THE last of our early commentators is Pelagius. Of his life very little is known. He was a native either of the Roman province Britain or of Ireland, it is uncertain which, as his contemporaries call him now British, now Irish. He wrote expositions of thirteen Epistles of St. Paul in Rome in the period A. D. 406-9: in these he denied original sin. He is afterwards found in Africa with his follower Caelestius, and later defended himself before a synod at Diospolis in Palestine. Ultimately excommunicated in A. D. 417, he disappears entirely from history. He was a lay solitary, distinguished for the purity of his life, and may have retired to his native land, then abandoned by the Romans to barbarian attacks. It is evident that he had received a good education, though he is not quite on the same plane as a writer with Jerome or Augustine, his contemporaries.

The original form of Pelagius' Expositions was only recently discovered, in two copies, one a ninth-century (about A. D. 800) anonymous manuscript at Karlsruhe (Aug. cxix), the other a fifteenth-century manuscript (under the name of Jerome) at Balliol College, Oxford, No. 157. At the time of writing, the work is in type, but not yet published. The writer's heresy and excommunication explain the extraordinary vicissitudes through which his commentary passed. There is apparently no copy in existence with his name upon it. But in addition to the two copies of the original form just referred to, there are many copies of various adaptations of it, which must be briefly described.

The form in the Karlsruhe MS., formerly at Reichenau on Lake Constance, and apparently copied from an Italian MS. in half-uncials of the fifth or sixth century, contains almost the whole of the Pauline text in a form which is nearly identical with the Vulgate. It is significant that the only portions of the text omitted are certain salutations near the end of the Epistles, which Pelagius apparently left out because they did not minister to edification.

The Balliol MS., apparently copied from a MS. in pointed Irish writing of about the year 800, gives an Old-Latin Biblical text, and omits none of the salutations. It differs also from the Karlsruhe MS. in furnishing occasional pieces of comment that are lacking in its rival. These comments are few in number, and almost confined to the Epistle to the Romans. Though not found in the Karlsruhe MS., they appear in certain interpolated manuscripts. But this MS., on the contrary, omits a number of notes, especially on the Epistle to the Philippians.

How do we know that these manuscripts represent the original form? By a comparison with the contemporary quotations made from the commentary by Augustine and Marius Mercator. These are the only two authorities whose form of the text agrees with these quotations. They have also the advantage of being shorter than the rival forms, and are therefore much more likely to be original. Their very character also explains how the expanded forms were constructed.
If we postulate one original form of the commentary, then it would be represented by the type, biblical text as in the Balliol MS. (minus the salutations) plus the expositional text in the Karlsruhe MS. But some will naturally prefer to speak of two original forms, one containing omitted biblical passages and a few notes added to the other. I mean that Pelagius himself may have added a few pieces of text and notes to one copy that were not in the other, or his companion Caelestius may be the author of these additions. The question of biblical text will be considered later in this chapter.

It should here be mentioned that a comprehensive Merton College, Oxford, MS., No. 26, has proved to be a copy of the Balliol MS., as far as the Pelagian part is concerned, and it has therefore no place in the restoration of the archetype.

Certain seventh-century fragments found at Rome, and other early ninth-century fragments found at Freiburg, appear to belong to the same short form, and the Roman fragments, while they support the Balliol MS. in biblical text, support the Karlsruhe MS. in omitting certain short notes that are present in the Balliol MS. The same type of text is also supported by an interpolation made in one family of Ambrosiaster MSS. not later than the sixth century. For a long passage missing at the end of First and the beginning of Second Corinthians, a scribe had substituted the corresponding passage from the original form of the Pelagius commentary. The biblical text of this interpolation amply confirms the Balliol tradition. But we must now turn to the longer manuscripts.

There is a large number of interpolated manuscripts. Most of these attribute the commentary to Jerome, and it is one of these forms that is represented in print, from the ninth volume of Erasmus' edition of Jerome (Basle, 1516) down to the edition in Migne's Patrology, vol. xxx. There are in all ten manuscripts bearing the name of Jerome, and they divide themselves into three classes. First, there is the shorter form, represented by the Echternach MS. (now Paris MS. 9525), which was written before the end of the eighth century, and has a Welsh ancestor; the Salisbury Cathedral MS. 5 (saec. xii); and the Munich Staatsbibliothek MS. 13038 (written at Ratisbon early in the ninth century), as uncorrected. There is also a late copy of this MS. in Munich University Library. The Echternach MS. was that used by Erasmus as the basis of his text. As the manuscript swarms with corruptions, it was a most unfortunate choice, and has vitiated the whole study of the question ever since. The biblical text in this class of MSS. is on the whole Vulgate, but here and there preserves old British readings. It contains a number of notes, by a Pelagian, which are probably not much later in date than the Pelagian original itself. There is no commentary on Hebrews, and the Epistles are in the order i, 2 Thess. Col., the true Pelagian order.

The second type of pseudo-Jerome MSS. is longer than the first, and appears to have been constructed by the addition of the Pelagian notes to an early copy of the Vulgate; for this form is even more Vulgate than the shorter form is. And we not only find the Vulgate text, but we find the prefatory matter and the lists of chapter headings characteristic of Vulgate MSS. duly incorporated. The representatives of this form are Paris, 1853 (saec. viii-ix), Epinal, 6 (saec. ix in.), the corrector of the above-named Munich MS. 13038, Troyes 486 (saec. xii), Florence, R. Bibl. Mediceo-Laur. Plut. xv
dext i (saec. xii ex.), a descendant of the Troyes MS., and Cambridge University Library Ff. 4, 31 (saec. xv). In this family there is a commentary on Hebrews, and the Epistles are in the usual order Col. i, 2 Thess.

The third form is represented by one MS. only, 23 (36) (saec. xii) of the collection at Gottweig Abbey, near Krems, Lower Austria. The existence of this manuscript was first made known by Dom de Bruyne in October 1922 and assigned by him to the second class. An examination of it made in August 1924, by the kind permission of the Abbot and the Prior of Gottweig, has enabled me to say that it belongs neither to the first nor to the second class, but forms a class by itself. It has the same commentary on Hebrews as the second class has, but it has the Epistles in the order i, 2 Thess. Col. It is also without many of the special readings of the second class, and often agrees with MSS. of the first class against the second class. It has some special agreements with the Munich MS. 13038, but very often it goes its own way. Whether it preserves a single true reading of Pelagius that has been lost by all our other authorities it is premature to say, but it is at least clear that it constitutes a class by itself, and will shed a real light on the history of the Pseudo-Jerome form, if it does nothing else.

The St. Gall anonymous MS. 73, of the first half of the ninth century, was made known by Heinrich Zimmer in his Pelagius in Irland (Berlin, 1901). Subsequent study has helped to place it nearer its proper position among the authorities. It is like the copies of pure Pelagius in that it preserves the passages quoted by Augustine and Marius M creator, which have been deliberately excised from the pseudo-Jerome form. It is also like pure Pelagius in First Corinthians, for there, and there alone, it has no interpolations, and it at the same time gives us the same biblical text as is found in the Balliol MS. But elsewhere the biblical text is very close to the Vulgate on the whole, and besides containing the vast majority of pseudo-Jerome interpolations, even those of the longer form, this manuscript, along with passages of genuine Jerome, &c., has the Epistles in the usual order, Col. i, 2 Thess., and has

1 Bulletin tAncienne Litterature chretienne latme, p. 59, n. 3. 3210 E e

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substantially the same commentary on Hebrews as is found in the second family of pseudo-Jerome MSS.

Towards the end of his long life, in the middle of the sixth century, Cassiodorus took the Pelagius commentary, which he had in an anonymous form, without knowing that it was Pelagius, and purged the commentary on Romans from its Pelagian poison, while he left the other twelve to be similarly treated by his pupils. This revision has now been successfully identified with a commentary wrongly published in 1537 by Jean de Gaigny under the name of ' Primasius ', and surviving also in an anonymous twelfth-century manuscript (numbered 270) at Grenoble. This is a definitely anti-Pelagian edition of
Pelagius, from which much Pelagian teaching is absent, and in which passages of Augustine and other writers have been substituted on occasion for the original expositions. This form of the Pelagian commentary was much appreciated in certain quarters in the Middle Ages, and was used by Claudius of Turin, Haymo of Auxerre, and other medieval compilers. The commentary on Hebrews in the printed edition and the manuscript has been proved by Riggenbach to be the work of this Haymo, and to be therefore a ninth-century production, which was attached to the anonymous revision of Pelagius in the same way as Alcuin was attached to Ambrosiaster, and a commentary on Hebrews was added to the second and third forms of the pseudo-Jerome, to complete the set of Pauline commentaries in a day when Hebrews was definitely canonical. Even Pelagius regarded this Epistle as Pauline, though not apparently as canonical.

A very strange manuscript of Veronese origin has survived in Paris B.N. lat. 653, of the end of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century. It represents an anonymous compilation which, from internal evidence, must have been made in Spain some time between the middle of the sixth century and the middle of the eighth. This period covers the life of St. Isidore, Archbishop of Seville, and it may very well be that he himself put the work together. The biblical text agrees mainly with the Vulgate, but where it disagrees, goes most frequently with the Old-Latin manuscript d., the Latin side of Codex Claromontanus. The Epistles are arranged in the Pelagian order, i, 2 Thess. Col. The exposition comprises practically the whole of the original Pelagius, including the passages quoted by Augustine and Marius Mercator, as also part of a short commentary on Hebrews,[3] which bears some relationship to that already referred to as present in two classes of pseudo-Jerome MSS. and the St. Gall MS. 73. The expositions of First and Second Timothy, Titus, and Philemon are practically unaltered Pelagius, but in all the other Epistles the exposition has been enlarged by the use of pseudo-Jerome and of Cassiodorus' revision of Pelagius. The use of the latter is perfectly clear, not only from cases where a note exists in both forms, the Pelagian and the Cassiodorian, but also from cases where the Cassiodorian phraseology is definitely preferred to the Pelagian; for example, in the notes on Rom. xv. 31; 2 Cor. xi. 12, xiii. 10; Eph. ii. 14, v. 32; Col. ii. 20, iv. 5-6 bis. A study of the passages proves that it is the manuscript and not Cassiodorus that is the borrower. But the compiler drew upon still other sources. Jerome Against Jovinian is used without acknowledgement on i Cor. vii, and there are eight very long insertions, three of them controversial passages, where genuine Jerome is followed by passages from Pelagius' work De libero arbitrio, which is otherwise for the most part lost; and of the other five, three would seem to belong to some African writer of the same school as Fulgentius of Ruspe, and to his date, the first half of the sixth century; they are expositions of Trinitarian doctrine. The two remaining fragments occur at the beginning of the MS. and have not been assigned.

Of all authorities for the text of Pelagius none would exceed in value the copy in the possession of Sedulius Scottus, an Irishman who lived and taught in the Rhine country in the middle of the ninth century. For he adopted Pelagius, biblical text and all, as the basis of his collections on St. Paul's Epistles, first printed by Johannes Sichardus at Basle in 1528. The printed text can be considerably improved by reference to the surviving MSS. of Sedulius' work. A study of Sedulius' text proves the accuracy with which he copied
Pelagius' comments, and the author frankly acknowledged his obligations to Pelagius and other early writers by adding symbols in the margin to indicate the authors used, each symbol occurring opposite the beginning of the extract made.

A still earlier writer, Zmaragdus of St. Mihiel, used Pelagius for his Expositio Libri Comitis y compiled about 825. He also acknowledged obligations in the same way as Sedulius. But the symbol P in him seems to indicate, not a pure Pelagius, but a pseudo-Jerome of the second class, unless we contradict the medieval maxim and suppose that he had both. Certain sections prove use of a pseudo-Jerome of the second class, and Zmaragdus was a man of learning who could quite well see that the pseudo-Jerome was not Jerome, but rather a form of Pelagius, even if his copy did not have the name Pelagius on it. The cases here given of writers who used Pelagian material might be added to, but it is of more importance now to name the references to Pelagius' work by his own name, as hitherto the material of the commentary rather than the name has claimed our attention.

Augustine and Marius Mercator are followed by Arnobius Junior, who wrote, perhaps in Rome, about 450. It is not till after the lapse of two hundred years that we come across the next reference, in an Irish-Latin commentary on the *canonical* epistles preserved in a Karlsruhe MS. (cod. Aug. ccxxiii, saec. ix). Soon after this Pelagius is quoted once or twice by name, with every respect, in the Irish Canons. The bulk of the references occur in the ninth century. There are four catalogues belonging to that century, showing that the libraries to which they belonged claimed to possess Pelagius' commentary. The libraries were at St. Riquier in Picardy, at Murbach in Alsace, at Lorsch near Darmstadt, and at St. Gall in north-east Switzerland. After the ninth century there are sporadic references down to and including the thirteenth century. Perhaps the most interesting of these are in a group of manuscripts connected with St. Albans, England, and the close of the twelfth century, where the general preface to the Epistles is rightly given under Pelagius' name.

The Text. The printed text of the pseudo-Jerome expositions swarms with corruptions, of which there can hardly be fewer than six thousand. But the text that can be restored from the recently found authorities, contains very few corrupt passages indeed. It is not too much to say that the reader will find the expositions practically in the state in which they left Pelagius. As regards the biblical texts, they are also in a wonderful state of purity. The bulk of the MSS. furnish a text of great importance for the textual criticism of the Vulgate, and the remainder present us with an Old-Latin text of much interest.

The Biblical Text. As has just been said, the majority of the MSS. furnish us with a very pure Vulgate text. But that this is not the text habitually used by Pelagius, is

1 The Lorsch catalogue should be dated about A.D. 850 (P. Lehmann).
proven by the character of the Pauline quotations which occur in the body of the notes. In that part of the work, where alteration was less likely to be made by scribes, the quotations show a tendency to agree with the text of the Book of Armagh, where it diverges from the Vulgate. This same type of text is that which is given by the Balliol MS. in all the lemmata; throughout in the portion i Cor. xv to 2 Cor. i, used by the early scribe to fill up the gap in Ambrosiaster; from beginning to end of First Corinthians in the St. Gall MS. 73; often in the Veronese MS.; and throughout in Sedulius Scottus. Even MS. A itself sometimes shows a striking agreement with the Book of Armagh against the Vulgate: e.g. i Cor. xii. 2 (where the Balliol MS. is wanting) gentes erati simulacrorum formae similes (with GV.) against cum gentes essetis ad simulacra muta of the Vulgate and most MSS. containing adaptations of Pelagius’ work. 1

As a piece of Latin this text is not as good as the Vulgate. It shows more contact with the text used by St. Ambrose than with that of any other of the Latin Fathers. But in view of the fact that it appears with certain modifications in Gildas, and occasionally in some of the pseudo-Jerome MSS. of the shorter family (the Welsh or Anglo-Saxon family), as well as in the Book of Armagh and the other authorities mentioned above, it would seem that it is really a British text, and if that be so, it is a find of considerable interest. The divergences from this text found in our Pelagian authorities are due to conscious harmonization with the Vulgate. It was only natural that scribes, finding an exposition of the Epistles of St. Paul attributed to St. Jerome, should seek to alter the biblical lemmata to the Vulgate form. They would reason that, if St. Jerome were the author of the expositions, he must have used his own text, the Vulgate, as their basis. 1 Other instructive passages are Rom. ix. n, xv. 24.

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Quotations made in the notes from other parts of the Bible than the Pauline Epistles are uniformly Old-Latin, not Vulgate. These facts suggest that Pelagius took no interest in the Vulgate at all. We pass now to the Expositions themselves.

The shortness of the notes is probably the first characteristic that strikes the reader. They are often shorter than the passage commented on, but they never lack point. Yet, short as they are, they often provide alternative explanations. One explanation will be given, and then another, the latter generally introduced by the word ‘Siue’, but sometimes by ‘Aliter’.

Very often the note points out what the Apostle is not referring to, as a means of making clearer what the reference really is. For example, on Titus i. i, ‘Paul bondsclave of God’, the comment is simply: ‘Not of sin.’

No previous commentators are referred to by name, unless the names of heretics should happen to include such. The vague word quidam (certain persons) is the author's favourite method of referring to other commentators, whose views he generally rejects. It
is one of the interesting and pathetic features of Pelagius' commentary that he condemns by name practically all the leading heretics of the time, Marcionites, Manichaeans, Arians, Photinians, Novatians, Jovinianists, Apollinarians, and Macedonians, and yet was himself destined to become an heresiarch, simply because his teaching contradicted what was not yet a settled part of Christian dogma at all.

In spite of the fact that the exposition is arranged clause by clause, the writer is fully alive to the succession of topics in the Epistles, and not infrequently indicates where the discussion of a particular topic begins or ends.

A curious characteristic is the way in which the notes are often made part of the structure of the Pauline text. For instance, a note will consist on occasion of a relative clause, dependent on some word in the biblical lemma, the note itself therefore not forming even a sentence.

The same underlying ideas reveal themselves throughout the whole commentary. The writer is constantly alluding to the influence of example on conduct, particularly the example of the Apostle on the lives of his converts, and he speaks of the joy the teacher finds in the progress of his pupils. Again, he repeats that we are saved gratuitously, by God's grace, not by our own merits. He very often states the Pauline doctrine that we are justified by faith alone. He also identifies foreknowledge and predestination.

His favourite biblical quotation is from Acts v. 41: 'The apostles departed, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer dishonour for the Name': we find it ten times quoted or alluded to. Another verse, i John iii. 2, 'it is not yet made manifest what we shall be: we know that if he shall be manifested, we shall be like him', is a great favourite of his, as it was of his predecessor, Ambrosiaster. It is also observable that he is fond of quoting the Wisdom literature of the Old Testament (including the Apocrypha).

Pelagius' short notes, though they are the most characteristic, hardly do justice to his real power. I will therefore quote in English a number of his longer notes in addition to certain of the shorter notes:

Rom. i. 16, "I am not ashamed of the Gospel". "This is a skilful attack on the pagans, who, although they are not ashamed to believe that their own God Jupiter changed himself into animals devoid of reason, and lifeless gold, for the gratification of his outrageous lust, yet think that we ought to be ashamed to believe that our Lord for the sake of the salvation of His own image (man) was crucified, in the flesh he had assumed, although in the one there is shocking disgrace, and in the other a pattern of goodness and virtue. At the same time also he attacks those heretics who shun these beliefs as unworthy of God, not under-standing that nothing is more worthy of the Creator than to care for the salvation of His own creation, especially as He, being incapable of suffering, cannot feel in this any loss to his own nature/

Rom. i. 19, "Because that which may be known of God".
What can be naturally known of God, that He is and that He is righteous. Is manifest in them. In their consciences: for every creature testifies that it knows (or is not) God, and shows that it is made by another, whose will it must obey. For if God is the highest good, invisible, incomprehensible, inestimable, and is above all things, that is, one to whom nothing can either be preferred or equalled, either in greatness, or glory, or power, it is clear that this can apply to no creation, which is both seen by the eyes and grasped by the reason and judged by the judging faculty. No creation is greater than all others in every respect, because all surpass one another in turn, some in size, as the heaven and the earth, others in brightness, as the sun and the moon or the stars, others in depth, as the sea. So therefore it is clearly seen that God is no element. Further, that they were made, is shown by their changing quality, which can be no property of eternity. That they did not make themselves is, however, clear, because, if they made themselves, they already existed before they came into being, in order to be able to make themselves, which is a very ridiculous statement. In varying and changing their ranks and yielding to one another, they show that, on the one hand, they were made by one author, and, on the other, that they carry out not their own will, but that of their Lord, whose rule they cannot transgress.

Rom. ii. 3-4, "And reckonest thou this, O man, who judgest them that practise such things, and doest the same, that thou shalt escape the judgment of God? Or despisest thou the richness of His goodness and forbearance and long-suffering, not knowing that the goodness of God leadeth thee to repentance? Or do you flatter yourself that you will get off unpunished for the reason that God does not repay in the present, and considering the length of the time and His overflowing goodness, do you think that there is no judgement now? Hear then the opinion of scripture: "The Lord is not slack concerning his promise, but is long-suffering to you-ward, not wishing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance" (2 Peter iii. 9). He shows His goodness in waiting, His righteousness in punishing, where the prophet warns us: " Do not be slow to turn to the Lord, nor postpone it from day to day: for His wrath comes suddenly, and in time of vengeance will He destroy thee" (Eccli. v. 8-9). And again: "Say not: I have sinned, and what distressful thing happeneth unto me? For the Most High is a patient rewarder" (Eccli. v. 4). Men lead themselves far astray because of God's patience, [and] because He will not punish sinners at once: He is thought either to care very little about human affairs, or to forgive faults, because He postpones. Very many even, contrary to their own interests, ask falsely why He does not repay in the present, not understanding that, if that were done, hardly a human being would have remained, and never would unrighteous men become righteous. The reason why God seems to men to wait long for sinners is that we, living as we do but a short time, think a hundred years an eternity. But He, " with whom a thousand years are as one day " (Ps. xc. 4), does not regard a hundred years as equal to the space of one hour. Thus this is a little matter with God, since even men are in the habit of waiting a long time for the reform of sinners.

Rom. v. 15, " For if by the trespass of the one the many died, much more did the grace of God, and the gift by the grace of the one man, Jesus Christ, abound unto the many ", 
the passage to which Augustine objected, and which brought trouble upon Pelagius:

'Righteousness had more power in making alive than sin had in putting to death, because Adam put to death only himself and those that were to follow, but Christ freed not only those that were then in the body, but also those that were to follow. Those who are against the view that sin is inherited, endeavour thus to attack it: "If", they say, "the sin of Adam injured even those that do not sin, therefore also the righteousness of Christ benefits even those that do not believe, because Paul says that salvation is brought about similarly, or rather to a greater degree, by one, than destruction was previously brought about by one." Then they say: "If baptism cleanses away that old sin, the children of two baptized persons must lack present sin, for they could not transmit to posterity that which they themselves did not at all possess. Further, if the soul is not inherited, but only the flesh, the latter alone has the inherited sin, and it alone deserves punishment." They declare it to be unjust, that a soul born to-day, not from the mass of Adam, should carry so ancient a sin which was another's. They say also that it is inadmissible that God, who forgives one's own sins, should charge us with another's.' Note how what would appear to be Pelagius' own opinions are so curiously put into the mouths of people indicated by the third person. Such a vague, tentative way of putting forward opinions is not common in ancient times.

Rom. xv. 24, "Whenssoever I go unto Spain". 'It is regarded as uncertain whether he was in Spain.'

Rom. xvi. i, "[Phoebe our sister], who is a servant of the church that is at Cenchreae". 'Even as now in oriental places deaconesses, 1 (married?) women, are seen to serve in connexion with their own sex. Either: In Baptism, Or:

1 Cf. i Tim. iii. n (note).

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In the ministry of the word, because we find that women taught privately, like Priscilla, whose husband's name was Aquila.'

Rom. xvi. 14-15, "Salute Asyncritus, Phlegon, Hermes, Patrobas, Hermas and the brethren that are with them: salute Philologus and Julia, Nereus and his sister Olympias, 1 and all the saints that are with them." 'By his own example he teaches us what sort of friends we ought to send greetings to in our letters, not those that are rich in worldly possessions, or in high official positions, but those that are rich in grace and faith/
i Cor. i. 19, "And the prudence of the prudent will I reject". ' By choosing fishermen he condemned the art of rhetoric and philosophy. The question is certainly put from time to time whence comes the wisdom that God condemns: for it is written (Ecclesiasticus i. i) that all wisdom is from the Lord God, that is, gets its beginning from a nature that is good. This is a characteristic of human understanding, that to whatsoever point you stretch it, it follows, and by gradual practice makes progress. This is how many illiterate persons compose poems so choice that men of learning admire them. This understanding, therefore, which God had given for the learning of Himself from the study of His creatures, and for the search into His will, they have turned to the study of the superfluous and the curious. Similarly we can form an estimate of riches and strength and all those things of which we make a bad use/

i. Cor. x. 6, "Now these things were our examples, to the intent we should not lust after evil things, as they also lusted". 'In their case these things really happened, which were in a figure for us, that we might fear to do such things, lest we might incur such punishment. All those things that happened in the case of the people Israel at that time in a figure, are now celebrated in us in reality. 1 Such seems to be the Pelagian text.

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For as they were freed by Moses from Egypt, so we by some bishop or teacher are freed from the present world. Then, when we have become Christians, we are led through deserts, that by practising contempt of the world and abstinence, we may forget the pleasures of Egypt, in such a way that we shall not know how to return to this world. When we cross the sea of baptism, then indeed for us is the devil, with his host, drowned like Pharaoh. Then are we fed with manna, and we do receive of the drink that trickles forth from Christ's side. The brightness also of knowledge is shown, like unto a pillar of fire in the night of this world, and amidst the scorching heat of tribulation we are covered by the cloud of divine consolation. If after all those experiences we sin, they alone will not be able to help us, even as the Hebrews also are told: "A man that hath set at nought Moses' law dieth without compassion on the word of two or three witnesses: of how much sorer punishment, think you, shall he be judged worthy, who hath trodden under foot the Son of God," &c. (Hebr. x. 28 f.).

i Cor. x. 15-16, "Judge ye what I say. The cup of blessing which we bless ". ' The reason why he named the cup first, is that he might discuss the bread at greater length/

i Cor. xiii. 3, "And if I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and if I give my body to be burned, but have not love, it profiteth me nothing". 'It must be noted that contempt of the world is coupled with martyrdom, which contradicts the views of those that strive by various arguments to shut the latter out of the Gospel, where a rich man is thus addressed: " Go, sell all your possessions," &c. For the Apostle, treating of the highest blessing, love, must undoubtedly be believed to have preferred it to great things; for
small things could not be compared with the greatest thing. This is recognized from the examples themselves; for who would not know that to speak with

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the tongues of men and of angels, and to have prophecy, and to know all mysteries, and to possess all knowledge, and to have all faith, and to resign one's self to fires to be burnt, are great things? To those therefore contempt of the world is also joined, which if it were not great, would neither be compared with the highest thing, which is love, nor placed among the great things at all. This overthrows the opinion of those who make out that we are taught to renounce the affairs of the world at a definite time, under stress of persecution, that they may both rob the apostles of their glory, since they did that not willingly, but unwillingly, and make out the perfect of our day to be fools, since they have sought in vain to put into force now what belongs to another period. The question is certainly put how anyone can bear martyrdom without love, if it be experienced not for God's sake, but for that of human glory, or, at least, if one in the act of martyrdom maintain anger against his brother, thinking lightly of Him who ordered us to forget our neighbour's ill nature, showing himself a transgressor even in the moment of death itself.'

i Cor. xiv. 19, "Howbeit in the church I had rather speak five words with my understanding, that I might instruct others also, than ten thousand words in a tongue". I But I prefer to speak a very few words according to my own understanding and in a simple way, in order to do good, rather than many words to do good to no one. Certain people actually ask what are the five words: I must ask them in retaliation what are the ten thousand.'

i Cor. xv. 28, "And when all things have been sub- jected unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subjected to him that did subject all things unto him". ' Here also the Arians misrepresent the truth, and say that after the resurrection of all and the end, the Son will be subjected to the Father, as the less of course to the greater. They must be told in reply that they are impious, because they deny that He is now subjected to the Father. But "subjection" does not always involve a decrease of honour, but is also related to the duty of love, especially as the spirit of the prophets also is said to have been subject to the prophets, that God may be a god not of disagreement, but of peace, seeing that the Lord Himself is recorded to have been subject to Joseph and Mary. Many, it is true, have had various opinions about this section. For certain writers say: "Even as He starves or is fed in the person of His own, when they starve, so also He Himself is subjected in His Church, which is His body." Others say that the human nature itself which He assumed, can in the giving of thanks always be subject

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to the divinity, because by making it one with Himself He subjected everything to it. Many also express other different opinions, which it would take too long to insert and to enumerate.'

2 Cor. iii. 6, "For the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life". Part of the note on this reads: 'Certain writers say that the literal understanding kills, not knowing that neither the literal nor the allegorical interpretation can be everywhere maintained: for although certain statements are figurative, yet, if you try to interpret commands allegorically, emptying them of all their force, you have opened a door of sin to all. 5 This note very well illustrates Pelagius' attitude to allegory. His position is midway between the Antiochian literal interpretation and the Alexandrian allegorical, with perhaps somewhat of a bias in the Antiochian direction. 1

i

2 Cor. xii. 7, "To buffet me, [that I should not be exalted overmuch]". 'By raising up tribulations or pains: for certain commentators say that he suffered from frequent headaches/

Gal. ii. 3, "But not even Titus, who was with me".

1 Cf. in Gal. iv. 24.

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' Ran in vain/ "Being a Greek, was compelled to be circumcised, but it was because of the false brethren privily brought in." He gives reasons why he circumcised Titus, not because circumcision benefited him, but that a threatening stumbling-block might be avoided/

Gal. iii. n, "For the righteous lives by faith". 'Perfect faith consists not only in believing that Christ is, but also in believing Christ,' the distinction between Christum and Christo. It is notable that he says nothing of in Christum.

Eph. i. 10, "To restore all things in Christ, the things in the heavens, and the things upon the earth, in him". 'Many have expressed different opinions on this subject. For some say that heavens is to be taken as meaning souls, earth bodies. Others affirm that heavens means the Jews, who had had heavenly precepts, and that earth means the Gentiles. But others claim that in the heavens the angels were not restored, but that their knowledge had progressed at the time of Christ: for they asked, being ignorant, who was this king of glory, and they are taught that he is the Lord of powers (cf. Ps. xxiv. 10). But since the word restored can only be used of what has fallen, it would be better to say that their joy was restored in the salvation of mankind, that joy which they had had before men fell
away entirely from righteousness: that on earth the race of men was restored by Christ, is known to all/

Phil. iv. 3, "Clement". 'Clement, an ex-philosopher, a man of great learning, who was bishop at Rome/

i Tim. ii. 4, "Who willeth that all men should be saved". 'From this it is proved that God does not force anyone to believe, nor does He take away the freedom of the will: this passage also solves the question of the hardening of Pharaoh, and all other such questions as are flung at us/

i Tim. ii. 9, "Or costly raiment". 'Which from its excessive fineness will not keep out cold, and with whose

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price besides very many human beings of the same nature could have been clothed/

i Tim. iv. 8, "For bodily exercise is profitable for a little". 'Dietings, baths, hunting and such like, which for a short time are helpful to bodily health/

T Tim. v. 6, "For she that giveth herself to pleasure is dead while she liveth". 'Whatever exceeds nature's measure is reckoned as luxury. Here he specially strikes at widows of our time, who though they will not clothe a human being of their own nature even with a rag, yet adorn their walls with valuable marble slabs.'

These notes will perhaps give some idea of the nature of Pelagius' Expositions. They are the work of a man who did not neglect other writers, though he thought for himself, and made up his mind on many questions in the Epistles.

The question of the sources from which the material of the Expositions was derived will perhaps never be fully answered, because so much of the Greek exegetical literature has been lost. Richard Simon and Alfred J. Smith alone have systematically studied Pelagius' indebtedness to literature still surviving, and much yet remains to be done. As Dom Chapman has justly cast suspicion on Pelagius' knowledge of Greek at the time he wrote his expositions, it is a wise procedure to begin with Latin authorities. Dr. Smith has made a thorough comparison of Pelagius on Romans with Ambrosiaster, Origen-Rufinus, and Augustine on the same epistle, and his results may here be summarized, along with such other information as has become available.

Tertullian may have been known to Pelagius. The passage about Rumour in Pelagius on i Thess. i. 8 may have been influenced by the parallel passage in Tertullian's Apology, c. 7 (Oehler, vol. i, p. 138, 10). The reference on
2 Cor. xii. 7 to St. Paul's headaches may have been derived from Tertullian, De Pudicitia, c. 13 (C. S. E. L. xx, p. 245). One or two passages seem to show reading of Tertullian's De Carnis Resurrectione; e.g. c. 57 of Tertullian's treatise refers to the same problem as Pelagius considers on i Con xv. 35, the condition of maimed bodies at the resurrection, and in similar terms; c. 30 on the dry bones of Ezekiel seems reflected on 2 Tim. ii. 8. The passage quoted above (on Rom. i. 19) describes God in terms very like those in the Apology', c. 17, and other later writings like Novatian's De Trinitate. The sentiment that 'the truth is always hated' (in Gal. iv. 16) may be taken from Apology, c. 7. The explanation of the term 'pater familias' (in Col. iv. i) may come from Apology, c. 34.

Cyprian is among those that interpret the 'great house' of 2 Tim. ii. 20 as 'the Church': Pelagius quotes this opinion of 'quidam', but rejects it.

There is very clear evidence of the use of Ambrosiaster, for example:


'It is a debtor's duty to carry' It is a debtor's duty to carry out the law, because the necessity has been imposed by the law, unless he obey, he is condemned. It out, lest he be condemned.'

Rom. vii. 24, 25.

1 Man is double, composed of 'Man of flesh is in a sense flesh and spirit.' double and divided in himself.'

Ambst. in Gal. iii. 13. Pelag. in Rom. viii. 3.

'Even as in the Law (i.e. the victims which in Old Testament) the victim the Law they offered for sin, offered for sins was named were called by the name of "the sin."' ^ sin.'

Other clear cases of borrowing from Ambrosiaster are at i Cor. ix. 9 (pointed out by Mundle, diss. Ambst.,
Ambrosiaster lay open on Pelagius' desk. 1

Nor is there any less certainty about the use of the Origen commentary as translated by Rufinus: 2 we cannot doubt, after Smith's investigation, that it was the translation, not the original, of Origen 3 that lay before him. It would in fact need a very good Greek scholar to-day to read Origen with ease. One or two examples will suffice to prove borrowing by Pelagius:


'But the question is asked 'Certain writers say that sin whether God seems really to is remitted through baptism, preserve judgment towards covered by the labours of peni-those whose iniquities are re-tence, not imputed through mitted through the grace of martyrdom.' baptism, or whose sins are covered through penitence, or those to whom sin must not be imputed, through the glory of martyrdom.

Rom. v. 8, 9.

' commendat vel confirmat in- ' commendat : amabilem facit.' tellegitur vel amabilem facit pro beneficiis praestitis.'

Use of Augustine's small commentaries on Romans by Pelagius has also been pointed out by Dr. Smith, e. g.


' forma ... a contrario, ut quo ' forma a contrario ; hoc est ; modo per ilium mors, sic per sicut ille (Adam) peccati caput, dominum nostrum uita.' ita et iste (Christus) iustitia.'

1 These are additional to those given in Souter, vol. i, pp. 181 ff.


Rom. vii. 2.

'The "mulier" corresponds to 'The "mulier" means the the "anima ". ' "plebs" or the "anima": V

It can also be shown that Augustine's De diversis Quaestionibus ad Simplicianum (date 397) was used by Pelagius. The identification of the 'mulieres' of i Cor. ix. 5 may not come from Augustine De opere monachorum iv. 5, as the same opinion was also expressed by Ambro- siaster and by Jerome, Adversus loquinianum i. 26. It is possible that Augustine's commentary on Galatians was used by Pelagius; cf. both in Gal. iv. 4. 1 There are also parallels between Pelagius and Augustine Contra Faustum (date 400): in 2 Cor. iv. 4 and c. Faust, xxi. 2; in Rom. ii. 26 and Faust, ap. c. Faust, xxv. i (see also the note below): compare, too, in i Thess. ii. 7 and Catech. Rud. x. 15.

I have noticed one parallel with Ambrose (in Ps. 37, 38), namely in Col. iii. 4.

Parallels with Jerome abound. There can be little doubt, I think, that Pelagius used Jerome's commentaries on Galatians, Ephesians, and Titus. Take the following passages of Jerome with their parallels:

Hier. in Gal. iii. i. Pelag. ad loc.

iv. 20 (t. vii. 468 E).

iv. 27 (474 A).

iv. 29(4753).

in Eph. i, 14 (561 c).

i, 22-3 (568 c ff.). in Rom. iii. 4.

prol. iii. (635-6). i Cor. xv. 32.

iii. 18. ad loc.

v. 22-3 (654 E).

vi. 3(6640).

in Tit. i. i (688 D). in i Tim. i. i.

i. 5. iii. 8.

But Pelagius was acquainted also with other works of 1 Quoted in chapter iv above, p. 194. See also c. Faust, xi. 3.
Jerome than his commentaries: De Uiris Inlustribus 5 is used in the general argument to the Epistles, and knowledge of certain of his Epistles, as well as of the Aduersus Heluidium and the Prologus Galeatus, has been pointed out.

Of other Latin Christian writings, Pelagius shows knowledge of the Apostles* Creed, the Baptismal Formula, and the Canon of the Mass.

Long ago Simon 1 stated that Pelagius ordinarily follows the opinions of the Greeks, principally those of Chrysostom. One parallel may be given:

Chrys. in Phil. iv. 15. Pelag.

(*Kowwvr]<rav) cis Xoyov Soo-cws TOJV dantes carnalia et spiritalia o-apKiK&v Kai A^cws TOJI/ Trvevfia- accipientes (2nd explanation).

TIKUU)V.

It has been noted that Pelagius' interpretation of the Kenosis passage (Phil. ii. 6) is Greek and not Latin.

There are many parallels between Pelagius and the Latin translation of Theodore of Mopsuestia's commentary on the shorter Epistles. On Gal. ii. 2 both remark that the phrase 'lest by any means' does not indicate doubt. On i Tim. iii. i both refer to the 'good work', pointing out that it is to this, and not to the high position, that he is urging him, and so on. The question of the relationship between the two is complicated by the loss of the work of Diodorus of Tarsus.

Pelagius seems also to have some school recollections of Lucretius, Virgil, Horace, and Juvenal, possibly also of Seneca.

On the style and language of Pelagius it is not necessary to dwell at length. Though both are adequate, and much superior to that of the pseudo-Jerome as published, they lack distinction, such distinction as we find in Jerome,

1 Hist. crit. des Conttn., p. 242.

or even in Augustine. On the whole he is rather common-place in style, and one of the ways which this shows itself is in the extent of the vocabulary.
As regards word-forms, he prefers the classical uetere to the (originally) poetical ueteri; the genitive plural of present participles ends in -um rather than -turn; and he has throughout a preference for syncopated forms like pmescii } potarunt, iudicarint } over the fuller forms (cf. Rom. xiv. 5 ; 2 Cor. xii. 13 ; Gal. i. 13, 18 ; Eph. v. 21, &c.).

He makes much use of the ablative of the gerund, and of the ablative absolute (particularly abstract noun and present participle). He often separates a noun, usually the object, from its adjunct, by interposing the governing verb. A sentence frequently ends with four long syllables.\[6\]

Calumnia and calumniari, of the statements of heretics, are characteristic; habeo sometimes occurs, followed by a relative word and an infinitive ; folio is found with the ace. of the thing taken away, and the dative of the person from whom it is taken.

There are very few rare words