with the devotees of Isis and Cybele is not germane to J.'s argument: they do not practise fasting, but abstinence, for reasons of superstitio. But the distinction between ieiunia and abstinentia is not here clearly formulated in J.'s mind, and cf. adv. Iovin. 2.17 (PL 23.312) 'apud illos [sc. cultores Isidis et Cybelae] ieiunium panis, sagina carnium compensetur'. The attack on excess in the matter of eating, under the cover of abstention for religious reasons, makes a good point in any case. On Isis and Cybele see RE s.nn. Isis, Kybele, and on their cults in J.'s time, Geffcken, Last Days, with index; also R. E. Witt, Isis in the Graeco-Roman World (London, 1971), esp. pp. 97-8 (on the diet of the priests of Isis).

J. does not spend as much time in satirising pagans and pagan sects as in inveighing against heretics, but does so when opportunity allows; for instances see Wiesen, St. Jerome as a Satirist, pp.

194-7. Gluttony, too, is the object of many attacks, and Fasides aves (Scythicae volucres, peacocks) are frequently used as a motif in such passages; cf. e.g. epist. 66.8.3 'ubi videris fumare patinas et Phasides aves lentis vaporibus discoqui, ubi argenti pondus, ferventes mannos, comatulos pueros, pretiosas vestes, picta tapetia, ubi ditior est largitore, cui largiendum est, pars sacrilegii est rem pauperum dare non pauperibus', 100(tr. from Theophilus).6.5, in Zach. 14.9-11 (CCSL 76A.886 = PL 25.1529). The motif is traditional in satire; cf. e.g. Sen. dial. 12.10.3, Iuv. 11.139, John Chrys. hom. in Matth. 70.4.

gulosa abstinentia. Lewis and Short, s.v. gulosus, explain by 'an abstinence that enhances enjoyment', but that altogether misses the obvious oxymoron (on which see Lausberg, 1.398 (sect. 807).

scilicet. It is this word above all which clinches the satirical tone.

hoc ... in mediis. J. presents his reasons for rejecting inmoderata ieiunia: one must last out the course. mansio, in its concrete sense, refers properly to a resting-place for travellers between stages of their journey; it can also mean the distance between two such resting-places. In these senses it is found in the Itineraria; cf. e.g. Itin. Eg. 7.2, 9.7. Wright

understands the metaphor to come from racing, with mansione = 'lap'; 8.2 ne prius ... incipiant appears to be a racing-metaphor (see n. ad loc.), as does epist. 130.11.3 'latus est super ieiuniis campus, in quo et nos saepe cucurrimus', and epist. 100(tr. from Theophilus).6.1 has 'mansiones' in the context of a racing-metaphor, but I have found no parallels for mansio = 'lap', and it is much more natural to regard the metaphor as being derived from journeying, or even pilgrimage, esp. after itineri. Translate: 'running the first stage'. The image of collapsing in the middle of the iter occurs again at epist. 118.7.1 and 54.10.4, and at 54.10.5 J. expresses the same idea in a different way: 'parcus cibus et semper venter esuriens triduanis ieiuniis praeferatur ... pluvia illa optima est, quae sensim descendit in terras; subitus et nimius imber praeceps arva subvertit'.

in perpetuo ieiunio. The sense seems superior with in perpetuum ieiunium, which is read by the greater part of the MSS (sometimes in the arrangement in perpetuum praeceptum sit ieiunium) and printed by Martianay and Vallarsi.

supparentur: a very rare word, apparently not found before Tertullian (cf. cult. fem. 2.7.2, anim. 25.9). It is similar in meaning to accommodare. Translate: 'lasting strength should be proportioned to the long

journey'.

10.3. ceterum ... incedimus. J. now confronts the question of eating during Lent. First he suggests that fasting should be stricter during that period; then appears to recall what he has just said about continual moderation in eating, coming to the conclusion that while the monk and virgin should tighten their belts to some extent during Lent, they should not go overboard, for 'perpetuo incedimus'.

Asella certainly fasted with greater stringency in Lent, but her diet all the year round seems to have been extremely rigid; cf. epist. 24.4.2. The cenobites too had a practice of continual moderation with stricter rules in Lent; cf. epist. 22.35.8. The Paschal letters of Theophilus also contain rules for fasting during the Lenten season; cf. e.g. epist. 96.20.4, 98.25.4, 100.17.1, mainly on the times to be kept for the practice. Much of epist. 100 deals with fasting, and 100.6.2-5, where Theophilus insists on it during Lent, is particularly worth comparing with cc.8 and 10 of the present letter. Written for Easter 404, and probably translated by J. not long after, it includes a number of identical phrases, e.g. 'carnium edulio' (cf. 8.2), 'ventris ingluviem' (cf. 10.3).

On Lenten fasting in the early Church in general see ODCC s.v. Lent, with appended bibliography.

ut ante scripsi. It is quite unclear to what exactly J. is referring here. There is nothing in either adv. Iovin. or epist. 54 which could be meant.

continentiae ... properantibus. The two metaphors, from sailing and chariot-racing, go together happily enough in the context, though the way they are used is most interesting. The greater restraints imposed in Lent are represented by an idea of loosening or freeing (the sails, the horses' reins), where one might more naturally expect the sails or reins of indulgence, rather than of continentia, to be unfurled.

For vela in a like context cf. epist. 24.4.2 'in quadragesima navigii sui vela tendebat [sc. Asella] omnes paene ebdomadas vultu laetante coniungens'. For other metaphorical uses of the image, particularly in literary contexts, cf. on epist. 1.2.2.

J. is fond of metaphors involving aurigae; cf. esp. epist. 60.10.7, where the usage is similar, with n.

The careful balance of words in tota ... properantibus is striking. For tota in this sense see Shackleton Bailey, Propertiana, pp. 48-9. In J. cf. e.g. epist. 3.2.3 'tota credulitatis frena laxavi' (for both the image and the use of tota).

properantibus, quamquam. It would be better to punctuate with a full stop after properantibus, as

Labourt does. quamquam here really = 'but', and does not subordinate the sentence which follows. There is a clear break in sense after properantibus: having made his general point about Lent, J. proceeds to qualify it by contrasting the positions of monks and virgins and of the saecularis homo.

saecularis ... parat. The satirical tone evident just above (cultores ... contaminent) reappears here. The remarks of Wiesen, St. Jerome as a Satirist, p. 44, are sensible and to the point. J. wishes to arouse disgust for the saecularis homo, who in this case is a Christian - for he observes Lent - but one who is not prepared to commit the whole of his life to Christ as the virgo and monachus are. This explains his choice of the words ingluvies and aqualiculus. ingluvies, literally the maw of an animal, was sometimes used to mean gluttony; cf. e.g. Hor. sat. 1.2.8 'avi cur atque parentis ¦ praeclaram ingrata stringat malus ingluvie rem', Tert. ieiun. 1.1, J. epist. 49.21.4 'idem ergo praemium habebit fames et ingluvies, sordes et munditiae ...?'. In the present case the word refers rather to the results of gluttony. Labourt gets close with 'digère le trop-plein de sa panse'. Translate: 'lives off his gluttony'.

aqualiculus, too, may have a highly pejorative meaning; cf. e.g. Pers. 1.56-7 'nugaris, cum tibi, calve, ¦ pinguis aqualiculus propenso sesquipede

extet', Tert. ieiun. 16.8 'deus ... tibi venter est ... et aqualiculus altare', J. epist. 38.5.2 'cavillentur vafriora licet et pingui aqualiculo farsos circumferant homines'.

J. seizes the opportunity to attack a feature of society which displeases him, although his argument does not require that he be so scathing. For his satirisation of contemporary society generally see Wiesen, pp. 20-64.

in coclearum ... suco. victitare is a rare word; there are a number of cases in Comedy, but the only other certain instance I have found is Sacerd. gramm. 6.431.19 Keil, where it is given as the frequentative form of vivere. J. is highly likely to have got at the word, and the image of the snail, from Plaut. Capt. 80-3 'quasi, quom caletur, cocleae in occulto latent, ¦ suo sibi suco vivont, ros si non cadit, ¦ item parasiti rebus prolatis latent ¦ in occulto miseri, victitant suo suco', an allusion noted by Hagendahl, p. 201, but missed by Hilberg. For J.'s knowledge of Plautus see Hagendahl, pp. 269-70.

virgo ... currendum. The primary image is that of driving horses, picking up aurigae; but currendum also recalls 10.2 currentes and the journey-metaphor.

emittant of horses looks exactly right; cf. e.g. Varro rust. 2.7.1, Claud. paneg. Prob. et Olybr. 100.

finitus labor: 'a labour that has an end'; a regular adjectival use of finitus.

incedimus. This in no way weakens the previous imagery; incedere can be used of riding on horseback (cf. e.g. Virg. Aen. 5.553-4).

c.11. Further rules on the relations of Paula with others, and on bathing. There is no obvious reason why J. suddenly moves from rules on eating to this.

11.1. Si quando ... misceatur. These precepts, like those of cc.4 and 9, are geared to protecting Paula from possible corruption, and there is a good deal of overlap between the rules given here and those set out earlier: si ... vivere recalls 9.2 numquam ... in publicum and ne ... discedat, and non habeat ... contubernia is reminiscent of such passages as 4.1 procul ... doceant and 9.2 nullus ei ... adrideat, where J. indicates the sort of company the little girl is not to keep. The corrupting - erotic - possibilities of nuptiae are obvious, those of noisy lusus less so, but they would distract her from her calling and are probably considered in the same light as dancing (cf. 6.2 with n.). The only games Paula is to be allowed are educational ones; cf. 4.2. I suspect that there may be sexual connotations in lusibus misceatur: both words often bear such a meaning.

cum sola fuerit, pertremescat: 'let her be afraid when she is alone'; Wright and Labourt fudge the meaning slightly.

non habeat ... contubernia. Wright gets close to the meaning of malarum virginum: 'virgins who neglect their vows'. 1 Tim. 5.11-12 (which J. quotes at epist. 123.3.2) is worth comparing: 'adulescentiores autem viduas devita; cum enim luxuriatae fuerint in Christo, nubere volunt, habentes damnationem quia primam fidem irritam fecerunt'. The company of worldly married women is also to be avoided, again for a vaguely sexual reason; cf. epist. 130.18.1 'matronarum maritis ac saeculo servientium tibi consortia declinentur, ne sollicitetur animus et audias, quid vel maritus uxori vel uxor locuta sit viro'.

11.1-2. scio ... suscitat? Now comes the topic of baths, on which J. has already touched briefly (8.2), declaring them to be permissible for very young virgins. In the case of adult virgins, however, he is wholly against bathing. The dangers of mixed baths are obvious - they would give great opportunities to men, and even to eunuchs, to corrupt the virgines dei, and it is scarcely desirable that virgins should see other naked bodies, especially when - in the case of married women - they might bear visible indications of the sex act having been committed. More than this, however,

the heat of baths, like wine and meat (cf. on 8.2), could arouse the passions.

At adv. Iovin. 2.36 (PL 23.334-5) J. again expresses disapproval of mixed bathing, this time with men in mind, and not simply eunuchs; but it is the potential of baths to provoke the desires which particularly concerns him (cf. e.g. epist. 79.7.7 'balnearum calor novum adulescentiae sanguinem non incendat', 117.6.3 and 7.1, 125.7.1 (of a monk) 'balnearum fomenta non quaeras, qui calorem corporis ieiuniorum cupis frigore extinguere', 130.19.8). The elder Paula did not take baths 'nisi periclitans' (epist. 108.15.2), i.e. except for health reasons, an understandable concession also granted by Augustine (cf. Aug. epist. 211.13).

Many of the Fathers shared J.'s disapproval of baths, especially of mixed bathing, and it is impossible to identify quosdam precisely. Cf. e.g. Clem. Alex. paedag. 3.5, Athan. virg. 11 'οὐ μὴ ἴδῃ ἄλλη γυνὴ τὸ σῶμά σου γυμνὸν ἄνευ πάσης ἀνάγκης ... οὐ πορεύσῃ εἰς βαλανεῖον ὑγιαίνουσα ἄνευ πάσης ἀνάγκης, οὐ μὴ βάψῃς ὅλον τὸ σῶμά σου εἰς ὕδωρ, ὅτι ἁγία εἶ κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ', Cypr. hab. virg. 19 'quid vero quae promiscuas balneas adeunt quaeque oculis ad libidinem curiosis pudori ac pudicitiae corpora dicata prostituunt? quae cum viris adque viros [leg. viros atque a viris WDv] nudae vident turpiter ac videntur, nonne ipsae inlecebram vitiis praestant?', Regula Pachomii (translated by J.) 92 (PL

23.75) 'totum autem corpus nemo unguet, nisi causa infirmitatis; nec lavabitur aqua nudo corpore, nisi languor perspicuus sit'. See also H. Dumaine, 'Bains', Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie, edd. F. Cabrol et al. (15 vols., Paris, 1903-53), 2.72-117, esp. 87-93.

11.1. ne virgo ... lavet. The elder Paula kept the virgins in her monastery away from eunuchs altogether; cf. epist. 108.20.4 'a viris tanta separatio, ut ab spadonibus quoque eas seiungeret, ne ullam daret occasionem linguae maledicae'.

praeferant foeditatem. praeferant bears both a literal and a metaphorical meaning: the women reveal their foeditas, which refers rather to their moral state than to their aspect, simply by being pregnant - it implies that they have indulged in the sexual act - and literally carry it before them. J. is probably thinking of worldly women, who possess foeditas in other respects as well; he will not have considered that women bear it simply by virtue of being married (cf. e.g. epist. 22.20.1).

J. seems to imply that married women must necessarily be pregnant. At a time when contraception was unreliable and would in any case have been forbidden to Christians, many must indeed have had one pregnancy after another, and a high infant mortality

rate may have produced continual efforts at procreation to ensure family succession.

11.2. quae ... non posse: 'who ought to blush at herself and be unable to bear the sight of her own naked body'; presumably just for the sake of modesty.

si enim ... suscitat? The sentence is carefully arranged to avoid monotony in four grammatically similar groups of words:

(a) vigiliis ... redigit: adverbial phrase, verb, object, second verb group;
(b) flammam ... frigore: object, verb group, adverbial phrase;
(c) adpetitis ... pulchritudinem: adverbial phrase, verb group, object;
(d) balnearum ... suscitat: adverbial phrase, object, verb.

(b) is essentially (a) in reverse, and (c) a repetition of (a); (d), the question, provides an altogether new arrangement, ending the paragraph firmly with a verb.

si enim ... frigore. For vigils cf. 9.2 with n.; for ieiunia, cc.8 and 10 with nn. macerat ... redigit is a reminiscence of 1 Cor. 9.27 'castigo corpus meum et in servitutem redigo, ne forte cum aliis praedicaverim ipse reprobus efficiar'.

For continentiae frigore cf. epist. 54.7.3 'ardentes diaboli sagittae ieiuniorum et vigiliarum frigore restinguendae sunt', in Is. 64.8-12 (CCSL 73A.740 = PL 24.626) 'expulso pudicitiae frigore, libidinis in templo dei flamma grassabitur'. frigus in this sense appears to be exclusive to J.; TLL quotes no other instances than these.

balnearum fomentis. In later Latin fomentum often = fomes, i.e. 'incentive', 'inciter'; cf. e.g. epist. 54.7.1 'ignes iuvenum, fomenta libidinum, inpudicae mentis indicia [sc. sunt purpurissus et cerussa]'.

sopitos ignes. The phrase appears to go back to Virgil; cf. Aen. 5.743, 8.410. There the fires are real, but the metaphorical use of ignis, especially of the passions, is common, and there is nothing awkward about sopitus in such cases. Cf. epist. 117.11.1 (also a metaphorical usage).

suscitat. The subject of the sentence is either a hypothetical adulta virgo, or, more likely, Paula herself, when she has grown up. In either case, the

required sense is 'why *should* she rouse ...?', and I would print *suscitet*, following *B* and British Library MS Royal 6 D. I.

c.12. Apart from brief references to reading Scripture and singing Psalms in cc.4 and 9, J. has not discussed this major aspect of Paula's education. Now he considers it in detail, outlining the order in which the books of the Bible are to be read and what value may be gained from the apocryphal books. She should also read the works of some of the Fathers. There is no place for profane literature in J.'s scheme; though he taught the pagan Classics to the boys in his monastery at Bethlehem (see introduction), a *virgo dei* was different - she had to be protected in all possible ways from the dangers of the *saeculum*.

The great importance of the Bible is that through it God speaks to us directly; cf. on 9.3 *orationi ... oratio*. Its authority is unquestionable, and appeal may be made to it in cases of doctrinal controversy; it was used in this way by the orthodox against the Origenists (cf. e.g. *epist*. 96(tr. from Theophilus). 6.1 'non scripturarum auctoritatem, sed suum errorem sequens [sc. Origenes]'. Paula the elder turned to Scripture for guidance in times of difficulty (cf. *epist*. 108.18-19); J. says that he would use it in his dispute with Vigilantius (cf. *epist*. 109.2.5). There is even Scriptural authority for the use of Scripture;

cf. e.g. epist. 96(tr. from Theophilus).10.3 'Paulus quidem perspicue scribit [1 Cor. 15.3]: tradidi enim vobis in primis, quod et accepi, quia Christus mortuus est pro peccatis nostris secundum scripturas, illas in testimonium vocans et volens earum auctoritate firmare, quod dubium est'. Small wonder, then, that Paula should be required to make herself thoroughly familiar with it.

The list of Biblical books the girl is to read is, as one would expect, quite comprehensive, and explicitly includes nearly all those which J. considered to belong to the canon. Since the time of his adoption of the Hebraica veritas (c. 390) he accepted the Hebrew canon of the OT which agrees essentially with that held by Protestant churches today, while Augustine and others maintained a canon based on LXX, which included books classed by J. as apocryphal. The evidence for J.'s views comes largely from a number of his prefaces, e.g. pref. in libr. Sam. et Mal. (PL 28.555-7), pref. in libr. Sal. (PL 28.1241-3); for good short accounts see Kelly, pp. 160-1, and esp. Sparks, 'Jerome as Biblical Scholar', The Cambridge History of the Bible, 1, pp. 532-5. P. W. Skehan, 'St. Jerome and the Canon of the Holy Scriptures', in Murphy, Monument, pp. 259-87, outlines his position in greater detail. The apocrypha of 12.3 would have included parts of the book of Daniel (cf. on epist. 1.9), Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Judith, Tobit,

1 and 2 Maccabees, Baruch and the Epistle of Jeremy (for these last two cf. in Ier. pref. (CCSL 74.1 = PL 24.680); for Baruch, also pref. in Ier. (PL 28.848)); and, as J. classed writings as either canonical or apocryphal (unlike Athanasius and Rufinus, for instance, who put Judith and others in a third class, called 'ecclesiastical'), it would have included everything else vaguely Scriptural too, e.g. Enoch and the Apocalypse of Elijah (cf. vir. ill. 4 (PL 23.615), epist. 57.9.6).

Among books on J.'s canonical list there are some apparent omissions: Ruth, Lamentations, and, from the NT, Revelation. The first two are explicable: Ruth will have been subsumed under Judges, in the Heptateuch (cf. Martianay's n. on Ruth at PL 28.543a), although the two books are mentioned separately at epist. 53.8.4; Lamentations, under Jeremiah (cf. e.g. in Ezech. pref. (CCSL 75.4 = PL 25.17), pref. in libr. Sam. et Mal. (PL 28.551)). The omission of Revelation, however, is less easily explained: it may be simply that J. forgot to mention it, or else that he considered it too difficult for Paula, for it held many mysteries, and could easily be misunderstood (cf. in Is. 18 pref.(CCSL 73A.741 = PL 24.627), epist. 53.9.6 'Apocalypsis Iohannis tot habet sacramenta quam verba'). Although many other books in the canon were also felt to be difficult (cf. e.g. pref. in Is. (PL 28.772), epist. 53.9.5), the very nature of apocalyptic

literature marked it off as something demanding special care. (It should be observed, however, that J. does not forbid Daniel or Ezekiel.)

As for the order in which Paula is to study the books, J.'s reasoning is fairly plain. The Psalms first, because she will have been singing them since a very early age (cf. 4.1), and music may assist in remembering the words; the Psalter was in any case often considered to be of special importance among the Fathers (see on 12.1 discat primum Psalterium). Then three books from which she can draw sound moral precepts. The rest of the OT is to be left until the NT has been read - no doubt the Prophets would have presented a young girl with many problems, and the historical books contain much that might have given the wrong impression to one who had not studied the ethical teaching of the NT. The Song of Solomon is naturally left until last, for the very reason J. gives: it must not be held to bear the sexual meaning it obviously does.

The order given for reading the books of Solomon (Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song) reflects to some extent an idea of Origen's, borrowed by J. without acknowledgement at in eccles. 1.1 (CCSL 72.250-1 = 23.1012), that Solomon intended Proverbs for the young, Ecclesiastes for adults, and the Song for older people (see Kelly, p. 150). In Paula's case, however, J. probably intends all three, and indeed all the other

books stated here, to have been studied before she reaches adulthood; cf. his advice for Pacatula at epist. 128.4.2 'discat memoriter psalterium et usque ad annos pubertatis libros Salomonis, evangelia, apostolos ac prophetas sui cordis thesaurum faciat'.

On the importance of Scripture to J. in general see D. Gorce, La Lectio divina, 1: Saint Jérôme et la lecture sacrée dans le milieu ascétique romain (Paris, 1925), esp. pp. 165-91 on the relation between reading the Bible and other practices of the ascetic life.

12.1. Pro gemmis ... distinctio. As J. despises gold and jewels and ornamentation generally elsewhere (cf. e.g. 5.1), so he does in the case of books. Understandably so: what the words say is naturally more important than the way in which books are physically adorned. Cf. pref. in Iob (PL 28.1083-4) 'habeant qui volunt veteres libros, vel in membraneis purpureis auro argentoque descriptos, vel uncialibus, ut vulgo aiunt, litteris, onera magis exarata, quam codices: dummodo mihi, meisque permittant pauperes habere schedulas, et non tam pulchros codices, quam emendatos'; also his attack on worldly widows at epist. 22.32.1 'inficitur membrana colore purpureo, aurum liquescit in litteras, gemmis codices vestiuntur et nudus ante fores earum Christus moritur'. For the contrast between worldly wealth and the Scriptures cf. e.g. epist. 30.13.2, 54.11.2 'amorem monilium atque

gemmarum sericarumque vestium transfer ad scientiam scripturarum'.

auri ... pictura: 'vermiculated pattern of gold and Babylonian hide'. The gold would have been inlaid in the skin. Babylonian hide was valuable and renowned; cf. Marcian. dig. 39.4.16.7 'species pertinentes ad vectigal ... pelles Babylonicae: pelles Parthicae'. In writing Babyloniae J. may have also been thinking of the variegated pattern of the leaves of the codex; cf. e.g. Mart. 8.28.17-18 'non ego praetulerim Babylonos picta superbae ¦ texta Samiramia quae variantur acu', Apul. flor. 9 p. 12.11-12 Helm 'balteum, quod genus pictura Babylonica miris coloribus variegatum'.

ad fidem ... distinctio: 'let her find pleasure in accurately corrected and learned punctuation'. As Labourt points out, distinctio includes not merely commas, full stops, etc., but diacritical signs such as asterisks and obeli. The character of J. the scholar is particularly apparent here. For the use of diacritical signs in Biblical texts cf. e.g. epist. 57.11.1 'longum est nunc evolvere, quanta Septuaginta de suo addiderint, quanta dimiserint, quae in exemplaribus ecclesiae obelis astericisque distincta sunt'. Rufinus too claimed that accurate transcription and punctuation was of great importance; cf. the preface to his translation of Origen's treatise De

principiis (= J. epist. 80), 3.2 'ne addat aliquid huic scripturae, ne auferat, ne inserat, ne inmutet, sed conferat cum exemplaribus, unde scripserit, et emendet ad litteram et distinguat et inemendatum vel non distinctum codicem non habeat, ne sensuum difficultas, si distinctus codex non sit, maiores obscuritates legentibus generet'. In view of Rufinus' butchery of Origen's text in the interest of rendering doctrinally dubious passages acceptable - his adulation of Origen was so great that he believed, on no good grounds, that all passages of unorthodoxy had to be interpolations - such concern for detailed scholarship may seem remarkable, but he would doubtless have claimed that he was merely restoring the text to its original state.

placeat is oddly placed; one might have expected to find it after non, where it would damage neither of the good clausulae, vermiculata pictura and erudita distinctio, and at the same time fit into the overall structure of the sentence.

discat primum Psalterium. The intending monk Rusticus, too, was told 'psalterium discatur ad verbum' (epist. 125.11.1). The Psalter held very great importance in the early Church; cf. e.g. Bas. hom. in psalm. 1.2 'Ψαλμὸς δαιμόνων φυγαδευτήριον, τῆς τῶν ἀγγέλων βοηθείας ἐπαγωγή ... εἰσαγομένοις στοιχείωσις, προκοπτόντων αὔξησις, τελειουμένων στήριγμα, ἐκκλησίας φωνή. οὗτος τὰς ἑορτὰς φαιδρύνει, οὗτος τὴν

κατὰ θεὸν λύπην δημιουργεῖ', Ambr. in psalm. 1.8 'de virtute autem prophetiae quid loquar? quod alii annuntiaverunt per aenigmata, huic soli palam atque aperte videtur esse promissum, ut dominus Iesus ex eius semine nasceretur, sicut dixit ad eum dominus: de fructu ventris tui ponam super sedem tuam [Ps. 131.11]. in psalmis itaque nobis non solum nascitur Iesus; sed etiam salutarem illam suscipit corporis passionem, quiescit, resurgit, ascendit ad coelum, sedet ad dexteram patris. id quod nemo praesumpserat hominum dicere, hoc solus hic propheta annuntiavit, postea ipse dominus in evangelio praedicavit [Luke 24.44]', Aug. in psalm. 30.2.3.1 'si orat psalmus, orate; et si gemit, gemite; et si gratulatur, gaudete; et si sperat, sperate; et si timet, timete. omnia enim quae hic conscripta sunt, speculum nostrum sunt' (cf. Aug. conf. 9.4.8, on Augustine's own delight in singing Psalms), Moschus prat. spir. 152 'πῶσα μὲν γὰρ ἡ ἁγία γραφὴ ὠφέλιμός ἐστι, καὶ λυπεῖ οὐ μετρίως τοὺς δαίμονας· ἀλλ' οὐχ οὕτως τούτους λυπεῖ, ὡς τὸ ψαλτήριον' . A great many commentaries on the Psalms were written in both Greek and Latin; cf. epist. 112.20.2-3. See also 4.1 and 9.3.

his ... avocet: cf. epist. 46(Paula and Eustochium). 12.3 'sudans messor psalmis se avocat'. se avocare here means virtually 'amuse oneself', 'take pleasure in'; literally, 'let her distract herself' (from worldly thoughts, etc.).

in Proverbiis ... vitam. Basil too has a place for Proverbs in the education of children; cf. reg. fus. tract. 15.3.

in Ecclesiaste ... mundi sunt: cf. in eccles. 1.1 (CCSL 72.250-1 = PL 23.1012) 'in Ecclesiaste vero maturae virum aetatis instituens, ne quidquam in mundi rebus putet esse perpetuum, sed caduca et brevia universa quae cernimus'. Ecclesiastes, written c. 250-180 BC, carries the suggestion that human life is meaningless; its tone is one of sanctified cynicism. J., however, believing, like all Christians of his time, that the book was written by Solomon, and that like the rest of the OT it presaged the new dispensation, interpreted the book by extensive use of allegory (see his commentary); so here he implies that the preacher despises worldly things in comparison with spiritual.

12.2. pectoris sui cellarium: a familiar expression; cf. e.g. in Ezech. 28.11 (CCSL 75.396 = PL 25.272) 'replevit cellaria et interiora pectoris sui', ps. Aug. serm. 225.5 'intus in cellario cordis tui'.

mandet memoriae: cf. 9.1 with n.

spiritalium nuptiarum epithalamium: for this interpretation of the Song cf. c.7 with nn.

12.3. caveat omnia apocrypha. See introductory n. on this c.

non ad dogmatum ... reverentiam. While apocryphal books may not be called upon to give evidence in doctrinal matters, they may certainly be read for purposes of edification; cf. pref. in libr. Sal. (PL 28.1242-3) 'sicut ergo Iudith, et Tobi, et Machabaeorum libros legit quidem ecclesia, sed inter canonicas scripturas non recipit: sic et haec duo volumina [sc. Sapientiam et Ecclesiasticum] legat ad aedificationem plebis, non ad auctoritatem ecclesiasticorum dogmatum confirmandam'. Judith, for instance, is good because the heroine is castitatis exemplum (cf. pref. in Iudith (PL 29.40)).

Wright translates signorum as 'wondrous tales', which is very vague. In the Vulgate signa (= σημεῖα) often does indicate the miraculous (cf. e.g. Dan. 3.99, John 4.48), but it need not have this connotation (cf. e.g. Luke 2.12 'et hoc vobis signum', where finding the infant Jesus in the manger will be to the shepherds a proof of what they are told by the angel). In the present instance the meaning is probably 'indications of God's power, love, etc.'. I have not noticed any cases of signa meaning 'prefigurations of the NT' - praefiguratio, figurae are generally used - although such a connotation would fit very well here.

non eorum ... praenotantur: 'that they are not really written by those whose names appear on the title-page'. J. is thinking of books such as Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, which were widely believed to be by Solomon; cf. pref. in libr. Sal. (PL 28.1242) 'fertur et πανάρετος Iesu filii Sirach liber, et alius ψευδεπίγραφος qui Sapientia Salomonis inscribitur. quorum priorem, Hebraicum reperi, non Ecclesiasticum, ut apud Latinos; sed Parabolas praenotatum, cui iuncti erant Ecclesiastes et Canticum Canticorum, ut similitudinem Salomonis non solum librorum numero, sed etiam materiarum genere coaequaret. secundus apud Hebraeos nusquam est, quia et ipse stylus Graecam eloquentiam redolet: et nonnulli scriptorum veterum hunc esse Iudaei Philonis affirmant'; also Aug. doctr. christ. 2.13.27, spec. 21.

aurum ... quaerere. Although gold-mud imagery does occur in the Bible (cf. Job 41.21, Zech. 9.3, similes in which gold is compared with mud), images with lutum are much more common in Classical literature; see Otto, pp. 201-3, and the Nachträge. This particular expression is a favourite of J.'s; cf. epist. 54.11.1 'non necesse habes aurum in luto quaerere' 98(tr. from Theophilus).22.1, both in a like context (for the idea cf. epist. 119.11.4). The opposite idea appears in an entirely different context at epist. 66.7.1 'lucet margaritum in sordibus et fulgor gemmae purissimae

etiam in luto radiat' (the gemma is Pammachius, who has just been described as shabbily clad, mingling with the poor, etc.). The notion of seeking gold in mud, as used here, may go back to Virgil; cf. Cassiod. inst. div. 1.1.8 'Vergilius, dum Ennium legeret, a quodam quid faceret inquisitus respondit - aurum in stercore quaero'. But it is not possible to tell whether the expression predates Virgil, or whether it is proverbial at all.

Cypriani ... sequatur. After the Scriptures themselves, Paula should read the works of the great Fathers, a logical enough step. Cf. epist. 54.11.1 'post scripturas sanctas doctorum hominum tractatus lege, eorum dumtaxat, quorum fides nota est'. For Cyprian and Hilary see on epist. 60.10.9; for Athanasius (c. 296 - 373) see articles in RE, OCD, ODCC.

inoffenso decurrat pede. decurrere is often used metaphorically to mean 'run through' mentally, in speaking, etc.; cf. e.g. Quint. inst. 6.1.2 'quae repetemus quam brevissime dicenda sunt, et ... decurrendum per capita'. Here J. extends the image by joining it to inoffenso pede, a familiar phrase; cf. e.g. Tib. 1.7.62 and esp. Ov. trist. 3.4.33 'pede inoffenso spatium decurrere vitae'. Cf. also epist. 100(tr. from Theophilus).6.1 'qui autem inoffenso

cucurrerint gradu et ad calcem venerint praemiorum, novas invenient mansiones'.

pietas fidei: 'the reverence engendered by faith'. fides is belief in God; pietas the positive attitude towards God taken by those who have fides.

vacillet. The great majority of the MSS have vacillat, which seems more appropriate: 'definitely does not waver'. The point of the subjunctive is in any case not clear.

iudicet: 'be critical of them' rather than 'condemn them'.

c.13. J. has finished giving his precepts, and anticipating an objection by Laeta that she will be unable to carry them out in practice, suggests that as soon as she has weaned Paula she should send her to Bethlehem, where the elder Paula, Eustochium, and J. himself will take care of her in the best possible surroundings. He seems very keen that Laeta should do this, and uses various means of persuasion to try to secure her agreement. It is likely that he felt that this course was the best for all those intended for the ascetic life to follow: it would certainly be easier for so rigorous an education to be provided in a monastic environment, and there would be far less

likelihood of backsliding. In the event Paula was eventually sent to Palestine; exactly when is not clear, but she was certainly there by 416 (cf. epist. 134.2.1). Kelly, p. 321, suggests that she may have left Rome after the sack of 410, and made her way slowly to the Holy Land.

13.1. Respondebis .... For the 'interruption' cf. on epist. 60.16.1 Dicat aliquis.

tanta ... Romae. For J.'s view of social life at Rome cf. epist. 43.2.1-2 and esp. 3.3 'habeat sibi Roma suos tumultus, harena saeviat, circus insaniat, theatra luxurient et, quia de nostris dicendum est, matronarum cotidie visitetur senatus'.

ablactaveris ... Isaac: cf. Gen. 21.8 'crevit igitur puer et ablactatus est, fecitque Abraham grande convivium in die ablactationis eius'. It is not altogether clear why J. chooses to compare Paula with Isaac; he may have seen a parallel between Paula's dedication to God and Abraham's intention to sacrifice Isaac to God as an offering.

vestieris cum Samuhele: cf. 1 Sam. 2.18-19. The parallel with Samuel is continued from 3.2-3, where see nn. Samuel too is fully dedicated only after he has been weaned (cf. 1 Sam. 1.21ff.); the verb ablactare is

used here too.

aviae et amitae: i.e. the elder Paula and Eustochium.

redde ... inpone. It is understandable that J. should wish Paula to grow up in the place where Jesus was born, and he may have felt that Laeta would be more willing to release her daughter and send her to him because it was in Bethlehem that his monasteries were. The Biblical sites, and particularly, perhaps, the place of the Nativity, held great significance and fascination for Christians at this time. Egeria in Palestine is interested in places as being the sites where events recorded in the Bible happened; cf. Itin. Eg. passim.

pretiosissimam gemmam: for the image see on 5.3.

cubiculo Mariae: cf. 7.2, with n. on imitetur ... aspexit.

Iesu vagientis. There is nothing in the gospel story about Jesus crying, but there are numerous instances in J. where the image, involving vagire, occurs; cf. e.g. epist. 14.11.2, 64.8.2 'vagientem de praesepe audivimus infantem', 122.4.4. J. appears to like using vagire of babies generally, even when the crying is not significant; cf. e.g. epist. 60.8.2, 77.8.2. In the

case of Jesus, whether the detail is J.'s own invention, or is derived from another writer, perhaps a quasi-Scriptural work, is not clear.

13.2. iurare ... putet. Both swearing and lying are forbidden in the Bible; cf. Matt. 5.34 'ego autem dico vobis, non iurare omnino' (words of Jesus), Col. 3.9 'nolite mentiri invicem', Jas. 5.12. Lying was hateful to God; cf. Prov. 6.16-19, 12.22.

nesciat saeculum: J.'s moral teaching in a nutshell.

vivat angelice. This is the only instance of the adverb angelice noted by TLL. For the 'angelic life' cf. epist. 108.23.7 'omnes sancti ac virgines dei etiam in isto saeculo vitam in se exprimunt angelorum'. The most important aspect of it was of course virginity; cf. Matt. 22.30 'in resurrectione enim neque nubent neque nubentur, sed sunt sicut angeli dei in caelo', with e.g. Athan. epist. ad Am. (PG 26.1173) (quoted at 13.3 in cuius corona ... texitur). Another was fasting (cf. cc.8, 10, with nn.); cf. epist. 100(tr. from Theophilus).10.1 'ieiunia, id est conversationem angelicam', Athan. virg. 7 'νηστεία γὰρ ἀγγέλων βίος ἐστί', Ambr. Hel. 3.4 'ieiunium vita est angelorum'.

in carne sine carne: i.e. corporeal without being subject to all the desires and passions that the flesh is heir to. Both senses of caro (σάρξ) are present at 1 Cor. 5.5 'tradere huiusmodi Satanae in interitum carnis, ut spiritus salvus sit in die domini Iesu': the flesh, regarded as purely physical, is to be physically punished, and, regarded as the prey of lust, to be mortified; cf. Robertson and Plummer, Commentary on 1 Corinthians, p. 99.

omne ... putet. Two reasons probably lie beneath this. If Paula does not realise that most people do not live a monastic life, she will not feel pride, by thinking herself better than others; and she will not be tempted away from it, seeing something more exciting. One recalls J.'s view that it is better to remain ignorant of things which one might like, but which should be rejected; cf. 8.1 Non vescatur ... consuescere with n. (and nesciat saeculum above).

certe ... periculo: an obvious means of persuasion. custodiae periculo = 'the dangers involved in guarding her'. Wright gets something of the sense with 'the responsibility of guardianship', but periculo seems to hint at the troubles that will confront Laeta if she fails in her custodial duty (cf. cc.5-6, esp. 6.4 ut autem oblatam neglegas, ad periculum tuum pertinet).

pavere ad singula. pavere is normally used either absolutely or with a direct object, but may take ad & acc.; cf. e.g. Liv. 5.42.4.

13.3-4. trade Eustochio ... offerres deo! J. now more vigorously prosecutes the task of persuading Laeta to send Paula to Bethlehem. He suggests that Eustochium would be an ideal model for the girl, and the elder Paula an excellent teacher. If Laeta could see them for herself, she would go there too. Together with the emphasis put on the virtues of Eustochium and her mother, J. uses rhetorical means in his efforts to persuade, the most obvious of these being the series of repetitions (trade ... trade; illam videat, illam amet, illam ... miretur; felix virgo, felix Paula) and perhaps the succession of relative clauses (quae ... quae ... cuius), and the final exclamation, which is clearly of some emotional intensity. For geminatio see Lausberg, 1.312-14 (sects. 616-18); epanaphora, 1.318-19 (sect. 629); admirationes, 1.399 (sect. 809), with n. on epist. 1.8.2 o omnibus ... saeculis!.

13.3. cuius nunc ... oratio est. This comment does not seem to have much to do with J.'s wish that Paula should be sent to the Holy Land. It is most unlikely, in view of pro te, that Paula's prayer is that Laeta should let her go, which is what one might have expected in the context. It strains credulity to

suppose that the meaning is 'a prayer on your behalf, that you may come to see the importance of sending her to Palestine'. The statement is, rather, a general one about the little girl, perhaps suggesting that she has already, in her own way, entered on the course of life J. intends her to follow (for oratio see on 9.3).

sanctitatis: i.e. Eustochium's.

primis ... annis: a quotation from Virg. Aen. 8.517 'primis et te miretur ab annis' (Evander speaking to Aeneas about his son Pallas), and obviously very well suited to the present context. The allusion is rather colourless, however, and one may doubt whether many would have recognised its Virgilian origin; certainly J. is not likely to have intended a strong parallel between Eustochium and the young Paula on the one hand, and Aeneas and Pallas on the other.

cuius et sermo ... virtutum est. The importance of good sermo, habitus, and (by implication) incessus, has already been made clear; cf. e.g. 4.1, 4.6-7, 5.1.

repetat ... in filia: 'let her repeat, in the case of her grand-daughter, what she has already put forth in the case of her daughter'; i.e. let her go through with Paula the same training practices that she used for Eustochium.

nutrire, docere, servare: for the asyndeton cf. on epist. 60.16.2.

in cuius corona ... texitur: literally, 'in whose crown is woven each day chastity of the number one hundred'. Wright translates: 'the mystic hundred of chastity'. The notion that the states of marriage, widowhood, and virginity are represented by the seed that brought forth fruit thirty-fold, sixty-fold, and hundred-fold (cf. the parable of the sower (Matt. 13.3ff., Mark 4.3ff.)), is found in other writings of J. The fullest expression of this is at adv. Iovin. 1.3 (PL 23.213-4); cf. also epist. 66.2.1 'in agro terrae bonae tres fructus legimus, centesimum, sexagesimum et tricesimum; in tribus mulieribus et sanguine et virtute coniunctis tria Christi praemia recognosco. Eustochium virginitatis flores metit, Paula laboriosam viduitatis aream terit, Paulina castum matrimonii cubile conservat', 123.8.3. The same idea, though without mention of widowhood, occurs in Athanasius; cf. epist. ad Am. (PG 26.1173) 'δύο γὰρ οὐσῶν ὁδῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ περὶ τούτων, μιᾶς μὲν μετριωτέρας καὶ βιωτικῆς, τοῦ γάμου λέγω· τῆς δὲ ἑτέρας ἀγγελικῆς καὶ ἀνυπερβλήτου, τῆς παρθενίας· εἰ μέν τις τὴν κοσμικὴν, τοῦτ' ἔστι τὸν γάμον, ἕλοιτο, μέμψιν μὲν οὐκ ἔχει· τοσαῦτα δὲ χαμόθεν οὐ λήψεται. λήψεται γάρ, ἐπειδὴ φέρει καὶ αὐτὸς καρπὸν τῶν τριάκοντα. εἰ δὲ τὴν ἀγνὴν τις καὶ ὑπερκόσμιον ἀσπάσοιτο, εἰ καὶ τραχεῖα πρὸ τὴν πρώτην καὶ δυσκατόρθωτος ἡ ὁδὸς, ὅμως ἔχει χαμόθεν

θλυμμοσιώτερα· τὸν γὰρ τέλειον καρπὸν τὴν ἑκατονταδα ἐβλάστησεν'.

At epist. 49.3.1 J. records a stricter application of the idea: 'multo clementiores erga coniugia fuimus omnibus paene Latinis et Graecis tractatoribus, qui centesimum numerum ad martyras referunt, sexagesimum ad virgines, tricesimum ad viduas'.

The organisation of the sentence, with the tricolon quae ... quae ... in cuius corona, suggests strongly that all three relative clauses have the same subject, viz. the elder Paula; she is certainly more appropriate as the subject of quae ... virgines than is Eustochium, who could theoretically be the subject (filia). According to J.'s normal usage, however, centenarii is inappropriate to a widow, and he does not anywhere suggest that widowhood is actually on a par with virginity; it is often called the second grade of chastity (cf. e.g. epist. 24.1.1, 66.3.3, 123.10.1), and its inferiority is certain, closely connected with virginity though it is (cf. e.g. epist. 22.15.2 'centesimus et sexagesimus fructus de uno sunt semine castitatis'). Probably in Paula's case J. felt that her chaste widowhood and concern for virgins merited the highest accolade.

corona and coronare are often found with a metaphorical sense similar to that here, particularly among ecclesiastical writers; cf. e.g. Lact. inst. 4.25.10 'coronam vincentibus et mercedem inmortalitatis inpertit', ps. Hil. libell. 14 'martyrii coronam'.

There are numerous instances in J.; cf. e.g. epist. 7.6.2 'martyrum coronis', 54.1.1 'viduitatis coronam', 108.31.1 'mater tua longo martyrio coronata est', 122.4.1 'volui ... de speciosissimis floribus coronam tibi texere paenitentiae', 123.1.1 'varios testimoniorum flores in unam pudicitiae coronam texuimus'. These last two instances, and perhaps the present one (cf. texitur) indicate that J. often thought of the crown as a floral one. The origin of the crown-image may be 1 Pet. 5.2-4 (of priests) 'pascite qui est in vobis gregem dei, providentes non coacto sed spontanee secundum deum, neque turpis lucri gratia sed voluntarie ... et cum apparuerit princeps pastorum, percipietis inmarcescibilem gloriae coronam' (quoted by J. at epist. 52.7.4); an alternative possibility is Rev. 4.4, but if the crown is regularly conceived of as being made of flowers, this is less likely: 'in circuitu sedis sedilia viginti quattuor, et super thronos viginti quattuor seniores sedentes circumamictos vestimentis albis, et in capitibus eorum coronas aureas [sc. vidi]'.

For the notion that virginity is the best state generally see introduction.

13.4. per ... genere. In 1915 M. Gelzer propounded the theory that under the Empire the term nobilis referred only to those descended from consuls of the Republic; cf. The Nobility of the Principate (Engl.

tr., Oxford, 1969). This view has been much discussed, and convincingly attacked esp. by H. Hill, 'Nobilitas in the Imperial Period', Historia 18 (1969), 230-50. Hill showed that in the Early Empire nobilitas was acquired and transmitted by new consuls without any noble ancestry. T. D. Barnes, 'Who were the Nobility of the Roman Empire?', Phoenix 28 (1974), 444-9, examined the problem for the fourth century, coming to the conclusion that in the Late Empire nobility could be acquired not only through the ordinary (but not suffect) consulship, but also through the praetorian or urban prefecture.

The problems are not all solved, and it is possible that in the fourth century the word nobilitas had wider application. Ammianus uses it twice to designate the senate as a body (cf. 16.10.13, 21.12.24 with Barnes, p. 445), and Hill pointed out that in the Early Empire it was sometimes used loosely, to denote the aristocracy generally. Even on the narrowest interpretation, however, Paula is nobilis, for her family was descended from the Scipiones and Gracchi; cf. on 2.2. But for Christian writers ancestry was unimportant; cf. e.g. epist. 60.8, 148(spurious).21.3 'nec interest, qua quis condicione natus sit, cum omnes in Christo aequaliter renascimur'. They considered people nobilis by reason of their Christian virtues; cf. e.g. epist. 1.9.2, 108.1.1 'nobilis genere, sed multo nobilior sanctitate [sc. Paula senior], 127.1.3

'nihil in illa [sc. Marcella] laudabo, nisi quod proprium est et in eo nobilius, quod opibus et nobilitate contempta facta est paupertate et humilitate nobilior', 130.7.11, 148(spurious).21.1 'nescit religio nostra personas nec condiciones hominum sed animos inspicit, servum et nobilem de moribus pronuntiat', Prud. perist. 10.123-5 'absit ut me nobilem ¦ sanguis parentum praestet aut lex curiae: ¦ generosa Christi secta nobilitat viros' (the following vv. are also illuminating), Bede hist. abb. 1 'nobili quidem stirpe gentis Anglorum progenitus, sed non minori nobilitate mentis'. The present instance is unusual in that Paula's sanctitas is acquired not through her own merits but through those of her aunt and grandmother, an idea closely akin to that expressed in c.1, where the unbelieving Albinus is sanctified by his Christian family.

o si ... intueri: cf. epist. 54.13.5 (encouraging Furia not to remarry): 'o si videres sororem tuam et illud sacri oris eloquium coram audire contingeret, cerneres in parvo corpusculo ingentes animos, audires totam veteris et novi testamenti supellectilem ex illius corde fervere'. This passage, and the present one, may contain a vague allusion to Virg. georg. 4.83 'ingentis animos angusto in pectore versant', which J. quotes (with 'versat' for 'versant') at epist. 79.6.2. The Virgilian context is unimportant (the v. actually

refers to the kings of the bees), and the reminiscence, if such it is, but slight: the idea could readily come to mind of its own accord.

primam ... mutares: i.e. exchange marriage and childbearing for virginity. The prima sententia is clearly explained at adv. Iovin. 1.3 (PL 23.213) 'legimus primam dei sententiam, crescite et multiplicamini, et replete terram [Gen. 1.28]'. For secunda ... lege cf. 1 Cor. 7.34 'mulier innupta et virgo cogitat quae domini sunt, ut sit sancta et corpore et spiritu; quae autem nupta est cogitat quae sunt mundi, quomodo placeat viro'. This v. is quoted at epist. 22.21.9, and the whole c. is illuminating, on how Biblical history shows a drift away from the prima sententia from about the time of Elijah, when the earth was sufficiently populous.

evangelium often refers not simply to the gospels, but to Christian teaching generally.

ne: = Vdl ; as usual, followed by a personal pronoun.

13.5. sed ... distulisti. Although virginity is better, marriage is an honourable state (see introduction), and J. now uses Biblical material to support his argument that Laeta should remain at home but send Paula to Bethlehem.

tempus est ... conplexibus: Eccles. 3.5 (text as Vulgate). In its Biblical context this v. refers to the vanity of life, seen in the constant change around us; to J., however, the whole meaning of Ecclesiastes was different (see on 12.1 in Ecclesiaste ... mundi sunt). The meaning he puts on the v. here is made clear by the quotations which follow: Laeta is to continue in her marriage; the time is not right for her to refrain from embracing. Normally one might expect the v. to be quoted in favour of entering on a life of chastity, as at epist. 22.19.3, and 123.12.2, where J. is urging Geruchia not to remarry, but it obviously lends itself to either interpretation. In his commentary on the book J. gives two possible literal explanations of the v. before going on to consider the possibility that it refers to the embracing of wisdom: 'iuxta simplicem intellegentiam manifestus est sensus. apostolo in verba eadem congruente: nolite fraudare ad invicem, nisi forte ex consensu ad tempus, ut vacetis orationi [1 Cor. 7.5], liberis dandam operam et rursum continentiae. vel quod tempus fuerit amplexandi, quando vigebat illa sententia: crescite et multiplicamini et replete terram [Gen. 1.28]. et tempus procul a complexu fieri, quando successit: tempus in angusto est. superest ut et qui habent uxores, sic sint quasi non habeant [1 Cor. 7.29]' (in eccles. 3.5 (CCSL 72.275 = PL 23.1036)). It is interesting that in both interpretations, as here, J.

makes a connection with 1 Cor. 7.

uxor ... permaneat. The meaning is clear: Laeta has a duty to her husband; she is married and must remain in that vocatio. uxor ... sui = 1 Cor. 7.4 (Vulg.: 'mulier sui corporis potestatem non habet sed vir'), following 7.3 'uxori vir debitum reddat, similiter autem et uxor viro'; unusquisque ... permaneat = 1 Cor. 7.20 (Vulg.: 'in qua vocatione vocatus est ... '). Both vv. are discussed in J.'s full exposition of 1 Cor. 7 at adv. Iovin. 1.7-14 (PL 23.218-34). Of v.4 he writes: 'omnis haec quaestio de his est qui in matrimonio sunt, an eis liceat uxores dimittere, quod et dominus in evangelio prohibuit. unde et apostolus, bonum est homini, ait, uxorem non tangere. sed quia qui semel duxit uxorem, nisi ex consensu, se non valet abstinere, nec dare repudium non peccanti, reddat coniugi debitum: sponte quippe se alligavit, ut reddere cogeretur' (adv. Iovin. 1.7 (PL 23.219-20)); of v.20, 'quando credidit, sive habebat, sive non habebat uxorem, in eo permaneat, in quo vocatus est' (adv. Iovin. 1.11 (PL 23.225-6)). The same interpretations seem appropriate to the vv. in the present context. In expounding 1 Cor. 7 in adv. Iovin., however, J. hints that chastity within marriage is desirable, rather going against the implication of Paul's words at 1 Cor. 7.5; cf. adv. Iovin. 1.7 (PL 23.219) (on 1 Cor. 7.2) 'suam, inquit, habeat [sc. uxorem], sua utatur, quam

habebat antequam crederet, quam bonum erat non tangere, et post fidem Christi sororem tantum nosse, non coniugem, nisi fornicatio tactum eius excusabilem faceret', 1.11 (PL 23.226) 'habeto paulisper uxorem, nec praecurras morantem: exspecta dum sequitur. si egeris patienter, coniux mutabitur in sororem'. He clearly does not expect this of Laeta here (cf. the parallel with Hannah and her five children at 13.5-6), though he may have it in mind for her in the longer term (cf. on totum ... distulisti below).

Cf. also epist. 128.3.2 (on 1 Cor. 7.20 and 18) 'in praeputio quis vocatus est, hoc est habens uxorem et matrimonio pelle circumdatus: non quaerat virginitatis et aeternae pudicitiae nuditatem, quam semel habere desivit, sed utatur vase suo in sanctificatione et pudicitia'.

in domino: a very common expression in St. Paul; cf. e.g. Rom. 16.2, 1 Cor. 16.19, Col. 4.17.

qui ... derelinquat. iugum used of marriage is a common enough metaphor, the image here being that of a chariot with two horses. The passage has a proverbial quality, but I have noticed no parallels. Labourt's explanation catches the sense: 'C.-à-d.: accorder son pas à celui de son conjoint, qui est moins rapide dans le chemin de la perfection, afin qu'il ne tombe pas dans l'impureté'.

totum ... distulisti: 'pay in its entirety in your offspring what you have for the present deferred paying in your own person'. Laeta did not dedicate herself as a virgo Christi; Paula should now stand in her place. In the context totum may imply that for the dedication of Paula to be complete, she should go to Palestine. interim distulisti suggests that J. wants Laeta eventually to devote herself to the life of chastity, like the elder Paula; presumably after her child-bearing days are over, when it may be time longe fieri a conplexibus. Whether J. envisaged her taking up such a life in the event of Toxotius' death, or thought that they might live a chaste life within marriage (cf. on uxor ... permaneat above) is not clear.

13.5-6. Anna ... fidem. J. turns again to the parallel of Hannah and Samuel (cf. 3.2-3 with nn.), by way of giving authority and encouragement to Laeta to give up Paula, her first-born. For the Biblical account see 1 Sam. 1.21ff.

postquam ... recepit is derived from 1 Sam. 1.22. The explanation, however (indecens ... cupiebat), seems to be J.'s own, and squares with his wish that Paula be protected from the saeculum, which will certainly have included the desire for children.

denique ... pepererat makes the point that it is Laeta's duty to hand over Paula to God as soon as possible, and then she will reap great rewards, by

being granted further children (cf. 3.2 fidens ... reddidisti; for Hannah's five children cf. 1 Sam. 2.21). Not only did Hannah never take Samuel back once she had given him to Eli, but she paid the debt engendered by God's answering of her request before looking God in the face, waiting only until Samuel had been weaned to do so. denique = 'indeed', 'what is more'; not 'in short' or 'finally'.

At epist. 125.7.6 J. quotes the example of Hannah and Samuel in encouraging Rusticus to the monastic life, and employs a technique of persuasion which, mutatis mutandis, might have been employed here: 'optat et illa [sc. mater tua] te vivere, non videre ad tempus, ut semper cum Christo videat. Anna Samuhelem non sibi, sed tabernaculo genuit'.

13.6. inmolato sacrificio. Samuel is the real sacrificium, but J. also has in mind the sacrifice of a calf made by Hannah and Elkanah when they offered him (cf. 1 Sam. 1.25). For the expression cf. Ps. 49.14 (LXX) 'immola deo sacrificium laudis' (= 'θῦσον τῷ θεῷ θυσίαν αἰνέσεως'). sacrificium is virtually a cognate acc. after immolare in this phrase, the meaning being simply 'make/offer a sacrifice'.

miraris ... fidem. The connections in sound between miraris felicitatem and imitare fidem strengthens the link J. is trying to show between the two ideas.

et magistrum ... spondeo. J. himself will fulfil the two most important male roles in Paula's education (cf. 4.5, 4.7), and she will be in no danger of corruption. No-one could doubt that J. was a man 'probae aetatis et vitae atque eruditionis' (4.5).

The sentence seems to require me as object to spondeo, with magistrum and nutricium in apposition, and I would print it, though it is read only by Ψ (placed after magistrum).

gestabo humeris: rather like her grandfather; cf. 4.8. Much later, when Paula has grown up and gone to Palestine, J. still talks about her in the same sort of language, though obviously in a metaphorical sense; cf. epist. 153.1.3 'infans Paula, quae in tuis nutrita est manibus, quasi pignus sanctae et venerabilis memoriae Laetae nostris est imposita cervicibus; quod onus utrum ferre valeamus, domini est scire'.

balbutientia senex. The contrast pointed by this juxtaposition is very clear.

multo ... offerendam. J. ends the letter with a strong contrast between the pagan world and the Christian; it is particularly evident in the use of mundi and regnis caelestibus. J.'s task - the education of Paula; note the confident erudiam, indicating that he is sure that he will have her with him at Bethlehem - is much more

important than the education of one of the greatest pagan leaders by one of the greatest philosophers, for Paula is to be ancilla et sponsa Christi (for sponsa Christi cf. on 7.1).

multo gloriosior: 'with much greater pride'.

mundi ... veneno. The philosopher is Aristotle, the king Alexander, who have already appeared in this letter at 4.5, where see n. The passage from Quint. inst. 1.1.23 there quoted continues: 'fingamus igitur Alexandrum dari nobis, impositum gremio dignum tanta cura infantem'; J. may just possibly have had 'impositum gremio' in mind when he wrote gestabo humeris above. The example of Alexander, cut off in his prime, here strongly emphasises the transience of the mundus.

ancillam ... offerendam. The tremendous certainty in these words makes for a most powerful conclusion.

EDITIONS OF ANCIENT TEXTS USED IN CITATION

The editions of ancient texts which have been used for citation in the commentary are given below. In quoting I have for the sake of consistency standardised letter-forms (in particular, v for u-consonantal) and restricted the used of capital letters almost exclusively to proper names and their derivatives. In a very few cases I have made minor changes of punctuation in the interests of sense (the punctuation in quotations from the Vulgate is my own: it is entirely absent from the edition used, where the text is set out per cola et commata). Where an author himself quotes from another text, or introduces an imaginary quotation, I have not used quotation marks: the quotation is almost always clearly indicated in other ways, and where it is not it is frequently because the author has grafted it carefully into his own texture.

Jerome

References to the Letters follow Hilberg (CSEL 54-6); for the letter to Praesidius the text of Morin, Bulletin d'ancienne littérature et d'archéologie chrétiennes 3 (1913), 54-8, is used. J.'s translation and continuation of Eusebius' Chronicle follows the

edition of I. K. Fotheringham (Londinii, 1923). Prefaces to books of the Bible are cited from PL 28-9 (in the edition of 1846). Other works are cited from CCSL 72-8 wherever possible, otherwise from PL 23-6 (1845-6 edition). For convenience volume and page numbers in CCSL and PL are always given; where references to both series appear the form of the quotation is always that of CCSL. Citations from Adversus Rufinum follow PL 23, Lardet's new text (CCSL 79) having been published too late to be used consistently in this thesis.

The Bible

LXX		Rahlfs, 1935
Greek NT		Aland, Black, Metzger, and Wikgren, 1966
Vulgate		Weber, 1969

Greek Authors

Aelian	De natura animalium	Hercher, 1864 (Bibliotheca script. Graec. et Rom. Teubneriana; = Teubner)
	Varia historia	Dilts, 1974 (Teubner)
Aeschylus		Page, 1972 (Oxford Classical Texts; = OCT)
Anthologia Palatina		Stadtmueller, 1894-1906 (Teubner)

Appian	Macedonica	Viereck and Roos, 1962 (Teubner)
Aristotle	Ars rhetorica	Ross, 1959 (OCT)
Asterius of Amasia		PG 40
Athanasius	De virginitate	von der Goltz, 1905 (Texte und Untersuchungen 29)
	Epistula ad Amunem	PG 26
Basil	Epistulae	Courtonne, 1957-66 (Collection Guillaume Budé; = Budé)
	Homilia de gratiarum actione	PG 31
	Homilia in Psalmos	PG 29
	Regulae fusius tractatae	PG 31
	Sermo de renuntiatione saeculi	"
Clement of Alexandria	Paedagogus	PG 8
	Stromateis	PG 8-9
Clement of Rome	Epistle to the Corinthians (1 Clement)	Jaubert, 1971 (Sources chrétiennes 167)
Constitutiones apostolicae		PG 1
Cyril of Alexandria	Commentarius in Lucam	PG 72
Demetrius	De elocutione	Roberts, 1902
Demosthenes	De falsa legatione	Butcher, 1903 (OCT)
	Orationes Philippicae	"

Diodorus Siculus		Dindorf, 1866-8 (Teubner)
Diogenes Laertius		Long, 1964 (OCT)
Euripides		Murray, 1902-13 (OCT)
Eusebius		Dindorf, 1890 (Teubner)
Evagrius Ponticus	Practicus	Guillaumont and Guillaumont, 1971 (Sources chrétiennes 170-1)
Gregory of Nazianzus	Epistulae	Gallay, 1964-7 (Budé)
	Orationes	PG 35-6
	Poemata moralia	PG 37
Gregory of Nyssa	De vita sanctae Macrinae	PG 46
	Homiliae in Canticum canticorum	PG 44
	Oratio consolatoria in Pulcheriam	Spira, 1967 (Gregorii Nysseni Opera, edd. Jaeger and Langerbeck, vol. 9)
Herodotus		Hude, 3rd edn., 1927 (OCT)
Hesiod	Opera et dies	Solmsen, 1970 (OCT)
Homer	Odyssea	Allen, 2nd edn. 1917-19 (OCT)
Isocrates		Benseler and Blass, 2nd edn., 1888-98 (Teubner)
John Chrysostom	Ad viduam iuniorem	PG 48
	De inani gloria	Exarchos, 1962
	De sacerdotio	PG 48

	Epistulae	PG 52
	Homiliae in 1 Epistulam ad Corinthios	PG 61
	Homiliae in Evangelium secundum Matthaeum	PG 57-8
	Quod regulares feminae viris cohabitare non debeant	PG 47
Josephus	Antiquitates Iudaicae	Naber, 1888-93 (Teubner)
	Bellum Iudaicum	Naber, 1895-6 (Teubner)
Julian	Epistulae	Bidez, 1924 (Bude)
Libanius	Epistulae	Foerster, 1921-2 (Teubner)
	Orationes	Foerster, 1903-8 (Teubner)
Lucian	Hermotimus	Iacobitz, 1896 (Teubner)
Mark the deacon		Societatis philologae Bonnensis sodales, 1895 (Teubner)
Menander Rhetor		Russell and Wilson, 1981
(Iohannes) Moschus		PG 87
Nilus		PG 79
Origen	Commentaria in Evangelium secundum Matthaeum	PG 13
	Homilia in 1 Samuelem 28.3-25	Klostermann, 1901
	Homiliae in Ieremiam	PG 13
Philo	Quis rerum divinarum heres sit?	Wendland, 1898 (Philonis Alexandri Opera, edd. Cohn, Wendland, Reiter, Leisegang, vol. 3)

Philostorgius		PG 65
Philostratus	Epistulae eroticae	Benner and Fobes, 1949 (Loeb Classical Library (Loeb): Alciphron, Aelian, Philostratus)
Plato		Burnet, 1900-7 (OCT)
Ps.-Plato	Axiochus	Burnet, 1907 (OCT)
Plotinus		Henry and Schwyzer, 1951-73
Plutarch	Consolatio ad Apollonium	Paton and Wegehaupt, 1925 (Teubner)
	Consolatio ad uxorem	Paton, Pohlenz, Sieveking, 1929 (Teubner)
	De cohibenda ira	"
	De exilio	"
	De tranquillitate animi	"
	Vitae: Aemilius Paullus	Ziegler, 1964 (Teubner)
	Pericles	"
	Publicola	Ziegler, 1969 (Teubner)
Ps.-Plutarch	De liberis educandis	Paton and Wegehaupt, 1925 (Teubner)
Polybius		Büttner and Wobst, 1889-1905 (Teubner)
Polystratus		Wilke, 1905 (Teubner)
Porphyry	Vita Pythagorae	Nauck, 1886 (Teubner)
Sappho		Poetarum Lesbiorum fragmenta, edd. Lobel and Page, 1955

Socrates		Hussey, 1853
Sophocles		Pearson, 1924 (OCT)
Sozomen		Hussey, 1860
Strabo	Geographica	Meineke, 1904-9 (Teubner)
Suidas (The Suda)		Adler, 1928-38
Theodoret	Epistulae	PG 83
	Historia ecclesiastica	PG 82
Zosimus		Mendelssohn, 1887 (Teubner)

Latin Authors

Ps.-Acro	Scholia in Horatii carmina	Keller, 1902 (Teubner)
Afranius		Scaenicae Romanorum poesis fragmenta 2: Comicorum fragmenta, ed. Ribbeck, 1898 (Teubner)
Agroecius		Grammatici Latini, ed. Keil (7 vols. and supp., Lipsiae, 1855-80), vol. 7
Ambrose	De Abraham	CSEL 32
	De bono mortis	"
	De excessu fratris Satyri	CSEL 73
	De fuga saeculi	CSEL 32
	De Helia et ieiunio	"
	De Iacob	"
	De interpellatione Iob et David	"

	De Noe	CSEL 32
	De obitu Theodosii	CSEL 73
	De obitu Valentiniani	"
	De officiis ministrorum	PL 16
	De virginibus	"
	Enarrationes in Psalmos	PL 14
	Epistulae	PL 16
	Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam	CSEL 32
	Hexameron	"
Ps.-Ambrose	Acta Sebastiani martyris	PL 17
	De sacramentis	PL 16
Ambrosiaster	Commentarius in Epistulam ad Romanos	CSEL 81
Ammianus		Gardthausen, 1874-5 (Teubner)
Apringius		Vega, 1940 (Scriptores ecclesiastici Hispano-Latini veteris et medii aevi 10-11)
Apuleius	De Platone	Thomas, 1908 (Teubner)
	Florida	Helm, 1959 (Teubner)
	Metamorphoses	Helm, 1955 (Teubner)
Arnobius		CSEL 4
Augustine	Civitas dei	CCSL 47-8
	Confessiones	Skutsch, Juergens, Schaub, 1969 (Teubner)
	Contra Cresconium	PL 43

	Contra epistulam Parmeniani	PL 43
	De anima et eius origine	PL 44
	De catechizandis rudibus	CCSL 46
	De doctrina christiana	CSEL 80
	De ordine	CSEL 63
	Enarratio in Psalmos	CCSL 38-40
	Epistulae 1-123	CSEL 34
	124-184A	CSEL 44
	185-270	CSEL 57
	Quaestiones in Heptateuchum	CSEL 28
	Sermones	PL 38-9
	Speculum	CSEL 12
Ps.-Augustine	De scala paradisi	PL 40
	Quaestiones novi et veteris testamenti	PL 35
	Sermones	PL 39
Ps.-Aurelius Victor		Pichlmayr and Gruendel, 1970 (Teubner: Aurelius Victor)
Ausonius		Prete, 1978 (Teubner)
Bede	Historia abbatum	Plummer, 1896
Boethius	De consolatione philosophiae	Peiper, 1871 (Teubner)
Caesar	De bello Gallico	du Pontet, 1900 (OCT)
Caper		Grammatici Latini, ed. Keil, vol. 7

Cassian	Contra Nestorium	CSEL 17
Cassiodorus	Iosephi de antiquitatibus Iudaicis librorum versio latina	Schüssler, Augustae Vindelicorum, 1470 (non vidi; see on epist. 60.10.5 mordebantur)
Catullus		Mynors, 1958 (OCT)
Celsus		Marx, 1915
Charisius		Grammatici Latini, ed. Keil, vol. 1
Cicero, letters	Epistulae ad Atticum 1-8	Watt, 1965 (OCT)
	9-16	Shackleton Bailey, 1961 (OCT)
	Epistulae ad Brutum	Watt, 1958 (OCT)
	Epistulae ad familiares	Purser, 1901 (OCT)
	Epistulae ad Q. fratrem	Watt, 1958 (OCT)
philosophical works		Mueller, 1889-98 (Teubner)
rhetorical works	De inventione	Mueller and Friedrich, 1893 (Teubner)
	others	Wilkins, 1902-3 (OCT)
speeches	In Verrem	Peterson, 2nd edn., 1917 (OCT)
	Orationes Philippicae	Clark, 2nd edn., 1918 (OCT)
	others	Clark and Peterson, 1905-10 (OCT)
Claudian		Birt, 1892 (Monumenta Germaniae historica (MGH) 10)

Codex Iustinianus		Krueger, 1954 (Corpus iuris civilis, 11th edn., vol.2)
Codex Theodosianus		Mommsen, 1905
Collatio Alexandri cum Dindimo	see Iulius Valerius	
Columella		Lundström, Josephson, Hedberg, 1897-1968
Curtius		Bardon, 1947-8 (Budé)
Cyprian	De ecclesiae catholicae unitate	CCSL 3
	De habitu virginum	CSEL 3
	De mortalitate	CCSL 3A
	De opere et eleemosynis	"
	De zelo et livore	"
	Epistulae	CSEL 3
Ps.-Damasus		Anthologiae Latinae supplementa 1, ed. Ihm, 1895 (Teubner)
Digesta Iustiniani		Mommsen and Krueger, 1954 (Corpus iuris civilis, 16th edn., vol. 1)
Donatus	Commentum in Terenti Phormionem	Wessner, 1905 (Teubner)
Dracontius		Vollmer, 1905 (MGH 14.1)
Ennodius		CSEL 6

Evagrius Ponticus	Sententiarum ad virgines versio latina	Wilmart, Revue bénédictine 28 (1911), 148-50
Festus		Lindsay, 1913 (Teubner)
Florus	Epitoma de Tito Livio	Rossbach, 1896 (Teubner)
Ps.-Frontinus	Stratagemata	Gundermann, 1888 (Teubner: Frontinus, Stratagemata)
Fronto		Naber, 1867
Gaudentius of Brescia		PL 20
Gellius		Marshall, 1968 (OCT)
Gildas		Mommsen, 1898 (MGH 13)
Hegesippus		CSEL 66
Hesychius		PG (sic) 93
Hilary	Contra Auxentium	PL 10
	Tractatus super Psalmos	CSEL 22
Ps.-Hilary	Libellus	PL 10
Hildebert	Vita sancti Hugonis	PL 159
Horace		Klingner, 1950 (Teubner)
Isidore	Origines	Lindsay, 1911 (OCT)
	Sententiae	PL 83
Itinerarium Egeriae		CCSL 175
Iulius Valerius		Kübler, 1888 (Teubner)

Iulius Victor		Rhetores Latini minores, ed. Halm, 1863
Ps.-Jerome		PL 30
John of Salisbury		PL 199
Jordanes		Mommsen, 1882 (MGH 5.1)
Justin		Seel, 2nd edn., 1972 (Teubner)
Juvenal		Clausen, 1959 (OCT)
Laberius		Scaen. Roman. poes. frag. 2: Com. frag., ed. Ribbeck, 1898 (Teubner)
Lactantius	Divinae institutiones	CSEL 19
	Epitome divinarum institutionum	"
Livy	books 1-5	Ogilvie, 1974 (OCT)
	6-10	Walters and Conway, 1919 (OCT)
	21-25	Walters and Conway, 1928 (OCT)
	26-30	Conway and Johnson, 1934 (OCT)
	31-35	McDonald, 1965 (OCT)
	45	Weissenborn and Müller, 2nd edn., 1881
Lucan		Housman, 1927
Lucretius		Bailey, 2nd edn., 1922
Macer	see Digesta Iustiniani	
Macrobius	Commentarius in Ciceronis Somnium Scipionis	Willis, 1963 (Teubner)
	Saturnalia	"

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Marcianus	see Digesta Iustiniani	
Martial		Lindsay, 2nd edn., 1929 (OCT)
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Naevius		Scaen. Roman. poes. frag. 2: Com. frag., ed. Ribbeck, 1898 (Teubner)
Nonius Marcellus		Lindsay, 1903 (Teubner)
Orosius	Historiae adversus paganos	CSEL 5
Ovid	Amores	Kenney, 1961 (OCT)
	Epistulae ex Ponto	Owen, 1915 (OCT)
	Fasti	Alton, Wormell, Courtney, 1978 (Teubner)
	Metamorphoses	Anderson, 1977 (Teubner)
	Tristia	Owen, 1915 (OCT)
Panegyrici Latini		Mynors, 1964 (OCT)
Paulinus of Milan	Vita Ambrosii	PL 14
Paulinus of Nola	Carmina	CSEL 30
	Epistulae	CSEL 29
(Iulius) Paulus	Sententiae	Iurisprudentiae anteiustinianae reliquiae 2.1, edd. Seckel and Kuebler, 1911 (Teubner)
Pelagius	Epistula ad Demetriadem	PL 30

	Expositio in 2 Epistulam ad Timotheum	Souter, 1926
Persius		Clausen, 1959 (OCT)
Petronius		Buecheler, 1862
Plautus		Lindsay, 1904-5 (OCT)
Pliny the elder	Naturalis historia book 1	Beaujeu, 1950 (Budé)
	book 4	Mayhoff, 1906 (Teubner)
	book 6	"
	book 10	Saint Denis, 1961 (Budé)
	book 12	Ernout, 1949 (Budé)
	book 14	André, 1958 (Budé)
	book 20	André, 1965 (Budé)
	book 33	Mayhoff, 1897 (Teubner)
	book 35	"
Pliny the younger	Epistulae	Mynors, 1963 (OCT)
Possidius		PL 32
Priscian	Institutiones grammaticae	Grammatici Latini, ed. Keil, vols. 2-3
Prudentius		CSEL 61
Quintilian	Institutio oratoria	Winterbottom, 1970 (OCT)
Ps.-Quintilian	Declamationes maiores	Lehnert, 1905 (Teubner)
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Rufinus	Apologia adversus Hieronymum	CCSL 20
	Translatio librorum Origenis in Canticum Canticorum	PG (sic) 13
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	Epistulae	Reynolds, 1965 (OCT)
	Naturales questiones	Gercke, 1907 (Teubner)
	tragedies	Peiper and Richter, 1902 (Teubner)
Servius	Commentarius in Vergilii Aeneida	Thilo and Hagen, 1878-84
Sidonius Apollinaris	Epistulae	Loyen, 1970 (Budé)
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Sisenna	Historiarum fragmenta	Historicorum Romanorum fragmenta, ed. Peter, 1883
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	Thebais	Garrod, 1906 (OCT)
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Tarrutenius Paternus	see Digesta Iustiniani	
Terence		Kauer, Lindsay, Skutsch, 1958 (OCT)
Tertullian		CCSL 1-2
Tibullus		Postgate, 2nd edn., 1924 (OCT)
Ulpian	Liber singularis regularum	Institutionum et regularum iuris Romani syntagma, ed. Gneist, 1880
Valerius Maximus		Kempf, 1888 (Teubner)
Varro	De re rustica	Goetz, 1912 (Teubner)
	Menippearum reliquiae	Buecheler, 1862 (with Petronius)

Velleius Paterculus		Ellis, 1898 (OCT)
Venantius Fortunatus	Carmina	Leo, 1881 (MGH 4.1)
Victricius		PL 20
Virgil		Mynors, 1969 (OCT)

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