

BETTY IRENE KNOTT.

THE STYLE AND LANGUAGE OF E. DIEHL'S  
'INSCRIPTIONES LATINAE CHRISTIANAE VETERES',  
with reference to the theories of J. Schrijnen  
and his school.

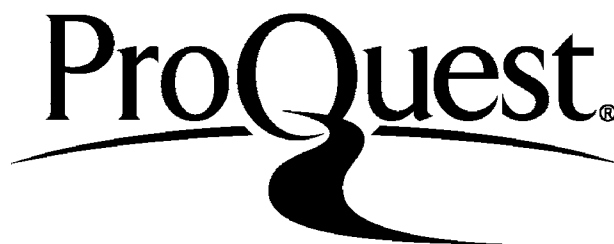
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CHAPTER IThe origin and development of Christian Latin.

In 1932, the Dutch linguist J.K.F. Schrijnen published a work entitled "Die Charakteristik des altchristlichen Latein"<sup>1</sup> in which he set out his theory that Christian Latin was not only the Latin of the Church Fathers, but was the special language, (Sondersprache), of the Christian community as a whole. His theory rests on the assumption that a change in social structure also results in linguistic change. The coming of Christianity caused a profound social change in creating a group of people firmly united by the beliefs and hopes which they held in common, and sharply distinguished from their pagan contemporaries by their attitude to the world. Like all groups within the community, they needed to adapt the common language to their own special needs, and so far were in the same position as the various trades, secret societies, professions, etc., which create their own terminology; but the Christian community, influenced by strong spiritual forces, and with an intense feeling of unity, went further than such groups. The writings of the Christian leaders show a differentiation affecting every part of language - not only actual words and their meanings, but the more stable elements of morphology and syntax - a development brought about partly by the inadequacy of the existing language for expressing the new ideas, partly by the desire to eliminate all that savoured of the world and its thoughts.

Dr. Schrijnen and Dr. C. Mohrmann who has continued

1. Fasc.1. of *Latinitas Christianorum Primaeva*. Nijmegen.

his work, divide the distinctive features found in Christian writings into two classes - immediate "Christianisms", (the word used by Dr. Schrijnen), and mediate Christianisms. The first class consists of features which are directly connected with the Christian faith, mainly new words for the new customs and institutions. These may be: new formations such as trinitas, salvator, carnalis; semantic modifications of already existing words, such as lavacrum, ieiunium, sanctus, paganus; borrowings, mostly Greek, occasionally Hebrew, e.g. diaconus, episcopus, angelus, eucharistia, baptisma, anathema, Pascha; linguistic 'calques' of foreign words, e.g. revelatio, dominicum, minister. One or two syntactical features belong here, when special constructions were required to express ideas peculiar to Christianity, for example, the use of 'credere' with 'in' and abl. or acc. Mediate Christianisms are features not directly connected with Christianity itself, but which either occur exclusively in Christian writers, (integral Christianisms), or are rare in pagan writers, being used regularly by Christian writers only (partial Christianisms), e.g. integral: Gehenna, propheta, beatifico, exodus (= going out), ploratio; partial: cetus, dogma, consonus, connumero, crinator, hostilitas. Many Graecisms, Hebraisms, and borrowings from the Itala and Vulgate come under the heading of mediate Christianisms, together with most of the features of Christian morphology and syntax, vulgarisms, expressive constructions such as pleonasm, parallelism, and the use of rhymed prose. The fact that there are far more mediate than immediate Christianisms seems evidence for a differentiation which went beyond the requirements of a special language of the ordinary kind.

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From the first, the distinctive mark of the Christian special language was its vulgar character. Most of the converts were at first drawn from the lower classes, and their type of language became the basis of the steadily developing Christian speech. The early translations of the Bible were composed for them by men who themselves shared this same 'sermo vulgaris', which was stimulated to a new creative activity by the necessity of finding convenient translations of Greek words and constructions, and by the needs of the Christian community generally. As more educated people were converted, they acquired, together with the new faith, the new speech that went with it. This was inevitable, as many of the basic ideas of Christianity were expressed by words which had been formed on popular models, and had become such an essential part of Christian speech that they could not be dispensed with. The educated Christians who wrote in defence of their faith also adopted freer constructions based on vulgar usage. They broke away from the conventions of Classical tradition which made the language too stiff and artificial to express what they wanted; for they considered language as a means of expressing thought rather than as an end in itself. Though Pagan writers too were beginning to incorporate vulgar elements, it was to a much smaller extent.

The Christians did not abandon tradition altogether. The early writers at least wrote in the Classical style, seeking to reach their pagan friends. Besides, there was as yet no really developed Christian style. But, in writing of Christianity, even those who affected some sort of Classical purism could not avoid all specifically Christian terms. Lactantius, the so-called 'African Cicero', even used

Christian words and turns of phrase which he could have avoided.<sup>1</sup> It is likely that such terms, though originally vulgar, had by this time lost their vulgar flavour by incorporation into the Christian language. Other popular terms in the translations of the Bible had acquired a new dignity from the sanctity of the Scriptures.

The differentiation of Christian Latin only took place slowly, and was not fully developed until the fourth or fifth century, though the essential features were marked out from the very beginning. We can watch the development of Christian Latin in the change-over to Latin of the Christian community at Rome which was Greek speaking until the end of C2.<sup>2</sup> Though the African Christians had been Latin-speaking much earlier, it does not seem likely that the church at Rome took over from them either their translation of the Bible or their Christian speech. Already by the middle of C2, the Latin translation of Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians contains a distinctive Christian vocabulary with some technical terms, and a considerable number of indirect (or mediate) Christianisms. Most of our early Latin documents come from Africa, but a comparison with the writings of Roman Christians shows that even at this period, Christian Latin, under the same influences, was developing along the same lines in the two places. Christian Latin was not African Latin.

1. v. C. Mohrmann. Les éléments vulgaires du latin des Chrétiens. *Vigiliae Christianae*. 1948.

2. For the following section v. C. Mohrmann, Les origines de la latinité chrétienne à Rome. *Vigiliae Christianae* April and July 1949.



There was no vital difference between the general Latin of Africa and any other province, and Christian Latin was differentiated from general Latin by the same means in Africa as at Rome.

In the writings of Novatian, a hundred years later, we find that Christian Latin at Rome had developed considerably. It had broken away from its subservience to Greek, and had created a rich vocabulary of its own, while its syntactic peculiarities were already preparing the way towards the climax of development reached in the writings of Augustine and Jerome. But the same central core of Christian elements can be traced right through from the early documents. Though most of the technical terms of the new faith were pure borrowings, even in the early stages there were new formations or semantic changes for fundamental Christian ideas, (such as, *caro*, *incarnari*, *regeneratio*), and the desire to avoid words with pagan associations had stimulated the creative powers of the community to produce, for example, *magnalia* (formed after *μεγαλίστα* ), in place of 'portentum' or 'prodigium'.

As time went on, Christian Latin became more capable of creating its own words, and the foreign word often remained as a technical term beside the new (general) Latin word; for example, 'revelatio' became the general term, while 'Apocalypsis' survived as the title of the book. In 313, after the freedom of the church had been granted by Constantine, the most remarkable development took place. Words that had appeared only occasionally before in either Christian or profane writers were now generally accepted. Originally vulgar elements were introduced into cultured Latin to an ever greater degree, and by the time of

Augustine there were already present in literature, to some extent, most of the syntactic features which later marked the beginning of the Romance languages.

It is difficult to decide how far the Christians or the pagans were conscious of this differentiation. Augustine uses certain terms which show that he was aware of a special Christian terminology. He says of the Christians (*Enn. in Psalmos* 93,3): *habent enim linguam suam, qua utantur...*, and refers (*De Civ. Dei* 21) to '*ecclesiastica loquendi consuetudo*'. Even the common people were sufficiently alive to the difference in meaning of a word that had undergone semantic change in Christian Latin (*salus*, for example), to appreciate a play on the two meanings. Lactantius tells us (*Div. Institut.* 24-26) that though the writings of Cyprian were clear and explicit, they were unintelligible to pagans (*..hic tamen placere ultra verba sacramentum ignorantibus non potest*).<sup>1</sup> This would to a large extent be due to the technical terms and ideas foreign to pagan thought, and to a certain extent Christian writing would here be on a level with any other specialized literature. In any case, many pagans must have avoided reading Christian writings not only because they found them unintelligible, but out of antagonism to Christian things as such. It is difficult to visualise the effect of a Christian treatise on an educated pagan of the early centuries, because we ourselves are familiar with both the ideas and the language used to express them.

Detailed work has been done on the style of individual Christian authors, elucidating the points in which

1. For further details, v. C. Mohrmann. *Le latin commun et le latin des chrétiens. Vigiliae Christianae*, Jan. 1947.

they differ from Classical Latin, and the extent to which they allow popular and Christian elements.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Mohrmann, in her articles in *Vigiliae Christianae*, has described some aspects of the steady differentiation of Christian from pagan Latin. Often in these works emphasis has been laid on the importance of the whole Christian speech community in the creation of Christian Latin. It was not the language of the Church that was imposed from above, but rather Christian writers took the speech of the community and gave it importance as a literary medium. Though some words may have been the individual creations of writers and leaders they were not destined to survive unless they were in harmony with the general tendencies of the language. (For example, certain words formed by Tertullian or Augustine appear only once or twice, and then vanish ).

Christian Latin had two facets. Sometimes the popular, sometimes the cultured side comes to the fore. Augustine's treatise, 'de Catechizandis Rudibus', contains a theoretical part, distinct from the more popular practical part. His Sermons, spoken to the ordinary people in their own language, are different from the 'de Civitate Dei', in which he sets out the Christian view for the benefit of the educated. St. Cyprian's letters are more cultured than those of his correspondents. Yet everywhere the popular nature of many of the distinctive Christian features is apparent.

This theory of a separate speech community has not been entirely accepted. Ghellink and Marouzeau have

1. See, for example, Schrijnen and Mohrmann, *Studien zur Syntax der Briefe des hl. Cyprian*, C. Mohrmann, *Die altchristliche Sondersprache in den Sermones des hl. Augustin* (fasc. 5,6,3, of *Latinitas Christianorum Primaeva*); Mohrmann, *Die psychologischen Bedingungen der konstruktionslosen Nominativi in Latein*. *Glotta*, XXI.

questioned the existence of any differentiation in popular speech caused by Christianity. It has been suggested that many of the differences between pagan and Christian written Latin were only those between literary and popular Latin. Even the numerous differences actually noted ~~between pagan and Christian written Latin~~ may not have been due to any Christian impulse; but the various features may merely have been used by Christian writers for quite other reasons so that from a later point of view they appear Christian without actually being so.<sup>1</sup>

An investigation of Christian inscriptions may give evidence for a differentiation in the speech of ordinary people, and show to what extent Christians were isolated from pagans in thought and way of life. It is agreed that Christian Latin was not exempt from the general tendencies of the language - phonetic changes, break-down of established grammar, the continual replenishing of vocabulary in everyday speech. Perhaps in Christian speech, these tendencies were further advanced than among pagans. Did the Christians, for example, contribute to the development of a stress accent? Were they further along the road that led to the Romance languages? It was Christian speech, that, with the victory of Christianity, gradually became the language of the Empire.<sup>2</sup>

The evidence of inscriptions is necessarily incomplete. This is particularly the case with Diehl's collection, as the majority, naturally enough, are

1. Marouzeau *Revue des Etudes Latines*, 1932 p.242, speaks of looking for 'une unite ou il n'y a peut-etre qu'une somme'.

2. v. Schrijnen, *Le latin chrétien devenu langue commune*.

funerary. There is accordingly concentration on the subjects of death and the afterlife which called for vocabulary really belonging to the narrower church language. In any case, the official language of the Church must have contained many special terms, direct Christianisms, which never became part of everyday speech. The indirect Christianisms which are so important as evidence for differentiation may not be represented simply because they were not relevant to inscriptions on graves. The general conservatism of inscriptional language, its set formulae, and the desire of the writers to approximate to good Latin all make inscriptions a less faithful representation of actual speech.

If evidence can be found in the inscriptions for a differentiation in popular speech, it would seem that the Christians did have a distinct special language, clearly marked off from that of their pagan neighbours. If not, the Latin of the Christian leaders must have been a concentration of popular elements, distinguishing it from pagan written Latin, and of Christian elements due to their preoccupation with religious topics and great familiarity with the language of the Bible.

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CHAPTER II. SYNTAX.

The syntax of the writings of the Christian leaders was characterized by a greater freedom and flexibility in structure than that of the classical period, or of contemporary pagan writers. The Christians aimed primarily at the conveyance of meaning rather than careful literary expression (though some paid more attention to this than others), and, with the passage of time a growing number of unclassical elements were accepted as part of Christian speech. The majority were expressions drawn from the popular Latin spoken by the greater part of the Christian community. Some of them had been current in Early Latin. Everyday speech had preserved them throughout the classical period when they were excluded from literature, and with the advent of Christianity they were again given literary recognition. Other constructions, existing in Latin only in germinal form, developed into syntactic Christianisms under the influence of Greek, or Hebrew by way of Greek. A foreign syntactical form was normally introduced only when some basis already existed in Latin.

The inscriptions naturally contain popular features. These were part of the general language shared by Christians and pagans alike, and I shall not deal with them exhaustively. For a really thorough comparison of Christian and pagan Latin it would be necessary to investigate the syntax and vocabulary of an equivalent number of contemporary pagan inscriptions, to see whether Christian popular Latin had gone further than pagan popular Latin in freedom of structure and word formation. This has been impossible, as collections of pagan inscriptions comparable with Diehl's

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Christian collection have not been made, and it would take too long to search the C.I.L. for examples. I have therefore concentrated mainly on constructions influenced by Greek and Hebrew, to see how far they were in use in everyday speech, or whether they were more or less confined to the writings of the Christian leaders.

#### Case usages.

In Late Latin there was a tendency for the accusative to become the casus generalis in opposition to the nominative. In the first place, it was the case most frequently used after verbs, and by analogy it began to replace the other cases which qualified certain verbs i.e. ablative, genitive, dative, unless prepositional phrases were required to express the sense. The declensional system was disturbed by phonetic changes. With the loss of final -m and distinctive vowel lengths, and the approximation of  $\bar{o}$  and  $\ddot{u}$ , there was no audible distinction between the acc. and abl. singular of -a, -e/o- and consonant stems. The meaning of the case endings was no longer felt, and the governing preposition became significant, rather than the case form. Consequently one form was eventually generalized after all prepositions. The influence of verbs with their usual accusative, and the large number of prepositions which always <sup>had</sup> been associated with this case, were decisive for its victory.

Though there are many signs of this development in the inscriptions, the other cases were as yet still widely used in their own right, and where they were replaced by prepositional phrases, it was often the ablative

that benefited. The genitive was still unchallenged in its possessive function and the defining genitive was in common use. The dative too held its ground in certain usages.

The constructions discussed are mainly those which have some significance as syntactic Christianisms, though some more general features are included to set them in their context.

#### ACCUSATIVE

- (1) Christian writers used the accusative after *fungor*, *utor*, *potior* etc. These verbs had been transitive in early Latin. (Though *utor* was regularly used with an ablative, its transitive use is unmistakable in several passages in Plautus, Cato, Lucilius, in the use with neuter pronouns, and in the gerundive). In Classical Latin the normal usage was with the ablative, but in the Late Period the accusative, which had been preserved in popular speech, began to be restored again. Occasional echoes of the popular use had appeared in literature before this, in Lucretius for example, Sallust, Nepos, and the author of the *Bellum Africanum*.<sup>1</sup>

The evidence from the Christian inscriptions, though not very extensive, shows that the ablative was still used, though the accusative inclined to predominate. The fluctuation in popular speech is illustrated by the use of '*fungor*'. The commonest use of this verb was in the phrases '*vita functus*', '*diem functus*', usually with this division of the cases, though unless other accusatives and ablatives occur in the inscription, it is not always possible to decide which case was intended. Decided ablatives are found in 2806 *vita functa est*, 4886 (Jewish) *honoribus omnibus fuctus*, 2806C *tempore functa meo* (verse), 1103 *aetatibus honoribusque in aeclesia catholica functus*.

<sup>1</sup> I. v. Bennet, *Syntax of Early Latin*, pp. 210, 215, 216. Ernout & Thomas, *Syntaxe Latine* p. 17.



'Fruor' occurs five times with the accusative (twice in verse), twice with the ablative, 'perfruor' twice with the accusative. One of the instances of the ablative, 973,8 aspectu fruitur...Christi, appears in a verse inscription composed by Damasus, who was not averse to popular elements. 'Fruiscor' with the usual accusative was fairly frequent, but an example with the ablative shows that the ablative with 'fruor' was frequent enough to exercise analogical influence.

'Fotior' only occurs three times, twice with the accusative, the third time with the genitive. 'Utor' was most often used intransitively in the phrase 'utere felix', but it appears once with the accusative in a verse inscription aiming at classical correctness.

'Careo' followed seven times by acc. to three examples of the ablative illustrates the growing frequency of the acc., but on the whole the inscriptions offer insufficient evidence to decide to what extent the ablative had been replaced. It still seems to have had considerable vigour.

(ii) The internal accusative.

This was extended after certain verbs to create new technical terms. Beside 'vixit, durabit in episcopatu' we have 'rexit episcopatum', 'sedit episcopatum', 'sedit (pontificis) cathedram'. One example, 1133, hic quiiscit Romanus pbb. qui sedit pbb. ann. XXVII, could likewise be interpreted 'sedit presbyteratum', (cf. 1807), though Diehl gives 'presbyterium', apparently by analogy with 1175, ministravit in presbiterio, and others.

An unusual accusative is found in 1855 (on a pulpit): scandite cantantes dñe dñumque legentes.

This phrase, which seems to mean, 'reading of, or about, the Lord', must be formed by analogy with phrases like *Aug. Act. 17,18 quia lesum et resurrectionem annuntiabat eis; II Cor 11,4 si... alium Christum praedicat.*

#### GENITIVE.

##### (i) Adjective in place of the adnominal genitive.

At the beginning of the Christian period, the use of an adjective in place of an adnominal genitive was well established in official Latin, and in poetry and poetical prose as a stylistic device. The construction underwent such a considerable extension in the writings of Christian authors that it may be considered an indirect Christianism. In this development, as in others, Christian Latin remained faithful to the general tendencies of Latin. The use of the adjective for a possessive genitive was widespread in early times.<sup>1</sup> A comparison with the evidence of Greek and the Slavonic languages shows that it was inherited from Indo-European, where it seems to have existed side by side with the possessive genitive. The genitival function of the adjective is clear in some early Latin inscriptional forms, e.g. *noutrix Paperia; Foubllilia Turpilia Gn. uxor* (two names for a woman would be unusual at this period). The use was still frequent in Plautus, especially with the word 'erilis', (e.g. *erilis filius, filia, amica, concubina*); but it was already much more restricted than it had been in the period when adjectives were freely formed from proper names to indicate 'son of so-and-so', and so gave rise to many gentile names.<sup>2</sup> Official Latin perpetuated the usage at all periods. 'Virgo

<sup>2</sup>. See W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte der lateinischen Eigennamen*, Berlin 1904. p.512.

<sup>1</sup>. See J. Wackernagel, *Genetiv und Adjektiv*, II

'Vestalis', 'Via Appia', were direct fore-runners of the later 'mensis Iulius', 'legio Augusta'. As a general rule, the development of the adjective was confined to words expressing ideas particularly important to those who used them. These were mainly words for persons, (e.g. the Plautine 'erilis'). The adjectives which occur repeatedly in this construction in Christian writings refer to persons and things essentially connected with the Christian faith: angelicus, apostolicus, dominicus, ecclesiasticus, propheticus etc.

It is debatable whether this construction became a living element in the everyday speech of the Christian community. Phrases such as angelicum gaudium, vox angelica, apostolica verba, passio dominica, evangelica lectio, appear in the treatises and letters of St. Cyprian, that is, in cultured Christian Latin, and in the more popular letters of his correspondents;<sup>1</sup> in the Sermons of St. Augustine and in his 'De Civitate Dei'. This usage of the Christian leaders may have originated in the official speech of the Church without anything to correspond in the speech of the rest of the Christian assembly, except for one or two official phrases which became current. Alternatively, while having an official origin, it may have lost its aspect of artificiality by becoming an accepted element of colloquial speech.

In the 'Peregrinatio Aethiopiae', an account in popular Latin of a journey through the Holy Lands, the adjective 'dominicus' occurs only in the phrase 'dies dominica'. Elsewhere the genitive 'domini' is used. E. Löfstedt<sup>2</sup>

1. C. Mohrmann and J. Schrijnen. Studien zur Syntax der Briefe des hl. Cyprian. p.89-99.

2. Syntactica I p.83ff.

takes this to show that the use of the adjective was never current in the everyday speech of the Christians. Aetheria was writing as she spoke. 'Dies dominica' was the only exception because the Christians felt the need of a special name for a special day. This term alone reached the Romance languages (Fr. dimanche, It. domenica), which suggests that it alone had a place in Vulgar Latin. Aetheria's usage is explained by Dr. Mohrmann<sup>1</sup> as being due to literary pretensions. Like the earlier Christian poets, she avoided some specifically Christian features which were part of colloquial speech. Among these were the adjectival phrases in question. An investigation of the usage in the inscriptions may show whether this construction was accepted in the speech of the people or not.

As a stylistic device in poetry, the construction was frequently used by the earlier Christian poets in neutral phrases, while they avoided typically Christian expressions of the same type. (Juvencus, for example, allows *coetu senili, merinis gregibus, vitalia saecula, femineis verbis*; Prudentius has *amicus liquor, imber saxeus*, or variations on the usual Christian phrase, such as *apostolicum numerum*<sup>1</sup>). By the fourth century, poets were no longer avoiding Christian elements, and phrases like '*evangelica praecepta*' could appear beside the neutral terms which were part of the stock-in-trade of the verse composer. The use of this type of phrase was so extensive in verse that the presence of Christian phrases in the verse inscriptions of this period cannot be used to prove that they were current in everyday

1. L'adjectif et le génétif adnominal dans le Latin des chrétiens, *Mélanges marouzeau* p.437.

speech. The following phrases, both Christian and neutral, appearing only in verse inscriptions, illustrate the extent of the usage there: *evangelica praecepta*; *paradisiacae opes*; *bellicus horror*; *heriles curae*; *regalis mensae honor*; *femineus animus*; *Daviticum carmen*; *fluviales undae*; *germanus adfectus*; *florale decus*; *servile obsequium*; *Vandalica rabies*; *iugale vinclum*; *mortalis via*; with *paternus*: *sedes, pax, opus*; *virgineus*: *chorus, fetus, lumen, pudor, taedae, coetus, merita*; *corporeus*: *carcer, nexus*; *patrius*: *vultus, crimen, nomen, indulgentia, flagellus*; *caelestis*: *aula, regna*; *hostilis*: *minae, gladii*.

The remaining phrases occur either in prose as well as verse, or in prose only, and so are more likely to have been part of everyday speech.

angelicus.

All the examples but one of phrases containing this word happen to occur in verse. The various examples illustrate well the different functions of the genitive covered by the adjective. In the following it is possessive: D.1062, *angelicasque domos intravit et aurea regna*; 1694b. [*praeceptis?*] *angelicae legis docta*. By analogy with this construction, it could represent a defining genitive, as in D.46, *angelicisque dedit limina celsa choris*. A subjective genitive is represented in D.991,9-10,

*Praesule quo nullum turbavit bellicus horror  
saeva nec angelici vulneris ira fuit.*

(This phrase, equivalent to 'wound inflicted by the angel', seems, from a statement in the *Liber Pontificalis*, to be a periphrasis for 'fames').

The one prose example, from Africa, is in honour of two

martyrs. Because of its rather exalted style<sup>1</sup> it cannot be considered as conclusive evidence for the general use of the word: D.2032. a. Privata cum Victoria, gaude, triumpha, consecratae virginitatis et confessionis victricia portantes tropea, veste i[n]du[tae] ange[li]ca in pc. b. Dignis digna vincentibus corona. Note also 'victricia tropea' which may be modelled upon Vergil's 'victricia dona'.  
apostolicus.

Again all the examples but one are in verse inscriptions, for the most part in fixed phrases. 'Sedes apostolica', occurring 10 times, is confined to Rome, and indicates the office of the Bishop of Rome, who by this period, (C4-5) had acquired some sort of pre-eminence in the West, and claimed, as the successor of St. Peter, to occupy the apostolic seat par excellence. There are other examples of 'apostolicus' in this secondary sense of 'connected with the descendants of the apostles, i.e. the bishops', rather than 'connected with the apostles'. This secondary sense had developed by the time of Tertullian. A similar paraphrase for the office of Bishop occurs in:

D.982,5-6 Pontificum casto famulatus pectore iussis  
 obtinui magnum nomen apostolicum,

though Ambrose uses the same phrase with the more literal meaning 'name of the apostle (or martyr)': D.1800

Condidit Ambrosius templum dominoque sacrauit  
nomine apostolico, munere, reliquiis.

In two inscriptions, 'apostolicus' represents a possessive

1. In spite of the phrase 'dignis digna' which appears to be proverbial, see Weyman, Archiv für lat. Lexicographie XIII, p.255.

genitive:

D. 1767 9-10, quisquis lector adest Iacobi pariterque  
Philipphi  
cernat apostolicum lumen inesse locis.

D. 967 27, qui bene apostolicam doctrinam sancte doceres.

(With this may be compared the Vulg. phrase Act. 2,42 in doctrina Apostolorum).

In two examples, 'apostolica turba', like 'angelici Chori', represents a defining gen. In the remaining verse example, 'apostolicus martir' seems to equal 'the apostle martyr', as it refers to St. Andrew. (D.1785).

The one prose example occurs in the subscription of D.55:  
Hic depositus est Ceadval...imperante dn. Iustiniano piissimo  
Aug...pontificante apostolico viro domno Sergio p.p.

Though this is not necessarily an official term, it is more likely to be so in this context.

civilis.

One prose example: D. 4460 B. ...cuius de patria Eros civilem pietatem custodiens titulum statuit. The word was common in both Christian and pagan writers, and probably in everyday use.

corporalis.

One prose example: D. 833. arcam corporale de proprio suo vivi sibi comparaverunt. A post-Augustan word, first attested in Seneca, it was frequently used by Christian writers, though not confined to them. An example in Pass. Thom. expoliavit eum corio quasi tunica corporali, suggests that it was popular.

divinus.

In verse, the following words are qualified by this

adjective: cultus, flagellum, gratia, lex, munus, vocabula. In prose we have: i) divina atque humana [*iura*], a fixed phrase in an official inscription recording an Imperial decree, ii) divino nutu, with which may be compared the Vulgate phrase 'dei nutu' frequently used by the Ecclesiastical writers. This inscription, (D.806), again is official. iii) in via divina. iv) divina potestas, a paraphrase for the name of God.

dominicus.

This is an especially favoured word, and there are more examples of its use in the inscriptions than of any other Christian adjective, naturally so, for ordinary Christians would certainly have occasion to refer to God and Christ, while angels and apostles were less likely to enter into their conversation. Its meaning is much more clearly defined than that of the others. Usually it expresses but one idea - 'the Lord's'. It is excluded from hexameter verse by its succession of three short syllables. The frequency of its occurrence in prose inscriptions shows that it was part of everyday speech, but like most of these Christian adjectives, it was confined to certain phrases:

'in pace dominica' occurs in Gaul, and in Africa where the phrase 'praecessit in pace dominica' was especially popular. The earliest datable example is from the year 343, but the appearance of the phrase in inscriptions only in C4 was due to the greater boldness of Christians after the freedom of the church in 313.

'servus dominicus' occurs twice in Africa, beside inscriptions with 'servus dei'.

'dies dominica'. All the examples but one come from Rome, and belong mostly to C5. There is one example of 'dies dominicus'



from Avignon, one of 'die dominicorum (sacrificiorum)' from N. Italy. The chief rival to 'dies dominica' was the pagan 'dies Solis', not the 'dies Domini' which might be expected, and which only occurs once. Most of the examples of 'dies Solis' come from Rome or Italy also, so that there is no evidence for the current term in the provinces. One doubtful example (D.1253) offers 'dies sal(vatoris?)'. 'Dominicus' was still used with reference to the Emperor, even after the Christian application of the word to God had become current, just as 'dominus' was still used for both. The Christian use in fact probably took its start from official terms such as 'cursor dominicus'. This official use is confined to inscriptions belonging to personal servants of the Emperor.

'Domini' supplies the place of 'dominicus' in verse, where the following words are qualified by it: antistes, levita, martyres, plebs, praecursor, Spiritus Sanctus, eloquium, laudes, (objective gen.), munus, praeconia, species, ara, conspectus (a phrase frequent in the Vulgate). It was not confined to verse however, and concurrent prose phrases such as 'pax dominica', 'pax domini', 'servus dominicus', 'servus domini' show that there was no appreciable difference between the two types. The choice of one or the other often depended on local fashion. For example, 'in pace domini' was popular in Spain, 'in pace dominica' in Africa. The phrase 'in nomine Domini', found chiefly in Spain and at Rome, was probably derived from some liturgical combination like 'in nomine Dei et Christi eius' (No. 2442). The following words are qualified by 'domini' in prose inscriptions: sacra virgo, era, atria, cena, dextera, domus, ira, iustitia,

laudes, tribunal, via, (cf. in via divina). Some of these suggest that phrases with 'domini' must also have belonged to the official speech of the Church.

maritalis. Two verse examples, one prose - 2452 A in maritali coniugio fecit ann. XV. Like 'corporalis', this word was frequently used by Christian writers, and to a lesser extent by pagans. As -alis was a popular suffix, this word was probably a popular creation. Cyprian uses 'maritalis vinculi'.

orientalis. One example D.318, Fl. Iohanne orientale v.(iro) cl.(arissimo) con. An official term.

pascalis. One example D.1541, dies Pascales, followed by '... octabas Paschae'. cf. Cod. Theod. diebus Paschalibus. This seems to be a Latin formation beside the 'dies Paschae' due to Biblical influence. It is likely to be an official creation of the Church.

paternus. 'Paterna mors' occurs in verse, where it is probably due to stylistic reasons, but in prose we have 2782, 'causa amoris paternae re[cordatio]nis'. This would be like the popular 'erilis' in Plautus. 'Patrius' only occurs in verse. The simple genitive 'patris' occurs mainly in the phrase 'nomen patris', which, like 'nomen Domini', was a fixed phrase. There is one example of 'patris sedes', beside the 'paternae sedes' of verse.

pontificalis.

In verse, 'pontificalis' qualifies apex, decus, sanctum opus. The one example in prose, D.1780, ad gloriam pontificalem promotus, belongs to official Church language, as it occurs in the dedicatory inscription of a church.

virginalis. One example in prose, which seems to belong to

everyday speech: D.1734. puella deo placita [at]que virgenales  
actus omni [A] oneste custodiens.

There are no examples of 'episcopalis'.

The evidence for the popularity of this construction is not very extensive. Excluding verse examples and official prose, we have isolated examples of: civilis, corporalis, divinus, maritalis, paternus, virginalis. It does not therefore seem to have been a really live usage in popular speech. Official language remained responsible for its extension. Even of the Christian adjectives, 'dominicus' alone is widely attested, mainly in the phrase 'dies dominica'. Of course, inscriptions of this type, especially in view of their formal nature, represent only a limited part of the speech of the Christian community, but if apostles and prophets are not mentioned in funerary inscriptions, we are not likely to find evidence elsewhere of reference to them in the speech of ordinary Christians. The Christian leaders naturally had to speak of them more frequently. The evidence of the inscriptions suggests that the genitive was equally current in ordinary Christian speech, and that Christians were not marked out from pagans by a remarkable use of the adjective.

ii) Genitive in place of an adjective.

While the normal genitive was replaced by an adjective in some types of expression, there was a contrary movement towards the expression of the meaning of an adjective by the genitive of the related noun, for example, dominus gloriae = dominus gloriosus. (In classical Latin such a descriptive genitive could only be used when qualified by an adjective). The construction was not

completely alien to Latin.<sup>1</sup> Some early examples of the defining genitive approximated to it, e.g. Pl. Mil. 502, nisi mihi supplicium virgarum de te datur, beside 1.511, nisi mihi supplicium stimuleum de te datur. In later literature we find Lucr. 5,369, cladem pericli (possibly also 5,1193, murmura magna minarum), Petron. moderationis verecundiaeque verba. This tendency was stimulated by the translation of Hebrew, in which language the genitive replaced the almost missing adjective. The inscriptions offer several examples: 1549, maiestatis vox. (In the index, under 'deus C.a.', Dishl appears to take this as 'the voice of the Majesty i.e. of God', comparing it with 97,3, fabente maiestate dei. The foot-note to 1549, vulg. Ps,29,3, deus maiestatis intonuit, suggests that the phrase belongs here, meaning 'a mighty voice'); 1054, stolam sanctitatis; 1593, laborem virtutis; 2068, terra promissionis; 2369, paradisum lucis; 2404, locum pascuae (a quotation from Vulg. Ps.22,2); 3330, templa quietis; five examples of 'in somno pacis'; 3310 iustitiae facies. This last phrase seems to mean 'a just person'. 'Facies' translated πρόσωπον, frequently used in both Old and new testaments, to represent the whole personality, (apparently a Hellenistic development in the meaning of πρόσωπον). Beside these, we have 'odor suavis' in 2393, replacing the vulg. phrase 'odor suavitatis'.

### iii) Defining genitive.

The appearance of this construction in Plautus shows that it was old, but it was not common in Early Latin in spite of the fact that 'flagitium hominis' and similar

phrases are obviously popular. The usage gradually extended and phrases like 'urbs romae' replaced earlier appositional phrases such as 'urbs Roma'.<sup>1</sup> Though the appearance of the defining genitive in the Old Latin versions, in Augustine's sermons, and in more cultured Christian <sup>Latin</sup>, can be attributed to the influence of Hebrew where it was very common, there are many examples in the inscriptions where such influence seems unlikely. Though some phrases have a Biblical ring, the majority are probably due to the increased popularity of the construction. I have noted the following examples: 1512, crucis munimine; peccati sorde; signum crucis; 1594, pietate honore (= pietatis Bücheler); 1644 signa salutis virtutumque; 1714, vitae meritis operumque bonorum; 1760, aggeris immeisi culmina montis; 1843, vnum domus; 4301, matrimoni coniunctione; 4356, infantiae aetas; virginitatis integritas; 4811, decus funeris, 4813A, sodalicii Florensium; 1341, resurrectio vite aeternae; 1005, templum corporis; 638; paradisi sede; 1767, portum salutis.

iv) Genitivus inhaerentiae.

In this form of the defining genitive the two words were practically synonymous. The construction seems to have belonged to poetic and rhetorical language, but there are a few examples in the inscriptions: 79, saeculi diem; 1696, aetas vitae; 3530, funere leti; (all verse), 1845, ianue portam, liminum adita; 4823, nominis vocabulum; and the frequent 'die vitae suae', 'in diebus vitae', which like 'in finem dierum', 'in finem dierum', are drawn from Biblical phraseology.

v) Various brachylogical expressions, conveying a

1. v. Ernout & Thomas, p. 37.

particular meaning to the hearer, and especially important in a close speech community: 261, die dominicorum (sacrificiorum?), 1054, via salutis, 1729, poenarum loca, 2559, in loc[um] beatitudinis tuae, 3850, (and elsewhere), dies iudicii.

vi) For the superlative and similar ideas. Again not unknown to Latin (v. Plaut. reliquiarum reliquiae, Petr. nummorum nummi), this construction was extended by Hebrew influence. In the inscriptions there are four examples of 'in saecula saeculorum', a phrase found in Vulg. Phil. 4,20 and Apoc. 1,6, meaning 'for ever and ever'.

#### Dative.

Though there are some examples of the analysis of the dative by ad plus acc., the most noteworthy example being 150, hic requisunt membra ad duos fratres, on the whole it was still very vigorous. In the Christian writers the tendency towards analysis was strengthened by the necessity of using prepositions with indeclinable Biblical names. The indeclinable names in the inscriptions do not happen to occur in constructions which would require a dative.

The vitality of the dative in popular speech is shown by the survival of the dative of person judging, as in 2128: comparavit locum... descenditib. in cripta parte dextra, and of the possessive dative, which was very frequent in phrases like 3638A, [arc]a Andreati et coniugi eiu[s], 646, arca suro sarturi et Palumbe. 975, episcopus plebi dei. In one inscription we find the dative replacing ad plus acc. which would be normal: 642,

tene me, quia fugi, et revoca me domino meo Bonifatio linario. (cf. 712, revoca ad).

### Prepositional Phrases.

There was much confusion in the use of the acc. and abl. after prepositions for phonetic reasons, and very frequently the spelling of the accusative was restored haphazardly e.g. 3835A, que vixit ex caritate eorum sene ullo devitum. Aur. Fortunius concessit locu. The position of the ablative was however strengthened by the development of new prepositional phrases, either replacing other cases such as the partitive genitive, or instead of the ablative case used alone. 'De' was particularly important, being used for all kinds of ideas of origin, separation, and partitive ideas. Numerous phrases with 'sub' developed for expressing time, manner, accompanying circumstances, in many usages where a simple ablative would have been adequate earlier.

The only preposition of significance from the point of view of Christian syntax was 'in'. It was extremely frequent in Late Latin, being used to distinguish point of time from duration of time (which had come to be expressed by the ablative instead of the accusative), and to define more closely various locative ablatives, (abls. of respect, local abls. of time and place). What appears to be 'in' plus instrumental ablative also developed, but in so far as such examples are due to popular <sup>visual</sup> tendencies (e.g. in aquis salvare), they represent local ablatives. As with ἐν plus dat. in Late Greek, this was a native development. Where 'in' was used with a material object in a usage which could be only instrumental, the ultimate influence was Hebrew e.g. Vulg. Luc. 22,49, Domine, si percutimus in gladio? There are

no examples of this in the inscriptions, as the only possible type, *faciendum curavit in re sua*, etc., is probably to be interpreted as 'on his own property', rather than 'with his own money', (cf. *de suo*).

in pace. At all periods of Latin, we find examples of 'in' with the ablative of a noun or a neuter adjective to describe both outward circumstances and inward states. In some examples the phrase approximates to an adjective, in others to an adverb.

Examples: Plaut.: *mihi res omnis in incerto sita est; habitat hic in proximo; vide ne sies in exspectatione; sum in metu, in pretio, in infamia, in paupertate etc; s.c. de Bacc.: sacra in quolibet ne quisquam fecisse velet, neve in publico neve in privato; Caes.: rem esse in angusto; Cic.: cum omnia illa municipia... in fide mea... essent; quare in cuius fide sint et clientela; Sen.: (praecepta) aperta sunt, decreta vero sapientiae in abdito.*

This usage must have originated in visual conceptions, and in some phrases the purely local aspect is more pronounced than in others. Exactly the same development is found in Greek, e.g. Plat. *ἐν φόβῳ γενέσθαι*, Thuc. *ἐν ἔριδι εἶναι*, *ἐν ἴσῳ = ἴσως*, Xen. *ἐν ἀτίχῃ εἶναι*.

The ground was prepared for 'in pace', but the actual impulse came ultimately from Hebrew. The primary meaning of 'pax' was 'absence of war', though it was also used for various kinds of mental and physical tranquillity. In Greek, *εἰρήνη* was confined much more to political peace. The use of phrases like *εἰρήνη σοι* in LXX and N.T. shows



that the Hebrew word for peace was used in a more personal sense of 'well-being'. The immediate source of the phrase was the Jewish inscriptional formula  $\epsilon\nu\ \epsilon\iota\rho\acute{\eta}\nu\eta\ \eta\ \kappa\omicron\iota\mu\eta\sigma\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \sigma\omicron\upsilon$ .

This was copied in 'dormit in pace', and 'in pace' became a typical addition to Christian inscriptions. We find not only 'defecit, decessit, depositus, requiescit etc. in pace', but also 'vixit in pace', 'fecit in pace', 'posuit in pace'.

In nomine. The phrases 'in nomine Dei, Christi' etc., were ultimately Biblical. (cf. Vulg. Matt.28,19, Joann. 14, 13-14). The idea behind them seems to be the Jewish conception of the importance of the name as representing the whole person, a usage reflected in the inscriptions, e.g. 1819, amator... nominis tui (Iohannis Baptistae).

In this phrase, the preposition 'in' represents a partly instrumental idea (v. Act. 4,10,  $\epsilon\nu\ \tau\omega\ \delta\acute{\nu}\omicron\mu\alpha\tau\iota\ \rho\acute{\eta}\sigma\omicron\upsilon\ \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \dots\ \omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \pi\alpha\rho\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\eta\kappa\epsilon\nu\ \dots\ \delta\gamma\iota\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ . Vulg. in nomine...), and a partly locatival idea (v. Matt. 28,19,  $\beta\alpha\pi\tau\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\ \delta\acute{\nu}\omicron\mu\alpha\ \dots$  Vulg. in nomine...). The fixed ablatival form in Latin may have been helped by the already existing 'nomine', 'on the pretext', 'on the authority, behalf of....'.

### Plurals.

Caeli. The use of 'caelum' in the plural was not native to Latin. Charisius remarks: 'elementa semper singularia sunt, velut caelum'. The plural 'caeli' so frequently used by Christian writers was ultimately a Hebraism transmitted through the Greek version of the O.T. Passages in Genesis show that the Jews conceived of heaven as

consisting of three 'heavens': the actual air, the heaven containing the stars, and the third heaven, the dwelling place of God. Marius Victorinus explains it thus (in Eph. 4,10): *multi tres dicunt caelos, alii plures.... quidam docent supra terram esse aquas, quasi primum caelum; deinde firmamentum ipsum quod appellatur caelum, deinde rursus alias aquas, tertium caelum.* The plural is not used constantly throughout the Greek and Latin versions, the usage depending on whether heaven was considered in all its parts, or whether the sky only was meant, but the phrase 'regnum caelorum' was fixed just as ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν was. In the inscriptions, both singular and plural are used in verse, but all six prose examples have the plural, which though not very ample evidence, suggests that in the sense of 'home of God' the plural was accepted in general Christian speech.

As regards the gender, the masculine was current in early Latin, (v. Charisius, *caelum hoc, cum sit neutrum, etiam masculine veteres dixerunt*), and in popular Latin in the time of Arnobius, early C4, (*Arnob. nonne dicitis.... caelus et caelum?*) i.e. it was probably popular at all periods. In Late Latin the neuter began to be eliminated generally, and in the case of 'caelum' the complete change over was hastened among the Christians by the gender of Greek οὐρανός .

populi, plebes. In the earliest period, 'populus' and 'plebs', terms for the Christian community, were normally used in the singular. From the letters of Cyprian and his

correspondents,<sup>1</sup> it seems that 'populus' was the Roman term, 'plebs' the African. Later the plural became customary. The inscriptions offer no examples of 'plebes'. Most of the examples of 'populus, -i', occur in verse, where it seems that either form was used according to metrical convenience, though 'populi' predominates, (20 examples, beside 9 of *populus*). The earliest example of the plural is in D.1049, composed about 370. African inscriptions give 3 examples of 'plebs' beside 2 of 'populus', but 'plebs' was by no means confined to Africa at this period. It was frequent in other areas, especially in the phrase 'plebs Dei'.

Special verb usages.

i) Benedicere. In Classical Latin, 'bene dicere, male dicere', were constructed with a dative. In Christian Latin, 'benedicere' became a technical term, meaning 'to bless', and was constructed with the accusative. This was, in the first place, a popular development, as may be seen from the name *Benedictus*, (the passive participle), which was not confined to Christians, though later very frequent among them. The construction with the accusative was stimulated in the case of Christian writers by the Greek εὐλογεῖν τινα, which was very frequently, though not in every case, translated by *benedicere* plus acc. in the Old Latin versions of the Bible. Jerome replaced it in many instances by the more classical dative, but the passive use and the frequent 'benedictus' had to be left.

1. Mohrmann. *Les origines de la latinité chrétienne à Rome. Vigiliae Christianae* 1949.

The finite verb is only attested twice in the inscriptions, once passive 3547, *semper et assidue benedici pro munere tali*; once with the accusative, 1336, *semper se benedicere debent*. Two other examples are doubtful. Again the evidence happens to be meagre.

ii) Confiteor. This verb in Christian Latin developed a double meaning. Beside the normal 'confess, admit', it was used for the Christian idea of 'confessing God', especially with reference to martyrs whose death was known as 'gloriosa confessio'. Only one example in the inscriptions shows the first meaning: 1841, *confessosque reos maculoso crimine solvens*. The rest refer either to the death of martyrs, or, (in 2032, 1292) directly to confessing Christ. In either sense it was common enough to be used absolutely.

iii) Credo. The classical dative with this verb was replaced in Christian Latin by 'in' plus acc. or abl. This construction was imitated from the Greek of the LXX, where we find πιστεύειν ἐν (plus dat.), beside examples of the simple dative.<sup>1</sup> In the N.T., we have πιστεύειν εἰς , ἐπί plus acc. Christian writers explained the construction as expressing an essentially different idea from the normal one. For example, Faust. Rei. (C5): 'credere illi' cuilibet potes homini, credere vero 'in illum' soli te <dei> debere noveris maiestati, sed et hoc ipsum aliud est 'deum credere', aliud 'in deum credere'. in deum.... credere nisi qui pie in eum speravit, non probatur..... The use of the acc. or abl.

1. The ἐν sometimes translates Hebrew ׀ , but the usage seems rather arbitrary.

in the Vulg. does not always correspond to acc. or dat. of the Greek, and in some instances Jerome restored credere plus dat. The inscriptions offer two examples, (both in verse), of the dative: 952, Christo credidit orbis, 967, cui credimus omnes. For 'in' plus acc., there are two examples: 1599, in Chr/istum credens, 1596, in unu deo crededit, (this must be acc. cf. Vitalio, dino = digno); for the ablative, three: 1596 adn., 1600, 3306 B. The direct accusative occurs once: 259, quae credidit resurrectionem. The use with an accusative, meaning 'have (religious) faith in the existence of...' was especially frequent in Tertullian and Augustine: see Tert. credentes enim resurrectionem Christi, in nostram quoque credimus. (This was not only Christian however). There are no inscriptional examples of 'credidit' = ἐπίστευσε, 'became a Christian'.

iv) Paeniteo. This, like 'benedicere', became a technical term, with the meaning 'to repent (of one's sins)'. With other impersonal verbs such as dolet, miseret, it had become personal in popular speech, a tendency attested as early as Plautus. The only form in the inscriptions is the present participle (which had always existed), used as a technical term e.g. 3880, Iohannes, penitens famulus dei.

#### Uses of the infinitive.

In popular and Late Latin the infinitive seems to have been used with greater freedom after both verbs and adjectives than in Classical Latin. The following examples occur in the inscriptions: i) usages that were also fairly frequent in literature, with the verbs, curo, cogito, fido, gaudeo, parco, praecipio, studeo; ii) less

frequent usages or popular creations: doleo 1696, eligo 1521 (= wish), fallo (1825, quos diuturna quies fallebat posse videri), invideo 3778, moneo 1991, tanti (h)abeat (1586 apparently = dignetur). The infinitive is found qualifying e.g. the adjectives dignus 1706, 240, laetus 1825, rallas 1755.

The purely final infinitive which survived in certain turns of speech among the people was stimulated in Christian literature by the influence of the Greek final infinitive, which had received a fresh extension by a reaction among writers against its tendency to disappear. There may also have been some Hebrew influence. The inscriptions do not offer many examples of final infinitives, except in the popular constructions 'facio plus inf.', 'do plus inf.' which were native to Latin. I have found: 1760, adgressus magnum superare laborem; 4837, noscere benis (= venis), perdere duxit; 201A, pergit sumere. Of the phrases with 'facio', some, having the active instead of the passive infinitive, fore-shadow the Romance construction, (in French, faire faire quelque chose), e.g. 4840, qua(m) multas recit matres kastitate docere (due in the first place to a confusion between final -i and -e).

There are some phrases formed with 'habeo' plus inf. Two of these seem to have the meaning 'debeo' which had developed by the Imperial Period: 2035, clausula iustitiae est martyrium votis optare: habes et aliam similem aelemosinam viribus facere (or = posse?). 4306A, de quo nuncquam quaerellam habui referre. In one example the construction already has the future meaning, by which it became the basis for the Romance future tense: 3865, cod estis, rui, et quod sum, essere abetis (C??).

Analytical 'quod' clauses, in place of the accusative and infinitive construction.

In Early Latin we find substantival 'quod' clauses functioning partly as causal clauses, partly as explanatory clauses, in the latter case very frequently in apposition to a neuter noun. Both of these constructions developed from the original use of 'quod' as an accusative of relation. Examples: *Sacc.* 523, *neu ei suscenseat quod eum ludificatus est.* *Facuv.* 143, *quid quod mihi piget paternum nomen profari?* The use was early associated with purely causal clauses, and we find similar constructions with *quom*, *quia*, the second in some cases losing most of its causal sense, and approximating to 'quod'. e.g. *Epid.* 107, *idne pudet te, quia captivam es mercatus?* With the development of the substantival use of 'quod' clauses, we later find constructions such as 'adde quod...', 'praetereo quod...'. Such clauses could be used after verbs like *doleo*, *miror*, *gaudeo*, which were also followed by the accus. and infin. construction. This double use, combined with influence of 'adde quod...' etc., led to the substitution of 'quod' clauses for the accusative and infinitive construction after *verba sentiendi et declarandi*. Owing to the interchangeability of 'quod' and 'quia' in causal clauses, 'quia' and its synonym 'quoniam' also came to be used in declarative clauses.<sup>1</sup>

This development was, in the first place, popular. Petronius introduces such constructions into the speech of his freedmen: *131,5 vides quod aliis leporem excitavi,* *45,10, subolfacio quia epulum daturus est.* As with so many popular forms, this construction was adopted by

**I. v. Bennet, pp. 123 ff. Ernout & Thomas, pp. 251 ff.**

Christian writers much earlier than by the pagans. Its use was stimulated among the Christians by the influence of Greek, where the ὅτι clause had by this time become the normal means of expression to the exclusion of the acc. and inf.<sup>1</sup> Analytical clauses were particularly frequent in translations of the Bible, representing the ὅτι of the original. As ὅτι had, like 'quod', the double meaning 'because, that', διότι was often substituted for it as an introductory conjunction for reported speech, and this gave an impulse to the Latin use of 'quia, quoniam', beside 'quod'.

The type of construction used varies from one Christian writer to another. 'quod' was the more literary conjunction, 'quia, quoniam' were popular, (Fr. que It. che both developed from quia). Those of the Christians who took more care to reproduce the Classical, or at least a more cultured style, Lactantius for example, and Cyprian, preferred the acc. and inf. construction. Where they allowed analytical clauses, it was with the conjunction 'quod', while 'quia' was especially frequent in the Sermons of St. Augustine, that is in popular Christian Latin. The acc. and inf. construction did not die out of popular speech in Latin as it did in Greek. In fact it received an extension after certain verbs such as: 'opto, postulo, mando, oro, praecipio, peto, rogo. Gregory of Tours was still making considerable use of it in C7.

There are remarkably few examples of analytical 'quod' clauses in the inscriptions, while the acc. and inf. is frequent. The majority of these few examples are found,

1. v. A.N. Jannaris, *An Historical Greek Grammar*, p. 573.



surprisingly enough, in verse inscriptions from Rome. (There is one example from Carthage, D.1697). Perhaps here again the influence of Damasus was at work. Three of the examples are from inscriptions composed by him. As a bishop trained in the diction of the Bible, he could boldly write: D. 969,6, post cineres Damasum faciet quia surgere credo; or 1993, 3, vincere quod potuit, monstravit gloria Christi. In some of the examples, there is the possibility that 'quod' means 'because' rather than 'that'. Damasus seems to have used the indicative after 'quod', the others either indicative or subjunctive. The subjunctive was probably a mark of subordination as so often in Latin. There are two prose examples, D. 1342, sciat quod filia mea inter fideles (sic) fidelis fuit, inter ~~alios~~ nos pagana fuit. The second is almost a quotation from Vulg. Job 19, 25-6, and so cannot be used as evidence for popular speech: D. 2399, credo, quod redemptor meus vivet et in novissimo die de terra sussitabit pelem meam...

The usual construction with 'credo' in the inscriptions, both prose and verse, is the acc. and inf. e.g. 3481,7, adventum sci credo gaudere me iuste. 3461A, ego Senatus epus credo resurgere. The Vulgate on the other hand usually has 'credo quia'. It seems that either the people avoided using the analytical construction when writing inscriptions, as being too vulgar, or that the influence of Greek made the construction more frequent among the Ecclesiastical writers than it was in general speech.

#### Indirect questions.

The indicative in indirect questions was the

usual construction in Early Latin, and was maintained by popular speech when Classical Latin substituted the subjunctive as a sign of subordination. In Biblical translations, this popular construction coincided with the normal Greek one, and so became part of written Christian Latin. There are two inscriptional examples: 166, *quae tegitur t[um]u[us]o, si vis cognoscere, [lect]or.*  
2389, *[r] equesitus, quare transire non potuisti.....*

#### Wishes and commands.

As the ideas of wish and command are very closely allied, there was naturally a certain amount of interchange between the present subjunctive expressing a wish, and the imperative. In the inscriptions they appear to be practically equivalent in a good many uses. The natural approximation was increased by the fairly extensive use in popular speech of the volitive subjunctive expressing a command in both second and third persons. (Only the third person was common in Classical Latin). Probably there was no very clear feeling for the distinction between subjunctives expressing will and expressing wish, so that both were allowed to alternate with an imperative.

The subjunctive is extremely frequent with all kinds of verbs, e.g. 867, *vivas et floreas et semper sedas (= sedeas?)*, 876, *Eusebi, senescas cum dignitate. Eusebi, perfruaris dignitatem tuam.* (v. Diehl 856ff. 2189ff). Some of the commonest terms have now one form, now the other. In some cases, the 'wish' idea is clearly the one to be expected e.g. the occasional 'vive', beside

the very frequent 'vivas, vivatis'; refrigera, esto in refrigerio, beside refrigeres; dormi (in Christo) etc. beside dormias; quiesce, requiesce beside quiescas, requiescas. The frequent 'utere felix' clearly expresses a wish. In other phrases, the alternation is not surprising, as the change of emphasis is only slight e.g. pete, ora, in mente habeto, beside petas, petat, in mente habeas. Some examples still show a distinction in usage e.g. 2364, ora pro me (et) habeas  $\overline{dm}$  protectorem.

A mixture of Greek and Latin is found in 'vivas zeses' (= ζήσης), and in 'pie zeses' (= πῖε ζήσης) combined with various Latin phrases. These, like the frequent 'pax irene' probably arose in the period when the Church at Rome was bilingual, and remained as set formulae. The stereotyped nature of 'zeses' is shown by 2206B, vivatis in deo, zeses. The use of the 2nd. pers. subj. to express wishes in Greek was not found until the Hellenistic period, though the use of μή plus aor. subj. for prohibitions was well established. The subjunctive gradually extended its functions to cover firstly those of the imperative, and finally the optative, even in its use in wishes where it was most firmly entrenched.<sup>1</sup> Examples: LXX Ruth 19, δώη κύριος ὑμῖν καὶ εὐρήτε ἀνάπαυσιν  
 Jos. B.J. 4,3, ἀπίη δὲ ἡ πείρα τοῦ λόγου  
 Ignat. ad Polyc. 8, ..... Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ ..... ἐν ᾧ διαμείνητε ἐν ἐνότητι θεοῦ . This development may have been helped by the usage of the Latin subjunctive. 'pie' seems to be a fixed imperative that survived, rather than the vocative of the Lat. adj. 'pius'.

1. v. Jannaris, pp. 563-67.

GREEK INFLUENCE.

Though isolated examples of constructions occur that might be due to Greek influence, there are no really frequent usages. Most of the examples are only doubtful evidence. For example there is an accusative absolute in 3749, *nam arcam isem pater sibi compar/a/tam filium posuit contra votum*, and in 3753, *locus Asteri, quae se vivu/m comparavit?/ filias intercedentes cum pa/tre?.....* This is more likely to be an indigenous Latin development due to the confusion between the acc. and abl., and the general extension of the acc., than any direct imitation. A possible genitive absolute, 2852, consulis Romoridi *discesit Bictoria plus minus anorum trium*, may have been affected by the following 'anorum trium'. Some examples seem to provide more tangible evidence for Greek influence. (I am excluding quotations from the Vulgate, and constructions such as the acc. and gen. of respect which had been long established). 3314 gives us a nom. plus inf.: *estote memores iterum E/l/ysiis co/fu/turi*; 1754, a future participle expressing purpose: *quisquis ad hoc templum petiturus dona recurris*; 4358, the aoristic use of the perfect ( = ἐνόησε ), *dixit annis LV, doluit dies XIII*; 4709, a genitive of comparison, *cuius praeclarius nihil fuisse certus*; 4698, a subjective genitive after an adjective, *amabilis imicorum ( = amicorum?)*. Such usages, which are only isolated, are probably due to general rather than Christian Greek influence, like the numerous Greek words incorporated in the popular vocabulary - *tecusa*, *tecnon*, *epitafium*, *genesis* ( = horoscope ), *glykytatus*, *nepia* etc.

It is difficult to get a comprehensive view of popular syntax from these inscriptions, as the majority are short and tend to conform to certain types. It is however clear that the various parts of the sentence were only loosely knit together. Co-ordinate main clauses were generally preferred to subordinate clauses, except for simple relatives, and these were often replaced by participial phrases and adjectives. There was a tendency towards anacolouthon, and the loose grouping together of various elements without any real central feature on which they could depend gram<sup>m</sup>atically. This was especially frequent in those inscriptions which described the virtues of the dead, for example 1641, amans Festus nomen, bone indolis, magna patris spes, / praeditus opsequiis, pulchra probitate parentes / diligere..... 1071, Vox organi, praeco verbi, decus fratrum, / Ecclesie et populis speculum fuit / Nullum linquens quem non offi-/ci gradum promovit divinum, tulitque de mundo.....

1054. Sce mm Celsus eps claro ex genere ortus  
 Custos gregis ovium Christi  
 Exemplo boni operis docuit cunctos viam salutis.  
 Liquit mundum, celitem sed scandens ad sedem  
 Sacerdotum ~~de~~ ecclesiae optime loquax et altor  
 Voluntate sincerus ac benignitate praecipuus  
 Solers ad audiendum, clemens ad ignoscendum  
 Et cui divina opitulabatur gratia semper.....

Owing to the subject matter of the inscriptions, there is little evidence of the expressive uses of popular speech, such as the emphatic unattached nominative. They can at the most only give information on isolated points of detailed syntax. As regards specifically Christian syntactic features, the rather meagre evidence implies that only the most obvious became part of everyday speech.

### CHAPTER III. WORD-FORMATION.

Christian Latin, in common with popular speech, enjoyed the freedom of creating words as the occasion demanded. These the Church Fathers introduced into their writings, just as they introduced elements of popular syntax. Again they were breaking away from the rigidity of the accepted literary standards.

Although most of the terms for Church organisation and Christian 'things' as such were taken over from Greek with the spreading of the Gospel, some new words were needed very early in the history of the Church on Latin-speaking territory. In some cases, the foreign word, for one reason or another, was not acceptable, and it was replaced by a Latin term, often a linguistic 'calque' of the foreign word. 'Regeneratio', for example, was formed as the equivalent of *παλιγγενεσία* as early as the time of the Old Latin versions. In other cases, the Latin terms developed only gradually beside the foreign ones. *Sequens* = *acolythus*, *audiens*, *petens* = *catechumenus*, *minister* = *diaconus* are some of the examples found in the inscriptions.

This creative power is held to have reached its full development in the fourth century, when there was an increase in the number of new words. Dr. Mohrmann, in 'Die altchristliche Sondersprache in den Sermones des hl. Augustin', discusses a considerable number of new words appearing in written records for the first time in the Sermons, though some of them must have been in current use before this. She suggests, for example,

that 'sanctimonialis' = nun, 'infantes' = newly-baptized, could only have developed in the community, and <sup>must</sup> have been accepted there before Augustine could use them.

In the course of time, word families often developed round a central idea. In the Sermons, we find derived from 'caro' in its Christian sense, carnalis, (formed in the early period), carnalis, (subst., formed after the adjective had acquired a pejorative sense), carnaliter (already in the Itala, though not generally accepted till much later), carnalia = works of the flesh (since Tertullian), carneus, incarnatio and incarnari (C4), carnalitas (time of Augustine). Greek words naturalized in Christian speech were treated in the same way. We have the groups: propheta, prophetare, propheticus, propheticus; baptizo, baptizator, and, from the conflict with the Donatists, recaptizo, rebaptizator, rebaptizatio.

The formation of new words is particularly important in the case of mediate Christianisms, those words which express ideas not immediately bound up with Christianity, and yet are found only in the writings of Christians. The existence of these is taken as proof of a desire on the part of the Christians to avoid certain terms used by their pagan neighbours. While any new words which arose among the people were naturally formed on popular models, those of a more official origin, if they were to win general acceptance, had to conform to the same tendencies.

The new words discussed by Dr. Mohrmann in Augustine's Sermons are mainly those formed with the

popular elements which seem to have been especially favoured by the Christians: abstract nouns in -tio, -sio, -tas; agent nouns in -tor, -trix; adjectives in -alis, -bilis; adverbs in -biliter, etc. By an investigation of the new words formed with such elements in the inscriptions, I hope to show to what extent the creative ability reflected in the Latin of the Christian leaders had a counterpart in everyday speech, especially with regard to mediate Christianisms.

#### Nouns and adjectives.

##### -tor, -sor, -trix.

In popular speech, an agent noun could be formed with -tor or -sor from practically any verb. Inscriptions of all periods give examples of many that never found their way into literature. Feminines in -trix, were also freely used, though they appear only comparatively rarely in the more careful writers. Christian Latin made great use of this formative element, and produced not only baptizator, confessor, mediator, salvator, seductor, but the less successful lucrator (= converter), praenuntiator, coronator, which for various reasons were not accepted.

The Christian inscriptions have numerous forms in -tor, and quite a number in -trix, but the majority were in general use and so have little significance for the present chapter. 'Fossor', 'cantor', 'lector', terms already in existence, were transferred to positions within the Christian community. There are some examples of well-known direct Christianisms: confessor, peccator,



peccatrix, redemptor (in a quotation from the Vulgate), salvator. More important here are the following indirect Christianisms: excussor, only attested elsewhere in vulg. Ps. 127, 4 and in Cassiodorus' comment on the passage, to which this inscription, (D. 1049), seems to refer; lamentator, with which Diehl compares Vulg. Jer. 9, 17, lamentatrices; meritor; praestator (psuperum) = helper of the poor;<sup>1</sup> relictor; susceptor (again in a quot. from the Vulgate), possibly traditor.

-tio, -sio.

This was the most popular of suffixes for abstract nouns in inscriptions of all periods, and the Christian inscriptions are no exception. There are several direct Christianisms: benedictio, circumcisio, refrigeratio (= refreshment, here, D. 1571, the Christian communal meal), oratio (= prayer). A considerable number of indirect Christianisms belong here, the most important occurring in a group of elliptical expressions which could arise only in a close community where certain ideas need not be fully expressed. In D. 1524 we have gratia sancta consecutus, a phrase for baptism. Elsewhere we have the verb used absolutely, for example, D. 1527, bimus trimus consecutus est, and derived from this, D. 1528 ex die consecutionis in saeculo fuit..... Similar groups are formed by: accipere gratiam, accipere, acceptio; percipere gratiam,

1. v. E. Lofstedt, Coniectanea, 1950, p. 36 adn., who gives several examples of the absolute use of 'praestare', = offer (help, favour).

percipere, perceptio, (the one example 1541A. is uncertain);  
reddere spiritum, reddere, redditio.

There are a number of other words connected with the idea of death: arcessitio (derived from the Christian use of arcessere), depositio, dormitio, functio, pausatio, (cf. the absolute use of pausare), petitio, requietio. Some of the words mentioned, e.g. depositio, dormitio, occur occasionally elsewhere, but in their Christian sense they were probably new creations within the Christian community.

The remaining indirect Christianisms are the following: coniuratio = adjuring 3866, (derived from the Christian use of coniuro); culpatio 1281, (of the only four literary examples, three are Christian); dilectio; 1682; illustratio (D.4735, apparently = brightness), opitulatio 274, turificatio 2100.

#### -tas.

Of the numerous words in -tas, only the following seem to be Christian: trinitas, a word first used by Tertullian, and frequent in all writers after him; fraternitas, though it appears in Quintilian several times with the meaning 'relationship between brothers', is mainly Christian in use, based on the sense of 'fratres' = the Christian community. It seems to have been current in the phrase, 'clerus et fraternitas.'

Germanitas, in spite of an example as early as Cic. har. resp., is mainly used by Christian writers, rather like 'fraternitas', but the word occurs in an apparently pagan inscription, C.I.L. VIII, 12355.

Possibly also summitas, tenacitas.

-tus, -sus.

On the analogy of *consulatus*, *tribunatus*, Christian Latin formed *diaconatus*, *episcopatus*, *presbyteratus* (D.1807). Most of the other words with this suffix belong to the general vocabulary of the language, except perhaps for 'transitus', another word for dying. The term 'ausus' occurs in Petronius, and then disappears until C4 when it becomes frequent. Naturally most of the authors of this period are Christian, so that the word has the false appearance of a Christianism. It is probably mere chance that there is not more evidence of its occurrence in popular speech.

-arius.

This suffix was extremely productive in popular speech, serving to form a great number of words for trades and occupations. Strangely enough, the Christians made hardly any use of it, preferring -tor, except for *fossarius*, occurring once, beside the more usual 'fossor'. *Ostiarium*, *vestiarium*, were in general use before the Christians adopted them for minor offices in the Church.

-bilis. -biliter.

While adjectives formed from the negative prefix in- and the suffix -bilis were common in popular speech, the development was stimulated in Christian Latin by the influence of Greek privative  $\alpha\text{-}$ .<sup>1</sup> There are several examples of such words in the inscriptions, but it has not been possible to check all of them because of the incompleteness

1. v. Mohrmann, *Die altchristliche Sondersprache*, sub voc. *immarcescibilis*.

of the Thes. Ling. Lat. Of those for which evidence is available the following are used only by Christians: *immarcibilis* 2031 (= *immarcescibilis*, with reference to Vulg. I Pet. 5,4), *immaculabilis* 1801, *inmirabilis* 4338C, (only example), *inaccusabilis* 4723, (only example, but for one in Novell. Just. = ἀδιάβλητα). Possible examples are *inexistimabilis* 4723, 294, *invituperabilis* 4723. Of the positive adjectives formed with this suffix, *amicabilis* appears here only, (but for two occurrences in Novell. Just. = φιλική, φίλια). I have not been able to check *praedicabilis* 4334, *sociabilis* 55, *veniabilis* 1098.

Popular speech was generally fond of pompous adverbs in *-biliter*, and adverbs of this type, new to literature, are found in Christian writings, for example, 'incomparabiliter' in Augustine's Sermons. It is strange that the Christian inscriptions offer only one such form - *inculpabiliter* (4711) -, and that 'miserable' has been substituted for the classical 'miserabiliter' (60). The freedom with which adverbs were derived from adjectives is otherwise fairly well illustrated.

#### -alis.

The following are Christian: *aeternalis*, (though earlier used by pagans also), *castimonialis* = nun, *commemoralis* = memorial day (2354), (cf. the Christian sense of *commemoratio*), *floralis* (3778) (very doubtful and the only example), *luminale* (3334) - a shaft allowing light and air into an underground cemetery, *memoriale* = a memorial sacrifice, (again doubtful), *paenitentialis* = a priest appointed to hear confessions, *pascalis*, *sacerdotalis* (subst), *spiritalis*.

Only aeternalis, commemoralis, and sacerdotalis are certain indirect Christianisms here.

### Verbs.

The first conjugation was by far the most popular in the speech of the lower classes, and new formations and borrowings from other languages were usually incorporated into it. The suffix -izare, ( -issare), was favoured as early as Plautus for the introduction of Greek verbs in -ίζω , e.g. graecissare, atticissare. Christian Latin followed the usual practice and introduced verbs like baptizare, anathematizare, evangelizare, or new formations like praefigurare, expalmare, subitare.

While there are no new verbs in -izare in the inscriptions, there are several in -are worthy of note, most of them being indirect Christianisms.

adunare. A word that became current only towards the end of the third century. Though occurring occasionally elsewhere, it was mainly used by Ecclesiastical writers, especially in the sense of 'unite'. (D.987).

amicatus. Past-participle of amico, occurring twice. Apart from examples in the grammarians and one in Statius, this rather rare word occurs in Christian surroundings, once in Itala Jud. 5,30 = φιλιζων . (D.2176, 4460).

appropio. A word found in the Itala and Vulgate, occasionally in Ecclesiastical writers. The example in question is a quotation from the Vulgate. (D.2415A).

episcopare. A denominative verb which happens to be attested only in inscriptions. 'pontificare' is similarly formed.

fluxare. Only one example. (D.1629).

plasmare. This seems to be a new formation from  $\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\mu\alpha$  in place of  $\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omega$ . (D.2366)

resuscito. In the literal sense this appears to be Christian, though there are one or two examples elsewhere of the figurative sense. (D.2426c)

sponso = betroth, titulo = set up a funeral inscription, are merely popular formations.

Verbs in -ficare, adjectives in -ricus.

Influenced by Greek causative verbs in -έω, Christian Latin developed a number of verbs in -ficare, apparently formed directly from nouns, for in many cases the corresponding adjective in -ricus was missing or was formed after the verb.<sup>1</sup> The inscriptions offer no evidence for the popularity of this process. The verbs attested were either already in existence at an earlier stage of the language: pacifico, purifico, or were among the commonest in the Christian vocabulary: clarifico, glorifico, salvifico, sanctifico, vivifico. Except for splendidificus, all the adjectives noted in the inscriptions had already been used in literature, many of them in the classical period: amplificus, honorificus, laeticus, luctificus, mirificus, vivificus. Sanctificus and deificus seem to be Christian.

Words formed with con-.

In popular Latin many words had been formed with the prefix cum-, con-, to express the idea 'together with', or in the case of nouns, 'fellow-'. Though there was a general tendency in Late Latin for prepositions to lose their force in compounds, con- was revitalised as a formative element in Christian Latin through the influence

1. v. Mohrmann, op. cit.

of Greek compounds with *συν* -. In the first place this was convenient for the translation of Biblical words in *συν* -, but then it came to be used for the creation of words independently of any Greek model.<sup>1</sup>

The inscriptions naturally contain several words in -con- which belonged to the general popular vocabulary of Latin: *contubernalis*, *commanipulus*, *comilito* (Gloss. *συνστρατιώτης* ), (all military terms), *convicanus*, *convictor*, *colibertus*, -a, *conlactaneus*. *Consonus*, *consors*, which had both occurred earlier in literature, were given a considerable extension by Christian writers, perhaps because of their new sense of the significance of *con-*. Christian influence was probably at work in the following words:

CONVIVO. The verb was frequent in both pagan and Christian inscriptions in formulae stating the length of time husband and wife had lived together. (Christian writers also used it with reference to II Cor. 7,3, and II Tim. 2,11, where it translates *συνζήν* ). The formulae 'convixi cum.....' seems to be Christian, (and Jewish - one example), compared with the dative of literature, though they made use of this also. It was perhaps due to a renewed sense of the force of the preposition.

CONDISCIPULUS. This word, fairly frequent in pagan literature, took on the new sense among Christians of 'fellow-disciple', probably from Vulg. Joann. 11,16, where it translates *συμμαθητής* . The one inscription where it occurs, (D.2219), is vague enough to allow either the general

1. op. cit. sub voc. 'coaeternus'.

or Christian meaning, but I think the Christian one is more likely.

CONFULOR. D.3827...set tantummodo convivium copulantibus vel refrigerantibus pateat. Apart from this example, the word occurs twice in Christian writers.

CONFORS. One example: D.5314, estote memores iterum Elysiis co/fu/turi, 'that you will be together again (with us) in Elysium'. Though it occurs occasionally in literature, mostly in Christian authors, only once does it have the meaning 'simul esse', and that in a medical writer:

Cael. Aur. ac si feores non fuerint neque alia quaelibet passio lumbricis confuerit.

COHEREDES. This word was frequently used by pagans with the literal meaning, 'joint-heirs'. In Christian writers, it frequently, though not always, implies 'joint-heirs with Christ', from Vulg. Rom. 8,17, where it translates συνκληρονόμοι. This is the meaning here: D.1071,12, Antestes summi pares meritis coheredesque Christi.

CONNUMERO. With the meaning, 'number together', this word belonged to legal as well as Christian terminology. The phrase 'connumerandus sanctis', (D.1092), possibly belonged to one of the liturgical services.

CONFRATER. The only example is very doubtful. Diehl thus supplies 280: Ulpus Asclepius con/frater in/\*p(osuit). Other words have been suggested. Though the word seems to be unknown in the period covered by the Thes. Ling. Lat., it and 'confratria' especially were current in the Middle Ages among monks. (v. Du Cange s.v.). An isolated example might have occurred as early as this.

CONDATOR. One example in an official inscription of 527,



supplied as co/nd/at/ores/ by Diehl, as the Greek translation gives συντελεστές .

COMPRESBYTER. The word first occurs in Cyprian, and was used continuously in all Christian writers after him. Although D.1806 seems to be the only known Inscriptional example, the word must have had considerable currency, if only in more official speech.

CONVIVUS. One late example, D.835 /c/onbives (= convivis) meis. Its only other occurrence is in Tert. Scap.:

(Claudius) vastatus peste convivis vermibus ebullisset.

CONVIRGINIUS. A husband or wife married for the first time was frequently called 'virginus, -a'. In D.1536, genesis qui separat convirginios dulcis, we have a term for the married pair, obviously a popular formation, though not widely attested. D.4252 has an example of the singular: quixit (= qui vixit) cum suum sunbirgino.

COOPEROR. This verb, now so familiar, was originally a Christian formation after the Greek συνεργέω, as in Marc. 16, 20, I Cor. 16,16, Jac. 2,22. It only became current in popular speech towards the end of C4, and Augustine was the first to use it extensively.<sup>1</sup> The only example in Diehl, (1815), dates from the end of C6.

CONCRESCONIUS. Beside the example in Diehl, this word is attested in C.I.L. VI, 29063, and in VI, 30,467 we find the feminine, concresonia, unknown elsewhere. This particular example, D.4930, is a Jewish epitaph from Rome, which contains another unusual word in con-: fecit fratri et concresonio et conlaboronio meo Abundantio. There is besides a possible example, 4105A adn. C.I.L. VI 29063

1. op. cit. s. voce.

gives 'concrecco', a parallel formation to 'concrecconius', and in D.4325C, fecit Friavo cum/laborono suo, we may have 'collabero' beside 'collaboronius'. -o was a frequent suffix in popular speech. If D.4325C is to be interpreted thus, the word was current at an early date, as the presence of the Christian symbol, the fish, probably assigns the inscription to C3. As all these examples come from Rome, they may perhaps be attributed to general Greek influence which was more powerful there than elsewhere, owing to the large Greek-speaking community.

For the sake of completeness, I will include here a few other indirect Christianisms noted from the inscriptions. The following appear to be partial, (i.e. occurring occasionally in pagan, but mainly in Christian writers): beatitudo, destrietus = severe, gemisco, immaculatus. 'Agniculus' and 'creatura' are integral, both occurring as early as the Itala. 'Serotinus' and 'unigenitus' were also Biblical words.

The popularity of the formative elements discussed in this chapter is amply attested by the many words that clearly belonged to the general vocabulary of the lower classes. These words, together with those which were established as part of the language and generally used in literature, I have not taken into consideration. Certain terms which are *ἄπαξ λεγόμενα* clearly have nothing to do with Christianity. It is mere chance that the only known example occurs in a Christian inscription, as, for example, acuclarius, candidator, conductrix. This invalidates to a certain extent the evidence of words such as inmirabilis, lamentator, only occurring once, which by their form and meaning might qualify as indirect

Christianisms. Again there is the possibility that the word in question may be an individual creation and no part of general speech, Christian or otherwise. 'Devivo' for example only occurs once, and Bücheler suggests the influence of  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\beta\iota\sigma\mu\upsilon\upsilon$  in this particular instance.

The surest examples of creation by the Christian people to meet their linguistic needs are the group acceptio, consecutio etc. The Christian character of these words is demonstrated by their particularized meaning, and the similar process of formation that binds them together. Many of the other words are more doubtful evidence for the reasons suggested above. Even if all the words discussed here are accepted, a list of 50-60 words, including direct as well as indirect Christianisms, seems remarkably little evidence for the creative power of the Christian community as distinct from the rest of the population.

## CHAPTER IV.

The Vocabulary of the Prose Inscriptions.

It seems unnecessary to deal with direct Christianisms as such. Those terms belonging to Christian and Church organisation which were generally used by the laity, as far as the inscriptions give evidence for them, can easily be collected from Niehl's excellent index of 'Res Christianae'. This chapter is a discussion of such words and phrases as constantly occur on funerary inscriptions, of which the collection is largely composed. The very numerous pagan epitaphs offer an exact parallel. A comparison of pagan and Christian types will show what kind of differentiation in language resulted from the intervention of Christian teaching on the subjects of death and the after-life.

For the most part, the verse epitaphs need to be treated separately from the prose ones. They follow a different kind of tradition, literary rather than epigraphical, and their greater length allows for more elaboration. The material they offer has its own distinctive features, quite separate from the simpler prose inscriptions, and will be dealt with in a later chapter. Certain features overlap however, and those will be treated here.

It is not always possible to decide immediately whether a given inscription is Christian or pagan. Naturally enough, the Christians continued to use many traditional elements that were quite neutral. These included the terse formulaic method of expression, and the habit of praising the dead, which brought with it many

customary words and phrases. The Christian nature of an inscription is often made clear by the addition of distinctly Christian elements to the inherited material: the Christian monogram, (representing the name of Christ either as part of the text or as an independent addition), references to Christian ideas and rites, special Christian phrases, sometimes only the use of a Christian personal name such as Amantius, Habetaeus, quodvultdeus. There is also the negative evidence of the absence of pagan formulae and ideas, especially in the case of the earliest Christian inscriptions which are notable for their simplicity, often consisting of little more than a name, with the addition perhaps of 'vivas in pace', or merely 'in pace'.

The position is complicated by the absence of distinctly pagan elements from some pagan epitaphs, and their presence in some Christian ones. The pagan D(ie) M(anibus) S(acrum) is often found in Christian inscriptions. It is difficult to tell in such cases how far the phrases had been re-interpreted, or whether they were just used thoughtlessly. Further, late pagan thought approximated to Christian thought on some points, so that the sentiments expressed are not always a sure guide. It is quite impossible in some cases to identify an inscription on linguistic grounds. For example, there is nothing specifically Christian in the following inscription: D.3924: d.m. Nonio Venustiano, patri benemerenti, fili et coniux marito amantissimo; or in D.3890B: d.m. Pompeio benemerenti, qui vixit anno uno,

mensibus XI, diebus XII, L. Lindius Lutyches pater filio. The question of identity may in such circumstances be settled by non-linguistic evidence: the place of origin, (a Christian cemetery or church), external features suggesting such an origin, (the size and shape of the stone indicating that it covered a 'loculus' in an underground cemetery), the presence of symbolic drawings, (dove, peacock, anchor etc.). Where such evidence is not available, there is often some doubt, the same inscription being classed as pagan by one editor, Christian by another.

The neutral material common to Christian and pagan alike includes such adjectives in praise of the dead as: amantissimus, benignus, carissimus, desiderantissimus, dulcissimus, innocens, pudicus, sobrius, univira; nouns such as castitas, innocentia, pudicitia, qualified by various adjectives; phrases describing conjugal peace and felicity: (vixit mecum) sine ulla querella, sine ulla reprehensione, sine animi laesione, sine contumelia, macula, iurgio, lite etc. To these the Christians added new terms, in many cases influenced by the language of the Bible. It is these that will be discussed, together with new ideas about the last resting place of the body, death and the future life. For the purposes of comparison, here are a few typical pagan inscriptions, taken from Dessau's collection: 8421. Fortunatae, ser(vae) fidelissimae, conservatrici et amatrici domini. h(ic) s(ita) e(st). s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis). Salvianus b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit). 8430. P. Iulio P. [f]. Nomaeo filio optumo reverentissimo

obsequentissimoq. huiusq. loci totius domino, vix. ann.XV.  
 m.X.d.XXIV. P. Iul. Iysiponus pat. 8158. d. et m.  
 memoriae aetern. Blandinae Martiolae puellae  
 innocentissimae quae vixit ann. XVIII m. VIII d. V,  
 Pompeius Catussa cives Sequanus tector coniugi  
 incomparabili et sibi benignissime, quae necum vixit  
 an. V. m. VI. dies XVIII sine ulla criminis sorde: vius  
 (= vivus) sibi et coniugi ponendum curavit et sub ascia  
 dedicavit. Tu qui legis, vade in Apolinis lavari, quod  
 ego cum coniuge fece; vellem si aduc possem.

#### WORDS FOR THE TOMB.

One of the most popular and long-lived pagan beliefs about the after-life was that the dead man carried on some kind of half-existence within the tomb itself. This idea survived in spite of the later conception of the underworld as the general dwelling place of the departed. The tomb was considered as the actual house of the dead which he must inhabit for ever, while his home among the living was only a temporary one, a lodging. The tomb was therefore frequently given some such name as 'aeterna domus', 'aeterna sedes', 'aeterna casa'.

The Christians continued to use this traditional phraseology, though with some modification of the ideas behind it. There is abundant testimony to the conviction that the soul of the dead was in the presence of God, (or perhaps in purgatory), and that only the body lay in the earth. Nevertheless, it was essential that this body should suffer no violation, or its previous inhabitant might be barred from the resurrection of the body. As the pagans had done before them, great care

was taken by many Christians to prepare a tomb during their life-time and to protect it by legal means, that this calamity might not befall them. This is clearly stated in D.3863, *ut hunc sepulcrum nunquam ullo tempore violetur, sed coserve(ur) usque ad finem mundi, ut possit sine impedimento in vita redire cum venerit, qui iudicaturus est et vivos et mortuos.*

Just as for the pagans, failure to receive proper burial prejudiced the well-being of the soul in Hades, so for the Christian, if the body were unburied, the owner would be ultimately rejected from the kingdom. This is the curse laid by one believer on any who would disturb his bones: D.3845, *male pereat, insepultus iaceat, non resurgat, cum iuda partem habeat, si quis sepulcrum hunc violarit.*

The tomb was obviously intended to protect the earthly remains until the Second Advent. Though the primary meaning of such phrases as 'domus aeterna' implied that it was a place to be inhabited for ever, or, in the case of Christians, 'usque ad resurrectionem', as an inscription from Thessalonica phrases it, there was probably an idea of durability also. The tomb must be capable of lasting until the end of the world, whether this were to occur soon or not. A number of inscriptions, dating from the end C4 to early C5, from Numerus Syrorum in Mauretania Caesariensis, contain the curious phrase 'domus Romula'. All but two are preceded by the pagan formula D.M.S., but this does not prove a pagan origin. Cabrol<sup>1</sup>

1. In 'Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne', sub. voc.



suggests that there was perhaps a wish to recall the famous 'casa Romuli', the small round building at Rome supposed to be the house of Romulus, which was imitated in terra cotta cinerary urns. There may perhaps have been a feeling that as the house of Romulus had so well withstood the ravages of time, such a name would excellently express the desired durability of the tomb. The phrase is a purely local development, probably copied from one person's innovation.

While by far the most frequent term, both in prose and verse, was the general 'tumulus', there are a considerable number of examples both of 'domus aeterna', and of 'domus aeternalis'. The first of these, like the Greek  $\alpha\iota\omega\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma \delta\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ , was used by pagans and Christians. 'Domus aeternalis' also was at first used by pagans, but later it seems to have been restricted to Christians.<sup>1</sup> It was particularly common in Africa, where, though there is one example from the year 266, the majority belong to C6 or 7.

There are isolated examples of other phrases

1. The word 'aeternalis' seems entirely Christian in its literary use. It was clearly a popular word from Augustine's reference to it: contra Friscill. 5. .... nos... sive  $\alpha\iota\omega\nu\alpha$  sive  $\alpha\iota\omega\nu\iota\omicron\nu$  non solemus dicere nisi aeternum ... quamvis quidam interdum etiam aeternale audeant dicere, ne Latinae linguae deesse videatur ab eodem nomine derivatio. It was frequent in the Itala, but often replaced by some other word in the Vulgate.

expressing the durability of the last resting place. We find: aeterna cella, aeternum cubile, aeterna mensa, mensio sempiterna, perpetua casa, perpetua mensa, diaeta<sup>1</sup> aeternalis, vivax sedes, perpetua sedes, aeterna sedes.

The word 'mensa' was originally a pagan term applied to the horizontal slab of stone beneath an image of the dead, on which it was customary to make offerings of food. The Christians applied the word to the stone covering the body or the relics of a martyr. It was the practice to celebrate some kind of funeral meal at the tomb on certain days, this frequently taking the form of the agape, or Christian love feast. It was clearly a continuation of the pagan memorial banquets. The association of the mensa with the tomb eventually led to 'mensa', simply the equivalent of 'tomb', without any meal being held there.

The term 'mansio' indicated concrete objects mainly in popular speech, where it was used for various kinds of dwelling or stopping place, both for animals and man. The text, Vulg. Joann. 14,2, in domo patris mei mansiones multae sunt, gradually added the significance, 'abode of the blessed', and the use for the resting place of the body was presumably derived from this. The usage is rare.

Special types of tombs were indicated by the words bisomus, trisomus, biscandens, tercandens etc.,

1. 'diaeta' was originally a kind of summer house or room in a garden. It was frequently attached to tombs which were often built in gardens, and eventually came to signify the tomb itself.

made to contain two, three or more bodies. There is one pagan example of 'vas disomum', (C.I.L. IX 1722), otherwise the word seems to be Christian, always in the hybrid form 'bisomus'. The bisomus and trisomus belonged to underground cemeteries, the second series to open air burial grounds where they named graves divided to contain two or more bodies side by side. Cabrol suggests either that the partitions were white (candere), or that 'scandere' was a popular word for 'divide', (cf. Isidore, scandula a divisione vocata. duplex enim est, scanditurque, id est dividitur.)

To protect the tomb by legal means, many Christians, like pagans, set a fine as the penalty for violation. In these cases the terminology was identical, except that occasionally the fine was to be paid to the church instead of the treasury. Some pagans preferred to lay a curse on the would-be violator: Dessau 8184. qua(m) si quis violaverit aut inde exemerit, opto ei, ut cum dolore corporis longo tempore vivat, et cum mortuus fuerit, inferi eum non recipiant. The Christians used curses based on biblical stories: D.3866, coniuro per patrem et filium et spiritum scm et diem tremendam iudicii, ut nullus presumat locum istum, ubi requiesco, violare. quod si quis pot (= post) anc coniurationem presumpserit, anatoma abeat de Iuda et repra (= lepra) Nansen Syri abeat. D. 1293 ... sit anathema, percussus lebra Gezie perfruat et cum Iuda traditore abeat portionem et a leminibus ecclesie separetur et a communionem scm sec/lusus.... .

An alternative to a mere fine is suggested by Vulg. II

reg. 4,12.<sup>1</sup> :D.535 qui eam aperire voluerit, iure ei  
 ma(nus) precidentur. The threat of the day of judgement  
 replaces that of the hostility of the Manes: D.3865, si  
 quis se praesumpserit contra hunc tumulum meum violari,  
 aoea inde inquisitionem ante tribunal domini nostri.....

#### TERMS FOR DEATH.

The tendency to replace a plain word for death  
 or dying by some euphemism is a very common form of tabu.  
 The Christians of the first few centuries shared it with  
 the pagans who surrounded them. Consequently the word  
 'moritur' or 'mortuus est', though used to a certain  
 extent, is much less common than other terms which state the  
 fact of death less harshly and abruptly. Among the  
 Christians, this tendency was given a further impulse by  
 their new conception of death not as the end, but as the  
 beginning, so that the more thoughtful among them  
 deliberately tried to express some aspect of Christian  
 belief. These individual variations usually took the form  
 of more elaborate periphrases rather than single words,  
 and it is noteworthy that such periphrases occur not only  
 in verse, where they are to be expected as poetic  
 embellishments, but also in the less ambitious prose  
 epitaphs of humble Christians.

For the most part, however, the Christians were  
 content with the pagan euphemisms. Words common in pagan  
 inscriptions tend to be common in Christian ones also.  
 These terms are mostly neutral, and express general ideas

1. praecedentesque manus et pedes eorum suspenderunt  
 eos super piccinam in Hebron.

about death rather than markedly pagan conceptions. The new terms developed among the Christian community were used beside the inherited ones.

The various terms are grouped according to the ideas lying behind them.

One of the commonest euphemisms for death is *transire* and was a word expressing 'passing away'. In Diehl's collection we find the following: *eo, abeo, exeo, transeo; cedo, concedo, decedo, discedo, recedo, secedo; cesso; migro*. Many of these can be used absolutely, but they are often further defined by some such phrase as, *de corpore, de hac vita, de saeculo, e rebus humanis*. We have also *'iit ad deum'*. There are several examples of 'leaving this light', which remind one of the pagan phrases, *'luce repta'* etc., in which light is equivalent to life. While *'decedo'* is particularly frequent in both pagan and Christian inscriptions, *'discedo'* seems to be confined to Christians. There are five examples of *'transitus'* used in the sense of *'mors'*. The earliest literary use of the word in this sense is in the Christian poet Commodian, (middle of C3<sup>1</sup>), so that it is probably a Christianism.

Besides this idea of merely leaving the world, there was the more positive one of joy at escaping from its snares. Pagans too had expressed relief at being at last free from the fickleness of fortune, and all the ills of this life, but, for the Christian, death was the gate-way

1. The date of this poet is a debatable matter. He has been placed in varying periods between the third and fifth centuries.

to a better life. To illustrate the 'escape' idea we have, *fugere mundum, carere minas saeculi, esse in pace*; and the same idea is inherent in those phrases with 'de saeculo', as 'saeculum' very frequently had the pejorative meaning of 'this (evil) world'. The better life beyond the grave, sometimes mentioned explicitly as 'melior vita', 'melior dies', was at the root of expressions like 'vitam transportavit in caelis', 'ad quietem pacis translata', and in particular 'praecedere, procedere (nos) in pace', perhaps suggested by Vulg. Matt. 26,52, *Postquam autem resurrexero, praecedam vos in Galilaeam*.

Especially noteworthy in this respect is the Christian practice of referring to the day of death as 'dies natalis', i.e. the day of birth into real life. This usage is quite certain in the case of martyrs e.g. D.2114 A, *sanctis martyribus ..... quorum natales est XVIII kalendas Maias*. 'Natale' still however retained its literal meaning 'birthday', and it is uncertain whether 'dies natalis' was used of ordinary Christians to indicate the day of death. Marucchi<sup>1</sup> interprets: *Postumius Eutenion fidelis qui gratiam sanctam consecutus est pridie natali suo*, as 'baptized the day before he died', a very likely procedure, as the Christians of the early centuries often delayed baptism. The example, (1524 in Diehl), is however ambiguous, as the child in question died on his birthday.

The pagan idea that in dying we only fulfil our fate was apparently taken over into Christianity with

1. *Epigrafia Cristiana*, p.101.

little difficulty. The predominant idea here was that our life was owed to Nature, as there was in the world but a limited amount of life-stuff which passed from one living creature to another in a kind of cycle. Death was thus 'debitum naturae'. cf Tertull. de anim. mortem naturae debitum pronuntiamus. Though this type of phrase was not very frequent in Christian inscriptions, the idea was familiar enough to allow the necessary words to be supplied in the following: D.1610. quem abuit in [con]iugio Diogeni[a] annis tres et m[en]ses septe et (debitum naturae) [con]plevit in pace. There are also some examples of the pagan 'fatum', 'genesis'<sup>1</sup>; e.g. in fata concessit, decretum genesis complevit. The neutral 'obeo' is very frequent, mostly used absolutely.

The equivalent Christian idea is that of returning the soul to God who gave it, (v. Gen 2,7). Hence we find: anima ad deum remeante; tradidit anima deo; and, in particular, 'reddidit spiritum', which was familiar enough to be expressed by 'reddidit' alone. There is one example of 'commendare spiritum', based on Vulg. Luc. 23,46.

A good many phrases suggest the will of some higher Being, summoning the dead from this world to His presence: rebus humanis subtracta, exemptus; sublata est; tulita est; petitus in pace; accepit transitum suum; receptus ad deum, in pace; in pace accersitus, (cf. Cypr. omnes quos dominus in tanta tribulatione arcessire dignatus est). 'Accersitio' meaning 'death' is entirely

1. Originally meaning 'horoscope', based on the star under which one was born, the word gradually came to mean 'fate'.

Christian.

Death was often described as the end; the dead ~~man~~ has done with life. Under this head belong; *vitam posuit*; *vita privatus est*; *defunctus*, (frequent in both pagan and Christian inscriptions in every part of the Roman world); *extinctus*; *exanimis*; *finita est*; *deficere*. '*Functus*' was frequent in the phrases '*vita, diem functus*', and also occurs three times absolutely. There is one example of '*functio*', equivalent to '*defunctio*', a Christian word.

The most characteristic Christian usage was to describe death as a sleep. This was primarily a Jewish idea; see the frequent Old Testament phrase, '*dormivit cum patribus suis*'. Its currency among Christians was further supported by the words of Our Lord: Vulg. Joann. 11,11, *Lazarus amicus noster dormit*, Luc. 8,52, *Nolite flere; non est mortuus (puella), sed dormit*. Jewish inscriptions often contained the word *κοίμησις*; especially frequent was the prayer *ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἡ κοίμησις σου*. The very word '*coemeterium*' for the Christian place of burial emphasises this idea. '*Dormit*' is entirely Christian, and extremely frequent. '*Dormitio*' too is Christian, likewise *pauso*, *repuco*, *puscatio*, though '*somnus*' occurs in some pagan epitaphs. '*quiesco*' and '*requiesco*', both originally pagan and not very frequent, were adopted by the Christians, and with the extension of Christianity were used more and more widely, especially with the addition of '*in pace*'. An impulse was perhaps given by Vulg. Apoc. 14,13, *iam dicit Spiritus, ut (mortui) requiescant a laboribus suis*. One phrase, D.1728, *obdormivit in pace Iesu*, is clearly derived from Vulg. Act. 7,60, (*Stephanus*) *obdormivit*.



In the case of words for burial and lying in the grave, some new Christian terms were added to the inherited pagan ones. 'Sepultus' and 'iacet', (especially *hic iacet, hoc in tumulo iacet*), continued to be used widely. It is strange that the spelling 'iacit', (due to confusion with 'iacio'), is mostly Christian. 'Cubat', so frequent in pagan inscriptions, only occurs once, with three examples of 'recubo'. Terms confined to Christians were 'depositus', 'depositio'. The former was extremely frequent in Rome from 290 onwards, 'depositus in pace' from the beginning of the fourth century. Marucchi<sup>1</sup> draws a nice distinction between this and the pagan 'situs'. "Il 'situs' usato dai pagani esprime il cupo concetto dell' abbandono eterno in un luogo: il 'depositus' indica una cosa affidata alla custodia temporanea, e significa che il corpo veniva affidato alla custodia della terra fino al giorno della risurrezione". A.E. Gordon<sup>2</sup> also states that 'situs' was excluded from prose inscriptions, while verse ones were less particular. The fact remains that the Christians did continue to use 'situs' in prose inscriptions, and there is no doubt as to the Christian character of some of these. Other phrases are 'positus' and 'adtumulatus'. This second term occurs twice in Pliny, three times in Ambrose, and it is interesting to note that

1. *Epigrafia Cristiana* p.53. He also says that 'situs' reappeared in C5 with a new significance, but the use seems to be the same as the pagan.

2. In 'A mysterious Latin Inscription in California'. University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology.

the one sure example comes from the area round Ambrose's home town of Milan.

Many pagan phrases were given a Christian appearance by the addition of the phrase 'in pace'. Most of the phrases mentioned above can have this addition, and in the majority of cases do, especially 'decessit in pace', 'vixit in pace', 'iacet in pace', and the Christian phrases 'depositus in pace', 'dormit in pace'.

Often in pagan inscriptions there is no word for dying, owing to the formulaic method of expression. A frequently occurring type is constructed as follows: ..... vixit ... annos ... menses ... dies. filio (marito etc.) bene merenti fecit. Though the Christians continued to use this type, they often mentioned the exact date of death or burial. Marucchi suggests that this custom originated in the desire to celebrate the agape in memory of a martyr's death on exactly the right day. Later it was extended to humbler Christians. This accounts for the frequency with which words for death appear in Christian inscriptions.

Once the Christian terms had developed, they were used with just as much conservatism as the pagan ones. It is clear from the fact that certain terms are more popular in certain areas that many merely wrote what others had written before them. 'Praecessit in pace' was favoured chiefly in Mauretania Caesariensis, 'hic dormit' at Ostia, 'pausat in pace' in Gaul, while the Roman Christians preferred 'decessit'. We find 'in pace vixit' in Africa, 'vixit ... in pace' at Rome. On the other hand, 'depositus' and 'depositio' were avoided in

Transalpine Gaul, and 'depositus' in Africa.

ADJECTIVES OF PRAISE AND RELATED PHRASES.

AMICUS. The normal use of 'amicus, -i', in inscriptions was to describe the friends who erected the monument, rather than as a word of praise for the dead, but some proverbial expressions for a true friend were sometimes applied to the deceased. Several of these occur in this collection: amicus amicorum, cum amicis amicus, amicus omnibus (or omnium). It has been suggested that the last phrase was either Stoic or Christian, and if Christian, was meant to express Christian charity to all men. The phrases 'amicus Dei, Christi' are plainly Christian, and probably arose from passages like Vulg. Jac. 2,23, Abraham ... amicus Dei appellatus est, and Joann. 15,14, Vos amici mei (Christi) estis. Generosity towards the poor was a frequent subject of praise. Beside 'amicus pauperum', we have 'amator, amatrix pauperum (pauperorum)', and 'pater pauperum', this last being clearly derived from Vulg. Job 29,16, pater eram pauperum. The same sentiment is expressed in prodiga pauperibus, pauperibus locuples, and other phrases.

APTUS. All the few inscriptional examples of this adjective used absolutely with reference to persons, come from the area round about Lyons, except for one example from Cologne. It usually occurs at the end of a list of laudatory adjectives, and provides a convenient clausula for hexameter verse: D.1075. vir magnus, clemix  
( = clemens) ac mente benignus

abstutus argus dulcissimus aptus.

D.2919. hic iacit Artemia, dulcis aptissimus infans.

D.270. vir fuet excellens, argutissimus aptus.

The general meaning seems to be 'fitting in with those around', and so, 'obliging'.

ARGUTUS. Although pagans praised the wisdom of the dead occasionally, it is most likely that the use of this adjective in two Christian inscriptions, (both from the same area of Central Gaul), is derived from Itala, Matt. 10,16, estote arguti sicut serpentes (Vulg. prudentes). 'Prudens' does not happen to be used, though 'prudentia' occurs several times. There are also some examples, mostly doubtful, of 'catus', 'cautus', and two of 'sapientissimus', apparently used with similar significance.

BEATUS. This word was used for people and things in this world, especially for the happy life of the Christian, as in D.1719, omni laude beata, 1237, beatus in morebus, 1648, beatus ex operibus. In this sense it approximates to the philosophers' use of it for the happy man, and is equivalent to 'felix', which appears as an alternative in some inscriptions. Occasionally it was used for various things connected with the faith: the cross, the Church, and in phrases like 'regna beata' for heaven. Its main use however was to describe the dead, to whom it had already been applied in pagan philosophy, (e.g. Cic. Tusc. (mors) aut beatos nos efficiet animis manentibus, aut non miseris sensu carentis). The Christian usage was based on Vulg. Apoc. 14,13, beati mortui, qui in domino moriuntur. It was applied not only to the Virgin, apostles, confessors and martyrs, but to ordinary Christians. The plural 'beati' was used, like 'sancti', for all the dwellers in heaven. 'Beatissimus' was mostly reserved for apostles and martyrs, and bishops both alive and dead, though occasionally it was

applied to rank-and-file Christians.

COLUMBA. (palumbus, palumbulus) sine felle. The dove was proverbially considered as a simple creature compared with the cunning of vultures and hawks. It was even believed by some to be physically without gall, though this may be mainly a Christian idea, as most of the references to it are in Christian writers. In the Bible, the dove was a symbol of meekness and purity, and so became a favourite illustration in the Ecclesiastical writers for the Christian and for the Church, a use further supported by the command, Vulg. Matt. 10,16, estote ... prudentes sicut serpentes et simplices sicut columbae. There are four examples of this type of phrase in the inscriptions.

COSTA. In some Christian inscriptions the word 'costa' is used for 'wife', e.g. D.1203, Ianuarius diaconus se vivo fecit sibi et costae suae Lupercillae. This usage is clearly based on Vulg. Gen. 2,21-22 tulit unam de costis eius ..... aedificat Dominus Deus costam ... in mulierem.

DEVOTUS. Among both pagans and Christians, this word meant 'faithful', 'obedient', and under the later Emperors, the phrase 'vir devotus' became a title of honour. It appears frequently in the inscriptions in this more general significance, with various shades of meaning down to Modern English 'devoted'. In some cases it seems to be equivalent to 'pius', as in 'devota mente' or 'plebs devota', (both in verse). Christian parallels to solemn pagan formulae like 'devotus numini maiestatique eius' are found in phrases like (virgo) devota Deo, Christo, domino, etc., describing those who had chosen the dedicated life.

DOMINUS. This word was applied to high and low alike. We find it for God, Christ, emperors, martyrs, church dignitaries ordinary Christians. In everyday speech, a husband was called 'dominus'. cf. Petron. 679, domini, inquit, mei beneficio nemo habet meliora. C.I.L. VI, 1665, Restituta cum Secundo domino suo. This was also Christian usage: Aug. Serm. 37,6, unaquaeque coniunx bona maritum suum dominum vocat, 'Domina' was also used for a wife. In both pagan and Christian inscriptions, dominus, -a, was used as a title of honour for the dead, quite apart from its colloquial equivalence to 'husband, wife'. In the case of pagans, the custom was probably inspired by a desire to placate the dead, as the age of the dead shows that it was not the mere continuance of a title applied to him in life. v. Dessau 8496, d.m. Calistiano divo et domino meo dulcissimo et pientissimo, vix. annis IIII, with which may be compared Diehl 4613, domino filio dulcissimo ... qui vixit annum III, d. X. In the Christian inscriptions, there are more examples of 'domina', applied primarily to wives rather than to mothers and daughters, than of the corresponding 'dominus'.

EMERITUS. Primarily a military term applied to a veteran who had completed his service and received honourable discharge, this word was transferred to the soldiers of Christ who received their discharge only on death. There are two examples: D.1041, emeritus miles  $\overline{\chi\rho\iota}$ , 1433, inter emeritus Christi ... famul/os/.

FIDUS, fidelis, fides, fidelitas. Though 'fidus' was used very frequently in literature, it does not appear so often in inscriptions, either pagan or Christian. Its place was

usually taken by 'fidelis', a word very commonly used, especially in the superlative, in the sense of 'trustworthy'. In the Christian inscriptions, it is often difficult to tell where it is used in this original sense, and where with its Christian meaning of 'believing the Gospel'. In this latter sense it is often clarified by the addition of some phrase, such as: in  $\overline{\text{Xpo}}$  ; christianus; acolitus; levita; virgo; in pace (very frequently). In other places, the context makes the meaning clear, for example, 1123, in commissio fidelis (= trustworthy); 1545, ut fidelis de seculo recessisset (= believing). Often either interpretation could be given, as in 1509 adn. Sozomeneti alumnae audienti patronus fidelis; 1841, Willesinda sibi semper coerente fidele.

'Fides' was very common in funereal inscriptions, and was rarely omitted in any list of virtues. Here it was equivalent to 'fidelitas', which, like 'ficus', was uncommon. The Christians also used it for 'the Christian faith', and again it is impossible to be absolutely certain which is meant in every particular instance. e.g. D.4726, natalis suis mansuetus, fede preceptus, civeis carus, pauperibus pius. 3426, iustitia, probitate, fide preclarus et actu. The main difficulties occur in lists of virtues. When used alone, 'fides' and 'fidelis' frequently have the Christian sense.

HUMILIS. The Christians used this word on occasion to express their unworthiness, as in D.2364, humilis peccator ~~presbyter~~; but the idea of humility as a Christian virtue made it also a word of praise v. D.1463, humilis  $\overline{\text{Xpi}}$  , 4727, cunctis humilis. There are besides some examples of mitis, mansuetus, based on the same idea. It is easy to

find verses from the Bible suggesting it, where these very words are used.

INDIGNUS. Of the four inscriptions containing this word, three have the phrase 'indignus presbyter'. Similarly, most of the examples with the word 'peccator' come from the graves of priests, though some ordinary Christians were thus described. Most of these inscriptions are accompanied by a prayer for mercy, or a request for prayer from the reader, such as 'in mente habeas ... peccatorem', 'ora pro me', very like the pagan request that the passer-by should say 'sit tibi terra levis'. I can find no reason why these terms should be more or less confined to a particular class.

FIDUS, PIETAS. As these terms occur in both the old pagan and the Christian sense, they offer the same difficulty as 'fidelis' and its related words. 'Pietas' was easily transferred to 'affection towards God', from its earlier sense of 'duty towards the gods', and the majority of examples come under this head, e.g. D.990, ad Christum Anglos convertit pietate magistra, D.1696, pietas veneranda puellae; D1072, fide, meritis, pietate. Even in pagan Latin, it had moved towards the meaning 'kindness', and in some of the Christian inscriptions it appears to signify 'charity' or 'mercy' both on the part of men, (D.243, eloquio miseros vel pietate iuvans), and on the part of God, (D.3421, magna est pietas Christi redonare delicta, 2359, antecedit pietas tua (Χρη)). Occasionally the word preserves its original meaning of dutiful affection towards those who have a claim to it, D.4839, vos ... quos pietas duxit munerare parentes



The adjective 'pius' was used in inscriptional formulae in the traditional manner, (pia coniunx, filius pius, filio piissimo etc.), but we also find 'populus pius' for the Christian assembly, and 'pauperibus pius' meaning 'charitable to the poor'. (Like pietas, pius is used in the Vulgate to describe the mercy of God). 'Fili', as in pagan literature, often means 'the blessed', and 'pius' in some cases seems almost equivalent to 'Christianus, fidelis'.

SACER, SANCTUS. 'Sacer' was applied to all kinds of things relating to the Christian faith - the cross, church buildings, waters of baptism (especially), mysteries etc. It was used as a kind of title for living bishops, and in technical terms such as 'sacra deo puella', 'sacra virgo'. But in U.1091, we find both 'sacer pontifex' and 'pontifex sanctus' with apparently no difference in meaning. 'Sacer' and 'sanctus' seem in fact to be completely interchangeable in a good many uses. 'Sanctus' also may describe altars, churches, baptism, etc.

In pagan inscriptions, 'sanctus' was very frequently used in the sense of 'pure, upright', in phrases of the type 'coniugi sanctissimae'. This practice the Christians continued, but at the same time, they employed it in a distinctively Christian sense based on New Testament usage, where a Christian was regularly 'a saint'. With this meaning, it was applied primarily to a baptized Christian, but on occasion to any Christian, alive or dead. In this sense, the superlative was usually reserved for apostles, bishops and martyrs.

'Sancti', as in the New Testament, described the Christian community: B.1841, huc seī propert: non expers ullus aquorum res; 1848, haec ... patet aula sanctis. The soul also was 'sanctus', [ ]. It is rather surprising to find the term 'spiritus sanctus' applied not only to the Holy Spirit, but also to the human soul, as, for example, in B.2047 ad pto a spirita sancft martyres; 3393, in spirito santo bono Florentio.

We come now to a group of terms, dependent more or less closely on Biblical influence, which may be considered as paraphrases for the word 'Christian'.

In B.1124, we find 'athle(t)a Christi'. The earliest example of this in Greek is found in Clement of Rome (about A.D.100), but it did not become really frequent in Christian writers until C5 and later. It gradually came to be applied to a martyr, just as the word 'agon' signified tribulation, in particular the sufferings that caused the martyr's death. Often however it was equivalent to 'miles Christi', as in this example.

Two inscriptions, both from Rome, contain the phrase 'homo dei'. The 'man of God' par excellence was Moses, who is thus described in Deut. 33,1. The idea of the 'servant of God', or 'the Lord', is particularly frequent. The word 'puer' was general at all periods for a young slave, but I suggest that its use in Christian inscriptions was influenced by verses like Vulg. Luc. 1,54, suscepit Israel, puerum suum. ib. 69, in domo David, pueri sui.

later it developed into a technical term for some sort of minor official, 'puer sanctae ecclesiae', a term used regardless of the age of the person in question. One of the words for a nun was 'puella'. As this was not normally used for a female slave, it must have developed within the speech of Christians as a parallel to 'puer'. It occurs mainly in C5. Though 'puella' often meant 'young bride' in general Latin, it cannot be used of nuns in the sense of 'bride of Christ', as this conception was generally expressed in the Vulgate by the word 'sponsa'.

FAMULUS, FAMULA. This was a common term for servant at all periods, and in pagan Latin had already been applied to priests as the servants of their gods. It was very frequent in the Itala, both for an actual servant, and for prophets and believers. Jerome, in his translation, often replaced it by 'servus', though he retained 'famulus' in many places, the most noteworthy being Jos. 1,13, Moyses, famulus domini. The Ecclesiastical writers made great use of it as an equivalent for 'Christianus'. In the inscriptions it was particularly frequent in Gaul and Spain. Nearly all the examples are dated, and occur mainly C5-7.

SERVUS. This term is obviously the correlative of Dominus, one of the commonest titles of God. Jerome extended its frequency in the Bible by using it to replace 'famulus' in some cases. The fact that it translated δούλος at the beginning of Paul's letters must have marked it out, and it enjoys equal popularity with 'famulus' in the inscriptions. The regular female equivalent of this was

'ancilla'; the phrase 'ancilla domini' was probably suggested by Vulg. Luc. 1,38, ecce ancilla domini.  
METUENS DEUM, TIMENS DEUM, TIMORATUS. Throughout both Old and New Testaments, in the Vulgate version, the regular word for fearing God is timere (translating φοβείσθαι ), though there are one or two examples of metuere (also translating φοβείσθαι ). In the inscriptions there are several examples of 'timens deum' as a technical term, equivalent to 'Christian'. The regular Jewish term by contrast was 'metuens deum', or even 'metuens' used absolutely. D.4852. Aemilio Valenti, eq. Romano, metu[enti]. There are two examples of 'timorati', which translates 'εὐλαβής' in Vulg. Luc. 2,25 and Act. 8,2.

PHRASES CONTAINING 'MEMORIA'.

Owing to the pagan belief that it was essential to preserve the memory of the dead, the tomb frequently bore the word 'memoriae', 'to the memory of ...', and this practice was adopted by the Christians. As a result the tomb itself often came to be called 'memoria' among both Christians and pagans. In its original sense of 'memory', the word was usually placed at the head of the inscription in the dative case, either alone, or with some adjective such as aeternae, aeternali, bonae, perenni. The name of the dead often followed in the genitive, but the phrase could stand alone. e.g. C.I.L. III 10611, bone memoriae Cl. Maximillae. C.I.L. VIII 376. d.m.s.m. (dis Manibus sanctae memoriae). T. Herennius.

Though not confined to Christian graves, the phrase 'bonae memoriae' (b.m.) appears particularly

frequently there, and in some cases a b.m.s. (bonae memoriae sacrae) was substituted for the d.m.s. so frequent on pagan tombs. (Among Christians its presence was due to the fact that the phrase had become practically meaningless even to the pagans, rather than that the Christians still clung to a pagan belief).

The word 'memoriae' accompanied by an adjective was employed even more frequently as a descriptive genitive, qualifying the name of the dead. This type of phrase was frequent as an honorary title in Late Latin, where we find, for example, Symm. c(larissimae) m(emoriae) f(eminae) senior Parclian. Cod. Iust. Theodosio Divinae memoriae. Naturally enough, the Christians continued to use such titles where the dead had been of high rank. Various adjectives were used in such cases: clarissimae, consularis, eminentissimae, gloriosae. Similar phrases were used in a more general way with reference to any dead person. They were not confined to Christian inscriptions, but were considerably more frequent there than in pagan ones. The usage developed steadily from the beginning of the 3rd Century onwards.

The words 'sanctae memoriae', which pagans had employed to a certain extent, were among Christians applied chiefly to bishops, though lower orders of the Church and even ordinary Christians were also honoured with them. Typical examples are D.1016. hic requiescit sce mr' Priscus episc'. in pace. D.1100. hic in pace requiescit sancte memore (sic) Palladius episc. 'Beatae memoriae' appears to have been an entirely

Christian phrase. It was usually confined to bishops and martyrs, like the adjective 'beatissimus'. There are very many examples with b.m. which could represent 'beatae memoriae' (both dat. and gen.), but the letters are more likely to represent 'bonae memoriae', which was particularly frequent and applied to Christians of all ranks. This phrase too, though used by pagans, was predominantly Christian. 'Bonae recordationis' is an occasional alternative. The various spellings, apart from various discrepancies, fall into two main groups: bone memoriae; bone memorie. There was besides a third form, 'bene memorie'. Based on these forms two entirely Christian adjectives developed: bonememorius, bene memorius (usually written thus). These were in use from the end of the 4th century, and were a Christian alternative to the inherited 'bone merenti', 'bone merito' etc., which were still used extensively.

The vocabulary of the prose inscriptions offers some clear examples of differentiation from pagan Latin in the speech of ordinary Christians. The existence of a Christian special language going beyond the ordinary requirements of the speech of a group within the community, depends on the number of indirect Christianisms to be found. The very nature of the inscriptions demands that the majority of the terms discussed in this chapter are those expressing ideas which come within the immediate sphere of Christian teaching - ideas about death, the after-life, the relation of the soul to God and the virtues of the Christian.

Consequently, it is not always easy to classify them strictly as immediate or mediate Christianisms, as they are not really comparable either with immediate Christianisms such as *lavacrum*, *praedestinare*, or with really indifferent mediate Christianisms like *cervicatus*, *figuraliter*, *principari*. The situation is complicated by the difficulty of deciding in some cases whether the word in question is used in a Christian sense or not. On the whole however it seems better to class the majority as indirect Christianisms, though it is noteworthy that there was no sharp line of demarcation between Christian and pagan. The intense feeling of separation from the pagans, if it existed, either was not felt equally by all, or did not leave the same mark on the language of all.

CHAPTER V.THE VERSE INSCRIPTIONS: VOCABULARY.<sup>1</sup>

The art of writing verse inscriptions reached its climax towards the end of the fourth century with the numerous verses composed by Bishop Damasus and his imitators to celebrate past bishops and martyrs and the dedication or restoration of churches. During this century there was considerable development in Christian poetry. The earlier Christian poets had endeavoured to provide something which could serve as a basis for Christian education in place of Vergil and the other classical authors. They wrote verse on Christian subjects, while keeping strictly within the bounds of classical tradition. This demanded the exclusion of all that could destroy the illusion of classical verse, in particular the Christian technical terms borrowed from Greek and Hebrew. Not only did these have a foreign aspect, but certain of them, through frequent use in the Christian society, were felt to be too commonplace for exalted verse, and were replaced by equivalent Latin words or periphrases. With the recognition of Christianity, Christians generally felt more sure of themselves; as a result the poets not only introduced a greater number of Christian terms into their verse, but were more tolerant of words with pagan associations. Prudentius and Paulinus, in the later fourth century, were the first to produce poetry with a truly Christian inspiration, within the bounds of the classical form.

1. v. C. Mohrmann, *La langue et le style de la poésie chrétienne*, *Revue des Etudes Latines*, 1947, on which the first part of this chapter is based.



It was only with the hymn however that a distinctive form for Christian poetry was discovered.

The composers of the Christian verse inscriptions seem to draw on all sources of vocabulary without distinction. Much that was traditional was incorporated, even to the extent of including phrases expressing sentiments not strictly Christian. As for all writers of the period, Christian and pagan alike, Vergil was the great model. The epitaphs abound in quotations and verbal echoes of his writings. Bishop Damasus was particularly fond of incorporating Vergilian phrases, and he in turn had considerable influence on other composers of verse, not only in Rome but elsewhere. Vergil was also much used by the compilers of the centos so popular at this period. The writings of Lucretius, Horace, Ovid, Statius and Martial were drawn upon to a certain extent. Occasional phrases seem to be inspired by one or other of the Christian poets, or the writings of the Church Fathers, but it is the influence of Vergil that is everywhere paramount: beside him, the rest are insignificant.

The Bible exercised a certain amount of influence on vocabulary as well as subject matter. The verse inscriptions contain many more Biblical references than the prose ones, (even taking into consideration the direct quotations with which I shall not deal), as their greater length gave more scope for elaboration. Sometimes it is only a certain collocation of ideas that suggests some underlying text, sometimes the actual choice of words seems to be determined by the Biblical phrasing.

Christian terms of all kinds abound. As the

appearance of verse inscriptions coincides with the new era of boldness consequent upon the freedom of the Church, there is no gradual admission of Christian elements as in the case of literary writers. They are present from the beginning. The absence of certain terms is due not to the avoidance of Christian terms as such, but to the necessity of replacing them by periphrases in those cases where the quantities of the syllables made them difficult or impossible for hexameter verse. The writers must also be allowed the freedom of using periphrases as poetic embellishments to lend richness of expression to the verse.

To illustrate the freedom which the writers of the fourth century and later allowed themselves in the choice of vocabulary, I shall first deal with their use of a number of typical Christian terms and their synonyms.

The normal word for bishop, 'episcopus', occurs only once in verse, as it was excluded in many of its case forms by impossible quantities. Its most usual representatives were 'antistes', 'pontifex', 'sacerdos', all of which were used by Christian prose writers, 'sacerdos' and 'pontifex' being frequent in the Vulgate. Entirely confined to the verse inscriptions is the term 'rector', a favourite word of Damasus, and 'praesul' is very frequent in verse, though there are besides two prose examples. 'Vates', which was used in earlier Christian poetry as an equivalent of 'propheta' is strangely used for 'episcopus' in five inscriptions; (the prose one can be explained as copied from the verse examples, as it is later). One of these is the epitaph of Eanodius, who happened to be a poet as well as a bishop, but the use cannot have

originated here, as this is not the earliest example. It is perhaps to be linked up with an inscription in which 'propheta' seems to be equivalent to 'episcopus': D.997, psalere et in populis volui modulante profeta, with which may be compared, Gloss. ἐπίσκοπος, ζάκουρος, προφήτης. 'papa', originally an affectionate term for bishops, was mainly used for the bishop of Rome, though not confined to him. This together with 'pater' was freely used in verse. 'Pastor' was almost entirely confined to verse inscriptions at Rome, as the bishop of Rome was considered as the direct successor of Peter, described as a shepherd in Vulg. Joann. 21. The use probably spread from Damasus, who was the first to use it. There is besides one example of the poetic fancy, 'dei consul', referring to Gregory the Great.

'Archidiaconus' was a difficult word for insertion in dactylic verse as it would occupy two whole feet. We find instead 'levitarum primus in ordine', 'sedis apostolicae levites primus', and 'altaris primus minister'. 'Diaconus' itself was often represented by 'levites' which was more convenient metrically, or by 'altaris minister'.

The technical term for baptism, 'baptizare' does not happen to occur in verse, and its Latin equivalent 'tinguere', occurs only three times. Their place was supplied by 'lavare', which however often did not have the fully transferred meaning, but was rather equivalent to 'wash (in the waters of baptism)' souls, sins etc. Both 'baptisma' and 'lavacrum' were used by the poets, but they also made use of periphrases containing fons, aquae (both frequent), flumen, amnis, fluentum and similar words.

It is clear from the prose inscriptions that three words for praying were in general use - orare, rogare, petere, apparently used with no distinction between them, (v. 2352). Of these, 'orare' and 'petere' occur once in verse, 'rogare' twice. 'Precor', which was generally much rarer, occurs three times in verse, and with it belong the few examples of 'preces'. 'Oratio' was confined to prose through its quantities, and there it was common. The favourite word in verse was 'vota'. Occasionally its meaning seems definitely that of 'prayers' (e.g. D.1196, complevit tua vota deus; 1810, vutis hinc relaturus hopea), but in most cases it has the vaguer sense of 'desire', which also occurs frequently in the prose inscriptions, especially in the pagan phrase 'contra votum posuit'.

The technical term for sin was 'peccatum, peccata'. This is the word used in the Vulgate in Leviticus, and throughout Romans VI, the great chapter on sin, though other terms were used elsewhere - scelus, delicta, and in particular 'iniquitas, -tates', which was often coupled with 'peccatum', (and in the Vulgate often replaces 'facinus' of the Itala). In the verse inscriptions we find: crimina, culpa, delictum, facinus, maculae, peccata, scelera, sordes, vitia. The only one of these at all common in prose inscriptions was 'peccata', but the other terms were used by the Ecclesiastical writers, usually in the sense of 'acts of sin'.

'martyr' and 'propheta' are not represented by any periphrases, but were used without hesitation. The

Christian 'altare' is frequent, but we have as well 'altaria' which was properly pagan, and also the pagan 'ara'. Beside the Christian 'ecclesia', we find 'aedes' (not frequent in Christian writing until Gregory of Tours), and the decidedly pagan 'templum'. 'Basilica' was of course impossible. 'Resurrectio' was excluded by its form, but 'resurgere' was freely admitted, beside poetic variations like: 'artus rediendos vitae', 'removere sepultos', 'victura membra', 'rursum victura', 'animae rursum in sua vasa redibunt', 'gaudia membrum (= membrorum).

A word of particularly frequent occurrence in the verse epitaphs is 'lex'. It seems to have developed a sense completely opposed to the Pauline one of 'law', the opposite of 'grace', and to have come to mean 'the Gospel' or 'the Christian faith' generally. This meaning appears to be based on the Old Testament idea of the Law of the Lord, 'lex Domini', including all the commands and words of God. Though the sense is by no means constant and fixed, its approximation to 'the Christian faith' is quite clear in several examples e.g. cristianeque legis cultor, divinae legis mystica dicta docens, divinae legis ... magistrum, Christi legisque minister. In 'numquam de manibus ... lex divina recessit', it is equivalent to 'libri sacri'. We also find one example of 'caelestia iussa' as a paraphrase for 'gospel'

It was natural that there should be a tendency to avoid using the name of the Devil, and other means of naming him are found in both prose and verse. Some of these are based on passages in the Bible e.g. 'anguis', 'aspis', 'draco', based on Gen. 3,1, as synonyms for 'serpens' (of

which there are no examples), and 'inimicus' based on Vulg. Matt. 13, 39, and other passages. With this may be grouped the frequently occurring 'hostis'. Besides these we find 'Belial', 'tyrannus antiquus', and possibly 'proditor'. 'Biscolus', and 'contrarius', a popular word substituted for 'diabolus' though tabu, occur once each in prosé inscriptions.

For quite different reasons, God too was named in various periphrases beside the very frequent 'deus', 'dominus', 'deus pater'. One or two of these are vague terms like 'numen', 'summa potestas', 'divina potentia' but mostly they express some aspect of his nature, such as fatherhood and creative activity: pater omnipotens, genitor, auctor vitae, conditor, factor et iudex, omnium creator (prose); or kingship and judgment: altitronus, bonus arbiter, iudex iustus, iudex aeternus, moderator, omnipotens, princeps, even 'summi rector Olympi'.

Vergil and the other classical poets provided not only the general vocabulary which was by now traditional material for the more exalted styles of poetry, but also a poetic philosophical vocabulary. They, with other educated men, had been influenced by contemporary developments in philosophy, and perhaps indirectly by the increasingly mystic element in religion. This higher pagan thought approximated in many respects to the more general Christian beliefs, so that here too the Christian versifiers were supplied with traditional elements which they could adopt with little difficulty. As the pagans drew on the same sources to express similar ideas, Christian and pagan verse epitaphs often exhibit

remarkable likenesses in vocabulary and phraseology.

One of the most notable advances of pagan thought under the Empire was towards the conception of astral immortality, granted to the soul either because it was naturally akin to the fiery bodies of heaven which it rejoined at death, or because it had earned the right by virtuous works or by mystic initiation to associate with the gods in heaven. It is doubtful whether such ideas penetrated far beyond the upper classes, but among these they were expressed fairly frequently, by vague statements that the dead had ascended to the stars, or had been received by the vast aether. Favourite phrases included the words 'astra' or 'sidera', which were particularly suitable for the expression of Stoic thought.<sup>1</sup> Christians too made frequent use of them. We find D.56, quem perimens... misit ad astra furor; D.316, fecit ad astra viam; D.1050, cuius spiritus astra tenet; D.5435, mens caeli perget in astra; D.3645, astra tenent animam. With these may be compared the C2 pagan inscription (Carm. Epig. 611): mundus me sumpsit et astra, corpus habet tellus.

Similarly with 'sidera': 217, sidera me retinent; 1062, videt ... sidera caeli; 3429, sidera celsa tenet; or with 'aether': 63B, in aetheris aequore tutum / curris iter; 1049, purgatam in terris animam revocare per aethra. cf. C.E. 590, in cineres corpus, et in aethera vita soluta est, (though here there is the philosophical idea of

1. Seneca often used such phrases in his tragedies, and quoting Vergil's 'sic itur ad astra', says: hoc philosophia promittat, ut parem deo faciat. (Epist. 48,11.)

dissolution into the substance of the aether.)

The term 'aether' was only one of many inherited from the vocabulary used by the great poets to describe heaven and the abode of the gods. The most frequently occurring words in the Christian inscriptions were: *arx*, *polus*, *aurae*, *aula*, *culmina* (*caeli*), and the adjectives *aetherius*, *aeternus*, *caelestis*. Some of these had been used for the upper air generally, while others described the actual home of the gods, from which mortals were generally excluded. The Christians used them all for the heavenly kingdom to which all Christians were admitted. The following are typical lines:

- D.55           quem Christi gratia purgans  
                  protinus albatum vexit in arce poli.
- D.391.        caelo mens pia perfruitur ...  
                  te tua pro meritis virtutis ad astra vehebat  
                  intuleratque alto debita fama polo.
- D.1234.       alta patere poli ... culmina.
- D.316.        superas quo surcat ad auras.  
                  Christi gaudet in aula.
- D.1117.       sideream ... omnipotentis in aulam.
- D.952.        caeli transcendit culmina.
- D.458.        ae/therias ardet adire domos.
- D.1645.       raptus aetherias subito sic venit ad auras.
- D.1011.       semper caelestia captans.
- D.633.        in aeterna paradisi sede.

There was a certain amount of Christian tradition confirming the use of some of these terms. 'Aula' for example, was used frequently in the Bible and in Christian writers for 'church', (i.e. house of God), and the word was easily transferred to the heavenly Church, where its



meaning overlapped with the pagan one, 'palace (of the gods)'. cf. Ovid, *caelestis ianitor aulae* (Ianus), and Hymn. Ambros. *caelestis aulae milites*. Other words for 'palace' were naturally due to the idea of the heavenly kingdom, so frequently referred to in the R.T. phrase, 'regnum caelorum'. We find D.201A, *pergit ad aeterni divina palatia regis* (beside l.9., *prisca palatia Romae*). Damasus frequently used 'regia', a word always qualified by 'caeli' in the inscriptions: 1957, *pateat ... regia caeli*; 1987, *rapuit quos regia caeli*; 1985, *Protum retinet melior sibi regia caeli*.

There were various other phrases indicating an eternal dwelling place, such as, 'sanctorum sedes', 'sedes beata', 'aeternae sedes', 'regna piorum', but by far the most frequent were those based on the Christian phrase, 'regnum caelorum', with various poetic variations: 87. *perge/caelestis per regna dei*. 55. *regnum Christi promeruisse*. 1824. *celorum regno pro[bab]it*. 1195. *deus dedit regna beata tibi*. 1050. *caelorum ... regna beata petit*. 181. *celica regna petens*. 1785. *regna superna peti*.

The word 'caelum' in literature usually signified the heavens containing the stars, rather than the dwelling place of the gods, though there are one or two quotations which state that the gods inhabit it.<sup>1</sup> For the Christian, 'caelum', or 'caeli' was the home of God,<sup>2</sup> and we find 'caelum' used alone for the place whither the souls had gone: 1516. *dant animas caelo*. 1046. *reddidit hos caelo*.

1. Plaut. *di omnes qui caelum colunt*. Ovid. *cum regna Senex caeli Saturnus haberet*.

2. Matt. 69, *Pater noster, qui es in caelis*.

1700. quo peteret caelum ... amavit iter. 5330A. vita subit caelum; or we find it qualifying various nouns: 3441. caeli sedes habitare. 1731. caeli sub sedibus haeret. 1070. quesitas celi promeruisse vias. A similar idea may perhaps be traced in some pagan inscriptions. Various other expressions were used for heaven: aequor, cardo mundi, castra superna, paradisus, patria, plaga, pratum, ros perennis, recessus. 'Castra', only occurring twice in this sense, is clearly due to the idea of Christian service as warfare, and the dead as 'miles emeritus'. In general popular Latin, 'paradisus' meant an earthly paradise, in Christian speech the heavenly home of the righteous, (probably compounded from the Garden of Eden, and the pagan Elysium). 'Ros perennis' seems to be a Biblical idea. Apart from these, there was very little that was new in the Christian vocabulary for heaven, though it is difficult to tell what new ideas lay behind the old words.

The idea of astral immortality brought with it the conception of bliss in perpetual light, a sentiment reinforced by the association from earliest times of physical life with light, in contrast to the darkness of death. (cf. 'rapta lux' for death; 'cernere lucem' for life). The idea that immortality implied everlasting light was common at this time to Christian, Jew and pagan alike. For the Christian there was besides the picture of the heavenly Jerusalem, which <sup>1</sup> 'non eget sole neque luna, ut luceant in ea, nam claritas Dei illuminavit eam, et lucerna eius est Agnus'. In many of the inscriptions the future life is

1. Vulg. Apoc. 21,23.

described in terms of light: 391. lucem/aeternam sperans,  
 hanc cupit esse brevem. 3446. aetheriam ... caeli  
 conscendere lucem. 3431. nam iustae mentes foventur  
 lucis caelesti. 60 luce nova ... gaudet. 63B. luce nova  
 fruere, lux tibi Christus adest. 1714. lucis perpetuae  
 magno potentur honore. 1644. fulgida regna petens.  
 With these we may compare D.3443 (described by Diehl as  
 pagan), et fruitur superis aeterna in luce Fabatus, and  
 C.I.L. VI. 21,521, nam me sancta Venus sedes non nosse  
 silentium / iussit et in caeli lucida templa tulit.

The philosophical and religious movements  
 which produced a faith in immortality sharply contrasted  
 the soul with the body. The pure soul sped upwards, freed  
 at last from the tainting shackles of the body, which was  
 deposited in the earth to which it belonged. Thus each  
 returned to its proper element:

D.3443. terrenum corpus, caelestis spiritus in me  
 (v. supra). quo repetente suam sedem nunc vivimus illic...

This idea was very frequently expressed on Christian graves:

D.148. terrenum tumulo dans, animam superis.  
 D.1044. membra solo posuit, caeli perrexit ad astra.  
 D.3420. sedibus en propriis mens pura et membra  
 quiescunt:  
 ista iacent tumulo, gaudet at illa polo.

Further support was given by Gen. 3,19: donec revertaris in  
 terram de qua sumptus es.

D.990. suscipe, terra, tuo corpus de corpore  
 sumptum.  
 D.2392. dixit et hoc pater omnipotens cum ℒpelleret  
 Adam?

'de terra sumptus terrae traderis hu/mandus'.  
 sic nobis sita filia et Agape Crhist/i fidelis.

D.1194. nam: terram repetens, quae nostra probatur origo.

In spite of the Christian conception of the body as the temple of the Holy Spirit, and the firm belief in the resurrection of the body, the Platonic doctrine of its impurity and the need for the soul to be freed from it crept in by way of philosophy even into the writings of the church fathers. Here are some inscriptional examples:

D.3427. corporeo ... gaudent se carcere solvi.

3432. corporis exutus vinculis.

179. exiit occumbens oneroso corpore vitam  
 quo melius superas possit adire domos.

cf. Lucan 6, 720                   aspicit ... umbram

exanimis artus inuisaque claustra timentem  
carceris antiqui.

Naturally enough, the emphasis in Christian inscriptions lay on the lot of the righteous, but the existence of Hell was by no means denied. The traditional terms based on Greek eschatological ideas were used to describe its horrors, from the point of view that this was what the person in question was not suffering.

326                   non Tartara sentit / Cymeriosque lacus.

3429. non tamen haec tristēs habitat post limine sedes.

1625. nec Lemoru(m) insidies expectaraque (= spectraque)  
 vana time.

3453. quem nec Tartarus furens nec poena saeva nocebit.

In the prose inscriptions we have 3454, non penalebus Tartaris traditu(s). In non-pagan terms we have: flammae (twice), poena (once), Gehenna (once in prose). Such



services, e.g. Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac, et Deus Iacob; te dominum laudamus; recordare servorum tuorum; diligis dominum deum tuum etc.

The passages most frequently referred to in the verse inscriptions were those dealing with death, judgment, the after life, the Second Advent. 1 Cor. 15 was an especial favourite in this respect, and to this chapter may be referred lines like: sed nil tibi potuit mors haec tam saeva nocere; nil me, mors impia, terret; mors nihil est; (Christus) invectus caelo ... nomen Adae referens et corpus et omnia membra / a mortis tenebris et caeca nocte levata. Echoes of I Thess. 4,15 may be found in: ultime cum dominus totum concusserit orbem / tunc cineres isti mundo pereunte resurgent; cum tuba terribilis sonitu concusserit orbem; of Matt. 25,22,34 in: ut ... dextram optineam effugiamque levam (= laevam); dextris tibi nunc fide adsistit in ignis; terra parata piis; quod surgat in aevum / promissum; caelestia regna ... intravit meritis ante parata suis; ad requiem tendens promissaque regna fidelis. (It is noteworthy that there are more references altogether to the Gospel of Matthew than to any other book, with John next in popularity).

Passages referring to the appointment of Peter were particularly frequent in Rome. Again based on Matthew (16,19) we find:

- D.981. qui regni claves et curam tradit ovilis,  
qui caeli terraeque Petro commisit aenas,  
ut reseret clausis, ut solvat vincla ligatis...
- 1517. solvere qui potuit caelo terraeque ligata  
crimina ...
- 1759. Petrus regia claustra tenens.

Joann. 21,18 'pasce oves meas' is behind the references to Roman bishops as 'pastor', and other passages in the epitaphs of bishops remind one of the Good Shepherd of Joann. 10,11: e.g. utque bonus pastor texit ab hoste gregem; quo sibi commissas pascere novit oves; plebs ... eripitur morsu dilaceranda lupi.

Many verses have the word 'unus' repeated in a way that suggests Eph. 4,4 unum corpus ... et unus Spiritus. Unus Dominus, una fides, unum baptisma; e.g. unus utrisque / spiritus, unica mens, consona cuncta domus; unus honor celebrat, quod habet una fides; unus fons, unus spiritus, una fides.

I have already mentioned the frequent references to Gen. 3. Most of the references to other passages are isolated examples, and there is little point in quoting them all, but I will quote a few to illustrate further the influence, conscious or otherwise, of Biblical on poetic diction.

- 149,4. subiecit  $\overline{\text{Xpi}}$  colla subacta iugo.  
(Matt. 11,29. Tollite iugum meum super vos.)
- 967,49. daemonia expellas, purges mundesque.  
(Matt. 12,24 (Itala) hic expellit daemonia. 10,8  
Vulg. leprosos mundate, daemones eicite.)
- 1714,24. Adventum sponsi nunc praestolantur ovantes  
Veste sacra comptae, oleo durante beatae, (and the  
whole inscription).  
(Matt. 25, 1-13 pass.)
- 1512,7.  $\overline{\text{Xpi}}$ que vocaveter (= vocabitur) eres  
(Rom. 8,17 heredes quidem Dei, coheredes autem  
Christi.)
- 1073,18. et simplex mundo, sed sapiens domino.  
(Rom. 16,19. volo vos sapientes esse in bono,  
et simplices in malo).

- 1513, b.    quem veterem accipiet, proferet unda novum.  
             (Eph. 4, 22-24 deponere ... veterem hominem ...  
             induite novum hominem).
- 1911, 4.    qui bene confessi vicerunt arma maligna.  
             (I Tim. 6, 13 qui testimonium reddidit ...  
             bonam confessionem).

The wide variety possible in Christian inscriptions may be seen by comparing D.3330A (quoted above), with the following, though, as this contains more Biblical allusions than was usual, being composed by a bishop, Damasus, it is hardly a fair comparison.

- D.969.     qui gradiens pelagi fluctus compressit amarus,  
             vivere qui praestat morientia semina terrae,  
             solvere qui potuit letalia vincula mortis,  
             post tenebras fratrem, post tertia lumina solis,  
             ad superos iterum Marthae donare sorori,  
             post cineres Damasum faciet quia surgere credo.

Again, as in the prose inscriptions, it is not always possible to distinguish pagan from Christian. The language represented is a mixture of Christian terms, neutral terms, and decidedly pagan terms, the proportion of each being decided by the attitude and beliefs of the individuals concerned. Here also, the hold of tradition in the way of sentiments and the means of expressing them has done much to obscure the true state of affairs, and probably many of the writers were more certain of their Christian faith than would appear from the inscriptions.



CHAPTER VI.THE VERSE INSCRIPTIONS: VERSIFICATION.

While Christian inscriptions of any kind to which a definite date can be assigned are rare before the fourth century, there are practically none in verse before the peace of the Church. The practice of writing in verse on tombs and buildings developed among the Christians only during the fourth century, the period when written Christian Latin was making its most spectacular advances as regards vocabulary and distinctive syntax. Towards the latter part of the same century appeared that distinctive Christian feature, the hymn intended to be sung in religious services by the people. Hitherto Christian poetry had clung to the classical form for serious writing, the hexameter; but the quantitative hexameter had by now little in common with everyday speech, where the element of stress rather than pitch in the accent had been steadily increasing.

Ambrose took the bold step of breaking away from tradition and writing in popular iambic metres. Iambic and trochaic metres had from earliest times been more in keeping with the character of Latin, in which the accent had a greater element of stress than in Greek, though this was obscured during the Classical period by the influence of Greek literature and theory. Plautus had paid attention to the normal word accent in his iambic and trochaic lines, and had used it as a metrical element, if not the most important one, in distinguishing a succession of long syllables. I think it is likely that these metres were used at all periods for popular verse, and even if in the few surviving examples

we have the quantities are strictly correct, this does not rule out the possibility of the importance of the accent. The popular line, Gallos Caesar in triumphum duxit, idem in curiam, shows by the metrical scheme  $\angle - \angle \cup - \cup \angle - \angle \cup - - \angle \cup -$  that there was a tendency to arrange the words so that the word accent coincided with the strong part of the foot. This type of verse easily fitted into the word pattern of Latin, and it was this that Ambrose took for his hymns. The classical quantities had in many cases been lost by the fourth century, and Ambrose compromised between tradition and contemporary conditions by writing lines which were correct quantitatively, but in which the word accent frequently coincided with the ictus of the foot. The number of syllables in each line was equal. A typical Ambrosian verse is the following:

verusque sol, inlabere	$- \angle \cup \angle - \angle \cup \cup$
micans nitore perpeti	$\cup - \cup \angle \cup \angle \cup -$
iubarque sancti spiritus	$\cup \angle \cup \angle - \angle \cup -$
infunde nostris sensibus.	$- \angle \cup \angle - \angle \cup -$

Not only was this style of poetry more suited to contemporary pronunciation, but it enabled him to give up the formal diction associated with the hexameter.

The Christians began to write verse epitaphs at a time when these Ambrosian hymns were becoming increasingly popular. One might expect that in view of the growing power of Christianity, the trend of everyday speech, and the powerful example of these hymns, the Christians would take the opportunity of using such forms to differentiate their graves from those of the pagans. But here, as in so many other ways they closely followed the established tradition.

Practically all the verse inscriptions were written in hexameters or elegiacs, or what were intended for these. Pagan inscriptions also were composed most often in these metres, but the pagans made considerable use of iambic and trochaic metres as well, and occasionally of hendecasyllables. The rarity of these in Christian inscriptions suggests that perhaps the Christians deliberately avoided them. (There are only 3 examples of trochaic metres, 1 of iambic). The almost complete absence of hendecasyllables can easily be explained, as they were often used for poems of a light and sometimes indecent nature.

The clinging to hexameter and elegiac in face of the new dignity of iambic and trochaic metres shows the power of the traditional form. The classical tradition was very strong, and the great poets, Vergil, Horace, Ovid, Lucan were still the basis of education. The upper classes and religious leaders therefore continued to use the most exalted form of poetry known to them, and the humbler Christians followed their lead.

It is clear from the fourth century inscriptions from all parts of the Western Empire that by this time the classical syllable quantities had been seriously disturbed by the increasing element of stress in the word accent. Unaccented long vowels and diphthongs were shortened, accented short vowels became long. Consequently vowel length was no longer a differentiating feature between words. In attempting to write hexameters and pentameters after the classical model, some of the versifiers experienced great difficulty in restoring the earlier quantities, and some of the resulting verses are far from approaching the classical standard.

Nevertheless, correct verses were still being produced in the provinces as well as at Rome, as late as the eighth century. Naturally enough these late hexameters were not composed with the subtlety of Vergil, who had produced verses with a special effect by the careful use of weak caesuras, and the interplay of ictus and word accent, especially in the fourth foot.<sup>1</sup> On the whole however he followed the normal pattern of Latin verse. The main caesura in Vergil's hexameter was the penthemimeral, and where he used the caesura after the third trochee, it was supported by breaks after the long of the 2nd and 4th feet. Other combinations were used for special effects. In the inscriptions, by far the most frequent main caesura was the penthemimeral. The weak caesura after the 3rd trochee was considerably rarer, in spite of its popularity among later poets, but where it did occur, it was usually supported by caesuras in the second and fourth feet. This regularity in the position of the caesura produces a rather monotonous effect. Other combinations occur only as exceptions, and usually in the less correct inscriptions where they are due to ignorance. The general Latin tendency to the pattern -//<sup>followed</sup>- is to a marked degree.

In the 4th foot of the hexameter, the Latin poets tended to use a spondee in view of the following dactyl. As this foot served as a link between the earlier part of the line with its clash between verse ictus and word accent, and the last two feet with coincidence of these features,

1. S.E. Winbolt. Latin Hexameter Verse 1903.
- A. Woodward. The Fourth Foot in Vergil.

it was customary either to have coincidence in the fourth foot also, or to avoid a main stress accent here altogether. It was hardly to be expected, in view of the state of contemporary speech, that this tendency would not be followed in the Christian inscriptions. Spondees in the fourth foot are more than twice as frequent as dactyls, and on the whole were more likely to avoid a main stress accent altogether than to have coincidence. (Proportionately, however, more spondaic than dactylic feet had coincidence, whereas in Vergil the proportion of dactylic fourth feet with coincidence was slightly higher). The general pattern for the end of the hexameter in the inscriptions was thus  $- - / \underline{\underline{v}} / \underline{\underline{v}}$  or slightly less frequently (about 2 : 3)  $\underline{\underline{v}} - / \underline{\underline{v}} / \underline{\underline{v}}$ . Taking into consideration both dactyls and spondees, the inscriptions show more coincidence in the fourth foot than Vergil. At this period, such coincidence, combined with the often heavy effect of coincidence in a spondaic 4th foot, was perhaps significant as paving the way towards the development of accentual verse. These movements were not specifically Christian, as similar tendencies are apparent in the poetry of Claudian.

The following lines are typical of the correct type of verse found in the inscriptions:

Hinc furor, hinc odium // sequitur, discórdia, lítes,  
 seditio, caedēs // solvuntur foedera pácis.  
 crimen ob alterius // Christum qui in páce negávit.

(Rome, end C4).

Gemma sacerdotum // plēbisque orbisque magister  
 rustica quin etiam // pro X<sup>po</sup> munia sumens,  
 servile obsequium // nōn dedignatus adire ...

(Arles, later C5).

A consideration of the less successful efforts and of contemporary pronunciation shows that the Christian versifiers must have composed such lines with the aid of rules. Even in those which approximate most closely to the classical standard there are examples of confusion between similar words, caused by the loss of distinctive vowel quantities, for example: *fīdus*, *fīdelis*; *nīteo*, *nītor*; *sēdes*, *sēdeo*; *lātus*, *lātus*. All kinds of licences were allowed to make composition easier. Several appear to have been based on examples from Vergil. Whatever may have been the explanation of Vergil's usage, the later versifiers found convenient possibilities in such irregularities. The most noteworthy is the use of a syllable containing a short vowel followed by a single consonant in the arsis of a foot before a word beginning with a vowel. In the major works of Vergil there are 54 examples, which can be explained as being followed by a pause of some kind, which causes the final consonant of the word to be attached to the preceding instead of the following vowel.<sup>1</sup> A sense pause often occurred at the main caesura. It was perhaps this which led to the later division of the hexameter into two half-lines, so that the syllable before the caesura was allowed to be anacaps, as well as the final syllable of the line. This is an accepted principle in the verse of Comedian. Often the division is reinforced by hiatus.

The examples in the inscriptions are numerous in both correct and incorrect types of verse. By this time the licence had been extended to include any kind of short syllable, not only those ending in a single consonant. The majority

1. R.G. Kent. A Problem of Latin Prosody. *Mélanges Marouzeau*. 1948.

can be explained either as occurring before a sense pause, or as syllaba anceps before the caesura. Most of the first group which do not coincide with the caesura are found in connection with names, for example:

- D.1065. Eutropium hic,  $\overline{\chi\rho\epsilon}$ , tuum virtute probatum ...  
 1629. Eusebius invexit hinc te, beata ...  
 3418. Nereus genitor genetrixque funesti  
 Sofronia brevibus tumuli flevere querellis.

By far the greater number occur at the caesura, often with a clear sense pause.

179. nobilis Eugenia // praeclari sanguinis ortu.  
 204. te tamen - heu sola! - flemus.  
 4362. lux mihi Siricia // divino rapta flagello.  
 3456. quos gemitus, Romane meus // in pectore linquis!  
 967. quis te tractante // sua non peccata reflebat?  
 1194. ast eg/o qui voce // psalmos modulatus et arte.  
 3456. verus amor docuit // istos infigere versus.

Of the examples outside these two groups, many occur before initial h-. W.M. Lindsay<sup>1</sup> says that Vergil's line, 'Terga fatigamus hasta ...', really due to a lengthening in arsi, was taken as a lengthening before initial h- by some composer of rules for hexameter verse, and that this became the regular practice of the Christian poets. This may be so, but lengthening before h- was certainly not consistently applied in the inscriptions. Indeed, the principle, if it be one, was more often neglected than observed, but this line of Vergil may well have been taken as a precedent to justify lengthening before h- on certain occasions. Likewise, there are a few examples of the 3rd person singular of the perfect in -it,

1. Classical Quarterly Vol. X p.97.

and by analogy, presents in  $\bar{a}t$  and  $\bar{i}t$ , and three examples of  $\bar{q}ue$ , obviously imitating Vergil.

- e.g. 1050. Tertius hanc urbis sedem tenuit Honoratus.  
 777. construxit arcos, penitus fundavit in undis.  
 779. fida tutat undique dextra.  
 1824. quae meruit caelo semper habitare beata.  
 1644. esse quoque monachum nosti quem, sancto, benignum.

The principle was extended to allow such lengthened syllables in the thesis as well as in the arsis of the foot.

Hiatus becomes much more frequent in later poetry. It is not used in any consistent way in the inscriptions, though it occurs frequently at the caesura. Its presence or absence seems to depend on the whim of the composer even in the most correct verse.

The features so far discussed are shared by correct and incorrect verse alike. We now come to a consideration of the inscriptions which deviate to a greater or lesser degree from the classical standard. Here is part of a typical inscription, from Rome.

D.3481. victor ego quondam in matura aetate defeci  
 ereptus superis // Tartarea custodia sedes.  
 etsi inimici multi, // tamen superasse me credo  
 carendo insidias // gemitumque meorum laborum.  
 redditus in terra // corpus, cui vita herobat.  
 spiritus animaque mea // expecta(t) die ultimo causa(m).

If only the classical quantities (which I have marked) are considered, these verses are full of faults, but if the contemporary pronunciation is taken into account, it emerges that many more feet contain the correct number of long and short syllables. There is ample evidence in the inscriptions



for the shortening of unaccented diphthongs and long vowels. Numerous parallels can be found for scanning *dēfeci* (1.1), *mē*, *multī* (1.3), *hērebat* (1.5), *ultimō* (1.6). The -e- representing a monophthongized pronunciation of original -ae- was shortened when unaccented generally in the fourth century, in isolated cases earlier. This is shown by spellings such as -*quae* (= -*que*), *aepiscopus*, *aecclasia*, *aequus* (= *equus*). The tendency to shorten final  $\bar{o}$  began much earlier in Latin. 'ēgō' was the normal scansion in Catullus, Vergil, Horace, and the first person singular of disyllabic verbs like *āmō* was frequently a pyrrhic in the Augustan poets. This tendency spread until it included all final  $\bar{o}$ 's in everyday speech, whether occurring in nouns, verbs or adverbs. Most of them were allowed in inscriptions which were intended to approximate to the classical standard, but the usage was very inconsistent.<sup>1</sup> Final  $\bar{a}$ 's were similarly affected. In the first place ablative singulars were shortened, especially in adverbial phrases like *sobriā mente*, *piā mente*. As a result of the confusion between nom. and abl. singulars, there was a less widespread tendency to lengthen the final -*ā* of neuter plurals, and feminine nom. singulars. The weakness of final -m, -s, -t is well attested by the spelling of inscriptions.<sup>2</sup> Note in this one, *causa* = *causam*, *exspecta* = *exspectat* (1.6), and the scansion *meorū(m)* *lābōrūm* (1.4).

The reverse effect of the accent, the lengthening of a previously short accented vowel, must also be considered.

1. The scansion *ēgō* required in the first line of the inscription became popular in later poets. It began as early as Propertius and Ovid, and may be considered as a Graecism.
2. There was probably some variation in different parts of the Empire.

Again the examples are very numerous and occur in inscriptions of all grades of correctness. Many come from the 5th foot of the hexameter (e.g. *pericere, conloquia*). The word accent on the first syllable of this dactyl fell in most lines on a naturally long syllable. It is more likely that the apparent exceptions contain a syllable lengthened under the accent, than that this was the beginning of an accentual rather than quantitative system. Even the verses of Damasus show some trace of this pronunciation in *telaque cruenta, regnaque piorum*.

These late versifiers may have allowed themselves the use of anapaests in certain cases, though other explanations of certain features are also possible. Proper names frequently offered intractable quantities, and were often allowed in the verse as they stood. Anapaests are actually found with names such as *Dionysius, Alexander* (pronounced *Alesander*), *Agape, Agato, Statio*. *Theodosius* was probably pronounced as it was often spelled, *Theudosius*; *Ticianus* pronounced as *Ticianus*. There are numerous other examples showing the consonantalisation of -i- and -u- between a consonant and another vowel, e.g. *ecclesiae, filiosum, diaconus, premium, duos, duodecim, suorum*. Anapaestic words apart from proper names, such as *animo, titulo*, are probably to be explained as dactyls with lengthening of the accented and shortening of the unaccented vowel. With 'animo', there is a possibility of syncope in view of one example (from Mainz) of 'anna'. The traditional spelling may conceal actual syncope in many other cases.

~~of this, and the various abbreviations do not suggest it.~~  
 'ācōlūthus' is probably a technical term on a level with the difficult proper names.

To sum up, it is obvious that after the loss of the classical syllabic quantities the composers of these verses had great difficulty in writing after the classical model. Even those who were able to compose verse according to rules indulged in various licenses, such as the allowance of hiatus, and the use of short syllables in place of long in various positions. The best of them made occasional mistakes. Others who had not the learning to restore the old quantities wrote passable hexameters and elegiacs according to contemporary pronunciation, but they were not consistent, using now the old and now the contemporary form. All these licenses and abuses of syllabic quantity appear also in pagan inscriptions of the same period.

Some inscriptions cannot be reduced to any regular system, even by taking into account contemporary pronunciation. There is evidence of the loss of all feeling for the structure of the hexameter. Lines were often borrowed from other inscriptions, and alterations were made or words inserted, although this disturbed the metre. For example D.1695, uis namq̄e tumulo procumbit Servand̄e post funere corpus (uis namq̄e = huius namq̄e), becomes almost correct with the omission of -que and Servand̄e. D.1645, hæc tenet orna tu(m) venerand̄(um) corpus Vincenti abb(at)ix, needs the omission of 'Vincenti'. In D.1825, undiq̄ue visendi studio cr̄h̄istiana (sic) aetas cir cumfusa venit, 'christiana aetas' has been substituted for 'Troiana iuventus' of Vergil's line (Aen. 2,63). Likewise D.1235, hospitium Romuli levite

est caelestia regna tenentis, has 'Romuli levite' substituted for 'Paulae' of Jerome's line. Some lines seem to be imperfect recollections of some original. D. 2919, innocens subito ad caelestia regna transivit was probably based on a line like: innocens subito caelestia regna petivit. We find 'dolor' where 'maeror' would fit the line, 'mater' in place of 'genetrix' and so on.

Many lines are short of a syllable through confusion between the form of the hexameter and pentameter, (i.e. they have - ∪ instead of - - ∪ after the caesura): many have an extra syllable which cannot be removed by synizesis or any other device. Other 'hexameters' have five or seven feet, e.g. D.1515A. que tribus emensis // annis cum caro coniugem vixit.

(Rome C4).

In some of the inscriptions the only recognizable principle of versification seems to be syllable counting. The writers of such lines, it seems, were unable to understand the principle on which the classical hexameter was composed. The quantitative system had become unintelligible to them, and as the word accent was free in the earlier part of the line it was clearly not the basis of the versification. The main caesura, especially the strong one usual in the later period, caused a noticeable break in the line after 5, 6, or 7 syllables. This was seized upon as a distinctive feature, and lines were written with 5, 6 or 7 (occasionally 8) syllables before the caesura. Their quantity was indifferent, and the word accent could fall in either part of the foot. At the end of the line, the rhythm  $\text{—} \cup \text{—}$  was easily recognizable, and this was usually reproduced successfully,

(accentually if not quantitatively).

L.1091. hic quiescit in tumulo // Sergio pontifex s(an)c(t)us  
 qui sacri labentia // restaurans culmina templi  
 haud procul ab urbe // construxit cubicium s(an)c(t)is.  
 (Spain c.540)

L.1825. Alexandri rectoris // ovat per saecula nomen ...  
 iustos in pulchram (sic) // sedem gaudent locasse  
 ... riores ...  
 livinaque sancta // peccibus contingere laeta.  
 (Africa).

Commodian, the African Christian poet, wrote hexameters based on the number of syllables in the line, with a clearly defined dactylic rhythm at the end. The first few lines of the *Instructio* have the clauses: erranti demonstrat; saeculi meta; inscia corda; tempore multo; insciis ipsis. W. Meyer<sup>1</sup> tries to prove that this system is due to the influence of Semitic verse, and the importance of the Psalms in Christian worship. He says that, with the break-down of syllabic quantity, a new form depending only on the number of syllables (as in Hebrew verse) was very welcome, and that Commodian consciously imitated the hexameter on this principle. Certainly it is more easy to find some kind of principle in the verse of Commodian than in these ungainly inscriptions intended for hexameters by their authors. It is unlikely however that Semitic influence would have extended to Gaul and Spain, even if it were at work in Africa. In any case, the varying degrees of

1. In 'Gesammelte Handlungen zur Mittellateinischen Rythmik', 1905-36.  
 Anfang und Ursprung der lateinischen und griechischen rhythmischen Dichtung. p.399.

approximation to the classical type show that these versifiers were still aiming at classical hexameters. Comedian himself quite frequently produced an excellent classical line. In the inscriptions, lines with the correct number of syllables only are found beside quite correct lines.

The evidence indicates on the whole that these inscriptions were being written in a period of transition when the art of composing quantitative verse was not completely understood or was misunderstood by many people. Nevertheless the accentual principle had not yet emerged to replace the quantitative one.

The deterioration of quantitative verse followed much the same course all over the Western Empire. Everywhere faulty verse was being produced by the fourth century, but in the provinces as well as in Rome and Italy the literary tradition was preserved by some as late as 68. It depended entirely on the learning of the individual, for verses of the most varied correctness were being produced at the same time in the same area. The majority of the best verses come from Rome and Italy, but the greatest number of inscriptions of all kinds come from this area. The literary tradition was very strong here, and although there is much incorrect verse, the standard is generally better than that of the provinces.

While all areas show the same confusion of correct and incorrect verse, mostly found round certain important centres (Milan, Ravenna, Lyons, Arles, Treves), the Spanish inscriptions are generally of a lower standard than the rest. The clearest examples of syllable counting in hexameters come from Spain. Education appears to have been less widespread than in the other provinces, and the Spanish people tended to

fall back on other means of expression than the hexameter. There are two strange inscriptions from this country which point to an interest in accent and rhyme, but both are late. The first is dated 642. It is written in lines of prose which mostly fall into two halves, each containing three stress accents, (line 9 has 3 groups of 2). The half-lines are marked by Leonine rhymes. I will quote it in full:

(C.274) Haec cava saxa Oppilani continet memoria  
 glo[rioso] ortu natalium, gestu abituque conspicuum  
 opit(u)s quippe pollens et artuum virib(us) cluens  
 iacula vehi precipitur prodoque Baccis destinatur  
 5. in procinctum belli necatur, opitulatione sodalium  
 desolatus (= decolatur)  
 naviter cede perculsum, cientes rapiunt peremptum  
 exanimis domu reducitur, cuius a vernulis humetur,  
 lugit coniunx cum liberis, fletib(us) familia prestrepit.  
 decies ut ternos ad quater quaternos vixit per annos.  
 pridie Septembium ius morte a Vasconibus multatus  
 era sescentensima et octagensima id gestumemento

It is suggested by J. Todd<sup>1</sup> that this is written in Saturnians. Though it is based on accent counting and there is a certain amount of alliteration, I do not think so. The date is rather late for this, and the irregular number of syllables bears little resemblance to the earlier Saturnians we possess, in which some kind of system is clearly used. It is, rather, an elaborate type of rhythmical prose, and the rhymes are forerunners of the rhymed prose which was popular among the Spaniards at a later date.

1. Classical quarterly 1940. p.133.

The other inscription belongs possibly to C10. It is based similarly on accent and rhyme, though without alliteration. (Todd again suggests Saturnians).

1675. Membra fulgent hic urna  
Anus religiose  
Rite carne devicta  
In sobria, fama casta,  
Arce celesti et aula,  
 sum tecta hic saxea cava.

This is further characterized by the popular Christian acrostic.

Features similar to these are found in a few prose inscriptions from Italy and Africa. The sections in which the prose is written out are given some sort of form and bound together by various elements: equal number of accents, equal number of syllables, balanced phrases, dactylic endings, rhymes, acrostics.<sup>1</sup> Only one or two of these elements appears in each inscription. It is surprising that although

1. Acrostics had been a feature of Greek and Latin verse for some time before they found their way into Christian poetry. The use probably originated in oracular poetry or esoteric religious literature. Acrostics appeared in Greek inscriptions, giving the name of the dead, or the composer of the epitaph. The earliest literary example is Εὐδόξου τέχνη 193-90 B.C. The early Christian secret symbol ΙΧΘΥΣ was an acrostic (Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ υἱὸς Σωτὴρ). In Latin, the acrostic was a feature of the Sibylline oracles, but the earliest extant example is 'Q. Ennius fecit' (Cic. de Div. II, 112). The impulse to Christian literature came from Hebrew, and the alphabetical form was the earliest, but other types developed rapidly. There are 24 examples of acrostics in this collection of inscriptions, from all parts of the Western Empire, dating from 4th to 8th centuries (earliest 299 from Africa). The use of telestics as well as acrostics seems to have been mainly an African development.



rhythmical prose played such an important part in the sermons of men like Augustine, comparatively few inscriptions bear witness to the tendency of popular speech towards this means of expression, though it undoubtedly originated there.<sup>1</sup>

Two inscriptions, one from Africa, one from Rome, are based on lines containing 5 or 6 accents. Both have some kind of dactylic rhythm at the ends, which are emphasised by rhyme. The African one begins:

(D.1103) Alexánder episcopu[s] [p]ropríus ípsis et altérioris  
nátus (6)  
actátibus honoríb[us]que in aecl[esi]a cathól[ic]a.  
fúctus (5)  
castitátis cústos, karitáti paci[que] dicátus (5)  
cúius doctrína flóret innúmera plébs Tipasénsis ... (6)

All but the last two lines are included in the rhyming scheme: *nat*us, *fun*ctus, *dic*atus; *Tip*asensis, *om*nis; *fec*isset, *quies*cit. In the Roman inscription the rhymes are mostly alternate: *in* *pac*e *sec*urus, *repen*dát *hon*orem; *pauper*orum *am*icus, *ad* *fin*em *di*erum; *vir*um *hon*estum; *ux*ori *dol*orem etc. (D.2138B).

Another inscription from Rome (D.432) has rhyme marking the phrase ends, but the main binding element is the acrostic formed by the initial letters (ANATHOLIA).

1. Though some of the inscriptions, (especially the Spanish one), bear a certain resemblance to Augustine's alphabetical psalm against the Donatists, they are not really comparable. Augustine's lines consist mostly of 16 syllables with a medial caesura and a penultimate accent in each half, all the lines rhyming in -e. His attempt at popular verse does not seem to have had any successors.

(D412). Acervum luctum mihi demisisti, dulcissima coniux.  
 Non mihi sufficebat habuisse vitate cum per tempora  
 mala,  
 Aliam quidem futuram cottidiae optabas bona, sed infelix  
 casus fecit aliena.  
 Tu vero cottidiae expectabas videre proxima palma ...

The use of balanced phrases is illustrated by two Italian inscriptions, dated 458 and 655. The first consists entirely of such phrases:

D.3454. Ienesia quae (e)repta est mundo / ut viveret [in] aeterno,  
 non penalebus Tartaris tradetu(s) / s[ed] semp[er]etern[is]  
 muniribus deportata.  
 quae adeo brevius vixit in seculo / ut sanctior  
 migraret ad d(omi)n(u)m.  
 grata cunctis in mundo / gratior ρX (= Christo)  
 in aet[er]no.

In the later one, the phrases in question are:

(D.1054) exemplo boni operis  
 docuit cunctos viam salutis ...  
 voluntate sincerus,  
 ac benignitate praecipuus,  
 solers ad audiendum,  
 clemens ad ignoscendum.

The whole is bound by an acrostic, S. CELSUS EPISCOPUS.

There are besides two inscriptions based on syllables grouped in approximately equal numbers. The first, dated 520, (D.1071) is said by Carolus Caesar<sup>1</sup> to be the earliest of such inscriptions. The syllables are grouped as follows:

1. Observationes ad aetatem titulorum latinorum christianorum definiendam spectantes 1896.

12, 12, 12, 12, 24, (8+16 because of the acrostic), 15, 15, 15, 17, 15, 16. D.3489 is in four lines with 14, 25, 15, 24 syllables. Such inscriptions were meant to be read according to the normal word accent.

From this survey of the versification of Christian inscriptions, it is clear that in spite of the new dignity granted to popular speech and means of expression by the usage of the Church Fathers, the people for the most part clung to tradition and endeavoured to write classical verse long after it had ceased to correspond to everyday speech. The evidence of spelling in both Christian and pagan inscriptions points to identical development in both. There is no evidence that the stress accent was stronger in Christian speech, producing greater syncope. Such syncope as there is occurs mainly in certain words: *domnus*, *domnicus* (in particular), *vetranus*, *vixt*, *deposicio* (= *depositio*), *saeclum*, but these are not so spelled consistently. Much may be concealed by traditional orthography. On the whole it seems that in the matter of pronunciation, Christian Latin, while taking part in contemporary developments, did not accelerate them.

CHAPTER VII - CONCLUSION.

In an article entitled 'Latin chrétien ou langue latine des chrétiens?',<sup>1</sup> published soon after the appearance of Schrijnen's *Die Charakteristik des altchristlichen Latein*, J. de Ghellinck brought valid criticisms to bear on the theory of a Christian 'sondersprache'. Not all of these have been removed by later work on the subject. His chief objection was that the main hypothesis - that the differentiation observable in the writings of Christians was due directly to the impact of Christianity in creating a community within the community which needed new means of expression - that this hypothesis was not proved but only assumed. In theory the hypothesis was sound. It is a well-established linguistic principle that language is a social concern, and that communities are responsible for its growth and development. Ghellinck pointed out that one of the valuable results of Schrijnen's work was to place in proper perspective the effect of a highly individual character like Tertullian, who was considered to have been responsible to a large extent for the creation of Christian Latin.

The language of Tertullian presupposes a considerable amount of linguistic development beforehand. Therefore we need to know what influences were at work in the early period; whether, for instance, the Christians really were as separate from the pagans as they are held to have been. Were they already a close enough community to produce, as distinctly Christian features, the words used in the early translations of the Bible and the first Latin liturgical services? Or were these merely popular, derived from the general language of pagan and Christian alike? Or finally, were they

1. In 'Les Etudes Classiques', 1939.

individual creations, 'sanctified' after the event by frequent use in Church and the constant reading of the Bible?

Ghelliinck suggested at the time that Schrijnen and Mohrmann had analysed the evidence of later Christian writers, and had tried, on linguistic grounds, to reconstruct the tendencies that produced them, without investigating the earlier period. This omission has since been remedied by the investigations which have taken place since Ghelliinck's article. Dr. Schrijnen and Dr. Mohrmann together investigated the letters of St. Cyprian (first half of C3), and Dr. Mohrmann has written several articles in 'Vigilinae Christianae' dealing with: the Latin translation of Clem. ad Corinth (C2), letters written to Cyprian by the Roman clergy (C3), Novatian, Minucius Felix and Lactantius (C3-4). In these, she demonstrates the extent to which Christian technical terminology had developed at this earlier stage, and points out that several indirect Christianisms, both of vocabulary and syntax, were already accepted in the language of these writers. Nevertheless, this does not remove either the objection that the so-called indirect Christian features may have been due to Biblical influence rather than to their existence in popular Christian speech, or that the difference between pagan and Christian Latin may still have been largely that between literary and popular Latin, even in view of the existence of both popular and cultured Christian Latin.

The inscriptions cannot give much help for the all-important early period. The further back we go, the less numerous and elaborate they become, and so <sup>they</sup> provide little linguistic evidence of the kind required. It is besides not often that the early ones can be precisely dated. I have

however investigated all the inscriptions ascribed to the period before the early fourth century, to find what evidence there was of linguistic development. Out of his collection of over 5,000, Diehl assigns 63 definitely to this period. Those from C2, which are not at all frequent, offer nothing distinctively Christian, except for one example of *dormitio* = death, one of *fratres* = the Christian community. The third century provides the earliest datable examples of *accepit* and *reddidit* (used absolutely), *depositio*, *depositus*, *dormio*, *mensa*, *refrigerio*, *saeculum* = world, *in pace*, *lavacrum*, *oro*, *fidens in Domino*, *spiritus sanctus* = soul, *natalis martyrum*. With C4, all the other Christian terms begin to appear. (It is quite obvious however that many of them must have been current long before a datable example actually appears). Most of the evidence in the various chapters has necessarily been taken from the later inscriptions. The same argument is valid against these as against later Christian literature - that there is less contemporary pagan material to compare with it.

In spite of Ghellinck's cautions with regard to the theory, it cannot be denied that the Christian features do exist. Though integral Christianisms do not signify much in C4 when there are fewer pagan writers, they are difficult to explain away in the earlier period. All the Christian writers show the same predilection for a number of peculiar features derived from Biblical and popular language. The question is whether there is any unifying principle binding these various elements together.

If Christianity in itself was the impulse behind them, one would expect to find them in the speech of all who belonged to the Christian linguistic community. If they were merely propagated by the example of Biblical diction, their

presence in Christian writings would be accounted for. Augustine speaks of the influence of the Bible on those brought up to study it: de doct. chr. II 14,21: qui in scripturis sanctis quodam modo nutriti educatique sunt, magis alias locutiones aiuntur, easque minus latine patent, quam illas quas in scripturis didicerunt, neque in latinas linguas auctoribus reperiuntur. This must refer primarily to the leaders, to a lesser extent to ordinary Christians.

The study of inscriptional material is beset by various difficulties. Their formalism and traditionalism obscures some matters of vocabulary and syntax, and even mode of thought, just as traditional orthography sometimes conceals features of pronunciation. The subject matter is necessarily limited to one set of themes. It is perhaps for these reasons that the evidence does not seem overwhelmingly in favour of the marked differentiation in everyday speech for which we are looking. In the matter of vocabulary, there are naturally very many Christian technical terms and phrases, and even new words for things influenced by Christian thought, merely because Christian 'things' need Christian words. The Bible provides a good many other words and phrases, especially in the verse inscriptions. The mere presence of these words gives the inscriptions a decidedly Christian appearance, but they are only added to the inherited vocabulary, and by C4, at any rate, the average Christian's vocabulary seems to have been a strange mixture. Vocabulary alone is not enough to **make** more than the ordinary group-speech, numerous as these Christian terms are.

On the side of syntax the evidence is remarkably disappointing. Many of the characteristic Christian features,

being popular, are natural in popular inscriptions, but there is little evidence of the features due to Greek or Hebrew influence via the Bible. Only examples of the most obvious things occur - the fixed phrases in pace, in nomine; the use of benedico, poeniteo, confiteor, which was bound up with semantic change; caeli; and a few genitives for adjectives. In versification, tradition had a strong hold. The evidence does not show the Christians striving after new types, though there are some isolated examples of the use of rhythmical means of expression. It is clear that they followed the example neither of Augustine nor of the hymn writers.

What emerges most clearly is that there was no sharp distinction between Christian and pagan. The Christians naturally inherited the common language and this they <sup>are</sup> held to have revitalized because of their need of new means of expression for new ideas. This is true of the literary language, which introduced both popular and Christian elements. Everyday speech, it seems, kept more within the bounds of language as it was; but popular speech, at this period was in any case more lively and pliable than the literary language. It certainly cannot be said that there was 'a coherent system of differentiation' in popular speech. In the fourth century and later, at any rate, the Christian community was not made up of members speaking exactly the same idiom, but pagan and Christian elements were mingled in varying quantities according to the individual.

If there was a special language, the evidence of the inscriptions does not suggest that the features belonging to it were the result of any Christian impulse as such.



Nevertheless, in view of the absence from the inscriptions of features known to be popular, and the limited scope of inscriptional evidence, it seems better to return a verdict of 'not proven', rather than 'disproved'.

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