

16. Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque Municipale 32 (olim 37)

Ambrose, "De apologia prophetae David," "De Joseph patriarcha," "De patriarchis," "De paenitentia,"
"De excessu fratris," Epistolae 64–68
[Ker 6* (p.lxiii); Gneuss 799; Lowe CLA 6: no. 735]

HISTORY: Written in Italy by several hands employing a broad and stately uncial script, probably in the first half of the 6c (Lowe 1953: 11, also previously described by E. Martel in *Catalogue Général* 1872: 4.592–93, where it is assigned to the 7c). Corrections or alterations by a scribe are found occasionally, as on f. 71r. Booklet B was added to Booklet A at the time of writing, Booklet B being distinguished by showing initially a different position for the vertical column of prickmarks and generally thicker membrane, as well as a new set of quire signatures. The manuscript was formerly thought to have been in England in the 8c. But as argued by von Büren (1993: 152–55) the manuscript was at Lorsch by the end of the 8c, where it was annotated on ff. 61r–62r (cf. item 4) by an A-S monk passing through, probably on his way to (or from) Rome, then it was at Corbie in the mid-9c, where it was catalogued (Vatican, Pal. Lat. 1877, f. 49r) and the text was copied (Paris, BN, lat. 12137), before finally moving on to Cluny, where it was catalogued again as no. 103 in the 11c. Unfortunately the loss of leaves at the beginning of the manuscript may have resulted in the loss of information about its provenance.

The manuscript's later history is difficult to reconstruct with certainty (cf. Wilmart 1925: 292–93, n.4). The older suggestion was that it was at Arras at the time of the French Revolution, and therefore previously at St-Vaast. Another suggestion is that it may well have been at St-Bertin. Martène and Durand (1717–1724: 1.2: 184) record seeing there three ancient manuscripts, one of St. Basil, one of St. Ambrose, and one of St. Gregory, "qui ont plus de mil ans," and the present manuscript has been considered a prime candidate for the Ambrose. At the time of the Revolution the books from St-Bertin went to the depot at St-Omer. The manuscripts and books for the library of the newly-founded departmental *École Centrale*

(1795) at Boulogne-sur-Mer were chosen by one man, Jean-Baptiste Isnardi, who was able to select from four revolutionary depots, those at Arras, St-Omer, Montreuil-sur-Mer, and Béthune (see Describers' Preface). When the Écoles Centrales were suppressed in 1802 the books were at the disposition of the town and became the *fonds anciens* of the new Bibliothèque Municipale (Tuleu 1995: 53). Undoubtedly the present manuscript was one of the hundred manuscripts chosen by Isnardi, but this information does not make its history watertight, particularly as Boulogne acquired more manuscripts from St-Vaast (some thirty-two) than from St-Omer (some eight) after the French Revolution (H. Michelant in *Catalogue* 1849–1918: 4 [1872]: 565–69). Moreover, there is another candidate for the Ambrose seen by Martène and Durand at St-Bertin, viz. Boulogne-sur-Mer 35 (*Catalogue* 1849–1918: 4 [1872]: 594–95) dating from the 9c.

During the 18c or early 19c the manuscript was exposed to damp, particularly at the spine, and probably also at the beginning and end, so that an estimated 6 leaves were lost from the first quire and one was lost at the end, and the penultimate pages, ff. 189v–190r, are much faded. At some point, probably in the late 19c, the manuscript was “reorganized” so that Booklet B was more fully integrated with Booklet A by the allocation of new quire signatures that provided the appearance of greater continuity between Booklet B and Booklet A. New titles were added in the top margin, as on ff. 25v, 55v, and also on ff. 185r, 187r, and 189r. Folio numbers were entered at the top right-hand corner of recto leaves. At this time the manuscript was re-sewn and bound, and a binding strip containing 12/13c writing was inserted at the centre of quire XXIV. F. 119 was sewn in in the wrong position (it should be before f. 115). No doubt this reorganization coincided with the late 19c binding of light tan calf on thick card with red morocco for the spine, presently covered in grey paper. A note in red ink on the last paper endleaf, f. 192r, recording ‘190 feuillets | Boulogne sur mer le 17 mai 1884 | Le Conservateur’ followed by his signature, is no doubt contemporary with the binding. Probably in the course of this rebinding some leaves were evidently glued to each other at the hinge, occasionally in defiance of the collational structure (e.g., ff. 26/27, 50/51, 58/59, 66/67). The rubber stamp of the Bibliothèque Municipale at Boulogne-sur-Mer appears in the bottom margin of every recto page. At the time of inspection (October 2006) the manuscript was still in poor condition at the hinges of the bifolia, with several leaves loose (ff. 1, 11, 74, 91, 179) and is due for conservation; it is also the most ancient manuscript in the library. It is described exactly as found in October 2006, using analysis of the textual content to indicate any loss or disordering of leaves that has occurred.

CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION: Folios i + 190 + ii, membrane (with the exception of the paper endleaves) of smooth Italian type, cream-colored on the hair side, measuring 245 × 220 mm., and the written area 205 × 175 mm., with the text disposed in 27 long lines. Some leaves are very fine and thin, as ff. 37, 72. In Booklet B the membrane used is generally thicker than in Booklet A, including some very thick leaves, as ff. 121/126. Holes occur in the text on ff. 5, 7, 13, 23–25, 30, 36, 38, 39, 51, 52, 57, 59, 60, 69, 72, 76, 77, 80, 81, 84, 87–88, 91, 94, 100, 104, 127, 137, 140, 144, 156, 172, 174, and in the margins on ff. 5, 9, 13, 30, 41, 57, 59, 60, 71, 73, 76, 77, 102, 111, 118, 119–120, 128, 131, 132–133, 139, 163, 165, 190. Generally there are fewer holes in Booklet B than in Booklet A. Some leaves have been slit or cut, as ff. 25, 29, 46, 56, 60 (with slight loss of text), 70, 76, 86, 88, 118 (a small portion cut out), 129–130, 131, 132, 141, 151, 184, 189. Flesh outside, all sheets, in quires of 8; see “Collation.”

Pricking in Booklet A: f. 1, prickmarks for the 27 horizontal lines of writing can be seen about 15 mm. beyond the text area of the leaf. Quires II, III, V, VI, VII, IX, X, XI, XII, XV, XVI are similar, but quires IV, VIII, XIII, XIV show the prickmarks only 10 mm. beyond the text area. In Booklet B prickmarks for the 27 horizontal lines of writing can be seen tight in to or very close to the outer frame line of the text area in quires XVII, XVIII, XIX, but in quires XX, XXI, XXII up to about 8 mm. beyond the outer frame line, and in quires XXIII, XXIV, and XXV about 10 mm. beyond the outer frame line. The ruling throughout is for a simple frame in hardpoint on the flesh side, done 1 or 2 bifolia at a time. The ruling generally extends across the gutter at the hinge of the bifolium (as very clearly on ff. 27/34, 121/126) and beyond the column of prickmarks to the edges of the leaves as presently constituted (after cropping). There is writing on the top line. Quire signatures, probably original, on right-hand lower corner of the last page of quires, each booklet beg. with ‘i’; in Booklet B the signature series has been extended using a continuous series (see below).

Red ink (now somewhat faded) is used for rubrics on ff. 25r/v, 55v, 75v, 98v, 99r, 118v, 120r, 181v, 182r, 185r, 187r, and 189r.

COLLATION: Booklet A: Because of the loss of leaves from the beginning of the manuscript reconstruction is required for Quires I-II. Quire I can be tentatively reconstructed as I⁸ lacks 1, 2, 3, 4, 6 and 8 (f. 1 being 5, and f. 2 being 7), II⁸ f. 3 and f. 10 no longer attached (ff. 3–10), III⁸ (ff. 11–18), IV⁸ (ff. 19–26), V⁸ (ff. 27–34), VI⁸ (ff. 35–42), VII⁸ (ff. 43–50), VIII⁸ (ff. 51–58), IX⁸ (ff. 59–66), X⁸ (ff. 67–74), XI⁸ (ff. 75–82), XII⁸ (ff. 83–90), XIII⁸ (ff. 91–98), XIV⁸ (ff. 99–106), XV⁸ (ff. 107–114), XVI⁴ (ff. 115–118);

Booklet B: XVII¹⁺⁸ (ff. 119–127, f. 119 sewn around the bifolium ff. 120/127, but the sequence of the text shows that it belongs in Booklet A between ff. 114 and 115), XVIII⁸ (ff. 128–135), XIX⁸ (ff. 136–143), XX⁸ (ff. 144–151), XXI⁸ (ff. 152–159), XXII⁸ (ff. 160–167), XXIII⁸ (ff. 168–175), XXIV⁸ (ff. 176–183, with a 12/13c binding strip sewn at the centre between ff. 179 and 180), XXV⁸ wants 8 (ff. 184–190).

[Note: Quire XVI, the last in Booklet A, appears to have been originally a quire of 1 + 4, ff. 119 + 115–118. As a result of this weakness in the make-up what is presently f. 119 no doubt became loose and was re-fixed in the wrong sequence. Lowe (1953: 11) records “gatherings of eight (some out of order),” but examination showed that the text follows on sequentially from quire to quire with the sole exception of f. 119 being misplaced. Collation of the manuscript with the text also revealed leaves missing at the beginning (four leaves before f. 1, and one between ff. 1 and 2 and another between ff. 2 and 3). There is also a leaf missing at the end.]

Quire signatures, probably original, at the bottom right-hand margin of the verso page in Booklet A on f. 10 ‘ii’, f. 18 ‘[iii]’ cropped in binding, f. 26 ‘[iiii]’ cropped in binding, f. 34 ‘v’, f. 42 ‘vi’, f. 50 ‘vii’ trimmed in binding, f. 58 ‘viii’ trimmed in binding, f. 66 ‘[viii]’ cropped in binding, f. 82 ‘xi’ trimmed in binding, f. 90 ‘xii’ trimmed in binding, f. 98 ‘[xiii]’ cropped in binding, f. 106 ‘xiiii’ trimmed in binding, f. 114 ‘xv’, f. 118v ‘xvi’, and in Booklet B on ff. 127 ‘i’ but also ‘xvii’ written in a later hand, f. 135 ‘ii’ but also ‘xviii’ written in a later hand, f. 143 ‘iii’ but also ‘xviii’ in a later hand, f. 151 ‘iiii’ but also ‘xx’ in a later hand, f. 159 ‘v’ but also ‘xxi’ in a later hand, f. 167 ‘vi’ but also ‘xxii’ in a later hand, f. 175 ‘vii’ but also ‘xxiii’ in a later hand, f. 183 ‘viii’ trimmed in binding but ‘xxiiii’ in a later hand.

Hair/Flesh: Booklet A: Quire I FHFH, quire II FHFH, quires III–XV FHFH, quire XVI FHF assuming f. 119 included in its rightful place before f. 115; Booklet B: Quires XVII–XXV FHFH.

CONTENTS:

f.i recto blank.

f.i verso Table of Contents in modern ?19c hand headed ‘Ambrosii opera quædam’.

- ff. 1r/1–25r/25: Ambrose, “De apologia prophetæ David ad Theodosium Augustum”: beg. imperf. at ch. 3, §11 (Schenkl 306/8) ‘[qui autem de libera per] repromissionem quæ sunt per allegorian | dicta’; ends [holes]: ‘ut chr(ist)i sibi gratia(m) merca|rentur. cui est honor gloria laus | perpetua cum d(e)o patre et sp(irit)u s(an)c(t)o a sæ|culis et nunc et semper et in omnia sæ|cula sæculorum amen.’ exp(licit) apol-

ogyam | dauid de psalm .I. 'explicit' (coll. Schenkl 1897: 299–355; as PL 14.856–84; cf. *CPL* 135).

[Note: Up to four folios of text are lacking at the beginning (= 7 pages in Schenkl's ed.; the 49 sides of the text = 48 pages in Schenkl). Lacunae in the text occur as follows: (a) between f. 1v, ending 'erroris offensa [reuocauit]' = ch. 3, §13 (Schenkl 308/4), and f. 2r beginning '[tam facile] iurare et incerta uouere pro certis quoru(m)' = ch. 4, §16 (Schenkl 309/21), and a 19c hand correctly records this leaf as missing before f. 2 'deest folium'; (b) between f. 2v ending 'munus auctoris [tamen non pretiosis aliquibus]' = ch. 5, §21 (Schenkl 311/15), and f. 3r beginning '[per lauacrum regenerationis] et infusionem sp(iritu)s sancti ait securus ueniae' = ch. 5, §23 (Schenkl 313/16), and a 19c hand correctly records this leaf as missing before f. 3 'deest aliud folium'. The text follows on from ff. 3v to 4r, from ff. 9v to 10r, and from ff. 10v to 11r, that is, the leaves are correctly ordered.]

2. ff.25r/25–55v/2 Ambrose, "De Joseph patriarcha": inc(ipit) de ioseph liber .I. | lege filix [*sic*] in chr(ist)o ie(s)u d(omi)no nostro || 'Sanctorum vita ceteris norma vivendi | est'; ends: 'et audite istrahel [*sic*] patrem uestrum.' || [at top of f. 55v in a marked-out frame] EXP(LICIT) LIB(ER) PRIMVS | DE IOSEPH. (coll. Schenkl 1897: 73–122; as PL 14.641–72; cf. *CPL* 131).

3. ff.55v/8–75v/3 Ambrose, "De patriarchis": [heading continues in the marked-out frame at the top of f. 55v] INC(IPIT) DE PATRIARCHIS | 'Primum omnium quantam discimus pa|rentibus'; ends: 'ego plantauit apollo rigauit.' | [in a marked-out frame] EXP(LICIT) DE PATRIARCHIS [*sic*] (coll. Schenkl 1897: 125–60; as PL 14. 673–94; cf. *CPL* 132).

A-S Content: OE gloss f. 62r (top) 'uit'h'laes' (8c) to Latin 'conluuionis' (= Schenkl 135/17 & n.; reproduced by Lowe 1953, ed. Meritt 1957: 66; cf. also Vaciago 1993: 3); two Latin glosses in the same A-S script, by f. 61r/5 (margin) 'sine | sorte' to 'exorte' (= Schenkl 134/4 & n.) and f. 61v/1, 'hereticos' to 'futuros' (= Schenkl 134/20 & n.).

4. ff. 75v/4–118v/11 + f. 119r/1–119v/27 Ambrose, "De paenitentia" (coll. Faller 1955: 117–206; as PL 16.465–524; cf. *CPL* 156):

ff. 75v/4–98v/22 Bk. 1: [heading (faint) continues in the marked frame at f. 75v/4–10] INC(IPIT) TRACTATVS | EP(ISCOP)I AMBROSI PAENITENTIA(E) FILICITER. | 'Si uatum finis ille est maximus qui plurimo|rum spectat profectum'; ends: 'quam adsumpta credatur' | [in a marked-out frame, alternating brown and red ink] DE PENITENTIA EXPLICIT | LIBER PRIMVS (Faller 119–63);

ff. 98v/22–114v/27 + f. 119rv + 115r/1–118v/11 Bk. 2: [heading continues in the marked-out frame, with words and letters alternating between brown and red ink] INC(IPIT) | SECVNDVS FILICITER || 'Etsi non

pauca quae ad cohortationem pae|nitentiae'; ends: 'et gressus omnes mundi | istius nexu debemus obsoluere.' | [in a marked-out frame, the words alternating between red (very faint) and brown ink, and the letters so alternating in the last word] TRACTATVS PAENITENTIAE | EXPLICIT LIBER II | FILICITER. (Faller 163–206).

[Note: F. 119rv, beg. 'quod speraueris inpetrare merearis' (= Faller 196/6, *De paen.* II.9, §80) and ending 'quia uestem illam' (= Faller 198/46, *De paen.* II.9, §88) is misplaced and belongs after f. 114v, which ends 'quod debitum est [ut]', and before f. 115r, which begins 'ablutionis et gratiae sordidarunt'. A modern note marks the misplaced folio, f. 114v, bottom.]

5. Ambrose, "De excessu fratris" (coll. Faller 1955: 209–325; as PL 16.1289–1354; *CPL* 157):

ff. 120r/1–142v/1 Bk. 1: Inc(ipit) liber I de excessu. fratris s(an)c(t)i ambrosi | (line 3) 'Deduximus fratres dilectissimi hostiam | meam hostiam incontaminatam'; ends: 'si cito cogar exsoluere' || Exp(licit) lib(er) I (Faller 209–51);

ff. 142v/1–181v/27 Inc(ipit) lib(er) II de fratre s(an)c(t)i ambrosi | 'Superiore libro aliquid indulimus de|siderio'; ends: 'supra naturam sit | ut mortem iam timere nequeamus.' | [in a marked-out area] Exp(licit) liber secundus | lege felex in chr(ist)o ie(su)m (Faller 251–325).

[Note: Below the last text-line is copied in a small uncial script 'in corruptelam et mortale hoc induat hs' with a *signe de renvoi* 'hd' four lines up at 'hoc induat' to indicate the haplography (the text runs "ut corruptibile hoc induat in corruptelam et mortale hoc induat immortalitatem").] [1 Cor. 15:53]

6. Ambrose, Epistolae 64–68 [74, 75, 78, 80, 26] (cf. *CPL* 160):

a. ff. 182r/1–185r/14 Ep. 64 [74], Ambrosius Irenaeo: 'Audisti frater hodie lectum in apostolo quia | lex pedagogus noster'; ends: 'ecce in timore uestro ipsi timebunt quos | timebatis.' [in a large space left for rubric] EXPLICIT EPISTULA I (coll. Zelzer 1990:149–55; as Ep. 74, PL 16.1254–57);

b. ff. 185r/14–187r/8 Ep. 65 [75], Ambrosius Clementiano: [continuing in rubric space] INCIPIT .II. | FILICITER LEGE IN CHR(IST)O IE(SU) | 'Etsi sciam quod nihil difficilius sit'; ends: 'in mensura aetatis plenitudinis chr(ist)i' | [in large space left for rubric] Exp(licit) epistula II (coll. Zelzer 1990: 156–9; ed. as Ep. 75, PL 16.1257–59);

c. ff. 187r/8–189r/13 Ep. 66 [78], Ambrosius Orontiano: [continuing in rubric space] Inc(ipit) epistula | .III. lege filiciter in chr(ist)o ie(su) | 'Si abraham credidit d(e)o et reputatum est | ei ad iustitiam'; ends: 'mihi mundus crucifixus est et ego mun|do' | [in large space left for

- rubric] Exp(licit) epistula III. (coll. Zelzer 1990: 160–64; as Ep. 78, PL 16.1267–69);
- d. ff. 189r/13–190v/17 Ep. 67 [80], Ambrose to an unknown recipient (PL: “Ambrosius Bellicio”): [continuing in rubric space] **Incipit | epistula .IIII. lege feliciter amen** | ‘Audisti frater lectionem euangelii. in qua | decursum est’; ends: ‘Tunc pro|sunt quando nocere se credunt’ (coll. Zelzer 1990: 165–8; as Ep. 80, PL 16.1271–73);
- e. f. 190v/17–27, following without a break, but indicated by a small added mark ‘#’: Ep. 68 [26], Ambrosius Irenaeo: beg. at §2 ‘Semper | quidem decantata quaestio et celebris ab|solutio fuit mulieris eius’; ends imperf. at §3: ‘sed vehemen|tior facta est posteaquam episcopi reos [. . .]’ (coll. Zelzer 1990: 169; as Ep. 26, PL 16.1042) [a leaf has been lost after f. 190].

PHOTO NOTES: Generally pretty clear with most folio numbers legible, but some letters/words rather faint, especially, for example, on ff. 89r, 189v–190r, where the text of the manuscript is itself faint.

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