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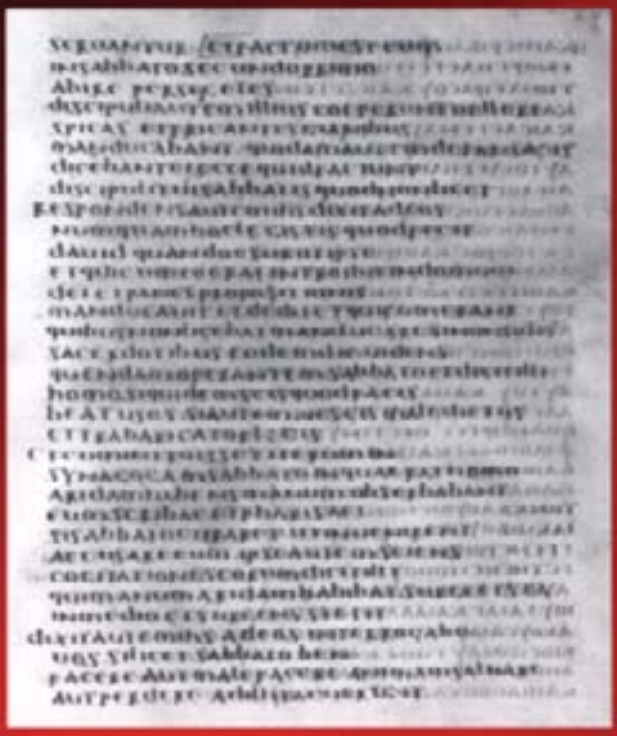
THE OLD LATIN GOSPELS

A STUDY OF THEIR TEXTS AND LANGUAGE



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PHILIP BURTON

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PREFACE

This book is the first attempt to give a general account of the language and textual history of the Old Latin Gospels. My first encounter with the Old Latin Gospels was in an undergraduate class on vulgar Latin, ten years ago. Dissatisfaction with a received opinion piqued my interest, and led me to choose them as a topic for my doctoral dissertation. In preparing that dissertation, I found myself trespassing into various fields not on my original route; from textual transmission to early Christian studies, from Romance philology to translation theory. It is hoped this work will be of interest to specialists in these and related fields; and that where others are in turn dissatisfied with it, they will be sufficiently intrigued to go out and prove me wrong.

As a novice author, I have many debts of gratitude to acknowledge, First among these is to the teachers who first introduced me to Latin and to New Testament studies: Stan Wolfson, John Arnold, and Tony Collier. Among my University teachers, my greatest debt is undoubtedly to Bob Coleman. It was disagreement with a remark of his that first led me to study the Old Latin Gospels for myself; that was not our last disagreement, but I hope I have learnt as much from his patient courtesy towards a brash and opinionated student as I have from his massive knowledge of Latin and linguistics. The faults in this book were such as neither he nor anyone else could talk me out of. The Faculty of Classics in Cambridge, and later the University of St Andrews, have both in their very different ways provided both support and stimulation; my thanks go to both. Jim Adams and †Caroline Bammel, who examined my original dissertation, offered many useful suggestions. The world knows their scholarship too well for it to need any encomium here. Gillian Clark was generous in encouraging me to produce this book; Roger Wright was bracingly clear-headed as ever. Hilary O'Shea, Enid Barker, Georga Godwin, and Virginia Williams were kindly, efficient, and made sure this work sneaked in before the Research Assessment Exercise door slammed shut.

My biggest debts I cannot well describe, let alone repay, to my parents, and to Cristina.

P.H.B.

Crail

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ABBREVIATIONS

BDF	Blass, F., Debrunner, A., and Funk, R. W. (1961). *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (1863–). Berlin: Reimer.
DELL	Ernout, A., and Meillet A. (eds.) (1959). *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine* (4th edn.). Paris: Klincksieck.
Fr.	French.
It.	Italian.
LHS	Leumann, M., Hofmann, J. B., and Szantyr, A. (1965–8). *Lateinische Grammatik. Auf der Grundlage des Werkes von Friedrich Stolz und Joseph Herman Schmalz.* Munich: C. H. Beck.
MJA	see Bibliography, Jülicher (1963) (1970) (1972) (1976).
NA	see Bibliography, Nestlé, Aland *et al.* (1985).
NJBC	Brown, R. E., Fitzmeyer, J. A., and Murphy, R. E. (1989). *New Jerome Biblical Commentary.* London: Geoffrey Chapman.
NT	New Testament.
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary.*
OLD	Glare, P. (ed.) (1982). *Oxford Latin Dictionary.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.
OLG	Old Latin Gospels.
OOLBT	*Oxford Old-Latin Biblical Texts.* See Wordsworth (1883, 1886), White (1888), Buchanan (1907, 1911).
Port.	Portuguese.
REW	Meyer-Lübke, W. (ed.) (1911–20). *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch.* Heidelberg: C. Winter.
Rom.	Romanian.
RSV	Revised Standard Version.
Sp.	Spanish.
TDNT	Kittel, G. (1964). *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* (English trans. and ed. by G. W. Bromily). Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, and Exeter: Paternoster.
TLL	*Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (1900–). Liepzig: Teubner.
Vg	Vulgate.

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Part I

The Textual History of the Old Latin Gospels

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I

Lines of Enquiry

1.1 Introduction

There are preserved in libraries across Europe some thirty manuscripts, some very fragmentary, which contain translations of the four canonical Gospels which predate the Vulgate of Jerome. These manuscripts, of which about ten are extant at any given point, are collectively known as the 'Old Latin Gospels' (hereafter OLG). The textual relations and language of these manuscripts have received considerable, if uneven, attention from philologists and theologians. This present study is an attempt both to synthesize their work, and to advance it. Three main questions are addressed. How did the OLG come into being? What are the techniques employed by their translators? How far can they be used as sources for the development of post-classical Latin?[1]

These questions are closely intertwined. Our enquiry into the origins of these versions will take its starting-point from an examination of the translation of certain key words. The knowledge thus gained may cast light on their value as sources for post-classical Latin. An evaluation of the position of the OLG within post-classical Latin will, in turn, help us to see how far the translators are prepared to follow everyday patterns of speech and how far they felt bound by the constraints of *latinitas*.

At this stage it is important to delimit the areas that will not be touched upon.

First, our current concern is solely with the Gospels and not with other parts of the Scriptures. Loose references to 'the Latin Bible' appear to presuppose a single monolithic translation; no such homogeneity has

[1] An essential introduction to the Old Latin New Testament is given by Fischer (1972). Good surveys of the issues in Old Latin studies are given in Schäfer (1957), Metzger (1977: 285–330), Reichmann (1980), Bogaert (1988), and Elliot (1992). For an exhaustive bibliography of Old Latin and cognate studies in recent years see Bogaert (1974, 1995) and Gribomont (1991). These works between them may be taken as representing the scholarly consensus.

been demonstrated, and the term is therefore misleading. Statements made about the origins, translation technique, and language of one part of the Bible should not be generalized to the Bible as a whole.

Secondly, we are not directly concerned with the identification of the types of Greek text underlying the various Latin traditions, nor with the value of the OLG for the textual criticism of the Greek Gospels.[2] However, the possibility that a particular Latin reading is due to a Greek variant will be raised from time to time, even when the putative variant does not appear in any extant manuscript. The conditions under which the possibility of such an unattested Greek reading may be raised are discussed later in this chapter.

Thirdly, we are not directly concerned with the Biblical citations given in the patristic writings.[3] The volume of patristic citations of the Gospels would prohibit more than the most cursory examination of this material. In addition to this, there are unique problems with the patristic citations. On encountering a Scriptural reference in the Fathers, we do not necessarily know whether it is intended to be an exact quotation or a loose allusion or conflation of references; whether the writer is making his own version or quoting from an existing one; whether he has the text in front of him or is quoting from memory. Moreover, while there was no official policy before the sixteenth century of substituting the Vulgate readings for the original references in patristic texts, none the less it is likely that copyists familiar with the Vulgate (or other Old Latin, or liturgical) forms of a given passage would unconsciously introduce the words they knew best into their copies of the Fathers. The patristic citations are thus too complex to be dealt with in sufficient depth. However, the Oxford Old Latin editors (of whom more presently) of the last century developed the technique of comparing the readings given in the manuscript traditions with those in the patristic writings, as a means of giving a *terminus post quem* and perhaps a provenance for the various manuscript traditions.

[2] Aland's view (in Nestle *et al.* 1985: 54) that 'the early versions . . . are frequently unwarrantedly overrated' may stand (despite its tautology) as typical of current critical opinion. *Contra* Gryson (1988) argues that the Old Latin is a 'témoin privilégié du texte du Nouveau Testament'; his argument is cogent for the passage (Matthew 13: 13–15) on which he concentrates, but it is invalid to extrapolate from this to the rest of the Gospels, let alone the NT (New Testament) as a whole. Certainly the OLG may be used to reconstruct Greek readings from the third and fourth centuries; these readings should then be subject to the normal rules of textual criticism.

[3] On the general problem of using patristic citations see Frede (1972).

1.2 Terminology: 'Old Latin' and 'Itala'

The term 'Old Latin' (*Vetus Latina*) is now the generally accepted name for the pre-Jerome translations. The name *Itala* is often found in the older secondary literature. This term derives from a passage in the second book of Augustine's *de Doctrina Christiana*:

(2. 11) *Qui enim scripturas ex hebraea lingua in graecam verterunt numerari possunt, latini autem interpretes nullo modo. Ut enim cuique primis fidei temporibus in manus venit codex graecus et aliquantulum facultatis sibi utriusque linguae habere videbatur, ausus est interpretari . . .* (2. 15) *In ipsis autem interpretationibus Itala ceteris praeferatur, nam est verborum tenacior cum perspicuitate sententiae.*

The conflicting views on this controversial passage are admirably summarized in Schildenberger (1952),[4] from which it appears that there are three main opinions.

1. The passage is corrupt. This view was first put forward by Richard Bentley, who proposed the rather banal emendation *illa ceteris praeferatur quae est verborum tenacior. . . .* More recent critics have attempted various emendations involving the name of Aquila, the Jewish proselyte who prepared a very literal Greek version of the Jewish scriptures around AD 130. These conjectures, however, lack textual support, and cannot always be justified as being appropriate to the argument of the passage.

2. It is a reference to the Vulgate. Augustine (according to Schildenberger) does quote Isaiah 7: 9 and Isaiah 58: 7 in *de Doctrina Christiana* 2. 17 in a form similar to that of the Vulgate, but even if this is not coincidental it cannot be taken to be a wholesale endorsement of Jerome's work.[5] Nor is there any other evidence for *Itala* as a name of the Vulgate.

3. It is a reference to an existing Old Latin tradition. This is the traditional interpretation, held by Sabatier and Jülicher; it is also upheld by Schildenberger. It is rather more plausible than the alternatives, but presents two main problems. First, it seems to take *Itala* to refer to a single translation of the whole canon of Scripture. In fact one- or two-volume sets of this sort (that is, pandects) are not known to have existed before the sixth century. It is known that translations of some

[4] See also summary in Metzger (1977: 290–3).

[5] 'Augustine appears to have used Jerome's gospels regularly since about the year 400, yet nowhere does he betray the slightest knowledge of a version by Jerome of any other book in the New Testament . . . nor does he ever appear to quote the Vulgate beyond the gospels' (Sparks 1970: 519).

related books of the New Testament were circulated together; this is true of the Pauline corpus and the Catholic Epistles, and, it will be argued, of the Gospels too. But it is strange that Augustine should be able to speak without further qualification of a single *Itala*. Secondly, it is impossible to tie the term *Itala* to a single known tradition; Augustine's many biblical citations and allusions have not been identified with any one extant manuscript type.

The complications of this issue are such that, as the distinguished scholar Bonifatius Fischer observes, the term is best avoided.[6] Accordingly, we shall concentrate instead on the actual texts of the manuscripts, and on what can be deduced about their relationships on purely internal grounds. The channels of communication between Latin Christian communities by which the various traditions circulated lie outside the scope of the present study; an evaluation of what the manuscript relations *are* must precede a study of how they came about.

1.3 Vulgate and Mixed Texts

Although we have talked in terms of a division between 'Old Latin' and 'Vulgate' translations, it should be noted that this division is in practice not such a neat one. The Vulgate Gospels were, as Jerome states, intended to be a minimal revision of the existing Old Latin versions, and do bear a strong resemblance to them.[7] It has also been questioned how far modern texts of the Vulgate actually represent Jerome's work. There are two main problems: first, knowing which books Jerome actually revised; and secondly, knowing in the case of the books he did revise how far the extant manuscripts actually represent his work. As to the Gospels, it is beyond doubt that Jerome did revise them, and the manuscript evidence for them is extremely good. All the great early Vulgate manuscripts—Codex Amiatinus (C8), Codex Cavensis (C9), Codex Dublinensis (C8–9),

[6] 'Heute wird es besser vermieden, weil er unklar ist, hauptsächlich wegen der verschiedenartigen Bedeutungen, die ihm beigelegt werden' (Fischer 1972: 5).

[7] In the *Epistula ad Damasum* prefatory to the Vulgate Gospels Jerome writes '. . . *ita calamo imperavimus* (or *temperavimus*) *ut his tantum quae sensum videbantur mutare correctis, reliqua manere pateremur ut fuerant*'; the nature of Jerome's linguistic revision is examined in Appendix 1. The Greek and Latin bases of the Vulgate Gospels are analysed by Vogels (1928*a*). On the general background to Jerome's work see Sparks (1970), Kelly (1975). On the early textual history of the Vulgate see Berger (1893).

Codex Fuldensis (C6), Codex Mediolanensis (C6), Lindisfarne Gospels (C7), Codex Harleianus (C6–7), Codex Sangallensis (C5), Pierpoint Gospels (C10)—contain the Gospels. Modern editors are thus able to go beyond the revision associated with Alcuin, not to mention the much later Sixtine and Clementine editions.

The Old Latin texts did not go out of use when the Vulgate appeared. The oldest extant Old Latin manuscripts date only to the end of the fourth century, that is, around the time when the Vulgate appeared. Most date from around the fifth to eighth centuries, with the latest from the thirteenth. The Old Latin texts were thus in circulation alongside the Vulgate. Inevitably, there was much cross-fertilization between the two traditions, as Vulgate readings crept into texts that were basically Old Latin, and vice versa. In modern times it has become customary to describe as 'mixed' those texts which are fundamentally Old Latin in type, but with a distinctive Vulgate overlay.

It is not always easy to distinguish in any individual passage whether a manuscript should be regarded as Vulgate or Old Latin. However, given a larger portion of the text, the identification becomes easier. The most distinctive feature is the *readings* of the text. Jerome's major contribution to Latin Gospels was his ability as a textual critic; at many points the Vulgate differs from the Old Latin in following a text closer to that found in modern Greek editions. The *renderings* are also important; if a manuscript *frequently* agrees in its renderings with the Vulgate *against* the undisputed Old Latin traditions, it is likely to be a mixed text. (Occasional correspondences are non-diagnostic; the copyist may be unconsciously recalling the Vulgate, or coincidentally altering the wording in the direction of the Vulgate, or simply copying older material which had anticipated the Vulgate.) The third feature of mixed texts is the order of the Gospels. 'Pure' Old Latin texts have the 'Western' order Matthew–John–Mark–Luke (found also in the Greek 'Western Text' and the Gothic version), whereas Jerome preferred the more familiar 'Eastern Order'.

Of the thirteen main manuscripts traditionally classed as Old Latin (see Chapter 2), no fewer than six are mixed texts. The level of Vulgate admixture varies considerably; it will be argued that in John two so-called 'Old Latin' manuscripts are basically Vulgate texts with Old Latin elements rather than the reverse. Nor is it always easy to identify which elements within a mixed text are Old Latin and which are Vulgate. For the purposes of this study the following principle will be observed: *any reading found in a known mixed text, agreeing with the Vulgate*

but not found outside the Vulgate and the other mixed texts, may be attributed to Vulgate influence.

Occasional similarities between Old Latin and Vulgate manuscripts may of course be coincidental; but in manuscripts where these resemblances *frequently* occur this explanation is merely otiose special pleading. Pushed to its logical extreme, it would require us to believe that two wholly identical translations of the same text (of potentially infinite length) were not genetically related to each other. The direction of the influence, however, cannot be proven absolutely. It is possible to maintain that the 'mixed texts' are in fact a pure Old Latin tradition which Jerome took as the basis for his revision, and that this accounts for their similarity to the Vulgate. But there is a serious chronological embarrassment; the oldest extant OLG manuscripts—roughly contemporaneous with the Vulgate, and representing traditions known from the patristic citations to be older—do *not* belong to the so-called mixed-text group, none of which is earlier than the sixth century. Again, it is possible to maintain that manuscripts of this type were indeed in circulation in the late fourth century, but no exemplars from this period have survived; but this *ex silentio* argument is worthless precisely because it cannot be disproved.

1.4 Editions

For many parts of the Scriptures the most accessible edition is still Sabatier's monumental *Bibliorum sacrorum Latinae versiones* (1743). However, in respect of the Gospels it has been superseded, mostly through the efforts of the editors of the *Oxford Old Latin Biblical Text* series (*OOLBT*), J. Wordsworth, J. Sanday, H. J. White, and E. Buchanan, between 1882 and 1911, and the studies of Heinrich Vogels between 1913 and 1953. The unique contribution of these scholars was to examine each manuscript minutely and individually, with a view to recovering not only its text but its relations with other manuscripts, and the various stages in its prehistory that could be discerned. This contrasts on the one hand with Sabatier's view (derived from his reading of the *Itala* passage in Augustine's *de Doctrina Christiana*) of a single unified Old Latin Bible, and on the other hand with the account given by Ziegler (1879), who had argued in favour of a multiplicity of translations, also on the basis of the statements in the Fathers rather than on an examination of the extant texts. The findings of Vogels and

the Oxford editors are summarized in Chapter 2. Among the other scholars, particular mention may be made of F. C. Burkitt, who first established connections between the Gothic Bible and a branch of the Old Latin. The speculations of J. Rendel Harris (notably on Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis) were less temperate, though it is unfortunate that many of the questions raised by him (especially on the position of the Old Latin *vis-à-vis* the Old Syriac) have yet to be answered. The work of J. Belsheim in editing several of the manuscripts should also be mentioned; unfortunately, his texts have been found unreliable in many places and his introductions failed to take into account the methods being applied by the contemporary Oxford series.

Since 1949 a major series of volumes has been published by the Stiftung (now Institut) Vetus Latina at Beuron in South Germany. These aim to provide a 'new Sabatier', presenting not only all the manuscript evidence but also all the relevant patristic material. This splendid series has, however, not yet been extended to cover the Gospels. For the individual Gospel manuscripts at least, the best texts are still usually the Oxford editions.[8]

1.5 Matzkow–Jülicher–Aland

But excellent as the Oxford texts are, it is inconvenient to the point of impracticality to rely on separate editions of each individual manuscript. For this reason the edition that will be used here is the *Itala* of Adolf Jülicher, revised by Walther Matzkow and Kurt Aland (hereafter MJA). Churlish as it may seem, we should still consider the limitations of this invaluable edition before proceeding further.

Jülicher adopted the format of an upper line of text giving a version he designated 'Itala', and a lower line giving one designated 'Afra'.[9] This assumes both a neat division between traditions and a degree of homogeneity within them that Jülicher did not attempt to demonstrate. The problem is aggravated by the fact that in the top line of the 'Itala' section Jülicher did not follow any one manuscript (as he did in the 'Afra'), but attempted a composite reconstruction from various manuscripts. No rationale was given for this reconstruction, and the revisors

[8] The most thorough collection of Latin Gospel readings is Fischer (1989). However, with an average of four Latin words per page it cannot well be read as continuous text.

[9] For a discussion of the origin and value of this term see Ch. 2.

retained it only out of respect for the original editor.[10] It will be argued that for the Synoptic Gospels Jülicher's assumption is, in fact, broadly valid, whereas for the Gospel of John it is misleading.

In order to compress so many manuscripts into this format Jülicher was obliged to omit details of columniation of texts, of capital letters, and of lectionary notes, which often give information about the relationship between manuscripts. Less pardonably, he was inconsistent in giving variants of orthography or of abbreviations; occasionally the individual editions of manuscripts give non-standard spellings where MJA has the standard forms. In these cases the non-standard spellings are more likely to be correct.

The MJA volumes are now out of date in one important respect. The text of the Vulgate cited was the Oxford edition of J. Wordsworth *et al.* (1898). This has now been superseded by the so-called 'Stuttgart Vulgate' of R. Weber *et al.* (1969).

1.6 'Typical' Renderings

Citations from MJA in this study will often give the reading of only one manuscript, or (less frequently) of Jülicher's reconstructed '*Itala*' line, noting that this is the 'typical' rendering, or that a 'similar' rendering is found in a range of manuscripts. Some gloss is needed. In such cases there may be considerable differences between the extant texts; a reading is regarded as 'typical' of a larger group *when it agrees with them on the specific point under discussion.* Thus for example in Appendix 1 the translation practices of the Old Latin and the Vulgate are compared and contrasted. It is noted that in the Parable of the Tenants in the Vineyard the Old Latin translators usually render ὁ γεωργός by the more specific *colonus* ('tenant'), whereas the Vulgate has the more general *agricola.* Thus it might be said that at Matthew 21: 35 the Old Latin texts designated *a b d ff*^{2} *h q r*^{1} *e* typically have the rendering *et coloni adprehensis servis unum ceciderunt*; they all agree in reading *coloni*, against *agricolae* in the Vulgate and mixed texts *aur f g*^{1} *l.* In fact, there is some divergence between them; *ff*^{2} *r*^{1} have *coloni autem*, *e* has the spellings *adpraehensis* and *caeciderunt*, *d* (here as often the most idiosyncratic) has *accipientes servos coloni eius quem quidem ceciderunt.* This is an extreme case, and most of the variations thus passed over by this

[10] 'Von der ursprünglichen Arbeit Jülichers is nur die Leitzeile geblieben und zwar als Akt der Pietät' (Aland in intro. to MJA vol. iii).

method are of the minor kind: *et* for *autem*, small differences in word order or orthography. These may be matters of some importance for critics concerned with tracing the affiliations and prehistory of individual manuscripts. But in the context of a comparison of Old Latin and Vulgate translation technique they are less relevant, and may be omitted. The point of citing texts in their 'typical' form is to include all the facts germane to the issue at stake, while passing over those that are not.

1.7 Greek Variants

It has been mentioned above that manuscripts may differ not only in their *rendering* of the Greek, but also in the *reading* of their underlying Greek text. Such differences are easy to identify in cases where the Latin reflects an attested Greek variant.[11] To take a simple example, in the Transfiguration story at Matthew 17: 2 Jesus' clothes become 'white as light', λευκὰ ὡς τὸ φῶς. In all the Old Latin traditions save Codex Monacensis *q*, and in the Vulgate, this appears as *candida* (or *alba*) *sicut nix*. This must reflect the variant ὡς χιών found in the Greek half of Codex Bezae (*D*),[12] supported by the Curetonian Syriac and the Bohairic Coptic; it is perverse to imagine that it could have arisen in so many places independently. However, sometimes the Latin text does not correspond exactly to any attested form of the Greek; it may be hard to discern whether the Latin translators are making a free rendering of an attested text, or following a lost Greek tradition. Appeals to lost readings cannot by definition be verified and so must be made with caution. In this study such appeals will be made only when one or more of the following circumstances obtains:

1. If the Latin text cannot reflect any attested Greek reading. For example, at Luke 4: 19 most Latin texts have *praedicare annum acceptum Domini et diem retributionis* or similar; the Greek has simply κηρῦξαι ἐνιαυτὸν κυρίου δεκτόν. The last three words of the Latin (or others

[11] A reading is counted as attested if it is listed in the text or apparatus of Nestle *et al.* (1985) or (in the case of Matthew and Mark) of Legg (1937 and 1940). I much regret that the continuation of this work by the American and British Committee of the International Greek New Testament Project came to my attention too late to allow me to make full use of it.

[12] Not in itself good authority, as this is a Greek–Latin bilingual codex, and the reading may be a back-translation from the Latin half of the codex.

corresponding to them) are missing only from Codex Bezae *d*; the passage is a citation from Isaiah 61: 2 and has clearly been added to the Greek from the Septuagint, though there is no direct attestation of this.

2. If the Latin text corresponds not to the attested Greek text but to one which could have arisen from a plausible palaeographical variation. Thus at Luke 5: 10 most Old Latin texts have *ex hoc iam eris homines vivificans* for the Greek ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀνθρώπους ἔσῃ ζωγρῶν; the Latin would suggest an unattested variant ζωοποιῶν or ζωογονῶν.

3. If the Greek variant is not attested at the place in question, but variants of the same type are attested elsewhere. This is particularly frequent in the case of near-synonyms, where often the less common term is displaced by the more common. Thus at Matthew 27: 15, 20, 24 the word *populus* is found in almost all the Latin manuscripts where modern editors read ὁ ὄχλος. Now *populus* does not usually translate ὁ ὄχλος but ὁ λαός, which is in fact attested as a variant to ὁ ὄχλος in a few Greek codices at Matthew 27: 24, though not at verses 15, 20. Conversely ὁ ὄχλος is sometimes found as a variant for ὁ λαός (for example, at Mark 11: 32). Clearly, the two terms are to some extent interchangeable in the Greek; it is, therefore, reasonable to suggest that at Matthew 27: 15, 20 the reading ὁ λαός underlay the rendering *populus*, even though it is not directly attested.

4. (In the Synoptic Gospels) If the Latin corresponds not to the accepted form of the Greek text at that point but to the form of the same passage found in the Synoptic parallels. For instance at Mark 4: 19 the word ἡ ἀπάτη (or ἀπάται; in the phrase ἡ ἀπάτη τοῦ πλούτου) in modern editions appears in various Old Latin traditions as *delectationes* (*c ff*^{2}), *inlecebrae* (*f*), or *oblectationes* (*e*). These words may be regarded as interpretative glosses on αἱ ἀπάται, but are more likely to reflect the reading ὑπὸ μεριμνῶν καὶ πλούτου καὶ ἡδονῶν τοῦ βίου in the parallel passage Luke 8: 14, though no such reading is attested at Mark 4: 19.

These are the conditions under which it has been thought legitimate to propose an unattested variant in the Greek. It should be noted that we are not here concerned with the reconstruction of the *Vorlage* (underlying Greek text) for its own sake, but only where it casts light upon some difficulty in the Latin. When a Latin text or texts does not give an obvious rendering of the Greek, some criteria are needed for deciding whether the translators are following a variant reading or adopting a freer technique of translation. It should be added that while the principles listed above are quite straightforward, their application is

less so. In the last example, for instance, it might be argued that 'the delights' (*delectationes*, *inlecebrae*, *oblectationes*) of wealth was an interpretative gloss on 'the deceits' of wealth, and were renderings of αἱ ἀπάται. However, on a balance of probabilities it seems more likely that the translations *delectationes*, *inlecebrae*, *oblectationes* are literal renderings of an underlying variant, though this is impossible to prove.

2

Catalogue of Manuscripts

2.1 Introduction

The following brief catalogue and bibliography summarizes the common opinion on each of the Gospel manuscripts and fragments classed by MJA as Old Latin. As we have noted, the distinction between 'mixed text' and 'Vulgate' is often arbitrary; Metzger (1977: 296–302) and Fischer (1987) give respectively longer and shorter lists. It should be repeated that the level of knowledge we possess about the manuscripts varies greatly, depending on how much scholarly attention each one has received. Moreover, many of the standard editions are now dated, and new palaeographical research is needed upon them. For modern assessments of the date and place of origin of many of them I have followed the list given in Fischer (1987). This differs on various points from the theories advanced by the Oxford editors a century ago.

2.2 'African' and 'European' Traditions

In the following summaries the terms 'African' and 'European' will be used to characterize the text-type of the manuscripts; the 'European' tradition will also be treated according to its various recognized subgroups. This division was first advanced by Westcott and Hort (1881: 81–3), who divided the manuscripts into four categories: the 'African' ('*Afra*') class, comprising Codex Bobbiensis *k* and Codex Palatinus *e*; the 'European' class, comprising the codices and fragments labelled *a* a^2 *b c* ff^2 *h i*; a 'North Italian' class comprising Codex Monacensis *q* and Codex Brixianus *f*, which they unfortunately chose to call the '*Itala*'; and the class of 'Mixed Texts' described in the previous chapter, comprising the codices labelled *aur c* ff^1 g^1 *l*. Subsequent research, mainly by the Oxford editors and by Heinrich Vogels, has upheld the existence of a separate African class, while

pointing to the existence of a strong 'European' element in Codex Palatinus *e*, and at the same time a strong African element in some of the 'European' texts.[1] The '*Itala*' category has not survived; not only is the name now regarded as unhelpful, but Codex Brixianus *f* is now ascribed to the 'Mixed Text' class.[2] The African/European distinction was adopted by Jülicher in his edition, though as noted above he reconstructed a hypothetical '*Itala*' line out of the European traditions.

It has always been acknowledged that while the two 'African' texts are fairly closely related, the same degree of homogeneity does not obtain within the European tradition. In fact the relations between the European manuscripts are very imperfectly understood; it is hoped that the next chapter will resolve some of the questions surrounding them. Certain European manuscripts do belong very closely together (for instance the group *a* a^2 *n o*, at least in the Synoptic Gospels), while other groupings are looser. This catalogue is intended to give only such common opinion as already exists about manuscript groupings; the question of textual relations will be examined further in the two following chapters.

2.3 Sigla

OLG codices generally have a name and a small roman letter abbreviation. Thus the Latin text of the bilingual manuscript known as Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis is referred to as *d* (but contrast *D* for the Greek text). This system is not wholly satisfactory, as codices containing different Old Latin books may share the same name or letter. For this reason the Institut Vetus-Latina has assigned each Old Latin manuscript a unique number, which in this catalogue is given after the traditional letter siglum. However, as the older small-letter system is used in virtually all the literature on the subject, and as we will

[1] Often this leads to so-called 'double translations' (*Doppelübersetzungen*), instances where an editor–copyist–translator has combined an African and a European rendering of the same Greek term. Thus at Matthew 6: 20 the Greek *ὅπου οὔτε σὴς οὔτε βρῶσις ἀφανίζει* appears in the African *k* as *ubi neque tinia neque comestura exterminat*, in the European tradition typically as *ubi neque erugo neque tinea exterminat*; the editor of *q* conflates these as *ubi neque erugo neque tinea neque comestura exterminat*. Such conflations are particularly likely to occur when the meaning is obscure; the editor of *q* probably did not realize that the very rare *comestura* represented the same Greek word as *erugo*.

[2] In fact *f q* do often follow the same text-type, that found in Arian writers and in the Gothic Bible; but there is no evidence of a more direct relationship between them.

not be dealing with Old Latin translations of the other books, it is more convenient to retain it. Recently Fischer (1987) has attempted to introduce another qualifier; in his exhaustive catalogue of Latin Gospel manuscripts before AD 1000 he lists the Old Latin manuscripts with an X followed by a small roman letter, which confusingly is only sometimes the same as its traditional designation. Thus Codex Vercellensis *a* is listed as Xa, and Codex Corbeiensis *ff*^{2} is Xf, while Codex Brixianus, traditionally known as *f*, is now classed as an Italian Vulgate manuscript Jg. It remains to be seen whether this system will replace the more traditional one.

2.4 African Texts

Codex Bobbiensis *k* (1).[3] This is a fourth-century African codex containing a lacunate text of Mark 8: 8–14: 9 and Matthew 11–15: 36, suggesting original order of John–Luke–Mark–Matthew found in some Western Greek manuscripts (Wordsworth *et al.* 1886: pp. vii–xxii). It is believed to be a fourth-century African text. Bakker (1933: 13) shows that the scribe is an illiterate copyist: 'where he writes nonsense, he does so by using more or less correct Latin words, with which he has evidently become acquainted in transcribing other Latin MSS'; thus at Matthew 13: 23 he writes *quod autem in bona terra femina turba est qui audit verbum*, for *quod . . . seminatur hoc est . . . .* The text of *k* corresponds closely with the form of Gospel citations in Cyprian of Carthage; a text of this type was, therefore, in use in Africa by the mid-third century. There are also correspondences with the quotations in the anti-Donatist historian Optatus of Milev (*fl.* 364–75). Sanday (in Wordsworth *et al.* 1886) argues that Optatus' citations are 'more African' than *k*'s; thus in citing Matthew 5: 9 Optatus uses the African *felix* to render μακάριος, where *k* reads *baeati* (i.e. *beati*, typically found in European texts). This is not conclusive, as absolute homogeneity of translation is not to be expected (it is as plausible that Optatus was using a text based on the *k* type but revised so as to be uniform in its renderings).

[3] Standard edn. Wordsworth *et al.* (1886); re-collated in Burkitt and Turner (1903*b*). See also Burkitt (1900*a*), defending *k*'s reading *ad quid me maledixisti* instead of the usual *dereliquisti* at Mark 15: 34. Cipolla (1913) and Hoogterp (1930) are linguistic studies of the codex. Bakker (1933) is a useful palaeographic and textual study; Parker (1991) is a recent report on the condition of the manuscript. On *k e* and the African tradition generally see von Soden (1909), especially pp. 106–221.

It is agreed that *k*'s text is independent and owes nothing to any other known tradition. It is also agreed that this African text was to provide the basis for the so-called 'European' tradition; Vogels (1953: 23) notes that 'das "afrikanische" Element fehlt in keinem unserer Zeugen der Vetus Latina'. Some European texts, however, show a stronger African influence than others, most notably Codex Vercellensis *a*, Codex Bezae *d* (especially in Matthew) and Codex Colbertinus *c* (Bakker 1933: 41 ff.); to these should be added Fragmentum Monacense μ. The nature of these relationships may vary; Bakker (1933: 71) notes that

> in *c* very striking instances of 'African' *readings* are found, but the *language* has been de-Africanized to a great extent. In *a* the reverse seems true; the textual peculiarities of *k* are almost without exception unknown to *a*, but the vocabulary of *a* has preserved more 'African' words than any of the other 'European' texts.

Codex Palatinus *e* (2).[4] This is a lacunate uncial containing the Four Gospels in the order John–Luke–Matthew–Mark. It is regarded by Vogels as late-fifth century Italian or (more likely) African, and by Fischer (1987) as fifth-century North Italian. Its text is closest to *k* in the portions where both are extant, and shows many African features characteristic of *k* in portions for which *k* is not extant; however, it is overlaid throughout with a European element. Its African character is harder to assess in John, as the Greek of that Gospel is very different from that of the Synoptics, and we have no 'pure' African translation (of the *k* type) against which to control it. According to Vogels *e* is most closely related to *a* in John;[5] to *c* in Luke (but from Luke 22: 39–24: 11 it deserts its African base altogether and follows a European text of *ff*^{2} type, with similar layout of text pointing to a common exemplar; for this section, Codex Colbertinus *c* is the best representative of the African tradition).[6] In Matthew and Mark *e* is of course closest to *k*. It is *e* rather than *k* which is the basis of the African element in Codex Bezae *d*. Outside Luke the European element in *e* is supplied by the *b*-type text.

Among the patristic writers *e* is closest to Cyprian, and indeed closer

[4] Standard edn. Vogels (1926).

[5] See also Ch. 4.

[6] The special relationship between *e* and *ff*^{2} in Luke is also found by Fischer (1987: 54), though the evidence is not presented. It would seem that where *e* and *c* agree they are both based on an African text, whereas when *e* and *ff*^{2} agree, *e* is overlaid with a European text of the *ff*^{2} type.

to Cyprian than to *k*; this suggests that Cyprian's text was a mid-point in the internal development of the African translation. Vogels (1926: 4–5) also suggests a relationship between *e* and various anonymous tracts from the third to fifth centuries, some of Donatist origin. Boismart has pointed to some similarities between *e*'s text and that of Zeno of Verona and Firmicus Maternus.[7]

2.5 The African Tradition: Summary

The African tradition is universally agreed to be the earliest identifiable continuous Latin translation of the Gospels. Its oldest representative *k* can be dated from its patristic citations to the first half of the third century, a good half-century earlier than any other tradition. Given the African origin of *k*, and the prevalence of *k*-type citations in African writers, there is little reason to doubt the appropriateness of the traditional description. The relationship of the African to the 'European' type is rather more complicated. It is traditionally agreed also that African elements can be detected in all the 'European' manuscripts of any length. It is, in fact, very hard to demonstrate at what point a similarity between African and 'European' traditions becomes an 'African element'. But for present purposes, this consensus will be allowed to stand. In some 'European' manuscripts (notably *a d*) it is widely held that a European base incorporating an African element has been overlaid by a second stratum of African renderings. In the case of *c* there is some uncertainty whether it should be classed as 'European' or (as Fischer now does) 'African'; the two categories are not water-tight, and the evolution of the OLG should not be seen as a strictly linear progression from 'African' to 'European'.

In the following studies into the language and translation technique of the Old Latin texts we will be concentrating mainly on the European traditions, as these are better attested. It may therefore be useful now to list the main linguistic features of the African version:

Some Greek words typically receive one rendering in the African tradition and another in the European. In the following pairs the African rendering is given first, then the European: *similitudo/parabola* (ἡ παραβολή), *lumen/lux* (τὸ φῶς), *sermo/verbum* (ὁ λόγος), *valetudo/infirmitas* (or *imbecillitas*) (ἡ ἀσθένεια), *felix/beatus* (μακάριος), *discens/*

[7] See Boismart (1950: 399).

discipulus (ὁ μαθήτης), *plebs/populus* (ὁ λαός), *edere/manducare* (ἐσθίω), *benenuntiare/evangelizare* (εὐαγγελίζω).[8]

These features were taken by Thielmann, J. Rendel Harris, and some of the Oxford editors to be evidence of an African dialect of Latin, as expounded by Karl Sittl (1882). It is more plausible that they are simply features of the translation style. In the list above it is noteworthy that the African tradition avoids the loan-words *parabola* and *evangelizo*,[9] and prefers *plebs* and *edere* to *populus* and *manducare*; both these terms are Romance 'losers',[10] and *edo* certainly seems to have been obsolescent by the mid-third century.[11] As is argued in Chapter 12, the African tradition often (though not always) prefers to find a Latin translation in cases where other (and probably later translators) are content simply to transliterate. A similar concern for linguistic purity may have led the African translators to prefer what they perceived as the less neologistic of a pair of synonyms; though again, this cannot be regarded as a fixed policy.

2.6 European Texts: The 'Core Group' (*b ff*^{2} *i*, with *j*)

Codex Veronensis *b* (4).[12] This is a codex containing the Four Gospels, now dated to the late fifth century, and probably written in Verona. It is generally agreed to be 'the most characteristically European of all the manuscripts' (Burkitt 1920), and to form along with Codex Corbeiensis

[8] A useful 'Index of Latin Equivalents Characteristic of "African" and "European" Old Latin Traditions of the New Testament' is given in Bergren (1991). It should be noted, however, that some of the renderings listed by Bergren as 'characteristic' refer to Greek words that only occur once or twice. Moreover, the apparent assumption of homogeneity throughout the New Testament in the African and (especially) European versions is questionable.

[9] See further the discussion in Ch. 12 of the integration of loan-words.

[10] The terms 'winners' and 'losers' will be used from time to time to refer respectively to words which were or were not successful in ousting their synonyms and surviving into Romance. It should be noted that this is a shorthand and not always a full account of the processes of lexical change; even in this example, the reflex of *plebs* survives with a specialized sense in Italian; the reflex of *populus* has shifted sense in Spanish; and throughout Western Romance reflexes of *gens* have tended to encroach on this semantic domain. Moreover, the relationship of *plebs* to *populus* in classical Latin is not entirely analogous to the relationship of *edere* to *manducare*, inasmuch as *manducare* was not an accepted literary term. But these reservations qualify rather than undermine the main point here.

[11] See further the discussion of *manducare* in Ch. 14.

[12] Standard edn. Buchanan (1911). Fischer (1987) lists also an eighth-century Codex Veronensis *b*^{2}, giving the text of *b* 'nur etwas verwässert' (with Vulgate readings?).

ff^2 and Codex Vindobonensis *i* the nucleus of the European tradition.[13] According to Fischer (1972: 36) a text of this type is the basis for the so-called 'Gallo-Irish' group *h r*^{1} *ρ p*, of the European layer in *β* and *e*, of the Illyrian-Pannonian *q*, and of the Old Latin element in the mixed texts *g*^{1} and *l* (though in his edition of this manuscript Vogels notes that its affinities frequently vary). Vogels (1928*a*) also demonstrated that a text of this type formed the basis for Jerome's Vulgate Gospels, though he observed (pp. 45–7) that in John *b* agreed with *r*^{1} *q* rather than *ff*^{2}, which forms the basis of the Vulgate text of John; Buchanan (1911: p. xxi) had already noted that there was in John a marked affinity between *b* and *r*^{1}, and also between *b* and *d*. The full significance of Vogels' and Buchanan's observations has not been recognized. It will be argued below (see Chapter 4) that up to John 11 *b* belongs with *a d j q r*^{1} *e*, and thereafter with *ff*^{2} and the mixed texts and Vulgate; and that these two groups effectively constitute two separate translations. Among the patristic writers *b* shows relations with Lucifer of Cagliari, Ambrose, and Ambrosiaster. A text of this sort was thus in use in Sardinia by AD 350, and in Milan and Rome in the 380s.

Codex Corbeiensis *ff*^{2} (8).[14] This is a codex containing the Four Gospels in the order Matthew–John–Luke–Mark. It is now thought to be Italian, from the fifth century. On the position of *ff*^{2} within the European tradition see description of *b* above. In Mark it provides the European basis for *d*. In Luke it has a prologue not found in other Old Latin texts but present in some Spanish Vulgate manuscripts; the orthography of Luke also shows some divergences from that of the other Gospels. Its text of John forms the basis of the Vulgate text, and of *c l*; it is also close to *l* in Luke. On its agreements with patristic writers (giving dating of text-type) see the description of *b* above; its text of John was available to Jerome by AD 382, but the text-type is not cited by writers before that date.

Codex Vindobonensis *i* (17).[15] These are a few fragments of Luke and Mark (in that order), thought to be late-fifth-century Italian. The text is of the *b ff*^{2} type.

[13] 'Die Hss *b ff*^{2} *i* bilden wirklich die Kerngruppe des europäischen Textes' (Fischer 1972: 36). In Matthew Codex Vercellensis *a* also belongs with this group.

[14] Standard text Buchanan (1907). The introduction to this edn. is a summary of two articles by him in *Journal of Theological Studies* 7 (1905–6).

[15] Only individual edn. Belsheim (1885); inadequate and perhaps unreliable.

Codex Sarzanensis *j* (or *ẓ*) (22). This is an early-sixth-century North Italian codex. 'Codex Saretianus or Sarzanensis . . . contains Luke xxiv and John (with many lacunae); John xviii.36–xx.14 is in another hand.' In John it is closest to *b*.[16]

2.7 Codex Vercellensis *a* and Related Texts

Codex Vercellensis *a* (3).[17] This is a codex containing the Four Gospels, probably written at Vercelli in the second half of the fourth century. Matthew 1–11 and Mark 16: 7 to the end are later replacements. It is one of the oldest texts, and one of the most interesting. It is the best-preserved manuscript of a very homogeneous group containing the fragments a^2 *n o*. In Matthew it is closely related to *b*-type text, but in the other Gospels there are numerous peculiarities of rendering, apparently motivated mainly by linguistic purism. The basic text is European, with a strong African admixture (see *k*). In the following chapters it will be suggested that *a* is specially related to *d e* in Luke, and to *b d e j q* r^1 in John. The text of John agrees closely with that used by Lucifer of Cagliari (d. 350). Boismart has claimed a special relationship between *a* and the text of John used by Novatian, which would push its pedigree back a whole century; but he succeeds only in demonstrating certain similarities of reading which may be due to independent use of similar Greek texts.[18]

Fragmenta Curiensia a^2 (with *n o* collectively numbered 16).[19] These are fifth-century Italian fragments containing Luke 11: 11–29 and Luke 13: 16–24 in a form very similar to *a*.

[16] I have been unable to consult Godu's edn. in *Spicilegium Montecassinense*, 2 (1936). The quotation given here is from Metzger (1977: 298). Dating and placing are from Fischer (1987: 55). The Lucan portion is not given in MJA.

[17] Standard edn. Gasquet (1914). The introduction is inadequate by the standard of the Oxford editions (a projected edn. by Buchanan in *OOLBT* series never appeared), and the quality of proofreading in the introduction is poor, casting doubt on the quality of the main text. Unfortunately, owing to deteriorations in the parchment Gasquet (or Irico 1748 or Bianchini 1749) is often the best evidence as to lost readings. Some corrections are supplied by Vogels (1917).

[18] See Boismart (1950: 398) and (1952: 23–4). These suggestions are apparently adopted in H. Weyer's edn. of Novatian, *De Trinitate*, Düsseldorf 1962, though I have been unable to verify this.

[19] Standard edn. Wordsworth *et al.* (1886).

Fragmenta Sangallensia *n*.[20] These are pages from a text written in Italy in the fifth century, containing portions of Matthew and Mark, together with a page containing John 19: 24–42, mistakenly bound into a fourteenth-century manuscript from St Gall. The text is very closely related to *a* in Matthew and Mark, but in John it is unrelated to *a* and closer to *c*.

Fragmentum Sangallense *o*.[21] This is a fragment from the seventh or eighth century, containing Mark 16: 14–20, beginning at the point where *n* breaks off, and has the same number of lines per page; it may have been written as a replacement for a missing leaf from *n*.

2.8 Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis

Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis *d* (5).[22] This is a bilingual Greek–Latin codex (the only Gospel manuscript of this type; the Greek half is referred to as *D*), containing (in order) Matthew–John–Luke–Mark–Acts. It is now dated to around AD 400; Parker (1992: 269 ff.) argues for Berytus (Beirut) as the place of composition. The Latin translation is by far the most literal of all the Old Latin texts, and the Greek seems to contain back-translations from errors or additions in the Latin;[23] this must always be borne in mind when discussing translation technique in this manuscript. Of particular interest is the so-called 'Cambridge pericope', an episode inserted after Luke 6: 4 and unknown else-

[20] Standard edn. Wordsworth *et al.* (1886). MJA add text of John 19: 24–7, illegible to Oxford editors. See also Bischoff (1946: 420–4).

[21] Standard edn. Wordsworth *et al.* (1886).

[22] Of the considerable bibliography this text has produced the following studies are the most noteworthy: Scrivener (1864) (the only modern text of codex); Rendel Harris (1891), an eccentric and often wrong-headed but stimulating discussion; Stone (1946), a linguistic study. Bammel (1986) is an investigation of the so-called 'Cambridge Pericope' (see below). Parker (1992) is an exhaustive palaeographical and codicological study. Parker makes it a principle that a rigorous examination of each *individual* codex and its internal history must precede any speculation about its relations to other texts; for this reason he does not investigate its relations to other Old Latin (or Greek) texts. The essays in Parker and Amphoux (1996) are also valuable; for present purposes, most notable is Auwers'.

[23] Most notably at Luke 23: 53, where the Greek has the unique addition *καὶ θεντὸς αὐτοῦ ἐπεθήκεν τῷ μνημείῳ λείθον ὅν μόγις εἴκοσι ἐκύλιον*, Latin *imposuit in monumento lapidem quem vix viginti moverent*. Rendel Harris (1891: 47–52) explains this by suggesting that Latin *in monumento* has been added from the preceding verse, and that the original was a Latin hexameter *imposuit lapidem quem vix viginti moverent* (cf. *Odyssey* ix. 240–2; Cyclops blocking entrance to his cave).

where.[24] The Latin translation is highly eccentric but is recognized as basically European with a strong African element. In Mark the African element is less striking (Bakker 1933: 42); Buchanan (1911: p. xxi) observes that in this Gospel '*d* stands midway between *b* and *ff*^{2} in the first half . . . and nearer to *b* in this second half'. It will be argued that in Luke *d* shows a special closeness to *a*, and in John to *a b e j q r*^{1}.

2.9 Codex Usserianus r^1 and 'Gallo-Irish' Group[25]

Codex Usserianus r^1 (14).[26] This is a codex written in Ireland around AD 600, containing the Four Gospels. The manuscript is now illegible in many places. The text of John 8: 1–11 (Woman taken in Adultery) is that of the Vulgate. This codex is grouped by Fischer (1972: 36) with β *h p* ρ as 'Gallo-Irish'.[27] These other texts are all fragmentary and nowhere overlap; they cannot be compared directly with each other, and are united only in their similarity to r^1. Vogels (1928*a*: 43–4) finds similarities between r^1 and citations in Hilary of Poitiers. In John he suggests it is closest to *b*, but going its own way after John 9: 22; however, he mistakenly took *b* as the norm, and differences from it as departures from it. It will be shown that in fact *b* departs from the tradition exemplified by r^1.

Codex Claromontanus *h* (12).[28] This is a late-fifth-century Italian manuscript containing an Old Latin version of Matthew, in a form similar to that of r^1. The other Gospels in the codex are seventh-century Vulgate texts.

Fragmentum Carinthianum β (26).[29] This consists of two leaves containing Luke 1: 64–2: 50 in a seventh-century hand, preserved in

[24] Greek *τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ θεασάμενός τινα ἐργαζόμενον τῷ σαββάτῳ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, ἄνθρωπε, εἰ μὲν οἶδας τί ποιεῖς, μακάριος εἶ. εἰ δὲ μή, ἐπικατάρατος καὶ παραβάτης τοῦ νόμου*, Latin *eodem die videns quendam operantem sabbato et dixit illi, homo, siquidem scis quod facis, beatus es. si autem nescis, maledictus es et trabaricator legis.*

[25] See also Sect. 2. 11, subsect. on Rosenthal Fragment λ.

[26] Standard edn. Abbot (1884). The quality of Abbot's text of r^2 (the 'Garland of Howth', Irish Vulgate manuscript with many Old Latin readings) is severely impugned by Hoskier (1919), and his introduction to r^1 is less detailed than the contemporary work of the Oxford scholars. However, his text of r^1 is defended by Wilmart (1922).

[27] This description is rather vague. Codex Claromontanus *h* is now classed as Italian, not Gallic, and not all the Gallic manuscripts fall into this group.

[28] Standard edn. Belsheim (1892); minor corrections by Burkitt (1903*a*).

[29] Standard edn. De Bruyne (1923*a*).

the binding of a text of Ambrose. According to De Bruyne it is basically African with an overlay of r^1 text-type (with some readings found in Irish Vulgates), which is stronger after Luke 2: 20.

Fragmenta Ambrosiana ρ (24).[30] This is a palimpsest of a Gallican liturgical work, with text of John 13: 3–17 (Jesus washing his disciples' feet) from around AD 700, very similar to r^1.

Fragmentum Sangallense *p* (20).[31] This consists of two leaves from a *Missa pro Defunctis* containing John 11: 16–44, in an Irish hand of seventh or eighth century, in a form similar to r^1.

2.10 Codex Monacensis *q*

Codex Monacensis *q* (13).[32] This is a codex containing the Four Gospels, now bound in the Vulgate order, but originally in Old Latin order. It is thought to be from Illyria or North Italy, and to have been written around AD 600. Fischer (1987: 56) states that *q* and *l* form 'eine europäische Nebengruppe', being based on a text of the *b ff*^{2} *i* -type; but see Vogels' comments on *l* (1953, p. xxviii, cited below, note 46). In John it belongs with *a b d e j q* r^1 group.[33] The text has been revised throughout according to a Greek text, but in Mark keeps much of its old character (Vogels 1953: 17). According to Fischer (1972: 36), *q* shows some correspondences with citations in some fourth- and fifth-century Arian writers (unspecified). There are also frequent similarities in text with the Gothic Bible, often shared with *f* and Fragmentum Vindobonense (43), though unlike these manuscripts *q* merely shares readings with the Gothic without showing any signs of containing back-translations from it.

[30] Standard edn. (Wilmart 1922).

[31] Standard edn. Wordsworth *et al.* (1886); see also Bischoff (1946: 425–7). It should be noted that *p* (20) is not the same as Fragmentum Vindobonense (see Sect. 2. 11). Fischer (1972) refers to *p* (20) as *p*, but Fischer (1987) lists Fragmentum Vindobonense as Xp (43), and does not mention *p* (20) at all.

[32] Standard edn. White (1888).

[33] Vogels (1928*a*: 46–7) states that in the early chapters of John *q* is closest to *b*, and then to r^1 in the later chapters. This suggests that *q* changes its allegiances halfway through. It will be shown, however, that it is *b* that changes (cf. the description of r^1 above).

2.11 Other Fragments

Fragmentum Monacense μ.[34] This is a palimpsest of Matthew 9: 17–10: 9 in a fifth-century Italian hand. The text is basically European but with a stronger African element than any other text extant for this passage, save *d*.

Rosenthal Fragment λ.[35] This is a fragment containing Luke 16: 27–17: 27. According to Fischer (1986: 196 n. 87) it is Irish, from the eighth or ninth century, with a text and hand resembling that of r^2, the Irish Vulgate manuscript known as the 'Garland of Howth'.

Fragmentum Vindobonense *p* (43).[36] This is a palimpsest containing fragments of Matthew 26–8, from the fifth century, perhaps from North Italy. The underlying text is very similar to that of the Gothic Bible, and there are strong indications that, like *f*, it is derived from a Latin-Gothic bilingual.[37]

Fragmenta Stuttgartensia π (or ϖ) (18).[38] This is a palimpsest of a seventh-century collection of pericopae from Matthew, John, and Luke, from North Italy. Dold suggests they belong in the European tradition, but finds no more specific affinities; in John the text belongs with the ff^2 type.

Fragmenta Ambrosiana *s* (21).[39] These are fragments of Luke 17–21 from the sixth or seventh century, probably from Bobbio. The text is European, but with African influence; there are some similarities with citations in Cyprian.

[34] Standard edn. Fischer (1986). This is the most recently published of all OLG texts, and may be taken to represent the state of the scholarly art. However, it is remarkable how little the broad lines of enquiry have changed since the Oxford series a century before. Fischer attempts to tabulate and quantify the relationship between μ and the other manuscripts, but his figures are undermined by the fact that his system cannot distinguish between major and minor (perhaps casual) agreements of reading and rendering. While the results of such an approach are doubtless broadly correct, they may be less precise than they appear.

[35] No individual edn. Text is in MJA.

[36] Standard edn. Philippart (1972). See also note on Fragmentum Sangallense *p* (20) regarding problem of sigla.

[37] This thesis is developed by Burton (1996).

[38] Standard edn. Dold (1923).

[39] Standard edn. Wordsworth *et al.* (1886).

Fragmentum Bernense *t* (19).[40] This consists of a palimpsest fragment of Mark 1–3, from the fourth or fifth century, showing some similarities to *d*.

Aberdeen Fragment *23*.[41] This is a papyrus fragment containing John 7: 27–8, 30–1. Winstedt dated it to the fifth century, but did not speculate on its provenance. The text is too short to identify any affinities.

Fragmentum Vindobonense *v* (25).[42] This is a fragment containing John 19: 27–20: 11, dated to the sixth or seventh century, of uncertain provenance. The text is carelessly written, mutilated, and often illegible.

2.12 Mixed Texts

Codex Aureus *aur* (15).[43] This is a codex containing the Four Gospels, in Vulgate order and prefaced by Jerome's *Epistula ad Damasum*. It is so called because some keywords are written in golden ink. It is dated to the second half of the eighth century. An Old English note records its donation to Canterbury Cathedral by one Ealdorman Aelfred; the donor has been identified with a Kentish ealdorman whose will is extant and can be dated between 871 and 889. The text is very close to that of the Vulgate; Fischer (1987) does not class it as Old Latin at all, and it is argued below (see Chapter 4) that in John at least it should be regarded as Vulgate.

Codex Sangermanensis g^1 (7).[44] This is the text of Matthew from the second volume of a mid-ninth-century set comprising the Vulgate and the Latin *Pastor Hermae*. The text has an Old Latin base (of *b ff*^{2} *i* type) with Vulgate overlay; from Matthew 21 onwards the Vulgate element is dominant. Vogels (1953: 7) states that there are similarities in the layout of the text to Codex Claromontanus *h*, but the readings themselves do not seem to be closely related.

[40] Standard edn. Wordsworth *et al.* (1886).
[41] Text in Winstedt (1907), and MJA.
[42] Standard edn. Wordsworth *et al.* (1886).
[43] Only individual edn. Belsheim (1878).
[44] Standard edn. Wordsworth (1883).

Codex Rehdigeranus *l* (11).[45] This is a codex containing the Four Gospels, from the first half of the eighth century, from Aquileia. The text is basically European, of *b ff*^{2} *i* type, heavily overlaid with Vulgate readings. It is assigned by Fischer (1987: 56) with *q* to a European subgroup, but Vogels was reluctant to link it to any other Old Latin tradition.[46] In John *l* is clearly an Old Latin text of *ff*^{2} type.

Codex Brixianus *f* (10).[47] This is a North Italian codex containing the Four Gospels, from the first half of the sixth century. Burkitt (1900*a*) argued that certain peculiarities of the text are best explained as re-translations from a parallel Gothic text; similarly some of the underlying Greek readings derive from a text-type related to that found in the Gothic Bible.[48] It is heavily overlaid with Vulgate readings; Fischer (1987: 58) regards it as Vulgate. It is suggested below (see Chapter 4) that in John at least this classification is correct.

Codex Colbertinus *c* (6).[49] This is a Southern French codex from the twelfth century, containing the Latin New Testament. John 1–6 and the entire remaining New Testament have the Vulgate text; the Gospels are in Vulgate order. Vogels identifies three distinct strata in its development: an African base, particularly strong in Luke 7–24, a European Old Latin layer most closely related to *ff*^{2}, and a Vulgate layer, strongest in Matthew. The statement that the text is *basically* African[50] is not always accurate. Certainly it is strongly related to the African tradition; but if the *basis* is African, then it has been so heavily overlaid by the *ff*^{2} type and Vulgate that the resulting text is at least as much European. In the following chapters it will be suggested that *c* in Luke shows a blend of European and African elements that often cause it to correspond to *a d e*, and that in John it is firmly linked to *ff*^{2}.

[45] Standard edn. Vogels (1913).

[46] 'Bald geht *l* mit diesem, bald mit jenem Altlateiner' (Vogels (1953: p. xxviii). He does link it with *e*; but as *l* has no distinctly African element the influence would seem to be from *l* type to *e* rather than vice versa.

[47] There is no individual edn. of this codex. The text used is that in MJA. Burkitt (1900*a*) established the origin of this text as the Latin half of a Gothic–Latin bilingual.

[48] See Sect. 2. 11, subsect. on Fragmentum Vindobonense *p* (43).

[49] Standard edn. Vogels (1953).

[50] Fischer (1972: 34 and 1987: 54) speaks of 'eine afrikanische Grundschicht'.

Codex Corbeiensis *ff'* (9).[51] This is a codex containg the text of Matthew, from Corbie; it is dated by Vogels to the tenth century, but by Fischer to the eighth. The text is very close to the Vulgate, especially in the early chapters; the Old Latin element is more apparent later on (Vogels 1928*a*: 18).

[51] No individual edn.; text from MJA.

3

Origins—The Synoptic Gospels

3.1 One or Many?

In the preceding chapter we have listed every OLG manuscript individually, and summarized the textual relations of each. The tracing of these textual relations and the discovery of different strata of tradition within the manuscripts was the main critical achievement of the twentieth and late nineteenth centuries. However, this research has tended to overlook a larger question; do these manuscripts all stem from one common source, or were they originally independent of each other? It is surprising to find how little systematic treatment this question has received. Even such observations as scholars have made, have not been fully synthesized and developed. In this section I will summarize the general scholarly opinion on the subject, propose methods by which the question may be approached, and then attempt to apply these methods.

In the absence of any definitive study of the origins of the Old Latin versions of the New Testament, scholars have naturally tended to assume the scenario that seemed intrinsically most probable. However, notions of intrinsic probability may vary. The examples of four distinguished authorities will suffice to illustrate this. The Vulgate scholar Hedley Sparks (1940: 105) seems to have assumed that the Old Latin Bible did derive from a single source, but observes that sometimes the variations between the texts 'are so great as to raise the question whether we have any right to speak of the Old Latin in the singular at all, but ought not rather to speak of a plurality of Latin versions'. Bruce M. Metzger (1977: 330) proceeds in the opposite direction; after noting the variety of extant traditions, he states that 'despite the many diversities of readings and renderings . . . here and there one finds a surprising unanimity, suggesting a common archetype at least for one or another book of the New Testament'. The Latin philologist L. R. Palmer (1954: 184) supposes that 'the earliest Latin versions . . . were probably made piecemeal and without any central

direction or organization'.[1] For Bonifatius Fischer (1972: 13) the whole question of whether the Old Latin should be regarded as one or many is 'a quarrel about words';[2] a view which I will argue is excessively pessimistic.

More specific works on particular portions of the Old Latin Bible have revealed a primal unity for many books. Schäfer (1957: 24) and Schildenberger (1952: 100 n. 44) could list studies demonstrating the primal unity of the Old Latin books of Wisdom, Sirach, Maccabees, and Acts; Schäfer also argues for two original translations of Hebrews. On the Gospels, however, there is a conspicuous silence. Fischer's description of the manuscripts *b ff*^{2} *i* as 'die Kerngruppe des europäischen Textes' has been cited above,[3] but it is unclear exactly what this metaphor means. While it implies some sort of centrality for that group, it leaves open the question of whether it should be seen as the best representative of a single tradition from which all the others derive, or the most influential of several different but interrelated groups, or whether it is merely a sort of highest common factor of various basically independent manuscripts. Reichmann (1980: 174) states that the term 'European' does not mean that the manuscripts so described form a discrete group,[4] but it is not clear from his account what if anything it does mean. As has been noted, Heinrich Vogels detected an African element in all the European traditions,[5] and in this respect they may be said on his account to derive from a common source. This, however, leaves open the question of whether there existed a distinct European source, incorporating the African version, from which all the European traditions stem.[6]

[1] This may be true of the lost Latin versions from the second century, such as Tertullian mentions (*adversus Marcionem* 2. 9). But the oldest of the extant OLG text-types cannot be traced back beyond the time of Cyprian of Carthage, whose citations are quite unlike Tertullian's.

[2] 'Es ist fast ein Streit um Worte, ob wir für die Vetus Latina eine einzige Übersetzung annehmen, deren Text sich sofort in verschiedene Typen und Formen spaltet und entwickelt, oder aber zwei oder mehr Übersetzungen, bei denen die jüngeren die älteren benützen.'

[3] See Ch. 2 n. 13.

[4] 'Die übrigen [i. e. non-African] Handschriften werden als "europäisch" bezeichnet, was nichts bedeutet, daß sie eine geschloßene Gruppe bilden.'

[5] See further the discussion of *k* in Ch. 2.

[6] There may also have existed a sort of European *Urübersetzung* which was completely independent of the African tradition. However, as all extant manuscripts show some degree of African influence, it is impossible to demonstrate the existence of such a version.

3.2 Methods of Enquiry

It is clear, then, that the question of the origins of the Old Latin Gospels are not fully understood. As a contribution to the understanding of them, I propose three methods by which they may be examined:

1. by considering variations in the rendering of certain Greek terms *within* each Gospel;
2. by considering variations in the rendering of certain Greek terms *between* the Gospels;
3. by considering instances where all the Latin texts agree upon a reading that is found in few or none of the extant Greek texts.

None of these methods is wholly original. The first method was employed with some success by the editors of the Oxford Old-Latin series, though only to assess the textual relations of individual manuscripts. The value and limitations of this method are judiciously treated by Fischer (1972: 7 ff.). Vogels (1928*b*) also discusses it, but overestimates the degree of uniformity one might reasonably expect of a translator, and is too ready to regard any departure from a manuscript's usual rendering as evidence of overlay from another tradition. In practice, anyone who has translated a text of any length will know that one can easily slip between several synonyms, even when one is not trying to introduce variation (or indeed, when one is trying consciously to avoid it) and when there is nothing in the context to suggest one rendering rather than the other. Even the use of written glossaries will not in itself prevent this, as glossators often give more than one gloss in the second language. The success of this approach rests on precisely these two factors: the general presupposition on the part of the translators that each Greek word should, *ceteris paribus*, have one Latin equivalent, and the fact that this is not a rigidly-enforced policy. The second method was used to good effect in some surprisingly neglected articles by Eberhard Nestle (1907) and F. C. Burkitt (1908). Examples of the third type have been pointed out by various scholars, if only in passing. It is worthwhile, therefore, to bring these methods together to bear on the problem.

3.3 Variations within Gospels

The variations in rendering of Greek terms may conveniently be set out in tabular form, with the columns representing the individual manuscripts and the rows representing the references where the Greek term may be found. An arabic numeral is ascribed to each of the renderings found; this is merely an arbitrary symbol and has no numerical value.

There are four basic patterns the tables could take, depending on the level of agreement between the rows or columns. Each of the four patterns should be interpreted in a different way.

1. In Type 1 tables, all manuscripts have the same rendering throughout. There is thus complete consistency within both columns and rows. Such data are inconclusive; unless the rendering is particularly unlikely, it is impossible to tell whether the translations are related to each other, or are using the same rendering independently.

2. In Type 2 tables, each manuscript alternates between different renderings without regard either for context or for the treatment of the same word in other manuscripts. There is thus no consistency of rendering either within columns or within rows. This is the extreme situation one might expect to emerge if the translations were basically independent and unrelated. Although this sort of diversity is sometimes found for renderings of the more uncommon Greek words which have no obvious translation, it is not found for the more common Greek words.

3. In Type 3 tables, there is broad agreement between most manuscripts as to the most appropriate translation, but there are places at which they depart from it *en masse*. There is thus general consistency between columns, but there are also rows at which the rendering changes across a wide range of manuscripts. This alternation may be determined by the context in which the word occurs, or it may be that the underlying Greek text is uncertain; in either of these cases no conclusions may be drawn about the textual relationships.[7]

[7] The fact that the translators *are* willing to alter their rendering to suit the context, and the extent to which they do so, is a significant aspect of their translation technique; see Ch. 6. But while this possibility must always be considered, it would be merely unsound to distinguish infinite niceties of meaning to account ad hoc for every variation of rendering. On the conditions under which it is acceptable to posit an unattested variant reading in the underlying Greek see Ch. 1.

However, at a significant number of points there is a unanimous or near-unanimous change of rendering which cannot be determined by the context. Such unconditioned changes suggest a relationship between all the manuscripts which share them.

4. In Type 4 tables, there is broad agreement between most manuscripts as to the most appropriate translation, but there is at least one manuscript which regularly chooses another translation. There is thus broad consistency within columns, but not between them. Manuscripts which share a particular rendering may be specially related to each other. It is on the basis of patterns of this sort that the difference between the 'African' and 'European' traditions was established. The same pattern also marks out the 'mixed texts' from the 'unmixed' Old Latin (the former often introducing Vulgate-type readings). In the following discussions I hope to point to the existence of a distinctive subgroup within the European tradition of Luke, and to the existence of two separate European translations of John.

These four types are to some extent ideals; a manuscript can be regarded as broadly consistently even if it is not entirely so. And in practice, they are not all mutually exclusive. While a table cannot belong at once to Type 2 and any other type, it may partake of both Types 3 and 4. It is these two types that are of greatest interest for us, as they have the potential to be diagnostic both of primal unity across a range of manuscripts, and of subgroupings within that range. Where there is a striking variation in rendering across a range of manuscripts that cannot convincingly be explained either as deriving from a variant Greek reading or as conditioned by the context, the question arises of how this variation arose. Here there are three main possibilities:

First, it may be that the passage in which the variation occurred was a particularly well-known one, which was widely circulated either in a lectionary or harmony or in a liturgical form. In such a case it is conceivable that a number of translators working independently and in separate places could have adopted the familiar wording into their versions. This theory is not intrinsically implausible, and is more likely to be true of the Gospels than of any other part of the Scriptures; it may also be attractive to those who presuppose that the extant OLG traditions reflect the work of local translators. However, it also presents problems. A large number of the variations in translation occur in passages which would not necessarily have been especially

familiar. Even in some of the better-known passages, it is highly unlikely that all the translators would have felt *constrained* to adopt the (putative) liturgical or harmonistic rendering. Moreover, it fails to consider the numerous counter-examples of well-known passages which exhibit considerable and even massive variation of rendering. I conclude that while there are specific instances in which an overlay from a liturgical tradition cannot be ruled out, it is unsatisfactory as a general explanation.

Secondly, the manuscripts which show this variation may all derive ultimately from a single common source which showed the same variation. This is the theory that will be advanced for the Synoptic Gospels. It does not preclude the possibility that this common source itself incorporated material from more than one tradition, perhaps from lectionaries or liturgical translations. This possibility should not be exaggerated, and (as Fischer 1972: 11 notes) it is certainly mistaken to assume that every variation in rendering must stem from a different underlying source. None the less, it will be argued that the Matthaean Passion narrative contains various peculiarities of translation that may derive from a liturgical text incorporated within the common source.

Thirdly, a rendering originally confined to one tradition may have spread across the entire range of traditions.[8] But while this explanation is always possible in theory, in practice it need not detain us long. Examples of 'contamination' may be found in several of the OLG; most notably, in cases where a manuscript has combined a European and an African rendering to produce a double-translation (*Doppelübersetzung*; see Chapter 2, n. 1), or in the case of the mixed Old Latin/Vulgate texts. But in the examples that follow there will be many instances where *all* the manuscripts depart from their normal rendering, for no apparent reason. In such circumstances it is more economical to assume that this rendering occurred in a single source underlying all the manuscripts than that it originated in one translation and somehow insinuated itself into all the other traditions, which (according to this theory) are otherwise unrelated.

The single-common-source explanation is not without its own difficulties. It is based on the fact that there are some striking points

[8] The term 'contamination' is not wholly appropriate here, as it seems to imply a corrupt reading displacing the correct one, and since there was no one 'authorized' Old Latin version, such a displacement cannot strictly be a corruption. None the less, the term may be used for the sake of convenience.

of agreement between the extant manuscripts; but of course there are also many points of divergence among them. The argument offered here does not disregard these difficulties, but rests on the supposition that while the points of divergence may plausibly be the result of separate local revisions of a single basic tradition, it is unlikely that the points of similarity between them could have arisen independently. The work of scholars such as the Oxford editors and Heinrich Vogels in tracing the pedigree of *individual* manuscripts is not discounted; but they were not concerned with the question of the origins of the OLG *as a whole*. Of course, there were later developments within this tradition, through which the groupings discussed in the previous chapter were identified;[9] there was also much cross-fertilization between these groupings. But the focus in this chapter will be on the material that they share in common. The work of Vogels and the Oxford editors is often described as the uncovering of various strata within the various manuscripts; to pursue the archaeological metaphor, the study offered here attempts to provide an aerial photograph of all the manuscripts, in the belief that new patterns may be discerned which cannot be seen in an investigation of any one text.[10]

Before moving on to consider specific examples, two points should be noted. First, the nature of the argument advanced here is cumulative. Not all the examples offered are equally cogent, but the argument stands or falls by no one of them but by their collective force. No doubt other explanations could account for *individual* data as well as the common-source theory proposed here; but the common-source hypothesis has been preferred as being the *most economical* way to account for the *maximum amount* of data considered here. Secondly, these studies are not intended to be exhaustive and their results are not final. Within present limits it is possible only to point to certain

[9] Sabatier (1743, *Praefatio*) envisages the Latin Bible being re-copied by various scribes 'qui pro arbitratu suo addiderint, detraxerint, mutaverint, emendaverint'. Doubtless also there were independent local versions which may have contributed to these copies, but as no such wholly independent version survives their contribution cannot be assessed.

[10] The words of Gribomont (1991: 200) are very pertinent here: 'Every extant manuscript merits an individual study. Nevertheless, the relations which connect the thousands of successive waves in which the process of editing occurred also demand a comparative study to illuminate those elements which are distinctive and those which are communal in each witness. The usual procedure of the critical editions in which a normative text is established from which the variants depend is no longer sufficient . . . It is possible to reach only certain statistics, which are open to exceptions.'

phenomena which have escaped previous notice, and to propose some working hypotheses to account for them; the conclusions reached are of course provisional.

In the following tables obvious copyists' errors are 'corrected' without comment, such as *k*'s *illic erit oratio et stridor dentium* for *ploratio* (Matthew 8: 12). An asterisk denotes a deficiency in the manuscript in question, or that there is strong reason to believe it is following a variant reading. Unattested variants are posited only under the conditions set out in Chapter 1 (Section 1.3). Where a range of manuscripts follows an unusual variant reading, this may indicate a common ancestry; in such cases the question is generally considered in the following discussion.

3.4 Matthew

Table 3.1 gives the Latin renderings of the Greek τὸ φῶς in Matthew. It is clear that the usual African translation is *lumen*, shared also by *d*, while the usual European translation is *lux*. The shift to *lumen* in all the European traditions at Matthew 6: 23 and 10: 27 needs to be explained. At Matthew 6: 23 the change may be suggested by the context. Typically the passage runs: *lucerna corporis tui oculus tuus . . . si ergo lumen quod in te est tenebrae sunt, ipsae tenebrae quantae sunt.* Here *lumen* is arguably the better rendering, since it is the term that refers specifically both to lamplight and (at least in classical poetry) to the eyes. However, it is harder to motivate the shift to *lumen* at Matthew 10: 27, where all manuscripts have *quod dico vobis in tenebris dicite in lumine.* Here *lux* would

TABLE 3.1. Translations of τὸ φῶς in Matthew: 1 = *lumen*, 2 = *lux*, * = lacuna or probable variant reading

Ref.	*a*	*au*	*b*	*c*	*d*	*f*	*ff*^{1}	*ff*^{2}	*g*^{1}	*h*	*l*	*q*	*r*^{1}	*k*	*e*	*Vg*	Others
4: 16	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	*	2	2	2	*	*	1	*	2	–
4: 16	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	*	2	2	2	2	*	1	*	2	–
5: 14	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	*	2	2	2	2	*	1	*	2	–
5: 16	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	*	2	2	2	1	*	1	*	2	–
6: 23	*	1	1	1	1	1	1	*	1	1	1	1	*	1	*	1	–
10: 27	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	*	1	1	1	1	*	1	*	1	–
17: 2	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	1	*	*	*	*	* *n*

have been equally acceptable, and indeed is the dominant translation in the parallel verse Luke 12: 3, typically *quae in tenebris dixistis in luce dicentur*. Moreover, if it was the lamp imagery of Matthew 6: 22 that prompted *lumen* in Matthew 6: 23, one might expect to find it also in the context of lamp imagery at Matthew 5: 15–16; but here the typical rendering is *neque accendunt lucernam et ponunt eam sub modio . . . sic luceat et lux vestra coram hominibus* . . .. Therefore, although a difference in meaning does exist between the words, it should not be overstated.[11] In Chapter 8 it will be argued that the translators do indeed show a rather pedantic anxiety to find *le mot juste* for various occasions. But on this occasion this is unlikely to be the correct explanation. The distribution of *lux* and *lumen* found in the extant manuscripts is not determined by context and can hardly be coincidental; rather it is best explained as a feature they have all preserved from a common ancestor. At Matthew 17: 2 all the manuscripts save *q* read *candida/alba sicut nix*; on this reading see the discussion in Chapter 1 (Section 1.7). This may also indicate common ancestry, though it may mean no more than that a form of the Greek text with a corresponding variant was widely circulated in Latin-speaking areas.

Table 3.2 gives the Latin renderings of the Greek ὁ κλαυθμός in Matthew. The usual European rendering is *fletus*, the usual African *ploratio*. The near-unanimous use of *ploratus* in the European texts at

TABLE 3.2. Translations of ὁ κλαυθμός in Matthew: 1 = *fletus*, 2 = *ploratio*, 3 = *ploratus*, * = lacuna or probable variant reading

Ref.	*a*	*au*	*b*	*c*	*d*	*f*	*ff*^{1}	*ff*^{2}	*g*^{1}	*h*	*l*	*q*	*r*^{1}	*k*	*e*	*Vg*	Others
2: 18	1	3	3	3	2†	3	3	*	3	*	3	3	*	2	*	3	—
8: 12	1	1	1	1	*	1	1	*	1	1	1	1	*	2	*	1	—
13: 42	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	*	2	1	1	—
13: 50	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	*	2	2	1	—
22: 13	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	*	1	1	—
24: 51	*	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	*	*	1	—
25: 30	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	*	*	1	—

Note: †*d* has *ploratio et planctus*, presumably a double-translation of the one Greek word incorporating the European and African renderings.

[11] In the next chapter it will be shown that in John one group of manuscripts shows a preference for *lumen* and a second for *lux*. It is evident from their distribution that *lux* and *lumen* were by the time of composition regarded as virtual synonyms in many contexts.

Matthew 2: 18 requires explanation. Typically the verse is rendered *vox in Rhama audita est, ploratus et ululatus multus.* There is no reason why *fletus* should not have been used here. The agreement of all but one of the European texts points to their being derived from a common source document which shared this variation.[12]

Table 3.3 gives the Latin renderings of the Greek ὁ λίθος in Matthew. Again the near-unanimous rendering *saxum* at Matthew 27: 60 requires explanation. It can hardly be coincidental, nor is it conditioned by the context, as it is the same rock referred to at Matthew 27: 60, 28: 2 (the translation is typically *et advolvit saxum magnum ad ostium monumenti . . . (Pharisaei) autem euntes munierunt sepulcrum signantes lapidem cum custodibus . . . Angelus enim Domini descendit de caelo et accedens revolvit lapidem*).

Table 3.4 gives the Latin renderings of the Greek ἐκ δεξιῶν in Matthew. The rendering *a dextris* is thus the most frequent overall (though not found in *e*). In the eccentric and highly literal *d* it is the

TABLE 3.3. Translations of ὁ λίθος in Matthew: 1 = *lapis*, 2 = *saxum*. * = lacuna or probable variant reading

Ref.	*a*	*au*	*b*	*c*	*d*	*f*	*ff*^{1}	*ff*^{2}	*g*^{1}	*h*	*l*	*q*	*r*^{1}	*k*	*e*	*Vg*	Others
3: 9	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	*	1	*	1	1	*	1	*	1	–
4: 3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	*	1	1	1	*	*	1	*	1	–
4: 6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	*	1	1	1	*	*	1	*	1	–
7: 9	1	1	1	1	*	1	1	*	1	1	1	1	*	1	*	1	–
21: 42	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	*	1	1	–
21: 44	*	1	*	1	*	1	1	*	1	1	1	1	*	*	*	1	–
24: 2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	*	1	1	–
24: 2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	*	1	1	–
27: 60	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	*	*	1	–
27: 66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	*	*	1	–
28: 2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	*	*	1	–

[12] As this verse is an OT citation (Jeremiah 31: 15) it is worth asking whether the Gospel translators could be incorporating material from an existing Latin version of Jeremiah. However, while Matthew frequently quotes OT writers there is nothing to suggest that the Latin translations in general show any difference in style in rendering these citations. This case is rather an exception. The switch from *ploratus* to *fletus* is probably not due to the existence of a hypothetical Latin Jeremiah which used *ploratus*, not is it likely that various different translators would have produced it independently. It is more likely that the existing traditions derive from an archetypal version which contained this variation.

TABLE 3.4. Translations of ἐκ δεξιῶν in Matthew: 1 = singular, 2 = plural,† * = lacuna or probable variant reading

Ref.	*a*	*au*	*b*	*c*	*d*	*f*	*ff*^{1}	*ff*^{2}	*g*^{1}	*h*	*l*	*q*	*r*^{1}	*k*	*e*	*Vg*	Others
20: 21	*	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	*	1	1	1 *n*
20: 23	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	*	1	1	1 *n*
22: 44	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	*	1	2	—
25: 33	*	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	*	*	2	—
25: 34	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	*	*	2	—
26: 64	1	2	1	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	*	*	2	1 *n*
27: 38	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	*	*	2	—

Note: † The singular rendering is usually in the idiomatic form *ad dext(e)ram*, the plural in the literal form *a dext(e)ris*. However, the forms *a dexteram* and *ad dexteris* also frequently occur in the manuscripts. The first of these two forms would normally be regarded as an ablative case with the final *-m* added as a hypercorrection. However, the frequency of the form *ad dexteris* gives reason to believe that the more usual phrase was popularly treated as one semantic unit and pronounced something like *adextra(m)* (as in French *adroit*). Learned pressure may have made scribes aware that *ad dexteram* with two *d*'s was the 'correct' form; this knowledge may then have prompted the ungrammatical *ad dextris* for *a dextris*.

only rendering used; its presence in the mixed texts *aur ff*^{1} *g*^{1} *l* at Matthew 26: 64 is probably due to Vulgate influence.[13] However, the singular *ad dextram* is dominant in all traditions at Matthew 20: 21–3. This alternation is not determined by context: there is no reason why Matthew 20: 23 should typically be rendered *sedere autem ad dexteram meam vel ad sinistram non est meum dare vobis*, while Matthew 22: 44 is typically *dixit dominus domino meo, sede a dextris meis*. Again it is unlikely that such an unmotivated alternation could have occurred in so many manuscripts independently.

Table 3.5 gives the Latin renderings of the Greek ὁ λαός in Matthew. Here *populus* is clearly the most common rendering, though *plebs* accounts for one-third of the renderings in the African *k*.[14] However, the distribution is uneven. *Plebs* is found in all manuscripts at Matthew 27: 64, and in many at Matthew 4: 23, 15: 8, 26: 47, 27: 1. In these cases the mixed texts probably follow the Vulgate in using *populus*. Again the distribution is not conditioned by the context. For instance, Matthew 27: 64 is typically rendered *iube ergo custodiri sepulcrum . . . ne forte veniant discipuli eius . . . et dicant plebi, surrexit a mortuis*; there is no reason why *populus* should not have been used here.

[13] On this aspect of the translation technique of the Vulgate, see App. 1.

[14] On the specialization of these words in the sense 'people of God' (a favourite Matthaean usage) see the discussion in Ch. 10, Sect. 10.2.

TABLE 3.5. Translations of ὁ λαός in Matthew: 1 = *plebs*, 2 = *populus*, * = lacuna or probable variant reading

Ref.	*a*	*au*	*b*	*c*	*d*	*f*	*ff*^{1}	*ff*^{2}	*g*^{1}	*h*	*l*	*q*	*r*^{1}	*k*	*e*	*Vg*	Others
1: 21	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	*	2	*	*	2	*	2	*	2	—
2: 4	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	*	2	*	*	2	*	1	*	2	—
2: 6	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	*	2	*	*	2	*	2	*	2	—
4: 16	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	*	2	2	2	*	*	1	*	2	—
4: 23	1	2	1	2	2	2	2	*	2	1	2	1	*	2	*	2	—
13: 15	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	*	2	2	2	2 *π*
15: 8	1	2	1	1	2	2	1	1	2	*	2	1	*	*	2	2	—
21: 23	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	*	2	2	—
26: 3	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	*	*	2	—
26: 5	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	*	*	2	—
26: 47	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	*	2	1	2	2	*	*	2	—
27: 1	1	2	1	1	1	2	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	*	*	2	1 *n*
27: 25	*	2	*	*	2	2	2	*	2	*	2	*	*	*	*	2	—
27: 64	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	*	*	1	1 *n*

The concentration of *plebs* in the Passion narrative (Matthew 26: 20–27: 66) may suggest that the Old Latin version has incorporated an older Latin version of the Matthaean Passion. In this connection the renderings of ὁ ὄχλος also deserve consideration.

Table 3.6 gives the Latin renderings of the Greek ὁ ὄχλος in Matthew. It is clear that *turba* is overwhelmingly the most frequent rendering, and for that reason only the exceptions to that rule have been listed in detail. Matthew 21: 26 and 21: 46 are included for the sake of completeness, but as there is only one manuscript at each point that does *not* render *turba* they need not be considered further. At Matthew 14: 5, 15: 36, 21: 11, where *populus* or *multi* is found across a range of manuscripts, there is no attested variant reading λαός or πολλοί; but the presence of such variants in lost Greek manuscripts cannot be ruled out.[15] More striking, however, is the appearance of *populus* in nearly all the manuscripts in Matthew 27: 15–24. This

[15] See the conditions set out in Ch. 1, Sect. 1.7. It should be noted that Matthew 14: 5, 21: 26, 21: 46 all contain the expression φοβεῖσθαι τὸν ὄχλον; the phrase φοβεῖσθαι τὸν λαόν occurs at Luke 20: 19, 22: 2, and may well have been introduced into the Matthaean verses in question. If they *are* assumed to be based on a text reading ὁ ὄχλος, then of course the near-unanimous shifts in rendering are further evidence of a primal unity in the European traditions.

TABLE 3.6. Translations of ὁ ὄχλος in Matthew: 1 = *turba*, 2 = *populus*, 3 = *multi*, 4 = *plebs*, * = lacuna or probable variant reading

Ref.	*a*	*au*	*b*	*c*	*d*	*f*	*ff*^{1}	*ff*^{2}	*g*^{1}	*h*	*l*	*q*	*r*^{1}	*k*	*e*	*Vg*	Others
Sixteen instances of *turba* in all the European traditions and usually in the African, though *populus* in *k* on the first four occasions and twice in *e*. Then:																	
14: 5	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	*	1	*	2	–
Twelve instances of *turba* in all manuscripts (variant reading in *e* at Matthew 15: 10). Then:																	
15: 36	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	2	2	*	2	2	*	*	1	2	–
Seven instances of *turba* in all manuscripts. Then:																	
21: 11	3	2	3	3	3	1	3	3	2	3	2	1	*	*	3	2	–
21: 26	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	*	1	1	–
21: 46	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	*	1	1	–
Four instances of *turba* in all manuscripts. Then:																	
27: 15	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	*	*	2	–
27: 20	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	*	*	2	–
27: 24	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	*	*	2	–

apparent shift may simply reflect a variant reading ὁ λαός in the Greek. This reading is indeed attested (albeit sparsely) at Matthew 27: 24, and normally this explanation would be perfectly adequate. There are, however, two problems with it here. First, it would be unusual to find three such variants occurring in a row. Secondly, there is some correspondence between the shift of rendering of ὁ ὄχλος to *populus* and the shift of rendering of ὁ λαός to *plebs* noted above. The correspondence is not exact; *plebs* takes over from Matthew 26: 47, and *turba* does not disappear until Matthew 27: 15. All the same it is conceivable that these latter chapters of Matthew incorporate an older rendering in which ὁ λαός was regularly translated as *plebs* and ὁ ὄχλος as *populus*. This question is pursued further below.

Table 3.7 gives the Latin renderings of the Greek ἐσθίω in Matthew. It is clear that the usual European translation is *manduco*, while the African traditions use *manduco* and *edo* roughly half and

TABLE 3.7. Translations of ἐσθίω in Matthew: 1 = *edere*, 2 = *comedere*, 3 = *manducare*, 4 = *cibum capere*, 5 = *cibum accipere*, 6 = *cenare*, * = lacuna or probable variant reading

Ref.	*a*	*au*	*b*	*c*	*d*	*f*	*ff*^{1}	*ff*^{2}	*g*^{1}	*h*	*l*	*q*	*r*^{1}	*k*	*e*	*Vg*	Others
6: 25	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	*	3	3	3	3	*	1	*	3	—
6: 31	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	*	3	3	3	*	*	1	*	3	—
9: 11	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	*	3	3	3	3	*	1	*	3	—
11: 18	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	*	3	*	3	—
11: 19	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	*	3	*	3	—
12: 1	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	*	3	*	3	—
12: 4	3	2	3	3	3	3	1	3	3	3	2	3	*	3	*	2	—
12: 4	3	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	1	3	*	3	*	1	—
14: 16	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	*	3	3	3	—
14: 20	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	*	3	3	3	—
14: 21	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	*	3	3	3	—
15: 2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	*	*	1	3	—
15: 20	3	3	*	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	*	1	1	3	—
15: 27	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	*	1	3	1	1	1	1	—
15: 32	†	3	†	†	3	3	1	3	3	*	3	3	*	1	1	3	—
15: 37	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	*	2	3	*	*	3	2	—
15: 38	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	*	3	3	*	*	1	3	—
24: 49	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	*	3	3	—
25: 35	*	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	*	*	3	—
25: 42	3	*	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	*	*	3	—
26: 17	3	2	3	3	3	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	3	*	*	2	—
26: 21	3	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	3	*	*	1	—
26: 26	6	6	6	6	3	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	3	*	*	6	—
26: 26	1	3	3	3	3	3	1	2	1	3	2	3	3	*	*	2	—

Note: † Greek *οὐκ ἔχουσιν τί φάγωσιν* typically rendered in *a b c* as *non habent escam.*

half.[16] At various points (Matthew 12: 4, 15: 37, 26: 17, 26: 26) one or more of the mixed texts shares a rendering *edo* or *comedo* with the Vulgate; this is probably a classicizing alteration of Jerome's. There are, however, two instances where the pattern breaks down altogether:

At Matthew 15: 27 *edo* appears in all manuscripts save *q*. Typically the rendering is: *nam et catelli edunt de micis quae cadunt de mensis dominorum.* It is just conceivable that when *manduco* had come into widespread use in the sense 'to eat' (used of humans), *edo* remained the

[16] On the shift in this area of Latin lexis see the discussion in Ch. 14, Sect. 14.2.

usual verb of eating in reference to animals; but if so this tendency has not been remarked in other texts, and does not survive into Romance. It is better therefore to regard this as another instance where an unmotivated switch in translation is shared by the vast majority of texts.

At Matthew 26: 26 all the manuscripts save *d* r^{1} render ἐσθίω as *cenare*; *ipsis autem cenantibus* in *a b c* ff^{2} *h q*, *cenantibus autem eis* in *aur f* ff^{1} *l vg*. This occurs in the account of the Last Supper, and it is easy to see why this more elevated rendering might have suggested itself; but it is not at all *required* by the context, and it is very hard to believe it could have occurred to all the translators independently. Nor is there any Greek reading attested that could account for it.

The presence of this unusual rendering at this particular point is suggestive. The verse typically goes on: . . . *accepit Iesus panem et benedixit ac fregit et dedit discipulis suis et ait, accipite et manducate ex hoc omnes, hoc est corpus meum.* This traditional consecration formula must have been familiar from an early date to many Latin-speaking Christians, and it is quite plausible that the OLG manuscripts preserve the wording of an earlier, liturgical version of the passage and perhaps of the whole Passion narrative. Unfortunately, it is hard to verify this suggestion, partly because of the amount of variation between the manuscripts (making reconstructions of a proto-translation difficult), and partly because of the nature of Matthew's Greek—the miracle stories and blocks of teaching in the earlier chapters are often formulaic and repetitive, while the Passion narrative contains many Greek words not found elsewhere in the Gospel. However, we have noted the concentration of renderings of ὁ λαός as *plebs* from Matthew 26: 47, and (apparently) of renderings of ὁ ὄχλος as *populus* in Matthew 27. While it is not unusual for translators to try out several different renderings of the same Greek word early on in the Gospel before settling on their preferred rendering, it is remarkable to find all of them changing so late in the Gospel. The use of *saxum* instead of *lapis* to render ὁ λίθος at Matthew 27: 60 may be another such case, though this is less remarkable as the usual rendering *lapis* is also found in adjacent verses. It may be that the shifts in rendering that are encountered in the Matthaean Passion narrative point to the influence of a separate liturgical translation. As indicated above, such theories must be invoked with caution; but given the familiarity and importance of the Matthaean Passion, it is quite possible that such a version did exist, and that it was both incorporated into a common source for the

European version, and continued to exercise an influence upon the transmission of the text.

In sum, there is a strong case for the European manuscripts of Matthew being derived from a single common source. Other evidence could be offered; for instance, it is hard to see why σπείρω should be rendered *serere* in all the European traditions where it first occurs (Matthew 6: 26) but thereafter always *seminare* (fifteen times), or why διαφημίζω should be rendered *diffamare* in all manuscripts save *d* at Matthew 9: 31 but *divulgare* in all manuscripts save *e* at Matthew 28: 15. There is of course a great deal of discrepancy between the manuscripts; but while it is easy to conceive how this discrepancy might have arisen from independent local revisions of a common original, it is hard to see how originally discrete versions could have come to agree so strikingly on some of their variations in rendering. There is also a case for the Passion narrative of Matthew in this putative common source being based on an older, liturgical translation; but this question cannot be answered conclusively here.

3.5 Mark

Table 3.8 gives the Latin renderings of the Greek ἐσθίω in Mark. *Manducare* once again is the dominant translation in the European tradition, though *a* (as often in Mark) goes its own way and substitutes a more classical rendering. However, the sudden switch to *cibum capere* (*accipere*) in *aur b d i q r*^{1} at Mark 7: 4 requires explanation (*comedere* in the mixed texts *c f l* probably comes from the Vulgate). Typically the passage reads *Farisaei autem et omnes Iudaei . . . a foro cum venerint, nisi baptizantur, cibum non capiunt.* Arguably *manduco* would be less acceptable here as it would require an object, but this is not really convincing.[17] The phrase *manducare panem* is found in all texts at Mark 7: 2, thus giving a context from which the object could easily have been supplied; and moreover *manducare* is used absolutely in all texts at Mark 2: 16 (*quare cum publicanis et peccatoribus manducat?*). The best explanation, therefore, is that all the manuscripts which show this alternation are derived from a source which shows the same variation.

Table 3.9 gives the Latin renderings of the Greek θεραπεύω in Mark. Again, the alternation between *sanare* and *curare* requires explanation. It

[17] *Manducare* could by this date be used intransitively or with the object implied; see examples below, Ch. 14, Sect. 14.2.

TABLE 3.8. Translations of ἐσθίω in Mark: 1 = *edere*, 2 = *comedere*, 3 = *manducare*, 4 = *cibum capere*, 5 = *cibum accipere*, 6 = *cenare*, * = lacuna or probable variant reading

Fourteen instances of *manducare* in all manuscripts, save *edere* once in *aur f*, and a mixture of *edere*, *manducare*, and (once) *cibum capere* in *a*. Then:

Ref.	*a*	*au*	*b*	*c*	*d*	*f*	*ff²*	*i*	*l*	*q*	*r¹*	*k*	*e*	*Vg*	Others
7: 4	1	4	4	2	4	2	5	4	2	4	5	*	*	2	–
7: 5	1	3	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	*	*	3	–
7: 28	1	2	3	1	3	2	3	3	2	1	3	*	*	2	1 *n*

Eight instances of *manducare* in all manuscripts save *a*, which has *edere* seven times and *manducare* once.

TABLE 3.9. Translations of θεραπεύω in Mark: 1 = *sanare*, 2 = *curare*, * = lacuna or probable variant reading

Ref.	*a*	*au*	*b*	*c*	*d*	*f*	*ff²*	*i*	*l*	*q*	*r¹*	*k*	*e*	*Vg*	Others
1: 34	*	2	1	2	2	1	2	*	2	2	2	*	2	2	–
3: 2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	*	2	2	–
3: 10	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	*	2	2	1 *t*
6: 5	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	*	2	2	–
6: 13	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	*	*	1	–

is possible that a variant reading ἰάομαι might account for the rendering *sanare*, but this is not attested and is prima facie unlikely; ἰάομαι occurs only once in Mark, and it would be unusual for the less common term to oust the more common. Nor could ἰάομαι have entered through contamination from the parallel passages in Matthew and Luke, which do not have the verb at all. It is clear too that in this context *sanare* and *curare* are synonyms and hence that their alternation is not conditioned by the context in which they occur; there is no difference in meaning between *curare* at Mark 6: 5 (typically *paucos infirmos imponens manum curavit*) and 1: 34 (typically *et curabat multos*), and *sanare* at Mark 6: 13 (typically *unguentes oleo multos aegros sanaverunt*) and 3: 10 (*multos enim sanabat*).

Table 3.10 gives the Latin renderings of the Greek κατεσθίω in Mark. Again, the widespread alternation cannot be fully explained by

TABLE 3.10. Translations of κατεσθίω in Mark: 1 = *comedere*, 2 = *devorare*, 3 = *manducare*, * = lacuna or probable variant reading

Ref.	*a*	*au*	*b*	*c*	*d*	*f*	*ff*^{2}	*i*	*l*	*q*	*r*^{1}	*k*	*e*	*Vg*	Others
4: 4	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	*	1	1	–
12: 40	1	2	2	2	2	*	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	2	–

change of context: Mark 4: 4 typically reads *et venerunt volatilia et comederunt illud*, while Mark 12: 40 reads (*videte ab scribis*) *qui devorant domos viduarum*. This last instance may arguably be ascribed to the desirability of the forceful alliteration of *devorant domos viduarum*, or for a term other than *comedere* to intensify the metaphor of the Greek. But again these explanations do not stand up; *comedere* is used in all save two of the manuscripts in the parallel passage at Matthew 23: 14, and both words are well attested in classical Latin in the sense 'dissipate, squander, waste'. Moreover, *devorare* would also be semantically and phonetically effective at Mark 4: 4 also.

At this point it is appropriate to introduce the second criterion for discerning the primal unity of the Old Latin versions, namely the variation in rendering *between* the Gospels. It was pointed out by Eberhard Nestle (1907) that παρακαλέω was regularly rendered *deprecari* in the Vulgate Mark but *rogare* in Matthew and Luke, that ἐπιτιμάω was usually *comminari* in Mark but *increpare* (or *corripere*) in Matthew and Luke, and that ὁ ἀρχιερεύς was often *summus sacerdos* in Mark and usually *pontifex* in John, but almost always *princeps sacerdotum* in Matthew and Luke. Nestle supposed this reflected a time when the Gospels were circulated separately in Latin translation. Burkitt (1908) acknowledged the variation, traced it back to the Old Latin, and added that in Mark παρά plus accusative of place is often rendered *circa* or *ad*, whereas in Matthew and Luke it was usually *secus*; but he supposed this was due to a later revision of the versions of Mark. These articles have been curiously neglected by subsequent scholarship, but I believe the method proposed has considerable value for our investigation of the textual origins of the OLG.

Table 3.11 gives the Latin renderings of the Greek ἡ ὑπόκρισις in the Synoptic Gospels. It is noteworthy that although the verses in question triplicate each other (and hence there is no difference in context), Mark diverges dramatically from Matthew and Luke in using *versutia* rather than the loan-word *hypocrisis*. This is in line with Nestle's and Burkitt's

TABLE 3.11. Translations of ἡ ὑπόκρισις in the Synoptic Gospels: 1 = *rapina*, 2 = *hypocrisis*, 3*a* = *simulatio*, 3*b* = *fincta* (*sic*) *simulatio*, 4 = *versutia*, 5 = *affectatio*, 6 = *fictio*, * = lacuna

Ref.	*a*	*au*	*b*	*c*	*d*	*f*	*ff*^{1}	*ff*^{2}	*g*^{1}	*h*	*i*	*l*	*q*	*r*^{1}	*k*	*e*	*Vg*	Others
Matt. 23: 28	2	2	2	2	3	2	2	2	2	3*a*	*	2	*	3	*	1	2	–
Mark 12: 15	3	3	4	3	4	*	*	4	*	*	4	4	4	4	*	*	4	–
Luke 12: 1	5	2	3	2	2	*	*	*	*	*	2	2	2	2	*	6	2	–

findings that Matthew and Luke often agree against Mark in their choice of rendering. It is tempting to see this preference for a Latin word rather than a novel borrowing as evidence of a desire on the part of the original translator/editor(s) of the European version of Mark to avoid overt translationese.[18] This impression may be strengthened by the renderings of the phrase ἐκ δεξιῶν in Mark, given in Table 3.12.

Despite the fact that many Old Latin manuscripts are lacunate for the final chapters of Mark (the final leaves of codices having the Old Latin order Matthew–John–Luke–Mark), it is still possible to draw some inferences from Table 3.12. The Vulgate and mixed texts show a preference for the plural; but in all the non-mixed manuscripts the singular rendering is vastly preferred. The linguistic aspects of these preferences are further discussed in Appendix 1, but for the moment it is enough to say that the singular *ad dexteram* or *a dextera* is perfectly

TABLE 3.12. Translations of ἐκ δεξιῶν in Mark: 1 = singular, 2 = plural, * = lacuna or probable variant reading

Ref.	*a*	*au*	*b*	*c*	*d*	*f*	*ff*^{1}	*ff*^{2}	*i*	*l*	*q*	*r*^{1}	*k*	*e*	*Vg*	Others
10: 37	1	1	1	2	1	1	*	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	–
10: 40	1	1	1	2	1	1	*	1	1	1	1	1	1	*	1	–
12: 36	1	*	2	2	1	*	*	2	1	2	1	*	1	*	2	–
14: 62	1	1	1	1	1	1	*	1	*	2	1	*	1	*	2	–
15: 27	*	1	*	1	1	*	*	1	*	2	*	*	1	*	2	1 *n*
16: 5	*	*	*	2	1	*	*	1	*	2	1	*	1	*	2	1 *n*
16: 19	*	2	*	1	*	*	*	1	*	*	1	*	*	*	2	1 *o*

[18] Even though the use of *versutia* may in itself be a form of translationese; see the discussion in Ch. 8, Sect. 8.2.

classical, while the plural *a dextris* is not. Thus the Old Latin Mark shows on this feature a greater degree of classicism than the Old Latin Matthew.

It may be concluded that the European renderings of Mark also derive from a common source, which shows certain stylistic differences from Matthew and Luke.

3.6 Luke

By now we have established that unmotivated variations of rendering *within* a Gospel may indicate that all the manuscripts are derived from a common source, and that similar variations *between* Gospels may indicate not only that a common source exists for both Gospels but also that these common sources followed different translation policies. In the case of the Gospel of Luke, I will argue that once more the European traditions are derived from a single basic version, and that this version incorporated many more characteristically 'African' renderings than are found in the European traditions of Matthew and Mark. However, I will also argue that one ancient branch of this tradition, represented by *a d*, either retained or reintroduced one characteristically European rendering. The renderings of ἡ παραβολή are the strongest indication of this. In Matthew and Mark this frequent term is always rendered *similitudo* in the African tradition represented by *k*,[19] and almost always *parabola* in the European traditions.[20] The Europeanized African *e* has *parabola* on all save three occasions. In Luke, however, the picture is different.

Table 3.13 gives the Latin renderings of ἡ παραβολή in Luke. Here it is striking how the African rendering *similitudo*, seldom found in the European traditions of Matthew and Mark, has come to be the dominant rendering in so many manuscripts. This sort of variation in rendering between Gospels cannot be coincidental. The variations within Luke also point to a common origin; it is hard to explain why (for instance) the Parables of the Sower (Luke 8: 9) and the Importunate Widow (Luke 18: 1) should be described as *parabolae* in all manuscripts, whereas the Parable of the Talents (Luke 19: 11) should be so generally regarded as a *similitudo*.[21]

[19] The African tradition often prefers to attempt to translate technical terms rather than simply borrow them; see below, Ch. 12, Sect. 12.6.

[20] The only exceptions are *similitudo* in *ff*^{2} at Matthew 15: 15, in *a n* at Mark 7: 17, and in *b* at Mark 4: 2, 4: 10, 4: 13, 4: 30.

[21] Luke's parables *are* often qualitatively different from those of Matthew and Mark; they tend to be longer, with more characterization of the figures involved; there may be

TABLE 3.13. Translations of ἡ παραβολή in Luke: 1 = *similitudo*, 2 = *parabola*, * = lacuna or probable variant reading

Ref.	*a*	*au*	*b*	*c*	*d*	*f*	*ff²*	*i*	*l*	*q*	*r¹*	*e*	*Vg*	Others
4: 23	2	1	1	*	2	1	1	*	1	1	1	1	1	—
5: 36	2	1	1	2	2	2	1	*	1	1	2	1	1	—
6: 39	2	1	1	2	2	1	1	*	1	1	*	1	1	—
8: 4	2	1	1	2	2	1	*	*	1	1	1	1	1	—
8: 9	2	2	2	2	2	2	*	*	2	2	2	1	2	—
8: 10	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	*	2	2	2	1	2	—
8: 11	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	*	2	2	1	1	2	—
12: 16	2	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	—
12: 41	2	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	—
13: 6	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	—
14: 7	2	2	*	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	1	2	—
15: 3	2	2	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	*	1	2	—
18: 1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	—
18: 9	2	2	1	1	*	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	—
19: 11	2	2	1	1	2	2	*	1	1	1	1	1	2	1 *s*
20: 9	2	2	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	—
20: 19	2	1	1	1	2	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	—
21: 29	2	*	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	—

An examination of the *columns* (i.e. the rendering of the individual manuscripts) is also instructive. The African *e* has only *similitudo*. The Europeans *a d* have only *parabola*; this is perhaps surprising, since (as discussed in the previous chapter) these two texts are traditionally regarded as among the most 'African' of the European tradition. The texts traditionally regarded as unmixed Old Latin—*b ff² i q r¹*—all use *parabola* less than one-third of the time; Codex Rehdigeranus *l*, traditionally regarded as a mixed text, also belongs with this group on this feature. The mixed texts *aur c* and the Vulgate use *parabola* just over half the time; the distribution in *aur Vg* is identical.[22] The other mixed text *f* uses *parabola* two-thirds of the time, and in this respect stands between the Vulgate and *a d*.

It would seem from the near-unanimous changes of rendering at Luke

more than one point made, and some of them (e.g. the Importunate Widow) do seem to offer dubious moral exemplars. But this difference cannot plausibly account for the widespread use of *similitudo* within the Latin versions of the Gospel.

[22] The figure would be the same for all three if the lacunae in *c* at Luke 4: 23 and *aur* at 21: 29 are assumed to have read *similitudo*—as they almost certainly did.

8: 9–11, 14: 7, 18: 1, that the European traditions of Luke derive from a common source which also shows these alternations. This common source also showed a strong preference for the rendering *similitudo*, elsewhere associated with the African tradition. The African *e* itself prefers to use *parabola*; it may be that the African version of Luke always differed from the African Matthew and Mark in this respect, or it may be that the tradition to which *e* belongs has been influenced at some point in its history by a text-type that preferred *parabola* (such as *a d*). The Vulgate draws on a text of the *b ff*^{2} type that usually uses *similitudo*, but *parabola* has often been substituted; this also finds its way into the mixed texts.

Table 3.14 gives the Latin renderings of ἐσθίω in Luke. As in Matthew and Mark, *manducare* is the usual rendering in all traditions, but there are four instances (Luke 5: 33, 10: 7, 12: 45, 17: 27–8) where *edere* is used across all or almost all the manuscripts, and once again there is nothing in the context that makes *edere* preferable to *manducare*; Luke 5.33 is typically *quare discipuli Ioannis ieiunant . . . tui autem discipuli edunt et bibunt*, Luke 10: 7 *in eadem autem domo manete edentes et bibentes*, Luke 12.45 *quod si servus . . . coeperit . . . edere et bibere et inebriari*, Luke 17: 27–8 *(in diebus Noe) . . . edebant et bibebant . . . similiter factum est in diebus Loth, edebant et bibebant.* At first glance it seems that *edere* is confined to the set expression *edere et bibere*, which could very plausibly be explained as an instance of an older word retained in a set expression (the *kith-and-kin* phenomenon), but in fact there are numerous instances where the same Greek formula ἐσθίειν καὶ πίνειν is typically rendered as *manducare et bibere* (e.g. Luke 5: 30, 7: 33–4, 12: 29, 13: 26, 17: 8). Nor do the instances of *edere* fall in passages that are especially likely to be known in liturgical or other free-standing versions. The simplest explanation, therefore, is that all manuscripts showing this variation derive from a common source which also contained it.

It may also be worth noting that *edere* is elsewhere a rendering more associated with the African traditions, accounting in Matthew for five out of ten renderings in *k* and *e*, but only two out of twenty-three in *b* (to take a typical representative of the European tradition). It has been noted above how the European traditions of Luke use the 'African' rendering *similitudo* far more frequently in Luke than in Matthew and Mark. It may be that the comparative frequency of *edere* in the European texts of Luke (five times out of thirty-two in *b l q*) is also indicative of a higher level of 'Africanisms' in the common source for the European traditions of Luke.

At Luke 12: 19 (Parable of the Rich Fool) the clause *requiesce, comede/*

Table 3.14. Translations of ἐσθίω in Luke: 1 = *edere*, 2 = *comedere*, 3 = *manducare*, 4 = *cibum capere*, * = lacuna or probable variant reading

Ref.	*a*	*au*	*b*	*c*	*d*	*f*	*ff*^{2}	*i*	*l*	*q*	*r*^{1}	*e*	*Vg*	Others
4: 2	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	*	3	3	3	3	3	–
5: 30	3	3	3	3	1	3	3	*	3	3	3	3	3	–
5: 33	3	1	1	1	1	3	1	*	1	1	1	*	1	–
6: 1	1	3	3	1	3	3	3	*	3	3	3	3	3	–
6: 4	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	*	3	3	3	3	3	–
6: 4	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	*	3	3	3	3	3	–
7: 33	3	3	3	3	1	3	3	*	3	3	3	3	3	–
7: 34	3	3	3	3	1	3	3	*	3	3	3	3	3	–
7: 36	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	*	3	3	3	3	3	–
8: 55	3	3	3	3	1	3	3	*	3	3	3	3	3	–
9: 13	3	3	3	3	1	3	3	*	3	3	3	3	3	–
9: 17	3	3	3	3	1	3	3	*	3	3	3	3	3	–
10: 7	1	1	1	3	1	1	*	1	1	1	1	3	1	–
10: 8	3	3	3	3	1	3	*	3	3	3	3	3	3	–
12: 19	*	2	*	*	*	2	*	*	*	3	*	*	2	–
12: 22	1	3	3	1	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	–
12: 29	1	3	3	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	–
12: 45	1	1	1	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	–
13: 26	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3 *a*^{2}
14: 1	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	1	3	–
14: 15	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	–
15: 16	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	–
15: 23	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	–
17: 8	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3 λ
17: 8	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3 λ
17: 27	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	3 *s*
17: 28	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	3 *s*
22: 8	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	–
22: 11	1	3	3	3	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	–
22: 15	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	–
22: 16	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	–
22: 30	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	–
24: 43	3	3	3	*	3	3	3	*	3	3	3	*	3	–

manduca, bibe is omitted from the Vulgate and the mixed texts *aur f*, and from *q*. The only Greek authority for this omission listed by NA is Codex Bezae *D*; this peculiarity of text in the Old Latin may also be evidence of shared ancestry.

Table 3.15 gives the Latin renderings of ὁ λαός in Luke. As with ἡ παραβολή, there is a striking difference between the typical distribution of renderings in Luke and Matthew. In Matthew, as noted above, *populus* is the usual European rendering, though *plebs* is found especially in the Passion narrative. In Luke, however, *plebs* outweighs *populus* in most traditions, and is not confined especially to any one part of the Gospel. Only in *a d e* is *populus* dominant; the relationship of these three manuscripts in Luke is discussed below. It is notable also that *c f* also show a slightly higher than average number of instances of *populus*; it will be remembered that *f* is also closer to *a d* than any other manuscript in its proportion of renderings of *parabola* to *similitudo*. The variations between *populus* and *plebs* within Luke also cannot be explained by the semantics; there is no good reason why *plebs* should be chosen independently by almost all the European traditions at Luke 20: 26 (typically *et non potuerunt verbum eius reprehendere coram plebe*) and *populus* in all manuscripts at Luke 20: 45 (typically *audiente autem omni populo*), or why *plebs* should be so generally used at Luke 19: 47 (typically *principales plebis quaerebant perdere illum*) but *populus* at Luke 19: 48 (typically *omnis enim populus suspensus erat audiens illum*). Again this is best explained by positing a common-source text containing these variations.

At Luke 9: 13 it has been suggested that *aur b f ff² l q r¹ Vg* have followed a variant reading; their translation is typically *non sunt nobis plus quam quinque panes et duos pisces, nisi eamus et emamus in omnem hanc turbam escas*. In fact it is impossible to tell whether this is an expressive way of translating ὁ λαός in this context, or whether a variant ὁ ὄχλος (not listed in NA) was present in the underlying text (the word is used to refer to the same group of people in the preceding verse).

We have seen that in rendering ἡ παραβολή and ἐσθίω the European traditions of Luke often prefer renderings that in Matthew and Mark are associated with the African tradition. Whether *plebs* is a more African rendering than *populus* is difficult to establish, on account of the fragmentary nature of *k*;[23] in Matthew it accounts for two of the six

[23] The fact that *e* uses *plebs* only four times in Luke cannot be adduced as evidence, since Vogels (1926) shows that *e*'s text of Luke is heavily Europeanized. The preference for *populus* in *e* in Luke may indicate that it was influenced by a European tradition of the *a d* type; or it may be that the African rendering of Luke always used *populus*.

TABLE 3.15. Translations of ὁ λαός in Luke. 1 = *plebs*, 2 = *populus*, * = lacuna or probable variant reading

Ref.	*a*	*aur*	*b*	*c*	*d*	*f*	*ff*^{2}	*i*	*l*	*q*	r^1	*e*	*Vg*	Others
1: 10	*	*	*	*	2	2	2	*	*	*	*	2	*	—
1: 17	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	*	1	1	1	2	1	1 π
1: 21	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	*	1	1	1	2	1	—
1: 68	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	*	1	1	1	2	1	2 β
1: 77	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	*	1	1	1	2	1	1 β
2: 10	2	1	1	1	2	1	2	*	1	1	2	2	1	2 β
2: 31	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	*	2	2	2	2	2	2 β
2: 32	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	*	1	1	1	2	1	2 β
3: 15	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	*	2	2	2	2	2	—
3: 18	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	*	2	2	2	2	2	—
3: 21	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	*	2	2	2	2	2	—
6: 17	2	1	1	2	2	2	1	*	*	1	1	1	2	—
7: 1	2	1	1	2	*	1	1	*	1	1	1	1	2	—
7: 16	2	1	1	2	*	1	1	*	1	1	1	1	2	—
7: 29	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	*	2	2	2	*	2	—
8: 47	2	2	*	2	2	2	2	*	2	2	*	*	2	—
9: 13	2	*	*	2	2	*	*	*	*	*	*	2	*	—
11: 53	2	*	1	2	2	2	*	1	1	1	2	2	*	—
18: 43	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2 *s*
19: 47	2	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	—
19: 48	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	—
20: 1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	—
20: 6	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	—
20: 9	*	1	1	1	*	1	1	1	1	1	1	*	1	—
20: 19	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	—
20: 26	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	—
20: 45	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	—
21: 23	2	*	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	—
21: 38	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	—
22: 2	2	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	—
22: 66	2	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	—
23: 5	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	—
23: 13	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	*	1	1	2	1	1	—
23: 14	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	*	2	2	2	2	2	—
23: 27	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	*	2	*	2	2	2	—
23: 35	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	*	2	*	2	2	2	—
24: 19	2	2	1	2	2	2	1	*	1	*	1	2	2	—

instances in that manuscript. Moreover, while the European translators of Luke apparently prefer 'African' renderings of some words, they avoid the African renderings of others; thus μακάριος is always *beatus* in the European traditions of Luke, as in Matthew; the African rendering *felix* is not found. Similarly the Lucan verb εὐαγγελίζω is typically *benenuntiare* in the African version but *evangelizare* in the European.[24] Therefore the presence of 'African' renderings in the European texts of Luke cannot be adequately explained as the result of scissors-and-paste editing; the translators show a certain amount of critical discretion in their choice.

Table 3.16 gives the Latin renderings of ὅλος in Luke. The distribution of these three translations is conditioned in part by the context. At Luke 5: 5 it may have been felt that *per totam noctem* was a set expression and hence the natural rendering of δι' ὅλης νυκτός. Likewise *omnis* is the more natural rendering of the plural forms; for

TABLE 3.16. Translations of ὅλος in Luke: 1 = *totus*, 2 = *universus*, 3 = *omnis*, * = lacuna or probable variant reading

Ref.	*a*	*au*	*b*	*c*	*d*	*f*	*ff*^{2}	*i*	*l*	*q*	*r*^{1}	*e*	*Vg*	Others
1: 65	3	2	2	2	1	2	3	*	3	3	2	2	3	2 β
4: 14	3	2	2	2	3	2	2	*	2	2	2	2	1	—
5: 5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	*	1	1	1	1	1	—
7: 17	1	2	2	1	1	2	2	*	2	2	2	2	1	—
8: 39	1	2	2	1	*	2	2	*	2	2	2	2	2	—
8: 43	3	3	3	3	*	3	3	*	3	3	3	3	3	—
9: 25	1	2	2	1	1	2	2	*	2	2	2	2	1	—
10: 27	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	*	1	1	1	1	1	—
10: 27	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	*	1	1	1	1	1	—
10: 27	1	3	3	3	1	3	3	1	1	1	3	3	3	—
10: 27	*	3	*	*	*	3	*	*	*	1	*	3	3	—
11: 34	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	*	1	1	1	1	—
11: 36	*	*	*	1	*	1	*	*	*	*	*	*	1	—
11: 36	1	*	*	1	*	1	*	*	*	*	*	*	1	—
13: 21	*	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	* *a*^{2}
23: 5	1	2	2	1	3	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	—
23: 44	3	2	2	1	1	2	2	*	2	2	2	2	2	—

[24] For further details of this see below, Ch. 11, Sect. 11.4.

example at Luke 10: 27 *aur b c ff*^{2} *e* typically show the alternation *diliges Dominum Deum tuum in toto corde et in tota anima et in omnibus viribus tuis* . . . , thus losing much of the anaphoric force of the original. However, the distribution of the three terms cannot always be predicted from the context. For instance, the phrase *τὸν κόσμον ὅλον* is rendered as *universum mundum* in the majority of manuscripts at Luke 9: 25 (with only *e* and the African-influenced *a c d* having *totus*), but the same phrase (*ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ*) is rendered at Matthew 26: 13 as *in toto mundo*. Again, it is best to explain these shared alternations of rendering by positing a common source underlying all the texts that show them.

At Luke 10: 27 (third instance) and Luke 11: 36 the relevant words are omitted in most unmixed Old Latin texts, which might also be seen as an argument for shared ancestry, but in fact little can be inferred from it. The omission at Luke 10: 27 is well attested in the Greek manuscripts, and the omission at Luke 11: 36 simply brings the Lucan account into line with the Matthaean parallel (Matthew 6: 23).

Table 3.17 gives the Latin renderings of *κατεσθίω* in Luke. As with the rendering *populus* as against *plebs*, at Luke 15: 30, 20: 47 *a d* side with *e* against the rest of the European tradition. As we have noted, the verbs *comedere* and *devorare* are synonyms in both their literal and their metaphorical sense, and therefore the alternation between them cannot be determined by context. It is probable, therefore, that their distribution in the European traditions reflects that found in a common source.

TABLE 3.17. Translations of *κατεσθίω* in Luke: 1 = *comedere*, 2 = *devorare*, 3 = *manducare*, 4 = *consumere*, * = lacuna or probable variant reading

Ref.	*a*	*au*	*b*	*c*	*d*	*f*	*ff*^{2}	*i*	*l*	*q*	*r*^{1}	*e*	*Vg*	Others
8: 5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	*	1	1	1	4	1	–
15: 30	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	–
20: 47	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2 *s*

3.7 Two Synoptic Parallels

The presence of many parallel passages in the Synoptic Gospels makes it possible to compare how the same verses in two or more Gospels are translated in the various Latin traditions. In fact this is possible less often than might at first appear, since there are often minor but significant differences of wording between the various evangelists; but two examples of parallels between Luke and Matthew may be considered here:

At Matthew 11: 19 the words ἰδοὺ ἄνθρωπος φάγος καὶ οἰνοπότης is typically rendered *ecce homo vorax et potator vini* (thus *aur c f ff*^{1}*ff*^{2} *g*^{1} *l Vg*; *vini potator* in *d h*; *potator* in *a b q*; *vinaria* in *e* only). At Luke 7: 34 the same words are typically rendered *ecce homo devorator* (thus *a aur b f ff*^{2} *l Vg*; *vorax* in *c e*, *vorator* in *q*, *potator* in *r*^{1}, *manducator* in *d*) *et bibens vinum* (thus *a aur b f ff*^{2} *q*; *vinipotator* in *c d l*, *vinarius* in *e r*^{1}). Despite the numerous variants there is a clear consensus on *vorax et potator vini* in Matthew and *devorator et vinum bibens* in Luke.

At Matthew 23: 4 the Greek δεσμεύουσιν δὲ φορτία βαρέα καὶ δυσβάστακτα is typically rendered *alligant autem onera gravia et importabilia* (thus *aur c f ff*^{1} *g*^{1} *l q*; *non ferenda* in *d*; omitted in *a b ff*^{2} *h r*^{1}). At Luke 11: 46 the parallel words φορτίζετε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φορτία δυσβάστακτα are typically rendered *oneratis homines oneribus quae non possunt portari/e* (thus with minor variations in word order *aur b d f i l q r*^{1} *Vg*; *gravibus* in *c e*; *sarcinas importabiles* in *a* only). While the choice of the relative clause in most versions of Luke may have been motivated by the desire to avoid the homoioteleuton *oneribus importabilibus*, this sort of stylistic consideration is rare in the OLG, and it is most unlikely that so many translators would have felt it independently of one another.

3.8 Lucan Traditions: Summary

The picture of the manuscript relations within Luke that emerges from these tables is a complex one, and many questions must be left unresolved here. However, both the evidence of the internal variations within Luke and the contrast between Luke and the other Synoptics points to a common exemplar ultimately underlying at least *aur b c f ff*^{2} *i l q r*^{1} *s*. This common source is stylistically distinct from both Matthew and Mark, but is closer to Matthew than to Mark. Where it diverges

from Matthew it often does so in the direction of the African version (as in the frequency of the renderings *similitudo*, *plebs*, *edere*). This may be coincidental; there are after all only so many ways of rendering the Greek words in question. At all events it cannot be the result of a mechanical combination of European and African elements, as certain African renderings (e.g. *felix*, *benenuntiare*) are almost universally rejected by the European translators. The simplest and best explanation is probably that the translator-editor(s) of the common source of the European version of Luke were either the same as those of Matthew or followed basically the same technique, but choosing at some points to employ the African renderings, perhaps in order to introduce an element of *variatio*.

Finally, we must consider the European texts *a d* which stand furthest from the mainstream European tradition of Luke, along with *c f* which occasionally agree with them. In the tables given above *a d* score higher than any other European text for the renderings *parabola*, *edere*, *populus*, and *totus*. To this list it could be added that *a d e* also show a marked preference for *legis doctor* rather than *legis peritus* as a rendering of ὁ νομικός (also found in *c* at Luke 10: 25, 11: 52, 11: 53); that *d e* regularly render ἐνώπιον as *in conspectu* (also found in *a* at Luke 1: 15, 1: 17, 1: 19, 1: 75, 16: 15, in *c* at Luke 11: 53, 23: 14, and in *f* at Luke 1: 19) rather than *coram* or *ante*; and that εἶπε is almost always rendered *dixit* or *dicit* in *a d e*, whereas the other traditions frequently use *ait* in addition to the two others. These facts may suggest nothing more than that *a c d* and perhaps *f* have a stronger-than-average African element in their texts, which arose independently in each of them. However, the frequency of the rendering *parabola* in these traditions should be stressed at this point. As has been shown above, *a d*—in other respects the most heavily 'Africanized' of the European traditions—use only *parabola*. They may, therefore, be regarded as a subgroup within the European tradition, closer to the African tradition in many respects but in others further from it. Whether *c f* should belong with this group is less clear. Although *c* shares many features with *a d*, these are all found also in the African *e*, and are probably the result of independent use of the African tradition. The case of *f* is more complex. Although it shows fewer renderings in common with *a d* than *c* does, it shares with them a higher-than-average incidence of *parabola*. This may be coincidental, but may also point to a link of some sort between these two traditions.

3.9 Distinctive Readings in the Old Latin Traditions

As stated at the beginning of this chapter, there are three main arguments for a common source underlying the extant Latin traditions of the Synoptics. Two of them, namely unmotivated alternations of renderings within and between the Gospels, have been discussed. The third is the presence of readings in all or most of the Old Latin texts that appear to correspond to a form of the Greek text for which there is little or no direct attestation. Examples of these have been noted by various scholars at least since Scrivener's day, and it has long been noted that they may point to a common origin (Metzger 1977: 330, cited at Section 3.1). However, a systematic study of them is lacking. The list given below is not a systematic attempt to supply that lack, but rather a collection of some of the better-known examples, with some new ones added. The following preliminary points should be noted:

1. the criteria for positing a reading for which there is no attestation in the Greek are those given in the Chapter 1;
2. the mixed texts are not to be regarded as Old Latin when they agree with two or more Vulgate manuscripts against the unmixed Old Latin tradition;
3. the Greek half of Codex Bezae *D* cannot securely be regarded as an independent Greek witness where it agrees with the Latin half against all the Greek traditions.

Finally, it should be repeated that it is not always possible to decide whether a Latin text is following a variant reading or simply giving a paraphrastic rendering of an attested reading. This, however, does not weaken the argument; if all the Old Latin texts agree on an unusually paraphrastic rendering, that too is evidence for their interrelationship.

At Matthew 13: 29–30 the majority of Old Latin texts have *ne forte colligentes zizania eradicetis simul et triticum. Sed sinite utraque crescere usque ad messem*, where NA reads μήποτε συλλέγοντες τὰ ζιζάνια ἐκριζώσητε ἅμα αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸν σῖτον. ἄφετε συναυξάνεσθαι ἀμφότερα ἕως τοῦ θερισμοῦ. . . . It was noted by Vogels (1926: 120–1) that *sed* in *a aur b c ff*^{2} *g*^{1} *h* has nothing corresponding to it in any Greek tradition, but does have a counterpart in the Old Syriac. Vogels observed that the phrase ἅμα αὐτοῖς is represented at different points in different Latin traditions; most Old Latin manuscripts omit αὐτοῖς, while *d k* and some Vulgate manuscripts move it to the end of the verse; *e* omits the

whole phrase, while *d* repeats *simul* in verse 30 after *utraque*. This led him to suppose that both the Old Syriac and Old Latin derived from a Greek tradition reading *AMA* at the end of verse 29, which was then reanalysed as *ΑΛΛΑ* and placed at the beginning of verse 30.

After Matthew 20: 28 the Old Latin traditions contain two interpolations, the first (found in *a b c d e ff*^{1} *ff*^{2} *g*^{1} *h n r*^{1}) typically *vos autem quaeritis de pusillo crescere et de maiore minores esse*, and the second (found in the same manuscripts excepting *g*^{1}) typically *intrantes autem et rogati ad cenam nolite recumbere in locis eminentioribus ne forte clarior te superveniat et accedens qui ad cenam vocavit te dicat tibi, adhuc deorsum accede, et confundaris. Si autem in loco inferiori recubueris et supervenerit humilior te, dicat tibi qui ad cenam vocavit te, accede adhuc sursum, et erit hoc utilius.* This is similar to the advice given in Luke 14: 8–10, though not a doublet of it. The passage is found also in the Curetonian Syrian but among the Greek manuscripts only in Codex Bezae *D*.

At Mark 1: 20 all manuscripts have *et relicto patre suo Zebedeo in navi cum mercennariis secuti sunt eum*. Here NA reads ἀπῆλθον ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ. The variant ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ, imported from the parallel Matthew 4: 22, is found only in Codex Bezae, the fifth-century *W*, and the ninth- or tenth-century 1424.

At Mark 9: 15 all the unmixed Old Latin traditions read *et confestim omnis multitudo videntes Iesum expaverunt et gaudentes salutaverunt eum*. Here all Greek editions read . . . πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος προστρέχοντες ἠσπάζοντο αὐτόν. It is generally assumed that this is the result of some sort of scrambling of the present participle to χαίροντες; the meaningless προσχαίροντες is in fact found in *D*, but this itself may be a combination of προστρέχοντες with a back-translation from the Latin. Alternatively, it may represent interference from Luke 19: 37, ἤρξαντο ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος (τῶν μαθητῶν) χαίροντες αἰνεῖν τὸν θεόν; this interpretation is strengthened by the fact that most manuscripts use *multitudo* (= τὸ πλῆθος) at Mark 9: 15.[25] At all events there is no independent Greek tradition that can account for *gaudentes*, and its presence in all the extant tradition is remarkable.

At Luke 4: 3–13 all the Latin manuscripts (including the Vulgate) have the temptations of Jesus in the order found in Matthew: turning

[25] The two passages are not parallels, which makes interference from Luke less likely. There is, however, some thematic similarity between the two incidents, in that both occur at the descent of a hill, associated with some sort of theophany or acknowledgement of Jesus' special status; the Mount of the Transfiguration at Mark 9: 15, and the Mount of Olives at Luke 19: 37.

bread into stones, leaping from the Temple, worshipping the Devil. According to NA there is no direct attestation for this in the Greek; outside the Latin manuscripts it is found only in Ambrose, the Philoxenian Syriac, and parts of the Bohairic Coptic tradition.

At Luke 4: 19 the Old Latin texts typically read *adnuntiare annum Domini acceptum et diem retributionis* (*e aur c f ff*^{2} *l r*^{1} *Vg*; *redditionis* in *b q*; *redemptionis* in *a*). NA has simply κηρῦξαι ἐνιαυτὸν κυρίου, with no variant attested. The extra words are added from the LXX of Isaiah 61: 2, from which the passage is cited. Only *d* among the Latin traditions omits them.

At Luke 5: 36 the Old Latin texts typically read *nemo commissuram a vestimento novo immittit in vestimento veteri*, where NA reads οὐδεὶς ἐπίβλημα ἀπὸ ἱματίου καινοῦ σχίσας ἐπιβάλλει ἐπὶ ἱμάτιον παλαιόν. Only *d* among the Latin texts has any equivalent for σχίσας (*scindens*). The others seem to follow a Greek text which has toned down the force of the original by omitting the participle.

At Luke 13: 8 the European traditions typically read . . . *usque dum fodiam circa illam et mittam cophinum stercoris*, where NA reads simply ἕως ὅτου σκάψω περὶ αὐτὴν καὶ βάλω κόπρια. Only *D* among Greek texts reads κόφινον κοπρίων, but again this may be a back-translation. The presence of the basket in the Latin traditions has been variously accounted for,[26] but for present purposes it is enough to note that it is found in all European Old Latin texts and (outside *D*) nowhere else.

At Luke 16: 26 the Old Latin versions typically read *ut hi qui veniunt hoc transire non possint ad vos, neque inde hoc transmeare,* where NA reads ὅπως οἱ θέλοντες ἔνθεν διαβῆναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς μὴ δύνωνται, μηδὲ ἐκεῖθεν πρὸς ἡμᾶς διαπερῶσιν. There are several discrepancies here between the Old Latin and attested Greek texts. Most notably the reading *qui veniunt* in *a b ff*^{2} *i q r*^{1} clearly reflects a metathesis of ἐλθόντες for θέλοντες (reflected in *qui volunt* found only in *d e* and the Vulgate-

[26] Westcott and Hort (1881) noted the reading of *D* in the margin of their text, perhaps believing that it might have been the original reading which had been simplified by haplography. Rendel Harris (1891: 209–10) offered the convoluted hypothesis that the reading derived from a text which rendered κόπρια with a *tumor africanus* as *squalem stercoris*, that this was then corrupted to *qualem stercoris* (*d* reads *qualum stercoris*), subsequently altered to *cophinum*. Metzger (1977: 324) supposed that the basket was 'a feature of the down-to-earth style of these early translations', but this vague statement betrays an insufficient understanding of the sorts of freedom the translators allowed themselves. It may simply be a reinterpretation of a dittography, or of the work of a scribe who originally wrote *ΚΟΠΡΟΝ*, then on consulting his exemplar again, added the diminutive form without erasing his original word.

influenced *aur c f*). The phrase *hoc transmeare* is surprising in view of the Greek. *Hoc* (so *a b i l*; *inde* in *aur f ff*^{2} *r*^{1} *Vg*; *huc* in *q*) and the infinitive *transmeare* (where one might expect a subjunctive corresponding to the Greek διαπερῶσιν) suggest a Greek text reading ὧδε διαπεράσαι; this reading is found only in *D*, and may there be influenced by the Latin.

3.10 General Summary

Much of the problem of analysing the relationships between the OLG manuscripts lies in the fact that while points of disagreement suggest they are independent of each other, points of agreement do not necessarily suggest the contrary. If two translators, working independently, seek to produce a literal version of the same text, they are going to agree at many points. Thus, for instance, ἀκολουθέω is always rendered *sequor* in the OLG manuscripts, but this is such an obvious rendering that no conclusions on manuscript relationships can be drawn from it. In order to argue for a relationship between the OLG manuscripts it has been necessary to show that at certain points they all make the same unmotivated variations in their translation practice, or follow an underlying text that is unknown or almost so. It follows from this that there are only certain points at which it is possible to argue strongly for a common source for them, and at any one of those points it may be possible to find another explanation. However, the cumulative force of these instances is too strong to be ignored; there are too many instances which without resorting to special pleading can only be explained as the result of a common heritage.

4

Origins—The Gospel of John

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter it has been argued that all the European traditions of the Synoptic Gospels descend from a common source, and that the individual Gospels within this common source were stylistically distinct from one another. In this chapter it will be argued that in John there are not one but two European traditions. The first of these, represented mainly by *a d j q* r^1, is closely based on the African tradition, represented in John by *e* alone; though as *e* is held to be heavily Europeanized it is not always possible to tell where the European traditions derive from the African, and vice versa. The other European tradition, represented by *ff*^{2} (and *n* where extant), forms the basis of the Vulgate and the mixed texts. It will be argued that the 'mixed texts' *aur f* are best regarded as Vulgate with an Old Latin admixture, whereas *c l* are basically Old Latin with a Vulgate overlay. Codex Veronensis *b*, in the Synoptics often regarded as the most typical of the European texts, in John belongs with the first group for chapters 1 to 10, then transfers to the second group at some point around John 10 to 11.

This hypothesis rests on an examination of the renderings of nine Greek terms: μικρόν (adverbial), ἡ ἐντολή, ἡ ἀγάπη, τὸ φῶς, ἀποκτείνω, μονογενής, ἡ βρῶσις, δοξάζω, ὁ λόγος, as set out in Tables 4.1 to 4.9. It will emerge that the first group of manuscripts are characterized by the renderings *pusillum*, *mandatum*, *caritas*, *lumen*, *occidere*, *unicus*, *esca*, *honorificare*, *verbum*, while the second group typically uses *modicum*, *praeceptum*, *dilectio*, *lux*, *interficere*, *unigenitus*, *cibus*, *clarificare/glorificare*, *sermo*. The format of these tables will be slightly different from that given in the preceding chapter. At the end of each column are given the totals for each rendering in that manuscript, followed by the same expressed as a percentage of the overall total. These overall percentages are then compiled in Table 4.10, and the patterns discussed.

TABLE 4.1. Translations of μικρόν in John: 1 = *pusillum*, 2 = *modicum*, * = lacuna or probable variant reading

Ref.	*a*	*aur*	*b*	*c*	*d*	*f*	*ff²*	*j*	*l*	*q*	*r¹*	*e*	*Vg*	Others
13: 33	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	*	*	1	1	2	2	–
14: 19	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	*	*	1	1	2	2	–
16: 16	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	*	*	1	1	1	2	–
16: 16	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	*	*	1	1	1	2	–
16: 17	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	*	*	1	1	1	2	–
16: 17	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	*	*	1	1	1	2	–
16: 18	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	*	*	1	1	1	2	–
16: 19	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	*	*	1	1	1	2	–
16: 19	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	*	*	1	1	1	2	–
x 1	9	0	0	0	9	0	0	n/a	n/a	9	9	7	0	–
x 2	0	9	9	9	0	9	9	n/a	n/a	0	0	2	9	–
% 1	100	0	0	0	100	0	0	n/a	n/a	100	100	77.8	0	–
% 2	0	100	100	100	0	100	100	n/a	n/a	0	0	22.2	100	–

TABLE 4.2. Translations of ἡ ἐντολή in John: 1 = *mandatum*, 2 = *praeceptum*, * = lacuna or obvious variant reading, † = see note below

Ref.	*a*	*aur*	*b*	*c*	*d*	*f*	*ff²*	*j*	*l*	*q*	*r¹*	*e*	*Vg*	Others
10: 18	1	1	2	2	1	2	2	*	1	*	1	1	1	–
11: 57	1	2	2	2	1	1	2	*	*	*	1	1	1	–
12: 49	1	1	2	2	1	1	2	*	2†	1	1	1	1	–
12: 50	1	1	2	2	1	1	2	*	2	1	1	1	1	–
13: 34	1	1	2	2	1	1	2	*	2	1	1	1	1	–
14: 15	1	1	2	2	1	1	2	*	*	1	1	1	1	–
14: 21	2	2	2	2	1	1	2	*	*	1	1	1	1	–
14: 31	1	1	2	2	1†	1	2	*	2	1	1	1	1	–
15: 10	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	*	*	2	1	1	2	–
15: 10	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	*	*	2	1	1	2	–
15: 12	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	*	*	1	1	1	2	–
x 1	9	6	0	0	11	7	0	n/a	1	7	11	11	8	–
x 2	2	5	11	11	0	4	11	n/a	4	2	0	0	3	–
% 1	81.8	54.5	0	0	100	63.6	0	n/a	20	77.8	100	100	72.7	–
% 2	18.2	45.5	100	100	0	36.4	100	n/a	80	22.2	0	0	27.3	–

Note: † At John 12: 49 the Greek ἐντολὴν δέδωκεν is rendered in *l* as *praecepit*, and is here treated as if it were *praeceptum*. At John 14: 31 the same phrase is rendered in *d* as *mandavit*, and is likewise treated as if it were *mandatum*.

TABLE 4.3. Translations of ἡ ἀγάπη in John: 1 = *caritas*, 2 = *dilectio*, * = lacuna or probable variant reading

Ref.	*a*	*aur*	*b*	*c*	*d*	*f*	*ff*^{2}	*j*	*l*	*q*	*r*^{1}	*e*	*Vg*	Others
5: 42	1	2	1	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	–
13: 35	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	–
15: 9	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	*	*	1	1	1	2	–
15: 10	1	2	2	*	1	2	2	*	*	1	1	1	2	–
15: 10	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	*	*	1	1	1	2	–
15: 13	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	*	*	1	1	1	2	–
17: 26	1	2	2	2	1	2	*	*	*	1	1	1	2	–
x 1	6	0	1	0	5	0	0	0	0	6	6	5	0	–
x 2	1	7	6	6	2	7	6	2	2	1	1	2	7	–
% 1	85.7	0	14.3	0	71.4	0	0	0	0	85.7	85.7	71.4	0	–
% 2	14.3	100	85.7	100	28.6	100	100	100	100	14.3	14.3	28.6	100	–

4.2 Summary of Tables

The overall figures for the renderings of the words suggested as being typical of one group of manuscripts are summarized in Table 4.10. In order to assess when a manuscript shows a significantly high proportion of one rendering, the average percentage (reckoned as the arithmetic mean) for each rendering is given in the far-right column, and figures above that average are shaded.

4.3 Limitations of Statistical Approach

These figures must be used with care. Fischer (1972: 22–3) gives three reasons for being cautious about the application of statistical methods to the investigation of the manuscript relations. First, there are over 1,000 words in the New Testament that occur only ten times or less; it is important to make sure that the words chosen for examination occur often enough to allow meaningful results to be drawn. Secondly, the manuscripts are often few and badly preserved. Thirdly, statistical enquiry of this sort entails taking words out of their contexts; sometimes a particular word may be chosen in all manuscripts because in that context it is obviously the right word. Before drawing any conclusions from these figures we must consider Fischer's cautions.

TABLE 4.4. Translations of τὸ φῶς in John: 1 = *lumen*, 2 = *lux*, * = lacuna or probable variant reading

Ref.	*a*	*aur*	*b*	*c*	*d*	*f*	*ff*^{2}	*j*	*l*	*q*	*r*^{1}	*e*	*Vg*	Others
1: 4	2	2	2	2	*	2	2	*	2	2	2	2	2	–
1: 5	2	2	2	2	*	2	2	*	2	2	2	2	2	–
1: 7	1	1	1	1	*	1	1	*	*	1	*	1	1	–
1: 8	1	2	1	2	*	2	2	*	*	1	*	1	2	–
1: 8	1	1	1	1	*	1	1	1	*	1	*	1	1	–
1: 9	1	2	2	2	*	1	2	2	*	1	*	1	2	–
3: 19	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	–
3: 19	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	1	2	1	2	2	2	–
3: 20	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	–
3: 20	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	1	1	2	–
3: 21	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	1	2	1	1	1	2	–
5: 35	2	2	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	–
8: 12	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	1	1	2	–
8: 12	2	2	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	2	–
9: 5	2	2	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	2	1	2	2	–
11: 9	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	*	2	*	1	1	2	–
11: 10	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	*	2	*	2	2	2	–
12: 35	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	*	2	*	1	2	1	–
12: 35	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	*	2	*	1	1	2	–
12: 36	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	*	2	*	2	2	2	–
12: 36	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	*	2	*	2	2	2	–
12: 46	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	*	2	2	1	1	2	–
x 1	6	3	10	3	7	5	2	8	3	8	10	13	3	–
x 2	16	19	12	19	9	17	20	3	15	8	8	9	19	–
% 1	27.3	13.6	45.5	13.6	43.8	22.7	9.1	72.7	16.7	50	55.6	59.1	13.6	–
% 2	72.7	86.4	54.5	6.4	56.2	77.3	90.9	27.3	83.3	50	44.4	40.9	86.4	–

On his first point, while two of the words chosen (ἡ βρῶσις and μονογενής) occur only four times, the sample also includes five of the key theological terms of John—τὸ φῶς (twenty-two times), ἡ ἀγάπη (seven times), ὁ λόγος (forty times), ἡ ἐντολή (eleven times), and δοξάζω (twenty-three times). Moreover, the distribution of different renderings of the less frequent words is broadly similar to that of the more frequent ones. On his second point, we are considering eleven so-called Old Latin texts that are extant for most of John, plus the Vulgate and some fragments. At least where the well-preserved texts are concerned, we can be fairly secure about our findings; our findings for the more fragmentary texts must necessarily be more tentative. On

TABLE 4.5. Translations of ἀποκτείνω in John: 1 = *occidere*, 2 = *interficere*, * = lacuna or probable variant reading

Ref.	*a*	*aur*	*b*	*c*	*d*	*f*	*ff*^{2}	*j*	*l*	*q*	*r*^{1}	*e*	*Vg*	Others
5: 18	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	1	2	1	*	1	2	–
7: 1	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	–
7: 19	1	2	1	2	1	2	2	1	2	1	1	2	2	–
7: 20	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	1	2	1	1	2	2	–
7: 25	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	2	2	–
8: 22	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	*	2	1	2	1	2	–
8: 37	1	2	1	2	1	2	2	*	1	1	1	2	2	–
8: 40	1	2	1	2	1	2	2	*	2	1	1	2	2	–
11: 53	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	*	2	*	1	1	2	–
12: 10	1	2	2	2	1	1	2	*	2	*	1	1	2	–
16: 2	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	*	2	1	1	1	2	–
18: 31	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	*	*	1	1	1	2	–
x 1	12	0	4	1	11	2	2	5	1	9	9	6	0	–
x 2	0	12	8	11	1	10	10	0	10	1	2	6	12	–
% 1	100	0	33.3	8.3	91.7	16.7	16.7	100	9.1	90	81.8	50	0	–
% 2	0	100	66.7	91.7	8.3	83.3	83.3	0	90.9	10	18.2	50	100	–

TABLE 4.6. Translations of μονογενής in John: 1 = *unicus*, 2 = *unigenitus*, * = lacuna or probable variant reading

Ref.	*a*	*aur*	*b*	*c*	*d*	*f*	*ff*^{2}	*j*	*l*	*q*	*r*^{1}	*e*	*Vg*	Others
1: 14	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	*	*	1	*	1	2	–
1: 18	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	*	2	2	2	2	2	–
3: 16	1	2	1	2	1	2	2	1	2	2	1	1	2	–
3: 18	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	–
x 1	4	0	1	0	2	0	0	1	0	1	1	3	0	–
x 2	0	4	3	4	2	4	4	1	3	3	2	1	4	–
% 1	100	0	25	0	50	0	0	50	0	25	33.3	75	0	–
% 2	0	100	75	100	50	100	100	50	100	75	66.7	25	100	–

his third point, the Latin translations are for the overwhelming majority of the time pure synonyms in context. Moreover, the possibility of distortion is obviated by the use of the arithmetic mean as the criterion of whether a manuscript uses a particular rendering with significant frequency. Instances where a particular rendering occurs across a range of manuscripts push up this overall

TABLE 4.7. Translations of ἡ βρῶσις and τὸ βρῶμα (John 4: 34 only) in John: 1 = *esca*, 2 = *cibus*, * = lacuna or probable variant reading

Ref.	*a*	*aur*	*b*	*c*	*d*	*f*	*ff²*	*j*	*l*	*q*	*r¹*	*e*	*Vg*	Others
4: 32	1	2	1	2	1	2	2	*	1	2	1	2	2	–
4: 34	1	2	1	2	1	2	2	*	1	1	1	2	2	–
6: 27	1	2	1	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	–
6: 27	1	*	1	*	1	2	*	1	*	1	*	1	*	–
6: 55	1	2	1	2	1	2	2	*	*	1	1	1	2	–
x 1	5	0	5	0	5	0	0	2	3	4	4	3	0	–
x 2	0	4	0	4	0	5	4	0	0	1	0	2	4	–
% 1	100	0	100	0	100	0	0	100	100	80	100	60	0	–
% 2	0	100	0	100	0	100	100	0	0	20	0	40	100	–

mean. This makes it harder for manuscripts to score significantly highly on that particular feature, and reduces the chance of distortion creeping in.

4.4 The Two Traditions: Group 1

From the summary Table 4.10 two groupings immediately stand out. The manuscripts *a d q r¹ e* (provisionally called Group 1) all score above the mean on eight or more of the nine words examined. The manuscripts *aur c f ff² Vg* (Group 2) all score below the mean on at least eight; with this group we may include *l*, which falls below on six features. The manuscripts *b j* will be treated shortly. Most of the time the deviation from the mean is very high, thus marking a sharp division between two homogeneous groups.

Even the exceptions to these patterns are fairly slight. Codex Vercellensis *a* falls short of the average only on the use of *lumen*, and even so scores higher than any of the Group 2 manuscripts; so also *d e* on the use of *honorifico*, and *q* on the use of *esca*.

4.5 Group 2

A consideration of the times when Group 2 manuscripts score over the average also yields significant results. Codex Rehdigeranus *l* shows some similarities to the Group 1 tradition, scoring above the mean on

TABLE 4.8. Translations of δοξάζω in John: 1 = *honorificare*, 2 = *honorare*, 3 = *glorificare*, 4 = *clarificare*, 5 = *magnificare*, * = lacuna or probable variant reading, † = see note below table

Ref.	*a*	*aur*	*b*	*c*	*d*	*f*	*ff*^{2}	*j*	*l*	*q*	*r*^{1}	*e*	*Vg*	Others
7: 39	2	3	1	4	2	3	1	*	1	1	1	4	3	1π
8: 54	3	4	1	4	1	3	4	1	4	1	1	4	3	–
8: 54	3	3	1	4	1	3	4	1	4	1	1	4	3	–
11: 4	5	3	4	4	3	3	4	*	1	*	*	5	3	–
12: 16	3	4	4	4	3	3	4	*	4	*	1†	3	3	–
12: 23	1	4	4	4	3	4	4	*	1	*	1	3	3	–
12: 28	1	4	4	4	3	4	4	*	4	*	1	1	3	–
12: 28	1	4	4	4	3	4	4	*	4	*	1	1	3	–
12: 28	1	4	4	4	3	4	4	*	4	*	1	1	3	–
13: 31	2	4	4	4	3	4	4	*	1	1	4	3	4	–
13: 31	1	4	4	4	3	4	4	*	1	1	1†	3	4	–
13: 32	*	4	*	*	*	4	*	*	*	1	1	3	4	–
13: 32	1	4	4	4	3	4	4	*	*	1	1	3	4	–
13: 32	1	4	4	4	3	4	4	*	1	1	1	3	4	–
14: 13	1	3	1	4	3	1	4	*	*	1	*	5	3	–
15: 8	1	4	4	4	3	3	4	*	*	1	1	3	4	–
16: 14	1	4	4	4	3	4	4	*	*	1	1†	3	4	–
17: 1	1	4	4	4	3	4	4	*	*	1	1	4	4	–
17: 1	1	4	4	4	1	4	4	*	*	1	1	4	4	–
17: 4	1	4	4	4	1	4	4	*	*	1	1	4	4	–
17: 5	1	4	4	4	1	4	4	*	*	1	1	4	4	–
17: 10	1	4	4	4	3	3	4	*	*	1	1	4	4	–
21: 19	1	4	4	4	1	4	4	*	*	4	1	2	4	–
x 1	16	0	4	0	6	1	1	2	6	16	20	3	0	–
x 2	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	–
x 3	3	4	0	0	15	7	0	0	0	0	0	9	10	–
x 4	0	19	18	22	0	15	21	0	6	1	1	8	13	–
x 5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	–
% 1	72.7	0	18.2	0	27.3	4.3	4.5	100	50	94.1	95.2	13.0	0	–
% 2	9.1	0	0	0	4.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	4.3	0	–
% 3	13.6	17.4	0	0	68.2	34.8	0	0	0	0	0	39.1	43.4	–
% 4	0	82.6	81.8	100	0	65.2	95.5	0	50	5.9	4.8	34.8	56.6	–
% 5	4.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6.7	0	–

Note: † r^1 has . . . *ificabit*, assumed here to be *honorificabit*.

TABLE 4.9. Translations of ὁ λόγος in John: 1 = *verbum*, 2 = *sermo*, * = lacuna or probable variant reading

Ref.	*a*	*aur*	*b*	*c*	*d*	*f*	*ff*^{2}	*j*	*l*	*q*	*r*^{1}	*e*	*Vg*	Other
S1: 1	1	1	1	1	*	1	1	*	*	1	*	1	1	–
1: 1	1	1	1	1	*	1	1	*	*	1	*	1	1	–
1: 1	1	1	1	1	*	1	1	*	*	1	*	1	1	–
1: 14	1	1	1	1	*	1	1	*	*	1	*	1	1	–
2: 22	1	2	1	2	*	2	2	1	2	1	1	2	2	–
4: 37	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	*	1	1	1	1	1	–
4: 39	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	*	1	1	1	2	1	–
4: 41	1	2	1	2	1	2	2	*	2	1	1	1	2	–
4: 50	1	2	1	2	1	1	2	*	2	1	1	1	2	–
5: 24	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	*	1	1	1	2	1	–
5: 38	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	–
6: 60	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	–
7: 36	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	–
7: 40	2	2	1	2	1	2	2	*	2	2	1	1	2	–
8: 31	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	*	1	1	1	1	2	–
8: 37	2	2	1	2	1	2	2	*	2	2	1	2	2	–
8: 43	1	2	1	2	1	2	2	*	2	1	1	2	2	–
8: 51	1	2	1	2	1	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	2	–
8: 52	1	2	1	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	–
8: 55	1	2	1	2	1	2	2	*	1	1	1	1	2	–
10: 19	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	1	2	*	1	2	2	–
10: 35	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	*	1	*	1	2	2	–
12: 38	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	*	*	*	1	2	2	–
12: 48	2	2	*	2	1	2	2	*	2	1	1	1	2	–
14: 23	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	*	2	1	1	1	2	–
14: 24	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	*	2	1	1	1	2	–
14: 24	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	*	2	1	1	1	2	–
15: 3	1	2	2	2	*	2	2	*	2	1	1	2	2	–
15: 20	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	*	2	1	1	2	2	–
15: 20	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	*	1	1	2	2	2	–
15: 25	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	*	2	1	1	2	2	–
17: 6	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	*	*	1	*	1	2	–
17: 14	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	*	*	1	1	1	2	–
17: 17	1	2	2	2	1	2	*	*	*	1	1	1	2	–
17: 20	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	*	*	1	1	1	1	–
18: 9	1	2	2	2	*	2	*	*	*	1	1	2	2	–
18: 32	1	2	2	2	*	2	2	*	*	1	1	2	2	–
19: 8	1	2	2	2	*	1	2	*	*	1	1	2	2	–
19: 13	1	2	2	2	*	1	2	*	*	1	1	1	2	–
21: 23	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	*	*	*	1	2	2	–
x 1	27	10	18	10	28	13	10	4	8	33	33	23	9	–
x 2	14	31	22	31	3	28	29	3	18	4	3	18	32	–
% 1	65.8	24.4	45	24.4	90.3	31.7	25.6	57.1	30.8	89.2	91.7	56.1	21.9	–
% 2	34.2	75.6	55	75.6	9.7	68.3	74.4	42.9	69.2	10.8	8.3	43.9	78.1	–

TABLE 4.10. Percentages of renderings of words designated (1) in Tables 4.1–4.9

Word	*a*	*aur*	*b*	*c*	*d*	*f*	*ff²*	*j*	*l*	*q*	*r¹*	*e*	*Vg*	Mean
pusillum	100	0	0	0	100	0	0	n/a	n/a	100	100	77.8	0	43.4
mandatum	81.8	54.5	0	0	100	63.6	0	n/a	20	77.8	100	100	72.7	51.6
caritas	85.7	0	14.3	0	71.4	0	0	n/a	0	85.7	85.7	71.4	0	31.8
lumen	27.3	13.6	45.5	13.6	43.8	22.7	9.1	72.7	16.7	50	55.6	59.1	13.6	34.1
occido	100	0	33.3	8.3	91.7	16.7	16.7	100	9.1	90	81.2	50	0	45.9
unicus	100	0	25	0	50	0	0	50	0	25	33.3	75	0	27.6
esca	100	0	100	0	100	0	0	100	100	80	100	60	0	56.9
honorifico	72.7	0	18.2	0	27.3	4.3	4.5	100	50	94.1	95.2	13	0	36.9
verbum	65.8	24.4	45	24.4	90.3	31.7	25.6	57.1	30.8	89.2	91.7	56.1	21.9	50.3

TABLE 4.11. Distribution of the renderings *honorificare*, *glorificare*, *clarificare* of δοξάζω in John

Word	*a*	*aur*	*b*	*c*	*d*	*f*	*ff²*	*j*	*l*	*q*	*r¹*	*e*	*Vg*	Mean
honorifico	72.7	0	18.2	0	27.3	4.3	4.5	100	50	94.1	95.2	13	0	36.9
glorifico	13.6	17.4	0	0	68.2	30.4	0	0	0	0	0	39.1	43.4	16.3
clarifico	0	82.6	81.8	100	0	65.2	95.5	0	50	5.9	4.8	4.8	56.6	44.3

honorificare and *esca* and higher than any other Group 2 manuscript on *lumen* and *mandatum*. The lacunate nature of *l* may distort the figures, but they may be due in part to the influence of *e* rightly discerned by Vogels (1913: pp. xxxv–xlvi). The main subdivision within this group, however, may be made on the basis of the renderings of ἡ ἐντολή and δοξάζω.

The manuscripts *aur f Vg* all score above the mean on *mandatum* (54.5 per cent, 63.6 per cent, and 72.7 per cent respectively, against a mean of 51.6 per cent), while *c ff*^{2} *l* all score below (0 per cent, 0 per cent, 20 per cent), preferring *praeceptum*. The only 'unmixed' Old Latin text of this group is *ff*^{2}. It is likely that a text of this type was the basis for the Vulgate John, which reads *mandatum* until John 15: 10 and thereafter *praeceptum* (a pattern reflected also in *aur f*). It seems that Jerome decided to substitute *mandatum* for *praeceptum*, but did not persist in this policy to the end. On this point *aur f* come out as being basically Vulgate texts with some Old Latin readings; *c* comes out as Old Latin, of the *ff*^{2} type; while so far as it is possible to say, *l* is also basically of the *ff*^{2} type, though closer to the Vulgate than *c*.

These subgroupings are largely substantiated by the patterns of rendering of δοξάζω in the Group 2 manuscripts, summarized in Table 4.11.

Here the patterns are less clear than they were for *mandatum/praeceptum*. It is, however, immediately apparent that *c ff*^{2} show near-identical patterns. Codex Brixianus *f* is similar to the Vulgate, though with affinities to *ff*^{2}. Codex Aureus *aur* falls roughly halfway between the pairs *c ff*^{2} and *f Vg*. Codex Rehdigeranus *l* again is harder to classify. It has no instances of *glorificare* (which would link it with *f Vg*), and therefore may be classed with *c ff*^{2}. It also shows a significant number of instances of *honorificare*, pointing to an overlay from a Group 1 tradition. The subgroupings *c ff*^{2} *l* and *aur f Vg* thus remain broadly valid.

We may speak, therefore, of two main groups of manuscripts of John. Group 1 comprises *a d q r*^{1} *e*, and is probably the older of the two. Lucifer of Cagliari's citations of an *a*-type text around AD 350 gives us a *terminus ante quem* for its existence. Group 2 consists of *aur c f ff*^{2} *l Vg*, of which the oldest tradition is that of *ff*^{2}. A text of this type must have been used by Jerome in preparing the Vulgate, which gives it a *terminus ante* of the early 380s; there is apparently no earlier evidence of its existence. This group is further subdivided into a basically Vulgate group (*aur f Vg*) and a basically Old Latin group (*c ff*^{2} *l*), though the differences are not major and largely vanish in the second half of the Gospel.

4.6 Codices Veronensis and Sarzanensis

The affinities of the closely related pair *b j* may now be considered. It may be seen from Tables 4.1 to 4.9 that *b* shifts its allegiances halfway through the Gospel. This observation is not wholly new. Vogels (1926: 45–7) also noted that it was closest to r^1 (this was before the publication of *j*), and that it had some affinities to *q*, and was effectively a different version from that of ff^2. Boismart (1964: 443) asks: 'Comment se douter que le codex de Vérone (*b*) adopte systématiquement une autre forme du texte à partir du milieu du ch. IX?' Parker (1992: 192) notes that *b* 'uses *autem* and *igitur* as well as *ergo* regularly up to chapter 9 of John, but not beyond', taking this to be indicative of revision rather than wholesale switch of text-type. The possibility of two distinct traditions of John is also raised by Vogels (1928*b*: 125), albeit without referring to any specific manuscripts:

> Eine Version des vierten Evangeliums, die für λόγος *sermo*, für κόσμος *saeculum*, für δόξα *claritas*, für δοξάζειν *clarificare*, für ἐντολή *mandatum* verwendet, wird mithin eine ganz andere Farbe tragen als jene, die mit den Vokabeln *verbum*, *mundus*, *gloria*, *glorificare*, *praeceptum* arbeitet.

All these observations are on the right lines, but in no case have they been pursued systematically. We may add that up to John 9: 5, *b* prefers *lumen*, and from John 11: 9 onward it prefers *lux*. Likewise up to John 8: 54 it prefers *honorificare*, and from John 11: 4 it uses only *clarificare*. Up to John 8: 40 it alternates between *occidere* and *interficere*, and from John 11: 53 it uses only *interficere*. Roughly speaking, it seems that for chapters 1 to 10 *b* belongs with Group 1, and from chapter 11 it belongs with Group 2. This hypothesis may be tested by calculating the percentages of Group 1–type renderings for chapters 1 to 10 and 11 to 22, and comparing them with figures for the other manuscripts, as in Table 4.12. In this table, *a e* are chosen as representatives of Group 1, and ff^2 *Vg* of Group 2. The percentages for these four manuscripts are for the Gospel as a whole, and the arithmetic mean covers all the manuscripts, not just these four. The figures for Codex Veronensis are broken down into b^1 (John 1–10) and b^2 (John 11–22).

The uneven distribution of the Greek words in the original means that there are no figures for *esca* and *unicus* in John 11–22, nor for *pusillum* in John 1–10, while ἡ ἀγάπη is found only once in that section. None the less, a clear picture emerges of *b*'s relations. In John 1–10 it

TABLE 4.12. Affinities of *b* in John

Word	*a*	*b*^{1}	*b*^{2}	*ff*^{2}	*e*	*Vg*	Mean
pusillum	100	n/a	0	0	77.8	0	43.4
mandatum	81.8	100	0	0	100	72.7	51.6
caritas	85.7	100	0	0	71.4	0	31.8
lumen	27.3	66.7	0	9.1	59.1	13.6	34.1
occido	100	50	0	16.7	50	0	45.9
unicus	100	25	n/a	0	75	0	27.6
esca	100	100	n/a	0	60	0	56.9
honorifico	72.7	100	5.3	4.5	13	0	36.9
verbum	65.8	81.8	0	25.6	56.1	21.9	50.3
glorifico	13.6	0	0	0	39.1	39.1	16.3
clarifico	0	0	94.7	95.5	34.8	60.9	50.6

shows seven of the eight diagnostic features of Group 1 for which there are data. In John 11–22 it shows all seven of the features of Group 2 for which there are data. Unlike the Vulgate and the mixed texts it has no instances of *mandatum* or *glorificare*, but like *ff*^{2} it has a high percentage use of *clarificare*; it should therefore be assigned to the *ff*^{2} subgroup. The exact point at which it shifts type is not clear. The beginning of John 11 was used as a cutting-off point in the table above, but the change probably occurred earlier; at John 10: 18 *b* is already agreeing with Group 2 on the use of *praeceptum* rather than *mandatum*.

The closest relation of *b*, Codex Sarzanensis *j*, clearly belongs with Group 1 in the first half of John. Whether it too shifts allegiance later on is harder to tell. It is the worst preserved of all the major manuscripts of John, and moreover gives out after John 11: 33, resurfacing only for John 19: 31–20: 14. However, in these verses it seems to agree more with the Group 1 manuscripts than with the Group 2. It is best to conclude that *j* remains true to its original text-type.

4.7 The Fragments

There are also six fragments of Old Latin texts of John which are too short for their affinities to emerge from the tables above. Two of them, namely the Aberdeen Fragment (23) and the Fragmentum Vindobonense *v*, are too mutilated to allow any conclusions to be drawn about

their affinities. Two others, the Fragmenta Ambrosiana ρ and the Fragmentum Sangallense *p*, are linked to r^1 and hence form part of Group 1. The Fragmenta Sangallensia *n*, elsewhere very close to *a*, are closest to $c\ ff^2$ in John, as are the Fragmenta Stuttgartensia π.

4.8 Conclusions

We are now in a position to draw the strands together. The Old Latin traditions of John fall into two main classes, one comprising $a\ d\ j\ p\ q\ r^1$ ρ e, the other comprising *aur c f* ff^2 *l n* π Vg. Codex Veronensis belongs with the former group at least for the first nine chapters, but in John 10 switches to the latter type. This bifurcation does not rule out the possibility of interference between the groups, and of readings from one text-type introducing themselves into manuscripts of the other type; but the analysis of such interference belongs with the study of the individual manuscripts, and is outside our present scope. The first group is probably the older; the European texts in it will hereafter be referred to as the 'first European' version of John. If *k* were preserved for John it would almost certainly give a more distinctly African text than *e*, but as things stand *e* may conveniently be grouped with the first European version, which is closer to it in many respects than it is to the second European version. The second European version is taken to include the Vulgate and the mixed texts; the latter chapters of the Vulgate John especially are so close to ff^2 that there is scarcely a distinction to be drawn between Old Latin, mixed text, and Vulgate.

The existence of two distinctive traditions of John has not gone wholly unnoticed before, but I believe the nature and scope of the division has not been fully recognized. The layout of the MJA edition, with its simple African/European dichotomy, has probably perpetuated the misunderstanding. So too has the repetition of sweeping statements concerning the central position of *b* in the European tradition, or the near-identity of *n* and *a*. Paradoxically, these over-general statements have become current after a century of painstaking and meticulous research on the relations of individual manuscripts. In the absence of any general study of the manuscript relations, all that has been possible has been extrapolation on the basis of these individual studies, and these extrapolations have not always been valid. It is hoped that the theory submitted here may prove a more solid basis for future research.

Part II

Aspects of the Translation

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5

Translation Technique

5.1 Introduction

So far we have been concerned with the textual origins of the OLG. We turn now to the linguistic aspects. As a starting-point for this discussion I take the common description of the linguistic character of the OLG as 'literal' and 'vulgar' translations. It will be argued that while these terms are not inaccurate in themselves, they may be misleading if used without qualification. The term 'literal' refers to the translation technique employed; that is, to the ways in which the translators consciously attempt to balance the conflicting demands of comprehensibility and absolute fidelity to the original. The term 'vulgar' refers to the more unreflecting ways in which they use their language; that is, to the sort of Latin that they use simply because it is the ordinary language of people of their date, place, and milieu. As stated in Chapter 1, the three questions of the textual origins of the OLG, their translation technique, and their value as a source for Vulgar Latin, are all interrelated. At this point it is worthwhile considering this relationship again.

Scholarly views on the linguistic character of the OLG have often been influenced by presuppositions about their origins. The traditional view is well summarized by the treatment of Palmer (1954: 184):

> These two facts are of prime importance for the understanding of Christian Latin: the new religion came in Greek guise and to the simple folk of the back streets. There was, of course, a great deal of bilingualism in the Rome of this period. The Good News must soon have been passed on to speakers of Latin. Doubtless there was between friends of different mother tongues much stumbling and confused translation and exposition. The language would have been vulgar, studded with Greek technical terms, and distorted by the pull of the original; for accurate and idiomatic translation is a skilled business. This process is reflected in the earliest Latin versions of Bible . . . [which] were probably made piecemeal and without any central direction or organization. . . .

Palmer's model is simple and appealing, and typifies the assumptions that are generally made about the interrelationship between the origins of the translations and their linguistic character. Only on closer inspection does it appear how much of it rests on conjecture; note for instance 'The Good News *must have been* passed on . . . *Doubtless there was* much stumbling . . . The language *would have been* vulgar . . . ', and the unspecified 'this period' at which it all occurred. Almost any of these assumptions may be challenged. Concerning the 'piecemeal' origins of the translations, for instance, it has been argued in the preceding section that the extant manuscripts of the Gospels derive from one or two original sources, though subject to more or less extensive piecemeal revision; the same has been shown to be the case for other books too. It is now time to re-examine the other assumptions also.

Palmer's views, written half a century ago as part of a general survey of the Latin language, still find echoes in more recent and more specialist accounts. Thus García de la Fuente (1990: 133) quotes approvingly the words of Auerbach, which he gives as: 'Los textos de la *VL* [*Vetus Latina*] adquieron muy pronto tal autoridad ante las comunidades, correspondían evidentemente tan bien a la condición social e intelectual de los primeros cristianos de lengua latina que se convirtieron immediatamente en una tradición fuertemente enraizada y formativa . . .'. Again, the *evidentemente* gives the game away; this is conjecture. There is, of course, nothing intrinsically wrong with the notion of linking linguistic usage to social background. The difficulty lies rather in the circular character of the argument. The literal and vulgar character of the Latin is explained as being the work of proselytizers with an imperfect command of Latin—whose existence is inferred from the literal and vulgar character of their language. In fact, as Coleman (1987: 40) points out, the literalisms that undoubtedly exist 'may be due either to a Greek-speaking translator's imperfect command of Latin or to a determination to preserve as closely as possible the linguistic form of the sacred text'.[1] The common assumption that literal translations are likely to be crude first attempts to render the Scriptures into a new language is not borne out by the comparative evidence.[2] It is not necessarily the case that the extant

[1] For a fuller account of the motivations of the literal style of translation see Brock (1979: 70–9), who points out that the adoption of the *sensus e sensu* approach presumes that the translator is competent to determine the full sense of the original, a claim which is at odds with a belief in the infinite riches of Scripture.

[2] The Harclean Syriac is more literal than the earlier Philoxenian (Metzger 1977:

translations are the product of missionary activity,[3] and more than one authoritative scholar of Latin Christianity has recently taken the view that the social status of many early converts has been considerably underestimated (see Lane Fox 1986: 293–312, Brown 1992: 76). As regards the mother tongue of the translators, it will be argued in this and the following section that they often break from a wholly literal style of translation in favour of a more natural Latin idiom, and show a certain knowledge of archaic or obsolescent Latin words and constructions that might be expected from a native rather than a second-language speaker.

Scholars citing the Old Latin texts as evidence for developments in Latin have generally observed that as translation documents they are subject to Greek influence, and cannot always be used as a source for Vulgar or Late Latin. However, the complexity of the relationship between their status as translations and their value as a source for later Latin has not been sufficiently acknowledged.[4] To take one example: scholars discussing the development of the infinitive of purpose in late Latin often adduce examples from the Old Latin or Vulgate translations, pointing out at the same time that it usually corresponds to a

68–70), the Septuagint less literal than the *kaige* recension or the version of Aquila, the Authorized less literal than the Revised Version of 1881; it will be argued (see App. 1) that the OLG are less literal than the Vulgate revision of them. Beekman and Callow (1974: 211) point to cases where the first rendering of the Scriptures into a language has been heavily interpretative, to avoid confusing converts entirely unfamiliar with the historical background of the New Testament, and later revisions have reduced the interpretative element.

[3] Translations may be done for many reasons. The Gothic version was probably made as part of a missionary drive, but the Septuagint was probably 'from the outset made for use in the synagogue service, [and] later became a useful missionary tool' (Olofsson 1990: 7). Christian missionaries are as likely to begin by telling simple 'stories of Jesus' (often conflating Gospel accounts) as by translating all the Scriptures; it is at this first stage that the 'stumbling and confused translation' is likely to occur. It should also be borne in mind that for more than a century after the death of Jesus there was no canon of inspired works for missionaries to use. The Scillitan Martyrs of *c.*180, often said to be the first known Latin Christians, possessed only *libri et epistulae Pauli*; we do not even know whether these books were in Latin or Greek. It is too simplistic to suppose that missionary work implies translation of the Scriptures, and vice versa. According to Harris (1989: 299 ff.), 'We should not see writing and the book as the main means of propaganda in the first three centuries . . . The illusion that Christianity was spread mainly by means of the written word is possible only for those who exaggerate the literacy of the high Empire.'

[4] For the best discussion of the problem of linking the complex issue of 'Vulgar Latin' to the analysis of an ancient translation, see Lundström (1948: 13–16)

similar construction in Greek, and may simply be a case of interference. The Latin historical linguist should not, however, treat such examples in isolation, without asking some more general questions about the translation technique employed. Which other Greek syntactic devices are imported into the Biblical versions? Which are not? Is the Greek infinitive of purpose always rendered as an infinitive, or are there some environments where it is not? Are the traditions that show it especially vulgar in comparison with the rest? The student of the translation technique must in turn consider these questions and others relating to the wider development of the Latin language. How widespread was the use of the infinitive of purpose in the language by the time of translation? Would the more classical alternatives have sounded archaic? This section is an attempt to find and apply a methodology for analysing the translation techniques used, with a view to clearing the ground for a discussion of the place of the OLG within the history of Latin as a whole.

5.2 Translation Theory in Antiquity

Ancient writings on translation have been the object of several studies. The enquiry of Kaimio (1979: 271–92) into Roman attitudes towards the Greek language concludes that Roman literary translation in the classical period was an amateur's game, motivated by a desire to enhance the translator's own prestige, and that the translators did not feel obliged to render the original word for word. Greek (and Syriac) translation technique is discussed by Brock (1979) and Fisher (1982), while the Latin evidence is handled by Blatt (1938) and Kytzler (1989). Among studies of specific authors and periods, Powell's (1995) treatment of Cicero's translations is notable for its combination of philological and cultural observations. Marti's (1974) study of Latin translation in the age of Augustine is an excellent collection of the late-antique testimonia, with a useful discussion of the theories expounded by Augustine, Jerome, and Rufinus of Aquileia. Robinson (1992) rather tendentiously attempts to link the different attitudes of Augustine and Jerome towards translation to the different demands of communal and solitary life. Lundström has followed his two early works on the Latin Irenaeus with one devoted specifically to ancient Christian Greek-to-Latin translation technique (1955); unfortunately his principal concern has been with the translators' mistakes, the culmination of his research

being a *Lexicon errorum interpretum latinorum* (1983). The erudite Frederick Rener (1989) argues cogently that ancient *paideia* contained an implicit theory of translation, which persisted as part of the classical tradition at least until the late eighteenth century; on his account, the whole quest for a translation theory before the nineteenth century has been disappointing precisely because it has attempted to treat translation as something separate from the disciplines of grammar and rhetoric.[5]

It appears therefore that there is no distinct 'ancient translation theory' that can be invoked in order to analyse the OLG; the oft-repeated distinction between translation *verbum e verbo* and *sensus e sensu* (well set out in Marti: 1974: 64–8) does not constitute a sufficient conceptual framework for our enquiry. It is time to ask whether modern study of ancient translations, or modern translation studies generally, can provide a model for approaching the OLG.

5.3 Modern Study of Ancient Translations

The translation technique of the Old Latin Bible has been described by Bonifatius Fischer as one of the least understood areas of Old Latin studies. Modern scholarship on individual Latin translations (as opposed to the explicit discussions of translation in antiquity) has tended to concentrate either on their textual transmission or on their character as Vulgar Latin texts.[6] While the influence of the Greek on the language has never been ignored, there has been little attempt to analyse the translation technique itself.[7] What discussion there is has

[5] Rener's work is a major piece of intellectual history, to which every historian of translation must respond. I agree with Rener in his frustration at the relative failure of classical scholars to identify a distinct antique approach to translation, and at the private jargon which characterizes much modern theorizing. I would argue, however, that it is not necessary to ascribe a particular formal theory of translation to the ancient translators in order to recognize that there were certain practices which they tended to observe.

[6] See for instance Thielmann's study of the Latin Wisdom of Solomon (1893*a*) and Sirach (1893*b*), Wölfflinn's of the Latin Clement (1896), Heer's of the Latin Epistle of Barnabas (1908), Tidner's of the Latin Didascalia (1938), Mørland's of the Latin Oribasius (1932), Stone's of the Latin half of Codex Bezae (1946), and Lundström's on the Latin Irenaeus (1985).

[7] The translation technique of Rufinus of Aquileia is treated by Wagner (1945) and C. Bammel (1985: 258–68); but, as their studies show, his style is very free, and the issues at stake are very different from those of the sub-literary translations.

tended to concentrate on questions such as the use of the *cursus*, or of alliterative renderings, or attempts to render the Greek with similar-sounding Latin words. Unfortunately, this discussion is often impressionistic. Genuine alliteration may occur accidentally; the *locus classicus* is John 14: 6, *ego sum via et veritas et vita*.[8] The question of *clausulae* and *cursus* in the OLG is inextricably linked to that of word order in the underlying Greek text, which is not easily resolved.[9]

There is, therefore, no standard method of analysing ancient translations that can be applied to the OLG. In Chapter 15, some use will be made of Cuendet's study of the techniques of Cicero and Jerome (1933), in which he discusses how they tackle certain grammatical features of Greek that have no single counterpart in Latin, though here too the textual complexities of the OLG prevent the wholesale application of his method.

5.4 Modern Translation Theory

This deficiency should be seen as part of a wider problem of general linguistics. Many linguists, of course, have written on translation. Useful anthologies of older writings may be found in Schulte and Beguenet (1992) and Lefevere (1992).[10] Among modern writers the work of Nida (1964) has been highly influential; however, his basic premise that a 'science of translation' is possible may be questioned,[11] while his central dichotomy between 'formal' and 'dynamic equi-

[8] Other impressive examples of alliteration include Matthew 23: 24, *duces caeci, liquantes culicem, camelum autem gluttientes*, Matthew 14: 30 *videns vero ventum validum . . .*, Matthew 11: 19 *ecce homo vorax et potator vini, publicanorum et peccatorum amicus*, Luke 8: 13 *et in tempore temptationis recedunt*. While the presence of alliteration may have influenced the translators' choice of rendering, it cannot be shown that they deliberately altered their usual translation practice in order to obtain it.

[9] At all events it is clear that rhythmic considerations did not greatly influence the translators. At one extreme is the sonorous *qui maledixerit patri vel matri, morte moriatur* at Matthew 15: 4 (combining alliteration, paronomasia, and a ringing resolved cretic+-trochee clausula); at the other the jingling pentameter ending of *talia signa facit* at John 11: 47. Most endings are simply shapeless. The problem of word order is twofold. First, the Latin translators generally follow the Greek very closely, thus giving little information on natural Latin usage; secondly, the Greek manuscripts themselves have many minor variations of word order.

[10] It is regrettable but true that Lefevere's own translations are not always a reliable guide to the meaning.

[11] See n. 14.

valence' amounts to little more than a reformulation of the familiar *verbum/sensus* antithesis.[12] The work of Catford (1965) likewise attempts to give a formal account of how translation works; but, as he admits, his distinctions between 'rank-bound' and 'unbounded' largely correspond to the popular distinction between 'free', 'literal', and 'word-for-word' translations. Paul Newmark has published various polemical works urging his own distinction between 'semantic' and 'communicative' translation (which he insists are not to be seen as incompatible); but this distinction too overlaps to a large extent with notions such as Nida's 'formal' and 'dynamic' equivalence and similar antitheses proposed by various writers (see Newmark 1991: 12). Basnett (1991) has argued for an autonomous discipline of Translation Studies, but the theoretical apparatus she adduces seems rather ponderous given the results produced.[13] A similar case is made more effectively by Snell-Hornby (1988), but there is little in common between their terminology and approaches. Venuti (1995) is a stimulating if often erratic companion; his distinction between 'domesticizing' and 'foreignizing' translation may be seen as an advance on the traditional terms 'free' and 'literal', inasmuch as he emphasizes the cultural effects of these different approaches. Beekman and Callow's fine *Translating the Word of God* (1974) is mainly concerned with the problems of Biblical translations into cultures and languages utterly unlike those of the original, and for that reason its insights are not always applicable to the OLG.

Modern translation theory seems, therefore, to have advanced little beyond ancient. There is much intelligent writing on translation, but no consensus on any sophisticated theory or nomenclature. Indeed, much of the best writing on translation may be found not in general works but in studies of specific translations, or in the writings of translators on their own work. In this area students of Biblical and classical translation are particularly well served. Only a few works can be named here: Richard Stoneman's excellent anthology *Daphne into Laurel* (1982) contains a lucid introduction to the cultural and linguistic motives

[12] His assumption that 'dynamic equivalence' will always be possible is also questionable. Presumably he holds that since the Scriptures must be capable of having the same salvific effect in all cultures, they must also be capable of having the same linguistic effect.

[13] e.g. Basnett (1991: 26): 'It is an established fact in Translation Studies that if a dozen translators tackle the same poem, they will produce a dozen different versions'. It needs no science of Translation Studies to establish that fact.

behind changes in English translation style. W. Radice and B. Reynolds' collection in honour of Betty Radice (1987) contains articles by many contributors to the Penguin Classics series, illuminating the practical difficulties of translation. Of the abundant literature on English Biblical translation the works of F. F. Bruce (1970) and S. Kubo and W. F. Specht (1983) may be singled out; the former is an overview covering the period up to the publication of the New English Bible in 1961, while the latter concentrates on twentieth-century translation. Graham Tulloch's *The Scots Bible* (1989) is also a useful study of the problems of creating a Biblical idiom in a modern language. All these works are discursive rather than analytical, but provide a useful background and are often more illuminating than the strictly theoretical studies.

5.5 Analysing the Old Latin Gospels

It is clear that the translation technique of the OLG cannot be analysed in a total theoretical vacuum, but clear also that neither ancient nor modern theories of translation offer a neat conceptual apparatus. One can select no single approach that can command a general consensus, nor is there any virtue in evolving ad hoc a whole new nomenclature. Accordingly, we will adopt an approach that is both flexible and eclectic.[14] The linguistic aspects of translation may be seen as a special form of language contact, and language contact is one area where there is considerable consensus both in terminology and ideas. In particular the researches of Coleman (1989) into the Latin philosophical, rhetorical, and linguistic vocabulary, and Langslow (1992) into the Latin medical vocabulary provide a useful orientation for this study; while they are concerned with the rendering of individual lexical items rather than with wider grammatical and pragmatic aspects of translation, they are a useful starting-point.

It is taken for granted that the OLG are literal translations; the issue

[14] The idea that the study of translation is a 'science' (propounded by Nida, Basnett *et al.*) seems to me to be misleading. The 'hard' sciences study naturally-occurring phenomena with a view to discovering the principles by which they operate. Linguistics may claim to be a science inasmuch as its object of study—language—is a universal human characteristic, and tends to operate in certain ways. Translation is not similarly universal, and attempts to demonstrate 'rules' by which it works have not succeeded. The study of translation is better compared to a discipline such as history, which may be approached methodically and which may draw on scientific insights, but which has not been shown to operate according to 'laws' in the scientific sense.

at stake here is rather what constitutes literalism, and how far the translators are prepared to pursue it. For present purposes literalism will be defined as *the pursuit of exact correspondence between source- and target-language, with resulting distortions of natural usage and idiom.* In this section particular attention will be paid to the following areas where Greek and Latin lexeis do not match up:

1. contextual sensitivity: that is, the extent to which the translators vary their renderings of particular words according to the context in which they occur (Chapter 6);
2. derived forms: their frequency in the OLG, and its possible motivations (Chapter 7);
3. rare, obscure, and technical terms (Chapter 8);
4. count- and mass-nouns, size- and quantity-adjectives (Chapter 9);
5. semantic extensions (Chapter 10);
6. calques (Chapter 11);
7. loan-words (Chapter 12).

It will be argued that the extent to which the OLG translators are prepared to bend natural Latin usage offers a series of axes along which the level of literalism in the translation may be plotted. It will also be argued from the evidence of the level of contextual sensitivity, the use of derived forms, and of rare, obscure, and technical words, that the translators were probably native Latin-speakers who knew Greek only as a second language, rather than Greek missionaries endeavouring to win Latin souls.[15]

[15] There are some similarities between the model proposed here and the five 'modes' of literalism put forward by Barr (1979; *non vidi*) and followed by Olofsson in his recent study of the Septuagint; for instance 'contextual sensitivity' corresponds to Barr's 'consistency or non-consistency', while the study of 'derived forms' and 'calques' overlaps with Barr's 'accuracy and level of semantic information' and 'coded "etymological" information'. See Olofsson (1990: 12 ff.).

6

Contextual Sensitivity

6.1 Introduction

In most discussion of translation, the terms 'literal' and 'word for word' are used more or less as synonyms. In fact they are not strictly the same thing; a translation may follow its original very closely without immediately appearing literal, or it may take considerable liberties with the original and still sound stilted and unnatural.[1] But normally a word-for-word translation of any length will sound more literal than a freer rendering. The extent to which the OLG translators are prepared to alter their rendering of particular words is thus a useful measure of how literal their translations are. It may also be used to evaluate which was their mother tongue. A Greek-speaker might be expected to under-differentiate what a Latin-speaker would perceive as the various senses of a Greek word; it will be argued that the translators do in fact differentiate adequately between them.

In Chapters 3 and 4 we considered various instances in which the translators unanimously (or nearly) switched from one rendering to another, where there was nothing in the context to require it. Such changes (for example the alternation between *lapis* and *saxum* at Matthew 27: 60–28: 2) are sometimes dignified by the name *variatio*, though this suggests a deliberate stylistic device that cannot be verified (Table 3.3). This chapter will deal rather with cases where the translators have demonstrably been sensitive to the context in which the words occurred, and have changed their rendering accordingly; this flexibility may be called *contextual sensitivity*. This is unfortunately similar to the term 'context sensitivity' used in some recent syntactic theory, and it should be stressed that it is used here in a completely different

[1] Catford (1965: 76) illustrates the former principle with the pair *j'ai laissé mes lunettes sur la table/I've left my glasses on the table*, which match up almost morph-for-morph without either sounding literal; but this sort of correspondence is only possible for short texts, where the languages and cultures are closely related. For an instance of a stilted 'free' translation, see the parody of E. V. Rieu's style in Radice and Reynolds (1987: 14).

sense. In practice a whole range of phenomena may be subsumed under the term; for present purposes these will be classed together in three groups:

1. type 1: polysemous Greek words which do not always yield sense if translated by the same Latin word, or where Latin idiom requires more than one word.
2. type 2: instances where a literal word-for-word translation would be satisfactory but the translators apparently take stylistic considerations into account and vary their choice of word.
3. type 3: instances where the same Greek term is given different translations according to the theological nuances it is considered to hold in different contexts.

Inevitably some of the instances discussed below are quite minor in themselves; what is important is the wider picture that emerges from them.

6.2 Type 1: Polysemous Greek Words

The polysemous Greek verb *βάλλω* presents a problem for the Latin translators. While the senses 'put, place, throw' may be adequately rendered by *mittere* and *iactare* (discussed below), the perfect passive forms have a special sense 'to be stretched out, to lie' which cannot simply be translated by the passives of *mittere* or *iactare*.[2] Thus at Matthew 8: 14 the Greek *καὶ ἐλθὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν Πέτρου εἶδεν τὴν πενθερὰν αὐτοῦ βεβλημένην καὶ πυρέσσουσαν* is rendered as *et cum venisset Iesus in domum Petri vidit socrum eius iacentem et febricitantem*, with *iacere* used in all traditions. Similarly at Matthew 9: 2 *καὶ ἰδοὺ προσέφερον αὐτῷ παραλυτικὸν ἐπὶ κλίνης βεβλημένον* is given as *et obtulerunt ei paralyticum iacentem in lecto* or similar in all traditions. So also Matthew 8: 6, typically *puer meus iacet* (*βέβληται*) *in domo paralyticus*, and Luke 16: 20, typically *Lazarus qui iacebat* (*ἐβέβλητο*) *ad ianuam*,[3] where *iacere* is generally used. The similarity between *iaceo* and *iacio* may have reinforced the translators' choice, though *iacio* itself is very rarely used.

So also *ἡ γυνή* requires in Latin as in English two translations—as

[2] *Κεῖμαι* is not frequent in NT Greek. This use of the passive of *βάλλω* may be a Hebraicism; see Schlatter (1929: 274).

[3] The very literal *d* has *missus est* and *k* retains some transparency with *βάλλω* by rendering *proiectus erat*.

'woman' (*mulier*) and 'wife' (*uxor*). The Latin translators regularly alter their renderings in order to choose the most appropriate word. Thus of the thirty instances of ἡ γυνή in Matthew, fourteen are typically rendered *uxor* and sixteen *mulier*; the translators readily distinguish the senses and translate accordingly (e.g. Matthew 22: 27–8, typically *novissime autem omnium et* ***mulier*** *defuncta est. In resurrectione autem cuius erit* ***uxor****?*).

A similar problem is posed by the verb γαμέω, used indifferently in Greek to refer to men marrying women, women marrying men, and to marriage in general. Latin (like many other languages) distinguishes these various senses, using *uxorem ducere* in the first and *nubere* in the second and third.[4] In the Gospels γαμέω appears seven times (Matthew 5: 32, 19: 9, 22: 25; Mark 6: 17, 10: 11; Luke 14: 20, 16: 18) referring unequivocally to men marrying women, once (Mark 10: 12) to a woman marrying a man, and once (Matthew 19: 10) to marriage in general. With sporadic exceptions (mostly in the very literal *d*) the translators regularly choose the appropriate Latin word. Slight as such alternations are, they do indicate that the translators were thoroughly at home in Latin.

6.3 Type 2: Stylistic Considerations

At the next point in the scale are words which do not absolutely demand more than one translation, but for which it is desirable. Thus for instance we have seen how τὸ φῶς can be rendered *lux* and *lumen* indifferently. However, at Mark 14: 54, where it refers to Peter warming himself at the fire (θερμαινόμενος πρὸς τὸ φῶς) in the High Priest's courtyard, it is rendered *calefaciens se ad ignem* or similarly. By contrast the parallel passage in Luke (Luke 22: 56) reads . . . ἰδοῦσα δὲ αὐτὸν παιδίσκη τις καθήμενον πρὸς τὸ φῶς. This may be rendered either as 'light' or 'fire'; but the translators understand it that the slave-

[4] There is an additional complication here in the variations on a very curious phrase οὔτε γαμοῦσιν οὔτε γαμίζονται occurring in all the Synoptic Gospels (Matthew 22: 30; Mark 12: 25; cf. Luke 20: 34–5). The problems of translating these passages are well handled by Meershoek (1966: 56–61), who cites Jerome, *Comm. in Matthaeum* 22: 30: *Latina consuetudo graeco idiomati non respondet. Nubere enim proprie dicuntur mulieres, et viri uxores ducere; sed nos simpliciter dictum intelligimus, quod nubere de viris et nubi de uxoribus scriptum sit.* The Old Latin versions also take γαμέω and γαμίζω to refer to women and men, and typically render them *nubere* and *uxorem ducere*.

girl saw Peter because he was sitting in the light, and render it as *lumen* (*ignis* in *f* only).

Again, there are over thirty instances of the word ὁ οἶκος in Luke, and it is almost uniformly rendered as *domus*. However, at Luke 11: 51 . . . ἕως αἵματος Ζαχαρίου τοῦ ἀπολομένου μεταξὺ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου καὶ τοῦ οἴκου, 'to the blood of Zachariah, who perished between the altar and the sanctuary' (RSV) is rendered *usque ad sanguinem Zachariae qui periit inter altare et aedem* or similarly. Almost all versions employ *aedes*, which nicely captures the nuances of 'house' and 'temple'; *d e* have *templum*, which also shows sensitivity.[5] Elsewhere ὁ οἶκος is rendered *domus*.[6]

The rendering of the passive of βάλλω as *iacere* has been discussed above. Normally this verb is rendered *mittere* (for example Matthew 3: 10, typically *omnis ergo arbor quae non facit fructum bonum excidetur et in ignem mittetur* = εἰς πῦρ βάλλεται).[7] However, there are various instances where the translators either substitute another lexical item or choose a compound form bearing a more specific sense.

At John 8: 59 the Jews prepare to stone Jesus, ἦραν οὖν λίθους ἵνα βάλωσιν ἐπ' αὐτόν. Here the manuscripts are divided; *b d l r*^{1} use *mittere*, but *a aur ff*^{2} *q* and some Vulgate manuscripts[8] have the more energetic *tulerunt ergo lapides ut iactarent in illum*.[9]

Similarly in the account of the Widow's Mite at Mark 12: 41–4, given here in *b*'s text: *Iesus autem sedens contra gaiofylacium aspiciebat quantae turbae*

[5] Lexical death is always hard to establish, but it may well be that *aedes* was obsolete or obsolescent by the mid-third century. The proportions of *aedes*:*domus*:*templum* in Terence, Petronius (*Satyricon*), the Younger Seneca, and Egeria are respectively 19:100:1, 3:27:11, 6:381:57, and 0:19:1. If so, its revival here may be regarded as an instance of the sort of archaism considered further in Ch. 8.

[6] At Luke 6: 4 ὁ οἶκος τοῦ θεοῦ refers to the shrine at Nob visited by David (1 Samuel 21: 1–6), which is not properly a temple. At Luke 13: 35 οἶκος may be but 'is not necessarily a reference to the Temple' (Karris in *NJBC*).

[7] The reflexes of *mittere*, as is well known, typically mean 'to put' rather than 'to send' (that sense being taken over by reflexes of *expedire* and *inviare*). The definitive study is that of Adams (1974), who concludes that the sense 'to place (by letting go of)' is already well established in imperial Latin. Accordingly, the usage here is not wholly a semantic extension modelled on βάλλω , though that almost certainly contributed.

[8] Texts *c Vg* have the classical *ut iacerent*. It is typical of Jerome's style to flatten out some of the more graphic renderings found in the Old Latin; see App. 1.

[9] This use of the intensive form to convey an imperative can be paralleled in Luke 17: 23, where most manuscripts read *nolite ire neque sectemini*. Now, *sectari* here translates διώκω, which at all twelve other instances in the Gospels, where the verb is not in the imperative, is translated as *(per)sequi*.

iactabant aes in gaiofylacium. et multi divites iactabant multa. cum venisset autem una vidua misit minuta duo quod est quadram. et convocans discipulos suos ait illis, Amen dico vobis quoniam vidua egena haec plus omnibus misit in gaiofylacio munus. This alternation of *iactare* and *mittere* (both rendering βάλλω) appears in most manuscripts (*a ff*^{2} *c e* have *mittere* throughout, also found in *d* at the first instance). The majority of the European texts thus make a distinction not found in the Greek between the ostentation of the *divites* and the modesty of the widow.

Similarly at Matthew 21: 21 Jesus tells his disciples κἂν τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ εἴπητε, ἄρθητι καὶ βλήθητι εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, γενήσεται; this is given in the European tradition (typified here by *ff*^{2}) as *et si monti huic dixeritis, tolle te et iacta te in mare, fiet* (*mittere* in *aur d* only). It should be noted that while the Romance reflexes of *iactare* (Fr. *jeter*, It. *gettare*) mean simply 'to throw', its reservation in the OLG for these more dramatic contexts suggests that at the time of composition it retained its more intensive meaning.[10]

Iactare is not the only verb that is substituted for *mittere* in order to give a special sense. Thus at Matthew 5: 29 the Greek εἰ δὲ ὁ ὀφθαλμός σου ὁ δεξιὸς σκανδαλίζει σε ἔξελε αὐτὸν καὶ βάλε ἀπὸ σοῦ is given in the European tradition (typified here by *b*) as *quod si oculus tuus dexter scandalizat te erue eum et proice abs te* (*mitte* in *d*, *abrode* in *k*).[11] So also where a similar phrase occurs in the following verse (*abice* in *k*, *d* is deficient). Again at Matthew 18: 8–9 (doublet of Matthew 5: 29–30): *proice* in the main European tradition, *mitte* in *d*, *abice* in *e*. In all these cases (and compare also the case of *iactare* in Matthew 21: 21 discussed above) the more emphatic verb is used to render the imperative, and more specifically of the infliction of some injury upon oneself. At the only other instance of an imperative βάλε (πορευθεὶς εἰς θάλασσαν βάλε ἄγκιστρον, Matthew 17: 27) the rendering *mitte* is found in all manuscripts. This distribution argues a certain degree of linguistic sensitivity on the part of the translators.

[10] If, however, *iactare* was already the usual exponent of the sense 'to throw' in the spoken Latin of the time (and Jerome's substitution of *iacio* at John 8: 59 may indicate unease about it) then its relative infrequency elsewhere may indicate a sort of linguistic conservatism. For further examples of conservatism, see Ch. 14. A fuller list of instances of *iactare* in the OLG is given by Adams (1974: 159); the three instances discussed above are the only times it occurs in more than one or two manuscripts.

[11] Codex Bobbiensis *k*'s reading *abrode* is a remarkable choice. However, the related verb *erodere* does possess a technical medical sense 'to cure by corrosive action' (of astringent ointments). If *abrodere* is used in this sense, then the translator may be softening the impact of the original 'tear our your eye' by using a medical metaphor.

The compound ἐκβάλλω is regularly rendered *eicere* (for example at Matthew 7: 5, *eice primum trabem de oculo tuo, et tunc videbis eiciere festucam de oculo fratris tui* in the European tradition). However, at Matthew 9: 38 it is typically rendered *rogate ergo dominum messis ut mittat operarios in messem suam* (*eiciat* in *d l Vg*).[12] Similarly at John 6: 37 τὸν ἐρχόμενον πρὸς ἐμὲ οὐ μὴ ἐκβάλω ἔξω is given in *b r*^{1} as *qui venit ad me non apello foras* (*repello* in *q e*, *expello* in *f*; *abicere* in *a d*, *eicere* in *ff*^{2} *c j Vg*). Although the compounds of *iacere* are acceptable renderings,[13] the compounds of *pellere* arguably show a greater flexibility and sensitivity to the Greek.

As well as substituting lexical items, the translators also use Latin compounds to render simple Greek verbs where appropriate. Thus at Matthew 25: 27 (Parable of the Talents) the unprofitable servant is rebuked for not having invested the sum entrusted to him: ἔδει σε οὖν βαλεῖν τὰ ἀργύριά μου τοῖς τραπεζίταις. This is typically rendered as *oportuit ergo te committere pecuniam meam nummulariis* (*mittere* in *d g*^{1} *l* and most Vulgate manuscripts, *dare* in *ff*^{1} *h r*^{1}, *tradere* in *ff*^{2}). *Committere* here is the technical Latin verb, and hence a wholly appropriate choice. The selection of rare, literary, and technical terms is discussed further in Chapter 8.

The preceding examples have illustrated the ways in which the OLG translators are prepared to be flexible at the level of the individual word. To a limited extent they also show some independence in rendering Greek discourse markers into Latin. Thus the humble δέ, though almost lexically empty, may be rendered as *et*, *autem*, or *vero*, according as it marks simple continuity, slight, or strong antithesis. So the Parable of the Sower at Matthew 13: 4–8 is typically rendered *quaedam* [*semina*] (ἃ μέν) *ceciderunt secus viam. . . . quaedam autem* (ἄλλα δέ; *alia autem* in *aur f ff*^{1} *Vg*) *ceciderunt in petrosa loca . . . alia autem* (ἄλλα δέ) *ceciderunt in spinas . . . alia vero* (ἄλλα δέ; *autem* in *d ff*^{1} *l q*) *ceciderunt in terram bonam.* Here the idiom has been subtly adapted to the Latin, with two balancing *quaedam*'s and *alia*'s, no attempt to render the μέν, but the contrast between the fruitful seed and the rest emphasized by final *vero*. This is not high literary art, but it points to two important facts: first, that the OLG are not *wholly*

[12] The translation practice of the Vulgate in this and the following instance is discussed in App. 1.

[13] Cicero had already used *eicere* in the extended sense 'to reject disapprovingly' on the model of ἐκβάλλω (e.g. *de Off.* 1. 41. 148, *Cynicorum ratio tota eicienda est*). It is not clear, however, that the usage ever took root in the language as a whole. *TLL* V$_2$. 304. 80 ff. notes only few examples of it in the sense *excludere, accedere non pati*, most from Christian or later writers.

literal translations, and secondly, that their translators are apparently at home in Latin. Where, therefore, the translations are literal, this should be ascribed to the translators' deliberate choice of literalism rather than to insufficient knowledge of Latin.

Sensitivity of this kind is not confined to the lexis. There are various features of Greek syntax which do not correspond to any one Latin construction; it will be argued that in their treatment of these too the translators show a similar level of flexibility (see below, Chapter 15).

6.4 Type 3: Theological Nuances

At the far end of the spectrum are cases where the translators varied their renderings not on linguistic so much as on theological criteria. One example of this has been encountered already; the use of *cenare* as a rendering of ἐσθίω in all but two manuscripts at Matthew 26: 26, referring to the Last Supper. It is clear that this is regarded as a special sort of eating. In fact the phenomenon is not common; the following examples are perhaps the only ones.

The frequency of *sermo* and *verbum* renderings of ὁ λόγος in John has been set out above (see Table 4.9), and it has been noted that the second European tradition (*aur c f ff*^{2} *l Vg*) uses both translations. The distribution within these texts is also significant. *Verbum* alone is used to refer to the Logos in the Johannine Prologue (*in principio erat verbum et verbum erat apud deum et deus erat verbum . . . et verbum caro factum est . . .*). There are examples of its use to render ὁ λόγος in the non-specialized sense,[14] but in such contexts *sermo* is overwhelmingly more frequent. The choice of rendering *verbum* in the Prologue is a clear instance of theological conditioning of a translation.

Similarily at most of its appearances the verb ἀκούω is predictably

[14] John 4: 37, 4: 39, 5: 38, 17: 20. At 4: 37 its use may be motivated partly by the alliteration *verbum veritatis*. John 5: 38 is typically rendered *et verbum eius non habetis in vobis manentem, quia quem misit ille huic vos non creditis*. This is probably a simple confusion of gender stemming from the masculine τὸν λόγον . . . μένοντα (see Lundström 1955: 249 on this and other examples of the phenomenon in the translation literature), though such confusion is rare in the OLG and usually confined to only a few manuscripts; it is just possible that the masculine participle reflects a christological interpretation. It is often hard to decide whether ὁ λόγος is being used as a technical term. John's technique is to emphasize ordinary words (e.g. μένω, τὸ φῶς, ἡ ἀγάπη, εἰμί) not by giving them a special sense so much as by using them with a frequency that calls attention to itself. It is the patterning of such words that makes them distinctive, rather than the individual instances.

rendered as *audio*. However, at John 9: 31 the blind man healed by Jesus observes *οἴδαμεν ὅτι ἁμαρτωλῶν ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ἀκούει, ἀλλ' ἐάν τις θεοσεβὴς ᾖ . . . τούτου ἀκούει*. Here most translations use the technical compound *exaudire*, the technical verb 'to hear prayer, hearken'; typically *scimus quia peccatores Deus non exaudit* (*audire* in *d l Vg*), *sed si quis Dei cultor est . . . hunc exaudit* (*audit* in *d q*). Conversely at John 11: 41–2 Jesus addresses the Father just before the raising of Lazarus: *πάτερ, εὐχαριστῶ σοι, ὅτι ἤκουσάς μου. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤδειν ὅτι πάντοτέ μου ἀκούεις . . . .* Here *exaudire* is found in *f* alone; all the other manuscripts use the plain *audire*. The translators seem to have felt that to use *exaudire* here would have implied a degree of supplication in Jesus' words to the Father that was theologically inappropriate.

At one notable instance the translators show linguistic sensitivity to the detriment of the literary and theological texture of the original. The regular rendering of *ὁ ἄγγελος* 'angel' is the direct transliteration *angelus*, with *nuntius* sporadically tried but never the usual rendering in any manuscript. They are also prepared to use it to refer to John the Baptist in rendering the favourite proof-text Malachi 3: 1, *ἰδοὺ ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου*, quoted or alluded to by all the Synopticists (Mark 1: 2; Matthew 11: 10; Luke 1: 17, 1: 76). However, at Luke 9: 52 Jesus sends messengers ahead of him on his way to Jerusalem (*καὶ ἀπέστειλεν ἀγγέλους πρὸ τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ*) to make arrangements. This is typically rendered as *et misit nuntios ante conspectum suum*. Here the translators either do not perceive the allusion, or feel that while John might be described as an *angelus* the same description would not be appropriate to other heralds of Jesus.

It should be noted that there is little or no evidence of the OLG translators introducing sectarian bias into their renderings. There may be theological bias in the *readings* of a manuscript, but that is a different matter.[15] Some of the renderings in the OLG, as taken over by the Vulgate, were gravely impugned at the Reformation; but there is no reason to think that they were originally tendentious. Thus the notorious *gratiae plena* (Luke 1: 28, *κεχαριτωμένη*) merely uses the same type of periphrasis as *ulceribus plenus* (Luke 16: 20, *εἱλκωμένος*),[16]

[15] Marcionite influence has been suspected behind the interpolation of *et filios nostros avertit a nobis, non enim baptizantur* (*-atur* in *c*) *sicut nos* (*nec se mundant* in *e*) in *e c* at Luke 23: 5; see Metzger (1977: 329 and refs.).

[16] Mohrmann (1958: 190) likewise cites and endorses Stummer's view that 'die Wiedergabe von *κεχαριτωμένη* durch *gratia plena* ist . . . einfach eine Übersetzungstechnik, welche dazu dienen soll, dem Ausdruck grössere Fülle und volleren Klang zu

while *paenitentiam agere* (passim, μετανοέω) is only one instance of a very common translation device of rendering a verb by a noun followed by an 'all-purpose' verb; in Luke alone we find *calumniam facere* (3: 14, συκοφαντέω), *salvum facere* (6: 9 and passim, σώζω), *mutuum facere* (6: 35, δανίζω), *curam habere* (10: 35, ἐπιμέλλομαι), *contumeliam facere* (11: 45, ὑβρίζω), *moram facere* (12: 45, χρονίζω), *vim facere* (16: 16, βιάζω), *furtum facere* (18: 20, κλέπτω). There is a genuine problem in finding a Latin equivalent for both κεχαριτωμένη and μετανοέω, and the renderings adopted are as good as any. Only in the Matthaean version of the Lord's Prayer is there any evidence of theological glossing on the part of the translators: the clause *καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν* (Matthew 6: 13) appears in *e* as *et ne passus fueris induci nos in temptationem* (similarly in *d*). In the absence of any Greek manuscript authority for such a reading it may be supposed that it was introduced by the Latin translators.

6.5 Conclusions

It is clear that the traditional description of the OLG as 'hopelessly literal' (Metzger 1977: 323) or the like is not wholly accurate. The translators are prepared to show flexibility in their renderings, and are able to distinguish various nuances implied by the same Greek word. This also suggests (though does not prove) that they were native Latin-speakers; this suggestion is developed in the following chapters.

geben, dagegen den Inhalt gar nicht berührt; *gratia plena* will nicht mehr besagen als *κεχαριτωμένη*.' The appeal to *Wortklang* is, however, subjective.

7

Derived Forms

7.1 Introduction

The rise in frequency of derived forms of nouns—often classified as 'abstract' or 'superordinate' terms[1]—in later Latin has often been noted, though the motivations for it remain unclear.[2] This is cross-linguistically a very common process, which had already occurred in classical Latin (for instance, *iumentum*, 'beast of burden', or *frumentum* alongside *fruges*). The outcome of this tendency can be seen in the lexis of any modern Romance language; (for instance, French *chaussure*,

[1] Many of the usages discussed here would traditionally be described as *abstracta pro concreto*. The term 'abstract' is not generally used in modern semantics, owing to the linguistic and philosophical problems associated with it. Nor is it wholly appropriate in this context. To take an example from English: the word *building* has now completely ousted the older *bold*. This may be seen as a replacement of a concrete by an abstract. But assuming one could chart by time and place this process of replacement, it would be clear that as soon as *building* had ousted *bold*, it would cease to be an abstraction. The same is true, *mutatis mutandis*, of the Latin examples considered here. For that reason we have preferred not to concentrate in the first instance on the semantics of the words in question, but on their morphology—this being a much more identifiable feature. We will, therefore, speak rather of 'derived forms'. Such derived forms do often have a broader meaning than the simple form, but do not necessarily refer to 'abstractions'. We will, however, proceed to consider the semantic of some of these words, and in this connection we shall refer to *superordinate* or *higher order* terms. Superordinates are not necessarily either abstract or derived (*bird* is superordinate to *robin*); but it is often true that the presence of overt derivational morphology is associated with higher-order terms (for instance, *accommodation*, *housing*, or *residence* can all be related to other and less complex words; the same is not true of their subordinates *house*, *flat*, or *bungalow*).

[2] On the abstract nouns in general in Latin see Meyer-Lübke (1893), Mikkola (1964*a*, 1964*b*), Marouzeau (1949: 107–24); though Marouzeau's views on the development of Latin from a 'primitive' language can no longer be sustained. On the function of Latin abstracts see Helander (1977). On the rise of abstracts in later Latin see Löfstedt (1911: 110–14), Tidner (1938: 1) with references, Ernout (1954: 179–83); Rönsch (1875: 22–100) , Kaulen (1904: 38–82), and Plater and White (1926: 44–7) (Biblical Latin); MacMullen (1963: 373) (bureaucratese).

espoir, *maison*, *nourriture*, *témoin*). Although often remarked upon in Vulgar Latin texts, this process is, in fact, not easy to quantify; some genres (such as medical or philosophical writings) will be more likely to use morphologically complex words than others. None the less, I suggest that the OLG translators do often choose to use derived forms where simple ones might have been equally suitable; that this phenomenon goes beyond what might be expected even in later and vulgar Latin texts; and that it is at least in part a feature of the translation style.

It is worth noting that a similar predilection for derived words pervades the Greek versions of the Scriptures, and it is similarly difficult to assess whether it is any more prevalent in the translation literature than in the language as a whole, and if so why. Olofsson (1990: 33), repeating the common opinion that the LXX contains many 'long and fullsounding words', ascribes this to the relatively high level of education among the Alexandrian Jews, but notes that 'Koine Greek was in fact known to have an abundance of composite words, contrary to classical Greek'. Jerome (*Epistula* 57. 11. 3), noting the presence of such forms in the work of Aquila, observes that such forms can make transparent the etymological connections between related words in the original: . . . [*Aquila*] *non solum verba sed etymologias verborum transferre conatus est. Quis enim pro frumento et vino et oleo possit vel legere vel intellegere* χεῦμα, ὀπωρισμόν, στιλπνότητα, *quod nos possumus dicere fusionem, pomationemque et splendentiam.* It will be suggested that the same explanation may also account in part for the occurrence of the same phenomenon in the OLG.

The following discussion will concentrate on the words that are found at least five times across a wide range of manuscripts. It should be noted, however, that the OLG contain some other unusual derived forms which appear only a few times or only in a few manuscripts; for instance *cognatio* Luke 1: 61 and *propinquitas* (*e* only) in the concrete sense 'relatives' (ἡ συγγένεια), (cf. Mark 6: 4); *ostensio* Luke 1: 80 (ἡ ἀνάδειξις); *iniectio* 'patch' Mark 2: 20 (*e* only; τὸ ἐπίβλημα); *seminatio* Mark 4: 26 (ὁ σπόρος); *fractura* Luke 9: 17 (*e* only) and *fractamentum* (*d* only) in the concrete sense 'piece broken off' (τὸ κλάσμα); *deliramentum* Luke 24: 11 (ὁ λῆρος); *comestura* 'rust' Matthew 6: 19–20 (*q k* only, ἡ βρῶσις); *docentia* Mark 11: 18 (*k* only; ἡ διδαχή); *aegentia* (*sic*) Mark 12: 44 (*a* only; ἡ ὑστέρησις); *exsuperantia* Luke 21.4 (*c* only; τὸ περισσεύειν); *inundantia* Luke 6: 48 (*b l q* r^1; ἡ πλήμμυρα); *sufferentia* Luke 8: 15 (*a c* only) and *tolerantia* Luke 21: 19 (*a d* only; ἡ ὑπομονή); *sputamentum* John

9: 6 (*b d*) and *sputimentum* (*a* only; τὸ πτύσμα).[3] It is noteworthy that most of these very rare words and usages are largely confined to the oldest traditions. It will be argued (see Chapter 12) that the earliest translators were more concerned than the later ones to avoid loan-words in their work; the same anxiety to find an exact Latin equivalent for the Greek may also have led them to use a higher proportion of rare words, calques, and coinages.

7.2 Examples

The use of derived forms is not, however, restricted to a handful of manuscripts, nor does it only occur sporadically. This chapter will concentrate on nine areas of lexis where such forms are preferred to the near-total exclusion of simpler words and forms: *sollicitudo*, *oratio*, *infirmitas* and similar words, *regio/possessio*, *consuetudo*, *vestitus/vestimentum*, *calceamentum*, *linteamen*. The reasons for this preference may vary in each case, and no single example is conclusive in itself; again the argument is cumulative, and rests on the overall weight of evidence.

Sollicitudo. This is the usual rendering of ἡ μέριμα: Matthew 13: 22; Mark 4: 19 (*aerumna* in *aur l Vg*; see discussion in Appendix 1); Luke 8: 14, 21: 34 (*sollicitudo* in *a e* only; *cura* in *aur Vg*; *sonius* in *d*; *cogitatio* in others). While the word is not especially rare in classical Latin, it is surprising that it has succeeded in the OLG to the almost complete exclusion of the more obvious *cura*. There is no reason to believe it was especially prevalent in Vulgar Latin. The choice may be motivated in part by the desire to retain a transparent relationship between the Latin renderings of terms thus related in Greek. The corresponding verb μεριμνάω is usually rendered into Latin as *solliceor* or *cogito* (see Matthew 6: 25–34, 10: 19; Luke 10: 41, 12: 11, 12: 22–6), thus allowing the analogies μέριμνα: μεριμνάω:: *sollicitudo*: *solliceor* or *cogitatio*: *cogito*.

Infirmitas/pestilentia/languor. The use of *infirmitas* and *pestilentia* as renderings of ἡ ἀσθένεια (also of ἡ μαλακία; Matthew 4: 23, 9: 35, 10: 1) and ὁ λοιμός respectively is discussed further in Chapter 9,

[3] Some of these words render derived forms in the Greek, but by no means all of them. It is notable that in every case the rendering has as many or more syllables than the original; it is a commonplace of translation theory that even successful translations are almost always longer than their original.

Section 9.2; it is suggested that this involves using both words in the plural in defiance of classical idiom, a problem which could have been obviated by using the simpler words *morbus* and *pestis*.[4] *Morbus* is also avoided in the renderings of ἡ νόσος, usually *languor* (occasionally *valetudo*) (see Matthew 4: 23–4, 9: 35, 10: 1; Mark 1: 34; Luke 4: 40, 6: 18, 7: 21, 9: 1). Particularly remarkable is the variety of renderings at Matthew 8: 17: *languor* in *a k*, *valetudo* in *h*, *aegrimonium* in *b* g^1 *q*, *aegrotatio* in *aur c ff*^{1} *l Vg*. Again the desire for transparency may have influenced the choice of words. The coinage *infirmari* allows the analogy ἀσθενής: ἀσθένεια: ἀσθενέω:: *infirmus*: *infirmitas*: *infirmari*;[5] similarly the choice of *languor* and *aegrimonium*/*aegrotatio* allows the analogies νόσος: νοσέω:: *languor*: *languere* and *aegrimonium*/*aegrotatio*:: *aegrotare*. It is notable that the main Romance winner **malatia* has yet to make its appearance.

Regio/*possessio*. *Regio* is the usual rendering of ἡ χώρα 'land', for example, at Matthew 2: 12 it is typically rendered as *per aliam viam reversi sunt in suam regionem*; (cf. Matthew 4: 16, 8: 28; Mark 1: 5, 5: 1; Luke 2: 8, 3: 1; John 4: 35, 11: 54–5). While this is a wholly acceptable rendering in itself, it is notable that again simpler alternatives such as *terra* and *partes* are passed over.[6] On three occasions in the Gospels ἡ χώρα is used in the sense 'field'. At Luke 12: 16 it is typically rendered *hominis cuiusdam divitis uberes fructus attulit possessio* (*ager* in *a aur c f* r^1 *Vg*; *regio* in *d*); again the derived word is preferred over simpler alternatives such as *ager*, *fundus*, *villa*, *praedium*.[7] At Luke 21: 21, typically *qui in regionibus ne intrent in eam* (sc. *Hierusalem*; *agris* in *s* only), the contrast between town and country is obscured. So also at John 4: 35, typically *videte regiones quia albae sunt iam ad messem* (*segites* in *e* only), the specific sense 'field' demanded by the context is lost; in both these cases *agri* or *rura* might have been more appropriate.

Consuetudo. This is the usual rendering of τὸ ἔθος, τὸ εἰωθός, τὸ ἐθισμένον, and ἡ συνήθεια: see Luke 1: 9, 2: 42, 22: 39; John 19: 40 (*mos*

[4] Again these peculiarities cannot be explained away as vulgarisms; *infirmitas* is more successful than *morbus* in Romance, but *pestis* gives the usual Romance word for 'plague'.

[5] On the formation of new deponents in the OLG see the discussion in Ch. 15, Sect. 15. 8.

[6] The exception being in *d*, which (surprisingly, in this very literal manuscript) regularly uses *terra* in Matthew.

[7] Notable also is the semi-technical use of *afferre* (= εὐφορέω) 'to yield a harvest'; see *TLL* I. 1199. 35 ff. On this phenomenon generally see Ch. 8.

in *aur b j v Vg*),[8] Luke 4: 16, 2: 27; John 18: 39. The avoidance of the simpler alternative *mos* is hard to explain. It may have been less common in post-classical Latin[9] but its specifically moral nuances might have rendered it attractive in rendering allusions to religious customs. The preference for *consuetudo* may have been influenced by the desire to reproduce the transparent relationship *ἔθος/συνήθεια*: *ἐθίζω/εἴωθα*:: *consuetudo*: *consuesco*, which cannot be reproduced with *mos*.

Oratio. This is the usual translation of *ἡ προσευχή*: see Matthew 17: 21, 21: 13, 21: 22; Mark 9: 29, 11: 17; Luke 6: 12, 19: 46, 22: 45. The choice is somewhat surprising, since *oratio* does not have the sense 'prayer' in classical Latin. It does permit the transparent relationship *προσευχή*: *προσεύχομαι*:: *oratio*: *orare*, but this is not a sufficient explanation in itself; the transparency could have been achieved by using *precari* and *preces* or the classical *precatio*. The explanation may lie partly in the observation of Löfstedt (1959: 72) that *orare* was already obsolescent in classical times and confined to set expressions such as *oro atque obsecro*, *deos orare*. It has been noted that the translators will use archaizing vocabulary where it enables them to render the original precisely. This is not a strictly parallel case, as *precor* could equally well have rendered the denotative force of the Greek; however, the solemn connotations of *orare* may have recommended it to the translators.

Calceamentum. This is the only rendering used of *τὸ ὑπόδημα* (Matthew 3: 11, 10: 10; Mark 1: 7; Luke 3: 16, 10: 4, 15: 22, 22: 35; John 1: 27). Again the simpler and more usual alternative *calceus* is passed over. The social register of this word is hard to establish. In Cicero it is found only at *Tusculan Disputations* 5. 90. 5: *mihi amictui est Scythicum tegimen, calceamentum solorum callum, cubile terra, pulpamentum fames*—another translation passage (from the so-called 'Letter of Anacharsis') abundant in unusual derived forms. The word is found once each in Petronius (*Satyricon* 136. 1) and Apuleius (*Florida* 9),[10] and seems to be particularly common as a superordinate term 'footwear' in

[8] Here *e*'s *sicut Moyses Iudaeis sepelire iussit* is probably a gloss on a reading *sicut moses iudaeis sepelire* deriving from a misreading of *sicut mos est* . . . .

[9] On *consuetudo* see *REW* 2176 (common Western Romance); on *mos* see *REW* 5698 (French only).

[10] Where it seems to be chosen in order to give a jingle: *indumenta, quibus indutus, et calciamenta, quibus erat inductus*, itself a parody of a Ciceronian passage.

glosses; *TLL* III. 129. 40–7 lists various instances along the lines of Probus on Virgil, *Georgics* 2. 8: *cothurni sunt calceamentosum genus*. The main Romance winner is *calceatura* (Fr. *chaussure*, It. *calzatura*).

Vestimentum/vestitus. Vestimentum is the usual rendering of both τὸ ἱμάτιον and τὸ ἔνδυμα; for instance Matthew 9: 16–21, 14: 36, 17: 2; Mark 2: 21, 5: 27–30, 6: 56; Luke 5: 36, 7: 25, 8: 27, 8: 44, 19: 35; John 13: 4, 13: 12, 19: 23–4.[11] *Vestitus* is also used occasionally for τὸ ἔνδυμα; see Matthew 3: 4, 7: 15. The preference for the derived form *vestimentum* (a Romance winner) over the simpler alternative *vestis* probably reflects in part a development in the popular language; but it is also in line with the translation practices observed above.

Linteamina. This is the usual rendering of τὰ ὀθόνια; see Luke 24: 12, John 19: 40 (*lintea* in *aur b c f ff*^{2} *j n v*), 20: 5–7. This is not a new word, but is very rare; outside the Vulgate it is found only in Apuleius (*Metamorphoses* 11. 10. 9) and the *Historia Augusta* (*Clodius Albinus* 4. 6. 3, *Heliogabalus* 2. 6. 2, *Alexander Severus* 40. 10. 2), both sources known for their extravagant vocabulary. Its use by the OLG translators is a further example of their preference for derived over simple forms.[12]

7.3 Motivations and Consequences

If it has been established that the OLG translators do show a preference for derived forms of nouns over and above the norms of post-classical Latin, the questions arise of why they do so and what are the consequences of this practice. Metzger (1977: 324) suggests that this 'fondness for lengthened words' was due to a liking for their 'sonorous endings' (the same explanation is implicit in Olofsson's description of the 'long and fullsounding' words in the LXX cited

[11] *Pallium* or (more frequently) *tunica* is used where the context requires a word for a specific article of clothing, e.g. Matthew 5: 40, typically *qui vult . . . tunicam* (χιτών) *tuam tollere, dimitte ei et pallium* (ἱμάτιον; *vestimentum* in *dk*); cf. Matthew 24: 18, Luke 6: 29, 22: 36, John 19: 5.

[12] It has been suggested to me that as the grave-clothes in question are Jesus', the translators may be seeking for a suitably elevated Latin rendering. However, as there are no instances of τὰ ὀθόνια referring to anyone else's grave-clothes, this suggestion cannot be tested. It has been noted in Ch. 6 that the translators rarely allow their theological presuppositions to colour their versions.

above). It is true that some theorists did indeed attach importance to this; Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 17. 2. 19 does praise *sanctitudo* and *duritudo* (as used by Claudius Quadrigarius) as being somehow *maioris dignitatis*, but we can hardly assume the OLG translators were trying to imitate this style (and in fact they are notably sparing with the *-udo* suffix). And 'sonority' is in general probably not a significant factor; the translators do not observe the classical rules of euphony and prose metrics in other respects, and indeed no evidence has been offered that such long words were commended by post-classical rhetorical theorists. We have suggested that this policy makes it possible to indicate in Latin the transparent relationships that exist between Greek words (just as Aquila used derived forms in Greek to indicate the etymological connections between Hebrew words); this suggestion requires further elucidation.

It is not suggested that the translators were driven to mark the etymological relationships by the same sort of extreme theological literalism that characterizes Aquila's work, though some may have felt it desirable.[13] As has been shown above, they do not pursue a strict policy of word-for-word translation, and there are many cases where they do not carry over into Latin a transparent relationship in the Greek. It is tentatively proposed here that the preference for derived forms may be a consequence of the translators' having learnt Greek as a second language. Practical experience suggests that in traditional second-language acquisition pupils are encouraged to render cognate terms in the new language (L_2) by cognate terms in their native language (L_1). This will often occur naturally; but sometimes the relationship is made more transparent by use of derivational morphology. This may be related to what Lyons (1968: 55) calls the 'semantic anisomorphism' of different languages; that is, to the fact that it is never completely possible to give a one-to-one gloss of every word in two languages. One consequence of this anisomorphism is that 'words referring to artefacts cannot be defined except in relation to the purpose or normal function of the objects they refer to; e.g. *school* "a building where children are taught"' (Lyons 1968: 457). It is notable that several of the words discussed above fall into this category of artefact words; for example *calceamentum* 'means by which one is shod' (a common gloss word), *vestimentum/vestitus* 'means by which one is

[13] It was certainly useful in the context of Biblical exegesis, to bring out connections between keywords; see Bammel (1985: 264) on Rufinus' use of this technique.

clad'. It is also known that the sort of glossaries and word lists used by second-language learners often contain a large number of super-ordinate terms in the L_1 column, to give the student a gloss for the L_2 word that will make sense in a wide range of contexts; and that a translation which relies heavily on such glossaries will probably sound like 'translationese'.[14] This is, in fact, precisely what we find in bilingual exercises 'from Ausonius' schooldays' published by Dionisotti (1982: 97–101), which contain (among others) such equations as *consuetudo* = συνήθεια, *calceamentum* = ὑπόδημα, *vestimentum* = ἱμάτιον, and *indumentum* = ἔνδυμα—all paralleled in the OLG. It is not, therefore, necessary to hold that the OLG translators were dependent on glossaries to assist them in their work (though this may have been the case); they may rather have internalized this approach to translation to the extent that they were unwilling to depart from it. Finally, as with all forms of translation phenomenon, the mere fact that the language of the Scriptures did sound different from ordinary speech may have given its hearers a certain esoteric thrill.

The mere presence of such derived forms in the OLG is then of no great significance in itself. However, their frequency—especially in contexts where simpler words were available and might have been less ambiguous renderings—is significant. Their prevalence may, therefore, be seen as a translation phenomenon.[15]

[14] See Whitcut (1988: 49 ff.): '[in limited vocabulary lists] the lexicographer needs words of high generality, and some of these, such as *house*, are also very frequent, but others, such as *vessel*, are not'.

[15] As such it is not confined to the OLG. Cf. the lengthy abstractions of Athanasius' version of the *Vita Antonii*: [*diabolus*] *temptabat deicere illum de studio quod habuit, suggerens illi commemorationem facultatum, sororis curam, cognationis domesticam dilectionem. Suggerebat autem et cupiditatem pecuniarum, iactationem et cibariam voluntatem, et ceteras presumptiones* (*resumptiones* Bartelink) *huius vitae*. It is highly likely, however, that the prevalence of derived forms in Biblical translations greatly reinforced their use in the Christian writers, even outside quotations and allusions.

8

Rare, Literary, and Technical Terms

8.1 Introduction

This section will continue the arguments above by drawing attention to two ways in which the OLG translators often attempt to capture the exact nuance of the Greek: first, they may choose Latin words that are rare or obsolete outside literary usage;[1] secondly, they may employ words which though not especially rare in themselves none the less form part of certain technical and semi-technical idioms. The desire for precisely the right word irrespective of antiquity, and for precisely the right set phrase, may be paralleled in post-classical rhetorical theory. Fronto (*ad M. Caesarem* 4. 3–5) recommends the use of *insperata atque inopinata verba quae non nisi cum studio atque cura atque vigilia atque multa veterum carminum memoria indagantur . . . ita ut si subtrahas atque eum qui legat quaerere ipsum iubeas, nullum aut non ita significando accommodatum verbum aliud reperiat*; he goes on to discuss such collocations as *os colluere* but *in balneis pavimentum pelluere*, *maculam eluere* or *elavere* but not *abluere*. It is easy to suppose that such concerns could find their way into popular education. Such concerns for *le mot juste* are all the more likely to show up in translations, especially if the source-text possesses high cultural prestige (as here), and if the translators do not belong to the high literary culture and are on their best linguistic behaviour. Dryden's remarks on the eschewal of technical terms in translating Virgil show that he perceived this fault in the work of other translators: '*Virgil* has avoided those proprieties because he Writ not to Mariners, Souldiers, Astronomers, Gardners, Peasants, *&c.* but to all in general, and in

[1] Compare the practice of the Revisors of the Authorized Version in 1881: '. . . in other instances where the word or expression, although obsolete, was not unintelligible . . . the old rendering . . . was allowed to stand. More especially this was the case when the archaism was a perfectly correct rendering of the original and there was no exact modern equivalent for it.' Hock (1988: 399) notes that the same effect can result from the opposite cause: 'it is not uncommon that an archaic word which occurs . . . so rarely that its precise meaning is difficult to ascertain . . . gets revived so as to "house" a foreign meaning'.

particular to Men and Ladies of first Quality who have been better Bred than to be too nicely knowing in the Terms' (quoted by Venuti 1995: 64–5). Thus while it is possible to be over-pedantic in assuming that the ancient translators were sensitive to every nuance of a word that has been detected by modern lexicographers, it is none the less a sound premise that many of these translators would indeed be more scrupulous than usual in their translation work.

This use of rare and technical words in the OLG has generally been overlooked in previous studies, starting as they do with the presumption that they are dealing with 'literal' translations. Thus Jiménez-Villarejo Fernández (1987: 184) criticizes as a 'false analogy' the use of *adlocutio* rather than *consolatio* to render τὸ παραμύθιον in the Old Latin Book of Wisdom, without realizing that the word is being used in a very precise, even pedantic sense.[2] The overall effect of this translation device is to make the resulting version appear less literal; words are used in their expected collocations, and the reader perceives nothing foreign about them. The other phenomenon has received some attention; but there has been a tendency to lump all unusual lexical items together as 'vulgarisms', as if the presence of so many undoubted vulgarisms in the OLG somehow rules out the use of archaic or literary terms.[3] In fact the 'amalgamation of the antique and the modern . . . the perplexing mixture of the new with the traditional, the technical with the non-technical' (Kubo and Specht 1983: 66, 169) has been found to be characteristic of many recent Biblical translations. In this chapter it will be argued that the OLG translators felt similar pressures to render the Greek as accurately as possible, and that they employed similar devices in response. It will also be suggested that the range of their Latin vocabulary and their use of certain set idioms point to their being native speakers of Latin. The effect of this device varies. Generally speaking, the presence of unusual words makes the reader

[2] Compare Varro, *de lingua latina* 6. 57, *adlocutum mulieres ire aiunt, cum eunt ad aliquam locutum consolandi causa.*

[3] Archaisms in the Old Latin translations generally were noted by Rönsch (1875: 236–8), who explained them as being due partly to the presence of many elements in popular Latin that had died out of the literary language, and partly to the fact that they arose in Africa, whose dialect preserved some features lost elsewhere. Only the first of these two explanations is now sustainable in any degree. The presence of certain 'Plautine words' in the Vulgate is also noted by Plater and White (1926: 4, 47–8), who also believed that they had survived in popular speech after they had ceased to be part of the written language. Certainly Vulgar Latin did preserve some such words and forms; but it will be argued here that not all old words are necessarily vulgarisms.

more aware that he or she is reading a translation rather than an original Latin text; inasmuch as the resulting text departs from ordinary Latin usage, it may be regarded as a more literal translation.

8.2 Rare and Literary Words

Under this heading will be considered a sample of seven unusual Latin words (*versutia*, *transfretare*, *diluculum*, *satagere*, *baiulare*, *profluvium*, *fabulari*) that might be regarded as vulgarisms. In each case it will be argued (using where possible the explicit testimonies of ancient writers) that the word is not 'vulgar' but is chosen to capture the precise nuance of the Greek.

Versutia. This is the most general translation for ἡ ὑπόκρισις in *b ff*^{2} *i q r*^{1} *Vg* at Mark 12: 15.[4] The word, or at least its base adjective, is attested in the earliest literary Latin: Livius Andronicus' famous *virum mihi, Camena, insece versutum.* This does not in itself make it at all archaic (it might have remained in everyday use). But where we do find it in classical Latin, it is reserved for highly-wrought moralizing rhetoric (compare Livy 42. 47. 7, *vere haec Romana esse, non versutiarum Poenarum nec calliditatis Graecae*; Apuleius, *Apology* 81, *versutiam tam insidiosam, tam admirabili scelere conflatam, negabis te unquam cognovisse*). Its use at Mark 12: 15 (typically *videns vero Iesus versutias illorum . . .*) is thus appropriately solemn and sonorous. In fact, of course, the loan-word *hypocrisis* is ultimately successful; but it is notable that where the translators do not have an obvious rendering to hand, they are prepared to use such recherché terms. Among Christian writers the word enjoys something of a renaissance. Minucius Felix (*Octavius* 16. 2) glosses it as *subtilis urbanitas*, it is used (no doubt because of its etymological connections) to render αἱ στροφαί at the Old Latin Wisdom 8: 8 and Sirach 39: 3, and various writers use it in citing 2 Corinthians 2: 11, rendering τὰ νοήματα (see Ziegler 1879: 33).

Transfretare. This is the regular rendering of διαπεράω, used to describe Jesus crossing Lake Galilee; for example, at Matthew 9: 1, typically *et ascendens in navicula transfretavit* (compare Matthew 14: 34) (*fretare* in *aur*), Mark 5: 21 (*fretare* in *i*, *transcendere* in *l Vg*, *transire* in *aur*),

[4] On the variation between singular and plural forms see the discussion in App. 1.

Mark 6: 53).[5] Again it is an unusual word, and might be regarded as a colourful vulgarism. However, according to Aulus Gellius it was regarded by some purists as the only proper verb in this sense: *Asinio Pollioni . . . et quibusdam aliis C. Sallusti iniquis dignum nota visum est, quod in primo Historiarum maris transitum transmissumque transgressum appellavit, eosque qui transmiserant, quos 'transfretasse' dici solitum est, transgressos dixit* (*Noctes Atticae* 10. 26. 1–6). It seems clear then that *transfreto* in the OLG is not so much a vulgarism as a piece of pedantry on the part of the translators.

Diluculum. This is used at Mark 1: 35 in all manuscripts save *a* (*prima luce*) to render *πρωὶ ἔννυχα λίαν*. This word too has good classical authority;[6] however, it seems from the number of glosses it attracts, the first as early as Suetonius, that its precise meaning was unclear to many from an early date.[7] It is notable, then, that the OLG translators use it in precisely the right sense. Like *versutia*, *diluculum* finds a new lease of life in Christian use, appearing thirty-nine times in the Vulgate.

Satagere. This is found twice in the OLG. At Luke 10: 40 it appears in most manuscripts rendering *ἡ δὲ Μάρθα περιεσπᾶτο περὶ πολλὴν διακονίαν*, typically *Martha autem satagebat circa plurimum ministerium* (*turbabatur* in *a*, *vocabatur* in *c*, *abalienabatur* in *d*, *avocabatur* in *a*). At Mark 13: 11 it occurs in *k* only, rendering *προμεριμνάω* (*nolite satagare* [*sic*] *quid loquamini*). Though homely in register, it is not a vulgarism:[8] Quintilian (*Institutio* 6. 3. 54) writes: *Afer enim venuste Manlium Suram multum in agendo discursantem . . . non agere dixit, sed satagere. Est enim dictum*

[5] The same verb occurs at Luke 16: 26, *ὅπως οἱ ἐλθοντες διαβῆναι ἔνθεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς μὴ δύνωνται, μηδὲ ἐκεῖθεν ὧδε διαπεράσαι*. Here the the translators show sensitivity in rendering it as *transmeare* (*transire* in r^1 e).

[6] Cicero, *pro Roscio* 19.5, *ad Atticum* 16. 13. 1; Plautus, *Amphitryo* 737, 743.

[7] *TLL* VI. 1187. 47 ff. cites Suetonius, *fragment* 160. 5, *diluculum quasi iam incipiens parva diei lux: haec est aurora, quae solem praecedit*: Augustine, *quaestiones in Heptateuchum* 7. 46, *diluculum, quod Graece dicitur ὄρθρος, tempus ante solem significat*; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1. 3, *diluculum, cum incipit dinosci dies*; Gregory the Great, *Moralia* 8. 48, *diluculum dicitur, cum iam nocturna tempora in claritatem lucis nutantur.*

[8] Along with *sat agito* it is most often found in Plautus (only once in Terence, *Heautan Timorumenus* 225). In Petronius it occurs only once (*Satyricon* 58. 9). Marcus Aurelius writes *de parvola nostra Faustina . . . sategimus* (Fronto *Epistula* 4. 11), where the diminutive *parvola* also marks the intimate register; Arnobius uses it ironically of Jupiter (*adversus Nationes* 5. 21), and Augustine of his mother's concern for his spiritual welfare during a childhood illness (*Confessiones* 1. 11. 17). The general sense 'to fuss around ineffectually' is wholly appropriate to Luke 10: 40.

per se urbanum 'satagere,' etiamsi nulla subsit alterius verbi similitudo. It is not immediately clear why *satagere* is *per se urbanum*. Quintilian defines *urbanitas* only in negative terms as containing *nihil absonum, nihil agreste, nihil inconditum, nihil peregrinum* (6. 3. 107), which is enough to establish that he did not regard *satagere* as vulgar in any way. He does, however, hold that *urbanitas* may consist in the use of learned words and *sumptam ex conversatione doctorum tacitam eruditionem* (6. 3. 17); *satagere* may be a case in point.[9]

Baiulare. This verb is found in *b d f q Vg* at Luke 14: 27 (*qui non baiulat crucem suam*; *tollo* in *c ff² l e*, *porto* in *a r¹*, *fero* in *e*), in *b c ff² j* at John 19: 17 (*et baiulans sibi crucem*), in *f l Vg* at Mark 14: 13 (*homo lagoenam aquae baiulans*), in *e* at Matthew 20: 12, and sporadically also in *d*; the Greek verb is always βαστάζω. The Latin verb is found mostly in Roman comedy; but it cannot be assumed that it is necessarily a vulgarism. In all the instances cited above the action is specifically that of carrying by placing one's weight under the burden (as opposed to carrying it in one's arms); in such contexts *baiulo* is exactly the right rendering.[10]

The renderings of βαστάζω in John merit a digression as an example of contextual sensitivity (see Table 8.1). At first sight there is a bewildering variety of renderings, both between and within the manuscripts, with only *d* (and perhaps *q*) showing any internal consistency,

TABLE 8.1. Translations of βαστάζω in John: 1 = *tollere*, 2 = *ferre*, 3 = *baiulare*, 4 = *exportare*, 5 = *portare*, 6 = *auferre*, 7 = *gestare*, * = lacuna or probable variant reading

Ref.	*a*	*aur*	*b*	*c*	*d*	*f*	*ff²*	*j*	*l*	*q*	*r¹*	*e*	*Vg*	Others
10: 31	2	1	1	1	3	1	1	*	1	*	1	2	1	–
12: 6	6	4	4	6	3	5	4	*	*	*	4	6	5	–
16: 12	5	5	5	5	3	5	5	*	5	5	5	5	5	–
19: 17	7	3	3	3	3	5	3	3	3	5	5	2	3	–
20: 15	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	*	*	5	1	2	1	–

[9] The compound *sat* plus *agere* itself belongs to an old class of word formation obsolescent even in Republican Latin; see LHS i. 565.

[10] See Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 5. 3. 3 *Protagoram . . . aiunt . . . vecturas . . . onerum corpore suo factitavisse, quod genus Graeci* ἀχθοφόρους *vocant, Latine 'baiulos' appellamus*; cf. *Digest*, 50. 16. 235 *'ferri' proprie dicimus quae quis sub corpore baiulat.*

and with near-consensus only at John 16: 12.[11] In fact the dominant rendering on each occasion is influenced by the context. The basic action of picking up and carrying is denoted by *tollere* (and its suppletive perfect *sustuli*); thus John 10: 31 is typically *sustulerunt ergo lapides Iudaei, ut lapidarent eum*, and John 20: 15 is typically *si sustulisti eum, dic mihi, ubi posuisti eum*. The sense 'to endure' is borne by *porto* ; thus John 16: 12, *adhuc multa habeo vobis dicere, sed non potestis illa portare modo*. This is probably a vulgarism; compare the Romance development of *supportare* in this sense. The euphemistic sense 'to filch' is brought out by *aufero* or *exporto*; thus John 12: 6, *fur erat et loculos habebat, et quae mittebantur exportabat*.[12] *Baiulo* is reserved for the sense 'to carry by putting one's weight under' noted above; thus John 19: 17, *et baiulans sibi crucem*.

Profluvium. This is used at Mark 5: 25 to render ἡ ῥύσις, typically *mulier quae erat in profluvio sanguinis* (*flunxu* [*sic*] in *e*); compare Luke 8: 43, Matthew 9: 20 (rendering αἱμορρέω). This is a very precise choice of rendering; this word (rare outside the Elder Pliny) is used only in medical contexts, of an (excessive) flow of blood, urine, diarrhoea, and so forth (for example, Frontinus, *de Stratagematis* 3. 7. 6, *restituit aquam elleboro corruptam, qua usos profluvio ventris deficientes cepit*; Pliny, *Historia naturalis* 20. 158, *sucus eius instillatus naribus supinis profluvium sanguinis sistit*).

Fabulari. This is used at Luke 24: 14–15 to render the Greek ὁμιλέω; typically *et ipsi fabulabantur* (*loquebantur* in *aur f Vg*, *tractabant* in *a*) *ad invicem . . . et factum est, dum fabulantur* (*tractarent* in *a*). It also appears at Mark 9: 4 in *c* only, rendering συλλαλέω (*conloqui* or *loqui* in other manuscripts). The word is a prize exhibit in Romance philology, being generally regarded as a vulgarism attested in Latin comedy (over fifty times in Plautus) which goes underground during the classical period, resurfacing in Romance as Spanish *hablar*, Portuguese *falar* (see e.g. Elcock 1975: 165, 201). In fact, the sheer paucity of Latin attestations

[11] It is worthwhile to compare the distribution of renderings across manuscripts here with those observed in Ch. 4. The European Group 2 (*aur b c f ff² / Vg*) holds up well; taking the basic pattern to be 1–4–5–3–1 found in *b ff²*, the others show only minor variations from it. Again *f* shows itself closer to the Vulgate at John 12: 6. The remaining manuscripts form a less homogeneous group. Only *a e* show any close similarity, and r^1 seems more similar to Group 2.

[12] It has been noted that *portare* too may be used in this sense; see the discussion of this verse in App. 1.

makes it hard to draw any firm conclusions. The archaizing Fronto uses it four times in the small corpus of his extant work;[13] Petronius and Egeria never, despite the many opportunities.[14] If we did not have the Iberian Romance data, we would assume simply that the word had dropped out of the ordinary language altogether; and it may well be that throughout most of the Latin-speaking world this was indeed the case. It is noteworthy that the OLG translators use it in its older sense 'to chat, converse' rather than the sense 'to talk' found in Romance. This word is a salutary example of the imprecision of terms such as 'vulgar' and 'archaic', and of the risk of overinterpreting Latin data in the light of known Romance developments.

It should be noted that a vulgarism is not necessarily the same thing as a homely word, or different from an archaism. *Fabulari* and *satagere* are homely but probably not vulgar; some Romance winners (e.g. *formosus*, not found in the OLG) might with hindsight be regarded as vulgarisms, but could equally well have sounded like archaisms in educated metropolitan ears.[15] Scholarship has tended to stress the level of vulgarisms and post-classical usages in Biblical Latin. It is important not to rule out the possibility that ante-classical words and idioms are being revived because they provide the most accurate rendering of the original; and to allow for the fact that some so-called 'post-classical' usages are simply rare at all periods.

8.3 Technical Words

In the preceding chapter it was noted how the translators used the technical terms *committere* 'to invest' at Matthew 25: 27 and *exaudire* 'to hearken' at John 9: 31 to render the non-technical βάλλω and ἀκούω respectively. The presence of such technical and semi-technical renderings, often consisting of little more than the choice of a specific

[13] *Ad M. Caesarem* 2. 7, 4. 1, 4. 6, 4. 12.

[14] *TLL* VI$_1$. 34. 79 ff. cites instances from Suetonius, Tacitus, Gellius, and the great lovers of the abstruse word, Apuleius and the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*. The Gellius passage (*Noctes Atticae* 1. 10. 1) is particularly interesting, as it appears in a discourse of the philosopher Favorinus against far-fetched and archaic words; it is thus curious to find him using an unusual one himself. He is probably teasing his interlocutor's would-be purism.

[15] Palmer (1954: 173) observes that his gardener once used the *terminus technicus* 'trench-delving', using a verb archaic in the standard language. Cf. the present-day Scots *bide* = English 'stay'.

compound of the basic verb, is a useful corrective to the view that the OLG are *merely* literal translations, and also offers further evidence that they are the work of native Latin-speakers. A few more examples may be considered.

Rationem ponere 'to give an account' = λόγους συναίρειν. Matthew 18: 23–4 is typically rendered [*rex*] *voluit rationes ponere* (*facere* in *f*, *discutere* in *h*, *tollere* in *d*, *quaerere* in *e*) *cum servis suis. Et cum coepisset rationem ponere* (*discutere* in *f h*, *tollere* in *d*, *quaerere* in *e*); compare Matthew 25: 19. This is a technical idiom 'to reckon up accounts'; compare Suetonius, *Otho* 7, *posita . . . brevi ratione*, Columella 1. 3, *ubi sit cum Orco ratio ponenda*. The other renderings *discutere*, *quaerere* also represent a significant departure from strict literalism.

Exigere 'to collect taxes' = πράσσω/λαμβάνω. Luke 3: 13 is typically rendered *nihil amplius exigatis* (πράσσετε) *quam quod constitutum est* (*faciatis* in *aur Vg*); on this verse see also Appendix 1, and compare Luke 19: 23. Matthew 17: 24 is typically rendered *accesserunt qui didragma exigebant* (λαμβάνοντες) *ad Petrum* (*accipiebant* in *aur l Vg*, *accipiunt* in *d e*). For the technical use compare Caesar, *de Bello Civili* 3. 31. 2, *a publicanis . . . debitam bienni pecuniam exegerat*; see also *TLL* V_2. 1453. 7 ff.

Respicere 'to have regard for' (of a god towards mankind) = ἐπιβλέπειν. Luke 1: 48 is typically rendered *quia respexit humilitatem ancillae suae* (*inspexit* in *e*). For the technical sense compare Plautus, *Rudens* 1316, *di homines respiciunt*; see also Lewis and Short 1879, s.v. II.B.1, *OLD* 8b.

Efferre 'to carry out for burial' = ἐκκομίζω. Luke 7: 12 is typically rendered *et ecce efferebatur defunctus filius unicus matris suae* (*ferebatur* in *d q e*, *deferebatur* in *l*). For the technical sense compare Livy 30. 45. 4, *conspecta tamen mors eius fuit quia publico funere elatus est*; see also Lewis and Short s.v. I.B.1, *OLD* 3.

Novellus 'young, new' (of wine or animals) = νέος. Matthew 21: 5 is rendered in *b c ff*^{2} *h* as *sedens super asinam et pullum novellum subiugalem*.[16] For the technical sense compare Varro, *de Re Rustica* 2. 3. 1, *novella enim* [*caprorum aetas*] *quam vetus utilior*; see also Lewis and Short 1879, *OLD*.

[16] Texts *q aur f l Vg* read *filium*, which may, however, reflect a reading υἱόν.

Novellus is also used in some manuscripts to refer to the οἶνος νέος at Matthew 9: 17, Mark 2: 22.

Iudicio contendere 'to go to law' = κρίνομαι. Matthew 5: 40 is typically rendered *et ei qui vult tecum iudicio contendere* (*congredi* in *d*, *iudicium experiri* in *e*). These three translations are all technical terms; for example Cicero, *pro Sulla* 84, *non iam de vita P. Sullae, iudices, sed de sepultura contenditur*; Cicero, *Topica* 93, . . . *in quo primum institit quasi ad repugnandum congressa defensio*; Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 11. 18. 10 (quoting or paraphrasing the Law of the Twelve Tables), *si qui super manifesto furto experiri velit iure et ordine*. See *TLL* IV. 287. 68 ff., IV. 669. 7 ff., V_2. 1670. 28 ff.

Morte afficere 'to put to death' = θανατόω. Matthew 10: 21 is typically rendered *insurgent filii in parentes et morte eos afficient* (*mortificabunt* in *d*); compare Mark 13: 12; Luke 21: 16. For the technical sense compare Cicero, *in Verrem* 1. 9, *cum civis Romanos morte, cruciatu, cruce affecerit*; see also *TLL* I. 1211. 6 ff., Lewis and Short B.3.β, *OLD* 4b. The rendering *morti tradere* found in most manuscripts at Matthew 26: 59, 27: 1; Mark 14: 55 is a nod in the direction of the idiom *ad supplicium tradere*.[17]

In many of the above examples one or more of the manuscripts gives a wholly literal rendering (for example, *d*'s *rationem tollere*, *mortificare*, *e*'s *inspicere*, *aur Vg*'s *facere*, *accipere*), thus providing a useful control for the level of flexibility shown by the other manuscripts. It is clear from such instances that literal as all OLG traditions are at times, they are far from being uniformly so, and most do show some sensitivity to Latin usage.

8.4 Conclusions

It seems that the characterization of the OLG as 'literal and vulgar' has again led to various aspects of their language and translation style being ignored or misinterpreted. While the translators do employ many vulgarisms and post-classical usages (see Chapter 14), they are also willing to ransack the lexicon in order to find exactly the right word; and while they often distort natural Latin idiom out of respect for the original, they are also prepared to use certain technical words and set

[17] See Cicero, *in Verrem* 2. 5. 11, 2. 5. 12; Caesar, *de Bello civili* 1. 76. 2; Livy 25. 5. 13, 29. 3. 4, 38. 33. 11; Tacitus, *Annales* 11. 35. 3, also *exitio tradere* at *Annales* 13. 31. 3.

expressions that are not literal renderings of the Greek.[18] These practices are further evidence that Latin was the translators' mother tongue. This cannot be proven, as it is possible that a Greek-speaker might have acquired enough Latin, had the help of native informants, or possessed good enough glossaries to enable him to do the same. But the prima-facie case is for Latin-speaking translators.

[18] The contrary phenomenon—the use of non-idiomatic expressions and collocations—is discussed further in Ch. 10. Perhaps surprisingly, the OLG translators are often more willing to follow natural Latin idiom than Jerome; see App. 1.

9

Number, Size, and Quantity

9.1 Introduction

Systems of classification of count- and mass-nouns are often arbitrary and language-specific, and hence tend to be areas in which interference between languages may occur;[1] English-speakers learning French may produce forms such as *les pantalons* (that is, *one* pair of trousers), French tourist offices may offer English visitors *informations* (that is, *renseignements*). According to the definition suggested in Chapter 5, literalism always results in the presence of interference phenomena to an intrusive level; as the treatment of count- and mass-nouns (and of size- and quantity-adjectives) is an area in which interference is likely to occur, it is worth while examining the way the OLG translators handle this problem, as a means of gauging the level of literalism in their work.[2]

In a small number of cases Latin idiom demands a plural to render a Greek singular. Thus *tenebrae* always renders ἡ σκοτία (for example, at Matthew 10: 27; Luke 12: 3; John 1: 5, 6: 17), and usually τὸ σκότος (for example, at Matthew 6: 23; Mark 15: 33; Luke 1: 79; John 3: 19).[3] *Divitiae* always renders ὁ πλοῦτος (Matthew 13: 22; Mark 4: 19, reading found in *aur f l Vg* only; Luke 8: 14), and *nuptiae* almost always ὁ γάμος (for

[1] For a definition of these terms see Crystal (1991: 87) and references; see also Palmer (1976: 124–6). For an ancient discussion see Varro, *de Lingua Latina* 9. 63 ff. Non-idiomatic uses of the singular and plural in Biblical Latin generally are collected by Rönsch (1875: 272–4) and Kaulen (1904: 107–8); see also García de la Fuente (1994: 175).

[2] The treatment of a word as a mass- or count-noun could exceptionally have theological repercussions. Augustine (*contra Iulianum* 1. 6. 21) criticizes the Pelagian rendering *hac enim de causa etiam infantes baptizamus, cum non sint coinquinati peccato* (John Chrysostom, *ad neophytos*, καίτοι ἁμαρτήματα οὐκ ἔχοντα) on the grounds that it denies original sin, and suggests instead *quamvis peccata non habentes* (Marti 1974: 24–5).

[3] The singular is tried in *d* at Luke 22: 53. *Tenebrosum* in *e* at Matthew 6: 23 looks like a repetition from earlier in this verse, where it had rendered σκοτεινόν. *Umbra* is used at Matthew 4: 16, where the Greek manuscripts vary between σκότος and σκοτία.

example, at Matthew 22: 8; Luke 12: 36; John 2: 1), though *nuptialis* is preferred in the expression ἔνδυμα γάμου. These are trivial cases, though it is notable that not all Biblical translators are prepared to make even these limited concessions to Latin idiom.[4] More significant are the cases where the choice of a singular or plural would not go against the rules of the language, but might go against its natural preferences and affinities. The use of the plural *a dextris* rather than the more idiomatic *ad dextram* in many manuscripts has been mentioned above (see Tables 3.4, 3.12); some further examples are discussed below.

9.2 Rare Plurals

The question of abstract nouns and derived forms generally is treated separately above; however, it also overlaps with the question of count- and mass-nouns. While the distribution of count- and mass-nouns in a language is generally arbitrary, none the less words containing suffixes indicating states or qualities are logically less likely to take a plural than those indicating actions or physical objects. However, the OLG translators occasionally pluralize words that are usually singular in classical Latin.

Infirmitas. This is the regular rendering of ἡ ἀσθένεια. In classical Latin it is always singular (contrast *morbus*); in the OLG it appears in the plural at Matthew 8: 17, typically *quia ipse infirmitates nostras accepit* (αὐτὸς τὰς ἀσθενείας ἡμῶν ἔλαβεν), also Luke 5: 15 (*languores* in *a*), 8: 2.

Sanitas. This renders ἡ ἴασις at Luke 13: 32, typically *ecce eicio daemonia et sanitates perficio hodie et cras* (*curas* in *e*; = ἰάσεις ἀποτελῶ). The plural is found nowhere in classical Latin, and the word is not well chosen here; *-itas* nouns are generally deadjectival and indicative of state, rather than deverbative and indicative of action. The Ciceronian *sanatio* (or *curatio*, found also in the plural) might have been better.

Pestilentia. This renders ὁ λοιμός at Luke 21: 11, typically *et pestilentiae et fames erunt* (thus *c f i q*; *pestilentia* in *ff*^{2} *l r*^{1}; *pestes* in *a s*; *morbi* in *d*; *lues* in

[4] Compare Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* 50. 19 (*erue me de sanguinibus*): *nam novimus latine non dici sanguines nec sanguina . . . maluit tamen pius interpres minus latine dicere quam minus proprie.* Elsewhere he notes the use of *primitia* for *primitiae* at Numbers 18: 12 (*Quaestiones in Heptateuchum* 4. 59).

e; λοιμοὶ καὶ λιμοὶ ἔσονται); compare Matthew 24: 7 (*pestilentiae* in *aur c f g*^{2} / *Vg*). The plural is found nowhere in classical Latin, whereas *pestes* and *morbi* are frequent.

Virtus. The semantic extension of this word to the sense 'miracle, mighty act' is discussed further in Chapter 10, Section 10.4; in that sense (rendering ἡ δύναμις) it is found frequently in the plural (for example, at Matthew 11: 20, 21, 23; Mark 6: 2; Luke 10: 13). The plural is in fact used in classical Latin, but only rarely; its frequency rises in philosophical writings, where it corresponds to the Greek concept of αἱ ἀρεταί. The percentage of plurals is 18.57 per cent in Plautus;[5] less than 1 per cent in Caesar (only once); 3.33 per cent in Cicero's Verrine Orations and 11.43 per cent in his *de Natura Deorum*; 22.20 per cent in Seneca's *de Beneficiis* and *de Clementia* combined. In Matthew, Mark, and Luke, the figures are 61.54 per cent, 30 per cent, and 20 per cent respectively. This illustrates a frequent problem in analysing the level of Greek influence on the language of the OLG; namely that all the monuments of literary Latin show some degree of Greek influence, and it is not always possible to determine whether a particular usage has been introduced or reinforced by Greek pressure.

The use of *caelum* in the plural on the model of οἱ οὐρανοί is a well-known feature of Christian Latin (see Meershoek 1966: 182 ff.) and does not require lengthy discussion here. It is sufficient to note that though in classical Latin the word is always singular, the OLG translators frequently override this and use the plural (for example, at Matthew 5: 45, 6: 1, 6: 14, 7: 11, Mark 1: 10–11, 11: 25, Luke 10: 20). The plural was in fact optional in early Latin, always in the masculine; so far as can be discerned, the translators are aware of what may by this time have been no more than a grammarians' rule (see for instance Mark 1: 10, typically *vidit apertos caelos*).[6] It is notable that there is no trace of the well-attested vulgarism *caelus*.

[5] Four of these thirteen are found in the *Miles* and may be a mere stylistic irregularity; one of the others (*Curculio* 179) comes in the middle of a catalogue of plurals and may be deliberately incongruous: *sibi sua habeant regna reges, sibi divitias divites, sibi honores, sibi virtutes, sibi pugnas, sibi proelia.* For *virtutes* in early Latin see table of *plurales rariores* in Mikkola (1964*b*: 194).

[6] The rule is expounded by the late-fourth-century grammarian Diomedes (1. 327. 5): *nominum genera numero saepe mutanter . . . neutra in masculinum . . . ut caelum.*

9.3 Idiomatic Plural for Greek Singular

The common Latin idiom *in somnis* 'in a dream' (see Lewis and Short 1879) is employed in most manuscripts at Matthew 1: 20, 2: 12–22 to render the Greek singular *κατ' ὄναρ* (at Matthew 27: 19 typically *per visum*), showing a greater degree of sensitivity to natural usage.

9.4 Specialized Sense of Singular and Plural

In Latin as in English some words have slight differences of nuance according as they are singular or plural.[7] These are only sometimes observed by the OLG translators.

Pecunia. *TLL* X$_1$. 942. 62 ff. notes *sing. multo saepius occurrit, sed pl. haud raro legitur e.g. apud CIC. et LIV.* The situation is slightly more complex than this. The plural often has the special senses 'taxes' (often in collocation with *exigere*, *cogere*, *conferre*, *imperare*, *repetere*), 'debts' (in the expression *pecuniae creditae* 'monies owing'), or 'money-system, currency' (for example, Suetonius, *Galba* 9, [*Galba*] *nummulario non ex fide versanti pecunias manus amputavit*). In the OLG, however, *pecuniae* is often used to render the Greek *τὰ χρήματα* (often with the textual variant *τὰ κτήματα*), meaning simply 'money'. Thus Mark 10: 23 is typically rendered *quam difficile qui habent pecunias in regnum Dei introibunt* (*pecuniam* in *a*; *divitias* in *k q*);[8] compare Luke 18: 24 (*substantiam* in *e* only).

Turba. This word underwent a bifurcation of meaning at an early stage, with the plural usually keeping the sense 'trouble, uproar' (as in *turbare*), while the more frequent singular takes the sense 'crowd, group of people'.[9] As has been noted above (see Table 3.6), this is the usual rendering of the frequent Greek word *ὁ ὄχλος*, which in Matthew and

[7] Varro, *de Lingua Latina* 8. 14 ff. notes that *cervices* has the special sense 'neck-muscles', and that *vina* (9. 67) means 'different sorts of wine'.

[8] The choice of *divitiae* would solve the problem at the expense of a less exact lexemic correspondence. Cf. *fores* rendering *αἱ θύραι* in some manuscripts at Mark 13: 29; John 20: 19.

[9] Thus Livy uses the plural only seven times, twice in combination with *seditio* (3. 68. 11, 23. 10. 10) and once with *tumultus* (25. 4. 10); Tacitus uses it eight times, once each in combination with *seditio* (*Annales* 1. 19. 2), *discordiae* (*Historiae* 4. 1. 3), *exitium* (*Historiae* 4. 70. 5), and *raptus* (*Historiae* 1. 83. 1). Sallust's *turba et seditionibus* at *Catilina* 37. 3 would seem to be a characteristically perverse non-idiom.

Luke is often found in the plural (for instance, at Matthew 4: 25, 5: 1, 7: 28; Luke 3: 7, 3: 10, 4: 42). On such occasions the translators regularly use the plural; for example, at Matthew 4: 25, typically *et sequebantur eum turbae multae* (*populus* in *k*).[10]

Loculus. From the basic meaning 'little place' this word develops a range of senses. The special sense 'money-box, money-bag' is confined to the plural; for example, Suetonius *Galba* 12, *denarios quinque donasse prolatos manu sua e peculiaribus loculis suis* 'out of his own pocket' (see further *TLL* VII_2. 1567. 31 ff., 1568 11 ff.). The word occurs in the OLG only at John 12: 6, rendering the singular τὸ γλωσσόκομον; on this occasion the OLG translators typically follow the Latin idiom and render *fur erat et loculos habebat* (*loculum* in *d f è*).

9.5 Size- and Quantity-Adjectives

The choice of size- and quantity-adjectives (corresponding respectively to mass- and count-nouns) may be unstable within a language, and especially so where languages are in contact. Adams (1977: 79) notes that

> words of quantity and number tended to express size in Vulgar Latin, just as words of size might express quantity. The use of *paucus* (Fr. *peu*, etc.) is condemned by the *Rhet. Her.* (4.45) in reference to the expression *pauco sermone; abusio est quae simili et propinquo pro certo et proprio utitur, hoc modo; . . . 'uti pauco sermone'.*

In the OLG it is the rendering of πολύς that presents most problems. The rendering *multus* is obvious and natural in the plural, but the singular is unusual at all periods. If we exclude the adverbial *multum* and *multo*, and the use of *multum* plus partitive genitive, then there are only three clear examples in the Elder Cato, and even these seem somewhat formulaic: *vino multo* in *de Agri cultura* 1. 7, *multo cibo* in *de Agri cultura* 157. 1, and *multo pulmento* in *Origines* 3. 7. Caesar uses it (apart from the uses excluded above) only in the expression *multa nocte*. Cicero is similarly sparing, using it only five times in the Verrine Orations (2. 2. 47, 2. 2. 176, 2. 4. 62, 2. 4. 146, 2. 5. 63). Vulgar Latin uses it no more than classical Latin; Egeria uses the singular never. Only in poetry, where the influence of Greek is stronger, is the singular

[10] The position is complicated by the fact that ὁ λαός and ὁ ὄχλος are sometimes interchanged, and also by fluctuations between ὁ ὄχλος and οἱ ὄχλοι in the manuscripts (e.g. at Matthew 8: 18, 15: 31; John 7: 12).

frequent; Virgil uses it adjectivally fourteen times in *Aeneid* 1–6. There is every reason to believe that the true adjectival use of the singular was already rare in classical Latin.

On this point, the OLG translators find themselves torn between the demands of literalism and fidelity. In the Gospels the singular of πολύς is fairly common, especially in the phrases ὄχλος πολύς and μισθὸς πολύς. The usual rendering is *multus*; for example, Matthew 14: 14, typically *ut vidit turbam multam misertus est illis*; Luke 6: 35 *erit merces vestra multa* (*magna* in *e*). Other renderings are tried: *plurimus* in *h* r^1 at Matthew 26: 47; *ingens* in *a* at Luke 5: 29.[11] But the strongest challenge to *multus* comes from *copiosus*. Thus we find *merces vestra copiosa* (*multa* in *d h q*) at Matthew 5: 12, and *messis quidem copiosa* (in *a b l q* r^1; *multa* in *aur c d e f Vg*) at Luke 10: 2; while *copiosa* in these instances is not unacceptable, it does weaken the antithesis of the following *operarii autem pauci*. More surprising is *turba copiosa* (*magna* in *a c e*; *multa* in *d*) at Luke 7: 11, and *copiosum tempus* at John 5: 6 in *l* r^1 (*multum tempus* in *c d ff*^{2} *Vg*, *multum temporis* in *a aur b q e*).[12] Given the range of alternatives, this fondness for *copiosus* is rather odd; it may be tentatively explained as follows: of the more obvious Latin renderings for πολύς (*multus*, *magnus*, *grandis*) none is equally capable of denoting size in the singular and quantity in the plural. *Copiosus*, though a less obvious choice, can perform both functions. It has been argued that the OLG translators were probably native Latin-speakers who knew Greek only as a second language. In learning Greek and perhaps in translating it they would have used some sort of Greek–Latin glossary. A learners' dictionary of this sort might have glossed πολύς as *copiosus* as being a general word capable of rendering both the singular and plural of the Greek.[13] If the Biblical translators learnt their Greek this way, then *copiosus* might have lodged in their minds as the 'correct' rendering of πολύς, and surfaced in the OLG. This must remain a mere hypothesis, albeit a plausible one.[14]

[11] Notable by its absence is *grandis*; see the discussion of this area of the lexicon in Ch. 14.

[12] The partitive genitive also appears at Luke 23: 22, typically *quid enim mali fecit?* (*male* in *ff*^{2} *l q*; τί γὰρ κακὸν ἐποίησεν;), and John 1: 46, typically *a Nazareth potest aliquid boni esse?* (ἐκ Ναζαρὲτ δύναται τι ἀγαθὸν εἶναι;). The use of this construction (not corresponding directly to the Greek) is further circumstantial evidence for native Latin-speaking translators.

[13] Compare the observations of Whitcut (1988: 49) cited above (Ch. 7 n. 14).

[14] The practice of modern learners of Latin may be used as comparative evidence; English-speaking Latinists taught to render *ferre* as 'to bear' and *pati* as 'to suffer' will often persist in using these translations, even where the result is stilted.

9.6 Conclusions

It is clear that the different distributions of count- and mass-nouns between the source- and target-languages do cause the OLG translators some difficulty, and that they have no one answer to the problem. Certain non-Latin usages (notably the singular for the plural *tenebrae*, *nuptiae* etc.) are flatly rejected in all manuscripts save *d*, but in other areas interference is tolerated. The translations are accordingly literal, but not wholly so; the translators are prepared to move away from strict literalism where it would obscure the sense or read too outlandishly.

10

Semantic Extensions

10.1 Introduction

The next three chapters will address the three canonical ways in which the lexicon of one language may be influenced by contact with another; semantic extension, calquing, and borrowing.[1] The extent and manner in which these phenomena occur in the OLG is a useful index of the level of literalism tolerated by the translators.[2]

Semantic extension consists of 'the extension of the use of an indigenous word of the influenced language in conformity with a foreign model' (Weinreich 1953: 48). The applicability of the term to the study of Biblical translation has been called into question; Olofsson (1990: 35), quoting Tov, suggests that the mechanical substitution of a Greek for a Hebrew word in all its senses does not mean that the Greek word has undergone semantic extension, but rather that 'it has become a mere symbol for the Hebrew word in the translation'; even if the reader does not know the original language, he or she may realize that a particular word in the translation is being used to express a concept for which the target-language has no exact rendering. But while it may be true that semantic extension in its strictest sense occurs only when the word in question starts to be used outside the translation literature, none the less the term may conveniently be used here. This chapter will touch briefly on the topic of semantic specialization, and the special case of Semiticisms, before considering the related questions of semantic extensions and collocational clashes. In conclusion, consideration will be given to the areas of lexis in which

[1] See Coleman (1989) on these phenomena in Latin philosophy, grammar, and rhetoric; Langslow (1992) on medical vocabulary. For a study specifically of semantic extension in a Christian writer (Tertullian), see Teeuwen (1926).

[2] It should be noted, however, that some of the semantic extensions found in these 'vulgar' texts had already occurred in literary Latin. Thus for instance *semen* in the sense 'descendants' (based on τὸ σπέρμα) is common in poetry from at least the Augustan period; but it also resurfaces in the OLG at Matthew 22: 24–5; Mark 12: 19–22; Luke 1: 55, 20: 28; John 7: 42, 8: 33, 37.

semantic extension is most likely to occur, and an attempt made to account for this.

10.2 Semantic Specialization

'Specialization' occurs where a Latin word of relatively broad meaning is used by the translators in a narrower and more specific sense, often with a technical meaning for the Christian community.[3] Thus *lex* (ὁ νόμος), generally 'law' but specifically 'the Law of Moses', *gentes* (τὰ ἔθνη), generally 'nations' but specifically the lesser breeds without the Law; contrast *populus/plebs* (ὁ λαός), generally 'people' but specifically 'people of God'.[4] In all these cases the specialization had already occurred in Jewish Greek and Septuagintal usage; other such examples will be considered shortly. Others again are specifically Christian, such as *similitudo*, generally 'comparison' but specifically 'parable'. The Gospel of John offers a range of examples of this sort of specialization: notably *signum* (τὸ σημεῖον), 'sign (of Jesus' power)', *lux* (τὸ φῶς), '(divine) light', and of course *verbum*, (ὁ λόγος) 'the Word'. These specializations exist in the original and are essential to the literary and theological character of the text, and are almost always reproduced in the OLG.

10.3 Semiticisms

Certain New Testament Greek usages themselves reflect semantic extensions on Semitic models, deriving either from the LXX (especially in Luke) or from an Aramaic substrate underlying the older elements of the Gospels. Some examples may be considered.[5]

Verbum: τὸ ῥῆμα, 'thing'. Τὸ ῥῆμα occurs twice in the Lucan Nativity narrative in the extended sense 'a thing' based on its use in the

[3] This definition is based on that given in Langslow (1992: 114), who illustrates it with *ustio* = generally 'burning' but specifically 'cautery', *malum* = generally 'a bad thing' but specifically 'an illness'.

[4] According to Löftstedt (1959: 74–5) a similar us–them dichotomy had already existed in Latin; '*gentes* . . . when placed antithetically to *populus* or *populus Romanus* signifies "foreigners, barbarians", a meaning which was of course strongly pejorative'. The final end of this specialization process is *plebs* > Italian *la pieve*, 'parish'; a similar process may underlie also the development of *populus* > Spanish *el pueblo*.

[5] These examples are taken from Fitzmyer (1981: 109–17) and Voelz (1984: 957–8, 1007–14), qq.v. for the relevant bibliography.

Septuagint (Genesis 30: 31, 34: 19; 1 Samuel 4: 16; 1 Kings 1: 27); Luke 1: 37, typically rendered *non est impossibile Deo omne verbum* (*οὐκ ἀδυνατήσει παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πᾶν ῥῆμα*), and Luke 2: 15, typically *transeamus usque Bethleem et videamus hoc verbum* (*hunc sermonem* in *e*, *de hoc verbo* in *b* r^1 = *διέλθωμεν δὴ ἕως Βηθλεὲμ καὶ ἴδωμεν τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο*). In both instances *τὸ ῥῆμα* refers to an angelic message, permitting the interpretation of *verbum* as 'the word of God'; but the usage is still forced.

Os: *τὸ στόμα* 'edge'. *Τὸ στόμα* is used at Luke 21: 24 (*καὶ πεσοῦνται στόματι μαχαίρης*) in a manner typical of LXX Greek (compare Genesis 34: 26; 2 Samuel 15: 14; Joshua 19: 48; Sirach 28: 18). It is rendered in all traditions as *et cadent in ore gladii*.[6]

Filius: *ὁ υἱός* + genitive, in various senses. At Luke 5: 34 the phrase *οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ νυμφῶνος* 'wedding-guests' is typically rendered *filii sponsi* (compare Matthew 9: 15; Mark 2: 19); the idiom occurs in the LXX at Deuteronomy 32: 43; Genesis 6: 2; 1 Samuel 14: 52, 26: 16; 2 Kings 14: 14; Psalms 29: 1; Wisdom 2: 18. It is a favourite idiom of Luke's; compare Luke 10: 6 (typically *filii pacis*), 16: 8 (*filii huius saeculi . . . filii lucis*), 20: 34–6 (*filii saeculi . . . resurrectionis filii*).

Communis: *κοινός* 'unclean'. This technical Jewish Greek term *κοινός*[7] occurs at Mark 7: 2, where it is typically rendered *cum viderent quosdam ex discipulis eius communibus manibus, id est non lotis, manducare panem*. In the parallel passage Matthew 15: 1–20 the verb *κοινόω* is generally rendered as *inquinare* or *coinquinare*, with the Semiticism flattened out. *Communicare* is confined here to the African tradition and the African-influenced *c d*; this may be due to its other Christian semantic development 'to take communion' (itself probably based on *μετέχω*).[8]

Solvo: *λύω* and *alligo*: *δέω*. These occur in the famous commission given to the community in Matthew 18: 18 (and Matthew 16: 19), *ὅσα*

[6] Cf. *Iliad* XV. 389, *κατὰ στόμα εἱμένα χαλκῷ*, but the use is not common in secular Greek.

[7] Jewish Greek, but a euphemism rather than a Septuagintalism, according to the very full discussion in Meershoek (1966: 117): 'dans l'Ecriture, le terme normal pour l'impureté cultuelle n'est pas *κοινός*, mais *ἀκάθαρος*, ou parfois *βέβηλος*.'

[8] It is already used in this sense by Egeria, *Peregrinatio* 16. 7, *communicantes et ibi gratias agentes Deo semper*. . . . See also Löfstedt (1959: 104) and Rönsch (1875: 354).

ἐὰν δήσητε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔσται δεδεμένα ἐν οὐρανῷ, καὶ ὅσα ἐὰν λύσητε ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔσται λελυμένα ἐν οὐρανῷ, typically rendered *quaecumque alligaveritis super terram erunt alligata et in caelo, et quaecumque solveritis super terram erunt soluta et in caelo*; compare Matthew 5: 19. Here much hangs on how λύω and δέω are to be interpreted. According to the usual explanation, enunciated by Büchsel in *TDNT* (s.v. δέω), they reflect a Rabbinic Aramaic formula 'to declare forbidden or permitted'. Although *solvere* (*aliquem ab aliquo*) means 'to absolve someone from a duty or crime', there is no precedent for its use with a direct object meaning 'to declare permitted'. The use of *alligare* is a still greater semantic extension.

Incedere: πορεύομαι 'to live one's life'. At Luke 1: 6 πορευόμενοι ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐντολαῖς is rendered *incedentes in omnibus mandatis* (*intendentes* in *c*; *ambulantes* in *d e*). The Greek use may be paralleled in secular writers, but is certainly a Septuagintalism here.[9] This use of *incedo* is unparalleled in Latin.

Before leaving the topic of Semiticisms it may be noted that some uses that are alien to Greek may actually be perfectly natural to Latin. Thus the pleonastic use of ἄρχομαι, frequent in all the Gospels, is probably Semitic influenced (see Fitzmyer 1981: 117; Hunkin 1924), if not an outright Semiticism; it is found in secular Greek too, but not so frequently as in NT Greek. However, its Latin rendering *coepi* is very frequent in post-classical (especially vulgar) texts in the same pleonastic sense; for example Latin *Passio SS. Perpetuae et Felicitatis* 10. 3, *et coepimus ire per aspera loca* = καὶ ἐπορεύθημεν διὰ τραχέων . . . τόπων (compare also 18. 8, 10. 8), Gregory of Tours 8. 31, *antefonas iuxta consuetudinem incipere per ordinem coepit*. Similarly ἐνώπιον (frequent in Luke, used once in John), 'found a few times in extrabiblical Greek papyrus (usually legal) texts . . . [but] used abundantly in the LXX' (Fitzmyer 1981: 114; see also Brock 1979: 72; Voelz 1984: 1012–13) is regularly rendered as *in conspectu* in the African *e* and the associated group *a c d*; this is both a literal calque of the Greek and a Latin idiom. The phrase *in conspectu* is perhaps never entirely delexicalized, but its meaning is often worn very smooth; for an extreme example, see Augustine, *Confessions* 1. 16. 26 (on education): *et magna res agitur, cum hoc agitur in fore, in conspectu legum supra mercedem salarium decernentium*.[10]

[9] See *TDNT*, s.v. πορεύομαι, A1 on its use in secular Greek (also Dawe's note on Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus* 882–3), B2 on its use in the LXX, C6 on its use in the New Testament.

[10] For further examples see *TLL* IV. 492. 35 ff.

10.4 Semantic Extensions

Aridus/aresco: ξηρός/ξηραίνω, 'withered, paralysed'. At Mark 3: 1–5 Jesus heals a man with a withered hand, ἐξηραμμένην ἔχοντα τὴν χεῖρα, typically rendered *homo manum aridam habens* (compare the parallel passages Matthew 12: 10 and Luke 6: 8). The adjective is used as a substantive at John 5: 4, κατέκειτο πλῆθος . . . ξηρῶν, typically *iacebat multitudo . . . aridorum*. The verb occurs in Mark 9: 18, [ὁ παῖς] ξηραίνεται (RSV 'becomes rigid'), *arescit* in all versions. While the Greek use of ξηραίνω/ξηρός is wholly natural, the use of *aridus* in Latin is not; its meaning would have to be inferred from the context. Outside the OLG the usage is only found in the Greek-influenced technical medical manuals; thus Caelius Aurelianus (5. 2. 33) has *membra . . . tenuata languescunt et arida efficiuntur*, which in view of the heavy Greek influence on the Latin medical vocabulary must be based on ξηραίνομαι. The Latin is stretched to the utmost at Luke 21: 26, where ἀποψυχόντων ἀνθρώπων ἀπὸ φόβου is typically rendered by the almost-incomprehensible *arescentibus hominibus prae timore* (*deficientium hominum* in *d*).

Virtus: ἡ δύναμις. The Greek term has at least two distinct senses in the Gospels: 'power, charismatic force' and 'mighty act'. In the former sense *virtus* may be used without any extension of the natural Latin sense; thus at Mark 5: 30 the Greek καὶ εὐθὺς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐπιγνοὺς τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ δύναμιν ἐξελθοῦσαν is typically rendered *cognovit autem et Iesus virtutem exisse a se*. The latter sense 'mighty act, miracle' (Matthew 7: 22, 11: 20–3, 13: 54–8, 14: 2; Mark 6: 2–5, 6: 14, 9: 39; Luke 10: 13, 19: 37) is also rendered *virtus*; for example, Mark 6: 2, τίς ἡ σοφία ἡ δοθεῖσα τούτῳ ἵνα καὶ δυνάμεις τοιαῦται διὰ τῶν χειρων αὐτοῦ γίγνωνται, typically *ut et virtutes tantae per manus eius perficiantur* (on the plural form see Chapter 9). The extended sense of *virtus* '(divine) power, force' becomes common in Later Latin and Romance, and thence into Middle and Early Modern English.[11] Finally the Septuagintalism αἱ δύναμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν σαλευθήσονται[12] (Matthew 24: 29; cf. Mark

[11] See *OED*, s.v. *virtue*, which gives this as the first attested sense (mid-thirteenth century).

[12] Compare LXX Isaiah 34: 4. Not necessarily a Semiticism; there is some doubt whether the Greek text represents the attested Hebrew traditions. See Nineham (1969: 357); Beare (1987: 471).

13: 25; Luke 21: 26) is rendered *virtutes caelorum* in all manuscripts (*fortitudine* in *k* only at Mark 13: 25).

Conquirere: *συζητέω*. This is a slightly more complicated case, as the exact nuance of the Greek verb is not wholly certain. Liddell and Scott list the meanings 'to enquire together' and 'to dispute'; in the Gospels the word seems to mean 'to argue'.[13] It is most frequent in Mark (Mark 1: 27, 8: 11, 9: 10, 9: 14, 9: 16, 12: 28); the other synopticists remove the verb from their redactions of the same passages, perhaps in order to play down the Marcan motif of conflict between Jesus and those around him. However, it is found in two passages of Lucan material (Luke 22: 23, 24: 15), and the notion of conflict is clearly implied at Luke 22: 23–4: *καὶ αὐτοὶ ἤρξαντο συζητεῖν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς τὸ τίς ἄρα εἴη ἐξ αὐτῶν ὁ τοῦτο μέλλων πράσσειν. Ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ φιλονεικία ἐν αὐτοῖς, τὸ τίς αὐτῶν δοκεῖ εἶναι μείζων*.[14] In all these instances the usual translation is *conquirere*; but the alternatives *disceptare* in Mark 8: 11 in *a f l q*, *quaerere* at Mark 9: 10 in *a n*, *altercari* at Mark 9: 14 in *f* suggest that *conquirere* was not felt to be a natural rendering. Outside the OLG *conquirere* in the sense 'to debate, argue' seems to be confined to translation literature and other hellenized registers (see De Meo 1986: 17, *TLL* IV. 356. 66 ff.). Compare also Cicero, *de Re Publica* 1. 11. 17, *Rutilius . . . solebat mecum interdum eiusmodi aliquid conquirere.*

Plaga/flagellum/verber: *μάστιξ*. *Μάστιξ* in the sense 'illness' (Mark 3: 10, 5: 29, 5: 34; Luke 7: 21) is usually rendered *plaga*; thus at Mark 3: 10 Jesus heals all that are sick, *ὅσοι εἶχον μάστιγας*, typically rendered *quicumque habebant plagas* (*verbera* in *a* only). *Verber* is also used in *a c* at Luke 7: 21, *flagellum* in *k* at Mark 5: 34 and *e* at Luke 7: 21. Both the Greek and the Latin usages merit consideration. The use of *ἡ πληγή* to mean 'a plague' is native to Greek, if somewhat poetical; it is only frequent in this sense in the Greek Jewish authors, where it may

[13] Cf. the fluctuations of rendering in the RSV, which translates it as 'to argue' when the subject is the scribes, Pharisees, or crowds, and 'to question' when the subject is the disciples (as at Mark 1: 27, 9: 10; Luke 22: 23, 24: 15).

[14] The interpretation of *συζητέω* as 'to question' or 'to argue' in this verse rests on the interpretation of the *δὲ καί* (absent from some manuscripts). On the intensifying use of *δὲ καί* see examples in Denniston (1954: 305). I take it to mean that *συζήτησις* implies not just an enquiry but an exchange of different points of view that may become an argument.

be reinforced by Semitic influence.[15] The West Greek vocalism of the Latin form *plaga* suggests an early, colloquial borrowing. Plautus uses it twelve times, always in the literal sense 'blow' (besides coinages such as *plagipatida*, *plagiger*, *plagigerulus*).[16] In Cicero it is a stock metaphor for 'misfortune'; for instance, at *pro Sestio* 78. 11, . . . *accepisset res publica plagam, sed eam quam acceptam gemere potuisset.*[17] But the sense 'illness' is not found before the OLG. This usage may, therefore, be considered a semantic extension, and moreover one which took off in the popular language; the Romance languages give evidence that both *plaga* and *flagellum* eventually gained a wider currency in this sense (cf. English *plague* < Old French *la plage,* and Modern French *le fléau* < *flagellum*).[18]

10.5 Collocational Clashes

Related to the phenomenon of semantic extension is that of *collocational clash*, that is, the juxtaposition of two or more words that according to the conventions of their language do not belong with each other; thus in English *bay horse* is an acceptable collocation, but **bay dog* is not. As collocational restrictions are largely language-specific, they are likely to cause problems for translators.[19] The way the OLG translators handle collocational clashes is thus a further index of the amount of literalism they are prepared to tolerate. Some examples may be considered.

Perambulare: διέρχομαι. Usually this is an adequate translation, but at Luke 5: 15 διήρχετο δὲ μᾶλλον ὁ λόγος περὶ αὐτοῦ is typically given as

[15] Liddell and Scott list only Sophocles, *Ajax* 137, 279, πληγὴ θεοῦ; Arndt and Gingrich add Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 367, Διὸς πληγή, and Plutarch *Moralia* 168C, θεοῦ πληγή, and examples from Hellenistic Jewish writers.

[16] Compare Horace's humorous coinage *plagosus* (*Epistles* 2. 1. 70); the ease with which *plaga* could be assimilated to Latin phonology doubtless helped establish its place in the language.

[17] Cf. *pro Cluentio* 115. 3, *pro Sestio* 44. 2, *in Vatinium* 20. 5, *de Provinciis consularibus* 39. 6. Compare also the English 'stroke' (of bad luck, or used medically).

[18] *REW* 3347 lists reflexes of *flagellum*, confined to Gaul and North Italy, in the sense 'flail', though the metaphorical sense 'scourge' seems more common; *plaga* (*REW* 6562) is pan-Romance in the sense of 'wound'; *verber* seems to have sunk without trace.

[19] The issue of collocational clashes in translation is well treated by Beekman and Callow (1974: 163). However, they do not distinguish between mere semantic clashes and collocational clashes proper, and hence do not separate collocational clashes from semantic extensions. The typology set forth by Palmer (1976: 94–7) is of great value here.

perambulabat. . . sermo de illo (*transiebat* in *d*; *divulgabatur* in *a c f e*). The presence of the more interpretative *divulgabatur* suggests dissatisfaction with *perambulare*, which does not normally take a non-personal subject. There are apparently no close parallels for this usage; other examples of *perambulare* with impersonal subjects are typically poetic, and may also be modelled on the Greek.[20]

Intrare: εἰσέρχομαι. Similarly at Luke 9: 46 εἰσῆλθεν δὲ διαλογισμὸς ἐν αὐτοῖς . . . is typically rendered as *intravit cogitatio in eis*. . . . Phrases such as *in mentem/animum/sensum intrare* are common in classical Latin (for instance Cicero, *de Oratore* 2. 25. 109, *definitio . . . in sensum et mentem iudicis intrare non potest*; see also *TLL* VII. 63. 27 ff.), but there seems to be no precedent for its use with *in* plus ablative, or pronoun.

Enarrare: ἐξηγέομαι. At John 1: 18 μονογενὴς υἱὸς . . . ἐξηγήσατο τὸν θεόν is rendered by *enarravit* (*narravit* in *f e* and some Vulgate manuscripts); in Latin use these verbs only take a non-personal direct object. Personal direct objects require another argument, in the form of an accusative-plus-infinitive construction.[21]

Consilium facere: συμβούλιον ποιέω. At Mark 3: 6 συμβούλιον ἐποίουν κατ' αὐτοῦ is typically rendered *consilium faciebant adversus eum* (idiomatic *iniebant* (*sic*) in *q* only); compare Mark 15: 1; Matthew 26: 3 (συμβουλεύω; *consiliari* in *d* only). While this is comprehensible, it is remarkable that the translators are so literalist as to pass over the natural collocations *consilium capere* or *inire*.

10.6 Conclusions

There is little doubt that the OLG translators were uniformly prepared to allow a high degree of semantic extension and collocational clash. However, two qualifications should be made. First, the meaning is usually fairly clear from the context. Secondly, from the limited

[20] Perhaps only Ovid, *Heroides* 9. 135, *mens fugit admonitu, frigusque perambulat artus*; Martial 9. 39. 7, *securos pueri neglecta perambulat artus*—an unconscious reminiscence? Horace, *Epistles* 2. 1. 79 (of a play being 'up and running') is still more remote from the OLG.

[21] *TLL* V_2. 552. 44 ff. lists examples *strictiore sensu; spectat ad divina*, but all citations are from Christian authors who may be influenced by Biblical Latin.

number of examples considered above it seems that this was especially likely to occur in areas of religious or religious-tinged vocabulary, such as *virtus* and *plaga*; Semiticisms in the Greek are also likely to be reproduced in the Latin. Semantic extensions are less likely to occur when the Latin already has a word capable of translating the Greek adequately; hence they are more likely to occur in specifically Christian areas of lexis, where by definition there is no existing Latin vocabulary. Finally, it should be noted again that the mere presence of alien usages in the Latin may actually enhance the prestige of the translation among the Christian community, by reinforcing a sense of community apart from the world.

11

Calques

11.1 Introduction

The process of *calquing* or *loan-translation*, which 'consists in translating morphologically complex foreign expressions by means of novel combinations of native elements which match the meaning and structure of the foreign expressions and their component parts' (Hock 1988: 399), is, with semantic extension and borrowing, one of the canonical forms of lexical interference.[1] In its strictest sense it is surprisingly rare in the OLG; there are few entirely novel complex words that are found across a wide range of manuscripts. This chapter will accordingly concentrate on three related phenomena: the use of established words that match exactly the morphological structure of the original, the revival of old-fashioned formations that match the original, and the coining of calques proper.

11.2 'Matching' Words

Very frequently the translators will employ Latin words whose structure matches exactly that of the Greek original; for example, *con-sue-tudo* = ἡ συν-ήθ-εια. Correspondences of this sort are bound to occur between languages as closely related as Greek and Latin; however, the translators seem to have made it a matter of policy. This often results in the use of derived forms (as discussed in Chapter 7), and again the motive is probably that of transparency.[2] A few examples should suffice to illustrate the principle: *amicere* =

[1] See references at Ch. 10 n. 1.

[2] Barr's 'coded etymological information'; see Ch. 5 n. 15. This technique is typical of the practice of translators for whom one of the languages is 'learned'; the exact matching of elements between words in the source- and target-languages has been identified by Brock (1978: 45) and Fisher (1982: 184, 188) as a recurring feature of ancient bilingual school-texts. See also the examples listed in Sect. 7.3.

περιβάλλειν (Mark 14: 52; African texts only at Matthew 6: 19; Luke 12: 27), *cognatio* = ἡ συγγένεια (Luke 1: 61; rendering συγγενείς in *aur f ff*^{2} *l Vg* at Mark 6: 4), *conquirere* = συζητεῖν, *diffamare* = διαφημίζειν (Matthew 9: 31; Mark 1: 45), *inscriptio* = ἡ ἐπιγραφή (Matthew 22: 20; Mark 12: 16, 15: 26; Luke 20: 24, 23: 38), *immundus* = ἀκαθαρτός (Matthew 10: 1, 12: 43; Mark 1: 23–7, 3: 11, 3: 30; Luke 4: 33–6, 6: 18, 8: 29), *infirmitas/infirmus* = ἡ ἀσθένεια/ἀσθενής, *iniquitas* = ἡ ἀνομία (Matthew 7: 23, 13: 41, 23: 28, 24: 12), *propositio* = ἡ προθέσις (Matthew 12: 4; Mark 2: 26; Luke 6: 4), *regulus* = ὁ βασιλισκός (John 4: 46–9). None of these renderings are calques in the strict sense, as the words are all in everyday use and hence the combination of elements is not novel; however, they share with calques the property of matching exactly the structure and meaning of the words in the source-language.

11.3 Revivals of Older Words and Formations

In Chapter 8 we considered how archaic words may be revived if they can provide a more exact rendering of the original than other more current words. They may also be revived if they provide exact matches for the structure of the corresponding Greek word. Likewise, words that would not normally express the same idea as the Greek may be used, if they match its structure exactly and if there is a precedent for their use in that sense. Some examples of this are considered below.

Improbitas = ἀναιδεία. At Luke 11: 8 διά γε τὴν ἀναίδειαν αὐτοῦ ἐγερθεὶς δώσει αὐτῷ is typically rendered *propter improbitatem eius surget et dabit illi* (*importunitatem* in *b c ff*^{2} *r*^{1}). In classical Latin *improbitas* (a morph-for-morph rendering of the Greek) usually implies moral censure; it would seem, therefore, to be an infelicitous choice of rendering in the context.[3] However, there is authority for its use in the morally neutral or even approving sense 'persistence, importunity' appropriate to this passage (underlying the Greek at the point is probably the Aramaic cognate of *chutzpah*); for example, Petronius,

[3] Although it may be argued that this is a Lucan parable like that of the Dishonest Steward or of the Importunate Widow, in which the point is made by a contrast (cf. v. 13: 'if ye being evil know how to give good gifts to your children, how much more will your Father which is in heaven . . .') and hence that moral censure is appropriate.

Satyricon 87. 3, *nihil est tam arduum quod non improbitas extorqueat*, Ulpian, *Digest* 1. 16. 9. 4, *postulantium . . . improbitati ceditur*.[4]

Conquassare = συνθλάω. At Luke 20: 18 πᾶς ὁ πεσὼν ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν λίθον συνθλασθήσεται is typically rendered *omnis qui ceciderit supra illum lapidem conquassabitur* (*confringetur* in *d f r*^{1}). This verb is found in this literal sense a few times in Republican Latin (Cato, *de Agri cultura* 52, *calicem conquassato*, Lucretius 3. 441, [*corpus*] *cum cohibere nequit conquassatum ex aliqua re*), but perhaps not thereafter.[5]

Multiloquium = ἡ πολυλογία. At Matthew 6: 7 δοκοῦσιν γὰρ ὅτι ἐν τῇ πολυλογίᾳ αὐτῶν εἰσακουθήσονται is typically rendered *putant enim quod in multiloquio suo exaudiantur*. This word is found at Plautus, *Mercator* 31, 37 (*nunc vos mi irasci ob multiloquium non decet*) but thereafter only in Christian writers.[6]

Pacificus = εἰρηνοποιός. At Matthew 5: 9 μακάριοι οἱ εἰρηνοποιοί is typically rendered *beati pacifici*. This word (like *multiloquium* an example of the ante-classical noun-plus-verb-type formation) is found outside poetry only in Cicero, *ad Att.* 8. 12. 4, *perscribas velim . . . ecquae pacifica persona desideretur an in bellatore sint omnia*.[7] By the time of the OLG a paraphrasis such as *qui pacem faciunt* might have been more natural.

Benedicere = εὐλογέω. This verb is used (like *benefacere* often as two words) quite frequently in Republican Latin in the sense 'to praise' (for example, at Plautus *Miles* 1341, *bene quaeso inter vos dicatis etiam mi apsenti*;[8]

[4] It is notable that the etymologizing rendering *improbitas* is characteristic of the Vulgate and mixed texts; see App. 1.

[5] The form of *conquassare* calls for comment. If the word had been in general use since the Republican period, the form **concussare* might have been expected. The form *conquassare* may be explained either as (1) analogical pressure from *quassare*, (2) conscious archaism, or (3) novel compounding of *con* + *quassare* on the part of the translators. All of these elements may have contributed.

[6] Compounds in *-loquium* rendering Greek compounds in -λογία enjoy a revival in Christian translation literature; the Latin Irenaeus yields *longiloquium*, 3. 12. 9 (ἡ μακρολογία), *falsiloquium*, 1. 249. 2 (ἡ ψευδολογία), *stultiloquium*, 1. 353. 19 (ἡ μωρολογία), even *minutiloquium*, 1. 296. 12. This is one of the few convincing cases where the translators may be trying to approximate to the sound of the original.

[7] Cicero does use also *pacificator*, *ad Atticum* 1. 13. 2, 10. 1. 2, 15. 7. 1, *pacificatorius*, *Philippii* 12. 3, *pacificatio*, *ad Familiares* 10. 27. 2, *ad Atticum* 7. 8. 4, 8. 21. 4, 9. 11. 2; it is remarkable that these words are almost wholly confined to his correspondence.

[8] Codices *et me apsenti*.

Terence, *Adelphoe* 865, *omnes bene dicunt, amant*; Cicero, *pro Sestio* 110, *cui bene dixit bono?* Sallust, *Catilina* 3. 1, *pulchrum est bene facere rei publicae, etiam bene dicere haud absurdum*), but is rare thereafter. In the OLG, however, it is very frequent as the rendering of εὐλογέω. Thus the acclamation εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου (Matthew 21: 9, 23: 39; Mark 11: 6; Luke 13: 35, 19: 38; John 12: 13) is always rendered *benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini*; compare also Matthew 14: 19, 25: 34; Mark 6: 41, 8: 7, 11: 10; Luke 1: 28, 1: 42, 1: 64. The construction is usually with the direct object or absolute (for example, Matthew 14: 19, *aspiciens in caelum benedixit*), though attempts to restore the older use with the dative are found in the Vulgate and mixed texts (for example, Luke 6: 28, *benedicite maledicentibus vobis* in *c f Vg*).[9]

Benefacere = ἀγαθοποιέω. At Mark 3: 4 ἔξεστιν τοῖς σάββασιν ἀγαθοποιῆσαι is typically rendered *licet sabbatis bene facere?* (*aliquid bene facere* in *b d*; *bonum aliquid* in *e* only; compare Luke 6: 9, 33–5). Like *bene dicere*, *bene facere* is common in Roman comedy (for example, Plautus, *Rudens* 407, *quoi deos . . . censeam bene facere magis decere*; for further examples see Lodge 1924: 593) but rare in the classical period.

Male habere = κακῶς ἔχειν. At Mark 1: 32 ἔφερον πρὸς αὐτὸν πάντας τοὺς κακῶς ἔχοντας is typically rendered *ferebant ad eum omnes male habentes*; compare Mark 6: 55 (the more classical *se male habere* in *a aur*); Matthew 8: 16; Matthew 14: 35. Compare also Mark 5: 26, *peius/deterius habere* = εἰς τὸ χεῖρον ἐλθουσα; John 4: 52, *melius/commodius habere* = κομψότερον ἔχειν (*in melius converti* in *e*). It would appear at first sight that this is a straightforward syntactic calque from the Greek on the part of the Latin translators. In fact the situation is rather more complex. The *bene habere* construction had been introduced into Latin at an early stage, and seems to have gained some currency even outside the translation literature and other hellenized registers; it is used by Plautus (*Casina* 338, *opinione melius res tibi habet tua*; cf. *bene habere* at *Epidicus* 696, *optume habere* at *Pseudolus* 936) and Cicero (*pro Murena* 6. 14, *bene habet; iacta sunt fundamenta defensionis*; cf. *belle habere* at *ad Familiares*

[9] However, the use of the accusative may not be entirely a hellenism. *Maledicere*, also classically construed with the dative, takes an accusative at Petronius, *Satyricon* 96, *si me amas, maledic illam*. This example, along with that from Terence cited, shows how easily *maledicere* could appear either in juxtaposition or in contrast with verbs taking the accusative. In such contexts, the use of the accusative with *male/benedicere* appears as much of a *constructio ad sensum* as a vulgarism.

9. 9. 1, where the diminutive suggests a colloquialism). After the Republican period, however, it is unattested. Its use by the OLG translators is probably, therefore, a revival of a phrase known only from the literary language. It is notable that the translators do not use it indiscriminately. At Mark 5: 23 the Greek *τὸ θυγάτριόν μου ἐσχάτως ἔχει* is typically rendered *filia mea in extremis est*; only *k* has the barely comprehensible *novissime habet*. Had the translators' use of the *bene habere* construction elsewhere resulted from ignorance of or blind fidelity to the Greek, one might have expected it to be used here too. The fact that it is not suggests that when they do use the *bene habere* construction they know what it means and are aware that it has a previous history in Latin.

11.4 Calques Proper

It is not unusual in the OLG for calques proper (i.e. completely new words that match the structure of the Greek) to appear from time to time in one or two manuscripts (e.g. *comestura* 'rust' = *ἡ βρῶσις* in *e q* at Matthew 6: 19–20). More significant, however, are calques which appear many times over a wide range of manuscripts. Such neologisms are most likely to occur in rendering the technical vocabulary of Christianity, for which there were no existing equivalents.[10] Some examples of this are considered below.

Beneplacere/beneplacitum = *εὐδοκέω/εὐδοκία*. These difficult Greek terms attract a variety of Latin renderings. At Matthew 11: 26 *οὕτως εὐδοκία ἐγένετο ἔμπροσθέν σου* is rendered *quoniam sic fuit beneplacitum ante te* in *b c ff*^{2} *g*^{1} *h* (*placitum* in *a aur e l q Vg*; *voluntas* in *d*; *complacuit* in *f*; *placuit* in *ff*^{1}). In Luke the word is usually rendered *bona voluntas* (Luke 2: 14, 10: 21). The phrase *οὗτος ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν ᾧ εὐδοκήσα* which appears in various forms at Matthew 3: 17, 12: 18, 17: 5; Mark 1: 11; Luke 3: 22 is generally rendered *in quo (bene) complacui* (*bene sensi* in the African tradition throughout and in *a* at Mark 1: 11).[11] Thus while there is some attempt made to calque *εὐδοκέω/εὐδοκία*,

[10] They are not confined to this register, however; thus *ἀπ' ἄρτι* is usually rendered *amodo* (Matthew 23: 39, 26: 29, 26: 64; John 13: 19, 14: 7; *iam ex hoc* in *a* and *ex nunc* in *q* at John 14: 7).

[11] It should be noted that *complacere* is another ante-classical word dusted off in order to solve a translation problem: Plautus, *Rudens* 727, *si autem Veneri complacitum est*, cf. *Am.* 106, 187; revived by Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 1. 32, 5. 9, *Apology* 15; Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 1. 21. 3.

the translators are not rigorous in pursuing it. In the case of *benedicere* and *benefacere* discussed above, the fact that there was previous authority for the word doubtless made it acceptable; but attempts to create new words on this pattern were not successful, and generally not pursued. The same is true of *benenuntiare*.

Benenuntiare = εὐαγγελίζω. This Lucan term (Luke 1: 19, 2: 20, 3: 28, 4: 43, 4: 18, 7: 22, 8: 1, 16: 16, 20: 1; elsewhere only Matthew 11: 5) has no obvious Latin rendering, and the European translators borrow it as *evangelizare*. The African version always uses *benenuntiare* (except for *adnuntiare* at Luke 2: 10, 20: 1); the same rendering probably underlies also *d*'s *veni nuntiare tibi haec* at Luke 1: 19. It is notable that this calque is almost confined to the African version, generally supposed to predate the European; it is a commonplace of the history of translation that earlier calques and semantic extensions are often displaced later by loan-words (see Beekman and Callow 1974: 210–11; Coleman 1989: 78–9; Langslow 1992: 108–11).

Honorificare/honorare/glorificare/clarificare/magnificare = δοξάζω. The distribution and relative frequency of these renderings are discussed above (see Table 4.8; also Meershoek 1966: 86–116). *Honorare* and *magnificare* (by far the least common renderings) are not calques proper, since both are attested in classical Latin and neither matches exactly the structure of the original.[12] All the other words are neologisms matching exactly the structure of the Greek (the *-fic-* element having become effectively a morphological affix), and therefore calques. Meershoek suggests that the avoidance of existing honorific vocabulary such as *honorare*, *laudare*, *celebrare* may have been due to a desire to avoid pagan terms in this key theological area, or it may have been to keep such terms free to render τιμάω, αἰνέω, ἑορτάζω; but the desire for one-to-one matching of word structure is probably the most important consideration. The renderings used also permit the trans-

[12] *Magnificare* may, however, be regarded both as a revival of an old word, and as a semantic extension. Although *magnificus* and *magnificentia* are common at all periods, the corresponding verb is found mainly in Republican Latin, where it means 'to make much of, set great store by' (e.g. Terence, *Hecyra* 260, *quem ego intellexi illam haud minus quam se ipsum magnificare*), or 'to present in a favourable light' (e.g. *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 3.4.8). Thereafter it seems to be attested only in the Elder Pliny (seven times). In the OLG it renders μεγαλύνω in the sense 'to make larger' (Matthew 23: 5, *magnificant fimbrias vestimentorum suorum*; *amplificant* in *d*; cf. Luke 1: 58) or 'to praise' (Luke 1: 46, *magnificat anima mea dominum*).

parent relationship *claritas/gloria/honor*: *clarificare/glorificare/honorificare*:: δόξα: δοξάζω, which is less easy with the other translations.

Sanctificare = ἁγιάζω. At Matthew 6: 9 ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου is rendered *sanctificetur nomen tuum*; compare Matthew 23: 17–19; Luke 11: 2; John 10: 36, 17: 17–19. No other translation is used; the word is unattested previously outside Christian writers.

Vivificare/vivicare = ζῳοποιέω/ζωογονέω. At John 5: 21 ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ ἐγείρει τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ ζῳοποεῖ, οὕτως καὶ ὁ υἱὸς οὓς θέλει ζῳοποεῖ is typically rendered *sicut enim pater suscitat mortuos et vivificat, sicut et filius quos vult vivificat*; compare John 6: 63. *Vivificare* also renders ζωογονέω at Luke 17: 33 in *aur d e Vg* (variant reading in other texts); *d* also has *bivicare* in the same verse (possibly simply an error for *-ficare*; with *v* presumably pronounced as a fricative /β/ at this time, this is almost a haplology).[13] These two verbs are unattested outside Christian authors and are plainly calqued on the Greek; it is typical that they occur in this technical Christian register.

11.5 Conclusions

The OLG translators are clearly keen to reproduce the structure of composite Greek words where possible. To this end they are prepared to use various rare and obsolete words that match up closely to the original, and also to create new words if need be. However, the limiting cases should also be noted. It has been noted how at Mark 5: 23–6 they are prepared to use the Latin idiom *in extremis esse* alongside the *deterius habere* construction. The rendering of προσευχή/προσεύχομαι as *oratio/orare* in the European traditions (see Chapter 7) also provides a control on the extent to which the translators are prepare to calque. The same terms are rendered as *adoratio/adorare* by some Biblical translators; which, as Augustine notes, is something quite different.[14] Instead the

[13] Cf. also Luke 5: 10, where most Old Latin texts have *ex hoc iam eris homines vivificans* for ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀνθρώπους ἔσῃ ζωγρῶν; discussed in Ch. 1.

[14] Augustine, *Epistula* 149. 13 (on 1 Timothy 2: 1): *quod vero quidam codices non habent orationem sed adorationem, quia haud dictum est in Graeco* εὐχάς *sed* προσευχάς, *non arbitror scienter interpretatum;* προσευχάς *enim orationes dici a Graecis notissimum est, et utique aliud est orare, aliud adorare* (cited by Ziegler 1879: 70). This term has been the object of a lengthy study by García de la Fuente (1998), which does not, however, consider in detail either the Greek words translated by it, or the distribution of competing synonyms.

European traditions reserve *adorare* for προσκυνέω (e.g. Matthew 2: 2, 2: 8, 2: 11). It appears, then, that this language-contact phenomenon appears in the work of all the OLG translators, but is more common in the older African tradition. It is particularly likely to occur in rendering technical theological terms; but the desire to find exact matches for the structure of the Greek makes itself felt at all levels of the lexicon. However, it should be stressed that while the translators show an affinity for this form of literalism, this does not amount to an inflexible policy.

12

Loan-Words

12.1 Introduction

The OLG contain about 200 loan-words from Greek, including some originally from Semitic or other languages, and at least three macaronic Greek–Latin hybrids. The lists given below are not intended to be exhaustive but to give a representative sample of them. This chapter will concentrate on the three questions generally addressed in the literature on Latin borrowings and loan-words in general: into which areas of the lexicon are words borrowed, what are the motivations for these borrowings, and how far are they integrated into their new language?[1]

At this point it is appropriate to re-emphasize a point made at the beginning of our discussion of the translation technique of the OLG, and implicit in our discussion of other aspects of it; namely, that the study of the translation technique of the OLG and that of their values as a source for post-classical, non-literary Latin are closely interwoven. Although it is true that the OLG are 'studded with Greek technical terms' (Palmer 1954: 184), these have to be set alongside the many loan-words found in them that are non-technical and which had been part of the language for centuries. The question of loan-words in the OLG cannot be treated independently of their presence in the language as a whole.

12.2 Areas of the Lexicon: Secular Words

In the following lists the Latin word is a direct transliteration of the Greek word in question, unless otherwise stated. For the more common words only a sample of references is given. When a word

[1] On loan-words in general see Deroy (1980, esp. 31–5) (Greek loans in Latin). On loan-words in Latin see Weise (1882) (dictionary of loan-words), Biville (1989) (typology of Greek words in Latin based on degree of integration), Marouzeau (1949: 125–41), Gäbel and Weise (1893) (integration of loan-words), Mohrmann (1950) (Christian loan-words).

is generally found in three manuscripts or fewer, this is indicated, along with the most common alternative rendering. Common variations of orthography (such as *ph/f* for φ, or incorrect insertion or omission of aspirates) are not noted.

Travel and Trade: *apotheca* Luke 12: 18, 12: 24 (*d e* only; *horreum* in others). Cicero, Pliny (cf. Italian *bottega* and other Romance cognates); *chirographum* (τὸ γράμμα or τὰ γράμματα) Luke 16: 6–7; *grabattus* (ὁ κράβαττος) Mark 2: 3–12; John 5: 8–12; (ἡ κλίνη) Luke 5: 25; Matthew 9: 6; (τὸ κλινίδιον) Luke 5: 19 (*e d c* only). Cicero, Seneca, Petronius; *malacia* (ἡ γαλήνη) Matthew 8: 26; Mark 4: 39; Luke 8: 24 (*k e* only; *tranquillitas* in others). Caesar; *pelagus* Matthew 18: 6 (*d* only; *profundum* in others). Pliny, *Auctor Belli Hispaniensis*; *pera* Matthew 10: 10; Mark 6: 8; Luke 9: 3. Martial, Apuleius.

Food and Cooking: *anethum* Matthew 23: 23. Virgil, Pliny; *caccabus* (τὸ χαλκίον) Mark 7: 4 (*a* only; *aeramentum* in others). Varro, Columella, Apicius; *caminus* Matthew 13: 34. Suetonius, Horace; *clibanus* Matthew 6: 30; Luke 12: 28. Pliny, Columella; *cyminum* Matthew 23: 23. Pliny; *discus* (ὁ πίναξ) Matthew 14: 8; Mark 6: 25. Apuleius; *paropsis* Matthew 26: 23; Mark 14: 20. Suetonius, Petronius; *sinapi* Matthew 13: 31, 17: 20; Mark 4: 31; Luke 17: 6. Plautus, Varro, Celsus, Columella.

Storage-containers (compare Travel and Trade, Perfumery, Food and Cooking): *alabaster* Matthew 26: 7; Mark 14: 3; Luke 7: 37. Cicero; *amphora* (τὸ κεράμιον) Mark 14: 13, Luke 22: 10. Cato, Petronius; *ampulla* (τὸ ἀλάβαστρον) Mark 14: 3 (*c d* only). Plautus, Cicero; *cophinus* (Matthew 14: 20, 16: 9; Mark 6: 43, 8: 19; Luke 9: 17, 13: 8; John 6: 13. Columella; *hydria* John 2: 6–7, 4: 28. Cicero; *lagoena* (τὸ κεράμιον) Mark 14.13. Cicero, Quintilian; *sporta* (ἡ σπῦρις, formed from accusative) Matthew 27: 48; Mark 8: 18–20. Cato, Varro.

Luxury and Pleasure: *architriclinus* John 2: 8–9. (Greek–Latin hybrid perhaps not attested before the OLG, but compare *tricliniarcha* in Petronius); *chorus* Luke 15: 25. Cicero, Augustan poets; *crapula* Luke 21: 34. Plautus, Cicero, Pliny, Livy; *margarita* Matthew 7: 6, 13: 45–6. Varro, Cicero, Quintilian; *moechari/moechatio* (μοιχεύω/μοιχάω and ἡ μοιχεία) Matthew 5: 27–32, 19: 9, 18; Mark 10: 11–12; Luke 16: 18, 18: 20; John 8: 4. Catullus, Horace, Martial; *paradisus* Luke 23: 43. As Greek at Gellius, *NA* 2. 20. 4, in sense 'pleasure-garden'; *spongia* Matthew 27: 48;

Mark 15: 36; John 19: 29. Seneca, Pliny, Suetonius; *symphonia* Luke 15: 25. Cicero, Seneca, Pliny; *thesaurus/ -izare* Matthew 6: 19–21, 12: 35; Mark 10: 21; Luke 6: 45, 12: 33–4. Plautus, Cicero, Sallust.

Domestic items: *cathedra* Matthew 21: 12; Mark 11: 15, 12: 39. Horace, Juvenal; *lampas* (nominative plural *lampadae* in some manuscripts) Matthew 25: 1–8. Plautus, Atticus, Lucretius.

Perfumery (cf. Luxury and Pleasure): *alabaster* (see above, Storage Containers); *aloe* John 19: 39. Pliny, Celsus; *aroma* Luke 23: 56; John 19: 40; Mark 15: 47 (*q* only), 16: 1. Accusative *aromatam* and ablative *aromatis* in a few manuscripts indicates collateral feminine form *aromata*; compare *lampas*. Columella; *hyssopus* John 19: 29. Pliny, Celsus; *malagma* (*τὸ μίγμα*) John 19: 39 (*e* only, in form *malagmani*; for accusative *malagmam*? *Mixtura* in others). Celsus, Columella, Pliny; *murra/-atus* Matthew 2: 11; Mark 15: 23. Virgil, Pliny; *nardus* Mark 14: 3; John 12: 3. Horace, Tibullus, Pliny; *pisticus* Mark 14: 3; John 12: 3 (not outside Christian writers).

Cloth and Clothing: *byssus* Luke 16: 19. Apuleius; *cilicium* (*ὁ σάκκος*) Matthew 11: 21, Luke 10: 13. Varro, Cicero, Columella; *chlamys* Matthew 27: 28–31. Plautus, Cicero; *coccineus* Matthew 27: 28. Petronius, Martial; *purpureus* John 19: 2–5. Cicero, Columella; *saccus* Matthew 11: 21; Luke 10: 13 (*d* and African texts only; compare *cilicium*). Cicero; *sandalium* Mark 6: 9. Terence; *sindon* Matthew 27: 59; Mark 14: 51, 15: 46; Luke 23: 53. Martial; *stola* Mark 16: 5; Luke 15: 22, 20: 46. Cicero, Seneca; *zona* Matthew 3: 4, 10: 9; Mark 1: 6, 6: 8. Gaius Gracchus (in Gellius, *NA* 15. 12), Augustan elegists.

Weights, Measures, and Coinage: *batus* and *corus* Luke 16: 6–7 (Lucan Semiticisms; not previously in Greek or Latin); *dragma* and *didragma* (*ἡ δραχμή/τὰ δίδραχμα*) Luke 15: 8–9; Matthew 17: 24. The former common from Plautus, the latter perhaps only in Christian writers; *metreta* John 2: 6. Plautus, Columella (cf. section on storage-containers); *mna* Luke 19: 13–20. Plautus, Cicero (in form *mina*); *nomisma* Matthew 22: 19. Horace, Martial; *satum* Matthew 13: 33 (Semitic loan-word; not previously in Greek or Latin); *stadium* Luke 24: 13; John 6: 19, 11: 18. Cicero, Pliny, Columella; *stater* Matthew 17: 27, 25: 15, 27: 3 (perhaps only in Christian writers); *talentum* (*τὸ τάλαντον*) Matthew 25: 15–20. Plautus, Cicero, Varro.

Imperial Administration and Control: *angariare* (ἀγγαρεύω) Matthew 5: 41; Mark 15: 21. Digest; *basiliscus* John 4: 46 (*a c* only; *regulus* in others). Perhaps not previously in Latin; *colaphus* (in periphrases such as *colaphis caedere*, *colaphos dare*, rendering κολαφίζω) Matthew 26: 67; Mark 14: 65 (where *colaphizo* in *a c d* and perhaps also *k*. *Colaphus* from Plautus onwards, cf. It. *colpo*, etc.); *teloneum* Mark 2: 14; Luke 5: 27. Not directly attested outside Christian writers;[2] *tetrarcha* Luke 3: 1, 9: 7. Cicero, Caesar, Sallust.

Emotions and Psychological States: *acediari* Mark 14: 33 in *a* only. Greek ἀδημονεῖν in most manuscripts, though originally ἀκηδεῖν in *D*.[3] Only in Christian writers, though as Greek in Cicero, *ad Att.* 12. 45. 1;[4] *agonia* Luke 22: 44. Only in Christian writers; *aporia* Luke 21: 25 (in *d* only; *confusio* in most others). As Greek in Cicero, *ad Att.* 7. 21. 3); *praemeletare* (προμεριμνάω) Mark 13: 11 (*a n* only, *cogitare* in most others); *subsannare* (ὀνειδίζω) Mark 15: 32 (*k* only; most others *conviciari*). Only in Christian writers, though *sannio* in Cicero; *zelus* John 2: 17. Only in Christian writers, though *zelotypus* and *zelotypia* in Juvenal, Pliny, Petronius, Quintilian.

Illness: *hydropicus* Luke 14: 2. Horace, Pliny; *lepra/-osus* (noun in Pliny; as an adjective, perhaps only in Christian writers); *paralyticus* Matthew 4: 24, 8: 6; Mark 2: 3–10; Luke 5: 18–24; John 5: 3. Pliny, Petronius; *plaga* Mark 3: 10, 5: 29–34; Luke 7: 21. Cicero, Celsus (see also the discussion of this term in Chapter 10).

Architecture and Town-Planning: *platea* Matthew 12: 19; Luke 12: 3, 13: 26, 14: 21; also rendering ἡ ῥύμη at Matthew 6: 2, and ἡ ἀγορά at Mark 7: 4. Common from Plautus onward.

[2] But probably Vulgar Latin; cf. Old English *toll*, MHG *der Zoll*, reflecting vulgarism *toloneum* found in *k*.

[3] The Latin half of the text here reads *taediari*, like most other texts. However, it should be noted that the rendering ETTAEDIARI in *d* is palaeographically not far from ETACEDIARI. It may be that *D* has been brought into line with a *misreading* of *d*, or with a rendering *acediari* in a bilingual forerunner of *Dd*, which was subsequently altered in the Latin half to give the rendering *taediari* found in *d*. Parker (1991: 193) notes that the Greek text of *D* is only rarely assimilated to the Latin half *d*, although it does happen sometimes. He also suggests (p. 281) that *Dd* is the product of a bilingual tradition stretching back for up to two centuries; such assimilation could have occurred at any stage in that period.

[4] On the considerable bibliography this word has amassed, see Hiltbrunner (1981: 201–4).

Cosmology and World-View: *chaos* Luke 16: 26. Ovid, Seneca; *daemon/daemonium* Matthew 8: 31, 9: 32–4; Luke 8: 27–9. Apuleius; *phantasma* Matthew 14: 26 (where *a* has nominative singular form *fanthasmata*), Mark 6: 49. Younger Pliny.

Natural Features: *camelus* Matthew 19: 24, 23: 24; Mark 1: 6, 10: 25; Luke 18: 25. Cicero, Pliny, Tacitus; *eremus/ ia* (see discussion below); *morus* (ἡ συκάμινος) Luke 17: 6. Ovid, Pliny; *sycomorus* Luke 19: 4. Celsus.

12.3 Motivation and Integration

That these areas of the Latin lexicon are well stocked with Greek words is well known;[5] the OLG do no more than exemplify familiar patterns. The motivation for these borrowings is equally clear. The vast majority are cultural borrowings, that is, they refer to things for which there is no native Latin equivalent (for instance, *camelus*) or which would be specially familiar to Greek-speaking slaves, freedmen, or similar (for instance, *caccabus*, *malacia*). Some terms from the vocabulary of luxury and pleasure seem to have been adopted almost for taboo reasons, out of a desire to indicate that certain activities were un-Roman; it is hard to believe that such things as *crapula* and *moechatio* were actually introduced to Rome from Greece.[6] However, the areas of emotions and imperial administration are not noted as being heavily hellenized, and hence deserve comment.

In his famous essay on translation, Alexander Tytler (1797: 19–20), quoting one George Campbell, observes that ' "There are certain words in every language which but imperfectly correspond to any of the words of other languages." . . . Of this kind are most of the terms relating to morals, to the passions, to matters of sentiment, to the objects of the reflex or internal sense.' While the basic emotions are presumably the same in all cultures, none the less no one language has a term to correspond to every possible shade and nuance of feeling; this is, therefore, an area of the lexicon in which borrowing is likely to occur.[7] Indeed, Juvenal—no doubt with some exaggeration—notes

[5] On borrowing in the fields of sailing, trade, luxury, see De Meo (1986: 255–60), Marouzeau (1949: 130–1), Mohrmann (1950: 114), Deroy (1980: 31–4).

[6] See Adams (1982: 228–30) on loan-words as a means of 'distancing' morally dubious activities from the host language.

[7] Cf. the widespread borrowing between modern European languages of terms such

this as being a distinctly feminine trait: *Hoc sermone pavent, hoc iram gaudia curas,/hoc cuncta effundunt animi secreta* (*Satires* 6. 189–90). A further reason may be a form of taboo, the desire of speakers of a language to distance themselves from unpleasant emotions. This may account in part for the borrowing of *acediari*, *agonia*, *aporia*, *praemeletare*, *subsannare*, *zelus*; compare the success in Romance of *cholera* (Fr. *colère*, Sp. *cólera*, It. *collera*), despite the existence of Latin synonyms. It should be noted, however, that with the exceptions of *agonia* and *zelus* these words are confined to one or two manuscripts.

In the area of Imperial Administration *tetrarcha* is clearly a cultural borrowing, for which there is no real Latin equivalent (despite *k*'s *quattuorvir*). It is hard to believe that Latin lacked the resources to find alternatives to *teoloneum* and *angario*, but Latin-speaking administrators may have preferred to retain the local terms for the institutions, either for convenience's sake or to avoid associating them explicitly with Roman government. It is noteworthy that the few Latin words in the Greek Gospels are almost exclusively concerned with the unpleasant aspects of imperial life: τίτλος (John 19: 19) (generally 'slave's sale-board'), φραγελλόω (Matthew 27: 26; Mark 15: 15), κῆνσος (Matthew 17: 25, 22: 17, 22: 19; Mark 12: 44), and probably also the pejorative use of Λεγιών at Mark 5: 9–15; Luke 8: 30.

The OLG translators introduce few if any completely new secular loan-words (*zizania* and *stater* are apparently the only examples); but the extent to which the loans are integrated varies. Some (such as *sporta*, *plaga*) are so established that there is nothing to mark them out as loans; others are sufficiently integrated to have acquired Latin derivational morphs (such as *murratus*, *petrosus*, *ampulla*, *moechatio*)[8] or to have been at least in part assimilated to Latin morphology (such as *lampada* as a nominative singular). Loan-words needed to convey 'local colour' (see Deroy 1980: 163–5), such as plant and animal names, are necessarily not integrated into Latin. Finally, it should be noted that 'integration' itself is not a straightforward concept. Some words, such as *malagma*, are simply not very common, because their referent is not

as *euphoria*, *Weltschmerz*, *Lebenslust/joie de vivre*, *Angst*, *Schadenfreude*, *ennui*, even excluding terms from the technical psychological vocabulary such as *libido*, *thanatos*.

[8] Perhaps also the hybrids *subsannare* and *praemeletare*, though the extreme rarity of these words both in the OLG and in the language as a whole makes it questionable how far they were really integrated. According to Servius on *Eclogue* 1. 2 and Marius Victorinus 6. 26K the Latin loan-word from μελετάω is *meditari*, with *d/l* alternation seen in δάκρυα/*lacrima* (Giacomelli 1983: 46; Maltby 1991: 374).

very common either. Some words, such as *zona*, are well established in poetry, rare in prose. At least one, *pelagus*, is found in poetry and non-literary prose, but seldom in literary prose.

12.4 Christian Words

The religious loan-words in the OLG may conveniently be divided into two classes, those associated with the life of Hellenistic Judaism and those associated with Christianity (the dividing-line is not always a neat one).

Hellenistic Judaism: *azyma* Matthew 26: 17; Mark 14: 1–12; Luke 22: 7; *diabolus* Matthew 4: 1–11; Luke 4: 2–13; John 6: 70, 8: 44; *elemosyna* Matthew 6: 2–4; Luke 11: 41, 12: 33; *encenia* ('Feast of Dedication') John 10: 22; *ethnicus* Matthew 5: 47, 6: 7, 16: 3, 18: 17; *gazophylacium* Mark 12: 41–3; Luke 21: 1; *holocaustum* Mark 12: 33; *parasceue* Matthew 27: 62; Mark 15: 42; Luke 23: 54; John 19: 14; *phylacterium* Matthew 23: 5; *presbyter* ('Jewish elder') Luke 9: 22 (*d* only; *senior* in others); *presbyterium* ('Council of Elders') Luke 22: 66; *proselytus* Matthew 23: 15; *psalmus* Luke 20: 42, 24: 44; *sabbatum* Matthew 12: 1–10; Mark 1: 21, 2: 23–8; Luke 4: 16, 4: 31, 6: 2–6; John 5: 9–10, 6: 59, 7: 22–3; *scenopegia* ('Feast of Tabernacles') John 7: 2; *synagoga* Matthew 4: 23, 6: 2–5, 9: 35, 10: 17; Mark 1: 21–39, 3: 1; Luke 4: 16–44.

Christian words: *anastasis* Mark 12: 23 (*k* only; *resurrectio* in others); *angelus* Matthew 1: 20–4, 2: 19, 4: 6–11; Luke 1: 11–38; John 1: 51, 5: 4; *apostolus* Matthew 10: 2; Mark 6: 30; Luke 6: 13, 9: 1–10, 17: 5; John 13: 16; *baptisma/-us* Matthew 3: 7, 20: 2–3, 21: 25; Luke 3: 3, 7: 4, 10: 38–9, 12: 50, 20: 4; *baptista* Matthew 3: 1, 11: 12, 14: 2–8; Mark 6: 14, 8: 28; *baptizare* Matthew 3: 6–14; Mark 1: 4–9, 10: 38; Luke 3: 7–21; John 1: 25–33; *diaconus* Matthew 23: 11; Mark 10: 43 (African texts only; *minister* in others); *ecclesia* Matthew 16: 18, 18: 17; *eremia/-us* Matthew 3: 3, 11: 7; Mark 8: 4; Luke 4: 1; John 3: 23, 6: 31, 6: 49 (generally confined to African tradition or one or two African-influenced texts; others usually *desertum*); *evangelium* Matthew 4: 23, 9: 35, 24: 14; Mark 1: 1–15, 3: 14, 8: 35; *evangelizare* Luke 1: 19–28, 3: 18, 8: 2; *hymnus* Matthew 26: 30; Mark 14: 26. Lucilius; *hypocrita* Matthew 6: 2–16, 7: 5, 22: 18; Mark 7: 6; Luke 6: 42; *mysterium* Matthew 13: 11. Cicero, Nepos; *paracletus* John 14: 16–26, 15: 26, 16: 7; *parabola* (see above, Table 3.13).

Quintilian, Seneca; *propheta* Matthew 2: 5–23, 3: 3; Mark 1: 2, 6: 4–14, 8: 28; Luke 1: 70–6, 3: 4, 4: 17–27; John 1: 21–45, 4: 19. Apuleius; *prophetizare* (προφητεύω) Matthew 26: 68; Mark 14: 65; Luke 22: 64; *prophetari* Mark 14: 65 (*k* only; *prophetizare* in most other manuscripts); *scandalizare* Matthew 5: 29–30, 11: 6, 13: 21; Mark 4: 17, 9: 42–5; John 6: 61, 16: 1; *scandalum* Matthew 13: 41, 18: 7; Luke 17: 1 (nominative plural *scandalae* in *b*).

12.5 Motivation

According to one influential view the use of loan-words in Biblical translation is motivated by 'anxious piety or sheer incompetence' (Palmer 1954: 186) on the part of the translators: 'Ces anciens traducteurs très peu habiles et surtout très scrupuleux, pratiquaient un littéralisme extrême; ayant peur de violer la parole de Dieu et de ne pas réproduire le sens exact de l'Ecriture sainte, ils ne traduisent pas seulement mot à mot, mais parfois transcrivent simplement les mots grecs' (Mohrmann 1950: 198). As has been argued above, the extent of the translators' literalism and incompetence has often been over-estimated; here too the factors seem to be more complex.

Of the Hellenistic Jewish terms about half are effectively proper nouns or titles that one would not expect to be translated: *azyma*, *diabolus*, *encenia*, *gazophylacium*, *parasceue*, *presbyterium*, *psalmus*, *sabbatum*, *scenopegia*. *Parasceue* 'Day of Preparation' has a curious history in Romance. The unfamiliarity of the word, coupled with its associations with the Last Supper, leads to its re-analysis in some manuscripts as *pura cena* or *cena pura* (thus at Luke 23: 54, typically *et dies erat cenae purae* in *a b c ff*^{2} *q e*). This analysis then surfaces in Sardinian as *kena pura*, 'Friday'.[9] Most of the rest are cultural borrowings that cannot easily be translated (such as *phylacterium*, *proselytus*).

In the case of the specifically Christian words it is generally true that the more central a term is to the gospel message the harder it will be to

[9] Elcock (1975: 168–9) suggests that the term may have been 'fostered by the many Christians and Jews . . . who were expelled from Rome to Sardinia during the first two centuries A.D.'. This may be so, but it still fails to explain the origin of the phrase. A loan-translation of an existing Greek or Semitic expression would be a plausible alternative explanation; but no evidence seems to be forthcoming for this. *Kena pura* is cited as 'Sardinian' in the manuals, but a recent informant was unaware of the expression, and suggested it came from a North Sardinian dialect.

translate. Even if there is a Latin term of similar denotative force in the ordinary language, it may not possess the hallowed connotations of the Greek word. Thus *baptisma/us* and *angelus* in the special sense 'angel' are almost completely unchallenged,[10] despite the use of *intingo* (*intinguo*) to render βάπτω at Luke 16: 24, John 13: 26, and *nuntius* to render ἄγγελος 'messenger' at Luke 9: 52 (see the discussion of this verse in Chapter 6). Some words, however, are special cases, and repay separate examination.

Anastasis, found only in *k* (Mark 12: 18–24), is undoubtedly a relic of the very earliest preaching of the gospel to Latin-speakers. It is not remarkable that such a term should have been borrowed into the Christian vocabulary, but rather that it should have been displaced by a native Latin word when so many Greek words survived to form the basis of the Christian vocabulary. Some explanation of this is necessary. While the term must have been understood within the Christian community, it is known to have caused misunderstanding among outsiders even in a Greek milieu (as at Acts 17: 18); all the more so as similar words (such as *enthymesis*, *syncrasis*, *synesis*, *thelesis*) were used as the names of aeons in contemporary Gnosticism.[11] Finally the use of *(re)surgo* to render ἀνίστημι and ἐγείρεσθαι must have made the pressure for *resurrectio* irresistible.

Eremus is found in the African tradition only at Matthew 3: 3, 11: 7; Luke 4: 1; John 3: 23, in *d r*^{1} at John 6: 31, in r^{1} at John 6: 49; compare *aeremia* in *a* at Mark 8: 4. Although there is a good Latin alternative *desertum* (the usual translation) the Greek term is surprisingly persistent. Though a desert is not obviously a specifically Christian institution, its special importance in the Gospels as a locus for prayer and spiritual combat led more ascetic writers such as Jerome, John Cassian, and Salvian of Marseilles to apply it to the monastic life (see Markus 1990: 157–77). In this connection the loan-word *eremus* was often used, referring both to the spatial separation of monastic life, and more importantly to the spiritual separation it implied.[12] Though it is unlikely that the term would have been used had it not also been found in some

[10] The exception being the use of *nuntius* in *a* at Mark 13: 27.

[11] Examples taken from André (1971: 36–7). It is worth noting that the Latin Irenaeus in its anti-Gnostic polemic regularly uses Greek terms—*Logos*, *Pleroma*, *Aeon*—to render the cosmological terms of Gnosticism, but gives Latin equivalents—*Sermo/Verbum*, *plenitudo*, *saeculum*—of the same words when used in a Christian context.

[12] Markus quotes Eucherius of Lyons, *de laude heremi* 36, *interiora heremi instituta*, 'the inner life of the Desert'. *Desertus* was also used in this sense; cf. the place-name Dysart 'monastery' in Fife.

Biblical translations, its adoption by the ascetic writers probably reinforced its use in the translation literature as the appropriate 'religious' term for the desert (like the English *wilderness*). From this starting-point it goes on to be a Romance 'winner', appearing as Spanish *yermo*, French *erm*, Occitan *ermo*, Italian *ermo*, Romanian *ermu*. The prominence of hermit figures in folklore and popular devotion no doubt reinforces its success.[13]

Elemosyna 'alms' is potentially translatable into Latin, but the Greek word is almost always used (Matthew 6: 2–4; Luke 11: 41, 12: 33). In contrast τὸ ἔλεος 'mercy' is always *misericordia*; Mohrmann (1950: 206–7) compares the widespread use of *Agape* 'love-feast' in Christian Latin to refer to the institution, alongside the translations *caritas* and *dilectio* to refer to charity in the abstract. The institution of alms-giving seems to have been so integral to the Christian community that the word could not be supplanted.

The distribution of the renderings of ἡ ὑπόκρισις (Matthew 23: 28; Mark 12: 15; Luke 12: 1) as *rapina*, *hypocrisis*, *simulatio*, *fincta* (*sic*) *simulatio*, *versutia*, *affectatio*, *fictio*, is discussed above (see Table 3.11). *Versutia* is also discussed above (Chapter 8); *rapina* in *e* at Matthew 23: 28 is probably due to a variant in or misreading of the Greek.[14] The remaining attempts to find a Latin word are unsatisfactory; the adoption of the loan in Matthew and Luke may result from a mixture of uncertainty as to its meaning, difficulty of finding an equivalent, and perhaps the use of the Greek word in polemical preaching.

The distribution of *similitudo* and *parabola* are also discussed above (see Table 3.13). Again there seems to be more than one reason why the loan-word was ultimately successful. Like many Greek literary terms it was difficult but not impossible to translate; the *Auctor ad Herennium* uses *similitudo* and *collatio*, Cicero uses *collatio* only.[15] However, it is also likely that ἡ παραβολή was a hallowed technical term among the Christian community from a very early date, and that any translation could capture only its denotative force and not its connotations.

[13] I am indebted to Prof. Roger Wright for this observation.

[14] The words ἔσωθεν δέ ἐστε μεστοὶ ὑποκρίσεως καὶ ἀνομίας have probably been assimilated to ἔσωθεν δὲ γέμουσιν ἐξ ἁρπαγῆς καὶ ἀκρασίας in v. 25.

[15] *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 4. 55. 60, *ante oculos ponendi negotii causa sumetur similitudo—dicetur per conlationem* . . . (see Calboli ad loc.); Cicero, *de Inventione* 1. 30. 49, *collatio est oratio rem cum re similitudine conferens*; *Topica* 42. 43, *altera similitudinis genus collatione sumitur, cum una res uni, par pari comparatur*; cf. Quintilian, *Institutio* 5. 11. 23, . . . παραβολή, *quam Cicero collationem vocat.*

12.6 Integration

It has often been noted (both in Latin and in general linguistics) that when a loan-word is first borrowed into a language there is a period in which various translations of it are attempted.[16] With exceptions like *anastasis*, where the Greek word is displaced by its translation, this pattern is largely reflected in the OLG. Loan-words encounter the greatest resistance in the African (that is, the oldest) tradition, where renderings such as *similitudo* and *benenuntiare* are most frequent. The African tradition is also notable for its attempts to naturalize loan-words by adding Latin derivational morphology (thus *baptidiator* rather than *baptista* in *k* only at Matthew 3: 1, 11: 12, 14: 2, 14: 8; Mark 8: 28; *baptiziatio* for *baptismus* at Mark 10: 38; *blasfemilia* and *blasfematio* for *blasphemia* at Mark 3: 28, 14: 64 respectively; *profetatio* for *prophetia* at Matthew 13: 14). Loan-words in a language usually acquire native derivational morphology only when they are no longer perceived to be extraneous. Here there is no doubt that the words in question were still felt to be foreign; the addition of Latin morphs is a rather forced attempt to naturalize them.

It has been noted that cross-linguistically verbs are much less easily borrowed than nouns, and that often a nominal form of the loan-word is used with a native 'all-purpose' verb (see Hock 1988: 386). This pattern too is reflected in the OLG. Among the 200 or so loan-words only sixteen are verbs: *acediari*, *anathematizare*, *angariare*, *baptizare*, *blasphemare*, *colaphizare*, *daemonizare*, *eunuchizare*, *evangelizare*, *moechari*, *praemeletare*, *prophetizare*, *prophetari*, *scandalizare*, *subsannare*, *thesaurizare*, of which some are only found in a few manuscripts.[17] It is notable that nine of them belong to the Christian vocabulary and thus entered Latin through the written rather than the spoken language. The cross-linguistic tendency to attach indigenous all-purpose verbs to foreign nouns may be seen in the periphrastic alternatives *colaphis caedere/agere* or *colaphos dare* to *colaphizo* (Matthew 26: 67; Mark 14: 65); in *daemoniacus esse*, *daemonia habere*, or *a daemonio vexari* for *daemonizari* (Matthew 4: 24, 8: 16; Mark 5: 15); in *scandalum pati* for *scandalizari* (Matthew 26: 31).

Other parts of speech are almost completely absent. Interjections

[16] See Coleman (1989: 78–9); Langslow (1992: 111 and refs.); the phenomenon is a commonplace of the intellectual and religious vocabulary of Early Modern English.

[17] *Anathematizare* (and perhaps also *eunuchizare*) only in the Vulgate and mixed texts; see discussion in App. 1.

are represented by *euge*, a word well established in Roman comedy. Prepositions only by the distributive *cata* (John 5: 4, *e* only) and *ana* (Luke 9: 3, *d* only) (see Palmer 1954: 177; LHS ii. 254). One might expect more of the former, given its success in Romance (Spanish and Italian *cada*, also in French *chacun*). Adjectives fare slightly better, though often when functioning as nouns: for instance, *leprosus* 'leper', *hydropicus* 'dropsy sufferer'.

12.7 Conclusions

Although the OLG translators introduced many new Greek loan-words into their work, the vast majority of the loans they used had long been established in the language. Wholly new words are only introduced to render specifically Christian things and concepts; these words often have to contend with various Latin alternatives. Even where Greek words with a long history in Latin (such as *malacia*, *platea*) are used, there is often an attempt to find a pure Latin equivalent. This may be motivated by a certain anxiety about how far complete translation is possible: On the one hand a loan may be seen as an ideal translation, since it presents the reader with the *ipsissimum verbum* of the original. On the other hand it may call into question the very translatability of the text; if Latin cannot always translate the Greek exactly, how reliable can the translation be?[18]

[18] This problem is strikingly illustrated at John 11: 44, where the Latin loan-word τὸ σουδάριον is rendered in *f ff*^{2} *l π r*^{1} not by the obvious *sudarium* but by the rare term *orarium* (also in *e* at John 20: 7).

Part III

The Old Latin Gospels as Linguistic Documents

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13

The Latinity

13.1 Introduction

In Part II we considered the standard description of the OLG as 'literal' translations in three stages: first, by giving a working definition of literalism, secondly, by considering some of the ways in which literalism can occur, and thirdly, by assessing how far the term 'literal' is applicable to them. In this part I shall consider the other stock epithet of the OLG in the secondary literature, namely 'vulgar'. By a similar process I shall attempt to assess how far this description is valid, and what qualifications should be made. The procedure in this part may be seen as the mirror image of that of Part II. There we were working inwards, focussing on certain aspects of the language of the OLG and attempting to set them within the wider context of the Latin language. Here I shall be working outwards, using the language of the OLG as the starting-point for an analysis of certain aspects of the language as a whole. This takes up the general proposition expounded above,[1] that the translation technique of the OLG cannot be studied in isolation from their value as a source for non-literary, post-classical Latin (and vice versa).

Though we are primarily concerned in this section with the relationship between the OLG and the so-called 'Vulgar Latin', there are two other recognized subgroups of Latin into which they may be placed, namely 'Christian *Sondersprache*' and 'Late Latin'. The nature of these three subgroups and the relevance of each to the OLG must now be considered.

13.2 Vulgar Latin

The term 'Vulgar Latin' has been used in various senses, and hence requires further elucidation before it can be used here.[2] All are agreed

[1] See Sects. 1.1 and 5.1 above.

[2] For a fuller account of the varying meanings that have been fastened to this term, see e.g. Gaeng (1968: 22 n. 2).

in using it to refer to a non-classical form of Latin; beyond that, the consensus breaks down. Few now would echo the formulation of Grandgent (1907: 3) 'Vulgar Latin is the speech of the middle classes . . . not an independent offshoot of Old Latin . . . [nor] the dialect of the slums or of the field'. Among leading moderns, Herman (1967: 15) defines it as 'la variante *parlée* du latin . . . variante qui s'oppose ainsi essentiellement au latin *écrit* et non pas au latin littéraire ou classique' (emphasis in original), a description which would automatically exclude the OLG *qua* written texts. Väänänen (1967: 6) prefers to see it as 'toutes les particularités et les tendances plus ou moins vivantes, propres à la langue populaire et familière, et qui se soustraient à la norme classique et, en général, littéraire',[3] and it is his view that will be followed here. An important implication of this definition is that the so-called 'Vulgar Latin' is not a monolithic whole. It was in constant change; and moreover there are wide differences between the texts traditionally described as 'Vulgar Latin'. It is particularly important to avoid the *petitio principii* of assuming that because a certain text is an example of 'Vulgar Latin', its linguistic peculiarities must necessarily be vulgarisms.

It has long been recognized that the language of the OLG is not literary Latin. The charge was common in antiquity,[4] and generally repeated by modern authors.[5] It is not always fully acknowledged that these ancient commentators are apologists not sociolinguists; their prime concern is to defend the truth of the Scriptures according to the Pauline argument that the very humility of the Christian community is evidence of the power of God (compare 1 Corinthians 1: 26–31). This

[3] Väänänen also rightly stresses that it is not the same as proto-Romance, both theoretically (because proto-Romance is a hypothetical reconstruction) and practically (because many features of 'Vulgar Latin' do not survive into Romance). It might be added that it may lead to an over-eagerness to detect Romance traits in Latin texts, where in fact the data may be interpreted according to the norms of classical Latin.

[4] Lactantius, *Divinae Institutiones* 5. 1. 15–16 writes: *nam haec in primis causa est cur apud sapientes et doctos et principes huius saeculi scriptura sancta fide careat, quod prophetae communi ac simplici sermone ut ad populum sunt locuti. Contemnuntur itaque ab iis qui nihil audire vel legere nisi expolitum ac disertum volunt, nec quicquam haerere animis eorum potest nisi quod aures blandiore sono mulcet, illa vero quae sordida videntur, anilia scripta existimantur.* Likewise Arnobius 1. 59 presents the pagan accusation: *barbarismis soloecismis obsitae sunt res vestrae et vitiorum deformitate pollutae* (these citations from Mohrmann 1947: 7). Cf. Augustine's words on the *aliquantulum facultatis . . . utriusque linguae* that the early translators supposed they possessed (*de Doctrina Christiana* 2. 11 ff.). For further references, see Kaster (1988: 81–4).

[5] e.g. Palmer (1954: 149, 184), Fischer (1972: 14–16), Metzger (1977: 322–5), Coleman (1987: 40–2).

argument, first advanced as a defence of the solecisms of New Testament Greek, could be (and was) used without modification to defend the *sermo humilis* of the Latin versions. Modern scholarship generally does not have the same apologetic motive, but the range of meanings covered by the description 'Vulgar Latin' is such that the term requires some qualification. While the OLG are 'Vulgar Latin' according to the definition above in that they represent a sub-literary variety of the language, it should not be assumed that they are wholly vulgarized.[6] Instead it will be argued that while they show many linguistic features that a Ciceronian critic would reprehend, none the less by the time of composition most of these 'vulgarisms' were probably frequent in informal use among speakers of all classes, and furthermore that some known vulgarisms are consistently avoided.

13.3 Christian *Sondersprache*

Though the theory of a Christian *Sondersprache* or special language has become steadily less influential over the last twenty-five years, it still deserves consideration here. Many of the studies carried out in its name remain useful;[7] and it is important to spell out here why the *Sondersprache* hypothesis is not an ideal way of analysing the language of the OLG.

According to the classical statements of the *Sondersprache* theory made by Schrijnen (1932 and 1939), the early Latin-speaking Christians were bound together by strong communal bands covering every aspect of life. Language being a social phenomenon, this closely-knit society of Christians naturally came to speak a special form of Latin, differentiated in every respect from non-Christian varieties of Latin: '[le latin des chrétiens n'est] que le résultat d'une différenciation de nature sociologique de la langue commune; [c'est] un système cohérent de différenciations de nature lexicologique, sémantique, morphologique et même métrique' (Schrijnen 1939: 335–6). According to Schrijnen and his school, it was this *Sondersprache* that was later to become the ordinary language of the Latin-speaking world. His pupil Mohrmann toned down or refined the theory slightly, holding that 'les langues

[6] On the problem of identifying vulgarisms in the translation literature see Lundström (1948: 13–16).

[7] Notably those of Teeuwen, Mohrmann, and Meershoek; the theory forms the basis of Palmer's discussion of Christian Latin (1954: 181–205).

spéciales n'ont pas une phonétique propre, mais que la différenciation se rapporte bien à la morphologie, à la syntaxe, et naturellement à la lexicologie' (Mohrmann 1947: 3), without modifying any of its basic premises.

This theory has never lacked critics; cases for the prosecution have been made by Marouzeau (1932), Ghellinck (1939), Cavallini (1957), Coleman (1987), among others. Its theoretical bases have been attacked; typical criticisms are that Schrijnen and Mohrmann overestimated the level of communal living among the early Latin-speaking Christians, were too ready to assume that this situation was universal, and overplayed the effect that this sort of communal living would have had upon the language of the Christians. Their interpretation of the empirical data has similarly been challenged; it has been pointed out that the *Sondersprache* theory relies excessively on the evidence of a small number of (mostly) educated writers, that the undoubted peculiarities of Christian Latin do not amount to the system that is claimed, and that Christian writers are often as different in style from one another as they are from their pagan contemporaries. The cumulative effect of these criticisms now seems overwhelming. It now appears that there was no such thing as a Christian *Sondersprache* in the sense that Schrijnen understood it; though its critics have always allowed the existence of a distinctive Christian vocabulary, and the *Sondersprache* theorists have made major contributions to our understanding of it.[8] Moreover, the theory was never a sound basis from which to analyse the Latin Bible. In so far as there was a distinctly Christian idiom, Greek or Latin, its most distinctive component is always likely to have been the language of the Scriptures.[9] An understanding of Biblical Latin should, therefore, be the basis of any study of Christian Latin as a whole, not vice versa.[10]

[8] In fact, the appearance of several recent works on Latin technical vocabularies (e.g. De Meo 1986; Coleman 1989; Langslow 1992) means that the evolution of the Christian lexicon is now due for re-examination; but that lies outside our present scope.

[9] Notwithstanding the view taken above that the OLG are likely to be not so much the work of Greek-speaking missionaries out to win Latin souls as the products of established Christian communities, to be used in worship as much as in evangelization.

[10] This point of view is in some respects at odds with that taken by García de la Fuente (1994: 166–9), who also regards 'Christian Latin' as a bad starting-place for an analysis of Biblical Latin, on the ground that they are separate and distinct entities. It would seem to me that Biblical Latin is better regarded as a subset (not always clearly defined) of a wider Christian Latin.

13.4 Late Latin

The description of the OLG as 'Late Latin' is in some respects much more satisfactory than either 'Vulgar Latin' or 'Christian Latin'. It is potentially easier to define; though, as Löfstedt (1959: 1–10) states at the outset of his classic study of the subject, there are no natural termini, it is at least possible to set arbitrary ones. It is also easier to identify specific examples; while it is often a matter of opinion whether one regards a particular text as 'Vulgar' or 'Christian' Latin, it is generally easier to decide whether a particular text was composed within a 500-year period. There are, however, two important caveats to be made. First, just as Vulgar Latin was subject to temporal differentiation, so Late Latin was subject to sociological variation; there are vulgar and literary registers, and a whole range of styles and idiolects between. Secondly, Late Latin is itself not temporally homogeneous; the language did not stand still for 500 years. In fact it is clear that there is no such thing as a monolithic 'Late Latin'; rather we are dealing with a constantly-evolving language, subject to considerable sociological variation.[11] For this reason the term 'Late Latin' will be avoided, since it tends to suggest a unity where none exists. Instead the more general terms 'post-classical Latin' and 'later Latin' (both referring to the language as a whole between the late second and late fourth centuries AD) have been preferred. Particular consideration is given to the contribution of the OLG to the establishment of an absolute chronology for certain known developments that occurred within the period normally subsumed under the heading 'Late Latin'.

[11] It will be noted that no account is taken of regional variations, though these too undoubtedly existed. There are three reasons why questions of regional variation will not be pursued. First, it seems that there is little consensus on the extent and nature of Latin dialectalization (for an irenic account of the debate see Väänänen 1981: 27–59; but not all scholars are irenicists). Secondly, the studies (notably Gaeng 1968 and Herman 1990) are almost exclusively concerned with phonological differentiation. Their findings are not yet sufficiently conclusive to enable us to apply their methods to the OLG, especially in view of the complex problems posed by the orthography of the OLG. Thirdly, even when we can locate with security the region in which a text was produced, we still have no information on the provenance of the translator/copyist, and how far his text reproduces his own speech habits. Which things being so, there is no clear path between sheer guesswork and complete silence on this question.

13.5 Conclusions

Of the three terms 'Vulgar Latin', 'Christian *Sondersprache*', and 'later Latin', the first and the last are the most important for a linguistic analysis of the OLG. It will be taken as read that the OLG contain many features not found in literary Latin, and that they contain many features typical of post-classical texts; but it should not be supposed that they are wholly vulgar, or that they contain all the characteristics of 'Late Latin'.

This part will consider first the lexicon of the OLG, then certain aspects of their syntax. Their orthography is not discussed here; the manuscripts are all products of a longer or shorter period of transmission, during which they were copied and re-copied by scribes of varying degrees of competence. In such circumstances it is inevitable that the orthography changed considerably. While it would be desirable to possess a modern account of the orthography of each individual manuscript, they cannot conveniently be discussed *en masse*. Moreover, as Wright (1982) has repeatedly argued, the relationship of the orthography to its phonetic realization when read is complex and shifting. To some extent the same problem affects also the syntax of the OLG; where the difference between two cases or constructions hangs on a single letter, then even assuming the transcription to be accurate it is still impossible to tell with certainty whether the manuscript accurately reflects its exemplar.

14

Lexis

14.1 Introduction

Modern studies of non-literary languages and dialects rely heavily on elicitation techniques, designed to induce speakers to produce certain words or sounds in certain contexts. The same techniques cannot of course be applied in the case of a language such as Latin; however, the study of translation literature does enable us to ask (so to speak) a group of post-classical speakers how they conveyed certain meanings within their language. It is not an ideal technique; as we saw in the previous section, the translators often distort their language under the influence of the Greek, or they may simply be on their best linguistic behaviour and produce forms that would not be part of their normal language. None the less, where such special circumstances do not arise, their work can be used in conjunction with other post-classical texts to gain some idea of how their language compares to classical Latin on the one hand and reconstructed proto-Romance on the other. This chapter will consider first those changes in the Latin lexicon that seem to be completed or under way by the time of composition of the OLG, then those changes that have not occurred. Finally it will be suggested that the translators show a degree of conservatism in declining to use some neologisms that are known to have been current in the language of their day. At every stage, it should be borne in mind that lexical change is seldom a simple process of replacement of one word by another. 'Successful' words or 'winners' may be coined or borrowed, or they may already exist within a language; they may shift in meaning or register, or they may simply succeed without any change of meaning or register, as other words drop out or change meaning themselves. 'Losers' may be lost altogether, or become confined to certain meanings, registers, or dialects. This does not make it impossible to speak in absolute terms about lexical shifts and lexical death (though it may make it harder); but it does make it all the more necessary to try and establish precisely whether a particular word would be perceived by a

third- or fourth-century translator as quaint or pedantic, or up to the minute, or simply as the standard word. Apart from the difficulties in defining 'Vulgar Latin' discussed in the previous chapter, it is important that whatever our definition, we do not stick the label too readily on just any linguistic oddity.

14.2 Changes Completed or In Progress

Civitas. This is the only rendering used in the OLG of ἡ πόλις (for example, at Matthew 2: 23, 4: 5, 5: 14; Mark 1: 33, 1: 45, 5: 14; Luke 1: 26, 1: 39, 2: 3; John 1: 44, 4: 5, 4: 8); other possibilities such as *urbs*, *oppidum* or *municipium* do not occur.[1] It is well known that *civitas* displaces *urbs* in later Latin and Romance (Fr. *la cité*, Sp. *la ciudad*, It. *la città*, Occ. *la ciotat*), with *urbs* surviving only in reference to the capital cities of Rome and Constantinople (Adams 1976: 103). The prevalence of *civitas* in the OLG does not necessarily mean that it is already the unmarked term for 'city' by the time of composition; consideration must first be given to other possible explanations for this usage, and to the evidence of other vulgar or vulgarized texts.

Civitas might have been felt to be a more exact translation of ἡ πόλις than any of its potential rivals; both share the semantic features +community, +size, +political identity. This may have contributed to its use, but is unlikely to be sufficient explanation in itself; *municipium* has the same features, and often they are implicit in *urbs*. The use of *civitas* also permits the translator to reproduce the transparent analogy πόλις/πολιτεία: πολίτης: πολιτικός:: *civitas*: *civis*: *civicus/civilis*; though again the same is true of *municipium*. While these factors may have played a part in ensuring its success in the OLG, the evidence of other vulgar texts suggests that by the second half of the third century it was simply the ordinary word for 'city'. In Republican Latin its usual meaning is still 'citizenship' or 'community', but the extension to the concrete sense is well established by the early Imperial period. Petronius uses *civitas* six times, as against thirteen instances of *urbs*, but the raw figures may be misleading; four of the uses of *urbs* occur in hexameter verse (where *civitas* is inadmissible) and one in the set

[1] The Romance loser *oppidum* is found in the Vulgate only in those portions translated by Jerome (Thielmann 1884: 340). *Municipium* is used in *a* in Mark and Luke to render ἡ κώμη.

expression *urbis acta*.[2] The more classical Seneca and Tacitus use both words frequently, though with a marked preference for *urbs* (especially in Tacitus). But even in these writers, it seems that the phonetic shape of this word, with its awkward consonant cluster in the nominative singular, is already putting it under pressure; in Seneca the ratios of *urbs*: *urbem* and *civitas*: *civitatem* are 3: 31 and 16: 16 respectively, while in Tacitus the corresponding figures are 13: 129 and 20: 18. Apuleius in the *Metamorphoses* uses *urbs* six times, as against *civitas* forty-eight times (plus *civitatula* once). There is thus good reason to believe that before AD 200 *civitas* had already largely displaced *urbs*, and that the practice of the OLG simply reflects the ordinary usage of the day. *Civitas* is also the usual word in the Latin Irenaeus, though the date of this work is uncertain (AD 200–400?), and appears seventy-six times in the *Peregrinatio Egeriae* (*urbs* never). It is, therefore, possible to say that this shift in the Latin lexicon was already under way by the middle of the first century AD, and was largely complete by the beginning of the third.

Castellum. This is the usual rendering of ἡ κώμη (for instance, at Matthew 9: 35, typically *et circuibat Iesus civitates omnes et castella*; compare Matthew 10: 11, 14: 15, 21: 2; Mark 6: 6, 36, 56, 8: 23–7, 11: 2; Luke 5: 17, 8: 1, 9: 6; John 7: 42, 11: 1, 11: 30. The alternatives *vicus* and *municipium* are occasionally tried, but *castellum* is the dominant rendering throughout.[3] The sense 'village, small town' (not distinguished in *TLL*) is known from other ante- and post-classical texts; it appears in the so-called 'Decision of the Minucii' from 117–16 BC (*qua ager privatus casteli Vituriorum est . . . is ager vectigal nei siet*; see *CIL* i. 199. 6), nine times in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* (see Callebat 1968: 146), in Vegetius (*c.*AD 390), *de Re Militari* 4. 10, (*castellum parvulum, quem* [*sic*] *burgum vocant*).

Vado and verbs of motion. The rise of *vadere*, occurring in suppletion with reflexes of **andare* and **allare*, is one of the most familiar differences between the Romance lexicon and that of classical Latin (see for instance Grandgent 1907: 169; Elcock 1975: 137–8; Väänänen 1967: 77–8). Of *andare* and *allare* there is no trace in the OLG. *Vado*, however, frequently appears as a rendering of πορεύομαι. This may be

[2] Of the eight remaining instances three occur anaphorically in quick succession in the phrase *in hac urbe* at *Satyricon* 116. 4–6, combined with paronomasia on the key Petronian term *urbanus*.

[3] Egeria also experienced difficulty rendering this word: *Peregrinatio* 7. 7, *Heroum autem civitas . . . nunc est come, sed grandis, quod nos vicum dicimus*.

influenced in part by the transparent analogy πορεύομαι: πόρος:: *vado*: *vadum* which it makes possible; but again the evidence both of Romance and of other Latin texts suggests that it reflects ordinary Latin usage of the day. According to Önnerfors (1956: 49–50) *vadit* and *vadunt* are regularly used by the Elder Pliny instead of the monosyllabic forms *it* and *eunt*, while according to Väänänen (1967: 77–8) a similar situation obtains in the Vulgate:

> Dans la Vulgate font défaut les formes monosyllabiques de *ire*; impér. sg. *i*, ind. prés. *is*, *it*; *eo* et *eunt* devenus monosyllabiques suite de consonification de *e* en hiatus . . . n'apparaissent que deux fois; en revanche on trouve impér. sg. *vade* 181 fois, mais pl. *ite* 68 fois (*vadite* 0), *vadis* 10 fois, *vadit* 21 fois, *vado* 20 fois; *iens* est toujours remplacé par *vadens*, tandis que *euntis*, *euntem* etc. subsistent . . . .

The pattern is broadly the same in the OLG (though monosyllabic forms are occasionally found in some manuscripts). An important qualification to Väänänen's statement should be made, namely that the compounds *abire* or more rarely *exire* appear alongside *vadere* as replacements both for the monosyllabic forms of *ire* and for the perfect forms (as the perfect of the uncompounded *vadere* is not used in classical Latin). The distribution of *ire*/*abire*/*vadere* is neatly exemplified by the renderings of the first three instances of πορεύομαι in Matthew, at Matthew 2: 8–9, 2: 20, typically rendered as follows: *Ite* (πορευθέντες; *euntes* in *d f*) *et interrogate diligenter de puero . . . Qui cum audissent regem abierunt* (ἐπορεύθησαν) . . . (v. 20) *accipe puerum et matrem eius et vade* (πορεύου; *abi* in *d*) *in terram Israhel*). The third-person aorist ἀπῆλθεν is also usually rendered *abiit* (for instance, at Matthew 4: 24, typically *et abiit* (*abit* in *k*) *opinio eius in totam Syriam*; compare Matthew 9: 7, 13: 46, 16: 4; Mark 1: 35, 5: 20, 24, 6: 46) (and likewise *abierunt* for ἀπῆλθον at Matthew 22: 5; Mark 6: 32; Luke 10: 30), but the aorist infinitive ἀπελθεῖν is generally *ire* (for instance, Matthew 8: 18, typically *iussit discipulos suos ire trans fretum*; *ut irent* in g^1 *h*; compare Matthew 8: 21, 16: 21; Mark 9: 43). While the monosyllabic forms of *ire* were already in full retreat by the time of the OLG, there was not yet any one grammaticalized suppletive; *vadere*, *abire*, and *exire* were all options. The fact that standard manuals of Vulgar Latin overlook these various alternatives is an illustration of the risks of interpreting the Latin data solely in the light of subsequent Romance developments.

Intrare and compounds of *gradi*. Little can be inferred from the OLG data about the use of compounds of *gradi* such as *ingredi*, *egredi*, *regredi*

(all Romance losers) in later Latin. *Ingredi* (and *introire*) are often used as renderings of εἰσπορεύομαι (as at Mark 1: 21, 5: 40; Luke 11: 33, 19: 30), though this may be motivated by the desire to preserve the distinction between this and other verbs of motion. Likewise the past participles *ingressus* (found at Mark 5: 39, 7: 24; Luke 1: 9, 1: 28, 19: 1, and elsewhere) and *egressus* (Matthew 15: 21–2, 18: 28, 20: 3; Mark 1: 29, 45, 16: 8; Luke 1: 22, 4: 42, 15: 28) are used fairly often over a range of manuscripts as a means of rendering the Greek aorist active participles εἰσελθών and ἐξελθών, which posed something of a problem for the translators.[4] Other forms of the same Greek verbs are generally rendered *intrare* and *exire*; the success of *intrare* seen in the Romance languages (It. *entrare*, Sp. *entrar*, Fr. *entrer*) seems to have been well advanced by the time of the OLG.

Appropiare. The Romance winner *appropiare* (Fr. *approcher*, Rom. *a apropia*; *REW* 557) is used several times in the OLG to render ἐγγίζω, though *appropinquare* is more frequent;[5] for instance at Matthew 26: 45, typically *ecce appropiavit hora* (*appropinquavit* in *a c f ff*^{1} *g*^{1} *l Vg*; compare Matthew 21: 1, 26: 46; Luke 7: 12, 10: 9–11, 12: 33). This word apparently is not found outside Christian writers (see *TLL* II. 316. 14 ff.) and may have been calqued upon ἐγγίζω (though it is difficult to see why the translators would have felt the need to do so, given the existence of *appropinquare*); it is impossible to say whether this is a vulgarism which is taken up by the Christian translators, or whether it is a Christian coinage which finds its way into the popular language.

Applicare. The peripheral Romance winner *plicare* (Sp. *llegar*, Port. *chegar* 'to arrive', Rom. *a se plec* 'to go off') is not found in the OLG, though the compound *applicare* does appear.[6] At Luke 15: 1 ἦσαν δὲ αὐτῷ ἐγγίζοντες πάντες οἱ τελῶναι is typically rendered *erant autem adpliciti illi omnes publicani* (*applicare* in *b c ff*^{2} *i q r*^{1}; *congregari* in *l*; *accedere* in *a*; *appropiare* in *d*; *appropinquare* in *aur f e Vg*). This may be regarded as an instance of contextual sensitivity, as there is good classical precedent

[4] Compare the use of *mercatus* at Mark 15: 46 discussed below. On translations of aorist active participles, see the discussion in Ch. 15, Sect. 15.12.

[5] Vogels (1926: 35) points out that where *appropiare* occurs Jerome usually replaces it with *appropinquare*.

[6] The relationship between these two verbs and their Romance reflexes is complicated. For a critique of the traditional view that *plicare* is a *simplex pro composito* for *applicare* see Väänänen (1990).

for *applicare* in the sense 'to attach oneself to a person (for instruction or protection)'; e.g. Cicero *Brutus* 316, *Rhodi me . . . ad eundem . . . Molonem applicavi* (see *TLL* II. 298. 28 ff. for further examples). *Applicare* in the sense 'to arrive' is post-classical and mainly found in the Christian writers (*TLL* II. 297. 34 ff.); but compare Servius Auctus on *Georgics* 3. 268, *Glaucus . . . adplicuit ad vicum Boeotiae.* The OLG usage combines both the classical and post-classical senses.

Petra. This loan-word was borrowed into Latin at an early date, and with nothing about its phonology to mark it out as being extraneous it was quickly assimilated into the language. In Romance it appears as Italian *pietra*, Spanish *piedra*, French *pierre*, Romanian *piatră* (see *REW* 6,445). In the OLG it is the regular rendering of ἡ πέτρα; for example, Matthew 7: 24–5, 27: 51–60; Mark 15: 46; Luke 6: 48, 8: 6–13 (excluding Matthew 16: 18, where paronomasia with *tu es Petrus* makes this the inevitable rendering). It seems, therefore, to be completely at home in the language.

Manducare. The rise of *manducare* (Fr. *manger*, Rom. *a mînca*; *REW* 5, 292; Italian *mangiare* seems to be a Gallicism), to the detriment of *edere* (and largely of *comedere*), is another well-known shift in the Latin lexicon which may be dated with the help of the OLG. The distribution of the various renderings of ἐσθίω/φαγεῖν is set out above (see Tables 3.7, 3.8, 3.14); *manducare* is clearly the most common rendering, despite strong competition from *(com)edere*; it remains to set the OLG data within the wider pattern of Latin usage. The transition of *manducare* from the sense 'to chew' to its position as the unmarked verb 'to eat' may be divided into three stages: first, the erosion of the specific notion of chewing; secondly, the development of the intransitive use (or at least with an object understood); and thirdly, its widespread acceptance in this new sense.

The earliest evidence for the erosion of the specific sense 'to chew' is famously found in a letter of Augustus preserved in Suetonius, *Augustus* 76, . . . *duas buccas manducavi.* Whether Augustus' use represents a genuine colloquialism may be questioned; the verbal idiosyncrasies collected at *Aug.* 87 seem to be a mixture of popular idiom and jocular affectation. However, the co-occurrence with *bucca* (another Romance winner) suggests a popular flavour.[7] In the Younger Seneca it still

[7] *pace* Löfstedt (1959: 41 n. 3), who believes that Augustus' use does not give us

means 'to chew' rather than 'to eat'; thus *Epistula* 95. 27, *in cena fit quod fieri debebat in ventre; expecto iam ut manducata ponantur. Quantulo autem hoc minus est . . . dentium opera cocum fungi?* In Petronius, however, *manducare* means simply 'to eat': thus *Satyricon* 46. 2. 3, *inveniemus quod manducemus*, *Satyricon* 56. 4. 1, *quorum beneficio panem manducamus.* These examples appear in the mouth of Echion and Trimalchio respectively, two characters whose language is conspicuous by its vulgarism.[8] Among first-century writers the word is used by Celsus (four times) and the Elder Pliny (eleven times, plus fifty-six instances of the otherwise rare *commanducare*); but these are all examples of the technical sense 'to take a medicine' (see *TLL* VIII. 273. 74 ff.) and cannot be taken to represent popular speech. In Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* the verb is found once, at *Met.* 4. 22. 15: *nec me instanter ac fortiter manducantem vel somnus imminens impedire potuit.* Here, however, it is impossible to tell whether it should be taken as 'to eat' or 'to munch'.[9] A less equivocal use is attested in the *Historia Augusta* 18. 34. 8. 4, where the Emperor Severus Alexander complains about the large numbers present at Imperial dinners, *dicens se in theatro et circo manducare.* If this saying is authentic, then at the time of utterance (*c.*AD 230) *manducare* retained at least in cultivated circles something of a vulgar ring.

It appears, therefore, that by the middle of the third century *manducare* had undergone the first of the two stages listed above in its transition to being the ordinary verb 'to eat'; it had lost the specific sense 'to chew' and had developed an intransitive use. However, there may have been some sense that it was not the proper literary word. The OLG data would appear to bear this out. *Manducare* is the most frequent rendering, and may be used absolutely (as at Mark 2: 16, *quare cum publicanis et peccatoribus manducat?*), but *edere* is frequent in the African tradition (older and in some respects more purist than the European traditions) and (in Mark) in *a*, a notably classicizing text. Likewise *comedere* is most frequent

grounds to 'infer that *manducare* was the everyday word'. There is no suggestion that it was *the* everyday word, or that it had lost altogether the sense 'to chew'; merely that in popular use it was one way of saying 'to eat'.

[8] See Boyce (1991: 81–5, 98–102). *Edere* in contrast appears at least thrice and *comedere* at least nine times.

[9] The sense 'to eat' may be preferable, on the grounds that a humorous piece of code-switching between the vulgar verb and the mock-heroic adverbs is wholly in Apuleius' manner; moreover, the words are followed by the phrase *cum essem Lucius*, capable of interpretation either as 'when I was Lucius' or 'when as Lucius I used to eat . . .'. Outside this passage there are two definite instances of *edere* in the *Metamorphoses*, none of *comedere*.

in the Vulgate and mixed texts, and is probably substituted for *manducare* by Jerome. According to Thielmann (1884: 352) Jerome prefers *comedere* or *vesci* in the books he translated himself; of the fourteen instances of *manducare* in the Vulgate outside the New Testament, nine are found in the hastily-translated Books of Judith and Tobit.[10] The fact that the OLG translators, whatever their reservations, are generally prepared to use *manducare*, suggests that between about AD 250 and AD 400 the term gradually became acceptable in everyday use; it will be argued below that in respect of some words the translators actually show a certain degree of conservatism and resistance to innovation, but this does not extend to *manducare*. In later writers the acceptance is complete. Egeria uses it thirteen times, *(com)edere* never; in Anthimus it is the usual word. Even the very classicizing Boethius is prepared to use it thrice (*contra Eutychen* 8. 72, 8. 78, 8. 80)—but only in a very specific circumstance, namely a reference to Adam's human function. This is not a biblical citation, but it is an allusion; so *manducare* is acceptable. A very close parallel occurs in Augustine's, *Confessions* 7. 10. 16, where God tells Augustine, in a moment of contemplative ecstasy, *cibus sum grandium; cresce et manducabis me*—where again biblical echoes legitimize the use of this verb.

Seminare. Classical Latin *serere* 'to sow' does not survive into Romance, its meaning being carried by reflexes of *seminare* (It. *seminare*, Sp. *sembrar*, Fr. *semer*, Rom. *a semăna*; *REW* 7,807). This shift is apparently complete by the time of the OLG. The successful verb is first attested at an early date; Plautus, *Amphitryo* 482–3 has *decumo post mense nascetur puer/quam seminatust*. Though this does not refer literally to sowing, it may be that procreation is regarded as a form of sowing, or that a metaphor is being used.[11] However, the evidence of the early agricultural writers suggests that the word was not in general use; neither Cato nor Varro use *seminare*, though Varro has *seminatio* (*de Re Rustica* 2. 6. 3).[12] Nor is it used in Lucretius or Virgil's *Georgics*—despite its semantic convenience.[13] In

[10] In his prologues to these books Jerome states that he devoted *unam lucubratiunculam* to Judith and *unius diei laborem* to Tobit.

[11] Compare the metaphor at *Asinaria* 874, *fundum alienum arat, incultum familiarem deserit*; see Adams (1982: 154) for further examples of such metaphors drawn from husbandry.

[12] Ernout and Meillet in *DELL* describe it as 'sans doute terme de la langue rustique . . . évité par la prose classique'; but this is manifestly a *coniectura ex silentio*.

[13] It appears at *Aeneid* 6. 206, describing the Golden Bough, *quod non sua seminat arbos*; it is unlikely that a sub-literary vulgarism would appear at this point.

Republican prose it appears to be attested only in Cicero, *de Legibus* 1. 1, *nullius . . . agricolae stirps tam diurna est quam poeta versu seminare potest*; the metaphor (calqued on the Greek διασπείρω) is a favourite of Cicero's.[14] We cannot, therefore, conclude with certainty that in the classical period *seminare* was a vulgarism shunned by educated writers; all that can be inferred from the evidence is that the verb was simply not very common.

There is not abundant evidence of its use even in Imperial writers; though it is notable that while the Elder Pliny never uses *seminare*, his contemporary Columella in his discussion of sowing (*de Agri cultura* 2. 7. 1–2. 10. 34) uses it four times (as against some thirty-five times for *serere*, four times for *obserere*, once for *conserere*, and at least seven times for *spargere*). The OLG are in fact among the earliest texts to show the takeover of *seminare* from *serere*, using it as the regular translation of σπείρω (Matthew 13: 3–39, 25: 24–6; Mark 4: 3–4; Luke 8: 5, 12: 24, 19: 21–2; John 4: 36–7; *sero* is the dominant rendering only at Matthew 6: 26). This may be motivated in part by a desire to preserve the transparent relationships in the Greek (σπέρμα/σπόρος: σπείρω:: *semen*: *seminare*); but the pressure to restore a transparent relationship between noun and verb (which had been obscured in the case of *semen*: *sero*) may well have operated in the language without any pressure from the Greek.

14.3 Changes Not In Progress

While the OLG may be used in conjunction with other later Latin texts to establish a *terminus ante* for certain known shifts in the Latin lexicon, they may also be used to establish a *terminus post* for certain others; that is, many changes that are reflected in the Romance languages simply do not show up in the OLG. It will be argued below that in some cases this may be ascribed to a certain degree of purism on the part of the translators, who may go on using the classical words after these have fallen out of general circulation. But the prima-facie reason why the OLG do not show any traces of these changes is that they had yet to occur. Some examples are complex and required some discussion; others may simply be listed.

[14] e.g. *in Catilinam* 4. 6, *latius opinione disseminatum est hoc malum*; cf. *pro Archia* 30, *pro Plancio* 56.

Scire/sapere. Latin *sapere* becomes the general Western Romance verb 'to know' (It. *sapere*, Sp. *saber*, Fr. *savoir*; *REW* 7,586) to the exclusion of *scire*; conversely *scire* is preserved in the east (Rom. *a ştii*; *REW* 7,722) to the exclusion of *sapere*. The OLG, however, use both terms, with the classical distinction of meaning intact. *Scire* is the usual rendering of εἰδέναι 'to know' (as at Matthew 6: 8, 6: 32, 9: 6; Mark 1: 25, 1: 34, 2: 10; Luke 4: 34, 4: 41, 5: 24; John 2: 9, 3: 11, 4: 10). *Sapere* 'to know, to be wise' usually renders φρονέω (as at Matthew 16: 23; Mark 8: 33) and sometimes φρόνιμός εἰμι (as at Matthew 7: 24, 10: 16, 24: 45, 25: 2–9; Luke 12: 42, 16: 8; though *prudens* is more usual). *Sapiens* regularly translates σοφός (Matthew 11: 25, 23: 34; Luke 10: 21).

Alius/alter/ceteri/reliqui. The classical tripartite division between *alius* '(an)other', *alter* 'the other (of two)', and *ceteri/reliqui* 'the others (out of a specified group)' does not survive into Romance, where *alter* (It. *altro*, Sp. *otro*, Fr. *autre*, Rom. *alt*; *REW* 382) takes over, the distinction between the three functions being marked by the presence or absence of the article. The two are interchangeable in some contexts as early as the first century BC; thus Tibullus 1. 1. 1, *divitias alius fulvo sibi congerat auro*, but *Panegyricus Messallae* 18, *alter dicat opus magni memorabile mundi* (see also Grandgent 1907: 37). In the OLG, however, the distinctions are generally retained. *Ceteri* and *reliqui* generally render λοιποί (as at Matthew 22: 6, 25: 11, 27: 49; Mark 4: 19, 16: 13; Luke 8: 10, 12: 26, 18: 9), and *alius* generally renders ἄλλος (as at Matthew 2: 12, 4: 21, 8: 9; Mark 4: 5–18, 4: 36, 6: 15; Luke 5: 29, 7: 8, 7: 19; John 4: 37–8, 5: 7, 5: 32) or ἕτερος in the indeterminate sense 'another'; for example Matthew 10: 23, typically *cum autem persequentur vos in civitatem istam, fugite in aliam* (*alteram* in *d q è*); (cf. Matthew 8: 21, 11: 3, 12: 45; Mark 16: 12; Luke 3: 18, 6: 6; John 19: 37).[15] *Alter* is generally confined to its classical sense 'the other (of two)', rendering both ὁ ἄλλος (as at Matthew 28: 1, typically *venit Maria Magdalenae et altera Maria* (*alia* in *d* only); compare Matthew 5: 39, 27: 61; Luke 6: 29; John 19: 32) and ὁ ἕτερος (as at Matthew 6: 24, 21: 30; Luke 4: 43, 5: 7, 16: 13).[16]

[15] *Quaedam* is also preserved in rendering ἄλλα μέν . . . ἄλλα δέ at Matthew 13: 5–7; see above, Ch. 6.

[16] A curious exception is the mysterious 'other disciple' (traditionally identified with the evangelist) at John 18: 16, 20: 1–8, who is generally *alius discipulus* even though he always appears as one of a pair with Simon Peter. This may conceivably have been a hallowed rendering from the earliest days of Latin Christianity, preserved by the OLG translators, though this cannot be proven.

Fabulari/loqui/aio/parabolare. The classical *loquor* and *aio* have no reflexes in Romance; the Western Romance languages use reflexes either of *fabulari* (Sp. *hablar*, Port. *falar*; *REW* 3,125) or **parabolare* (It. *parlare*, Fr. *parler*; *REW* 6,222). It has been suggested above (Chapter 8) that where *fabulari* is used in the OLG it is best understood not as a vulgarism but as an archaism pressed into service to provide an exact rendering of the Greek. *Loqui* is regularly used to render λαλέω 'to speak, have the power of speech' (as at Matthew 9: 18, 33, 10: 19–20; Mark 1: 34, 2: 2, 7; Luke 1: 19–22, 55, 64; John 1: 37, 3: 11, 31–4); it seems, therefore, that the word was still in everyday use.[17] *Aio* is sometimes used (along with *dicere*) to render εἰπεῖν introducing direct speech (as at Matthew 8: 19, 21, 32; Mark 2: 19, 4: 40, 9: 23; Luke 1: 13, 30, 46). But although the word is not uncommon in later Latin texts (see Löfstedt 1911: 229) it seems to be confined to certain formal registers[18] and while not obsolete (unlike *inquam*, not found in the OLG) it was probably not an everyday word; the Romance languages preserve no reflexes. It would seem rather that its use in the OLG is another example of an archaism resuscitated in order to provide an exact rendering of the original. There is of course no evidence of *parabolare*.

Ianua/porta/ostium/fores. The Romance languages do not preserve the reflexes of *ianua* or *fores* 'house-door' and only rarely *ostium* 'door, opening', generalizing instead *porta* instead in all these senses. In the OLG, however, *porta* is confined to its classical use 'city-gates', rendering ἡ πύλη (Luke 7: 12; also metaphorically at Matthew 7: 13–14, 16: 18). The sense 'house-door' is generally given by *ianua* (Matthew 24: 33, 25: 10; Mark 1: 33, 2: 2, 11: 4, rendering ἡ θύρα; also Matthew 26: 71; Luke 16: 20, rendering ὁ πυλών). The sense 'door of a room' or 'opening of a tomb' is generally given by *ostium* (as at Matthew 6: 6, 27: 60; Mark 15: 46, 16: 3). The classical *fores*, common in Republican Latin, seems to have dropped out of use early in the Empire.[19] In the

[17] Meershoek (1966: 145) cites Jerome *in Ps.* 84: 9, *audiat propheta quod loquitur a Domino*. Coming from Jerome this solecism is remarkable; if the verb were obsolete in ordinary speech and used only as a literary flourish, he would certainly have used the classical form. The OLG translators for their part studiously avoid this vulgarism, rendering τὰ λελαλημένα at Luke 1: 45 as *quae dicta sunt*.

[18] The pattern of use in Egeria is particularly revealing. She uses it eleven times; but all instances are found between ch. 56–67, and moreover she reserves it for certain elevated persons. The subject is always an *episcopus* or *presbyter*—and on all occasions save one the subject is also accorded the epithet *sanctus*!

[19] It is used some 117 times in Plautus and twenty times in Terence; but eleven times in Seneca's prose writings, and only five times in the Younger Pliny.

OLG it is found only in *b* at Mark 1: 33, in *k* at Mark 13: 29; it is also substituted in the Vulgate for the Old Latin *ianua/ostium* at John 20: 19.[20]

Other Romance changes not found in the OLG may be treated more briefly. The word for 'house' is still *domus* (Matthew 2: 11, 5: 15, 7: 24–6; Mark 1: 29, 2: 15, 3: 25–7; Luke 4: 38, 5: 29, 6: 48–9; John 4: 53, 8: 35, 11: 31) not *casa* (*REW* 1,728) or *mansio*.[21] A soldier is still a *miles*, not a *solidatus*. The verb 'to call' is still usually *vocare* (Matthew 1: 21–5, 2: 7, 15; Mark 1: 20, 2: 17, 3: 31; Luke 1: 13, 31–6, 59; John 1: 42, 2: 2), less often *appellare* (*REW* 542) and never *clamare* (*REW* 1,961); the verb 'to learn' is still *discere* (Matthew 9: 13, 11: 29, 24: 32; Mark 13: 28; John 6: 45, 7: 15) not *apprehendere* (*REW* 554) or **insignare* (*REW* 4,462). 'An ear' is still usually *auris* (as at Matthew 10: 27, 11: 15, 13: 9–16; Mark 4: 9, 23, 7: 16; Luke 1: 44, 4: 21, 8: 8), not *auricula* or *auriculum* (*REW* 793), though the latter word is used to render the Greek diminutive τὸ ὠτίον (Matthew 26: 51; John 18: 26) and τὸ ὠτάριον (Mark 14: 47; John 18: 10).[22] 'A mouth' is still *os* (as at Matthew 4: 4, 5: 2, 12: 34; Luke 1: 64, 70, 4: 22; John 19: 29) not *bucca* (*REW* 1,357); 'leg' is still *crus* (John 19: 31–3) not **gamba* (*REW* 1,539).

14.4 Possible Conservatism

In the examples considered above it has been assumed (and confirmed where possible in the light of other post-classical and sub-literary texts) that the lexis of OLG generally reflects that of ordinary spoken Latin in the third and fourth centuries. However, there is reason to believe that in some cases the translators may have been deliberately conservative, and have avoided novel usages that we know from other texts were probably current when they were writing. This should be distinguished from the deliberate use of archaisms where they best matched the meaning or structure of the Greek, as discussed in Chapter 8. Six examples will suffice to illustrate this.

[20] The use of *fores* at Mark 13: 29 and John 20: 19 may be an attempt to reproduce the Greek plural αἱ θύραι; see above, Ch. 9.

[21] Though *manere* had already undergone the shift to the meaning 'to stay the night' and hence 'to live' found in Egeria (van Oorde 1929: 125 glosses her use of it as *pernoctari*); the parallel use of *mansio* in the sense *diversorium* is probably the transitional phase of its shift to the meaning 'house'.

[22] Löfstedt (1933: 49 ff.) held that *auricula* had displaced *auris* by AD 400, in which case the use of *auris* in the OLG would be a conservatism; but this view is challenged by Önnerfors (1989). On the use of diminutives generally in the OLG see below, Ch. 15.

Comparare. The displacement of the classical *emere* by *comparare* 'to buy' is widely reflected in the Romance languages (It. *comprare*, Sp. *comprar*, Rom. *a cumpra*; *REW* 2,094). The simplex *parare* is found in Sallust (e.g. at *Bellum Iugurthinum* 10. 4, *amici, quos neque armis cogere neque auro parare queas*), and Seneca uses *parabilis* 'buyable' (*Ep.* 5. 4, *res . . . non magno parabiles fugere dementiae*). Sallust's use is probably an example of his aggressive reaction against the first-century standardization of Latin; Seneca's, probably a semi-colloquial nonce-coinage. The compound *comparare* occurs (in dialogue) at Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 1. 25, *et a quo . . . nugamenta haec comparasti?* It would seem that *(com)parare* is another word which goes underground in classical Latin; probably always used in speech, but not considered good Latin. Jerome *adversus Rufinum* 3. 6 expresses this attitude with typical forcefulness: *non reprehendam, quod comparatum codicem pro empto posueris; cum comparatio aequalium sit, emptio pretii annumeratio.* The term was, therefore, certainly available as an option to the OLG translators. However, they almost always prefer the classical *emere*; for example, at Matthew 13: 44–6, 14: 15; Mark 6: 36–7, 11: 15; Luke 9: 13, 14: 18–19. The sole exceptions are *et mercatus sindonem* at Mark 15: 46 (*καὶ ἀγοράσας σινδόνα*), where the deponent verb gives a perfect active participle to match the Greek aorist active,[23] and *iuga boum comparavi* in *a* only at Luke 14: 19. There are no examples of **accaptare* (Fr. *acheter*, Ligurian *catà*).

Focus. Here a good classical term *focus* (Fr. *feu*, It. *fuoco*. Sp. *fuego*; *REW* 3,400) comes by metonymy to displace entirely the older *ignis.* Again this shift is certainly under way by the beginning of the fifth century. Marcellus Empiricus (writing *c.*AD 410) preserves two forms of a magic incantation, one with the words *sine foco coxerunt* (21. 2), the other with *sine igni coxerunt* (28. 16). The shift is complete by the time of Anthimus about a century later; he uses *focus* twelve times, *ignis* never. In the OLG, however, the word is completely absent, and *ignis* is always used to render *τὸ πῦρ*; as at Matthew 3: 10–12, 5: 22, 7: 19; Mark 9: 22, 9: 43–9; Luke 3: 9–17, 9: 54, 12: 49; John 15: 6 (also *τὸ φῶς* at Mark 14: 54).

Grandis. Reflexes of this word (It. *grande*, Fr. *grand*, Sp. *grande*; *REW* 3,842) almost completely displace the classical *magnus* and *ingens.*

[23] Compare the use of *ingressus/egressus* discussed above, and the use of *intuitus* for *ἐμβλέψας* in Group 2 and Vulgate manuscripts at John 1: 42.

According to Väänänen (1967: 81) *grandis* is a slightly less acceptable alternative to *magnus* even in late Republican Latin; by the time of Egeria it is effectively the ordinary word.[24] *Grandis*, however, is completely absent from the OLG.

Testa. The displacement of *caput* by *testa* reflected in the central Romance area (It. *testa*, Fr. *tête*; *REW* 8,682) as the ordinary word 'head' is stated by Elcock (1975: 155) and Väänänen (1967: 80) to be under way from the fourth century. However, they give no examples; and the true picture may be rather different. Ausonius, *Epigram* 76 (*abiecta in triviis inhumati glabra iacebat/testa hominis*) and Prudentius *Peri Stephanon* 10. 762 (*comam cutemque verticis revulserat/a fronte tortor, nuda testa ut tegmine/cervicem adusque dehonestet caput*) are clear evidence that the word is in literary use in the sense 'skull' (an easy development from the well-attested classical sense 'hard outer shell'). Perhaps with some regret, we must abandon the notion that *testa* 'head' derives from some slangy usage along the lines of 'Use your pot!'. Certainly in the OLG ἡ κεφαλή is always rendered *caput*; as at Matthew 5: 36, 6: 17, 8: 20; Mark 6: 24–7, 12: 10, 14: 3; Luke 7: 38–46, 9: 58, 12: 7; John 13: 9, 19: 2, 30. But even in the sense 'skull', the older *calvaria* is preferred; the Hill of Calvary is not the Monte Testaccio.

Plorare/plangere. Of the three main classical verbs 'to cry' *flere* is completely ousted in Romance by the reflexes of *plorare* (Sp. *llorar*, Fr. *pleurer*; *REW* 6,606) and *plangere* (It. *piangere*, Rom. *a plînge*; *REW* 6,572). According to Väänänen (1967: 79) this development is under way as early as the first century AD; certainly this is true of the Augustan elegists. Boyce (1991: 59) has recently pointed out that in Petronius *plorare* is characteristic of the speech of freedmen, while *flere* is used almost exclusively in 'urbane prose'. In Egeria *plorare* is used twice, *plangere* and *flere* not at all. The OLG translators, however, show a distinct reluctance to abandon the more formal word altogether; *flere* is the preferred rendering in Luke and Mark (for example, at Luke 6: 21–5; 7: 13, 32, 38; Mark 5: 38, 14: 72, 16: 10), while *plorare* is preferred in Matthew and by both the main traditions in John (as at Matthew 2: 18, 26: 75; John 11: 31, 20: 11–15; though *flere* occurs in *a b j p r' e* at John

[24] Egeria uses *magnus* four times, thrice in the set expression *tam magnus* reflected in Iberian Romance (Sp. *tamaño* 'size') and some North Italian dialects; see Väänänen (1987: 154). *Grandis* occurs twenty-one times; its comparative and superlative forms are supplied by *maior* and *maximus*.

11: 33, and *a b c ff*^{2} *q r*^{1} at John 16: 20).[25] If by the end of the third century *flere* had been in decline in ordinary usage for over two centuries, this pattern is not reflected in the OLG.

Adiutare. The classical Latin verbs 'to help' (*auxiliari*, *adiuvare*, *opitulari*, *opem ferre*, *subvenire*, *succurrere*) are largely displaced in Romance by reflexes of *adiutare* (It. *aiutare*, Sp. *ayudar*, Fr. *aider*; *REW* 172). The evidence of Roman comedy and of later sub-literary texts suggests this was a feature of spoken Latin from an early date (see Adams 1977: 80). However, the OLG use only *adiuvare*, *auxiliari*, or *subvenire* (Matthew 15: 25, Mark 9: 22–4).

14.5 Conclusions

It appears, therefore, that the OLG, used in conjunction with other Latin texts, are of special value in establishing a chronology of certain developments in the later Latin lexicon. There is, however, some evidence to suggest that the OLG translators actively avoided certain post-classical usages, even when these were well established in the ordinary language of the day. This is wholly consistent with the argument advanced in the preceding section that they were native speakers of Latin with at least a moderate degree of education. It follows that their work must not be treated uncritically as a repository of vulgarisms.

[25] At Matthew 2: 18 (typically *Rachel plorans filios suos*) *plorare* may be preferred as it is used in the sense 'to bewail'; though either *plangere* or *(de)flere* might be used in this sense.

15

Morphology and Syntax

15.1 Introduction

We have already seen how the morphological and syntactic features of the OLG pose considerably more complex problems than the lexis. This is due partly to the numerous graphic mistakes in the process of transmission, partly to the difficulties of transcribing the manuscripts in their current state, and partly to the fact that when the scribe-editors of antiquity consciously choose to change a construction or case-form in their exemplar they often retain the previous lexical item. The result is that while at a given point all the manuscripts may use the same basic words to render the Greek, there may be a wide range of constructions and forms used, susceptible of a variety of interpretations (vulgarism, classicism, hellenism, variant reading in the Greek, contamination between two traditions, mere scribal error). It is, therefore, impossible to speak of the morphological and syntactic system of the OLG as a whole; the evidence resists reduction to neat formulas. It is possible only to point to certain tendencies that are found across a range of manuscripts. In the following discussion particular attention will be given to those areas of morphology and syntax that undergo remodelling between Latin and Romance, and those where the Latin has no obvious equivalent to the Greek.

15.2 Nominal Morphology

The great variety of orthography between and within the OLG manuscripts makes it difficult to make general statements about their morphology; it may be hard to tell whether a given vulgarism represents the work of a third-century translator or an eighth-century copyist. Certain vulgarisms, however, are attested in so many manuscripts at a given point that they must have been present in the tradition at an early date. These include the assimilation of certain

neuters to the masculine or feminine (e.g. *viridem faenum* in *a b d ff²* at Mark 6: 39, *retia* nominative at Matthew 4: 18–22; Mark 1: 16–19; Luke 5: 2–6; John 21: 6–11) (see Rönsch 1875: 265–72), and the assimilation of *-u* stem nouns to the *-o* stem declension (e.g. *spirite* vocative at Mark 5: 8, 9: 25, *fici* and *ficorum* genitive at Matthew 24: 32; Mark 11: 13) (Rönsch 1875: 260–2; conversely *somnus* genitive in *a b d l* at John 11: 13). The forms *animabus* (Matthew 11: 29) and *filiabus* (Luke 1: 5) also occur, serving to distinguish the feminine from the masculine (see Grandgent 1907: 150; Palmer 1954: 242).

The preference for derived forms in the OLG has been discussed in Chapter 7, and as Rönsch (1875: 22–88) and Kaulen (1904: 44–81) have given exhaustive lists of affixes used, there is no need to pursue the matter further. However, the use of diminutives deserves special attention, since the prevalence of such forms in sub-literary texts is often remarked upon (e.g. by Rönsch 1875: 93–100; Grandgent 1907: 18–19; Palmer 1954: 170; Elcock 1975: 157–60; Herman 1967: 104–7; Väänänen 1967: 93). Most of the diminutives in the OLG are renderings of diminutives in the Greek; for example, *auricula* rendering *τὸ ὠτίον* (Matthew 26: 51; John 18: 26) and *τὸ ὠτάριον* (Mark 14: 47; John 18: 10), *pisciculi* rendering *τὰ ἰχθύδια* (Mark 8: 7), *catuli* or *catelli* rendering *τὰ κυνάρια* (Matthew 15: 27; Mark 7: 27–8).[1] In other cases a diminutive might simply be the most obvious rendering of the Greek; thus *τὸ πλοῖον* is often rendered *navicula* (e.g. Matthew 8: 23–4, 9: 1, 13: 2; Luke 5: 3, 5: 7, 8: 22; John 6: 22), though *navis* is at least as frequent (and more so in Mark). Some diminutives, however, are conditioned neither by the form of the Greek nor by its meaning, and reflect genuine vulgarisms. Thus *oviculae* (ultimately successful in the south-western Romance area, e.g. Spanish *oveja*; see *REW* 6,124) is found in some manuscripts at John 10: 3–16 as a rendering of *τὰ πρόβατα*, and *facula* (a vulgarism found also in the *Appendix Probi*, and successful in Romance; see *REW* 3,137) in *e c r¹* at John 18: 3 as a rendering of *ἡ λαμπάς*. Also worthy of note is the affective use of the Latin diminutive; thus the affectionate vocative *filioli* found in most manuscripts at Mark 10: 24, rendering the simple *τέκνα* (cf. *k* at Matthew 9: 2). Similarly *pauperculus* is used in most manuscripts at Luke 21: 2 to render *πενιχρός*, used of the widow in the incident of the Widow's Mite, and in the parallel passage Mark 12: 43 in *a ff²*, rendering

[1] The use of *catellus* may be an example of the tendency of accented suffixes to prevail over unaccented (see Väänänen 1967: 87, 93), though in general the more classical unaccented suffixes are more common in the OLG.

πτωχός. The latter Greek word is usually rendered simply as *pauper* or *egenus*; the use of *paupercula* (like the English idiom 'little old lady') in relation to the widow is probably not coincidental.[2]

15.3 Nominal and Prepositional Syntax

It is well known that later Latin and the Romance languages rely on prepositions to convey much of the syntactic information carried in classical Latin by the inflectional morphology, especially by the oblique cases. An exhaustive analysis of the distribution of the classical case-functions between the prepositions, across each and every manuscript, is impractical; but the following are some of the more notable usages.

De. The OLG contain examples of *de* used in the local, partitive, possessive, instrumental, and material senses. Of these the local use, marking point of departure, is the most significant. Väänänen (1987: 35) observes that 'des trois prépositions marquant le point de départ, *de* a commencé de bonne heure à empiéter sur *ab* et *ex* et a fini par les supplanter'. In the OLG *de* is regularly used in this sense; e.g. Matthew 15: 18–19, *quae autem procedunt de ore* (ἐκ τοῦ στόματος) *de corde exeunt* (ἐκ τῆς καρδίας) *et ea coinquinant hominem. De corde enim* (ἐκ γὰρ τῆς καρδίας) *exeunt cogitationes malae.* The sense 'down from' common in classical Latin is still present (see below), but so far eroded that expressions like *ascendens autem de aqua* (Mark 1: 10) may also occur. *Ab* remains the usual rendering of ἀπό in the local sense (e.g. Matthew 2: 1, 3: 13, 5: 29–30; Mark 1: 9, 1: 42, 2: 20; Luke 2: 4, 4: 1; John 1: 45, 3: 2), except where the context requires the sense 'down from' (e.g. Luke 1: 52, typically *deposuit potentes de sede*, John 6: 38, *quia descendi de caelo*). It is probable that while *de* has by the time of composition largely supplanted *ex* in the sense 'out of', it is still distinct from *ab* 'away from';[3] and also that the translators simply wish to have one Latin preposition each for ἐκ and ἀπό, even where there is little difference of meaning.

The partitive use of *de* (alongside *ex* and the genitive) is not uncommon in classical Latin (e.g. Livy 4. 1. 3, *ut populo potestas esset,*

[2] It is also used in r^1 only at Luke 16: 20 in reference to Lazarus, again a sympathetic character. It is notable that while 'the poor' in general are sympathetically treated in the Gospels, the diminutive is only applied to specific individuals.

[3] LHS ii. 255 distinguishes *de* ('von-herab') from *ex* ('von-heraus'), but groups the two together against *ab* ('von-weg').

seu de plebe seu de patribus vellet, consules faciendi) and its use in the OLG requires little comment. It is likely, however, that *de* came to supplant the genitive in the partitive before the possessive sense. Thus while the possessive *de* is only ever found in a few manuscripts (see below), the expression *quidam de scribis* (*τινες τῶν γραμματέων*) is found in all manuscripts at Mark 7: 1 (there is no evidence of a variant here in the Greek).[4] Partitives with *ex* in the OLG are also common; thus Mark 7: 2 reads *quidam ex discipulis* (*discipulorum* in *d*; *τινὰς τῶν μαθητῶν*).

The quasi-possessive use of *de*, doubtless arising from a partitive, is quite common in contemporary vulgar Latin texts: for example, Egeria 10. 3, *fundamenta de castris filiorum Israhel*, Athanasius, *Vita Antonii* 8, *clausit ostium de monumento*. In the OLG, however, it is very rare; *d* has *de ecclesiam* (*τῆς ἐκκλησίας*) at Acts 20: 17 (see Scrivener 1864: p. xl), but no such constructions in its Gospel texts.[5]

The use of *de* (or *ex*) plus ablative of material is common in classical Latin (see Woodcock 1959: 27–8; LHS ii. 261). Its use in the OLG is not *per se* remarkable, but it is worth noting that *de* has largely displaced *ex* in this construction; for example, Matthew 3: 4, typically *vestitum . . . de pilis camelorum* (= *ἔνδυμα . . . ἀπὸ τριχῶν*). So also we find *corona de spinis* at Matthew 27: 29; John 19: 2 (= *στέφανον ἐξ ἀκανθῶν*, where the Greek preposition might have prompted the translators to write *ex*).

In sum, *de* is used in the OLG mainly in ways that are found also in classical Latin texts. However, it shows a marked tendency to win out over other classical alternatives such as *ex* or the genitive in the local, partitive, and material senses.

Ad. *Ad* plus the accusative with *verba dicendi et monstrandi* is common in Roman comedy and seems always to have been a feature of less formal registers (see Grandgent 1907: 44; Väänänen 1967: 120–1; LHS ii. 220–1). In the OLG it often occurs rendering the parallel use of *πρός* in Greek;

[4] The genitive, however, is preferred in constructions of the *quid boni* type. Noteworthy also is the wholly classical use of the genitive of quality, e.g. Mark 5: 15, *sanae mentis* = *σωφρονοῦντα*; Matthew 16: 8, *modicae fidei* = *ὀλιγόπιστοι*.

[5] Stone (1946: 47) cites John 15: 22, typically *non habent excusationem de peccato suo* as another example; but as the Greek also has a preposition (*περὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας*) this cannot be regarded as a genitive proper (and in any case this could be explained as an extension of the *'de' criminis*, on which see LHS ii. 76). The same is true of *de praecordia* (= *ἐκ τῆς καρδίας*) in *d* at Acts 2: 30, also adduced by Scrivener and Stone; this may be an example of the neuter plural assimilated to the feminine singular, or of *de* plus accusative rather than ablative.

for example, Luke 1: 13, typically *et ait ad illum angelus*.[6] This probably reflects a genuine popular idiom, here given licence by the Greek.

But while the inflectional dative of classical Latin may be under some pressure from *ad* plus accusative, there is no evidence of its being in terminal decline. Particularly notable is the use of the so-called sympathetic dative (see Woodcock 1959: 46; LHS ii. 94–5) corresponding to a Greek genitive, such as John 9: 26, typically *quomodo aperuit tibi oculos?* (*oculos tuos* in *a b ff*^{2} *q r*^{1}; πῶς ἤνοιξέν σου τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς); compare John 9: 17; Matthew 26: 67; Mark 14: 47. This is a feature of earlier colloquial (not specifically vulgar) Latin, but apparently rare in later Latin. In the OLG the idiom seems to be used only with a noun indicating a part of the body; it may be that the idiom survived longest in these restricted contexts.[7] The later use of the possessive *ad* (see Väänänen 1967: 122) does not occur.

15.4 Adjectival Morphology and Syntax

The OLG contain a considerable number of adjectives rare or not found in classical Latin, coined to render the Greek. Thus we find *inextinguibilis* Mark 9: 43–5 (= ἄσβεστος), *possibilis* Mark 9: 23 (δυνατός), *importabilis* Matthew 23: 4 (δυσβάστακτος), *petrosus* Matthew 13: 5, 13: 20; Mark 4: 5, 16 (πετρώδης), *inaquosus* Matthew 12: 43 (*d* only; ἄνυδρος); fuller census are given by Rönsch (1875: 109–40) and Kaulen (1904: 113–24). The diminutive formation *pauperculus* has been discussed earlier; the vulgarism *paupera* (found also in the *Appendix Probi*, and successful in Italo-Romance if not elsewhere) occurs in several manuscripts at Luke 21: 2–3; Mark 12: 43.

[6] Sometimes it is found in one or more manuscripts even where the extant Greek texts have the dative (e.g. *e* at Matthew 28: 5, *dixit ad mulieres*, Greek γυναιξίν). However, in such cases the possibility of variant readings in the Greek cannot be ruled out; it is simply impossible to determine the underlying text.

[7] The construction is formally similar to such modern Romance idioms as *il me tenait la main*, *questo gli tocca il cuore*, as well as constructions traditionally classed as reflexives such as *se brosser les dents*, *se peigner les cheveux*, *rompersi il collo*, *lavarse las manos*, and may be historically related to them. Plater and White (1926: 92) add (in a heterogeneous class of 'Irregular Constructions') the Vulgate 1 Corinthians 9: 9 and 1 Timothy 5: 18, *non alligabis os bovi trituranti*, and Acts 21: 11, *alligans sibi pedes et manus*. These give very close parallels and are not irregular at all. Cf. the two examples of the sympathetic dative in Egeria listed by Väänänen (1987: 33–4), *accedere alicui ad manum* (24. 3, 24. 7, 25. 4) and *ut subito fluctus ad animalibus pedes cedat* (6. 1).

The adjectival morphology and syntax of the OLG require some comment, particularly in respect of the system of comparison. Periphrastic comparatives formed with *magis* or *plus* and the positive, found in other late and vulgar texts, are rare if not absent in the OLG. There is, however, at least one instance of the hypercharacterized comparative with *magis*; at Matthew 12: 45 the Greek *καὶ γίνεται τὰ ἔσχατα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκείνου χείρονα τῶν πρώτων* is rendered *et fiunt novissima hominis illius peiora magis quam priora* in *a b ff*^{2} *g*^{1} *h l q*.[8] Plater and White (1926: 67) also note *plus magis* in the Vulgate and most OLG manuscripts at Mark 6: 51, but this is merely a literal reproduction of the Greek *λίαν ἐκ περισσοῦ*. The genitive of comparison, common in Latin translation literature (see Lundström 1943: 32; LHS ii. 113; Marti 1974: 81), is found several times across a range of manuscripts in the OLG; for example, Mark 12: 31, typically rendered by the European manuscripts *maius horum mandatum non est* (*μείζων . . . τούτων*). Coleman (1987: 40) points out that later Latin texts generally show a certain coalescence of function between the genitive and ablative cases, which may have enabled the translators to use this construction. It should, however, be noted that it seems to be confined to the translation literature and has no hold on the ordinary language. As evidence of the breakdown of the inherited synthetic comparative, Stone (1946: 43) notes that certain comparative adverbs, such as *citius*, *saepius*, and *celerius*, are often used as if they were positives; but this feature is found even in quite literary texts from an early date (LHS ii. 168–9). It is not wholly confined to adverbs of speed and frequency; at Luke 17: 2 most manuscripts have *utilius est*, rendering *λυσιτελεῖ*.

The form and function of the superlative in the OLG is the same as in classical Latin. Noteworthy is its use with certain affective adjectives (and adverbs) where the Greek has the positive; thus the superlatives *dilectissimus* and *carissimus* are used in most manuscripts at Mark 9: 7, 12: 6; Luke 20: 13 to render *ἀγαπητός* in the key phrase *hic est filius meus carissimus* (cf. Matthew 3: 17, 12: 18, 17: 5; Mark 1: 11, Luke 9: 35) (Plater

[8] The parallel passage at Luke 11: 26 is rendered *et fit huiusmodi hominis vita multo peior prioris* in *b ff*^{2} *i* (*et fiunt novissima hominis illius peiora priorum* in *a a*^{2}). While there is some problem in establishing the underlying text (*vita* may simply be a gloss on *τὰ ἔσχατα*, or it may indicate an unattested variant reading; it most likely represents a corruption of VLTIMA), it appears that *multo* has been added by the translators in order to emphasize the comparison. It is possible that here and at Matthew 12: 45 the word *μᾶλλον* appeared in the translators' text. Both this word and *πολλῷ* are often used in NT Greek with little specific force, and drop into and out of the manuscript traditions (see BDF 129). Note also the genitive of comparison.

and White 1926: 67–8). The theological importance of these verses has almost certainly affected the rendering; but the same device of Latin superlative for Greek positive is also found at Matthew 12: 45, where *οὕτως ἔσται καὶ τῇ γενεᾷ ταύτῃ τῇ πονηρᾷ* is typically rendered *sic erit et generationi huic nequissimae* (*pessimae* in *k*; cf. *serve nequissime* rendering *δοῦλε πονηρέ* in *e* at Matthew 18: 32). Noteworthy also is *Petrus . . . amarissime ploravit* in *b ff*^{2} *h q* at Matthew 26: 75 (= *ἔκλαυσεν πικρῶς*).

15.5 Verbal Morphology and Syntax

The most important differences in the verbal system between Latin and Romance are the breakdown of the synthetic passive (and the loss of the deponent system), the rise of new future and perfect tenses from periphrases involving *habere*, and the reorganization of the participial system.

15.6 Passives

It is well known that the classical Latin synthetic passive does not survive into Romance, where it is replaced by periphrases involving the passive participle and by reflexive constructions. Most accounts of the rise of the periphrastic passive point to the ambiguity of perfect passives such as *domus clausa est* 'the house was closed/is closed', leading to their reanalysis as presents, with the concomitant development of a new perfect *domus clausa fuit* and (eventually) the complete loss of the synthetic forms of the passive; so Väänänen 1967: 137–8, 1987: 62–3; Grandgent 1907: 51, Palmer 1954: 327, Herman 1967: 76–7.

The OLG data do not conform neatly to this pattern. A sample of two chapters (Matthew 9 and John 11) gives a total of thirty-seven instances where passives or deponents are found in the Latin, and provide a good illustration of the general situation in the OLG. The present, future, and perfect passives follow exactly the norms of classical Latin.[9] The rare future perfect passive is formed with the

[9] Alternation between *remissa sunt* and *remittituntur* in Matthew 9: 2–5 stems from a well-attested variation between *ἀφίενται* and *ἀφέωνται* in the Greek. *Salva ero* (= *σωθήσομαι*) at Matthew 9: 21 looks like a sort of periphrastic future, but the Greek verb is regularly rendered *salvum facere* in the active and *salvus esse* in the passive. It should be noted that elsewhere in the OLG the perfect passive (formed in the classical *factum est*

past participle plus the future perfect of *esse*; thus John 11: 25, typically *qui credit in me, etiamsi mortuus fuerit, vivet* (*etsi moriatur* in *e*, *licet moriatur* in *ff*^{2}; = κἂν ἀποθάνῃ).[10] The synthetic imperfect is well attested; thus *infirmabatur* at John 11.2, *consolarentur* at John 11: 19, *consolabantur* at John 11: 31, *morereturat* John 11: 37, *(com)morabatur* at John 11: 54. There are, however, two examples of a past participle plus imperfect of *esse* functioning as an imperfect; Matthew 9: 36, typically *misertus est eis, quod essent vexati* (*erant* in *aur d f ff*^{1} *h l Vg*; a literal rendering of ἦσαν ἐσκυλμένοι), and John 11: 44, typically *et facies eius orario (con)ligata erat* (= περιεδέδετο). These periphrastic imperfects seem to be confined to the stative rather than the dynamic sense of the verb.[11] The pluperfect passive alternates between the use of the imperfect and pluperfect auxiliary verb without any obvious motivation. Thus the classical pluperfect is found in all manuscripts at Matthew 9: 25, *cum eiecta esset turba* (*expulsa* in *k*; ἐξεβλήθη), but at John 11: 21 there is alternation between *frater meus non esset mortuus* or similar (*a b c f ff*^{2} *e*; rendering ἀπέθανεν or ἐτεθνήκει) and *fuisset* (*d l p r*^{1} *Vg*); compare also John 11: 32, 38, 44.[12]

The patterns found in these two chapters may be taken as typical of that in the OLG as a whole. They are summarized in Table 15.1. It is notable that while standard accounts of the passive in Latin/Romance

manner) translates not only the Greek aorist passive but also the perfect passive and the perfect passive participle plus εἶναι; e.g. John 20: 30–1, typically *multa quidem et alia signa fecit Iesus . . . quae non scripta sunt* (*sunt scripta* in *a*; = ἃ οὐκ ἔστιν γεγραμμένα). *Haec autem scripta sunt . . .* (= ταῦτα δὲ γέγραπται).

[10] Cf. *e* at John 11: 48, *si passi fuerimus illum, omnes credent in illum* (= ἐὰν ἀφῶμεν). Elsewhere in the OLG the perfect subjunctive is found in the same form in generic clauses functioning like the future perfect in the protasis of conditional sentences; e.g. Mark 8: 38, typically *qui autem me confusus fuerit . . . et filius hominis confundet eum* (where *qui* is equivalent to *si quis*). Cf. Mark 14: 44, typically *quemcumque osculatus fuero, ipse est.*

[11] Also noteworthy are John 11: 38, typically *erat autem spelunca et lapis superpositus* (*erat* in *d f l π* Vg) *ei* (= ἐπέκειτο), and John 11: 52, *qui dispersi erant* (*sunt* in *b ff*^{2} *d*) (= τὰ διεσκορπισμένα), though these may be regarded as pluperfects. A neat distinction between the stative imperfect ('*x* was in a state of having been done') and the pluperfect ('*x* had been done') cannot always be made. It should be noted, however, that constructions of the type *factum est/erat* 'it is/was in a state of having been done' (rather than 'it has/had been done') are wholly classical; see Palmer (1954: 327); Woodcock (1959: 79); Coleman (1975: 114).

[12] In these cases it is arguable that the use of *esset* represents a stative periphrastic imperfect, 'my brother would not be dead' (as opposed to the pluperfect, 'my brother would not have died'). However, there are sufficient other examples to indicate that they are both pluperfects. Cf. the alternations between *erat* and *fuerat* in rendering ὁ Ἰησοῦς οὐδέπω ἐδοξάσθη at John 7: 39.

TABLE 15.1. The passive voice in Matthew 9 and John 11

Tense	Formation
Present	Synthetic
Future	Synthetic
Perfect indicative	Past participle plus present of *esse*
Perfect subjunctive/ future perfect	Past participle plus perfect subjunctive/future perfect of *esse*
Imperfect	Synthetic (in dynamic sense)/past participle plus imperfect of *esse* (in stative sense)
Pluperfect	Past participle plus imperfect or pluperfect of *esse*

point to confusion between the present and perfect as being the starting-point for the reorganization, these two tenses are regularly distinguished in the OLG. Rather it is in the less frequent forms—the future perfect, pluperfect, and imperfect—that the restructuring begins.[13]

15.7 Reflexives

The reflexive is used from an early date alongside the passive and middle with little or no significant difference of meaning, at least with animate subjects.[14] The Romance languages generalize this construction with inanimate subjects also (*la casa si costruisce*, etc.), and some adumbrations of it may be found even in classical Latin (e.g. Sallust, *Bellum Iugurthinum* 85. 31, *ipsa se virtus satis ostendit*, Elder Pliny, *Historia naturalis* 5. 121, *Myrina quae Sebastopolim se vocat*), but it is very difficult to assess how far any given example would be perceived as a metaphor. This is true even in later and vulgar texts such as the *Peregrinatio Egeriae*: the almost hyperbatic word order of . . . *locum ubi se tamen montes illi inter quos ibamus aperiebant* (1. 1) suggests a literary flourish as much as a

[13] The pattern in the OLG is thus very similar to that in Egeria (and Gregory of Tours), who often use the auxiliaries *fuerat*, *fuerit*, *fuero*, *fuisset*, and *fuisse*, but seldom *fuit*, *fuerunt*, and who preserve the synthetic passive; see Väänänen (1987: 62–5). Cf. also Callebat (1968: 170) on Apuleius. This seems to be the case in later Latin generally; see LHS ii. 321–2.

[14] For example, Cicero, *in Cat.* 1. 32, *quare secedant improbi, secernant se a bonis . . . muro denique . . . secernantur a nobis*; cf. 2 Thessalonians 2: 4 in Latin Irenaeus 3. 6. 5, *qui adversatur et extollit se* = ὁ ἀντικείμενος καὶ ὑπεραιρόμενος.

vulgarism. This impersonal use is, in fact, not found in the OLG, and even the personal use is not common. Some examples may be noted: *Adgeniculantes se* (reflexive for deponent *adgenicularī*) appears in *a b ff*^{2} *q* at Matthew 27: 29 rendering γονυπετήσαντες. *Ne quando convertant se* is found in *e* at Matthew 13: 15 rendering μήποτε ἐπιστρέψωσιν, as against *ne quando convertantur* in the other manuscripts.[15] *Tolle te et iacta te in mare* is the rendering of ἄρθητι καὶ βλήθητι εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν in most manuscripts at Matthew 21: 21; the rare passive imperative is especially liable to be remodelled[16] (though passive imperatives are used at the parallel Mark 11: 23). Particularly noteworthy is the use of the hypercharacterized medio-passive consisting of a synthetic passive verb-form plus a reflexive pronoun in *a b c h* at Matthew 5: 42, *ne avertaris te* (μὴ ἀποστραφῇς); compare *Mulomedicina Chironis* 2. 113, *portari se non facile potest* (see LHS ii. 295).

15.8 Deponents

Despite the vacillation between active and deponent forms in Roman comedy and early Latin generally, it is generally held that the traditional 'deponent verbs' of classical Latin were a residual class that were gradually won over in vulgar Latin to the active voice.[17] The OLG data do not conform to this scheme. Instances of active forms for deponents are usually confined to one or two manuscripts at any given point,[18] but at least one deponent for active is found in all the manuscripts, *et lacrimatus est Iesus* at John 11: 35. Various new deponents are also coined: *dominari* (Matthew 20: 25; Mark 10: 42, rendering

[15] It is notable that no manuscript uses *convertant* as an intransitive, a phenomenon common in other post-classical and vulgar texts (see Feltenius 1977), but rare in the OLG.

[16] See Adams (1977: 52) on *merca* for *mercare* in Claudius Terentianus. The same explanation may account for *scrutate* in *a b d* at John 5: 39.

[17] Thus Väänänen (1967: 136) states simply: 'Enfin, les données tardives confirment le caractère de survivance artificielle du déponent'. Boyce (1991: 52) similarly regards the deponent-for-passive uses in Petronius as hyperurbanisms and 'counter to the historical development'. However, Lundström (1943: 64–5) notes various cases of this in later Latin texts, which accord better with the patterns found in the OLG. We may be nearer the truth if we discard the rigid dichotomy between 'artificial' and 'non-productive' forms on the one hand, and 'living' and 'productive' forms on the other.

[18] *Lamentare* (ante-classical and poetical) appears in the active in all the European texts at Matthew 11: 17 (with the deponent in the more classicizing African version). For other examples see Rönsch (1875: 297–302); many are found only in *d*.

κατακυριεύω), *infirmari* (John 4: 46, 11: 2–6, rendering ἀσθενέω), *iacturari* (*a n* only at Mark 8: 36, rendering ζημιόω), *potentari* (*k* only at Mark 10: 42, rendering κατεξουσιάζω), *principari* (Mark 10: 42, rendering ἄρχω), *profetari* (*k* only at Mark 14: 65, rendering προφητεύω). In all these cases the deponents thus formed fit into the semantic areas of emotion (*lacrimari*) or personal interest (*iacturari*, *infirmari*) in which deponents often occur in classical Latin, or are used to form the pejoratives 'to play the lord and master/prophet' also found in the classical language (cf. *philosophari*, *pergraecari*). Granted that the translators show a certain conservatism in some matters, it is still difficult to regard the survival and continuing productivity of the deponential system as wholly artificial.

15.9 Defective Verbs

The classical defective verbs *odisse* and *meminisse* are unstable in later and vulgar Latin. The OLG translators use a mixture of classical and vulgar forms and various periphrases.

Odisse appears in a variety of forms in the OLG. The singular *odit* may be analysed either as a classical perfect or a vulgar present; but the plural at Luke 6: 27 appears as *oderunt* in *a aur ff*^{2} *l q r*^{1} *e Vg* (= τοῖς μισοῦσιν; *odiunt* in *b ff*^{2} and *odientibus* in *c d*; cf. Matthew 5: 44). The imperfect is given by the classical *oderant* in all save *a* (*odiebant*) at Luke 19: 14, but the future tenses generally show the vulgar assimilation to the fourth conjugation; thus at Matthew 5: 43, *odies* in *a aur b c f ff*^{1} *g*^{1} *l*, *odibis* in *k*, *odio habebis* in *h Vg*. The classical predicative dative construction is widely used to mark the passive; for example, Matthew 10: 22, typically *eritis odio omnibus* (*odium* in *ff*^{1}, *odebiles* in *k*; the latter rendering also found in *d e* at Matthew 24: 9 and *d s e* at Luke 21: 17).[19] The *odio habere/esse* construction tends to occur in the Vulgate and mixed texts; it is also a characteristic feature of the second European translation of John (comprising *aur b c f ff*^{2} *l Vg*), being used to render the perfect (John 15: 18) and aorist (John 15: 25, 17: 14) of μισέω. How far this periphrasis was a feature of the popular language is unclear. It may well be a learned form used to avoid the stigmatized vulgarism of *odire*.

The classical *meminisse* does not survive into Romance. In later Latin

[19] For this form of circumlocution for the passive cf. *admirabilis ero* for θαυμασθήσομαι at Wisdom 8: 11 (noted by Thielmann 1893*a*: 271).

it is often replaced by *recordari* and by the periphrasis *memor esse* (see Adams 1976: 114–15). The OLG show a variety of renderings of μνημονεύω and (ἀνα)μιμνήσκομαι. *Meminisse* is not unusual, being found in a range of manuscripts at Matthew 16: 9; Mark 8: 18–19. Most frequent, however, in the 'pure' Old Latin traditions is *rememorari* (also to a lesser extent *memorari* and *commemorari*); for example, Matthew 5: 23, 26: 75, 27: 63; Luke 24: 6–8; John 2: 17, 22, 12: 16. Though this verb is successful in Romance (*REW* 7,195) it is not found in classical Latin and is first attested in the translation literature (Tertullian, *adversus Marcionem* 4. 43, *rememoramini quae locutus sit vobis in Galilaea*, rendering Luke 24: 6); it may have been coined to complete the transparent set μνήμη: μνήμων: (ἀνα)μιμνήσκομαι:: *memoria*: *memor*: (*re*)*memorari*. In the Vulgate and the mixed texts it is often replaced by *recordari* (for example, at Matthew 5: 23, 26: 75, 27: 63), a word both classical and successful in Romance (It. *ricordar(si)*, Sp. *recordar*). The classical *commonefieri* is found in *e* at John 2: 17, 2: 22. Of the periphrases *memor esse* is fairly frequent; for example, Luke 17: 32 (all save *d*), 23: 42 (*b c ff*^{2} *l q r*^{1}); John 16: 4 (*a d l e*). Particularly notable is its use with a direct accusative in *e* at Matthew 16: 9, *neque memores estis quinque panes* (see LHS ii. 34). The phrase *in mente habere* appears as a set idiom in *e* at John 16: 21 (*non iam habet in mente praessuram propter gaudium*), and more strikingly with *de* in *ff*^{1} at Matthew 16: 9 and *c ff*^{2} at Mark 8: 18–19 (*neque in mente habetis de quinque panibus*). Again it is likely that such circumlocutions as *in mente habere* and *memor esse* were encouraged by grammarians as being a *media via* between the archaism of *meminisse* and the use of vulgarisms such as *rememorari*.

15.10 Periphrases with *habere*

The development of a new future and perfect tense from the infinitive and past participle respectively plus *habere* are two of the most notable changes between the Latin and the Romance periods (see Coleman 1971, 1976). However, they are of small importance in the OLG. *Habere* plus past participle is not widely found. It occurs in the phrase *adhuc caecatum habetis cor vestrum* in *f l Vg* at Mark 8: 17, but this is merely a literal rendering of πεπωρωμένην ἔχετε τὴν καρδίαν ὑμῶν. Stone (1946: 55) finds various examples of it in *d*, but believes that they all follow the classical patterns of use. *Habere* plus infinitive occurs in all manuscripts at John 8: 26, *multa habeo de vobis loqui* (πόλλα ἔχω περὶ

ὑμῶν λαλεῖν), and Luke 12: 50, *baptisma autem habeo baptizari* (βάπτισμα δὲ ἔχω βαπτισθῆναι), but again these are merely literal renderings of the Greek and cannot be regarded as true future tenses. More convincing examples of its use as a future auxiliary are found in *d ff*^{2} at Mark 14: 27, *omnes vos scandalizari habetis* (*scandalum habebitis* in *aur*, *scandalum patiemini* in *a b c i l q k*, *scandalizabimini* in *f Vg*; = πάντες σκανδαλισθήσεσθε), and in *aur c* at Mark 10: 38, *baptizari habeo* (*baptizor* in others; = βαπτίζομαι).[20] In both these cases it is notable that the construction is used with a passive verb rather than the active, [21] and that the verb in question is a loan-word and hence (as we have seen in Chapter 12) more likely to attract a periphrastic rendering. To these should be added *a*'s *numquid occidere se habet* (*interficiet* in *aur b c f f*^{2} *l r*^{1}, *occisurus est* in *d q e*; = μήτι ἀποκτενεῖ ἑαυτόν) at John 8: 22. The construction is particularly common in *d* as a rendering of μέλλω, for example, Luke 10.1, *habebat venire* (= ἔμελλεν ἔρχεσθαι; compare Luke 19: 4; Acts 1: 5); it also appears as an exponent of necessity in *c* at John 19: 7, *habet mori* (ὀφείλει ἀποθανεῖν). The OLG use of *habere* plus past participle and infinitive is thus in line with its general use in later Latin. They are clearly living features of the language, but they are not used as grammaticalized exponents of perfectivity or futurity.

15.11 Future Participles

The widespread use of participles on the Greek model from the late Republic onwards and especially in the translation literature is a well-documented feature of Latin syntax and requires no exhaustive treatment here.[22] However, the use of the Latin future participle and the Latin renderings of the Greek aorist active participle do deserve particular attention, in that they are areas of disparity between the two languages and therefore require the translators to produce something other than a completely literal rendering.

The future participle is very rare in the Greek New Testament, and the only example in the Gospels (Matthew 27: 49) is textually uncertain

[20] Here the force of *habere* may be that of necessity rather than futurity; moreover, influence from Luke 12: 50 cannot be ruled out.

[21] The passive infinitive plus *habere* is more frequent than the active in sub-literary Latin; see Coleman (1971: 221–2).

[22] See Plater and White (1926: 108–12) on participles in the Vulgate; Eklund (1970) on the present participle in the translation literature generally.

(see BDF 178). The corresponding Latin construction fares rather better. Though without reflexes in Romance it is frequently used in Vulgar Latin texts until a late date (Adams 1977: 49). In the OLG it is widely used as a rendering of μέλλω (e.g. Matthew 3: 7, 11: 14, 12: 32; Mark 10: 32; Luke 3: 7, 7: 2, 9: 31; John 6: 6, 15, 71), but also as a rendering of the simple future tense (less frequently the present) with the sense 'about to, destined to'. It is used in this way to mark futurity in the past at Matthew 20: 10, typically *primi arbitrati sunt quod plus essent accepturi* (*acciperent* in *d*, *acceperunt* in *e*; rendering ὅτι πλεῖον λήψονται), but also elsewhere in contexts where an ordinary synthetic future (as in the Greek) would have been admissible: for example, Matthew 26: 21, typically *unus vestrum me traditurus est* (*tradet* in *a d h r*^{1}; rendering εἷς ἐξ ὑμῶν παραδώσει με; cf. Mark 14: 30), John 8: 22, *numquid occisurus est se* in *d q e* (μήτι ἀποκτενεῖ ἑαυτόν), Matthew 17: 11, typically *Helias quidem venturus est* (*veniet* in *f ff*^{2} *e*, *venit* in *d*; rendering Ἠλίας μὲν ἔρχεται).[23] It should be noted that while the fine distinction between the future participle plus *esse* 'is about to do, going to do, destined to do' and the synthetic future 'will do' is often eroded in later and vulgar Latin texts (see LHS ii. 312), it is generally observed by the OLG translators.

15.12 Greek Aorist Participle

Latin has no form corresponding to the Greek aorist active participle, and the translators are, therefore, compelled to use a variety of devices to render it. The following are the most common: [24]

1. restructuring using perfect passive participle; for example, Luke 22: 54, *Et comprehensum illum duxerunt . . .* (Συλλαβόντες δὲ αὐτὸν ἤγαγον . . .) (temporal precedence/necessary condition);

2. *cum* clause; for example, Matthew 9: 23, *Et cum venisset Iesus in domum . . . dicebat* (Καὶ ἐλθὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς . . .) (precedence);

3. present active participle; for example, Mark 10: 2, *Et accedentes Pharisaei interrogabant illum . . .* (Καὶ προσελθόντες ἐπηρώτων αὐτόν . . .) (casual precedence/accompanying action);

[23] Mark 10: 38, typically *potestis bibere calicem quem ego bibiturus sum* (*biho* in *l Vg*, *bibio* in *k*; δύνασθε πιεῖν τὸ ποτήριον ὃ ἐγὼ πίνω) would also be an excellent example, were it possible to rule out influence from Matthew 20: 22, δύνασθε πιεῖν τὸ ποτήριον ὃ ἐγὼ μέλλω πίνειν.

[24] In the examples cited, the construction in question is not always employed in all manuscripts but in at least half the 'pure' Old Latin texts.

4. deponent participle; for example, Matthew 26: 39, *Et progressus pusillum procidit in faciem suam . . .* (*Καὶ προσελθὼν μικρόν . . .*) (casual precedence);

5. restructuring using ablative absolute; for example, Matthew 26: 56, *Omnes relicto eo fugerunt* (*πάντες ἀφέντες αὐτὸν ἔφυγον*) (temporal precedence, anticipating main verb);

6. ablative of gerund; for example, Luke 10: 25, *Quid faciendo vitam aeternam possidebo?* (*τί ποιήσας ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσω*) (means by which); compare Luke 18: 18.

Of these techniques the use of the deponent participle has been considered in the previous chapter. The use of a perfect passive participle (as at Luke 22: 54) gives the sentence something of a literary air; such constructions are not common in vulgar texts. The ablative absolute likewise is a construction seldom found in later vulgar texts (see Väänänen 1967: 178).[25] The practice of employing these somewhat literary and old-fashioned constructions to translate a part of speech for which Latin has no obvious rendering is the syntactic equivalent of the revival of obsolete and literary lexical items noted above.

The use of the ablative of the gerund is especially notable. The specifically instrumental–causal sense of the ablative of the gerund is often eroded even in classical Latin from an early date; for example, Livy 8. 17. 1, *consules populando usque ad moenia pervenerunt* (see Löfstedt 1911: 159–60; Woodcock 1959: 160; LHS ii. 380). Other translation literature provides further examples of the ablative of the gerund used to render a Greek participle.[26] The OLG, however, adhere strictly to the classical usage. In the example quoted above (Luke 10: 25) the instrumental sense is clear: '*By doing what* shall I possess eternal life?' The same is true also at Luke 15: 13, *dissipavit substantiam suam vivendo luxuriose* (*vivens* in *a d e*; = *ζῶν*) 'he squandered his substance *in riotous living*', Luke 18: 5, *ne in novissimo veniendo constringat me* (thus *b i*; *conveniendo*

[25] But in contrasting the ablative absolutes in the Vulgate and the corresponding *cum*- clauses and paratactic renderings in the African version, Väänänen falls into the fallacy of drawing a simple opposition between the vulgarized Old Latin version and the more literary and stylish Vulgate; see App. 1 *passim*. In fact all the ablative absolutes he cites from the Vulgate also appear in the European Old Latin version, and are merely taken over by Jerome wholesale. One can, in any case, hardly regard *cum* clauses as 'sub-literary'.

[26] e.g. the Latin Clement, *ad Corinthios* 13. 1, [*verba*] *quae locutus est docendo mansuetudinem* = [*λόγοι*] *οὓς ἐλάλησεν διδάσκων ἐπιείκειαν*, id. 17. 2, *qui dixit intuendo maiestatem Dei humiliando se* = *καὶ λέγει ἀτενίζων εἰς τὴν δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ ταπεινοφρονῶν* (contrast *humiliantes se* = *ταπεινοφρονοῦντες* at 62. 2).

in *q*, *veniens* in *a aur c d f l r*^{1} *e*, *veniat* in *ff*^{2}; = ἐρχομένη) 'lest in the end she wear me out *with her coming*', Luke 11: 45, *magister, haec dicendo etiam nobis contumeliam facis* (*r*^{1} only; *dicens* in others; = λέγων) '*in saying these things* you insult us also'. The use of the ablative of the gerund in the OLG does not reflect the vulgar extension of the construction to function as a participle. It is rather an illustration of how the translators show a native speaker's knowledge of Latin idiom, and furthermore of their slight conservatism in preferring the classical usage to that which was undoubtedly widespread in the spoken language.

15.13 Infinitive of Purpose

So far we have dealt primarily with morphological matters. Wider questions of syntax and sentence structure in the OLG are harder to assess, not only on account of the range of variants in the manuscript traditions but also because of the very heavy influence of the Greek. This is not helped by the fact that the Greek of the Gospels itself shows a comparatively limited range of sentence structures, mostly simple enough to allow the translators to render them very closely into Latin; were the originals more complex, the translators would have been obliged to find other alternatives. We may, however, single out some areas in which the translators employ constructions which may be influenced by the Greek, but which are in accord with known tendencies in Vulgar Latin.

The infinitive of purpose is a construction with a long history in Latin, though in early and classical texts it is confined to use either after verbs of motion (e.g. Plautus, *Bacch.* 631, *venerat aurum petere*) or in the set expression *dare bibere* (see Woodcock 1959: 18–19; LHS ii. 344–5). In later and vulgar Latin texts the construction is frequently used under Greek influence in contexts where classical Latin would use *ut* plus subjunctive or *ad* plus gerundive (see Coleman 1975: 135–6). The OLG provide many examples of this extended use of the infinitive of purpose. However, the Latin translators do not use the construction mechanically every time it appears in the Greek. It is, therefore, worth while considering the constraints that exist upon its use.

Where the subject of the verb in the infinitive in the Greek is the same as the subject of the finite verb that governs it, the Latin translators generally use an infinitive of purpose. Thus at Matthew 9: 13; Mark 2: 17; Luke 5: 32, the Greek *οὐκ ἦλθον* (*ἐλήλυθα*) *καλέσαι*

δικαίους is typically rendered *non veni vocare iustos*. Constructions of this type are common in the OLG.

Where, however, the logical subject of the verb in the infinitive in Greek is not the same as the subject of the finite verb that governs it, the translators generally do not use an infinitive of purpose. This is most clearly seen in cases like Luke 15: 15, where καὶ ἔπεμψεν αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς ἀγροὺς αὐτοῦ βόσκειν χοίρους is typically rendered *et misit illum in villam suam ut pasceret porcos* (*pascere* in *d* only). Here the grammatical and logical subject of ἔπεμψεν is clearly different from that of βόσκειν. Likewise at Matthew 4: 1 the Greek τότε ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνήχθη εἰς τὴν ἔρημον ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος πειρασθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου is typically rendered *tunc Iesus ductus est in desertum ut temptaretur a diabolo*. Though ὁ Ἰησοῦς is the grammatical subject of πειρασθῆναι, the logical subject of the clause is the devil; *ut temptaretur a diabolo* is equivalent to *ut diabolus eum temptaret*. A similar principle applies at Matthew 20: 19, where καὶ παραδώσουσιν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν εἰς τὸ ἐμπαῖξαι καὶ μαστιγῶσαι καὶ σταυρῶσαι is typically rendered *et tradent eum gentibus ad deludendum et flagellandum et crucifigendum*.[27] An apparent counter-example occurs at Matthew 22: 3, where καὶ ἀπέστειλεν τοὺς δούλους αὐτοῦ καλέσαι τοὺς κεκλημένους is typically rendered *et misit servos suos vocare invitatos* (*ut vocarent* in *ff*[1] only). Here, however, the *servi* are acting as the agents of the master, who is effectively the logical subject; the clause is logically equivalent to *et invitatos per emissos servos vocavit*.

It should be stressed that as the 'logical subject' is not always easy to identify, it is not possible to draw up hard and fast rules to account for every instance. Sometimes the translators themselves may switch construction in mid-verse; thus at Luke 1: 17 the Greek καὶ αὐτὸς προσελεύσεται ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ . . . ἐπιστρέψαι καρδίας πατέρων ἐπὶ τέκνα . . . ἑτοιμάσαι κυρίῳ λαὸν κατεσκευασμένον is typically rendered *et ipse praecedet ante illum . . . ut convertat* (*convertere* in *d q e*, *ad convertenda* in *a*) *corda patrum in filios . . . parare* (*conparare* in *e*, *praeparare* in *d*) *domino plebem perfectam*. The fact that the OLG translators do not always use the infinitive of purpose when the construction appears in the Greek actually strengthens the case for believing where they do use it that it is a natural part of the ordinary language of the day.

The supine of purpose appears only once, in *d* at John 21: 3, *vado piscatu* (*piscare* in *q*, *piscari* in others; = ὑπάγω ἁλιεύειν).

[27] This case is slightly different from the others, in that the infinitive in the Greek is substantivized. However, the use of *ad* plus infinitive was still an option; Grandgent (1907: 48–9) cites Augustine, *Sermo* 225. 4, *cum veneris ad bibere*.

15.14 Indirect Speech

The accusative-and-infinitive construction was always rivalled by clauses introduced by *quod*, *quia*, and later *quoniam* after verbs of saying, perceiving, and thinking. Though the idiom is found in Latin texts from an early date, its extension and eventual dominance in this area of syntax was probably reinforced by influence from the Greek (see Coleman 1975: 119–22; Väänänen 1967: 173–4; LHS ii. 578–9). The patterns in the OLG are complex and resist any neat schematization, but the following general observations may be made.

The accusative-and-infinitive construction is used occasionally in the Greek of the Gospels, and where it is the OLG translators usually use the same Latin construction. Thus at Matthew 16: 13 *τίνα με λέγουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι εἶναι, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* is typically rendered *quem me homines dicunt esse, filium hominis?* (Compare Mark 8: 27–9, Luke 9: 18–20). The construction is also used sometimes to render a *ὅτι* clause in the Greek, when a literal translation would have contravened Latin idiom; for example, Mark 7: 2, where *ἰδόντες τινὰς . . . ὅτι κοιναῖς χερσίν . . . ἐσθίουσιν* is typically rendered *cum viderent quosdam . . . communibus manibus . . . manducare* (*edentes* in *a* only).[28] However, a *quod* clause may be used even where the Greek has an accusative and infinitive; for example, at John 12: 18, where *ἤκουσαν τοῦτο αὐτὸν πεποιηκέναι τὸ σημεῖον* is rendered with an accusative and infinitive only in *d aur f V/g*, the other manuscripts having variants on *audierunt quia hoc fecit signum.*

But the most common construction after *verba dicendi et sentiendi* in the Greek of the Gospels is a clause introduced by *ὅτι* in which the mood and tense of the verb are assimilated to those of the original utterance or perception (the so-called *ὅτι recitativum*; see BDF 246–7). The OLG translators generally render this using a *quod/quoniam/quia* clause[29] retaining the mood and tense of the Greek; for example,

[28] Compare the variety of renderings of Mark 11: 32, *εἶχον τὸν Ἰωάννην ὅτι ὄντως προφήτης ἦν*, where *b c ff² i r¹* have the accusative and infinitive (*sciebant Ioannem vere prophetam fuisse* or similar), and the rest have a *quia/quoniam* clause (*quia propheta erat* or similar).

[29] The three words are used indifferently. According to Stone (1946: 62) the distribution in *d* is *quod* x 30, *quia* x 133, *quoniam* x 92. This seems to be typical of the broader pattern, though the preference for *quia* is less marked elsewhere. The term '*quod* clauses' will be used as shorthand for clauses introduced by any of the three particles.

Matthew 17: 12, typically *dico autem vobis, quia* (*quod* in *a b ff*^{2}, *quoniam* in *ff*^{1} *q*) *Helias iam venit et non cognoverunt eum* (= λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν ὅτι Ἠλίας ἤδη ἦλθεν καὶ οὐκ ἐπέγνωσαν αὐτόν); Mark 8: 31, typically *et coepit docere illos, quoniam* (*quia* in *a q k*) *oportet filium hominis multa pati* (= καὶ ἤρξατο διδάσκειν αὐτοὺς ὅτι δεῖ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πολλὰ παθεῖν). In such cases the use of the present tense in the subordinate clause may be regarded as a form of *repraesentatio* (see Woodcock 1959: 238). Sometimes, however, the use of ὅτι *recitativum* cannot be rendered literally into Latin; thus at John 10: 36 the Greek ὑμεῖς λέγετε ὅτι βλασφημεῖς 'ye say "thou committest blasphemy"' is generally smoothed down to indirect speech in the Latin versions, typically *vos dicitis quia* (*quoniam* in *a d*) *blasphemat* (thus *a aur b ff*^{2} *l r*^{1} *e*; *blasphemo* in *c*, *blasphemas* in *aur* (second hand) *d f Vg*). The problem is further compounded by uncertain textual status in the Greek of many ὅτι *recitativa*; if no equivalent appears in the Latin at a given point, it is impossible to tell whether the translators were using Greek texts which did not have it, or whether they simply chose to omit it from their translation.

It should be noted that the translators often preserve the distinction (frequently ignored even in Republican Latin) between the indicative and subjunctive in *quod* clauses after *verba sentiendi*, using the latter when the truth of the statement in the clause is either denied or not vouched for (see Coleman 1975: 120–1; Woodcock 1959: 196; also Plater and White 1926: 120). This distinction is often observed where it has no counterpart in the Greek. Thus at Matthew 20: 10 the Greek οἱ πρῶτοι ἐνόμισαν ὅτι πλεῖον λήψονται is typically rendered *primi arbitrati sunt quod plus essent accepturi* (*acciperent* in *d*, *acceperunt* in *e*). So also at John 11: 13 the Greek ἔδοξαν ὅτι περὶ τῆς κοιμήσεως τοῦ ὕπνου λέγει is typically rendered *putaverunt quia de dormitione somnus* [*sic*] *diceret* (thus *aur b f ff*^{2} *l*; *dixit* in *j r*^{1}, *dicit* in *a c d*, *dixisset* in *e*). The accusative-and-infinitive construction is also used to mark false belief in *a q r*^{1} *e* at John 20: 15, typically *illa existimans eum hortulanum esse* (= ἐκείνη δοκοῦσα ὅτι κηπουρός ἐστιν). The subjunctive may also be used where the *quod* clause explains a preceding verb of emotion, as at Matthew 9: 36, where the Greek ἐσπλαγχνίσθη περὶ αὐτῶν, ὅτι ἦσαν ἐσκυλμένοι is typically rendered *misertus est eis, quod essent vexati* in *a b c g*^{1} *μ q* (*erant* in *d f ff*^{1} *h l Vg*, *fuiterunt* (*sic*) in *k*).[30]

[30] But contrast the parallel Mark 6: 34, typically *misertus est super eos, quia erant sicut oves non habentes pastorem* (*qui erant* in *a b d*).

15.15 Conclusions

The conclusions to be drawn from this brief examination of the syntax of the OLG are similar to those drawn from our consideration of their lexis. The language shows many constructions belonging to sub-literary registers, and is often heavily distorted by the Greek; in these respects the traditional description of the translations as 'literal' and 'vulgar' is justified. However, the OLG are not the most heavily vulgarized of Latin texts, nor are the translations wholly literal. Instead we find some obsolete or obsolescent constructions revived, either because they provide the nearest equivalent to the Greek or apparently out of a certain conservatism on the part of the translators. Moreover, the translators from time to time show a native speaker's command of Latin in choosing between several possible Latin constructions for a particular Greek idiom and selecting the one most appropriate to the context (e.g. the use of the future participle plus *esse*, the ablative of the gerund, or the subjunctive in *quod* clauses).

APPENDIX 1: JEROME'S TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE

1. Introduction

Jerome's stated aim in producing his revision of the OLG was to produce a version that was closer to the Greek original in two respects: first, it was to undo the errors of previous, less skilled translators, and secondly, it was to be based on a better form of the Greek text.[1] There is little doubting his success as a textual critic; where Jerome chooses a different Greek text from that followed by the main Old Latin traditions, his choice is often supported by modern critical editions (Metzger 1979). There is little doubting too that he often substituted more classical lexis for the vulgarisms of the OLG; for instance, the Vulgate and mixed texts often have *appropinquare* for the Old Latin *appropiare*, or *cavere* for *attendere*, or *comedere* for *manducare*. It is generally assumed that as a pupil of Donatus and an advocate of the *sensus pro sensu* approach to translation, he also corrected various mistranslations found in the Old Latin traditions and altered their highly literal style to something more readable. In this appendix I would question that assumption.[2] I intend to apply some of the techniques used in Part II to assess the level of literalism in the OLG, and suggest that Jerome's technique in the Vulgate Gospels is often more literal than that of his Old Latin models.[3]

2. 'Unfocussed' Renderings

The term 'focussed renderings' is used here to cover two related phenomena. One is that of contextual sensitivity, that is, the practice of varying the translation of a given Greek word according to the context in which it occurs.

[1] Compare the *Praefatio ad Damasum: cur non ad graecam originem revertentes ea quae vel a vitiosis interpretibus male edita vel a praesumptoribus inperitis emendata perversius vel a librariis dormitantibus aut addita sunt aut mutata corrigimus.*

[2] A similar defence of the Old Latin Wisdom of Solomon has been made by Jiménez-Villarejo Fernández (1987).

[3] A detailed analysis of the Vulgate as against the OLG can only be as good as the best critical editions of the Vulgate. I would restate my belief that in the case of the Gospels at least modern scholarship has been able to provide us with a text sufficiently reliable to make the attempt worthwhile.

The other is that of selecting a specific and precise rather than a more general Latin term to render the Greek in all contexts. An 'unfocussed' rendering is one where the usual rendering has not been altered in view of the context, or where a blander and more general term has been preferred.[4] The Vulgate contains some 'unfocussed' translations corresponding to 'focussed' ones in the Old Latin as follows.

Matthew 25: 27 *Oportuit ergo te mittere pecuniam meam nummulariis* (thus *d g*^{1} *l Vg*, *committere* in *a aur b c f q*, *dare*, in *ff*^{1} *h r*^{1}, *tradere* in *ff*^{2}; = βαλεῖν τὰ ἀργύριά μου τοῖς τραπεζίταις). See discussion of this verse in Section 6.3.

Luke 20: 20 (Pharisees sending out messengers with trick questions), *Et cum recessissent miserunt* (thus *aur f r*^{1} *e Vg*; *summiserunt* in other Old Latin traditions) *insidiatores* (thus *aur c f Vg*; *subornatos* in *a r*^{1}, *obsiduanos* in *d*, variant reading in other manuscripts; = ἀπέστειλαν ἐγκαθέτους). Here the Vulgate shows itself more literal than the majority of Old Latin traditions in two ways. First, the Old Latin rendering *summittere* 'to send out secretly, to send out to deceive' is altered to the balder *mittere*. Secondly, the rendering *insidiator* 'one who lies in wait', though not inappropriate to the context, apparently reflects a false derivation of ἐγκάθετος from ἐγκαθίζω (rather than ἐγκαθίημι 'to bribe'); compare Section 3 below.

Luke 3: 13 (To *publicani*) *Nihil amplius quam quod constitutum est vobis faciatis* (thus *aur f Vg*; *nihil amplius exigatis quam quod c. e. v.* or similar in other Old Latin traditions; = μηδὲν πλέον παρὰ τὸ διατεταγμένον ὑμῖν πράσσετε). Apart from the change of word from the focussed *exigere* in the OLG to the unfocussed *facere* in the Vulgate, the difference of word order between them is also notable. In the absence of any Greek variant which could account for this, it would seem that the OLG translators have moved the verb forwards to a more natural position, while Jerome prefers to follow the order of the Greek at the expense of ordinary Latin use.

Matthew 21: 33 ff. *Homo erat. . . qui plantavit vineam . . . et locavit eam agricolis* (*agricolis* in Vulgate and mixed texts throughout passage; *colonis* in 'pure' Old Latin traditions; = ἐξέδετο αὐτὸν γεωργοῖς). Here the Old Latin choice *coloni* is arguably a more appropriate choice, in that it captures the sense of both 'farmer' and 'tenant' demanded by the passage (both of which are expressed in Greek by ὁ γεωργός; see Liddell and Scott).[5]

[4] Newmark (1991: 12) suggests the apt term 'under-translation', characterized by 'the use of "hold-all" terms'.

[5] Metzger (1977: 354) regards *agricola* here as a 'correction' of *colonus*. No reason is given for this curious comment.

Matthew 17: 24 *Accesserunt qui didragma accipiebant* (thus *aur d l e Vg*; *exigebant* in other Old Latin traditions; = οἱ τὰ δίδραχμα λαμβάνοντες). While *accipere* (the usual rendering of λαμβάνω) is perfectly comprehensible, it lacks the specificity of *exigere*, the usual Latin verb 'to collect taxes'.

Matthew 2: 7 *Tunc Herodes . . . diligenter didicit* (thus *aur Vg*; *exquisivit* in other Old Latin traditions; = ἠκρίβωσεν). Here Jerome's rendering is manifestly 'flatter' than the Old Latin, without being any more accurate or classical.

Luke 24: 14 *Et ipsi loquebantur ad invicem de his omnibus quae acciderant* (thus *aur f Vg*; *tractabant* in *a*, *fabulabantur* in other Old Latin traditions; = καὶ αὐτοὶ ὡμίλουν πρὸς ἀλλήλους). It has been suggested above (see Chapter 8) that the use of *fabulari* here is not a vulgarism, but rather has been chosen as the most appropriate rendering in the context. Jerome's *loqui* is a more common and more classical word, but is less vivid than the Old Latin rendering. It is worth noting that where ὁμιλέω occurs in v. 15, Jerome does not persist in altering the Old Latin *fabulari* to *loqui*.

John 8: 59 *Tulerunt ergo lapides ut iacerent in eum* (thus *c Vg*; *ut iactarent* in *a aur ff*^{2} *q*, *ut mitterent* in *b d l r*^{1} *e*; = ἵνα βάλωσιν). It has been suggested above (see Chapter 6) that *iactare*, the rendering found in the *ff*^{2} tradition on which Jerome based his version of John, is not a vulgarism but a deliberately-chosen vigorous rendering. The rendering *iacere*, while perfectly unexceptionable, lacks the same impact.

John 10: 10 *fur non venit nisi ut furetur et mactet et perdat* (thus *aur Vg*; *iugulet* in *l r*^{1}, *occidat* in other Old Latin traditions; = εἰ μὴ ἵνα κλέψῃ καὶ θύσῃ). Though *mactare* is occasionally used in the broader sense 'to kill' in which θύω can be used, this use occurs mostly in poetry, where the influence of the Greek cannot be ruled out;[6] it is never common in this sense. Its use in the Vulgate may be seen as an unfocussed rendering.

John 12: 6 *fur erat et loculos habens ea quae mittebantur portabat* (thus *f Vg*; *auferebat* in *a c e*, *baiulabat* in *d*, *exportabat* in other Old Latin traditions; = ἐβάσταζεν). The renderings of this verb in John are discussed more fully above (see Table 8.1 and discussion). Here it is to be noted that Jerome chooses the most literal

[6] All the classical examples of the sense 'to kill' listed at *TLL* VIII. 22. 56 ff. are from poetry (with the exception of some cases where the meaning is clearly 'to sacrifice'). The two instances in Virgil occur in lines with a particularly Greek rhythm and diction; *Aeneid* 10. 413, *hic mactat Ladona, Pheretaque Demodocumque, Aeneid* 8. 294, *bimembris/ Hylaeumque Pholumque manu, tu Cresia mactas/prodigia*. Compare the mock-tragic bombast of Seneca, *Apocolocyntosis* 7. 2, *haec clava reges saepe mactavit feros*.

rendering of the Greek, making no attempt to select a word more obviously appropriate to the context.[7]

3. Etymologizing Renderings

It has been noted already that the OLG translators often choose to render Greek words with Latin ones that match their structure and etymology as closely as possible. This may take the form of calquing in the strict sense, that is, the creation of entirely new words, or it may involve using existing words, sometimes outside their usual sense. This practice is common in ancient translation literature and sometimes leads to mistranslation, where the translator is mistaken concerning the etymology of the word in the source-language; for examples see Lundström (1955: 84–97). Jerome frequently adopts such etymologizing renderings, even where they are not found in the Old Latin.

Luke 2: 1 *Exiit edictum a Caesare Augusto ut describeretur universus orbis* (thus *c f Vg*, *profiteretur* in other Old Latin traditions; = ἀπογράφεσθαι). Also *descriptio* in *f Vg* in v. 2 as against *professio* in other manuscripts. *Describere* is obviously modelled directly on the Greek ἀπογράφεσθαι. Though *conscribere* is well attested in the administrative sense 'to enroll into a class of citizenry', *describere* apparently has no such sense. *Profiteri*, however, is the appropriate technical term 'to present oneself for enrolment'; for example, Sallust, *Catilina* 18. 3, *Catilina prohibitus est petere consulatum, quod intra legitimos dies profiteri nequiverit.* At v. 5 Jerome allows the Old Latin *profiteri* to stand.

Matthew 4: 5 *Tunc diabolus . . . statuit eum supra pinnaculum templi* (thus *aur l Vg*; *fastigium* in *k*, *pinnam* in other Old Latin traditions; = τὸ πτερύγιον). *Pinna* is not frequently used in the sense 'topmost point, parapet', but the use is attested in classical Latin (for example, Caesar, *de Bello Gallico* 5. 40, *turres contabulantur, pinnae loricaeque ex cratibus attexuntur*; compare *Aeneid* 7. 159). The diminutive *pinnaculum*, however, seems to have been a calque of πτερύγιον, used only by Biblical translators and other Christian writers.[8]

Luke 12: 29 *Et vos nolite quaerere, quid manducetis . . . nolite in sublime tolli* (thus *aur Vg*; *non abalienetis vos* in *d*, *nolite solliciti esse* or similar in other Old Latin traditions; = μὴ μετεωρίζεσθε). The Greek word is admittedly obscure, but the Vulgate rendering is practically meaningless, while the Old Latin obviously gives the sense.

[7] Adams (1976: 114) notes that *portare* is used in some late Latin texts as a euphemism 'to steal'. However, this meaning is rare, and does not seem to be attested before the time of composition of the Vulgate.

[8] Sparks (1970: 524) regards Jerome's use of *pinnaculum* here as a 'correction' of the Old Latin version. I cannot agree, unless 'correct' is understood to mean 'more literal'.

Matthew 6: 11 *Panem nostrum supersubstantialem da nobis hodie* (thus Vulgate; *cottidianum* in Old Latin traditions; = ἐπιούσιον). Again the Greek word is obscure, but again the Vulgate rendering is more concerned to reproduce the form of the Greek than to give a meaningful translation.

Matthew 9: 38 *Rogate ergo dominum messis, ut eiciat operarios in messem suam* (thus *d l Vg*; *mittat* in other Old Latin traditions; = ὅπως ἐκβάλῃ). In late and Vulgar Latin, compounds of *iacere* do sometimes have the force 'to take' rather than 'to throw',[9] so the Vulgate rendering need not be taken as 'that he throw out the workers'. However, it is clear that Jerome's concern to match the Greek word element for element has led him to produce what in Latin is a vulgarism, or at least a non-classical use.

Luke 11: 53 *coeperunt Pharisaei et legis periti . . . os eius opprimere* (thus *aur Vg*; *conferre illi/cum eo* in *c e*, *altercari cum illo* in *f*, *comminare illi* in *a*, *committere cum illo* (*illi* in *d*) in *b d i l q r*^{1}; = ἀποστοματίζειν). Though the Greek word is not unusual in the sense 'to teach by rote' its use here is slightly unusual; it is generally taken to mean 'to interrogate, make to answer questions'. On this occasion Jerome is obviously correct in his etymology, but his rendering suggests a meaning which is almost the opposite of that required; the idiom *os opprime* is used in Roman comedy (for example, Plautus, *Asinaria* 586) with the meaning 'shut up'.

Matthew 24: 1 *et accesserunt discipuli eius ut ostenderent ei aedificationem templi* (thus *aur Vg*; *aedificationes* in *g*^{1} *ff*^{1} *l* and some Vulgate manuscripts; *fabricas* in *d*, *aedificia* in *f e*, *structuras/am* in other Old Latin traditions; = τὰς οἰκοδομάς). *Aedificatio* is an unexceptionable rendering, but it is notable again how Jerome has departed from the probable rendering *structuram* of his *Vorlage* in favour of one which matches exactly the structure of the Greek.

Matthew 26: 61 *Possum destruere templum Dei et post triduum aedificare illud* (thus *a aur f ff*^{1} *g*^{1} *l n Vg*; *reaedificare* in other Old Latin traditions; = οἰκοδομῆσαι). Here again the desire for an exact morph-for-morph match of the Greek prompts Jerome to choose the simple form *aedificare*, where Latin idiom prefers the compound.[10]

[9] Compare Vulgate Acts 5: 15, *ita ut in plateis eiecerent infirmos* = ὥστε καὶ εἰς τὰς πλατείας ἐκφέρειν τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς; see Thielmann (1893*b*: 533), Löfstedt (1959: 27). Cf. also Petronius, *Satyricon* 52. 4, *puer calicem proiecit* (i.e. 'brought forward').

[10] It is instructive here to compare the Latin versions with three modern English versions. The more traditional and literal Revised Standard Version (1946) has 'and to build it in three days'; the freer New English Bible (1961) and New International Version (1979) both have 'rebuild'.

4. Archaism

The Vulgate generally retains the sort of archaisms found in the OLG (see Chapter 8) without adding to them. There is, however, at least one exception to this.

Mark 4: 19 *et aerumnae saeculi et deceptio divitiarum . . . suffocant verbum* (thus *aur l Vg*; *sollicitudo* in others). *Aerumna* is common in Roman comedy but thereafter infrequent, except in Apuleius.

5. Syntactic Interference

The syntax of all the Latin Gospel traditions is heavily skewed by Greek. However, in some places Jerome is more heavily influenced than the Old Latin.

Luke 10: 13 *Vae tibi, Corazin et Bethsaida, quia si in Tyro et Sidone factae fuissent virtutes quae in vobis factae sunt, olim . . . paeniterent* (thus *aur e Vg*; *paeniterentur* in *i l*, *paenitentiam egissent* in other Old Latin traditions; = μετενόησαν). *Paenitere* may be used in early Latin with a subject to mean 'to displease' (e.g. Plautus, *Stichus* 51, *me quidem haec conditio nunc non paenitet*) (as opposed to the impersonal use in classical Latin), but seems never to have been used to mean 'to be sorry'.

Luke 12: 8 *Omnis quicumque confessus fuerit in me . . .* (thus *d i q Vg*; omitted in other Old Latin traditions; = ὃς ἂν ὁμολογήσῃ ἐν ἐμοί). Again the Greek construction is carried over directly into the Vulgate; it probably was not present in Jerome's *Vorlage*.

Matthew 2: 16 *tunc Herodes videns quoniam inlusus est/esset a magis* (thus *aur d f ff*^{1} *l Vg*; *cum vidisset* in *e*, *ut vidit* in other Old Latin traditions; = ἰδών). Jerome frequently uses participles to render participles where his Old Latin *Vorlage* employed a different construction (Sparks 1970: 523), especially in the early chapters of Matthew, where his revisions are heaviest; compare also Matthew 4: 3, *et accedens temptator dixit ei*, where the 'pure' Old Latin texts render *et accessit ad eum temptator et dixit illi*. While this shows a scrupulous regard to reproduce the Greek as closely as possible, it also has the effect of overloading the translation with participles, which normally are more frequent in Greek than in Latin. It is true that the Old Latin renderings are often more paratactic in this respect than the Vulgate (as in Matthew 4: 3; but not always, as at Matthew 2: 16); but though the development of Latin prose style is largely a movement from the coordination to the subordination of clauses, it would be an oversimplification to suggest that all parataxis is necessarily vulgar or sub-literary. There is a case for the claim that Jerome's use of participles results in a

less natural and idiomatic rendering than that found in the Old Latin translations.

6. Singular and Plural

Matthew 26: 64 *amodo videbitis filium hominis sedentem a dextris virtutis* (thus *aur d l Vg*; *ad* [*sic*] *dextris* in *ff*^{1} *g*^{1} *r*^{1}, *ad dext[e]ram* in *a b c f ff*^{2} *h n q*; = ἐκ δεξιῶν). It has been noted above (see Tables 3.4, 3.12) that the Vulgate and the mixed texts show a slight but distinct preference (especially in Mark) for the literal rendering of ἐκ δεξιῶν as *a dextris*, while the other Old Latin traditions prefer the more idiomatic *ad dexteram.*

Mark 12: 15 *Qui sciens versutiam illorum* (thus *b d l Vg*; *versutias* in *ff*^{2} *i q*, *simulatio* in *a aur c*, *sictam* [*sic*] *pronuntiationem* in *k*; = τὴν ὑπόκρισιν). This rendering is more fully discussed above (see sect. 8.2); for the moment it is sufficient to note that Jerome prefers to retain the singular *versutiam* rather than use the plural. In fact the word may be either singular or plural in earlier Latin without any distinction of meaning, but the plural is perhaps more in line with classical use.[11]

7. Greek Words

Mark 14: 71 (Denial of Peter) *ille autem coepit anathematizare et iurare, quia nescio hominem* (thus *aur l Vg*; *devotare* in other Old Latin traditions; = ὁ δὲ ἤρξατο ἀναθεματίζειν). Jerome's introduction of *anathematizo* for *devotare* (which is not obviously a bad rendering) may be based on his knowledge of the technical use of ἀναθεματίζω in the LXX in the sense 'to pronounce a curse upon' (cf. the formal expressions at 1 Corinthians 12: 3, 16: 22, Galatians 1: 8–9). But to the average reader or hearer not possessed of this knowledge, the word would be intrusive if not completely obscure.[12]

Matthew 19: 12 *Sunt enim eunuchi* (thus *aur d f l q Vg*; *spadones* in other Old Latin traditions) *qui de matris utero sic nati sunt, et sunt eunuchi* (distribution of

[11] The word is not common at any period, but the plural is used at Livy 42. 47. 7, whereas the singular is used at Apuleius, *Apology* 81; see discussion in Chapter 8.

[12] An English parallel might be the rendering of Luke 10: 35 in the Douay–Rheims Bible of 1582: 'And the next day he tooke forth two pence, and gaue them to the host, and said, Haue care of him: and whatsoeuer thou shalt supererogate, I at my returne will repay thee'. Here the translation is all in plain English, with the exception of supererogate, based on the Vulgate's *supererogaveris*. The translators, like Jerome, might have argued that a plainer translation avoiding the loan-word might have failed to bring out the relationship to the technical term *supererogation*; but on the whole more is probably lost than gained by introducing the word here. See the discussion of Latinisms in the Douay–Rheims Bible in Bruce (1970: 117–23).

renderings as above) *qui facti sunt ab hominibus, et sunt eunuchi* (distribution of renderings as above) *qui se ipsos castraverunt* (*eunuchizaverunt* in *a aur l* and Wordsworth *et al.* 1898). Here again Jerome prefers the loan-word to the translation found in the Old Latin versions. This usage is comparable to that of *anathematizare* rather than *devotare* discussed above, although as *eunuchus* (unlike *anathematizare*) is already an established word in Latin it would present less difficulty to the reader; *spado* carries quite satisfactorily the denotative force of the Greek, but not its specifically religious connotations.

8. Conclusions

The examples listed above are not offered as an even-handed attempt to weigh up Jerome's translation style in the Vulgate Gospels. They are merely some instances where (assuming modern editions of the Vulgate Gospels represent fairly accurately what Jerome actually wrote) Jerome has changed the rendering found in the consensus of Old Latin versions in the direction of something more literal according to the definition of literalism given in Chapter 5, namely the pursuit of exact correspondence between source- and target-language, with resulting distortions of natural usage and idiom. Some of them are quite slight in themselves; but the treatment of such minor details may be what distinguishes an idiomatic rendering from a merely competent one. Counter-examples could of course be given, in which the Vulgate has a rendering that is freer and more natural; for example, Luke 10: 40, *Martha autem satagebat circa frequens ministerium* (thus *aur Vg*; *multum/o* in *c d f e*, *plurimum* in *a l q* r^1; = *περὶ πολλὴν διακονίαν*). Nor is it suggested here that literalism is necessarily a bad thing. Notions of how far a translator should adapt a text to his or her language and culture vary between different times and different individuals, and a bald literal translation may possess a force that is lost in a more interpretative rendering. It is merely suggested that in revising the Latin Gospels Jerome occasionally opts for a more literal rendering than that found in the OLG, and that a proper assessment of the extent of his literalism should be based on a close comparison between the Vulgate and Old Latin Gospels, rather than on his explicit statements about his policy.

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