

Gedruckt mit Unterstützung der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft und
der Stiftung „Humanismus heute“ des Landes Baden-Württemberg

Die Deutsche Bibliothek – CIP-Einheitsaufnahme

Latin vulgaire – latin tardif V: actes du 5e Colloque
International sur le Latin Vulgaire et Tardif,
Heidelberg, 5–8 septembre 1997 / éd. par Hubert
Petersmann; Rudolf Kettmann. – Heidelberg:
Winter, 1999

(Bibliothek der klassischen Altertumswissen-
schaften: Reihe 2; N.F., Bd. 105)

ISBN 3-8253-0877-4

Umschlagbild:

Elfenbein-Relief des Hl. Gregor mit drei Schreibern.
Papst Gregor der Große schreibt unter Eingebung der Taube des Heiligen Geistes
das *Vere dignum* der Praefation in das Sakramentar, als dessen Verfasser er gilt.
Die Gebäude sollen den Lateran darstellen.

Metzer Meister, um 960–980, Elfenbein, Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

ISBN 3-8253-0877-4

ISSN 0067-8201

Alle Rechte vorbehalten. © 1999. Universitätsverlag C. Winter Heidelberg GmbH
Photomechanische Wiedergabe und die Einspeicherung und Verarbeitung in elektronischen Systemen
nur mit ausdrücklicher Genehmigung durch den Verlag
Imprimé en Allemagne. Printed in Germany
Druck: Strauss Offsetdruck GmbH, 69509 Mörlenbach

Avant-propos

Les éditeurs de ce volume sont très heureux de pouvoir présenter au public les conférences par lesquelles les participants du V^e Colloque international sur le latin vulgaire et tardif (Heidelberg, du 5 au 8 septembre 1997) ont fait connaître au monde savant les résultats de leurs recherches.

Après Pécs (1985), Bologne (1988), Innsbruck (1991) et Caen (1994), l'honneur d'organiser cette manifestation triennale est échu, en vertu d'une décision du Comité International, à l'Universitas Ruperto-Carola Heidelbergensis. L'Université de Heidelberg est d'autant plus sensible à cette distinction que le latin parlé de l'Antiquité représente depuis des décennies un domaine central des recherches poursuivies à son Institut de Philologie Classique. Dans le cadre de ces recherches, celles relatives au latin tardif, source des idiomes romans, jouent un rôle particulièrement important.

C'est cette orientation des études qui explique la coopération étroite qui existe, au sein de notre Université, entre l'Institut de Philologie Classique, l'Institut d'Études Romanes et l'Institut des Traducteurs et Interprètes, ainsi que les relations très fructueuses avec le «Graduiertenkolleg» qui a pour objet d'étudier «La dynamique des variétés sous-standard» et regroupe à cette fin des spécialistes de plusieurs disciplines linguistiques (anglistes, germanistes, romanistes, slavistes, etc.).

Nous avons eu le plaisir d'accueillir à ce V^e Colloque plus de 120 participants venus de 18 pays européens et extra-européens; c'était un collègue japonais qui a dû entreprendre le plus grand voyage de tous. Un des buts du Colloque consistait, à nos yeux, à encourager les jeunes latinistes, chercheurs et étudiants; c'est pourquoi nous avons visé à leur donner, dans la mesure du possible, l'occasion d'exposer leurs idées dans les communications et les discussions interdisciplinaires.

C'était pour la première fois qu'un Colloque sur le latin vulgaire et tardif s'est tenu en Allemagne; il a été organisé sous le patronage du Maire de Heidelberg, Mme Beate Weber, et sous celui de M. Peter Ulmer, Recteur de l'Université en 1997. Dans la réalisation du Congrès, les organisateurs ont bénéficié de subventions de la part de plusieurs institutions de la République Fédérale d'Allemagne. Nos remerciements vont en particulier à la Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, au Ministère des Sciences, de la Recherche et des Arts du Land Baden-Württemberg, à la Fondation «Universität Heidelberg» ainsi qu'à la Fondation «Humanismus heute» du Land Baden-Württemberg; nous devons beaucoup à l'appui bienveillant que nous a accordé M. Dr. Carl-Heinrich Esser, sénateur honoraire de l'Université de Heidelberg (Dresdner Bank, Mannheim). Nous exprimons également notre gratitude aux entreprises Heidelberger Zement AG et Boehringer Mannheim GmbH.

Jolanta Gelumbeckaite

St. Jerome: Christian or Ciceronian Latin?
Evidence from the syntax of his writings

Abstract

In the present paper the use of some prepositional phrases in Jerome's writings will be discussed. I will concentrate on the expression of such semantic functions as location in space (particularly place within: *Loc. - in + Abl. - ad + Acc. interchange*) and direction (particularly a syntactic realization of the distinction between motion into and motion toward: *Acc. - in + Acc. - ad + Acc. - usque + in + Acc. - usque + ad + Acc.*

As the most eminent pupil of Donatus and a man well read in Latin literature, Jerome is considered to use Classical, i.e. Ciceronian, Latin rather than Latin of Christian times, so-called Christian Latin (*sensu stricto* it is understood as Latin, influenced by the Biblical language, most of all in its morphology. Thus it modelled a certain style in the writings of early Christian authors). Following his own principle — *volo pro legentis facilitate abuti sermone vulgato* —, Jerome adapted his language and style to the minds and the culture of those to whom he wrote. In order to establish the variety of Jerome's 'language level', it is convenient to examine the writings from his stay in Rome during the period 374–385. I have selected material for the examination from the Jerome's revised version of the Gospel according to Luke (*qui inter omnes evangelistas Graeci sermonis eruditissimus fuit*, Ep. XX 4, 10) as an example of the translated text, letters to Pope Damasus as an example of the official style, and letters to Marcella, who held the first place among Jerome's correspondents at that time, as an example of the familiar and everyday style.

1. A development of prepositional phrases carrying semantic functions of former bare cases is a feature typical not only of Late Latin. The process can be observed in different states of the language. Weakening of a precise meaning of cases and their syncretism caused more explicit expression of overlapping syntactic and semantic value. Prepositional phrases started to substitute the simple cases first in spoken Latin in order to distinguish their increasing roles in a sentence, and to avoid possible misunderstandings. „The consequence of these developments was that by the 8th century the Latin declensions were reduced to a two-case-system“ (Palmer 1990: 160), all other cases were replaced by prepositional phrases. On the other hand the enlarged usage of the latter produced a rivalry between prepositions themselves, which led to a total disappearance of some, for example *ab* and *ex* in Romance languages.
2. Semantic opacity of some prepositional phrases, or better diminishing of an information carried by cases within certain phrases, created the necessity to use so-called double prepositions, such as *usque ad* or *usque in*, already at an older stage in the history of Latin. In Classical times the prepositional phrase *usque + Acc.* or

ad/in + Acc. with verbs of motion indicated the goal of motion in space or time according to the lexical meaning of the noun. The double emphasizing prepositions mostly were used in such sentences where starting point and the goal of motion were both expressed by prepositional phrases, as a rule both qualified by a superlative degree of an adjective, e.g., *ab imis unguibus usque ad verticem summum*. Such usage is reflected in the Vulgate, e.g.: *et mittet angelos suos cum turba magna ... a summis caelorum usque ad terminos eorum* (Mt 24, 31); *congregabit electos suos ... a summo terrae usque ad summum caeli* (Mk 13, 27).

2.1. Interchanges between *ad* + Acc., *in* + Acc. and *usque ad* + Acc., *usque in* + Acc. become especially distinct in early Christian times when it was necessary to transmit the proper meaning of the Holy Scripture, Hebrew and Greek originally. In this respect a large contribution to a further development of Latin was brought about by Jerome (Lat. Sophronius Eusebius Hieronymus), the translator and revisor of the Bible. As the most eminent pupil of Donatus and a man well read in Latin literature, Jerome is considered to have used Classical, i.e. Ciceronian Latin rather than Latin of Christian times influenced by the *Graeca auctoritas* and affected most of all by Biblical morphology (cf. Helttula 1987: 37). Jerome's syntax of cases and prepositions shows a great variety of Classical Latin structures, though evidence of further changes in Latin can be found in his writings already.

2.2. The interchange of constructions denoting function of spatio-temporal direction is attested in the Vulgate and Jerome's letters — from the bare accusative to the complex prepositional phrases *usque ad/in* + Acc. A weakening of the bare directive and its adverbialization is obvious throughout the development of Latin. The directive was considered a colloquial feature in Classical times already. Directives like *domum* occur more often in the Bible than in the letters. In the latter they are usually restricted to the verb *reverti* and used as fossilized expressions, e.g.: *volens discipulus reverti domum* (Ad Marcellam, ep. 38, 5), or are governed by prefixed verbs, e.g.: *quam ille domum confessionis intraret* (Ad Damasum, ep. 21, 20). In all likelihood the rhetorical style of the letters has predetermined a less frequent usage of certain means of spoken language. The same phenomenon is characteristic of Latin poetry, where the directive is almost always expressed by prepositional phrases.¹ In the Vulgate the bare directive *domum* and the prepositional phrases *in domum* are governed by the same verbs of motion and appear to be used in free variation without noticeable differences in meaning. But in the sentences where the noun *domum* is qualified by a possessive adjective or a genitive, its occurrence within prepositional phrases is more frequent:

- Lk 7, 10: et reversi, qui missi fuerant *domum*,
invenerunt servum sanum²
- Lk 1, 56: Mansit autem Maria cum illa ... et reversa est
in *domum suam*
- Lk 11, 24; Mt 12, 44: Revertar *in domum meam*, unde exivi
- Lk 7, 36: et ingressus *domum* Pharisaei discubuit

¹ It is attested that in the oldest Indo-European languages postpositions or the bare cases are more frequent in prose than in verse (Coleman 1991: 329).

Lk 5, 24: tolle lectulum tuum et vade *in domum tuam*

Mt 2, 11: Et intrantes *domum* viderunt puerum

Mt 10, 12: Intrantes autem *in domum*, salutate eam

Lk 1, 40: Et intravit *in domum* Zacchariae

Lk 15, 6: Et veniens *domum* convocat amicos³

Mt 9, 28: Cum autem venisset *domum*, accesserunt ad eum caeci

Mt 13, 36: Tunc dimissis turbis venit *in domum*

All the cases with the Latin directive correspond to the prepositional phrases εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν (Mt 2, 11; Mt 9, 28; Mt 10, 12; Mt 13, 36) or εἰς τὸν οἶκον (Mt 12, 44; Lk 1, 40; Lk 1, 56; Lk 5, 24; Lk 7, 10; Lk 7, 36; Lk 11, 24) of the Greek text. Hence we may infer that in certain patterns Greek stimulated, but not directly influenced the usage of the autochthonous directive in Latin. Similar examples are found in the first Bible translation into Old Lithuanian (1579–1590) where the Latin directives always correspond to the bare cases, such as the accusative, the illative or the allative. Different editions of the Latin Vulgate⁴ show the tendency to change the bare case into the according prepositional phrase:

Lk 8, 51: et cum venisset *domum*
et cum venisset *ad domum* (E, Wi⁵)

3. The usage of an alternative marking of direction, expressed by the adverbial preposition *usque* and the accusative in the original writings and the translation of the Bible is extremely rare. For example, it occurs only once in the Gospel according to Luke, while in the Gospel according to Matthew such a pattern is not used at all. The usage of the pattern *usque* + Acc. is strictly limited to nouns denoting names of lands, countries, cities, etc.:

- Lk 2, 15: transeamus *usque Bethlehem*⁶
- Act 11, 19: perambulaverunt *usque Foenicen et Cyprum et Antiochiam*
- Act 17, 15: perduxerunt *usque Athenas*⁷

² In the Vulgate editions of the 16th century, namely in the Editio Wittembergae (1529), the directive has been changed into a prepositional phrase: *reversi qui missi fuerant in domum*.

³ Against adverbialization of such a pattern *venire domum* could testify other instances of the bare accusative, e.g., Lk 7, 1: *intravit Capharnaum*; Lk 2, 51; Lk 4, 16: *venit Nazareth*.

⁴ The first corrected and standardized printed edition of the Vulgate was published in 1528 (ed. Roberto Estienne).

⁵ Editio Errasmi Roterdami (1527) and Editio Wittembergae (1529). Reduced distinctiveness of the cases within prepositional phrases, caused by phonetic erosion of the classical case forms, is obvious in such sentences where *in* + Abl. and *in* + Acc., governed by verbs of motion, compete with each other:

Lk 22, 10: sequimini eum in domum *in quam/in qua* intrat
Lk 15, 22: date anulum *in manum/in manu* illius.

⁶ In the new, corrected edition of Pope Sixtus (Editio Sixtina) from 1590 this prepositional phrase was already understood as incomplete and replaced by *usque ad Bethlehem*.

⁷ Cf. Act 28, 15: Et inde cum audissent de nobis fratres, occurrerunt nobis *usque ad Appii*

In Jerome's original writings *usque* is mostly used, if at all, as a postpositive adverb, concretizing a semantic function of a certain prepositional phrase, e.g.: *tertio gradu ad nos usque pervenerit* (Praefatio in quattuor Evangelia, PL, col. 559); *in caelum usque pervenerit* (ep. 20, 5). In the Bible *usque* appears as a supplement to the prepositions *ad* or *in* and indicates the very final point of motion toward or into correspondingly:

- Lk 4, 42: turbae venerunt *usque ad ipsum*
 Lk 15, 20: venit *usque ad patrem suum*
 Mt 26, 58: sequebatur eum *usque in atrium* principis sacerdotum⁸

The highly emphatic construction *usque + ad/in + Acc.* diminished the meaning of primary prepositional phrases *ad/in + Acc.* and cause their functional merge. Thus the prepositions *ad* and *in* lost their strict semantic boundaries within these prepositional phrases:

- Lk 10, 15: Et tu, Capharnaum, numquid *usque in caelum* exaltaberis?
Usque ad infernum demergeris
 Mt 11, 23: Et tu, Capharnaum, numquid *usque in caelum* exaltaberis?
Usque in infernum descendes
 Mt 27, 45: tenebrae factae sunt super universam terram *usque ad horam nonam*
 Lk 23, 44: tenebrae factae sunt in universa terra *usque in nonam horam*

3.1. The further development of the double prepositional phrases *usque ad/in + Acc.* can be observed in the Bible as well. The prepositional combination blurred the proper meaning of the case. Thus it caused a confusion between the accusative and the ablative, e.g.: *fulgur exit ab oriente et paret usque in occidentem* (Mt 24, 27) varies with *in occidente*.

3.2. *Usque ad + Acc.* obviously has a tendency to take over the phrase *usque in + Acc.* Regardless of the fact that both of them correspond to the Greek phrase εως + Gen., the Latin *usque ad + Acc.* shows a higher percentage of the occurrences: in Luke it covers 63, 6 %, of the total amount, in Matthew – 58 % in Acts – 54 %. *Usque ad + Acc.* more often indicates spatial relations between the predicate and its argument, e.g.: *duxerunt illum usque ad supercilium montis* (Lk 4, 29); *Ne pigriteris venire usque ad nos* (Act 9, 38). The phrase *usque in + Acc.* meanwhile specifies motion in time rather than in space:

- Mt 27, 64: Iube ergo custodiri sepulcrum *usque in diem tertium*
 Lk 1, 20: non poteris loqui *usque in diem* quo haec fiant
 Act 20, 7: protraxitque sermonem *usque in mediam noctem*

In cases where motion in time is expressed by *usque ad + Acc.*, the noun more often denotes non-temporal concepts:

- Mt 2, 15: erat ibi *usque ad obitum* Herodis
 Mt 13, 30: sinite utraque crescere *usque ad messem*

Forum et Tres Tabernas.

⁸ In Editio Wittembergae (1529) — *usque ad atrium*.

- Mt 26, 38: tristis est anima mea *usque ad mortem*
 Act 22, 22: audiebant autem eum *usque ad hoc verbum*

3.2.1. Similar distribution of syntactic means can be observed in the patterns of denotation of location in time. Nouns not denoting temporal concepts but having temporal meanings⁹ occur in a sentence within prepositional phrases:

- Mt 1, 11: Iosias autem genuit Iechoniam et fratres eius
in transmigratione Babylonis
 Lk 1, 8: cum sacerdotio fungeretur *in ordine* vicis suae
 Lk 14, 14: retribuetur tibi *in resurrectione* iustorum
 Act 8, 21: non est tibi pars neque sors *in sermone isto*

Nouns denoting temporal concepts and having the function of time position more often occur as the bare temporal ablative:

- Mt 14,6: *die* autem natalis Herodis saltavit filia Herodiadis
 Mk 2, 19: *quanto tempore* habent secum sponsum
 Lk 14, 17: misit servum suum *hora* cenae
 Act 13, 42: rogabant ut sequenti *sabbato* loquerentur sibi verba haec

3.3. The informational superfluity of emphasizing double prepositional phrases can be revealed by comparing the Latin text with translations into languages which have retained a fully functional case system, for example Lithuanian. The Old Lithuanian Bible (1579) provides examples of *usque ad + Acc.* translated by using an obstructed combination of a preposition and a postpositional locative, namely the allative:¹⁰

- Lk 4, 42: turbae venerunt *usque ad ipsum*
 BB: pulkai ataia *iki iapi*
 crowds came till he
 Nom. pl. All. sg.

- Act 11, 5: venit *usque ad me*
 BB: ataia *iki manesp*
 it came till I
 All. sg.

4. It seems that Jerome's Latin in the original writings undergoes the rhetorical laws of Classical Latin which almost entirely eliminates instances of daily spoken language, although it shows an inclination to further changes in Latin as well. For instance the use of the accusative with the preposition *in* to express location among is attested: *in Iudaeos¹¹ autem cum livor in fratris salute conveniat, hoc repugnat* ... (Ad Damasum ep. 21, 28). On the other hand the translation of the Bible

⁹ As a rule they denote time position rather than time duration.

¹⁰ Such a prepositional usage of the allative (which itself emphasizes motion toward the very point of destination) indicates a weakening of the case-meaning and presents the intermediate state of the alteration of bare cases into prepositional phrases.

¹¹ In different manuscripts it alternates with *in Iudaeo* (CSEL 1910: 130).

preserved more archaic syntactic patterns of Latin. Such synchronic irregularities ought to be explained on the basis of stylistic variation. Thus all inadequacies ought to be summarized in Jerome's own words (slightly paraphrased): *Ipsa latinitas et scripturis*¹² *quotidie mutatur et tempore* (Ad Gal. 2, 3).

References

- BB = Biblia Slavica (1991). *S. VI: Supplementum: Biblia Lithuanica, Bd. 1. 7. Das Neue Testament in die litauische Sprache übersetzt von Johann Bretke 1580. Faximile der Handschrift, Bd. 7 und 8. Hg. J. D. Range und F. Scholz.* Schöningh.
- Calboli, Gualtiero (ed.) (1989). *Subordination and other topics in Latin: proceedings of the Third Colloquium on Latin Linguistics, Bologna 1985.* Amsterdam/Philadelphia.
- Coleman, Robert (1991). Latin Prepositional Syntax in Indo-European Perspective. In Coleman (ed.), 323–338.
- Coleman, Robert (ed.) (1991). *New Studies in Latin Linguistics: proceedings of the 4th Colloquium on Latin Linguistics, Cambridge 1987.* Amsterdam/Philadelphia.
- CSEL = Hilberg, I. (ed.) (1910). *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum. S. Eusebii Hieronymi Opera. Epistularum Pars I.* Vindobonae F. Tempsky.
- Hagendahl, Harald (1958). *Latin Fathers and the Classics. A Study on the Apologists, Jerome and other Classical Writers.* (Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia; VI). Göteborg.
- Helttula, Anne (1987). *Studies on the Latin Accusative Absolute.* (Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 81, Societas Scientiarum Fennica). Helsinki.
- Luraghi, Silvia (1989). The relationship between prepositions and cases within Latin prepositional phrases. In Calboli (ed.), 253–271.
- Löfstedt, Einar (1959). *Late Latin.* Oslo.
- NT = Nestle/Aland (ed.) (1991). *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine. . . utriusque textus apparatus criticum recensuerunt et editionem novis curis elaboraverunt Kurt Aland et Barbara Aland. . . 2., neubearb. Aufl.* Stuttgart.
- Palmer, L. R. (1990). *The Latin Language.* Bristol Classical Press.
- PL = Migne, J. P. (ed.) (1865). *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina Prior. Accurante J.-P. Migne.* Patrologiae Latinae t. 29. Parisiis, apud Garnier Fratres.
- Pulgram, Ernst (1978). *Italic, Latin, Italian: 600 B. C. to A. D. 1260; texts and commentaries.* Heidelberg.

¹² *regionibus* in the original.

Marcela Hejtmanová

Sur le langage et le style de l'*Itinerarium Egeriae*

Résumé

Le texte de l'*Itinerarium Egeriae* a déjà fait couler beaucoup d'encre, comme le dit un des grands „égériens“, Veikko Väänänen. Pourtant, une approche s'appuyant sur les termes de la linguistique textuelle et s'inspirant de l'étude de Spitzer *The epic style of the Pilgrim Aetheria* (1949) pourrait peut-être apporter de nouveaux gains dans l'étude de cet oeuvre, dont le style est jugé par la plupart des chercheurs contemporains comme inexistant.

Il était donc intéressant d'observer le modèle actantiel des chapitres 1–23, et de faire quelques conclusions sur la distribution des actants. Celle-ci montre qu'Égérie comme auteur suit un modèle assez précis, ayant toujours en vue l'objectif didactique de son oeuvre.

En suivant le modèle actantiel, la composition textuelle et la motivation de l'auteur du texte, on a pu remarquer, par exemple, que la traduction traditionnelle de l'expression *gustauimus nobis locum* (4, 44) comme „nous avons fait collation“ (expression *locum* ayant plusieurs interprétations) ne fait pas partie des moyens d'expression qu'Égérie utilise intentionnellement pour donner à son message une certaine monumentalité digne de présenter les lieux saints. Nous nous permettons de proposer une nouvelle interprétation.

Finalement, une analyse du système verbal et du modèle temporel de l'oeuvre, basée sur la théorie de Weinrich, montre que la base du texte est formée par un récit, ou narration, dont la forme épistolaire amène la nécessité d'introduire les passages actualisés. Une remarque à propos du présent historique essaie d'expliquer pourquoi Égérie ne se sert pas de ce moyen d'actualisation.

Ces quelques observations sont loin d'être définitives et seront reconsidérées au fur et à mesure des recherches.

Ce texte anonyme — un des plus intéressants documents du latin tardif, décrivant le pèlerinage d'une femme religieuse en Terre Sainte, depuis plus de cent ans offre un terrain de recherches particulièrement fécond tant aux historiens qu'aux philologues. Le consensus sur l'époque de naissance de cette oeuvre a été atteint grâce aux déductions de P. Devos qui date ce pèlerinage entre 381 – 384.¹ Les chercheurs sont aujourd'hui convenus sur le titre *Itinerarium Egeriae*, antérieurement *Peregrinatio Aetheriae*. Mais malgré les efforts des chercheurs, l'auteur et son pays d'origine restent inconnus.²

Depuis la découverte du texte en 1884 dans le *Manuscrit d'Arezzo* et depuis son édition par Gamurrini en 1987, *Itinerarium Egeriae* a attiré un grand nombre

¹ Devos 1967b.

² Le résumé de la discussion scientifique sur le nom de l'auteur, sa patrie et le nom de l'oeuvre par exemple chez: Maraval 1982.