

A Commentary on Jerome's *Vita Malchi*

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This Commentary on Jerome's *Vita Malchi* begins with an Introduction which summarises some of the main points of interest of this early hagiographical text, including its relevance to contemporary debates about asceticism and the classical and biblical influences on the language and content. Particular attention is paid to the style and rhetorical devices deployed. A discussion of the textual status of the work is followed by a preliminary edition of the text on which the notes of the commentary are based. The commentary itself deals with a large variety of issues. Stylistic and philological observations are made throughout. Topoi in the preface are identified. The internal consistency of the narrative is investigated. The geographical background to the movements of the characters is elucidated, and their status is put in the context of Roman jurisprudence. Jerome's depiction of the Saracens in chapter Four is compared with that of Ammianus. Important literary themes and influences are treated discursively where appropriate, e.g. the description and interpretation of a colony of ants in chapter Seven. An attempt is made to solve all textual problems identified. In sum, this commentary aims to give a sense of Jerome's wide range of interests, as well as demonstrating the influence of his literary background and his creative engagement with it.

To Ben

ἕτερος γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ φίλος ἐστίν

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Abbreviations of modern reference works and corpora:

ANF: Coxe, A.C., Donaldson, J., and Roberts, A. 1885–96, *The Ante-Nicene Fathers: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to AD 325*, 10 vols., Buffalo; New York.

LLT-A: Brepols Library of Latin Texts, Series A (online database).

PLRE: Jones, A. H. M., Martindale, J. R. and Morris, J. 1971–1993, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, 4 vols., Cambridge.

RE: Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*.

TLG: *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (online database).

Ancient references:

Biblical passages are quoted from the Vulgate unless otherwise specified. The meaning of my abbreviations can be discovered from the *OLD*, *LSJ*, and the Index of the *TLL*. I have not followed any one system to the letter. The following list of abbreviations of major early Christian authors and works is intended for ease of reference.

Ambr.: Ambrose

Epist. extra coll.: Epistulae extra collectionem traditae

Ex.: Exameron.

Exp. Ps.: Expositio psalmi CXVIII

In Luc.: Expositio euangelii secundum Lucam

Aug.: Augustine

Adv. Don: Contra Donatistas

Civ.: De ciuitate Dei

Conf.: Confessions

C. Acad.: Contra Academicos

C. Adim.: Contra Adimantum

De doct. Christ.: De doctrina Christiana

De Trin.: De Trinitate

Enarrat.: Enarrationes in Psalmos

Ep.: Epistulae

Gen. ad litt.: De Genesi ad litteram libri duodecim

Grat. pecc. orig.: De gratia Christi et de peccato originali

In Rom. imperf.: Expositio ad Romanos inchoata

Manich: De moribus ecclesiae catholicae et de moribus Manichaeorum

Quaest. in hept.: Quaestiones in heptateuchum

Jer.: Jerome

Adv. Iov.: Aduersus Iouinianum

Alt. Luc.: Altercatio Luciferiani et Orthodoxi

C. Helv.: Aduersus Heluidium de Mariae uirginitate perpetua

C. Ioannem: Contra Ioannem

C. Ruf.: Libri aduersus Rufinum

Chron.: Eusebii Caesariensis Chronicon

Comm. Ps.: Commentarioli in Psalmos

Ep.: Epistulae

In Dan.: Commentarii in Danielelem

In Ez.: Commentarii in Ezechielem

In Gal., In Eph., In Tit., In Phil.: Commentarii in IV epistulas Paulinas

In Hier.: Commentarius in Hieremiam

In Is.: Commentarius in Isaiam

In Matth.: Commentarii in euangelium Matthaei

In Os., In Ioel., In Am., In Sophon., etc.: Commentarii in prophetas minores

Praef. in Didym.: Praefatio in libro Didymi Alexandrini De spiritu sancto

Praef. Pach.: Praefatio in Pachomiana Latina

Praef. Sam.: Prologus Sancti Hieronymi in libro Regum

Quaest. Hebr.: Liber quaestionum Hebraicarum in Genesim

Tract. Psalm.: Tractatus LIX in psalmos

Tract. Psalm II: Tractatus in psalmos, series altera

Vita Hilarionis: VH

Vita Malchi: VM

Vita Pauli: VP

De uiris illustribus: Vir. ill.

All dates are AD unless otherwise indicated.

INTRODUCTION

The *Vita Malchi* (VM) is the shortest of Jerome's three *Vitae Sanctorum*; the others are the earlier *Vita Pauli* (VP) and the contemporary *Vita Hilarionis* (VH). All of Jerome's three *Vitae* are experimental pieces at the threshold of the new genre of hagiography, richly varied in content and representing the confluence of important intellectual developments of the late antique period. This commentary provides a reconsideration of the text of the VM; a close reading analysing its internal structure; an exploration of its relationships with other genres, such as rhetorical exercises, comedy, epic (especially Virgil's *Aeneid*), historiography, and the ancient novel, with a discussion of lexical borrowings and sources of factual information; and an evaluation of Jerome's distinctive narrative style in the VM, combining rhetorical devices (e.g. chiasmus, tricolon, and hyperbaton) with high-style archaisms in some places and with popular elements approaching everyday registers in others. The aim of this dissertation is to contribute to a reconsideration of the beginnings of the hagiographic genre, which became immensely productive in the Byzantine Empire and in medieval Western Europe.

1. GENERAL INFORMATION AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1.1 Structure and plot of the VM

The *VM* is a narrative text of c. 2,000 words, divided into eleven chapters of varying length. It begins with a prologue (ch. 1) in which Jerome presents the work as an exercise to prepare for the composition of a comprehensive, and partly critical, history of the Church. The second chapter explains how Jerome knows Malchus' story: as a young man, living near Antioch on the estate of Evagrius, an erudite, wealthy, and powerful priest, he heard it from the protagonist himself. At that time Malchus was already an old man, sharing a home with a similarly old woman. Jerome's curiosity about this arrangement triggered Malchus' narrative, which is related in the first person in chapters 3–10.

Ch. 3: In this narrative Malchus, the son of a smallholder near Nisibis on the Eastern border of the Roman Empire, is pressed by his parents to marry; he tells them that he would rather be a monk. As a result of this conflict Malchus runs away from home and joins a group of monks in the desert of Chalcis, not far from Antioch. When his father dies, he wants to return to claim his inheritance. Not least because Malchus intends to keep some of the money for himself, his abbot objects to this proposal, and Malchus departs after an unresolved quarrel.

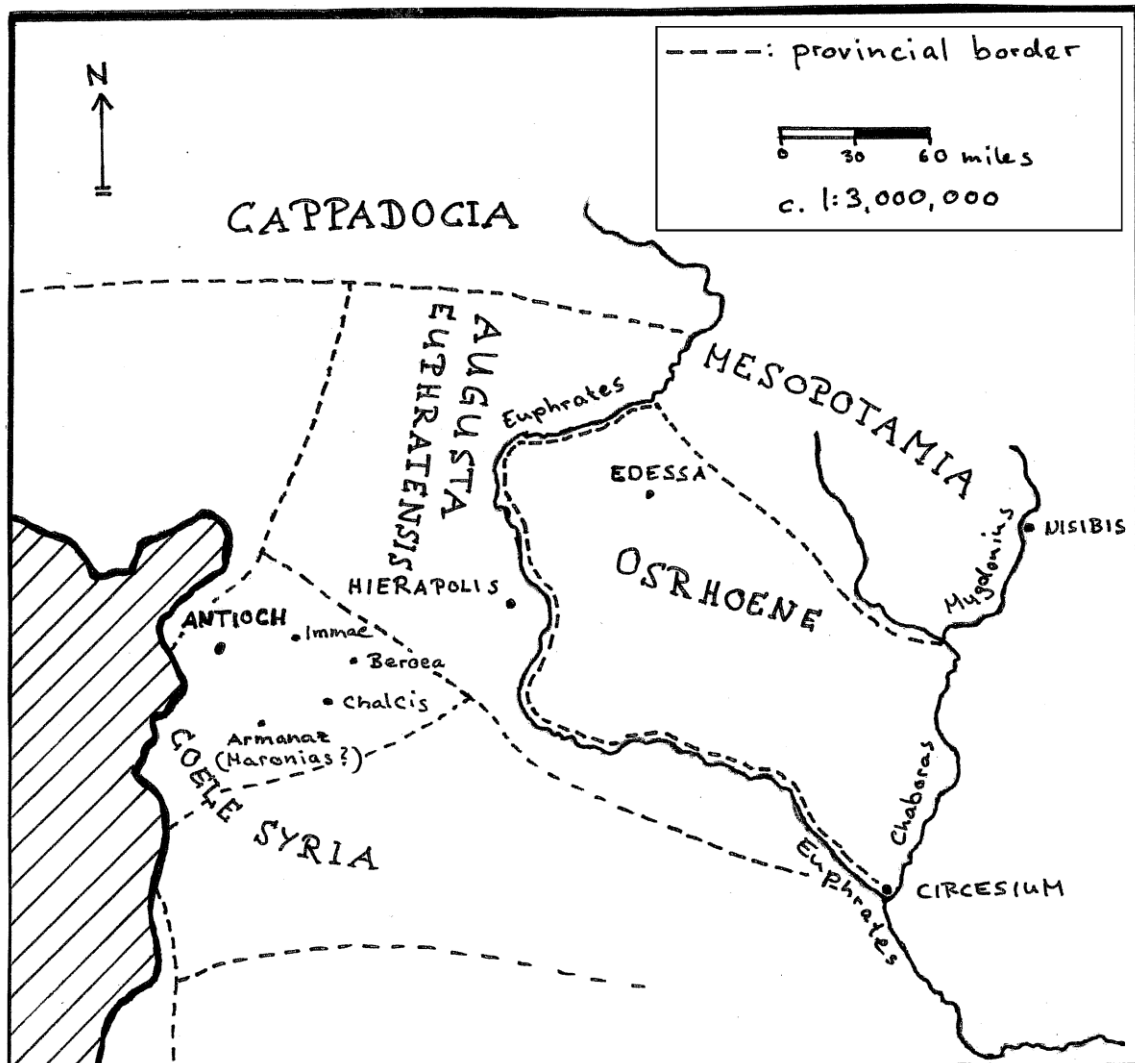
Chs. 4–5: On his way home Malchus is kidnapped by Saracens and given the task of herding the sheep in the desert. Ch. 6: To reward Malchus' good services, his Saracen master offers him as a wife a woman who was captured at the same time as Malchus. Because she is married already (her husband was abducted during the same raid by a different Saracen), and because Malchus *qua* monk is committed to preserving his

virginity, he intends to take his own life in the cave in which the couple are expected to consummate their wedding. But at the last moment the woman reveals that she, too, is a Christian and that during her captivity she has become committed to the same ideal of chastity. They agree to live together in a pretended marriage to fool their captors, but Malchus takes precautions against sexual temptation.

Ch. 7: As he continues herding the sheep, his observation of a co-operative colony of ants inflames his desire to be back in a monastic community. Ch. 8: He shares his longing with the woman, and they agree to flee together. In preparation for the journey Malchus slaughters two large goats. The couple use the inflated goat skins to cross a river in the hope of shaking off their pursuers. Ch. 9: Despite this, they are discovered by the master and a fellow slave, who pursue them on camels. In desperation, they find a second cave in which they hide. As first the slave and then the master come after them, a lioness kills both of the pursuers and leaves the cave, together with her cub. Ch. 10: Malchus and the woman use the Saracens' camels to continue their flight. After ten days they reach a Roman fort. They are received by Sabinianus, a high-ranking official of the Roman province of Mesopotamia, and allowed to go free. The story ends with Malchus' claim that he re-entered a monastery (it is not clear whether this is the same monastery as before) after learning of the death of his former abbot, and that he placed the woman in a convent of virgins.

Ch. 11 is a short coda which summarises the moral of the narrative: monastic chastity needs to be preserved in all circumstances. Jerome in his role as chronicler emphasises the need for Malchus' story to be told to successive generations for their edification.

1.2 Map of the region where the VM is set



This map is based on maps 3, 67, and 101 of the Barrington Atlas, with additional information from maps 15a and 15b of the *Atlas of the Early Christian World*, ed. Van der Meer and Mohrmann (1958).

1.3. Date and circumstances of composition

Jerome wrote the *VM* at Bethlehem (Kelly 1975: 170). The *terminus ante quem* is evident from the mention of the *VM* in Jerome's catalogue of his own work at *Vir. ill.* 135. The *Vir. ill.* is a conspectus of Christian writers and their works which is dated to 392/3 (Kelly 1975: 174). The *terminus post quem* is more difficult to establish. In the first chapter Jerome claims to be writing after a long silence (*qui diu tacui*, 2.1, with note). He had come to Bethlehem in 386 (Kelly 1975: 116) after leaving Rome because of the hostility he faced there (Kelly 1975: 107–15, cf. below), but it seems from the list of his works at *Vir. ill.* 135.3–4 that he had continued to produce biblical commentaries and other works before writing the *VM*.¹ Another internal indication is the reference to his friend, Evagrius of Antioch, as *papa* (2.1, with note). If, as seems the overwhelmingly probable interpretation, *papa* means 'bishop', Evagrius must have been consecrated by the time the *VM* was completed. He was illegally ordained bishop of Antioch by the schismatic bishop Paulinus (Theod. *HE* 5.23.2–4, with Kelly 1975: 170n.) in 388 or shortly afterwards, and he lived until c. 393/4 (*PLRE* 1:286, Rebenich 1992: 74). In consequence, the *VM* must have been composed no earlier than 388 and no later than 393. Furthermore, there is evidence suggesting that Jerome derives some of the details of the descriptions from Ammianus' *Res Gestae* (see pp. 29–30 below), including the last book of the work, which should probably be dated to 390/91 (Cameron, forthcoming). If this

¹ Kelly (1975: 141–67) assigns the following works to this period: the translation of Didymus' *De spiritu sancto*; a translation of Origen's homilies on Luke's gospel; commentaries on the Pauline letters to Philemon, Galatians, Ephesians, and Titus, and on Ecclesiastes; the *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum*; the translation of Eusebius' *Onomasticon*; the *Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesim*; and a substantial part of his translations of and commentaries on the Old Testament. This is deduced from the list at *Vir. ill.* 135.

connection is valid, which looks likely, it is sensible to assume that the *VM* was composed not long before the *terminus ante quem*, i.e. between 391 and 393.

Jerome's departure from Rome was partly due to the gossip surrounding his relationship with a circle of aristocratic ascetic women, especially with the widow Paula and her daughters Blesilla, who died in 384 (Kelly 1975: 98) after adopting a strenuous regime of fasting and self-mortification (cf. *Jer. Ep.* 39), and Julia Eustochium, who dedicated herself to life-long virginity and was the addressee of Jerome's treatise on virginity in *Ep.* 22, dated to early 384 (Kelly 1975: 100). Paula and Eustochium followed Jerome to Bethlehem, where Paula funded two monasteries, one for men, headed by Jerome, and one for women, over which she herself, and after her death Eustochium, presided. De Vogüé (1991–2007: 2.79–83) takes this situation as background for interpreting the *VM* as a *roman à clef*: the depiction of the chaste cohabitation of Malchus and the woman is designed to provide a defensive parallel for Jerome's *copula spiritus* with Paula.

1.4 Dramatic date

There are two main temporal layers in the narrative of the *VM*. The framing action of ch. 2 takes place during Jerome's sojourn with Evagrius near Antioch in the early to mid-370s (Kelly 1975: 36–8). The inset narrative covers Malchus' life from early adulthood to incipient old age. The internal clue for dating this inset action is provided by Malchus' mention of Sabinianus, *dux Mesopotamiae* (10.2 with note), at the conclusion of his adventures. Sabinianus is known from Ammianus as *magister militum per Orientem*. Shahîd (1984b: 285) concludes that if Sabinianus was not yet *magister militum*,

a position which is listed in the *Notitia Dignitatum* (Or. I.6. VII Seeck p. 19–22) but only *dux Mesopotamiae* (an inferior rank: *Notitia dignitatum* Or. I. 47; XXXVI Seeck pp. 77–79) at the time of Malchus' arrival, the dramatic date of this episode must be earlier than 359. This would date Malchus' capture to the 340s.

1.5 Purpose

It has long been noted that the term 'saint's life', if applied to the *VM*, is misleading. Berschin (1986–2004: 1.144), for instance, argues that the *VM* is only a monk's biography, designed as an advertisement for the monastic life, not a eulogy of Malchus himself. This judgement is borne out by the first-person narrative and by Malchus' admissions of his errors on the path of monasticism and by his constant need for guidance: from his abbot at 3.6, from the woman at 6.7, and from the ants at 7.2. Except in his extreme old age, when the inhabitants of Maronias are in awe of him and the woman (2.3 *omnes uoce consona sanctos et Deo placitos et mira nescio quae respondebant*), Malchus does not qualify as a holy man in the sense established by Brown (1971): his monastic devotion is shaken more than once, and he is never the conductor of any unambiguous miracles. If the *VM* is concerned with monastic life rather than the more transcendental aspects of sainthood, it is even more necessary to contextualise the specific features of monasticism which it presents.

The authorial epilogue claims that the function of the *VM* is to encourage a monastic audience to persevere in their commitment to chastity:

haec ego uobis narraui senex, et castis historiam castitatis expono. uirgines uirginitatem custodire exhortor. uos narrate posteris, ut sciant inter gladios et inter deserta et bestias pudicitiam numquam esse captiuam, et hominem Christo deditum posse mori, non posse superari.

The versions of chastity explored in the work, however, are more complex than this moral may suggest. Three models of chastity are presented, and in contrast to other Christian texts (see note on 3.1 *pudicitiam*: e.g. Tert. *Ex. Cast.* 1.4–5) there is no obvious hierarchy established between them.

The first model is that to which Malchus aspires in the first half of the *VM*, uncompromised virginity. He practises this ideal first in a cenobitic monastery (ch. 3), and after his abduction as a solitary shepherd in the desert.

The second model is exemplified by the woman. She is married but loses her husband: he is presumed to be still alive, but he is not seen or heard of. The woman learns to appreciate the value of sexual abstinence during her captivity and refuses to remarry. In this regard she may be compared to the widowed Roman noblewomen whom Jerome befriended in Rome, notably Paula and Marcella, who were in no position to object to their first marriage but exercised their choice in refusing to marry again.

The third model is that of non-sexual partnership between a man and a woman. There are precedents for this in the Apocryphal Acts of Thomas (11–16) and in the story of Amun of Nitria (in Palladius' *Historia Lausiaca* ch.8).² In both of these stories a couple decide on their wedding day to abstain from intercourse while living together. The difference to the *VM* is that in the two other stories both partners are supposed to be

² The *Hist. Laus.* was composed c. 420 (Wellhausen 2003: 1) but the stories which it collects had been current for some time. Amun founded the monastery at Nitria in 338: Finn (2009: 115), cf. *Hist. Laus.* 7.6.

virgins, whereas Malchus' woman has already been married (see above). In practice, this chaste cohabitation (termed *syneisaktism*) was difficult to control, and it was often attacked: Finn (2009: 86–115) gives an overview of the debates which were associated with it. Diem (2005: 91) argues that in the *VM* Jerome runs counter to current monastic habits of warning against the dangers of women by developing a programmatic basis for the concept of chaste marriage ('die programmatische Basis für das Konzept der keuschen Ehe').

The versions of chastity have implications for the institutional manifestation of the monastic life. The three main versions of ascetic lifestyles are outlined and evaluated in *Jer. Ep.* 22.34–6. While cenobitic and anchoritic lifestyles are both commended, the third, called *remnuoth* (*Jer. Ep.* 22.34.1), in which small groups of ascetics live together unsupervised, is denounced (cf. Goehring 1999: 22 for a differentiated interpretation of this criticism). The contrasting evaluation in the *VM* may be ascribed to the different aims of the text. *Ep.* 22 is addressed to Eustochium, a girl who has dedicated herself to life-long virginity. She does not know the temptations of sex, and for this reason either complete solitude or a watchful, hierarchically organised community would both be reasonably certain to ensure that she is protected from these temptations as far as possible. In a small household, especially one composed of both genders, this discipline is much less clearly enforceable. By contrast, Malchus is past his prime (*iam incanescente capite*, *VM* 6.4) when he makes his pact with the woman, and the woman's conversion to chastity is a decision informed by her experience of marriage. Furthermore, their cohabitation is perhaps justified by the high degree of duress under which they formed their bond.

Another traditional requirement for monastic life is poverty, based on Christ's dictum at Mt. 19:21: *si uis perfectus esse uade uende quae habes et da pauperibus et habebis thesaurum in caelo et ueni sequere me*. It is not surprising that questions of property and entitlement are also important in the VM. Malchus' parents oppose his decision to be celibate because they want an heir for the family estate (3.1); Malchus resists this pressure, but leaves the monastery in order to administer his inheritance after his father's death (3.5). In doing so he fails to follow the example of Antony, who sold off his inheritance and gave all of the proceeds to the poor (VA 2–3). In the parallel case of Hilarion Jerome points out explicitly that the saint kept nothing for himself (VH 2.6 *nihil sibi omnino reseruans*). Malchus, by contrast, intends to keep some money for his expenses (3.5 *partem in sumptuum meorum solacia reseruarem*).³ As he is abducted, he remarks on the irony that he, the hereditary possessor, is now himself allotted to a Saracen master (4.3 *ego interim longo postliminio hereditarius possessor et sero mei consilii paenitens cum altera muliercula in unius eri seruitutem sortitus uenio*). Finally, he implicitly ascribes the awkward situation of his forced marriage to his desire to see his fatherland again, without explicitly admitting that this was a sin (6.4 *nisi quod forte propterea haec sustineo quia rursum patriam desiderauit*).

In addition to his deficiency in observing the commandment of poverty, Malchus also fails in obedience to his superior at the monastery. Not only does he reject the abbot's scripturally grounded remonstrations (3.6), he even suspects him of impure motives (3.7 *reputans illum non meam utilitatem sed suum solacium quaerere*). In the desert he remembers the abbot's virtue and care (7.1 *coepi ... inter multa monachorum contubernia recordari, maximeque uultum patris mei, qui me erudierat, tenuerat,*

³ On the thematic relationship between the passages see my notes *ad loc*.

perdiderat); but as he comes back from the Saracens' territory, his abbot has died (10.3 *iam abbas ille meus dormierat in Domino*), an event which precludes a final reconciliation, at least in the flesh. The issue of obedience is played up significantly in the Greek version of the *VM* (ed. Van den Ven 1900–1901), where Malchus repeatedly dwells on his failure to obey his sainted abbot as the cause of his misfortunes.

The aim of the *VM* as a literary product is without doubt edificatory entertainment, a function of hagiography analysed by Kech (1977) and Huber-Rebenich (1999). The *VM* is not concerned with presenting an unassailably coherent world-view, nor does it labour to connect up all the gaps in the story.⁴ Instead, it uses aspects of Christian doctrine, Roman law, sensationalist literature, exotic settings and vivid language to create an emotionally compelling experience. Thus it contributes to the building of a Christian library. The quality does not quite approach that of Cicero or Virgil, but it is enjoyable and accessible enough; and while it has the potential to distract the easily tempted reader from pagan texts, it could also provide an impulse and a paradigm for appreciating the classics.

⁴ Most notably the discrepancy between Malchus' statement that he separated from the woman at the end of their adventure (10.3 *me monachis reddo; hanc trado uirginibus*) and Jerome's observation of them living together (2.2 *anus quoque in eius contubernio*), which has necessitated much scholarly ingenuity to explain satisfactorily: see commentary *ad locc.* and Burrus (2004: 38–9).

2. INFLUENCES ON THE LITERARY FORM AND TEXTURE OF THE VM

2.1 Earlier hagiography

Jerome's hagiographical work as a whole was unquestionably inspired by Athanasius's⁵ *Vita Antonii* (VA), which was translated from Greek into Latin twice soon after its publication, probably in 356 (Barnes 2010: 160). The earlier translation is by an anonymous author, the other by Jerome's friend Evagrius⁶. Both of Jerome's other saints' lives, the *Vita Pauli* (VP) and *Vita Hilarionis* (VH) engage polemically with Athanasius' work. The VP purports to prove the existence of an earlier and superior founder of monasticism, acknowledged by Antony himself, while the VH narrates the life of an outstanding disciple of Antony. It is reasonable to assume that the VA had some influence on the VM, even if it is not directly expressed.

While the VA had the first great impact in the Western Empire, it was not itself without predecessors. Palladius' *Historia Lausiaca* and Rufinus' *Historia Monachorum* were written several decades later (after the VM), but the local saints whose stories they collect belong to the same generation as Antony (cf. p. 18 above on Amun). According to Reitzenstein (1906: 60) the VA is only comprehensible if an audience's familiarity with this type of stories was presupposed; furthermore, the origins of the VP and VM can also be assumed to belong with this kind of material (Reitzenstein 1906: 63).

⁵ There is a degree of controversy about Athanasius' authorship: see e.g. Cameron (2000: 75), with further bibliography. Whatever the truth, Jerome clearly treated Athanasius as the author: see VP 12.2, where Paul asks for the cloak which Athanasius had given to Antony, a passage which has been unequivocally interpreted as literary-programmatic.

⁶ On Evagrius cf. above and comment on ch. 2; 8.2 *inuadimus iter* with note. His translation has been edited by Bertrand 2005 and must have been completed before 373/4: Rebenich (1992: 60–1).

2.2 Pagan and/or secular genres

Jerome was educated by the renowned grammarian Aelius Donatus and frequently boasts of his wide reading. For example, at *C. Ruf.* 1.16 (lines 26–31) he reminds his former classmate of some of their school books:

puto quod puer legeris Aspri in Vergilium ac Sallustium commentarios, Vulcatii in orationes Ciceronis, Victorini in dialogos eius, et in Terentii comoedias praeceptoris mei Donati, aequae in Vergilium, et aliorum in alios, Plautum uidelicet, Lucretium, Flaccum, Persium atque Lucanum.

The conflict between Jerome's attachment to pagan Latin literature and Christian devotion has often been discussed, especially with reference to his dream, recounted in *Ep.* 22.30 (written in 384: Adkin 2003: 1; the dream is dated to the early 370s),⁷ that he was punished for preferring Cicero to the Bible and promised to stop reading the pagan classics. Rufinus later alleges that Jerome perjured himself and continued to read and quote pagan authors (*Ruf. Ap.* 2.7), and even taught classical literature to children at elementary school in Bethlehem (*Ruf. Ap.* 2.11). But Adkin (2003: 283) argues against Rufinus' polemical interpretation by emphasising that when he awakes (i.e. outside the dream) Jerome only claims to spend more effort on the Bible than he had previously expended on the classics. On the basis of the traditional interpretation, Hagendahl (1958: 89–328, 1974) investigates Jerome's quotation habits. He follows Pease (1919) in concluding (1958: 323) that Jerome abstained from reading pagan literature for about fifteen years, starting to count from 374. According to Cavallera's dating of the *VM* to 386 (1922: 2.156), accepted by Hagendahl, its composition would have fallen towards the end of this period; but a date in the early 390s (see p. 15 above for the argument) makes it

⁷ AD 374 according to Kaster (1988: 81).

likely that Jerome had resumed his classical reading around the time of the composition – if indeed he had ever ceased. A recent renewal of acquaintance with the pagan Latin classics could be related to the statement at *VM* 1.2 that he was trying to scrape the rust off his tongue (*cupio ... ueluti quandam rubiginem linguae abstergere*), as Hagendahl (1958: 323) argues:

‘When he burst into literary activity, he had for many years been silent before the public. His tongue was corroded by rust, as he says [sc. in the *VM*]; he had ruined his style, *omnem sermonis elegantiam et Latini eloquii uenustatem*, by learning Hebrew, by desisting from reading the classics, by the necessity of dictating instead of writing’,

referring to Jerome’s claim in the preface to *In Gal.* 3 (c. 387–9 according to Cavallera 1922: 2.156). In any case the *VM* is shot through with phraseology from different classical sources, even if it avoids explicit quotations; not all of these are recognised as classical allusions by Hagendahl. Furthermore, it seems unnecessary to make too rigid a distinction between ‘unconscious’ reminiscences and ‘conscious’ allusions: Jerome’s literary style as a whole is irrevocably determined by his reading of classical Latin literature.

2.2.1 The novel

The fictional element is very pronounced in the *VM*. Fuhrmann (1976: 65) in his quest for an appropriate generic category for the *VM* labels it a foreshortened pastiche of the ancient novel (‘ein stark verkürzter Abklatsch des Liebesromans’).⁸ Firstly, there are

⁸ For the structural constraints of the erotic novel and the roots of its sexual ethics in New Comedy cf. Lowe (2000: 225). The increasing sophistication of narratological analysis of the ancient novel since Fuhrmann’s article means that mapping hagiography onto these new models of ancient fiction will require a major theoretical effort, beyond the scope of this commentary.

many thematic parallels between the novel and the *VM*. The stereotypical plot of a novel involves family conflict, journeys, abduction by bandits, sexual temptation, hair-raising last-minute escapes from certain death and the like. Most of these elements are essential to each of the five Greek novels which are extant in their entirety: *Chaereas and Callirhoe* by Chariton; the *Ephesiaka* by Xenophon of Ephesus; *Cleitophon and Leucippe* by Achilles Tatius; *Daphnis and Chloe* by Longus; and the *Aethiopica* by Heliodorus. They are similarly prominent in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, and at least some of them are still detectable in Petronius' fragmentary *Satyrical*. All of the themes mentioned are of structural importance to the *VM* also. The materialistically motivated opposition of Malchus' parents to his monastic vocation at 3.1 is not dissimilar to Cleitophon's father arranging a marriage while his son is in love with a different woman at Ach. Tat. 2.12.1, or to the prudential plans of Chloe's foster mother at Longus 3.25 to give her to a wealthy suitor and Daphnis' foster father's hopes of a better match than Chloe for Daphnis at 3.30.5. These family conflicts usually lead to the protagonists' departure from home, as in the case of Malchus; Xen. *Eph.* 1.10.3 even has an artificially motivated journey, to kick-start the necessary adventures despite harmonious family relationships after a successful wedding. Malchus' abduction by the Saracens at 4.2–3 corresponds e.g. to the rescue-cum-kidnap of Callirhoe by pirates at Chariton 1.9, as well as Charite's captivity among the robbers of Apul. *Met.* 4.23. Threats to the protagonists' chastity and even to their lives are commonplace tools to maintain the tension of a novelistic plot: a scene of attempted forcible seduction is imagined e.g. at Ach. Tat. 6.18, but Leucippe resists it more successfully than Malchus opposes his master's coercion to marry his fellow slave at *VM* 6.3. As will be argued in the commentary on *VM* 9.10, the second cave episode shares some features of the 'chastity test' familiar from e.g. Heliod. 10.7.7–10.9.5. Other minor

points of contact between the ancient novel and the *VM* will be noted in the commentary, especially on ch. 6.

From these thematic parallels it seems likely that Jerome had some knowledge of the basic features of the Greek novel, even if he had not read many non-Christian Greek texts: Hagendahl (1958: 93–4) argues that Jerome’s ‘references to Greek poets and philosophers are seldom or never founded on first-hand knowledge’, on the basis of Rufinus’ observation at *Ap.* 2.9: *ante enim quam conuerteretur, mecum pariter et litteras Graecas et linguam penitus ignorabat* and Jerome’s response that he did not claim acquaintance with Greek texts but with their contents at *C. Ruf.* 3.39 (lines 23–4): *de dogmatibus eorum, non de libris locutus sum, quae potui in Cicerone, Bruto ac Seneca discere*; cf. Weingarten (2005: 83). In any case, narrative themes and motifs of this kind are very liable to be transmitted in loose oral form as well as in written prose. It is not impossible that Jerome knew Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses*: Jerome mentions Apuleius (as a magician rather than an author) at *Tract. Psalm.* 81.8 (CCL 78 p. 89 line 230), and there is a close verbal similarity to *Apul. Flor.* 17 at *VM* 1.2 (see note *ad loc.*, *et ueluti quandam rubiginem linguae abstergere*). Knowledge of the *Metamorphoses* may be inferred from his references to ‘Milesian tales’ (*C. Ruf.* 1.17, lines 56–9 *quasi non cirratorum turba Milesiarum in scholis figmenta decantent, et testamentum suis Bessorum cachinno membra concutiat, atque inter scurrarum epulas nugae istiusmodi frequententur*; *In Is.* 12 praef. *nullus tam imperitus scriptor est, qui lectorem non inueniat similem sui; multoque pars maior est Milesias fabellas reuoluentium, quam Platonis libros*), which seems to recall Apuleius’ description of the *Met.* at 1.1: *ego tibi sermone isto Milesio uarias fabulas conseram*; cf. SHA *Clod. Albin.* 12.12 *Milesias Punicas Apulei sui et ludicra litteraria*. Although Milesian tales are also a separate genre of erotic narrative derived

from the *Milesiaca* by Aristides of Miletus,⁹ Jerome is more likely to have come across Apuleius' literary version. Weingarten (2005: 81–163) uses this possible connection to interpret the *VH* by comparing it to the *Met.*; but the strength of these connections has been doubted by Adkin (2011), who argues that none of the parallels cited by Weingarten necessarily presupposes a direct dependency of Jerome on Apuleius' work.

Another point of contact with the novel lies in the framing of the *VM*: the dialogical opening which leads to a first-person autobiographical narrative can be paralleled in Ach. Tat. 1.2,¹⁰ and, in combination with the motif of a narrative satisfying strong curiosity (*VM* 2.3 *curiose* with note), in Apul. *Met.*, e.g. 2.1: Kech (1977: 159–6) argues that the *curiositas* motif is taken directly from Apuleius. From the framed first-person narrative results the complexity that the (old) narrator and the (younger) protagonist of the story are in some sense identical. In this commentary the distinction between them is not always made explicit: all such references should be clear from the context. Fuhrmann (1976: 60–2) analyses the instances where the narrator intrudes into the narrative with remarks and exclamations: e.g. 3 *uae mihi misero*, 6.1 *o nihil umquam eqs.* The reminders inside the inset narrative of the conversational situation encourage the reader to remain aware of the fact that Malchus' *Vita* is thus framed.

⁹ This work is lost except for one word (Harpokr. Δ 23 Keaney); the author is presumed to have lived in the second century BC. References: Plut. *Crass.* 32.6; Ov. *Trist.* 2.413–14 *iunxit Aristides Milesia crimina secum, / pulsus Aristides nec tamen urbe sua est.*; 443–4.

¹⁰ Cf. Šubrt (2008). The framing in Ach. Tat. itself alludes to Plat. *Phaedr.* 229–30 (Anderson in Reardon 1989: 177 n.6).

2.2.2 Historiography

In its superficial form the genre of the ancient novel is most closely related to historiography.¹¹ The *VM* likewise gestures at historical respectability: in the first chapter it claims to be a propaedeutic for a ‘larger history’ of the church (*historia latior*, 1.2; cf. above); in the last sentence (ch. 11) the narrative is summarised as a *historia castitatis*. While the structure of the *VM* is very different from historical works, there are a number of details and phrases shared with Ammianus (the possibility of Jerome’s dependence on Ammianus is discussed below in a separate section), as well as phrasal borrowings from Sallust, Livy, and Tacitus. These points of contacts should not be taken to imply that the *VM* is itself a form of historiography. History is not related by a character in the first person; furthermore, the ethnographical material which Jerome shares with Ammianus, for example, is presented by the latter in an excursus, typical of the genre of history, but it is inserted descriptively into the main narrative itself in the *VM*.

Sallust is one of the two main prose authors whose work was studied at school in the fourth century (cf. Jer. *C. Ruf.* 1.16, line 27, quoted above), and Jerome had a high regard for him: Sallust is quoted as *nobilis historicus* at *In Eccl.* 5.9–10 (CCL 72 p. 295 line 129); cf. Hagendahl (1958: 292–4). Sallust is frequently cited throughout Jerome’s work. His theory of decline (Sall. *Cat.* 12.1) is echoed at *VM* 1.3 *potentia quidem et diuitiis maior, sed uirtutibus minor facta sit* (see note); *VM* 6.2 *quo fidum sibi magis faceret* appears to echo Sall. *Cat.* 11.5 and 14.6; and it seems that Sall. *Iug.* 90–1 is one of

¹¹ Cf. e.g. Reardon (1989: 6): ‘a structure apparently based on exciting historiography’; p. 8: ‘romantic prose fiction was not intellectually respectable, but historiography, being information, was, and perhaps a veneer of history might be thought to render such fiction respectable’; Hägg (1993: 111–14); Holzberg (1995: 35–7).

the sources for the description of the crossing of the river with the help of inflated animal skins in *VM* 8.

Tacitus is only mentioned once in Jerome's corpus according to Lübeck (1872: 220), at *In Zachar.* 3.14 *Cornelius quoque Tacitus, qui post Augustum usque ad mortem Domitiani uitas Caesarum triginta uoluminibus exarauit*. Tacitean phrases in the *VM* are less obvious and may have come from other places. Possible reminiscences include 3.6 *prouolutus genibus* (with note *ad loc.*), cf. 6.7 *prouoluta pedibus*; see also 6.5 *ipse mihi ero et persecutor et martyr* with note, 7.2 *egerebant humum* with note.

Jerome and Ammianus

This commentary notes a number of instances in which the text of the *VM* closely echoes that of Ammianus' *Res Gestae*: the habits of the Saracens (*VM* 4 and 5, for which cf. *Amm.* 14.4), and especially the mention of half-raw meat as nomad food (*VM* 4.3), ascribed by Ammianus to the Huns at 31.2.3 (on the details see the commentary). The detail of the half-raw meat recurs in Jerome's later *Adv. Iov.* (dated to AD 393: Kelly 1975: 182, Cavallera 1922: 2.157). Maenchen-Helfen (1955: 384–5) argues for Jerome's dependence for this detail in the *Adv. Iov.* on Ammianus. Ammianus was almost certainly the source for Jerome's description of the Huns at *In Is.* 3.7.21–2, composed in 408: Maenchen-Helfen (1955: 387–91). Cameron (1971: 259) defends Maenchen-Helfen's argument against Syme (1968: 23) by pointing out that the conventional date of 395–6 accepted for the later books of Ammianus need not be correct: the announcement in Libanius *Ep.* 1063 Foerster, a letter dated to 392 by Seeck (1906: 202, 462–3), that more books of Ammianus' *Res Gestae* are to be written may refer not to books 27–31 as

conventionally assumed but to a different part which is not extant. It is therefore possible that what we have of Ammianus predates the *Adv. Iov.* by a large enough interval to enable Jerome to draw on it directly. Cameron has recently reinforced this argument for dating the last books of Ammianus to 390/1 in a forthcoming article. Among other evidence, he cites *VM* 4.3, where the same detail of half-raw meat on which Maenchen-Helfen's argument turns is used of a different nomadic tribe, not the Huns but the Saracens. As discussed above, the *VM* must be dated to between 388 and 393; if it is assigned to the later part of this period, it is not unreasonable to conclude that Jerome did indeed depend on Ammianus for this information both in the *VM* and the *Adv. Iov.*

Furthermore, Rohrbacher (2006) has made a case for a thematic allusion to Ammianus' use of the ages of man (14.6.2–6) at *VM* 1.3 and noted a phrasal similarity of *VM* 1.2 *ab aduentu Saluatoris usque ad nostram aetatem, id est, ab apostolis usque ad huius temporis faecem* with Amm. 31.9.6 *a principatu Caesaris Neruae ... ad usque Valentis interitum* (see notes *ad locc.*). To this attractive but speculative set of observations may be added the close parallel between Amm. 20.5.5 *exsequias honestauimus celebri potius laude quam luctu* and *VM* 7.2 *hae luctu celebri corpora defuncta deportabant*: there is no other instance in the LLT-A where the adjective *celeber* is combined with *luctus* in the ablative.

One possible way of dismissing the need to postulate a dependency of Jerome on Ammianus is by arguing that they may have had a source in common which is now lost. The best such candidate is the so-called Ennmannsche Kaisergeschichte (on this work see Burgess 1993, 1995, and especially 2005); but I have not found any suggestion that this text deals with Saracens or with tribes eating half-raw meat. A third parallel from the Talmud is pointed out by Weingarten (2005: 189–90): see my note *ad loc.*

2.2.3 Epic

As with history, so the Greek novel is also in dialogue with epic.¹² In addition to the fundamental structural relationships with epic which the *VM* probably inherited from novelistic forms of literature, it explicitly refers to prominent themes of Virg. *Aen.* 4, as has long been recognised: the ‘marriage’ in the cave at *VM* 6 relates to the problematic wedding of Dido and Aeneas at *Aen.* 165–72 (cf. in particular Weingarten 2005: 171–74 for a summary of the discussion; also Pease 1935: 205, de Vogüé 1991–2007: 2.91), while Malchus’ observation of an ants’ nest at *VM* 7 echoes in close detail the simile at *Aen.* 4.402–7. Virgil’s status in fourth-century elite education, and especially the emotional impact of *Aen.* 4, are memorably expressed by Augustine, *Conf.* 1.13:

tenere cogebat Aeneae nescio cuius errores oblitus errorum meorum et plorare Didonem mortuam, quia se occidit ab amore, cum interea me ipsum in his a te morientem, Deus, uita mea, siccis oculis ferrem miserrimus.

I was forced to remember the wanderings of some Aeneas, forgetful of my own mistakes, and to weep over Dido’s death because she killed herself on account of love, while in these matters I carried myself away from you, O God, as you, my life, were dying, with dry eyes, although I was the most wretched.

Jerome’s own appreciation of Virgil is confirmed by Ziolkowski and Putnam (2008: 72) and elsewhere.

Lübeck and Hagendahl note three verbal echoes of Virgil in the *VM*: 8.1 *inter spem et metum dubii*, 8.5 *late uagantium Saracenorum*, and 9.1 *mens mali praesaga*. The first and last of these three are based on uses which were imitated by other authors on whose writings Jerome may also have drawn. The *VM* has a number of other Virgilian phrases (all discussed further in the commentary *ad locc.*). Some of them were current

¹² Hägg (1983: 110): ‘[t]he novel is the genuine heir of epic.... The *Odyssey* is the prototype of the Greek novel.’ Historians also drew on epic: for Tacitus’ use of Virgil see e.g. Woodman (2009: 1–7).

more generally in post-Virgilian texts, e.g. 4.2 *pendebant ex umero* (cf. p. 55 below for the preposition *ex*); 6.4 *sic fatus*; 7.1 *mecum uoluere*, from Virgilian *secum uolutare*; 7.2 *uenturae hiemis memores*. Less commonly recycled are the following expressions: 7.2 *sub fasce*; 8.2 *inuadimus iter*, a version of Virgil's *inuadere uiam*; 10.2 *rei ordinem pandimus*, which seems to be a Lucretian phrase mediated by Virgil.

2.2.4 Comedy

Considering its associations with frivolity, the high status of comedy (*fabula palliata*) in postclassical Roman education is noteworthy. One reason is the popularity of Old Latin in the Second Sophistic period: archaisers such as Fronto and Gellius combed Plautus and Terence for striking words and phrases which could be used in oratory.¹³ Apuleius not only uses comic vocabulary but also evokes comic plots and structure.¹⁴ Lexical borrowings from comedy are also found in Jerome's contemporaries Ammianus and Augustine.¹⁵

As Jerome's reading list (*C. Ruf.* 1.16, lines 26–31, quoted above) shows, Plautus and Terence belonged to the authors who were read at school with the help of commentaries. Plautus, furthermore, features prominently in Jerome's account of his

¹³ May (2006: 27–44).

¹⁴ May (2006: 39): 'Apuleius goes further than Fronto and Gellius: instead of making the archaizing of language his ultimate goal, he utilizes it to create his own idiosyncratic style and literary texture. He integrates his archaizing choices into his text, and quotes pre-classical literature as models in order to make a point which is not linguistic; thus he is able to refer to Plaut. *Mil.* 4 in *Socr.* 145 as an *exemplum*, and not as a good source for a choice word.'

¹⁵ On the use of comedy by educated writers as a source for colloquialisms which are not necessarily current any more see Burton (2007: 56 n. 41). Many of Burton's observations on comedy in *Aug. Conf.* (2007: 35–62) apply to the *VM* as well.

dream at *Ep.* 22.30.2 (cf. above), where he lists a weakness for this author among the errors which led to this vision: *post noctium crebras uigilias, post lacrimas, quas mihi praeteritorum recordatio peccatorum ex imis uisceribus eruebat, Plautus sumebatur in manibus*. The temptation is attributed to the superior style of the pagan authors compared to the Bible: Jerome's reading of Plautus was motivated by appreciation for the comic poet's use of language. In view of this high regard Hagendahl (1958: 270) notes with surprise 'that there are no traces of Plautine influence in the writings until AD 393'; but Hagendahl uses a relatively high threshold for diagnosing such an influence and would not take into account the individual word choices found in the *VM*.

There are some important differences between the styles of Plautus and Terence and their respective relations with the elusive category of 'actual spoken language', and these differences become important for their reception. Thus Burton (2007: 39) suggests, on the basis of Hagendahl's survey of citations (1958), that Augustine found Terence more congenial than Plautus. Holford-Strevens (2003: 215) points out that Plautus, on the other hand, was preferred by Aulus Gellius and 'relished as a master of Latin'. To put things crudely, we can perhaps proceed on the assumption that classicising authors who were concerned with the golden mean were drawn to Terence, whereas adventurous archaisers looked to Plautus for inspiration.

Plautus' corpus, on the other hand, and not the work of Terence, is listed by Löfstedt (1911: 12) among the sources for research into genuine linguistic usage ('für die Erforschung des tatsächlichen Sprachgebrauchs'). The overlap between Plautus and late subliterate Latin is likely to result from the fact that they both reflect lower sociolects. See also Hofmann (ed. Ricottilli 2003: 93), where Plautus is classed as more 'popular' and Terence more 'refined'. But there is a wide range of registers in Plautus, with

completely artificial language in the cantica. It is remarkable that in Jerome's confession Plautus, who among pagan classics comes closest to the lack of polish which Jerome bemoans in biblical Latin, is singled out to make the contrast between the Bible and classical literature.

Archaisms and colloquialisms as stylistic entities are discussed below in the section on style; here we are concerned with the possible literary contexts for echoes of comic language in the *VM*. Firstly, we should note the following features which are not obviously comic in content but whose colour and verve made them suitable for archaic drama and caused them to be avoided by classical authors. The phrase *uae misero mihi* (3.7) is found eleven times in Plautus and five times in Terence; it disappears during the classical period. In the same self-pitying vein, the question *huccine miser servatus sum?* 'Have I been saved for this?' at 6.4 is a somewhat clichéd-sounding tragic or mock-tragic sentiment. For the affectively charged word *huccine*, its formation and history of usage see the commentary *ad loc.* The closest comic parallel to Jerome's phrase, combining *-cine* form and *miser*, is Ter. *Heaut.* 1029 *miseram me, hocine quaesisti obsecro?* While the affective force of these forms was originally colloquial (cf. Kißel 1990: 389), in Cicero and Livy they occur only in highly stylised passages.

In many cases the use of comic vocabulary is not merely archaising and not even merely emotive. Certain words occur in comedy because they refer to persons, things, or facts which are intrinsically at home in a comic plot. Their use by Jerome in a narrative which involves comic stereotypes such as a brutal and obtuse master and a wily slave suggests that these words are taken directly from his reading of comedy, rather than through a tradition of excerpting and glossing. The following items are likely to be actual comic language, not just learned reminiscences of outdated linguistic choices.

muliercula (4.3), ‘little woman’, sometimes pejoratively ‘prostitute’, is found seventeen times in comedy, e.g. Plaut. *Poen.* 675 *ut lenoni surruperem mulierculam*. It does not appear to be suppressed in classical authors as such, but it is less frequent and usually found in contemptuous contexts. It may be relevant that this diminutive is used only for Malchus’ first encounter with the woman. When he comes to know her mind later in the story, she is referred to (more respectfully?) as *mulier*. But, as the commentary notes, the word is also biblical, from a much-cited passage which has other parallels with the *VM* (2 Tim. 3:6). The use of *muliercula* seems to be one of the instances where pagan literary associations (here: comedy) converge with biblical usage which was determined by independent developments. The result is a rich and complex frame of reference.

erus (4.3, 6.2), ‘master of a slave’: together with the feminine *era* the word is found about 350 times in extant comedy. By the end of the Republic it was archaic: in classical times it is found mainly in poetry, especially in Catullus (4.19, 63.18, 63.92, 64.395, 68.76, 68.114, 68.136), once in Virgil, at *Aen.* 3.324, seven times in Horace, at *C.* 2.18.32, *Ep.* 1.1.85, 1.16.2, *Sat.* 2.2.129, 2.3.265 (in a close paraphrase of Ter. *Eun.* 57–8), 2.8.16, and 2.8.43. In classical prose it is used rarely outside quotations, e.g. *Rhet. Her.* 4.63 and Cic. *Rep.* 1.64 *non eros nec dominos appellant eos quibus iuste paruerunt* (put into the mouth of Scipio, i.e. very probably a deliberate archaism). Archaising authors have it occasionally, e.g. Gell. 6.17.12 in a quotation of Plaut. *Asin.* 283, and Apuleius, who also uses comic language, at *Met.* 1.22 *erum tuum offenderim* and 3.15 *scies erae meae miranda secreta*. It is not found anywhere else in Jerome’s corpus.

furcifer (9.8), a very rude insult of a slave (see Dickey 2002: 171): nineteen uses in comedy contrast with only eight others before Apuleius, in Horace’s *Satires*, Cicero, Seneca the Elder, Petronius, and Pliny the Younger.

decrepitus (2.2), used of an old person, occurs seven times in comedy and only once, in a context of exaggeration, in Cicero (*Tusc.* 1.94, about a rapidly ageing mayfly). It is remarkably frequent in Seneca the Younger (four times, e.g. *Ep.* 12.3) and, less surprisingly, also occurs in Petronius (45.11) and Apuleius (*Ap.* 70, *Met.* 8.19).

2.2.5 Tragedy

One extensive adaptation of Sen. *Troad.* 510–12 (*fata si miseros iuuant, / habes salutem; fata si uitam negant, / habes sepulcrum*) at *VM* 9.2 (*si iuuat Dominus miseros habemus salutem; si despicit peccatores habemus sepulcrum*) has often been noted: see commentary *ad loc.* *VM* 9.6 *exite, dominus uocat* may also contain a reminiscence of Sen. *Thyest.* 1002–3 *adeste, nati, genitor infelix uocat, / adeste* (see note); and it is perhaps noteworthy that Sen. *Thyest.* 958 echoes Virgil's *praesaga mali mens* (*Aen.* 10.843), a phrase which is also adapted at *VM* 9.1 (a 'window reference'? Cf. Thomas 1999: 130 for this term).

2.2.6 Declamation

In the first chapter Jerome claims that he wants to use the *VM* as an exercise for a greater work: 1.2 *prius exerceri cupio*. According to Morales (2007 *ad loc.*) this statement aligns the *VM* with rhetorical exercises,¹⁶ which range from practising synonyms and grammar to the delivery of practice speeches (*declamationes*, subdivided into quasi-forensic *controuersiae* and deliberative *suasoriae*), in which a pupil is trained in drawing a legal or political argument from a fictional situation, either mythical or acted out by nameless stock characters: Lausberg *et al.* (1998: 500–501). The correspondences and

¹⁶ See Lausberg (1998: 480); p. 486 for the overlap of *praeexercitamentum* and *declamatio*.

differences between this scholastic-rhetorical universe and comic and novelistic genres are explored by Mal-Maeder (2007).

The relationship between the *VM* and the *narratio* (Lausberg *et al.* 1998: 136ff.) of a declamation is of particular salience because the *VM* contains a quotation from a *declamatio* falsely attributed to Quintilian: 6.1 *sic quoque me latentem inuenit inuidia*, taken verbatim from Ps.-Quint. *Decl. mai.* 13.2. The declamation is put into the mouth of a poor man who prosecutes a rich neighbour for poisoning his bees. The situation seems to offer parallels with the circumstances of both Malchus and the young Jerome of ch. 2: the poor man has a small estate which he labels *agellus* and *possessio*; he wants to live remote from the world; his estate is a kingdom (*regna*; the name ‘Malchus’ is explained as ‘Rex’ at 2.2); he subdued the earth with his hands (*terram manibus subegi et difficultatem labore perdomui*, cf. *VM* 3.3 *manu et labore uictum quaeritans*); but it was all no use because envy found him even in his hiding place (all this in 13.2).

It is clear that Jerome thought that the *Declamationes maiores* were genuinely composed by Quintilian. The same line as quoted in the *VM* is explicitly attributed to Quintilian at *Quaest. Hebr.* praef.: *me uero procul ab urbibus, foro, litibus, turbis remotum, sic quoque, ut Quintilianus ait, latentem inuenit inuidia*.¹⁷

Schneider (2000: 616 n. 10) has collected other allusions to the *Declamationes maiores* in Jerome: *Jer. Ep.* 14.2.1 (*quid facis in paterna domo, delicate miles? ubi uallum, ubi fossa, ubi hiems acta sub pellibus?*) echoes Ps-Quint. *Decl. mai.* 3.16 (*nemo*

¹⁷ Quintilian’s authorship of this phrase was accepted on Jerome’s authority through the Middle Ages, as shown by its use by Abelard (1079–1142) in his autobiography: *qui cum cuncta que poterant in me egissent, omnia cooperari mihi in bonum dolebant; atque ita iuxta illud Jheronimi, “Me procul ab urbibus, foro, litibus, turbis remotum, sic quoque, ut Quintilianus ait, latentem inuenit inuidia”* (*Historia calamitatum*, ed. Monfrin 1967: 94, line 1097).

nostrum recusat itinerum laborem nec iniustum super arma fascem, non aestiui solis ardorem nec sub pellibus actam hiemem); Jer. *Ep.* 14.3.2 (*non est nobis ferreum pectus nec dura praecordia*) recalls Ps. Quint. *Decl. mai.* 10.2 (*namque isti ferreum pectus et dura praecordia*); Jer. *C. Ioannem* 37 (*in portu, ut dicitur, naufragium*, cf. *C. Ruf.* 3.32, lines 11–12 *in Romano portu naufragium fecit*) very probably looks back to Ps. Quint. *Decl. mai.* 12.23 (*in portu naufragium fecimus*). The following passages contain references to Quintilian by name as an author of declamations: Jer. *Ep. ad Praesidium de cereo paschali* 1:¹⁸ *et ut breuiter signem, puto te Quintiliani controuersiae recordari, in qua pauper causatur dolens ob interitum apum, flores ab impotentissimo diuite uenenatos*;¹⁹ Jer. *In Is.* 8 praef. *qui si flumen eloquentiae et concinnas declamationes desiderant, legant Tullium, Quintilianum, Gallionem, Gabinianum, et ut ad nostros ueniam, Tertullianum, Cyprianum, Minutium, Arnobium, Lactantium, Hilarium*.²⁰

Like the novel, the declamation plays out in a fictional universe, although its parameters are somewhat different from that of the novel.²¹ It also readily absorbs elements from other literary genres, as is proved by the prominence of Virgil, in particular the fourth book of the *Georgics*, in Ps.-Quint. *Decl. mai.* 13 (see Krapinger's 2005 commentary for details).

Jerome's own experience of declamatory practice at school is discussed by Adkin (2003: 3n.), who notes Jerome's account of his nightmares about his rhetorical training in later life at *C. Ruf.* 1.30 (lines 36–40): *nunc cano et recaluo capite saepe mihi uideor in somnis comatulus et sumpta toga ante rhetorem controuersiolam declamare. cumque*

¹⁸ This letter should probably be dated to 384 or later: cf. Cavallera 1922: 1.101–2.

¹⁹ Schneider (2000: 617).

²⁰ Schneider (2000: 619).

²¹ E.g. Mal-Maeder (2007: 117): while the novel inescapably results in a happy ending, declamations are necessarily open-ended: there is no resolution within the texts.

experrectus fuero, gratulor me dicendi periculo liberatum. Adkin interprets the passage as an expression of Jerome's awareness that he was incapable of producing original arguments. I have some doubts whether this is a permissible inference: the polemical setting of the passage in the controversy between Jerome and his former school friend makes it unlikely that Jerome would admit to any weaknesses without an ulterior motive. In either case the passage shows that Jerome had powerful recollections of his schooling in these genres.

2.2.7 Legal Texts

Weingarten (2005: 169–70) argues that Jerome's use of legal concepts should be considered reliable because of his rhetorical training. The most legalistic phrase in the *VM* is 4.3 *longo postliminio hereditarius possessor*: see the notes for the legal context of *postliminium* and *possessor*, as well as some literary uses. Potentially interesting is also the use of *stirps* at 3.1 (with note), a term which can be used technically to determine entitlement to an inheritance.

2.2.8 Technical prose works

In his description of the training for naval battle at *VM* 1.1, Jerome displays knowledge of a technical vocabulary which is quite possibly lifted from a prose treatise on naval warfare. I have compared his description to that of the *Epitoma rei militaris* by his contemporary Vegetius, without meaning to suggest that Vegetius was in fact the source of this knowledge. As Adams (1995:1, on Pelagonius' *Ars Veterinaria*) and Milner (1993: xiv) have pointed out, manuals tended to be re-written and updated as they were

copied, to suit present conditions. It is therefore possible that Jerome knew at least one of the sources of Vegetius' epitome.

Jerome's knowledge of Pliny the Elder's *Naturalis Historia* is documented by Lübeck (1872: 210–12). Hagendahl (1958: 102 n. 9) acknowledges only one parallel (Jer. *Ep.* 8.2.2 and Plin. *NH* 13.70), which he attributes to Varro as a common source. It is not certain that the description of the ants' nest at *VM* 7.2 is directly based on Plin. *NH* 11.108–110 (cf. discussion *ad loc.*), but Pliny is at least representative of a general scientific background of literature on ants.

2.3 Biblical quotations and allusions

The reference to Proverbs 6:6 (*Salomonis ... mittentis*) at *VM* 7.3 is the only explicit citation of another work of literature. There are many other echoes of the Bible, clustered in the abbot's speech at 3.5 (e.g. *reuerti canem ad uomitum suum*, which is from Proverbs 26: 11 *sicut canis qui reuertitur ad uomitum suum sic inprudens qui iterat stultitiam suam*, echoed at 2 Pet. 2:22; see notes *ad locc.*), and in other displays of piety, for example the author's apotropaic *si tamen Dominus uitam dederit* at 1.1 (with note). It is possible that even the name of Malchus is taken from John 18:10: see 2.2 *erat illic senex eqs.*, with note.

An OT narrative which underlies many of the aspects of Malchus' story is that of Joseph at Gen. 37–46 (cf. Weingarten 2005: 175, 177): Joseph is sold to Ishmaelite traders by his brothers (Gen. 37:25–8) and as a servant in Egypt is tempted by the wife of his master Potiphar (Gen. 39:7–12), a situation which may – among many other models – inspire Malchus' crisis at *VM* 6. Joseph, like Malchus, resists temptation and, although unjustly imprisoned, eventually rises to pre-eminence as regent for the Pharaoh. A

reconciliation with his brothers results in the relocation of his whole family to Egypt, in a procession of seventy or seventy-five people (Gen. 46:27, Acts 7:14) which is evoked in the description of Malchus' caravan (4.1, with note; cf. de Vogüé 1991–2007: 2.88 n. 65).

Another story which echoes in Malchus' narrative is the parable of the Prodigal Son (Lk. 15:17–19, 24, 32), who unjustly claims his inheritance while his father is still alive, spends it on a dissolute life, repents of his disobedience and is generously forgiven by his father: cf. *VM* 7.1 *maximeque uultum patris mei eqs.*, with note.

2.4. Summary of literary affiliations

With the one exception of Proverbs 6:6 Jerome never names the source of his phraseology in the *VM*. This contrasts with his use in the other *Vitae* and elsewhere, where he ostentatiously displays his literary knowledge (e.g. *VP* 9.6, which juxtaposes two full lines from Virg. *Aen.* 2.650 and 6.672; *VH* 1.2, where Sallust is cited by name). Pagan literary reminiscences are at least as frequent in the text as biblical allusions. This prominence may be taken negatively as testifying to a certain moral weakness on the part of the author: despite his solemn promise to embrace the Bible and its language, he cannot get himself to avoid classical phraseology when he expresses himself creatively. But it can also be interpreted positively as an attempt to adapt pagan forms for Christian content. Starting with Origen (*In Leviticum homiliae* 7.6 in the Latin translation at *PG* 12.490–1), Christian writers justified their engagement with classical thought and literature by means of an allegorical interpretation of Biblical passages such as Deut. 21:10–13, which permits the marriage of an Israelite to a captive woman from a different ethnic group on provision that her hair be shorn and her nails cut, and Ex. 3:22, 11:2, 12:35, where the Israelites are said to take Egyptian treasures with them on their flight,

treasures which will eventually adorn the tabernacle (Ex. 35–8). The most famous exposition of this interpretation is Aug. *De doct. Christ.* 2.40; see also Jer. *Ep.* 66.8.4, 70.2.5, and for a diachronic exploration of the topos de Lubac (ed. Sebanc 1998: 1.211–24).

3. STYLE

3.1 The language of the VM and its elements

Jerome's linguistic framework of reference is complex. The classical authors whose writings formed the basis of his rhetorical education (see previous section) provided him with formal standards which could not be ignored, and which remained binding for the educated elite. On the other hand, educated Christian writers were wrestling with an obligation to express themselves in a manner which ordinary people could understand. The distance of the Latin of the general population from that of the elite can be perceived only in a small body of written evidence, including inscriptions (cf. e.g. Herman 1991) and ephemeral documents such as the letters of Terentianus (Adams 1977). In written prose, the most important comparandum is the *Peregrinatio* (or *Itinerarium*) *Egeriae*, written between 381 and 384 (Väänänen 1987: 8), i.e. predating the VM by about ten years. Used with an appropriate degree of caution,²² this epistolary diary of a wealthy nun's pilgrimage to the holy places in the Near East reflects important aspects of the spoken language of the fourth century, which was moving towards its Romance continuants. If the *Itin. Eger.* can be taken as an attempt by its author to be as ambitious as possible on the basis of a limited rhetorical education, works like the Sermons of Jerome and Augustine, and in particular Jerome's retranslation and revision

²² The *Itin. Eger.* is not merely a document of contemporary spoken language but also has pretentious elements as well as Biblical imitation. While it undoubtedly exemplifies many non-standard linguistic elements, it also evinces a concern for stylistic correctness (on this dialectic see e.g. Löfstedt 1911: 6; Väänänen 1987: 13 notes 23 and 24 for a collection of positive and negative scholarly appraisals of her cultivation). Spitzer (1949) argues that the language of the *Itin. Eger.* is not just a function of the linguistic environment and the (limited) education of the author but also the result of deliberate generic and stylistic choices; this should probably be recast in an analysis of the pragmatics of the text, since it is hard to maintain that Egeria was concerned with literary effects in the elevated sense. The debate is judiciously summed up by Väänänen (1987: 11–14). Without belittling Egeria's stylistic achievements, there is self-evidently a huge contrast between her language and that of contemporary patristic writers including Jerome.

of the Latin Bible are attempts at toning down their elitist instincts towards the conventions of popular usage.

The difficulties in distinguishing with theoretical precision between ‘literary’ and ‘non-literary’ types of language on the basis of actual use in speech and writing have often been formulated; see now the summaries of Dickey in Dickey and Chahoud (2010: 3–6, 65–8). In linguistic terms, labels such as ‘colloquial’ are in danger of confusing the two distinct categories of ‘register’, which depends on the circumstances of the communication, and ‘sociolect’, which is a function of a speaker’s or writer’s position in society (Clackson 2010: 10–11). While it is impossible to establish firm boundaries between ‘colloquial’ and ‘literary’ use, it is clear that Latin authors had themselves a sense, more or less systematic, of the features appropriate to each *genus dicendi* (Probert and Ferri 2010). The *Rhetorica ad Herennium* defines (4.11) and illustrates (4.12–14) three styles as suitable for oratory, and by extension prose literature more generally (Leeman 1963: 13): *figura grauis*, *figura mediocris*, and *figura extenuata*. The specimen of the lowest of these three, also called the *genus attenuatum* or *humile*, appears to have the greatest stylistic similarities with the VM. This is the oratorical style which is closest to un-premeditated everyday language, while still avoiding stylistic *uitia*: *attenuata est, quae demissa est usque ad usitatissimam puri consuetudinem sermonis*.

In his biblical translations, Jerome’s conscious adaptation of his verbal and stylistic choices is illustrated by his defence for using the ‘wrong’, masculine, gender of *cubitus* (‘ell’) at *In Ezech.* 12.40 (CC 75 pp. 561–2):

illud autem semel monuisse sufficiat: nosse me cubitum et cubita neutrali appellari genere sed, pro simplicitate [et facilitate] intellegentiae uulgiue consuetudine, ponere et genere masculino – non enim curae nobis est uitare sermonum uitia, sed scripturae sanctae obscuritatem quibuscumque uerbis edisserere...

It should be enough to have pointed this out once: I know that *cubitum* and *cubita* belong to the neuter gender, but for the sake of simplicity [and facility] of understanding and the habit of the common people, I use it in the masculine gender as well – for it is not our concern to avoid faults of language but to explain the arcane points of sacred Scripture with any words at all...

Jerome here seems to suggest that he adapts his Latin to the habits of those of lower social status who might be reading or hearing such a translation: he is not trying to employ a more intimate or conversational register, but rather to adjust to a different sociolect. For Christian authors, stylistic simplicity was a requirement with an almost theological dimension, since Christianity claimed to be a religion of humble fishermen.²³

The main justification for the non-standard use of *cubitum* in the passage from *In Ezech.* is clarity. This concern had a practical aspect: in the Christian liturgy the Bible and exegetic material were read out in public, where the ordinary church member had to be able to understand it (Herman 1991: 32 with n. 3, e.g. Lact. *Div. Inst.* 5.1.15, 6.21.5; Jer.

²³ The difficulty which trained rhetoricians had in accepting this simplicity – not only in writing but also in reading – is memorably expressed in Jerome's account of his dream at *Ep.* 22.30. On Augustine's struggle with the aesthetics of the Bible's language see Burton 2007: 112–13 (with further bibliography), discussing *Aug. Conf.* 3.5.9:

itaque institui animum intendere in scripturas sanctas et uidere, quales essent. et ecce uideo rem non compertam superbis neque nudatam pueris, sed incessu humilem, successu excelsam et uelatam mysteriis, et non eram ego talis, ut intrare in eam possem aut inclinare ceruicem ad eius gressus. non enim sicut modo loquor, ita sensi, cum attendi ad illam scripturam, sed uisa est mihi indigna, quam Tullianae dignitati compararem.

Therefore I began to apply my mind to the Holy Scriptures and to see what they were like. What I see is a thing 'not found by the proud, nor revealed to children'; humble in approach, but in its import sublime and veiled in mysteries; but I was not such as could enter into it, or bend my neck to its steps. I did not feel then as I speak now, when I considered that Scripture; but it seemed to me unworthy of comparison with the dignity of a Cicero (transl. Burton, adapted).

See also Kaster (1988: 70–95) for a diachronic overview of the ambivalent status of classical education in Christianity.

Ep. 36.14). In rhetorical handbooks clarity is conventionally associated with the simple style, the *genus humile* (see above).²⁴

If Jerome's Vulgate translations are assumed to be most closely associated with the *genus humile*, with only very occasional barbarisms (which, as we have seen, Jerome felt the need to defend) and, conversely, a few high-style elements, they may serve as a useful foil for assessing the register of Jerome's linguistic practices elsewhere.²⁵ By comparison with the Vulgate, it is clear that the *VM* is replete with literary elements. The rhetorical devices employed in the *VM* will be analysed in a separate section. Here I shall discuss some of the high-style and/or archaising words and phrases which are used in preference to, or alongside, more mundane synonyms. These elevated linguistic features are found in the *VM* beside usages characteristic of 'colloquial' and 'later Latin'. The overall stylistic blend of the *VM* thus combines naïveté and sophistication. More detailed discussion of the individual words and phrases can be found in the Commentary.

²⁴ Note how Cicero claims at *Orat.* 102 that the need for clarity determined his choice of the simple style in the *Pro Caecina* because of its complicated subject matter: *tota mihi causa pro Caecina de uerbis interdicti fuit: res inuolutas definiundo explicauimus, ius ciuile laudauimus, uerba ambigua distinximus* ('my speech *For Caecina* was concerned wholly with the words of the interdict: we explained involved matters by the process of definition, we praised the civil law, we drew distinctions between ambiguous terms', transl. Hubbell 1939).

²⁵ For Jerome's stylistic preferences in the Vulgate see Löfstedt (1959: 40–1). The two lower-register synonyms of the classical verb *edere* 'to eat', *comedere* and *manducare* (the latter is the 'more vulgar' word) are unevenly distributed in the Vulgate: Jerome uses his preferred verb *comedere* in his original translations of the Old Testament, but had to adopt *manducare* in his emendations of the text of the Psalms and the New Testament because in revising the given Latin text he had less scope for his own stylistic decisions. This distribution simultaneously illustrates Jerome's inclination to avoid popular language where he can. Elements of higher-register Latin in Jerome's Biblical translations have been analysed e.g. by Tkacz (1996), Adkin (2000).

3.1.1 Literary Latin

In general, this category is used to refer to an author's demonstrated familiarity with at least a core of texts whose style and content are commonly judged to be of superior literary merit. This definition does not prescribe a uniform register: literary Latin covers a range of stylistic levels, and individual works of literature tend to achieve their stylistic effects by juxtaposing different levels of style and register. This section is concerned with palpably elevated lexical items in the VM. In order to investigate these features, we must be aware that the fact that a word, form, or phrase is used in a particular work which is generally judged to belong to 'high' literature is not sufficient proof that the word itself belongs to 'higher' registers. This difficulty can only be overcome by nuanced statistical investigation, e.g. the synonym test, well discussed by Hine (2005: 221): if a word is conspicuously avoided in favour of a synonym in a text which is on the basis of other evidence perceived as composed in a 'high' register, it is probable that the avoided word belongs to a lower level. Conversely, if a word which is a generally rarer synonym of a more common word is found frequently in a text judged to be 'high', it seems justified to assume that this word belongs to a more elevated category of vocabulary.

Most classical works operate on a relatively high level of register which is modulated according to the rhetorical situation, genre and subject matter. Historians including Sallust, Livy, and Tacitus tend to write in a more flamboyant and therefore probably 'higher' style than e.g. Caesar or the orators, using for example many archaisms and poetic expressions (see Oakley 1997: 142–6); history is characterised as a 'prose poem' (*carmen solutum*) at Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.31. On the other hand, Cicero's Letters to Atticus (addressing a social equal with whom the author has a very close relationship) are

on average less pretentiously literary when compared to his speeches and philosophical works, and their lively colloquial features (exclamations, questions, self-corrections, etc.) are imitative of dialogue (Hofmann ed. Ricottilli 2003: 94–5).²⁶ In the *VM*, the most obviously literary aspects of the language as well as many of the colloquial elements both point to an earlier layer of linguistic usage: archaic Latin.

3.1.2 Archaic and archaising Latin

The greatest surviving amount of Old Latin is represented by the comedies of Plautus and Terence. While performance of their *fabula palliata* appears to have been superseded by that of less refined genres such as Atellan farce and mime (thus Brown in OCD³ s.v. ‘comedy, Latin’), these texts started to become important sources of archaisms in the second sophistic period: May (2005: 27–44), Holford-Strevens (2003: 53, 215). As with many humorous kinds of literature, the language of comedy was a combination of the high-flown and bombastic with mundane, colloquial, and even scatological registers designed to undercut such bombast. This section includes the ‘high’ end of the registers of comedy, as well as uses from other archaic texts which are only preserved in

²⁶ Cicero discusses appropriate styles for different genres at *Fam.* 9.21.1:

uerum tamen quid tibi ego uideor in epistulis? nonne plebeio sermone agere tecum? nec enim semper eodem modo; quid enim simile habet epistula aut iudicio aut contioni? quin etiam iudicia non solemus omnia tractare uno modo: priuatas causas et eas tenuis agimus subtilius, capitis aut famae scilicet ornatius. epistulas uero cottidianis uerbis texere solemus.

But tell me now, how do you find me as a letter writer? Don’t I deal with you in colloquial [lit. ‘plebeian’] style? The fact is that one’s style has to vary. A letter is one thing, a court of law or a public meeting quite another. Even for the courts we don’t have just one style. In pleading civil cases, unimportant ones, we put on no frills, whereas cases involving status or reputation naturally get something more elaborate. As for letters, we weave them out of the language of everyday (transl. Shackleton Bailey).

fragments, e.g. Ennius' *Annals*. 'Lower' features preserved in comedy and resurrected as artificial colloquialisms will be covered in the subsequent section on colloquial Latin.

3.1.3 High-style literary and archaising vocabulary

The adjective *mirus* is used three times, at 2.3, 7.2 and 8.2, as well as twelve times in the *VH*; the synonym *mirabilis* is not used in the *Vitae*. But in the Vulgate *mirabilis* outnumbers *mirus* by 148:6, a distribution which suggests that *mirus* was the more elevated form. In Jerome's other works *mirus* is found more than 200 times and *mirabilis* over 150 times. *mirus* is preferred in contexts where Jerome composes freely (i.e. not in a commenting mode), while *mirabilis* seems to be used in close imitation of biblical language.

The juxtaposition of high-style *fidus* and its less elevated synonym *fidelis* (the relationship is similar to that of *mirus* and *mirabilis*) in the same sentence at 6.2 is interesting: *fideliter* is used in a parenthetical paraphrase of a biblical passage, while *fidus* occurs in an imitation of a Sallustian phrase. This is more than mere *uariatio*: the style of the model is faithfully reflected in the adaptation. See my note *ad loc.* 6.2 *fidum sibi magis faceret*.

reputans instead of more banal *cogitans* is used twice, at 3.6 (see note) and 9.2. The present participle of *reputo* appears to have been cultivated as an archaism more than other forms of the verb, especially by Tacitus.

The simplex *solor* is used instead of its more common compound *consolor* at 3.5, a *hapax legomenon* in Jerome's *Vitae*. There are no instances of *solor* in the Vulgate, while there are many forms of *consolor*.

At 2.1 and 9.3 *haud* is used instead of *non* (see 2.1 *haud grandis, ad loc.*); 5.4 has a third person plural perfect *fuere*, the only such form in the *VM* (but the *VP* has eight of them and the *VH* five), whose elevated connotations are noted by Leumann (1977: 607); at 3.1 the old-fashioned and poetic *nate* is used alongside *fili* at 3.8; 6.6 *sic fatus* is an epic phrase, whose only prose parallel in the entire corpus of the LLT-A is at Apul. *Met.* 6.23.

In addition to these high-flown components, the *VM* uses archaisms whose register is less elevated, or less obviously so. Thus the suffix *-cine* (in *huccine* at 6.4), used to form affectively charged adverbials, is originally colloquial but almost disappears in the classical period. It survives only as an archaising feature and thus, perhaps paradoxically, becomes absorbed into high literary discourse.

Two instances of the archaic *erus* (4.3 and 6.2; the word is not found elsewhere in Jerome) contrast with fourteen uses of the normal *dominus* to signify a human master. There is no noticeable difference in context; the use of *erus* seems to be a case of stylistic *uariatio*. God, however, is only referred to as *Dominus*, not *erus*.

All of these features have a *recherché* flavour, which is spread thinly over the whole work. They are juxtaposed with less elevated elements. In part these are also taken from literary sources; but many of them are also influenced by more general contemporary linguistic developments.

3.1.4 Colloquial Latin

As with literary Latin, to which it is conventionally placed in opposition, colloquial Latin is a difficult category, firstly to define, and then – depending on the definition – to describe with any precision. In the absence of documentation of spoken Latin from antiquity, examples of informal and casual modes of written expression are scholars' best hope for forming an impression of the way people actually conversed with each other – both educated elites (e.g. Cicero's Letters to Atticus) and less elevated characters (slaves in comedy, the freedmen in Petronius).²⁷ Some of the complexities involved in the use of this label for assessing style and register have recently been debated in Dickey and Chahoud (2010, *passim*). Many of the features regarded as subliterate in one way or another during the classical period were subsequently reclaimed in literary Latin. In this way their colloquial associations appear to have become to some extent neutralised over time. Again this phenomenon can be interpreted as not so much a result of imitating texts which had been written in colloquial registers during the classical period but as a reflection of the contemporary development of the language. For all these reasons it is difficult to analyse the precise stylistic contribution made by any one instance of this group of features: are we dealing with an imitation of a 'colloquial' passage in a written text or with a property of contemporary spoken discourse absorbed into the text? Furthermore, in either of these two cases the result may be deliberate quaintness of expression (perhaps only to add colour, variety or vividness to a predominantly literary passage), or the colloquial associations may have receded far enough to make the usage in question a choice which had now itself become accepted as literary. I shall here list a

²⁷ Texts like the Vindolanda tablets, inscriptions, or the *Itin. Eger.* do not qualify as colloquial: they are neither composed casually nor aiming at a casual effect. The colloquial status of the Pompeii graffiti is debated.

number of linguistic features of the *VM* which can be observed throughout the relevant literary periods of Latin in colloquial contexts, i.e. in comedy, in informal Ciceronian letters and demotic passages in Petronius and Apuleius, even if they come to be absorbed into the literary discourse from the third century onwards. Many become very frequent in later Latin.

a) Redundant diminutives: for the loss of the diminutive force and the distribution of those forms see Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 774–7). Instances in the *VM* include 2.1 *uiculus*, *adulescentulus* (also at 11), 3.2 *pauxillulum* (an uncertain reading, but the plausible textual variants are also diminutives: see the commentary), 3.5 *possessiuncula*, 4.1 *paruuli*, 4.2 *galliculas* (with note), 4.3 *muliercula*, 7.3 *cellulas*.

b) Perfect periphrases formed with *coepi*: this construction is found five times, at 3.6, 6.2, 6.4, 7.1, and 7.3. In the classical period this use was associated with lower registers: the sample passage of the *genus humile* at *Rhet. Her.* 4.14 includes *coepit ... defricari* and *dicere coepit*. Later it also became a feature of translation literature; in the Latin Bible, *coepi* is often used to translate ‘Mark’s favoured use of the pleonastic ἄρχομαι’ (Burton 2011: 498).

c) Lexical colloquialisms: *grandis* for *magnus* (cf. 5.1 with note; this becomes a feature of later Latin of varying stylistic levels and eventually *magnus* disappears in Romance); *porto* for *fero*: 3.2, 4.2, 4.3, 7.2 *deportabant*, 8.2 (but compounds of *fero* are used multiple times: 3.8 *efferret*, 9.4 *illata*, 9.8 *differre*, 9.11 *effert*, 11 *rettulit*).

d) The vivid collocation *ecce subito*, paralleled in classical Latin only in Cic. *Att.* 8.8.2: see note *ad loc.*

3.1.5 Later Latin

Perhaps more than any of the other problematic labels used so far, ‘later’ or ‘late Latin’ can only be taken as a very crude category; yet the term has been established since the early twentieth century. For the use and the problems of the term ‘late Latin’ see Adams (2011). One of many arbitrary decisions to make when talking about ‘later Latin’ is to state when exactly it is taken to begin. Löfstedt (1959: 1) plausibly suggests marking its start at ‘the age of Tertullian and the earliest martyrologies, that is, around or shortly before 200’. See also Burton (2000: 155). Apuleius should be seen as a special case: his experimental use of language anticipates many features also incorporated by less ambiguously ‘later’ authors. The end of this linguistic phase is less important for this study, as it is widely agreed that the late fourth century (and therefore the date of the composition of the *VM*) belongs squarely within it: see e.g. Löfstedt (1959: 2), who marks the substantial transition from late Latin into Romance somewhere between AD 600 and 800.

In many details the characteristics of later Latin are identical or continuous with those of colloquial Latin. This section concentrates on the particular features of later Latin in the *VM* for which there is no or little evidence before the third century.

a) Syntactic features: these include *facio* with accusative and infinitive for classical *facio ut* at 1.2 *silere me fecit* (see note); *dispono* governing an accusative and infinitive at 1.3; and *credo* with *ut* instead of the accusative and infinitive at 9.9 *quis hoc umquam crederet ut ante os nostrum bestia pro nobis dimicaret?*.

b) Changes of meaning: *refuto* ‘I refuse’ instead of classical ‘I check’ or ‘I refute’ at 6.2 (*refutare*, with note); *spero* as synonym for *credo* at 6.7 (see commentary);

nimius without the sense of excessiveness at 10.1 (this is probably a resurgent feature of old colloquial Latin).

c) Changes in the use of particles: at 2.1: *uel ... uel* is used in the sense ‘both ... and’, not ‘either ... or’ (cf. Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 502: this is not restricted to, but more typical of, later Latin). At 9.8 *sed et* is used with the meaning ‘and’ (cf. Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 483 for the statement that this is definitely a late feature). In many places *-que* is attached redundantly to adverbs and subordinating particles, a phenomenon which existed in archaic Latin but was avoided in the classical period: 7.2 *sicque* (see note), 8.3 *cumque*, 9.1 *statimque*, *dumque*.

d) Prepositions: in its overall development Latin increasingly replaced plain cases with prepositional constructions. Jerome’s use in the *VM* is on the whole conventional: he employs the full case syntax of Classical Latin. Only in isolated instances does he replace a plain case with a prepositional structure, e.g. 10.1 *ad uesperam*; the classical equivalent *uesperi* is still found at 8.2.

Another characteristic of prepositional use in later Latin is the increase of *de* in preference to *ex* and *ab*. This preference probably started as colloquial usage: cf. Löfstedt (1911: 104) and Sävborg (1941: 19). The *Rhet. Her.* 4.14 significantly includes a case of *de* used for classical *ex* (*de trauerso*) in the sample passage of the *genus attenuatum* (elsewhere called *genus humile*). By the time of Jerome, however, the expanded range of *de* appears to have become part of the literary standard. A word search of the LLT-A reveals that in the Vulgate NT, on whose language Jerome had less influence, *de* is outnumbered by *ab* 694: 790, with 453 instances of *ex*; in the OT by contrast, which is mainly translated by Jerome, the number of instances of *de* (3,611) is almost as big as that of *ab* (2,691) and *ex* (1,105) taken together. In the *VM* the main victim of the expansion

of *de* is *ex*, which would have been available as a more classical alternative to *de* in the following places: 2.2 *de Euangelio*, 3.6 *de Scripturis*; 3.8 *prosecutus ... me de monasterio; de ouili egreditur*; 4.1 *de Beroea*; 7.2 *egerebant humum de foueis* and 9.5 *ut nos de specu protrahat*. In the *VM* *ex* is found primarily in formulaic phrases: *ex parte* (in a sense equivalent to *partim*) at 3.5 and 8.4, and *ex more* at 5.1 (cf. Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 266). The only genuinely classical uses are 4.2 *pendebant ex umero* (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 10.341 *ex umero ... pendit*; but *ab umero* occurs in Plaut. *Men.* 1011, and *ab* is used with *pendeo* from Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.74 onwards: Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 255) and 9.4 *ex occulto ... uidentibus*. The use of *ab* in the *VM*, by contrast, remains stable and largely in line with classical usage: *VM* 1.2 *ab aduentu*, *ab apostolis* (temporal: Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 256); 2.1 *ab Antiochia* (of distance); 2.3 *ab accolis* (Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 255: *ab* with verbs of asking); 2.3 *ab eo* (Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 255: *ab* with verbs of hearing); 3.3 *ab inopia*; 3.6 *ab initio*; 6.2 *ab alio domino* (of the agent: Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 122); 9.8 *a fera* (of the agent).

e) Morphological features representative of the general tendencies of Latin development: personal use of *taedeo* ('I am weary') instead of impersonal *taedet* ('it wearies me') at 7.3; an inchoative form of the verb *dormire*, indicated by the use of the pluperfect *dormierat* in the sense 'he had fallen asleep'; *adorsus* instead of *adortus* as perfect participle of *adorior* at 2.3: the *TLL* I.814.47–52 notes the first instance of this use at Gell. 9.2.10.

3.1.6 Christian Latin

While the assumption that Roman Christians had a language which differed significantly in lexicon, syntax, and morphology from surrounding secular varieties is now largely discarded by scholars,²⁸ the new religion added a number of lexical and syntactic innovations to the linguistic currency. Christian writers usually embraced many of the colloquial and later Latin habits outlined above (depending on genre and audience), in addition to theological and institutional items of vocabulary, often translated or transliterated from Greek (Burton 2011: 489–93). The Latin translations of the Bible preserved many popular usages as well as syntactical Hebraisms and Graecisms. Because of the overwhelming importance of the biblical text in Christian discourse, many of these also influenced the language of Christians down to Romance expressions (cf. Burton 2011: 488, Löfstedt 1959: 84–8). Jerome is credited with contributing to the development of an official language of the Church, both in liturgical texts and administrative documents during his stint as secretary to Pope Damasus (Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 44*). The *VM* is not a theological treatise and, with the exception of its apologetic and church-historical prologue in ch. 1, uses specifically Christian vocabulary sparingly. These instances include the word *monachus* for ‘monk’ (3.1, 3.4, 3.6, 5.5, 6.4, 7.1, 10.3), a recent coinage in Latin (see note at 3.1); the phrase *antiquus hostis* of the devil (3.6), in use since Cyprian (cf. the more widespread use of the similarly euphemistic *aduersarius* from Tertullian onwards: *TLL* I.846.38–55); *caro* in the ascetic sense ‘flesh’ at 3.4; and *Dominus* of God (1.3, 6.4, 6.5, 9.2, 10.3). Furthermore, the *VM* does not show many (or

²⁸ See now Burton (2011: 487–8). Older discussions are e.g. Löfstedt (1959: 68–87), Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: Appendix 44*–6*), Burton (2000: 153–4), all referring to Schrijnen (e.g. 1932: ‘Charakteristik des altchristlichen Lateins’, *Latinitas Christ. Primaeva*) and Mohrmann (e.g. 1946: ‘Quelques traits caractéristiques du latin des chrétiens’, in *Miscellanea Guivanni Mercati, I, Studi e Testi* 121).

any) signs of identifiably Christian Graecisms or Hebraisms on the level of phraseology or syntax; a possible exception is *eiusdem loci* at 2.2 (see note).

3.2 Rhetoric and its function in the VM

Despite its lowness, the *genus humile* is like the other styles supposed to contain appropriate ornamentation: *omne genus orationis, et graue et mediocre et adtenuatum, dignitate adficiunt exornationes* (*Rhet. Her.* 4.16). Cic. *Orat.* 20 specifies the virtues of sparse ornamentation appropriate to this register: *alii in eadem ieiunitate concinniores, idem faceti, florentes etiam et leuiter ornati.*

3.2.1 Asyndetic tricolon with homoeoteleuton

Perhaps the most striking instance of self-conscious patterning in the VM is the use of three asyndetic tricola with homoeoteleuton. The first forms part of the abbot's plea to Malchus in reported discourse at 3.6 *ne se desererem, ne me perderem, nec aratrum tenens post tergum respicerem*. The three units are similar in meaning, and the last colon is extended by means of a participial construction and longer than either of the preceding cola. A very similar pattern is used at 4.3, where the situation is one of excitement and dizzyingly rapid change: the near synonyms *rapimur, dissipamur, in diuersa distrahimur* are, strictly speaking, tautological; *in diuersa distrahimur* would be sufficient to convey the meaning. Yet their asyndetic juxtaposition also gives a sense of concentrated brevity: compared to the chaos and despair which they express, three short cola are summarising rather than expanding the description. An interesting view on this paradoxical effect is offered at *Rhet. Her.* 4.26, which claims that short asyndetic tricola (*articuli*) produce the effect of a repeated and quick series of stabs, whereas in a more

extended tricolon ‘it seems that the arm draws back and the hand whirls about to bring the sword to the adversary’s body’:²⁹ *itaque in illo genere ex remotione brachii et contortione dexterae gladius ad corpus adferri, in hoc autem crebro et celeri corpus uulnere consauciari uidetur*. The third tricolon with homoeoteleuton occurs in a reflective context: 7.1 *erudierat, tenuerat, perdiderat* sums up Malchus’ recognition of the effort which his abbot had made on his behalf; perhaps it even articulates the futility of these efforts. Here the second and third cola are of equal length and shorter than the first. While tricolon structure is frequent in the *Vitae* (I have counted two in the *VP* and ten in the *VH*), the precise structure of asyndetic verbal tricolon with homoeoteleuton is unique to the *VM*.

3.2.2 Narratorial interjections

Another highly stylised pattern is found in Malchus’ frequent narratorial interjections. At 6.1 the exclamation *o* is geminated in a mannered fashion: *o nihil umquam tutum apud diabolum! o multiplices et ineffabiles eius insidiae!*, and this type of interjection is echoed at 9.4 *o multo grauior expectata quam illata mors!* All of these interjections use *o* with a nominative phrase (cf. *TLL* IX.2.5.42ff.: *o* with the nominative is found both in verse and classical prose). What is peculiar is that these phrases contain a predicative expression which makes it possible to postulate that they have an ellipsis of a form of *esse*: ... *nihil umquam tutum <est> apud diabolum ... multiplices et ineffabiles <sunt> eius insidiae; multo grauior expectata <est> quam illata mors*). A version of this pattern is discussed at *TLL* IX.2.7.67ff. (*o quam ...*, *o quotiens* etc.); cf. Coleman (2006: 109). An intriguing parallel for the use of *o* without the interrogative pronoun is

²⁹ Caplan’s translation (1954: 297).

Actus Petri cum Simone 8 (ed. Lipsius 1891: 55, lines 23–5): *o artes uariae et temptationes diaboli! o machinationes et adinuationes malorum!* This text is not securely dated; it may be influenced by Jerome or vice versa, or the similarity may have another explanation.

3.2.3 Chiasmus

In addition to these explicit displays of figuration, structuring devices such as antithesis, parallelism, and chiasmus are distributed throughout the *VM*, often in complex combinations. None of these structures in itself demands to be interpreted as conscious embellishment, but a brief case study on the use of chiasmus will yield some insight into Jerome's compositional techniques.³⁰

One function of chiasmus in the *VM* is to provide structural variation in descriptive, expansive passages. The first instance is found in the extensive nautical simile in the first sentence: *flectunt* (verb) *gubernacula* (object), *remos* (object) *trahunt* (verb). Chiastic instrumental ablatives are used for the description of Malchus' monastic life at 3.4 *manu et labore uictum quaeritans lasciuiamque carnis refrenans ieiuniis*, and chiastic verb forms fulfil the same function in the description of the Saracens' appearance at 4.2 *pendebant ex umero pharetrae et laxos arcus uibrantes hastilia longa portabant*. The second function of chiasmus in the *VM* is to add emphasis in rhetorical passages, especially in characters' direct speech. It can emphasise a repetition of what is essentially the same point, as in the abbot's *non quaero causas, excusationes non recipio* at 3.8, or at

³⁰ On chiasmus as unmarked pattern see Leeman (1963: 22): 'the 'cyclic' sequence a b b a was apparently felt the natural one'; Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 696) specify that chiasmus is only 'natural' and 'popular' if whole sentences are juxtaposed in this manner; chiasmus of single words and groups of words is more artificial.

the start of the woman's speech at 6.7 '*precor te,*' *inquit,* '*per Iesum, per huius horae necessitatem rogo*'; equally, chiasmus can sharpen a contrast, e.g. at 6.5 in Malchus' suicide speech: 6.5 *exspectamus manum Domini an proprio mucrone confodimur?*

Contrasting function can also be detected in the chiasmic *transitio* from preface to main part at 1.3: *sed haec alias, nunc quod imminet*. Generally, then, chiasmus is used in repetitive and contrastive contexts, to add variety when things are expressed in two phrases although one would suffice for the development of the plot or the audience's understanding. The fact that chiasmus tends to occur in expansive and rhetorically marked contexts indicates that it is deliberately used to provide balance and order.

3.2.4 Hyperbaton

The use of hyperbaton and its stylistic significance merit closer consideration. Hyperbata, or phenomena of discontinuity, are not unanimously defined and categorised by scholars. Generally speaking, hyperbaton signifies the interruption of a continuous phrase, usually a noun and its modifier, by one or more constituents which are not part of this phrase. But the nature of the intervening element(s) varies, and this has implications for the severity of the discontinuity which is felt. Thus a noun phrase can be split by a governing element (e.g. at Cic. *Arch.* 18 *litteram scripsisset nullam*: the phrase *litteram ... nullam* is the direct object of *scripsisset*), or even by a constituent which depends on another part of the sentence (e.g. *VM* 10.1 *ad Romana per desertum castra uenimus*, where both prepositional phrases *ad Romana ... castra* and *per desertum* depend on the same verb *uenimus*). This kind of scenario produces a strong sense of discontinuity. Alternatively, a two-part noun phrase may contain between its two parts subordinate elements, a pattern which results in a weaker sense of discontinuity. The second type is

not usually counted as hyperbaton (cf. e.g. Powell 2010: 169–70). In this Commentary it is called ‘enclosed word order’ and omitted from the discussion of hyperbaton in the *VM*.

There are two possible motivations for the use of hyperbaton: one is in order to focus a word or phrase (Powell 2010: 176, see below); the other is to produce rhythm, especially at the end of a sentence or clause, by manipulating the sequence of long and short (or ‘heavy’ and ‘light’) syllables. This is not the place to get into a thorough discussion of topic-focus pragmatics in Latin, which is discussed with varying terminology by scholars elsewhere. The point of using the notion of focus as a determinant of discontinuity is that the interruption of the intervening constituent places a certain degree of stress on the first, or even on both, element(s) of the phrase which is split, thus making it more prominent in the reader’s or hearer’s mind.

The second possibility, i.e. that sentence-final hyperbaton may be used in the *VM* to produce prose rhythm, raises some questions. Prose rhythm can be based on the length of the syllable, as in classical Latin prose, or on word accent. A scheme which combines the two, the *cursus mixtus*, in which accent and ictus coincide and which therefore accommodates only a narrow range of possible patterns, is developed from the third century onwards (Oberhelman and Hall 1985: 216, Oberhelman 1991: 6–8). Oberhelman and Hall have made a statistical analysis of the *VM* and other texts by Jerome and other postclassical authors to look for evidence that prose rhythm is used as a deliberate patterning device. They find so few instances of rhythmic clausulae, either accentual or metrical (from a random sample, sixty-eight clausulae were accentual against thirty-nine with no accent; forty-five had one of the four *cursus mixtus* metres, against sixty-two with no metre), in the *VM* that they conclude that it is a non-rhythmical text, i.e. not composed with regard for either accentual or metrical patterns. But if the importance of prose

rhythm can vary between different works of the same author (as noted by Oberhelman and Hall 1985: 224), it may not be unreasonable to suggest that even if they are not statistically significant, occasional instances of rhythm may also be produced deliberately. If this is the case, rhythmic sentence-final hyperbata would give the best indication of deliberate, if occasional, rhythmical patterning. For this reason we will consider rhythm as well as focus in the discussion below.

I have divided the instances of discontinuity which are found in the *VM* into the following five groups: (a) plain hyperbaton, where the discontinuous phrase is interrupted by a single, non-clitic constituent; (b) extended hyperbaton, where the interrupting element is itself modified; (c) discontinuity caused by Wackernagel clitics, which sometimes seem to condition extended hyperbata; (d) conjunct hyperbaton (*coniunctio*: *Rhet. Her.* 4.38), a conjunction of two parallel constituents interrupted by a discontinuous element; and (e) ‘monster’ hyperbaton, a discontinuous phrase spread over a large part or the whole of a sentence. This scheme is not intended to preclude divergent classifications.

a) Plain hyperbaton

For the purposes of this discussion, ‘plain hyperbaton’ is defined as one phrase consisting of two parts, the ‘head’ and the ‘modifier’, interrupted by a single stress-bearing³¹ constituent which is not syntactically integrated into the interrupted phrase. This pattern occurs in the order head–interruption–modifier or modifier–interruption–head. It appears to correspond to Powell’s ‘short-range’ hyperbaton, which, in Cicero, is ‘always a focusing device’ (2010: 176). Powell further argues that ‘[i]f the modifier comes first ...

³¹ I.e. not a clitic, as this is a special group discussed under the heading (d).

it is usually just the modifier that bears the focus, while if the head comes first the whole phrase is focused.’

To assess whether or not these figures have a rhythmical function, we should analyse the sentence-final instances of plain hyperbaton. There are two of them in the VM: 3.8 *Satanae notatum cauterio* and 9.5 *nostrum expectat aduentum*. Both of these sentence-final plain hyperbata produce clausulae with an accentual prose rhythm (Oberhelman and Hall 1985: 214–5) of the type *cursus tardus* (two accented syllables separated by two non-accented ones, with the second accent followed by two non-accented syllables: óooóoo). The accentual pattern does not, however, relate to any of the metrical patterns based on syllable length which are found in the *cursus mixtus*: 3.8 *Satanae notatum cauterio* ends in a spondee plus cretic; 9.5 *nostrum expectat aduentum* in a cretic plus spondee. Neither of these are any use in the *cursus mixtus*. This confirms Oberhelman and Hall’s observation (1985, above) that prose rhythm is not a concern of the VM: even if a plain hyperbaton comes at the end of a sentence, its only function seems to be to produce focus.

Furthermore, plain hyperbaton occurs sentence-internally, apparently always in self-contained units with either a verb or a participle as the interrupting element: 3.2 *pauillulum nescio quid portans uiatici*; 5.3 *hoc fruor solacio*; 10.1 *ad Romana per desertum castra* (a prepositional phrase is not actually more than one constituent); 10.3 *ad haec delatus loca*. These seem to be motivated by the use of a ‘preferential word’ (Powell 2010: 175), a class which includes demonstratives (e.g. *hoc* and *haec*) and ‘adjectives denoting quantity or size’, e.g. *pauillulum*. These words are intrinsically likely to bear focus, and this seems to predispose them to a discontinuous structure (cf. Adams 1994b:

122–30 and 1994a: 19–24). This evidence makes it highly probable that plain hyperbata in the *VM* are generally determined by focusing strategies, not rhythm.

An extreme example of a double hyperbaton of this kind is 3.1 *quantis pater minis, quantis mater blanditiis persecuti sunt*: see note *ad loc.* It is highly unusual for a noun to disrupt an attribute-noun phrase (see Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 691), and *pater* and *mater* do not even govern *quantis ... minis* and *quantis ... blanditiis* respectively, but the phrases are instrumental ablatives depending on the verb *persecuti sunt*. Again the hyperbaton structure seems to be determined by the ‘preferential word’ status of *quantis*.

b) Extended hyperbaton

This form is similar to the plain version, except that the element which splits the phrase either is itself a phrase consisting of two or more continuous or even discontinuous constituents. Sentence-final instances are 5.4 *pecorum quondam fuere pastores*; 6.2 *euaginato me coepit petere gladio*; 9.9 *similis ante oculos nostros uersabatur interitus*; 9.11 *illius nobis semper figurabamus occursum*. All of these sentence-endings have accentual rhythm (4.1 *cursus uelox*, four non-accented syllables between two accented ones, followed by one unaccented syllable to yield óooooóo; 6.2 and 9.9 *cursus tardus*; 9.11 *cursus planus*). In addition, 5.4, 9.9, and 9.11 fall into a metric pattern consistent with *cursus mixtus*: 5.4 and 9.11 end in cretic plus spondee and 9.9 in cretic plus tribrach. This occurrence of *cursus mixtus* may be coincidental (cf. Oberhelman 1991: 79, who concludes his statistical analysis with the observation that the *VM* ‘does not contain prose rhythm’, and Oberhelman and Hall 1985: 223, cited above); but the simultaneous occurrence of hyperbaton may be taken to suggest that in these instances Jerome may have aimed to use sentence-final hyperbata to produce at least accentual clausula rhythm.

There is one sentence-internal occurrence: 8.3 *in alteram nos exponente ripam*, resulting in a colon-ending which appears to have metrical but not accentual rhythm. Overall, these longer hyperbata, being more complex and artificial in structure, appear to have a stronger tendency to produce rhythm.

c) Wackernagel clitics

In some of the ‘extended’ hyperbata identified, the first discontinuous item is a personal pronoun or a form of *esse* which can be interpreted as a clitic.³² Wackernagel (1892) argues that there is a tendency in Latin and other Indo-European languages for clitics to occupy the second position of a colon, a phenomenon which originally belonged to Proto-Indo-European. The transition from clitic-using word order in Latin to the Romance system of verb-attached pronouns is comprehensively analysed by Wanner (1987), who observes that the process was slow and gradual (cf. Adams 1995: 495). Haida (1928: 46–67) notes Wackernagel-related rules for the positioning and the ordering of clitics in the *Itin. Eger.*, which suggests that the Wackernagel clitic was not yet completely artificial. In terms of pragmatics, the use of clitics in discontinuous contexts is a way of producing focus (comparable to plain hyperbaton). Bauer (2009: 296–7) explains, with reference to Adams (1994a: 112–30), that focused elements attract clitics, and that these focused elements tend to be clause-initial, which makes it necessary for the clitic to slot into the second position.

³² A controversial label. Cf. Adams (1994b: 1), referring to Watkins (1964: 1036): ‘The enclitics which are said to be placed second are a mixed lot: they include unstressed personal pronouns, usually in cases other than the nominative, sentence particles such as *autem*, various other particles such as *ke* in Greek, and sometimes the copula.’ Adams (1994: 89): ‘[c]ould it be that we have concealed beneath a single name [i.e. ‘Wackernagel’s law’] a variety of different rules which lead to much the same result?’

There are over forty of these second-position clitics in the *VM*, often splitting a phrase. Examples are 3.4 *eorum me magisterio tradidi* (splitting the phrase *eorum magisterio*); 3.8 *lupi statim morsibus patet* (splitting); 5.5 *delectabat me captiuitas mea* (non-splitting).

d) Conjunct hyperbaton

As the preceding paragraphs have shown, Wackernagel clitics can be part of (or perhaps the trigger for) *bona fide* hyperbata. This observation becomes salient when examining conjunct hyperbaton, which is defined as the intrusion of a (usually governing) constituent between two items connected by *et*, *aut*, or an equivalent conjunction (cf. Devine and Stephens 2006: 586). In the case of *VM* 1.2 *fugientem me et clausum* the intrusive *me* (to which *fugientem ... et clausum* stands in apposition, or as predicative equivalent to a subordinate clause) is a clitic, which means that it is possible to justify its intrusion by reference to Wackernagel phenomena.³³ It is noteworthy that there seems to be no essential difference between this pattern and that at 7.2 *si quam sub fasce uidissent et onere concidisse*. Crucially, *uidissent* here cannot be classed as a clitic, and the dependency structure is more complex: *sub fasce ... et onere* is governed by *concidisse*, which in turn depends on *uidissent*. Yet in both cases the primary effect of the insertion is to stress both of the conjoined words, i.e. both *fugientem* and *clausum* at 1.2 and both *fasce* and *onere* at 7.2. This effect is the same in both cases, whether it can be classified as a Wackernagel phenomenon or not. An even more complex version of conjunct hyperbaton is 1.2 *exerceri cupio in paruo opere et ueluti quandam rubiginem linguae*

³³ Cf. also 1.3 *nata sit et adulta; potentia quidem et diuitiis* (here the intrusiveness is a function of *quidem*); 5.3 *dominos meos et conseruos*; 8.4 *madefactae carnes et ex parte lapsae*; 9.6 *tribus ferme uel quattuor cubitis*.

abstergere: exerceri cupio ... et ... abstergere follows the basic rule of a governing word (*cupio*) intruding between two conjoined dependent elements (*exerceri ... et ... abstergere*), but the first infinitive, *exerceri*, is expanded by the prepositional phrase *in paruo opere* and the second has a direct object, *quandam rubiginem*. Again the two conjoined infinitives receive more emphasis as a result of this arrangement because they end up at the beginning and the end of their respective cola.

Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 693) note that the pattern *iustus uir ac bonus* is found in all literary periods. In Cicero it is often used to produce rhythmical clausulae; post-classically it is frequent in Florus, Apuleius, and Ammianus, with whose stylistic preferences I have already noted several overlaps in the *VM. Adams* (*per litteras*) observes that it is also very marked in Vegetius at about the time of Jerome: *Veg. Mul. 1.1 maestius inuenitur aut pigrius; 1.9 post haec de generali minutione singulorum et adustione docens* (an authorial structuring comment unlikely to be taken from a veterinary source).

A similar point about the ubiquity of this pattern is made by Haida (1928: 67), who calls it ‘*apo-koinou* construction’ and defines it as a situation where two co-ordinated constituents are separated by a constituent which belongs to them both. His examples from the *Itin. Eger.* include both the clitic copula (e.g. 45.3 *si ebriacus est aut uanus*) and other, non-clitic, verbs (e.g. *et psalmi dicuntur et antiphonae*). The use of this pattern in the *Itin. Eger.* does not automatically make it ‘colloquial’ or ‘low register’: as many scholars have shown, Egeria’s language shows strong signs of the author’s literary aspirations, and this may be one.

The *Rhet. Her.* notes a version of the phenomenon which is termed *coniunctio* at 4.38: *coniunctio est, cum interpositione uerbi et superiores partes orationis comprehenduntur et inferiores, hoc modo: 'formae dignitas aut morbo deflorescit aut uetustate'*. This definition concentrates on the position of the verb which governs the two conjoined expressions: *coniunctio* is contrasted with *adiunctio*, which has the verb at either the beginning or the end of the phrase. The overall situation remains confusing: it is difficult to decide confidently what degree of artificiality one should attach to conjunct hyperbaton. The inclusion in the *Rhet. Her.* suggests that it may have been part of a deliberately literary register, but its affiliations with Wackernagel phenomena, which belong to both high and low registers, make it hard to tell just where one should draw the line between 'natural' and 'deliberately rhetorical' instances of the pattern.

e) Monster hyperbaton

This type is an escalated version of the extended hyperbaton, interacting with other word order phenomena. The first of the two instances is 2.1 *Maronias triginta ferme milibus ab Antiochia urbe Syriae haud grandis ad orientem distat uiculus*: an extended hyperbaton of the phrase *haud grandis ... uiculus*, which is in apposition to *Maronias*, from which it is again separated. The other instance is 9.11 *leaena insidias cauens et uisam se esse sentiens apprehensum mordicus catulum matutina effert*: here *leaena* agrees syntactically with *matutina* at the other end of the sentence (although this adjective functions like a temporal adverbial: see note *ad loc*). The situation is more complicated because the two conjoined participles *cauens* and *sentiens* also agree with *leaena*, but their separation is due to the orthodox structure of 'enclosing' word order, where noun and participle enclose the rest of the phrase which they govern. *apprehensum mordicus*

catulum cannot be taken as a fully-fledged hyperbaton but as ‘enclosed word order’ (cf. p. 61 above) because *mordicus* qualifies *apprehensum*.

To sum up: the hyperbata of the *VM* appear to be overwhelmingly determined by a desire to create focus, rather than rhythmical considerations, insofar as these two should be clearly distinguished: in general Latin literary practice there is probably a degree of overlap between the two motivations. Rhythm belongs more obviously to higher literary registers, while any speaker of Latin would use focusing devices in any kind of communication. The general picture that emerges from this discussion is a text which is mostly dominated by the use of unobtrusive pragmatic devices (viz. discontinuity) belonging to the *genus attenuatum*, but which occasionally raises its tone to include devices belonging to the high emotive style of the *genus graue*, viz. asyndetic tricolon and poetic interjections. Perhaps chiasmus can be seen as part of the middle style: after all, it was perceived as natural yet elegant, as the *genus medium* was supposed to be.

3.2.5 Concluding remarks

As we would expect, the language of the *VM* proves to be a complex mélange of linguistic elements from different periods, models, and registers. The complexity of this system seems to count against the view that Jerome is trying in the *VM* to appeal to a lower sociolect. The work is more likely to be written for an elite audience whose Christian sensibilities would make them appreciate the fact that it is firmly – if artificially – anchored in the *genus humile*.

4. STATE OF TRANSMISSION AND SCOPE OF THE TEXTUAL WORK OF THIS COMMENTARY

Although the textual tradition of the *VM* has formed the subject of two doctoral theses in the twentieth century, the establishment of the text cannot yet be considered complete. As part of a research project led by Oldfather (1943), Jameson and other collaborators contribute an analysis of a large number of manuscripts of the *VM*, which results in a complex stemma of manuscript families (Oldfather 1943: 494). Of the twelve groups which are identified on the basis of shared variants (Oldfather 1943: 9 for the method, cf. 450), A and I are considered to be the most reliable, followed by T and L, while the unclassified manuscript Sessorianus 41 also provides helpful readings. The most important witness to the text according to Jameson and her colleagues, Neapolitanus Lat VI D 59,³⁴ is not classifiable within any of the twelve groups; instead it shares many variants with representatives of the later ‘mixed’ tradition (Jameson in Oldfather 1943: 509). More important than this fact is the age of the Neapolitanus: according to the Bollandists’ website it was copied between 576 and 625,³⁵ and there are no other manuscripts extant which derive directly from it. Twelve of its readings do not appear in any other codex (Jameson in Oldfather 1943: 510). In consequence, the authors recommend producing an edition of the *VM* according to the following method:

In general, then, it would seem that a critical text could be most safely based upon 62 [i.e. the Neapolitanus], compared carefully with I and A, and to a lesser extent with sections of T and L. Readings from 79 [i.e. the Sessorianus] of the unclassified group will probably be of assistance (Oldfather 1943: 511).

³⁴ From of these groups I have collated the following manuscripts: Monacensis 6393 from group A; Laurentianus pl. 19 from B; Parisinus 5324 from L; Sessorianus 41 (unclassified); Neapolitanus VI D 59. I have not been able to obtain a representative of group I.

³⁵ http://bhlms.fltr.ucl.ac.be/Nquersaintsectiondate.cfm?code_bhl=5190&requesttimeout=500.

The research group did not use these findings to produce a text of the *VM*.

Next Mierow (1946) produced a text based on a small selection of manuscripts. A discussion of his method was published separately (1945). He used the thirty-five manuscripts which are found in the Vatican Library (i.e. the sample was not determined *a priori* by the quality or the age of the manuscripts). Many of these date from the fifteenth century. This makes it highly likely that they should represent mixed traditions which combine elements from several of Jameson's groups. The choice of manuscripts leads to some untypical variants in the apparatus (e.g. *thetubaston* at 2.2) and occasional implausibilities in the Latin text (e.g. *Maroniati* at 3.1, where the logic of the narrative requires *Nisibeni*: see note *ad loc.* for elucidation). While Mierow's text cannot be accepted as the final word because of his unrepresentative manuscript foundation, his work is valuable for providing additional evidence in the case of particular textual problems, e.g. in printing *fili* at 3.8 and supporting the homoeoteleuton *non ... ad pugnandum sed ad praedandum* at 4.2.

Oldfather's list of manuscripts of Jerome's *Vitae* was extended by Lambert (1969: 459–514), who counts 346 witnesses. Morales in his dissertation (partially published in 1991) used Lambert's catalogue to revise Jameson's findings. He studied all of Lambert's 346 manuscripts of the *VM* (Morales 2007: 102). He reaffirms the importance of the Neapolitanus and combines it with a number of later manuscripts (Vallicellianus Tom. XVII, 11th century; Berlin lat. fol. 735, twelfth century; Cambridge (Mass.) Ms Typ 194H, twelfth century; Alcobaça 15, twelfth century) to form a new group which he labels N (Morales 1991: 7–20), although he admits that the errors shared in this group are too few to present the manuscripts in a stemma (1991: 75). On the basis of shared variants between the later manuscripts of N and other manuscripts belonging to one of the twelve

groups identified by Jameson, Morales (1991: 77–82) draws up a new (hypothetical: p. 75) stemma: N is now the parent group from which Jameson's twelve groups are taken to be descended with various interrelationships.

The *SC* edition by Morales builds on his doctoral work. Unfortunately his revision of his earlier findings is not discussed in any detail. Despite Morales' comprehensive inspection of the manuscripts the *SC* edition has numerous problems, summarised in Winterbottom (2008: 372–3):

The editions claim to be critical, but it is curiously hard to discover on what basis they rest ... In *VM* H. C. Jameson found the oldest MS, a Neapolitanus of the sixth–seventh century, unclassifiable. Morales makes this book, which he calls A, the basis of his text (p. 107); but age is not everything, and we are told nothing about the relationship of A with the other MSS now assigned without argument to the same group, N. (Indeed we are left unclear exactly what those other MSS are: the list of four that appears on pp. 106–7 has only two in common with the list of five given on p. 139.) Nor is it possible to work out this (or any other interrelationship) for ourselves, given the blatant uselessness of an apparatus criticus that (to take a random example) tells us at 2.1 that A reads *sum* and F *sunt*, leaving us to wonder what is read by the 17 other MSS whose sigla are displayed above the apparatus. (It does not make for clarity that they include a manuscript N which is not part of Group N).

The *SC* text is further flawed by some serious errors in the Latin syntax (e.g. *quasi clamare domino*, 9.4), as well as by inaccurate and misleading punctuation (e.g. *sciebam – enim Apostolum*, 6.2) and translation (e.g. 'rester muet' for *mut(t)ire* at 9.4: cf. notes *ad locc.*). The apparatus is incomplete and sometimes difficult to interpret: an unexplained absurdity is the fact that Cantabrigensis 301 (515), named 'J' by Morales and assigned to the same group as Neapolitanus Lat. VI D 59, is occasionally cited in the apparatus as containing two different readings (e.g. 2.2: *ut reuera* and *utebatur*, with my note). It is not noted whether one of these may be an insertion or a correction in the manuscript itself; it may be a misprint in the apparatus.

Anyone wishing to address these errors by resorting to the manuscript tradition faces the additional difficulty of the change in manuscript nomenclature by Morales. Jameson's notation was based on a list which assigned a number to each individual codex containing one or more of Jerome's three *Vitae*. These numbers were sorted into groups identified by capital letters. In Morales' 1991 edition these individual codices are designated by a combination of a (different) number and a letter, e.g. '2t'. For the SC edition he uses a new system of capital letters to indicate codices; but he also uses capital letters for groups, and the groups are often different in content from those postulated by Jameson.

It is beyond the scope of this work to produce a new system for sorting and assessing the manuscripts which would result in an acceptable text. I have therefore taken the shortcut of examining five manuscripts which belong to the groups which are considered to be of high value by Jameson (1943: 511, cf. above), and collated them on more than 100 passages.

The following descriptions of the manuscripts used for my working text are taken from Oldfather (1943).

Neapolitanus Lat. VI D 59:

sixth or seventh century, 303 x 230 mm., 139 folios, 30 lines, *ca.* 35 letters. F. 89v: *Incipit de monacho captivo*; f. 95c: *Amen. Explicit de monacho captivo*. Now in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Naples. It was once a part of the library at Bobbio, but whether written there or not is unknown. No attempt at word division is made, but sentence division is indicated by a punctuation mark made up of one, two, three, or even four dots placed in a vertical line. Abbreviations are limited to those for the *nomina sacra*, one instance of *q* with a dot after it for *que*, and a symbol like a horizontal S for *m* or *n*, placed where the letter itself should have occurred, and not over the preceding vowel. This letter occurs only at the end of lines. There are several glosses in the margins by a late hand, some of which, at least, are intended for paragraph headings. A number of corrections appear in the text, a few in an uncial or half-uncial hand. (Oldfather 1943: 507–8)

Monacensis 6939:

formerly Frisingensis 193, ninth century, 174 x 122 mm., 276 folios, 17 lines, *ca.* 26 letters. ... f. 176: *Explicit vita et acta cum mirabilibus sancti hilarionis servi dei. Incipit Sancti malhi* [sic] *captiv* [us>i]; f. 188: *Explicit vita vel captivitas beati malchi. Incipit vita Sancti pauli*; ... At present in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich. Across f. 1v and 2r appears, in an eleventh-century hand: *Sancte Marie et sancti Corbiniani, Frising.* This was an early foundation at Freising in Bavaria. The script is a somewhat coarse minuscule, retaining a suggestion of uncial writing. Word division, on the whole, is poor. Corrections, both erasures and insertions, are numerous, since the manuscript abounds in errors. Abbreviations are fairly common, and these are in almost every instance Continental. Misspellings are frequent, several small words are omitted, and the occasional omission of the initial letters of words suggests a tattered exemplar (Oldfather 1943: 67–8).

Parisinus Lat. 5324:

tenth century, 255 x 185 mm., 205 folios, 27 lines, *ca.* 47 letters, F. 142: *Incipit actus monachi captivi*; f. 146: ... *non posse superari* (no subscription). It was at one time at St. Germain des Prés, and came to the Bibliothèque Nationale from the collection of Claudius Puteanus. Folios 1 to 12 were written in the twelfth century, but the remainder is in a typical early Carolingian with titles in rustic capitals. Word division is good; abbreviations are ordinary. Very few corrections. The reading *mea hinc pia* (392–4) suggests that the exemplar was without word division. (Jameson in Oldfather 1943: 479)

Laurentianus pl. 19, cod. 16:

eleventh or twelfth century, 29 lines, *ca.* 38 letters. ... f. 60v: *Explicit vita Hilarionis monachi. Incipit vita monachi captivi*; f. 66v: *Explicit vita captivi monachi*. Now in the Laurentian library at Florence. Provenience not indicated. Regular, legible Carolingian script, probably by a French hand. Very few (and ordinary) abbreviations. A few corrections, mostly erasures (Steiner in Oldfather 1943: 135).

Sessorianus 41:

ninth century, 300 x 205 mm., 190 folios, two columns, 27 lines, *ca.* 18 letters. ... f. 76v: *Explicit vita beati hilarionis anachorite. Incipit vita cuiusdam monachi captivi* (begins at top of next page); f. 82v: ... *non posse superari* (no subscription). Now in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele in Rome. F. 1v (in a sixteenth-century hand): *Iste liber est monasterii Nonantulani*. The reference is probably to the monastery of St Sylvester at Nonantula, near Modena, Italy. The script is an early Beneventan with the characteristics that marked the later development of that script but without the artificiality and extreme ornamentation into which it soon settled. Corrections are few (Oldfather 1943: 137).

As regards notation, I use the official names of the codices rather than abbreviations which might contribute to the confusion: Neapolitanus (Lat. VI D 59); Sessorianus (41); Parisinus (Lat. 5324); Laurentianus (pl. 19 cod. 16); Monacensis (6393).

The limited number of witnesses at my disposal means that the manuscripts cannot be used systematically to produce a definitive text. I have instead used them to establish a degree of documentary support for passages in which several readings are probable on the basis of Morales' (2007) and Mierow's (1946) apparatus. The five manuscripts are not used as the final word for constructing a text, but as part of a system of evidence.

In addition to these collated manuscript readings, and on the basic assumption that Jerome did not write obviously ungrammatical and inexplicable nonsense (a hypothesis which entails, for example, that Morales' *feruere* at 6.9 must be deleted: see commentary *ad loc.*), the following criteria can be applied for resolving conflicts in the evidence.

a) Jerome's use elsewhere: Jerome is notorious for quoting himself (e.g. Adkin 2003: 6), which means that earlier or later works can provide evidence for specific phraseological choices (e.g. the use of the double gerundive *pugnandum ... praedandum* at 4.2).

b) The Greek translation (ed. van den Ven 1900), whose usefulness for supporting textual decisions is discussed by Jameson (1938; 1943). It was probably produced within a generation of the composition of the *VM*, apparently by the same person who is responsible for the Greek version of the *VH*, who is named at *Vir. ill.* 134 as Sophronius. Although the Greek translation of the *VM* is very free (it omits the prologue and some narrative details, and adds theological elaborations), it can still be used occasionally to

suggest a sense which the translator found in his Latin text, especially where the sense is unlikely to be affected by the different ideological focus of the translation. This comparison is valuable for assessing e.g. *cum labore* at 9.4 (see note *ad loc.*).

c) Rhythm: a problematic criterion. Oberhelman and Hall's statistical analysis concludes (1985: 223) that prose rhythm is not found frequently enough in the *VM* to be regarded as a proper feature of the text, it is still possible to suggest that Jerome used rhythmical patterns at salient points in the narrative. Winterbottom (2008: 373) makes a number of textual suggestions based on the assumption that rhythm is a criterion for Jerome (e.g. '7.2 The variant *portabant* gives rhythm'). But in the light of the rarity of rhythmic features in the *VM* all of these instances have to be examined on the basis of additional considerations.

The text printed is based on the chapter and section divisions of the 2007 *SC* edition. The punctuation has been adjusted in line with Anglo-Saxon conventions, and spellings have been regularised (e.g. *eremus* for *heremus*, *heres* for *haeres*, etc.). For differences between this text and that of Morales the commentary will provide justification and elucidation.

5. WORKING TEXT

[VITA MALCHI]

DE MONACHO CAPTIVO

1. 1. qui nauali proelio dimicaturi sunt, ante in portu et in tranquillo mari flectunt gubernacula, remos trahunt, ferreas manus et uncas praeparant, dispositumque per tabulata militem pendente gradu et labente uestigio stare firmiter assuescunt, ut quod in simulacro pugnae didicerint, in uero certamine non pertimescant. 2. ita et ego qui diu tacui – silere quippe me fecit cui meus sermo supplicium est – prius exerceri cupio in paruo opere et ueluti quandam rubiginem linguae abstergere ut uenire possim ad historiam latiore. 3. scribere enim disposui – si tamen Dominus uitam dederit et si uituperatores mei saltem fugientem me et clausum persequi desierint – ab aduentu Saluatoris usque ad nostram aetatem, id est, ab apostolis usque ad huius temporis faecem, quomodo et per quos Christi Ecclesia nata sit et adulta, persecutionibus creuerit et martyriis coronata sit et, postquam ad Christianos principes uenerit, potentia quidem et diuitiis maior, sed uirtutibus minor facta sit. uerum haec alias. nunc quod imminet explicemus.

2. 1. Maronias triginta ferme milibus ab Antiochia urbe Syriae haud grandis ad orientem distat uiculus. hic post multos uel dominos uel patronos, dum ego adulescentulus morarer in Syria, ad papae Euagrii necessarij mei possessionem deuolutus est, quem idcirco nunc nominaui ut ostenderem unde nossem quod scripturus sum. 2. erat illic senex quidam nomine Malchus, quem nos Latine ‘Regem’ possumus dicere, Syrus natione et lingua, ut reuera eiusdem loci indigena. anus quoque in eius contubernio ualde decrepita et iam morti proxima uisebatur. tam studiosi ambo religionis et sic ecclesiae

limen terentes ut Zachariam et Elisabeth de Euangelio crederes, nisi quod Ioannes in medio non erat. 3. de his cum curiose ab accolis quaererem quatenus esset eorum copula, matrimonii, sanguinis, an spiritus, omnes uoce consona sanctos et Deo placitos et mira nescio quae respondebant. qua cupiditate illectus adorsus sum hominem et curiosius sciscitans rerum fidem haec ab eo accepi.

3. 1. ego, inquit, mi nate, Nisibeni agelli colonus solus parentibus fui. qui cum me quasi stirpem generis sui et heredem familiae ad nuptias cogerent, monachum potius esse uelle respondi. quantis pater minis, quantis mater blanditiis persecuti sint ut pudicitiam proderem, haec res sola indicio est, quod et domum et parentes fugi. 2. et quia ad Orientem ire non poteram propter uicinam Persidem et Romanorum militum custodiam, ad Occidentem uerti pedes pauxillulum portans uiatici, quod me ab inopia tantum defenderet. 3. quid multa? perueni tandem ad eremum Chalcidos, quae inter Immas et Beroeam magis ad austrum sita est. 4. ibi repertis monachis eorum me magisterio tradidi, manu et labore uictum quaeritans lasciuiamque carnis refrenans ieiuniis. 5. post multos annos incidit mihi cogitatio ut ad patriam pergerem et dum adiuueret mater – iam enim patrem mortuum audieram – solarer uiduitatem eius, et exinde uenundata possessiuncula partem erogarem pauperibus, ex parte monasterium construerem, – quid erubesco confiteri infidelitatem meam? – partem in sumptuum meorum solacia reseruarem. 6. clamare hoc coepit abbas meus diaboli esse temptationem et sub honestae rei occasione antiqui hostis astutias. hoc esse reuerti canem ad uomitum suum. sic multos monachorum esse deceptos. numquam diabolus aperta fronte se prodere. proponebat mihi exempla de Scripturis plurima, inter quae illud ab initio quod Adam quoque et Euam spe diuinitatis supplantauerit. et cum persuadere non posset, prouolutus genibus obsecrabat ne se desererem, ne me perderem, nec aratrum tenens post tergum respicerem. 7. uae misero

mihi! uici pessimam uictoriam, reputans illum non meam utilitatem sed suum solacium quaerere. 8. prosecutus ergo me de monasterio quasi funus efferret et ad extremum uale dicens ‘uideo te,’ ait, ‘fili, Satanae notatum cauterio. non quaero causas, excusationes non recipio. ouis quae de ouili egreditur lupi statim morsibus patet.’

4. 1. de Beroea Edessam pergentibus uicina est publico itineri solitudo, per quam Saraceni incertis semper sedibus huc atque illuc uagantur. quae suspicio frequentiam in illis locis uiatorum congregat, ut imminens periculum auxilio mutuo declinetur. erant in comitatu meo uiri, feminae, senes, iuuenes, paruuli, numero circiter septuaginta. 2. et ecce subito equorum camelorumque sessores Ismaelitae irruunt crinitis uittatisque capitibus ac seminudo corpore pallia et latas galliculas trahentes. pendebant ex umero pharetrae et laxos arcus uibrantes hastilia longa portabant; non enim ad pugnandum sed ad praedandum uenerant.

3. rapimur, dissipamur, in diuersa distrahimur. ego interim longo postliminio hereditarius possessor et sero mei consilii paenitens cum altera muliercula in unius eri seruitutem sortitus uenio. ducimur, immo portamur sublimes in camelis, et per uastam eremum semper ruinam timentes haeremus potius quam sedemus. cibus semicrudae carnes et lac camelorum potus erat.

5. 1. tandem grandi amne transmisso peruenimus ad interiorem solitudinem, ubi dominam eiusque liberos ex more gentis adorare iussi ceruices flectimus. 2. hic quasi clausus carcere mutato habitu, id est, nudus ambulare disco; nam aeris quoque intemperies praeter pudicitiam nihil aliud uelari patiebatur. 3. traduntur mihi pascendae oues, et in malorum comparatione hoc fruor solacio, quod dominos meos et conseruos rarius uideo. 4. uidebar mihi habere aliquid sancti Iacob; recordabar Moysi, qui et ipsi in eremo pecorum quondam fuere pastores. uescebar recenti caseo et lacte. orabam iugiter,

canebam psalmos quos in monasterio didiceram. 5. delectabat me captiuitas mea agebamque Dei iudicio gratias, quod monachum quem in patria fueram perditurus in eremo inueneram.

6. 1. o nihil umquam tutum apud diabolum! o multiplices et ineffabiles eius insidiae! sic quoque me latentem inuenit inuidia. 2. dominus uidens gregem suum crescere nihilque in me deprendens fraudulentiae – sciebam enim Apostolum praecepisse dominis sic quasi Deo fideliter seruiendum –, et uolens me remunerare, quo fidum sibi magis faceret, tradidit mihi illam conseruam mecum aliquando captiuam. et cum ego refutarem diceremque me Christianum nec mihi licere uxorem uiuentis accipere – siquidem captus nobiscum uir eius, ab alio domino fuerat abductus –, erus ille implacabilis in furorem uersus euaginato me coepit petere gladio; et nisi festinus tenere brachio mulierem praeoccupassem, illico fudisset sanguinem.

3. iam uenerat tenebrosior solito et mihi nimium matura nox. duco in speluncam semirutam nouam coniugem et pronubante nobis tristitia uterque detestamur alterutrum nec fatemur. 4. tunc uere sensi captiuitatem meam prostratusque humi monachum coepi plangere quem perdebam, dicens ‘huccine miser seruatus sum? ad hoc me mea scelera perduxerunt ut incanescente iam capite uirgo maritus fierem? quid prodest parentes, patriam, rem familiarem contempsisse pro Domino, si hoc facio quod ut ne facerem illa contempsisti? nisi quod forte propterea haec sustineo quia rursum patriam desiderauisti. 5. quid agimus, anima? perimus an uincimus? exspectamus manum Domini an proprio mucrone confodimur? uerte in te gladium. tua magis mors timenda est quam corporis. habet et pudicitia seruata martyrium suum. iaceat insepultus Christi testis in eremo. ipse mihi ero et persecutor et martyr.’ 6. sic fatus eduxi in tenebris quoque micantem gladium,

et acumine contra me uerso ‘uale,’ inquam, ‘infelix mulier: habeto me martyrem potius quam maritum.’

7. tunc illa prouoluta pedibus meis ‘precor te,’ inquit, ‘per Iesum, per huius horae necessitatem rogo, ne effundas sanguinem tuum. uel si mori placet, in me primum uerte mucronem. sic nobis potius coniungamur. etiam si uir meus ad me rediret seruarem castitatem quam me captiuitas docuit; uel interirem ante quam perderem. cur moreris ne mihi iungaris? ego morerer, si iungi uelles. habeto me ergo coniugem pudicitiae; et magis animae copulam amato quam corporis. sperent domini maritum, Christus nouerit fratrem. facile persuadebimus nuptias cum nos uiderint sic amare.’

8. fateor, obstupui; et admiratus uirtutem feminae coniuge plus amaui. numquam tamen illius nudum corpus intuitus sum, numquam carnem tetigi, timens in pace perdere quod in proelio seruaueram. 9. transeunt in tali matrimonio dies plurimi: amabiliores nos dominis fecerant nuptiae. nulla fugae suspicio; interdum et mense toto aberam fidus gregis pastor per solitudinem.

7. 1. post grande interuallum dum solus in eremo sedeo et praeter caelum terramque nihil uideo, coepi mecum tacitus uoluere et inter multa monachorum contubernia recordari, maximeque uultum patris mei, qui me erudierat, tenuerat, perdiderat. 2. sicque cogitans aspicio formicarum gregem angusto calle feruere. uideres onera maiora quam corpora. aliae herbarum quaedam semina forcipe oris trahebant, aliae egerebant humum de foueis et aquarum meatus aggeribus excludebant. illae uenturae hiemis memores, ne madefacta humus in herbam horrea uerteret, illata semina praecidebant; hae luctu celebri corpora defuncta deportabant. quodque magis mirum esset in tanto agmine, egrediens non obstabat intranti; quin potius si quam sub fasce uidissent et onere concidisse, suppositis umeris adiuuabant. 3. quid multa? pulchrum mihi

spectaculum dies illa praebuit, unde recordatus Salomonis ad formicae sollertiam nos mittentis et pigras mentes sub tali exemplo suscitantis coepi taedere captiuitatis et monasterii cellulas quaerere ac formicarum illarum sollicitudinem desiderare ubi laboratur in medium et, cum nihil cuiusquam proprium sit, omnia omnium sunt.

8. 1. regresso ad cubile occurrit mulier. tristitiam animi uultu dissimulare non potui. rogat cur ita exanimatus sim. audit causas. hortor ad fugam. non aspernatur. peto silentium. fidem tribuit. et iugi susurro inter spem et metum medii fluctuamus. 2. erant mihi in grege duo hirci mirae magnitudinis, quibus occisis utres facio, eorumque carnes uiatico praeparo. et primo uesperis putantibus nos dominis secreto cubitare inuadimus iter, utres et partes carnum portantes.

3. cumque peruenissemus ad fluuium – nam decem milibus aberat – inflatis et ascensis utribus aquis nos credimus paulatim pedibus subremigantes, ut deorsum flumine deferente et multo longius quam conscenderamus in alteram nos exponente ripam uestigium sequentes perderent. 4. sed inter haec madefactae carnes et ex parte lapsae uix tridui cibum pollicebantur. bibimus usque ad satietatem, futurae nos siti praeparantes. 5. currimus, post tergum semper aspicimus, et magis noctibus promouemur uel propter insidias late uagantium Saracenorum, uel propter ardorem solis nimium. paueo miser etiam referens; et iam securus toto tamen corpore perhorresco.

9. 1. post diem tertium dubio aspectu procul respicimus duos camelis sedentes uenire concite. statimque mens mali praesaga putare dominum meditari mortem, solem cernere nigrescentem. dumque timemus et uestigiis per arenas nos proditos intelligimus offertur ad dexteram specus longe sub terram penetrans. 2. igitur timentes uenenata animalia – solent quippe uiperarum, reguli, et scorpiones, ceteraque huiusmodi feruorem solis declinantia umbras petere – intrauimus quidem speluncam, sed statim in ipso introitu

sinistrae nos foueae credimus nequaquam ultra progredientes, ne dum mortem fugimus incurreremus in mortem, illudque nobiscum reputantes: si iuuat Dominus miseros, habemus salutem; si despicit peccatores, habemus sepulcrum. 3. quid putas fuisse nobis animi? quid terroris, cum ante specum haud procul starent dominus et conseruus et uestigio indice iam ad latebras peruenissent?

4. o multo grauior exspectata quam illata mors! rursus cum labore et timore lingua balbutit; et quasi clamante domino muttire non audeo. 5. mittit seruum, ut nos de specu protrahat. ipse camelos tenet et euaginato gladio nostrum exspectat aduentum. 6. interea tribus ferme uel quattuor cubitis introgresso famulo nobis ex occulto tergum eius uidentibus – nam oculorum istiusmodi natura est ut post solem umbras intransibiles caeca sint omnia – uox per antrum sonat: ‘exite furciferi, exite morituri! quid statis? quid moramini? exite, dominus uocat.’

7. adhuc loquebatur, et ecce per tenebras aspicimus leaenam inuasisse hominem, et gutture suffocato cruentum intro trahere. Iesu bone, quid tunc nobis terroris, quid gaudii fuit! spectabamus hostem nostrum perire domino nesciente. 8. qui cum uideret illum moras facere, suspicatus est duos uni resistere. sed et iram differre non ualens sicut tenebat gladium ad speluncam uenit; et clamore ualido serui increpans socordiam prius a fera tentus est quam ad nostras latebras perueniret. 9. quis hoc umquam crederet ut ante os nostrum bestia pro nobis dimicaret? sublato autem illo metu similis ante oculos nostros uersabatur interitus, nisi quod tutius fuerat leonis rabiem quam iram hominis sustinere. 10. pauemus intrinsecus, et ne mouere quidem nos ausi praestolabamur euentum rei, inter tanta pericula pudicitiae tantum conscientia pro muro saepti. 11. leaena insidias cauens et uisam se esse sentiens apprehensum mordicus catulum matutina effert nobisque cedit

hospitium. neque tamen satis creduli statim erumpimus, sed expectamus diu; et egredi cogitantes illius nobis semper figurabamus occursum.

10. 1 sub tali ergo terrore transacta die eximus ad uesperam uidimusque camelos, quos ob nimiam uelocitatem dromedarios uocant, praeteritos cibos in ore uoluere et in aluum missos iterum retrahere. quibus ascensis et noua sitarcia refocillati decima tandem die ad Romana per desertum castra uenimus (2.) oblatique tribuno rei ordinem pandimus. inde transmissi ad Sabinianum Mesopotamiae ducem camelorum pretium accepimus. 3. et quia iam abbas ille meus dormierat in Domino, ad haec delatus loca me monachis reddo; hanc trado uirginibus, diligens eam ut sororem, non tamen ei me credens ut sorori.

11. haec mihi senex Malchus adolescentulo rettulit; haec ego uobis narraui senex, et castis historiam castitatis expono. uirgines uirginitatem custodire exhortor. uos narrate posteris, ut sciant inter gladios et inter deserta et bestias pudicitiam numquam esse captiuam, et hominem Christo deditum posse mori, non posse superari.

The Title

The *incipits* and *explicit*s quoted in the description of the manuscripts in Oldfather (see Introduction 4) give the following titles:

Neapolitanus: *incipit/explicit de monacho captiuo*;

Monacensis: *incipit Sancti malhi* [sic] *captiu[us>i]*; *explicit uita uel captiuitas beati malchi*;

Parisinus: *incipit actus monachi captiui*;

Laurentianus: *incipit uita monachi captiui*; *explicit uita captiui monachi*;

Sessorianus: *incipit uita cuiusdam monachi captiui*.

Jerome himself does not seem to have called his piece a *Vita*: in the 1988 edition of the *Vir. ill.* by Ceresa-Gastaldo, the title is given in Jerome's list of his own works in ch. 135 as follows: *haec scripsi: uitam Pauli monachi, ... de captiuo monacho, uitam beati Hilarionis*. Other versions recorded in the apparatus are *captium monachum* (*Malchum*); *in captium monachum*; *captiui monachi*, *uitam Malci captiui monaci*, *uitam Malchi*, *captiui monachi*, and βίον αἰχμαλώτου μοναχοῦ. The phrase *monachus captiuus* is by far the best represented element in this varied tradition, while terms like *uita* are less stable. It seems that the title *Vita Malchi* became attached to the text relatively late, probably to bring out the similarities between it and the *VP* and *VH*, both of which are called *Vitae* in Jerome's catalogue (cf. above).

Ch. 1: Preface

Jerome compares the writing of the *VM* to a naval exercise (§1). Before writing a substantial history of the Church he wants to practise on a little piece to break the long silence that was imposed on him (§2). He outlines briefly the ecclesiastical history which he intends to write, provided that God gives him time and his opponents leave him in peace (§3). After this sketch, he returns to the task at hand.

§1: *The writing of the VM as naval exercise*

The image of the naval battle is a variation on a prefatory conceit favoured by Jerome. This particular version appears to be unparalleled elsewhere. The general metaphor of the sea voyage symbolising a literary undertaking, by contrast, occurs frequently in classical verse and enters prose genres in late antiquity. Janson (1964: 146–7) regards Jerome as establishing the precedent for this fashion.¹ An important model is Quint. *Inst.* 12 proem 3–4:

iam cum eloquendi rationem nouissime repertam paucissimisque temptatam ingressi sumus, rarus qui tam procul a portu recessisset reperiebatur; postquam uero nobis ille quem instituebamur orator, a dicendi magistris dimissus, aut suo iam impetu fertur aut maiora sibi auxilia ex ipsis sapientiae penetralibus petit, quam in altum simus ablati sentire coepimus. nunc *caelum undique et undique pontus* [Virg. *Aen.* 3.193].

Jerome elaborates this metaphor in *Ep.* 1.2 (including the same Virgilian quotation):

super onerariam nauem rudis uector inponor et homo, qui necdum scalmum in lacu rexi, Euxini maris credor fragori. nunc mihi euanescentibus terris *caelum undique et undique pontus* [Virg. *Aen.* 3.193], nunc unda tenebris inhorrescens et caeca nocte nimborum spumei fluctus canescunt. hortaris, ut tumida malo uela suspendam, rudentes explicem, clauum regam. pareo iam iubenti et, quia caritas omnia potest, Spiritu sancto cursum prosequente confidam habiturus in utraque parte solacium: si me ad optatos portus aestus adpulerit, gubernator putabor; si inter asperos orationis anfractus inpolitus sermo substiterit, facultatem forsitan quaeras, uoluntatem certe flagitare non poteris.

¹ Janson also cites Sedulius (*Ep. ad Macedonium*, CSEL 10.171), Sidonius Apollinaris (*Ep.* 1.1.3–4), and Cassian (*Conl. praef.* 3).

I am boarding a cargo vessel as an inexperienced sailor; and although I am a man who has not even steered a rowing boat on a lake, I entrust myself to the roar of the Black Sea. Now, while the land is disappearing from my view, “sky everywhere and everywhere sea”, now the wave roughens in the dark and the frothy billows grow white in a night black with clouds. You encourage me to hoist the swelling sails on the mast, to unfurl the stays, to take charge of the rudder. Finally I am obeying your commands and, since love is capable of anything, I shall trust that the Holy Spirit is favourable for my voyage, and I shall have comfort in either event: if the current drives me to the desired haven, I shall be thought a helmsman; but if my unpolished speech runs aground in the rough twists of language, you may perhaps find fault with my abilities, but you shall not be able to blame my lack of good will.

The ostensible function of *Ep.* 1.2 is self-deprecation and the magnification of the difficulty of the enterprise; yet at the same time the rhetorical skill and the allusive erudition displayed produce the opposite effect of convincing the reader that the author will be up to the task at hand. In three of Jerome’s prefaces to books of biblical commentaries he compares his undertaking to a sea voyage: *In Osee 3 prol.*; *In Is. 4 praef.*; *ibid.* 13 *praef.* (Favez 1958: 24–5). There are many more passages in his work where nautical imagery is used with varying functions, often of oratory or literature, e.g. *Ep.* 108.27.1.

Whereas *Ep.* 1.2 is concerned with the actual departure into rough waters (*Euxini maris credor fragori*), a task which threatens to overwhelm a sailor who has not even trained in quiet waters (*in lacu*), in VM 1.1 this preparation *in portu et in tranquillo mari* is the focus. Rather than disparaging his own skill as he did in the Letter, Jerome here belittles the status of the present work (*paruum opus*) and expresses his ambition to follow this exercise up with a *historia latior* which corresponds to the metaphorical sea battle.

In a long hypotactic period Jerome develops the image of marines preparing for battle in the quiet waters of a harbour. The nautical vocabulary is paralleled in Vegetius’

Epitoma Rei Militaris, where the last third of the final book (4.31–46) deals with the subject of war fought by sea.²

qui nauali proelio ...: for the structure of the opening of the sentence with the relative clause first cf. Veg. *Mil.* 4.38.1 *qui cum exercitu armatis classibus uehitur, turbinum signa debet ante praenoscere.*

nauali proelio: a combination first found in Caesar (*Civ.* 2.22.1 *proelio nauali*) and Nepos (*Hann.* 10.5), frequent in Livy, Suetonius, Gellius, and Orosius, but only once in Tacitus (*Ann.* 12.56.1) and nowhere else in Jerome. The variations on the phrase in Veg. *Mil.* always put the adjective first: *proelium nauale* 4.42.6, *naualis belli* 4.31.1, *naualis pugna* 4.43.2, *nauale certamen* 4.44.1.

Further examples of Jerome's use of fighting imagery for his work are found in Bartelink (1980: 40); Harendza (1905: 35–6).

dimicaturi: cf. 9.9 *bestia pro nobis dimicaret.* An LLT-A search yields thirty-seven instances of *dimico* in Veg. *Mil.*, two of them future participles as in the VM: 3.10.3 *haec dimicaturis est necessaria*, 4.42.4 *quae dimicaturus ... sunt ... uitanda.*

A table at TLL V.1.1197 compares use of *dimico* to its synonym *pugno* in prose and poetry: while prose authors like Nepos, Velleius and Pliny the Elder have a nearly equal distribution of the two, *dimico* is avoided almost completely in verse. Jerome in his Letters and treatises uses *pugno* more than twice as often as *dimico* (c. 60:25 according to an LLT-A corpus search), but it is hard to say what should be made of this. He may have preferred *pugno* because of its prevalence in poetry, i.e. as the more 'literary' variant; on

² The exact dates of Vegetius are debated (see the summary by Reeve 2004: ix–x). The *termini inter quos* of the *Mil.* are AD 383 and 450. Milner (1993: xxv–xxix) thinks it most probable that the unnamed emperor to whom it is dedicated is Theodosius I (379–95), which would make the work more or less contemporary with the VM; Reeve (2004: ix–x) appears to favour a date in the 380s. See Introduction 2.2.8 for the possibility that Jerome used Vegetius' material, if not Vegetius himself. Even if no direct relationship can be established, the citations in the commentary illustrate vocabulary and concepts current in military contexts in the late fourth century.

the other hand, the rarity of *dimico* in Jerome's corpus may mean that it is more strongly marked when it is actually used.

in tranquillo mari: for the use of the adjective of the sea cf. Veg. *Mil.* 4.38.14 *maria quae sua sponte tranquilla sunt et quieta*; 4.41.1 *de tranquillo procellae et de tempestatibus tranquilla produntur*; 4.43.2 *quia naualis pugna tranquillo committitur mari*. The prosaic register of the collocation *tranquillum mare* (as opposed to the more poetic *placidum mare*, which is used by Tacitus *Ann.* 14.5.1) is documented by Adams (1970: 128). Sen. *Q. Nat.* 5.1.1 (*sic tranquillum mare dicitur ... cum leuiter commouetur ... itaque si legeris 'cum placidum uentis staret mare,' scito illud non stare sed succuti leuiter, et dici tranquillum quia nec hoc nec illo impetum capiat*) proves that the adjectives were used as synonyms, but that *tranquillum* was more appropriate for prose whereas *placidum* is used in the passage quoted from Virg. *Ecl.* 2.26.

flectunt gubernacula, remos trahunt: the first instance in the VM of a rhetorical effect: chiasmus with homoeoteleuton *flectunt ... trahunt*. See Introduction 3.2 for an overview of such devices.

flectunt gubernacula: the only earlier parallel for the collocation is Sen. *Ep.* 121.5 *rector nauis scite gubernaculum flectit*. For *gubernacula* cf. Veg. *Mil.* 4.46.7: 'steering gear' in Milner's translation (1993: 142).

remos trahunt: Casson (1971: 278–80) gives a summary of the training of Greek trireme rowers, which includes practice not only in shallow waters but even on land: Polyaeus 3.11.7; cf. Polybius 1.21.1–2 with Morrison and Coates (1996: 353–4) and Morrison and Williams (1968: 313–25) on the skills required for carrying out battle manoeuvres on Greek triremes and Roman oared ships.

ferreas manus: 'grappling-irons': claw-shaped pieces of metal designed to be thrown onto enemy ships, with ropes attached for pulling the ship towards oneself. Plin.

NH 7.209 attributes their invention to Pericles, along with that of the *harpago* (a claw attached not to a rope but a stick). Vegetius only mentions *harpagones* (Veg. Mil. 4.44.5), not *ferreae manus*; but they may be referred to at 2.25.6 (on the weapons of a legion): *habet ferreos harpagonas* ('grappling-irons', Milner 1993: 59), *quos lupos uocant, et falces ferreas* ('iron siege-hooks', Milner *ibid.*) *confixas longissimis contis*. Both Livy (36.44.8) and Caesar (Civ. 1.57.2 *hi manus ferreas atque harpagones parauerant*, 1.58.4, 2.6.2) give accounts of the use of *ferreae manus* in battle: see Lammert, *RE* XIV.1399ff.

tabulata: 'boarding', a standard word for 'the boarded deck of a ship' (*OLD*, s.v. *tabulatum*, 1b). Veg. Mil. 4.36.4 *quo nihil est periculosius nauigantibus quam hiare tabulata* (cf. *ibid.* 4.44.6, Val. Flacc. 8.305, Stat. *Theb.* 5.389).

pendente gradu et labente uestigio: Morales reproduces the spelling of the Neapolitanus and Monacensis, which have the two participial attributes ending in different letters: *pendenti ... labente*. The Parisinus has *pendenti ... labenti*, the Laurentianus *pendente ... labente* (also printed by Mierow). Since both phrases must be interpreted as ablative absolutes on account of the concessive force implied by the context ('... they teach them to stand firm although their step is uncertain and their feet slip'), they should both end in -e: see Leumann (1977: 438) for the rule that the present participle ends in -e in the ablative absolute, while modal ablatives of adjectival present participles end in -i.

A conjunction of two similar ablative absolutes is found at VP 9.3 *suspensio gradu et anhelitu temperato*.

pendente gradu: i.e. with the foot left hanging in the air instead of touching the deck as expected when the marine makes a step. Cf. Nonius' definition of *gradus* (p. 495 Lindsay): *pedum gradientium uicissitudo*, illustrated by a quotation from Virg. *Geo.* 3.191–2: *gradibusque sonare / conpositis*. Jerome reuses the phrase in the metaphorical

sense of ‘treading cautiously’ at *C. Ioannem* 2 line 23f.: *quasi super oua et aristas inter theatrales praestigias pendenti*³ *gradu incedere* and at *C. Ruf.* 2.11 (lines 41–5): *quasi super aristas pendenti*³ *incedens gradu*; cf. also *Ep.* 108.24.3 *apostolus Petrus ... super aquas pendulo incessit gradu*. A possible model is *Ps.-Quint. Decl. mai.* 1.7 *gradu suspenso* ‘on tiptoe’ (see Introduction 2.2.6 for Jerome’s use of these declamations and their ascription to Quintilian).

firmiter: although the criticism of ancient grammarians implies that this form of the adverb is somewhat substandard (*Suet. Diff.* ed. Roth 1893: 307 line 38 *firmiter et firmis nihil est, firmus et firme recte dicimus*), a table at *TLL* VI.1.819.75ff. comparing the forms in a range of authors from Plautus through the classical period to the Vulgate has ten instances of *firme* contrasting with twenty-seven of *firmiter*; the only clear exceptions to this preference are the *Rhet. Her.*, Quintilian, and Pliny the Younger. In Jerome’s LLT-A corpus *firme* is not found, but there are two further instances of *firmiter*: *In Eph.* 3.6.11 (*PL* 26.544 line 4); *Tract. Psalm. II* 92.4 (*CCL* 78 p. 432 line 92).

The use of the adverbial form of *firmus* with *stare* seems confined to later Latin, e.g. *Veg. Mul.* 1.26.3 *firmiter animal stare coeperit*; *Flor.* 1.40.8⁴ *excepta Rhodo, quae pro nobis firmiter stetit*. Livy twice uses the predicative adjective: 22.39.18 *aduersus famam rumoresque hominum satis firmus steteris*; 22.61.10.

ut quod in simulacro pugnae didicerint, in uero certamine non pertimescant: for this maxim cf. *Veg. Mil.* 2.23.13 *nam quemadmodum bene exercitatus miles proelium cupit, ita formidat indoctus*. Cf. also *Tac. Ann.* 2.23.2 on the havoc caused at sea by a panicking soldier who has not been trained in naval battle (*miles ... pauidus et casuum maris ignarus*).

³ Here the participle is adjectival and the ablative ends in *-i*: see preceding note.

§2: *The VM as preparation for a more comprehensive history of the Church*

The second sentence interprets the simile. While the naval imagery is dropped, the notion of preparation for a fight is retained in the word *exerceri* and the phrase *ueluti quandam rubiginem linguae abstergere*, which implicitly compares the tongue to a sword which is polished for use in battle. De Vogüé (1991–2007: 2.79) points out that this preface plays down Malchus' status: in contrast to e.g. the *VH*, where Jerome puts his art at the service of a monastic hero (cf. *VH* 1), Malchus' adventures are secondary as the subject matter of Jerome's *exercitatio*.

ita et ego, qui diu tacui: for the same phraseology in a parallel sequence of simile and explication cf. Jer. *Ep.* 66.1.1:

sanato uulneri et in cicatricem superinductae cuti si medicina colorem reddere uoluerit ... plagam doloris instaurat. **ita et ego**, serus consolator, **qui inportune per biennium tacui**, ne nunc importunius loquar et adtrectans uulnus pectoris tui, quod tempore et ratione curatum est, commemoratione exulcerem.

qui diu tacui: cf. Introduction 1.3 on the relevance of this phrase for dating the *VM*. It does not necessarily mean that Jerome stopped writing completely: Kelly (1975: 170–1) argues that Jerome had continued to write commentaries but not Letters.⁵ But the *VM* is not a Letter, and it seems more justifiable to agree with Fuhrmann (1977: 58–9): he takes the phrase to mean that Jerome had refrained only from producing works to advocate the ascetic life, of which *Ep.* 22, composed in 384, had been the most recent example.

silere quippe me fecit, cui meus sermo supplicium est: we do not know to whom Jerome refers here. He had many critics in Rome and elsewhere (see below on §3).

⁴ *Fl.* early second century AD. For Jerome's knowledge and use of Florus between 374 and 385 cf. Hagendahl (1958: 102, 105).

Leclerc and Morales (2007: 18, 185 n.4) think that the remark is aimed at Pope Siricius, but there is no certain evidence for this conjecture. Although Jerome had left Rome in 385 after a quarrel with Siricius' circle, he contends that no official order of banishment was issued against him (*C. Ruf.* 3.22, lines 25–39). However, a papal order to stop writing may be the reason for the gap in Jerome's correspondence (cf. last note).

See also Jer. *Praef. in Didym.* (PL 23.102–3) on Rome as Babylon and the Church officials as *Pharisaeorum ... senatus* with Cain (2006); cf. Cavallera (1922: 2.88) and Kelly (1975: 112–15) for the circumstances of Jerome's departure.

silere quippe me fecit: *silere* varies the immediately preceding *tacui*. It is emphasised by its clause-initial position and by enclitic *quippe*. While the variation of *tacui* and the synonym *silere* is artificial, there seems to be a stylistic difference between the two. Tacitus often uses *sileo*, but rarely *taceo*, except in the minor works, which suggests that *sileo* was the more elevated alternative; conversely in the Vulgate, *taceo* outnumbers *sileo* 134:48.

facio with the accusative and infinitive is already observed alongside *facio ut* in Old Latin but largely avoided in the classical period. Under the influence of biblical translations – both the Vetus Latina, based on the Septuagint for the Old Testament, and Jerome's Vulgate, generally based on the Hebrew Bible – the construction with the infinitive becomes extremely frequent. *facere* with the infinitive is used with either a causative meaning ('to bring something about') or with a jussive sense ('to order somebody to do something'). The jussive sense is preferable here. See Thielmann (1886: esp. pp.180–95) for details of development and interpretation; cf. also Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 354–5), Kühner and Stegmann (1912: 2.694), *TLL* VI.1.115.37ff.

⁵ According to Cavallera (1922: 1.129 n.1, 165), the only Letter which may (but need not) be dated to the period between 385 and 393 is *Ep.* 46, written to Marcella in the name of Paula and Eustochium, which means that Jerome did not claim authorship.

prius exerceri cupio: this phrase gives the *VM* the status of a propaedeutic (*exercitatio*) as practised in Roman schools of rhetoric (cf. Introduction 2.2.6). The comparison with a naval exercise implies that the present text is not to be read as a serious work of polemic which attacks a real enemy but as a test of historical argument which can then be deployed in a full-blown polemic history.

in paruo opere: Morales (2007: 183) cites Flor. 1 *praef.* 3 *in breui quasi tabella* as a parallel. Not only is the *VM* short, but the principal characters (a *colonus*, a woman and some Saracens) are also marginal to the history of the Church at large, which is shaped by bishops, martyrs and emperors.

et ueluti quandam rubiginem linguae abstergere: the ‘tongue’ stands for the capacity to write and is described as a tool used for battle which, in order to be efficient for the fight, needs to be cleared from its rust or other patina (the form *linguae* may be either a genitive or a dative ‘of advantage’ of the action of scraping). This rust has been caused by lack of use; cf. Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.29–30:

nos uero armatos stare in acie et summis de rebus decernere et ad uictoriam niti. neque ego arma squalere situ ac rubigine uelim, sed fulgorem in iis esse qui terreat, qualis est ferri, quo mens simul uisusque praestringitur...

But we [i.e. orators] ... stand armed in the front line, fight for high stakes, and strive for victory. And I should not wish our weapons to be foul with neglect and rust; they should have the brilliance that strikes terror, the brilliance of steel that dazzles both mind and eye... (transl. Russell, 2001).

See also Cat. 64.42; Sen. *Benef.* 3.2.3; Apul. *Flor.* 17 pp. 31.24–32.1 Helm (cf. below); and Sen. *Contr.* 2.2.8: *ferrum situ carpitur* (references from Scourfield 1993: 84).

Jerome uses the image of rust for the result of intellectual inactivity in *Ep.* 1.1: *otium quasi quaedam ingenii robigo* (‘inactivity, which acts like rust on the intellect’); for lack of practice in speaking (or writing) Latin in *Ep.* 29.7.2: *nos, ut scis, Hebraici sermonis lectione detenti in Latina lingua robiginem obduximus* (‘I have, as you know, through protracted reading of the Hebrew language brought rust on my Latin tongue’). At

Jer. *Ep.* 60.1.2 rust on the pen is caused by the writer's grief, which renders him unable to write. At *Praef. Pach.* 1 Jerome has an explicit simile of a rusty sword: *gladius ... si diu in uagina conditus fuerit, sordescit rubigine et splendorem ... amittit*. This last example is closely paralleled at Apul. *Flor.* 17 pp. 31.24–32.1 Helm *ut gladius usu splendescit, situ robiginat, ita uox in uagina silentii condita diutino torpore hebetatur* (de Vogüé 1991–2007: 2.79).⁶ Adkin (2011: 67) cautions that none of these uses in Jerome is necessarily a deliberate allusion to Apuleius.

The ratio of *ueluti* to *uelut* in Jerome's LLT-A corpus is 19:102, which suggests that *ueluti* is the more 'marked' version of the particle. It has very strong manuscript support here.

ut uenire possim ad historiam latiore: the final clause identifies the ultimate goal of the exercise, of which the composition of the *VM* is only the first step.

historiam latiore: Jerome has already mentioned a larger project in the same words at *Chron. praef.* (*GCS* 47 p. 7; dated to 380 by Cavallera 1922: 2.20; see de Vogüé 1991–2007: 2.79; cf. next section), where, in contrast to the outline in the *VM* preface, the scope of the envisaged *historia* appears to have been limited to a section of the fourth century:

a Constantini autem supra dicto anno usque ad consulatum Augustorum Valentis sexies et Valentiniani iterum totum meum est. quo fine contentus reliquum temporis Gratiani et Theodosii **latioris historiae** stilo reseruauit, non quo de uiuentibus timuerim libere et uere scribere – timor enim Di hominum timorem expellit –, sed quoniam dibacchantibus adhuc in terra nostra barbaris incerta sunt omnia.

From the abovementioned year of Constantine down to the sixth consulate of the *Augustus* Valens and the second of the *Augustus* Valentinian I have covered everything. Content with this limit, I have saved the rest of the time of Gratian and Theodosius for the writing of a larger history, not because I am afraid to write freely and truthfully about the living – for the fear of God casts out the fear of men –, but because with the barbarians still rioting in our land, all things are uncertain.

⁶ De Vogüé also points out the twofold correspondence between this 'preface' to the *VM* and the introduction to Jer. *Ep.* 1 (*rubigo* and nautical metaphor; cf. above). The subject matter of the Letter has

Cavallera notes (1922: 2.17) that the books which Jerome requests from Paul of Concordia in *Ep.* 10.3.2 (viz. the Commentaries by Fortunatianus, the History by Aurelius Victor, and the Letters of Novatian) would be helpful both for work on Eusebius' *Chronicon* and for the Church history mentioned here. Cf. also Kelly (1975: 75) on Jerome's historiographical ambitions and his limited suitability for this task.

§3: *Outline of Jerome's Church history*

In the third sentence Jerome outlines the subject matter of the 'wider history' which he intends to write. This history would have been a new version of Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiae*. Jerome did in fact translate Eusebius' *Chronicle* from the Greek (*PL* 27.33–675) and amplified it with accounts of events and personalities in the Latin-speaking half of the Roman Empire, of which Eusebius was largely ignorant (*PL* 27.675–702, cf. also *GCS* 47). In the preface of this combined work Jerome announces his plan to write a history of his own times. Neither of these plans comes to fruition: his *De uiris illustribus* is no more than an annotated list of (mainly) Christian writers (Kelly 1975: 174–8).

disposui: cf. *VP* 1 *pauca de Pauli principio et fine scribere disposui*. *dispono* is stronger than a mere intention: it implies the preparation or even the arrangement of material for a church history. Cf. *Rhet. Her.* 1.2.3 *dispositio est ordo et distributio rerum, quae demonstrat, quid quibus locis sit conlocandum* ('the *dispositio* is the order and distribution of material which makes clear what is to be put in which places').

many parallels with the *VM* as it is a story of chastity, martyrdom, and rewarded innocence. Like the *VM*, *Ep.* 1 is designed to honour Evagrius.

dispono governing the infinitive is first attested in fourth-century Latin. The earliest instance may be Arnobius *Aduersus nationes* 7.16, and it becomes a common collocation, used by Ambrose, Jerome (including the Vulgate, e.g. Is. 36:5, and *VH* 25.3), Ammianus, Augustine, and others (cf. *TLL* V.1.1428.58ff.). Eventually the infinitive is replaced by a future participle in the sixth-century author Gregory of Tours: Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 390).

si tamen Dominus uitam dederit: God is the giver of life in the Bible: e.g. Josh. 14:10: *concessit ergo Dominus uitam mihi*, Ps. 20:5 and 132:3, and 2 Macc. 3:33. The notion is common in Christian literature (e.g. Aug. *Conf.* 1.7.12). The sentiment is often expressed in conjunction with a reminder that a human being is responsible for using wisely the span of life that has been granted by God. The reminder may be apotropaic: a gesture of placating God by ostentatiously deferring to his power.

Variations on this formula are not infrequent in Jerome and tend to occur in the context of the author announcing his intention of expanding on a subject in a later work: e.g. *Ep.* 22.33.1 *si Christus adnuerit*, with Adkin (2003: 316); *In Hier.* 2.1.2: *quorum furori respondimus, ut potuimus, et, si Dominus uitam dederit, plenius responsuri sumus*; *C. Ruf.* 2.23 (lines 4–5) *aduersum quae uolumina, si Dominus uitae huius dederit spatium, alias respondere conabor*; *Ep.* 133.13.1 *quamquam in promisso opere plenius – si Dominus gratiam dederit – dicturus sim*. There seem to be few, and fairly weak, parallels to this usage in other writers: one exception is Ruf. *Praef. I Peri Archon* 4 (= Jer. *Ep.* 80.3.1, cited at Ruf. *Ap.* 1.16):

Nobis interim tantus labor, **si tamen** orantibus uobis **deus iuuerit**, idcirco susceptus est, non ut **calumniosis** os – quod fieri non potest, licet forte etiam hoc deus faciet – clauderemus, sed ut proficere ad scientiam rerum uolentibus materiam praeberemus.

Adkin (2003: 316) notes that Tert. *Test. Anim.* 2 ascribes similar phrases to pagan superstition: *nam te quoque palam et tota libertate qua non licet nobis, domi ac foris audimus ita pronuntiare: 'quod deus dederit' et: 'si deus uoluerit'.*

si tamen has the restrictive meaning 'provided that': *tamen* is here synonymous with *quidem*. Like *si tamen* here, *si quidem* in Jerome always takes the subjunctive. Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 673) identify the first instance of 'restrictive' *si tamen* as *Bell. Alex.* 63.5 *neque opinantibus omnibus – si tamen in omnibus fuit Cassius, nam de huius conscientia dubitabatur*, the next at *Ov. Met.* 10.322–3 *scelerique resistite nostro / si tamen hoc scelus est*, with more instances in post-Augustan and especially legal Latin. *tamen* and its collocations come to be used with a weaker sense in later Latin (Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 496), but restrictive *tamen* (without *si*) is still found at *Itin. Eger.* 5.12: *plurimi autem ex ipsis sanctis ... dignati sunt nos usque in Faran deducere, qui tamen fortiori corpore erant* (with Löfstedt's gloss 1911: 27 'eigentlich "nur diejenigen, welche"; dann: "d.h. diejenigen", "nämlich diejenigen"').

uituperatores mei: cf. 1.2 above *silere quippe me fecit cui meus sermo supplicium est*: again we can only speculate about the identity of the detractors whom Jerome has in mind. Kelly (1975: 168–70) notes the polemical references to his enemies in the many prefaces to his biblical translations which belong to the same period, e.g. *Praef. Sam.: latrantes canes, qui aduersum me rabido ore desaeuiunt*. Kelly suspects that Rufinus, who was Jerome's classmate and then a close friend but eventually found himself in opposition to Jerome over the orthodoxy of the Greek theologian Origen (cf. Kelly 1975: 195–209), may be the object of at least some of these attacks. This contradicts Cavallera's observation (1922: 1.193) that Jerome claims he was still friends with Rufinus in 393: *C. Ruf.* 3.33 (lines 14–15) *nonne iste est qui et me haereticum ex tuis amicitiiis iudicabat?* ('is this not the man who considered me to be a heretic because of

my friendship with you?’),⁷ and that friendly communications existed between the Jerusalem and the Bethlehem monastery (Cavallera 1922: 1.129 n.1).

The only pre-Christian author to use *uituperator* in the LLT-A is Cicero, e.g. *Fam.* 7.3.6 *ut haberes quid diceret si quando in uituperatores meos incidisses*; *Nat.* 1.5, *Fin.* 1.2, *Tusc.* 2.4.

saltem fugientem me et clausum: Jerome had left Rome because of his adversaries there who disagreed with his radical advocacy of abstinence (*C. Ruf.* 3.22). For the quarrel cf. above on §2.

saltem is used as equivalent to emphasising *uel*: Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 502). The meaning of the phrase is ‘my detractors, who persecute me even as I am a fugitive and confined.’

fugientem me et clausum: in this construction *me* behaves as a clitic and is thus placed in the Wackernagel position (cf. Introduction 3.2.4c) which is typical for rhetorical prose. Because *me* syntactically governs both *fugientem* and *clausum*, this is an instance of conjunct hyperbaton (cf. Introduction 3.2.4d). Jerome may have found examples of this pattern in Cicero: cf. *Planc.* 6 *sed ego, Laterensis, caecum me et praecipitem ferri confitear in causa*; *Nat.* 3.7 *rudem me et integrum discipulum accipe et ea quae requiro doce*. Similar instances are *Marc.* 2 *quasi quodam socio a me et comite distracto*; *Fam.* 7.27.2 *libenter tibi me et facile purgassem*. It may be objected that the rhythm here is different from the Ciceronian model because Jerome’s additional insertion of *saltem* before the colon puts the pronoun in third rather than second position; but *saltem* can be seen as closely connected to *fugientem* so that the two words form a single unit. Cf. Fraenkel (1965), Laughton (1970: 190–1), and Adams (1994a: 108).

⁷ This refers to Atarbius, who came to Bethlehem and Jerusalem in 393 to demand Jerome’s and Rufinus’ renunciation of the ‘heresy’ of Origenism.

persequi: this word can have multiple meanings. However, when it is used with a hostile connotation (provided by the subject *uituperatores*) by a Christian writer, it is likely to contain an allusion to the various persecutions to which Christianity was subject before the Principate of Constantine (see *TLL* X.1.1696.12–72). Jerome poses as a quasi-martyr for his cause of asceticism. For the theme in the *VM* cf. below [*ecclesia*] *persecutionibus creuerit* and 3.1 *quantis pater minis, quantis mater blanditiis persecuti sunt ut pudicitiam proderem*.

ab aduentu Saluatoris usque ad nostram aetatem, id est, ab apostolis usque ad huius temporis faecem: this double prepositional phrase establishes the time frame for the proposed history. The parenthesis introduced by *id est* is not pleonastic. Strictly speaking, the two starting points are different. In biblical chronology the advent (i.e. the birth) of Jesus precedes the age of the apostles by thirty years: they were chosen by Jesus when he began his ministry (e.g. Lk. 6:13: *uocauit discipulos suos et elegit duodecim ex ipsis quos et apostolos nominauit*).

Rohrbacher (2006: 423) notes the parallel with Amm. 31.9.6 *a principatu Caesaris Neruae ... ad usque Valentis interitum*. This phrase forms part of the final paragraph of the *Res Gestae*. For Jerome's probable knowledge of this book see Introduction 2.2.2.

usque ad huius temporis faecem: this phrase reinforces and (negatively) valorises the preceding *usque ad nostram aetatem*. *faex* ('dregs') in the transferred sense is most commonly used with a pejorative meaning: cf. e.g. Cic. *Flacc.* 18 *opifices et tabernarios atque illam omnem faecem ciuitatum*. This type of connotation suggests that its use here also conveys a negative attitude to Jerome's own times. He has already more than hinted at his dissatisfaction in references to a future sea battle, his previous silence,

his opponent and his detractors. This attitude is generalised more explicitly in the outline of his historic vision in the second part of the sentence.

quomodo et ... facta sit: in addition to the temporal outline, Jerome formulates the didactic vision of his history. Church history is perceived in terms of a biography writ large, comparable to the way in which the development of Rome and the Roman empire has been conceptualised by a handful of Latin authors including Cic. *Rep.* 2.3, Florus *praef.* 4–8, Seneca the Elder (cf. Alonso-Núñez 1982: 10) as reported at Lact. *Div. Inst.* 7.15.14–16, and Amm. 14.6.3–6 (Alonso-Núñez 1982: 19–23). It is difficult to establish with any certainty the source of Jerome’s version. Rohrbacher (2006: 423) finds the following distinctive parallels with Amm. 14.6.3–6: ‘the image of crowning, the transfer of power to the emperors as a fifth stage in the process, and the pessimistic sequel to the transfer’; but Cameron (forthcoming) is not convinced that these parallels are close enough to be decisive. In general, there is significant overlap between the different versions of this topos (for example, forms of *adolescere* are found in Cicero, Florus, and Lactantius); Alonso-Núñez (1982: 11) plausibly suggests that this biographical conceit may have been a part of the repertoire of rhetorical commonplaces practised in schools of oratory, i.e. familiar in its basic characteristics and with the potential of being adapted to suit the needs of different arguments.

Giving a quasi-biographical overview of the history of the Church is an interesting ploy in the preface for a saint’s life: many of the elements summarised here, e.g. persecution and the corrosive effects of materialism on virtue, are paralleled in the development of Malchus’ life (cf. Kech 1977: 13).

ecclesia ... persecutionibus creuerit, et martyriis coronata sit: Jerome uses the same phrase at *Ep.* 82.10.1: [*ecclesia*] *persecutionibus creuit, martyriis coronata est*; cf. the use of the identical vocabulary and thought at Ambr. *Ex.* 4.8.32 *prospiciens ergo*

ecclesia sicut luna defectus habet et ortus frequentes, sed defectibus suis creuit et his meruit ampliari, dum persecutionibus minuitur et confessorum martyriis coronatur (see de Vogüé 1991–2007: 2.80); for another overlap between the VM and Ambrose's *Exameron* (a series of nine sermons dated to 387: de Vogüé 1991–2007: 2.101) cf. VM 7.2 (with notes, below) and Ambr. *Ex.* 6.4.16.

persecutionibus creuerit: the paradox that persecution increases, rather than diminishes, the number of Christians is a commonplace. Cf. Tert. *Apol.* 50.13 *etiam plures efficimur, quotiens metimur a uobis: semen est sanguis Christianorum*; Ambr. *Ex.* 4.8.32 (preceding note).

martyriis coronata sit: in Paul's Epistles the life of Christ's followers is compared to a race run by an athlete for the sake of winning a laurel wreath (*corona*), the highest civic distinction in classical Greece: e.g. 2 Tim. 4:7–8: *bonum certamen certauimus, cursum consummaui, fidem seruauimus in reliquo reposita est mihi iustitiae corona quam reddet mihi Dominus in illa die iustus iudex*. The combination of this crowning imagery with the concept of the martyr (or confessor) quickly became a cliché in Christian literature. Jerome in *Ep.* 22 frequently uses the image of the crown as an incentive to Eustochium to pursue her chosen course of virginity: *Ep.* 22.3.1, 22.5.2, 22.15.2, 22.29.3, 22.39.4, 22.40.4.

et postquam ad Christianos principes uenerit: Constantine's reign saw Christianity acquire the status of *religio licita* through the Edict of Milan in 313 (Lact. *De mort. pers.* 48); Theodosius I (378–395), during whose reign the VM was written, made Nicene Christianity the official religion of the state in 380 (*Cod. Theod.* 16.1.2).

potentia quidem et diuitiis maior, sed uirtutibus minor facta sit: a variation on Sall. *Cat.* 12.1, where the idea of decline associated with riches and power is expressed in identical terms in a similar structure: *postquam diuitiae honori esse coepere et eas gloria*

imperium potentia sequebatur, hebescere uirtus, paupertas probro haberi, innocentia pro maleuolentia duci coepit.

uerum hoc alias; nunc quod imminet explicemus: two brief phrases to give the introductory passage the status of a *recusatio*. The topic of the history to come is left behind and the text reverts to the ‘exercise’ at hand. After the relationship between the two projects has been signalled, they are now separated from each other again: *alias* contrasts with *nunc*, *hoc* with *quod imminet*.

There are many instances of similar formulae in the corpus of Jerome; close parallels are e.g. *In Is.* 5.13.1 *sed de hoc alias. nunc quod cepimus exsequamur*; cf. *In Hier.* 3.1.4: *uerum haec alias. nunc in Hieremiam tertium aggrediar librum*; *C. Ruf.* 1.5 (lines 21–2) *sed haec alias. nunc ad id quod coepimus reuertamur*. On the interesting functions of transitional formulae in the *VP* and *VH* see Kech (1977: 21, 60–1)

Ch. 2: The Narrative Frame

In this chapter Jerome sets the scene for the inset autobiographical narrative which begins in chapter 3. He gives the place and the circumstances of his encounter with the protagonist and cites his friend Evagrius as a witness (§1). Finally, he introduces Malchus himself, and also the old woman with whom Malchus shares his dwelling. The childless couple are characterised as zealously devout Christians (§2). They are the object of reverential awe among their neighbours. Intrigued by the neighbours' tales, Jerome decides to find out from Malchus himself the truth about his life (§3).

§1: Setting the scene: place, time, and witness of the story

Maronias triginta ferme milibus ab Antiochia, urbe Syriae, haud grandis ad orientem distat uiculus: the location of this village, also spelt Maroneia and Maronia, is unknown. Opelt (1979: 149 n.12) summarises the inconclusive scholarly attempts to locate it. A city of the same name is mentioned at Ptol. *Geo.* 5.15.18, as part of the region of Chalcis. Schiwietz (1938: 3.221 notes 3–4) locates the village on the road between Antioch and Edessa, apparently on the sole basis of Jerome's information. Honigmann *RE* 14.2.1914 places it in the region of Armanaz: cf. van der Meer and Mohrmann (1958 map 15b), where 'Armenaz' (*sic*) is located c. thirty (Roman) miles east-south-east of Antioch and c. thirty miles west of Chalcis (cf. my map, Introduction p. 14). This location is consistent with Malchus' statement at 10.3 that after the death of his first abbot, whose monastery was in the desert of Chalcis (3.3), he goes to join the monks in Maronias: the distance would then have been quite small. But Tchalenko (1953–8: 1.152) has not found

any archaeological evidence for Maronias or for its monastery. Maronias is thought by Honigsmann to be identical to the town Maroneia which is mentioned in Appian Syr. 57 as a foundation of Seleucus I and named after an existing town in Thrace:

τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἢ Μακεδονίας ὠνόμαζεν ἢ ἐπὶ ἔργοις ἑαυτοῦ τισιν ἢ ἐς τιμὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως· ὅθεν ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτὴν ἄνω βαρβάροις πολλὰ μὲν Ἑλληνικῶν, πολλὰ δὲ Μακεδονικῶν πολισμάτων ὀνόματα, Βέρροια, Ἐδεσσα, Πέρνθος, **Μαρώνεια**, Καλλίπολις, ... Χαλκίς, κτλ.

Jerome's characterisation of its small size and his description of its location with relation to Antioch indicate that Maronias was not very prominent in his own time. This change is in keeping with the unstable fortunes of such foundations noted by Fraser (2009: 167–8). See also Cohen (2006: 146).

The phrasing of the sentence is closely paralleled at VH 2.1: *uico Tabatha, qui circiter quinque milia a Gaza, urbe Palaestinae, ad austrum situs est*. Opelt (1979: 154 n.25) points out that the habit of giving locations by indicating their distances in miles from another place is already found in Eusebius' *Onomasticon*, whose practice is discussed by Noth (1971: 1.309–31).

On the remarkable word order in this sentence see the Introduction 3.2.4e.

Maronias: the spelling of the best manuscripts (of those which I have seen, only the Sessorianus has the slightly different form *Maronius*), but since other evidence is lacking, scribal corruption is always possible. The Barrington Atlas has many Syrian place names ending in '-a', while I have not found any in '-as', but this may be the result of editorial regularisation. Dornseiff and Hansen's dictionary of Greek names (1957: 132–3) lists several Greek place names ending in -*νία*, e.g. *Gymnias* (a town in Asia, Xen. An. 4.7.19: Pape and Benseler 1863–70: 22) and *Poseidonias* (e.g. a town in Lucania: Pape and Benseler 1863–70: 1241); 'Maronias' is listed in Dornseiff and Hansen (1957: 133) as the name of a wind, but Pape and Benseler (1863–70: 868) list only the Chalcidician place, with a reference to Ptol. Geo. 15.15.18 (cf. previous note).

triginta ferme milibus: a Roman mile (1,000 *passus*) measures between 1.48 and 1.485 km: Witthöft, *Der Neue Pauly* 15.311.

ferme: for the incidence of *ferme* versus *ferē* see the table in the *TLL* VI.1.492 s.v. *ferē*, which shows that *ferē* is overwhelmingly preferred except by a few stylists such as Livy, Tacitus in the *Annals* and *Histories*, Apuleius, and Jerome (but not in the Vulgate, where *ferē* is the norm: thirteen instances against two of *ferme*). All my five manuscripts agree on *ferme* both here and at 9.6 *tribus ferme uel quattuor cubitis*.

haud grandis: the phrase occurs six times in Jerome's corpus. Two other instances qualify *uiculus* and two more are used with *homunculus*: this means that five out of six instances occur with diminutives. The phrase is not found elsewhere in pre-medieval Latin in the LLT-A.

The distribution of *haud* in Latin literature is discussed in Wackernagel (1926–8: 2.256 = Langslow 2009: 720–1): frequent in Old Latin, it is avoided by many classical authors or restricted to formulaic uses. It returns to relative prominence in Livy and in Tacitus' historical works (but not in his *Dialogus*). Semantically *haud* and *non* are synonyms, but the distribution of *haud* is more limited: it predominantly occurs in combination with adjectives and adverbs, and only with a very narrow range of verbs. In combination with the recherché *ferme* (previous note), *haud* confirms the high register of this geographical opening.

The incidence and register of *grandis* are discussed below at 5.1.

post multos uel dominos uel patronos: the role of the village patron in Syria is discussed in detail in Libanius, *Or.* 47. He complains that the traditional role of the nobility (i.e. landholders like Libanius and Evagrius) in maintaining order in the village, providing financial and legal support, and securing the water supply has been eroded by commanders of soldiers stationed nearby, who assume the function of a new class of

patrons and are paid by the villagers to attack imperial tax collectors, landlords, and other inhabitants of the village. Brown (1971: 85–91) emphasises that patronage is not a sign of villagers’ weakness but a result of their prosperity and power, and that they may often have chosen their own patron to represent them in the presence of official authorities and to mediate quarrels among them. On this interpretation the patron is rather similar to the holy man in his role as the mediator *par excellence* on account of his special relationship with God (Brown 1971 *passim*). This similarity may account for the close relationship which this chapter establishes between the patron Evagrius and the holy man Malchus: in a sense they are both ‘patrons’ of Maronias.

uel dominos uel patronos: very probably an instance of a weakened use of *uel*, which can assume a non-disjunctive meaning especially in later Latin: according to Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 502) *uel* can come close in meaning to *et*. Early examples of this use are Ter. *Heaut.* 53–6 *quamquam haec inter nos nuper notitia admodumst ..., tamen uel uirtus tua me uel uicinitas facit, ut eqs.*; Plaut. *Amph.* 444–5 *sura, pes, statura, tonsus, oculi, nasum uel labra, / malae, mentum, barba, collus: totus* (Löfstedt 1911: 197–201); cf. Prop. 2.8.39 *inferior multo cum sim uel matre uel armis*. For later Latin see Svennung (1935: 495–6) on Palladius’ *Opus Agriculturae*, e.g. 1.21 *stabula equorum uel boum*. A non-disjunctive interpretation of *uel ... uel* in the present passage reduces the emphasis on the differences which may be found between *domini* and *patroni*. I understand that *dominus* is the more restricted term, identifying a narrower category of landowners who had some representative powers over their tenants, while the broader term *patronus* includes people of all types of legal status, as long as they had power, the typical sources of which were wealth and/or arms (cf. de Zulueta 1909 *passim*). The phrase *ad Euagrii ... possessionem deuolutus est* indicates that Evagrius comes to be the

owner of the village, i.e. the landlord of the tenant villagers. This would make Evagrius a *dominus*.

dum ego adolescentulus morarer in Syria: this episode must have taken place during the time which Jerome spent with Evagrius at Antioch from c. 373 (Kelly 1975: 37; Cavallera 1922: 2.13 argues that Evagrius himself only arrived in Antioch in 374/5: see note on *papae Euagrii necessarii mei* below), before moving on to the neighbouring desert c. 374 (Kelly 1975: 44; Rebenich 1992: 76 n. 331). The construction with *dum* indicates that the transfer of the village into Evagrius' possession took place during the same period as Jerome's stay with him. This means that Malchus may only recently have entered into relations with Evagrius.

Van den Ven (1901: 218) quotes from Jerome's description of this period in *Ep.* 22.30.1: *cum ante annos plurimos domo, parentibus, sorore, cognatis ... propter caelorum me regna castrassem et Hierosolymam militaturus pergerem, bybliothecca quam mihi ... confeceram carere non poteram* (echoed in Malchus' lament at 6.4: *quid prodest parentes, patriam, rem familiarem contempsisse pro Domino, si hoc facio quod ut ne facerem illa contempsissem?*).

The birth date of Jerome is controversial. Prosper of Aquitaine (*Chronicon*, PL 51 col. 576) gives it as 331; on the other hand he asserts that Jerome died in 419/20 (no doubt the more reliably dated event) in his ninety-first year (*ibid.* col. 592), which yields a birth date in 329/30. Hamblenne (1969), who investigates the age terms which Jerome uses of himself throughout his work, and Kelly (1975: 337–9) essentially follow Prosper in accepting a date at the beginning of the 330s. Most modern scholars, by contrast, prefer to assume a date in the second half of the 340s: Cavallera (1922: 2.10) already proposed 347 on the basis of Jerome's *In Hab.* 2.3.14–16 (CC 76A p. 645), where Jerome states that he was still *in grammaticae ludo* at the time of the emperor Julian's death in 363.

This statement appears to exclude categorically a birth date in the 330s: boys usually left the school of the *grammaticus* at about sixteen years of age (cf. Marrou 1965: 390, with Jay 1973: 267), and if Jerome had been born in 330/1 he would have been at least thirty-one by 363. Cavallera's argument has received very influential support by Jay (1973, arguing against Hamblenne), who moderates Cavallera's 'précision peut-être excessive' (Jay 1973: 263) and places Jerome's birth date between 345 and 347 to allow for irregularities in the education system. Jay is followed e.g. by Mohrmann *et al.* (1983: xxxii n.5); cf. Booth (1979) and Rebenich (1992: 21).

Jerome's self-description as an *adulescentulus* here fits into the scheme proposed by Cavallera and Jay. If born in 347, Jerome would have been about twenty-five when meeting Malchus in the early 370s – admittedly not a teenager, but still youthful enough. Yet this aptness is all but coincidental: age terms in Jerome, as in Latin literature more generally, are notoriously indeterminate (e.g. Cavallera 1922: 2.1–12; Axelson 1948 on *iuuenis* versus *adulescens*; Powell 1988: 2 n. 8, with further classical examples). An element of incongruity can be found in Jerome's self-description at the end of the VM, where he calls himself a *senex*: in terms of actual chronology he is only about 17 years older at the time of writing than when he met Malchus (for this point see Schiwietz 1938: 221 n.4, cf. p. 215, and Opelt 1979: 154 n.24). The terms *adulescentulus* and *senex* are used primarily rhetorically to establish a relationship of authority between the aged Malchus and the young Jerome in ch. 2 and between the aged Jerome and his audience in ch. 11.

adulescentulus: according to Axelson (1948: 11), *adulescens* is a lower-register prosaic synonym for the more high-style *iuuenis*. During the time of the Roman Republic *iuuenis* was very rare except in poetry; it was then adopted for prose by the Augustans. The diminutive may be pragmatically rather than semantically motivated: instead of

indicating that Jerome's youth was extreme, it probably expresses an affective relationship between the young and (as yet) insignificant Jerome and the important *papa* Evagrius.

papae Euagrii necessarii mei: for Evagrius cf. Jer. *Ep.* 1.15.1, 3.3.2, 4.2.2, 5.3, 7.1.2, and 15.5.1; *Chron.* AD 273, *GCS* 47 p. 222 lines 15–22; *Vir. ill.* 125. His life is summarised at *PLRE* 1:285–6, s.v. 'Evagrius 6'; a detailed account of his life and his relations with Jerome, including an extensive bibliography, is provided by Rebenich (1992: 52–75). Evagrius was a friend and, according to Socrates 6.3.2, a pupil of Libanius; his family connections extended to Egypt (*Lib. Ep.* 1467). He used the influence of the prefect Salutius to evade the decurionate by becoming ἄρχων (*Lib. Ep.* 1426). In 364 he was convicted of misuse of office, was dismissed in disgrace and fined a sum which exceeded his considerable wealth. Eventually he was granted reprieve (cf. e.g. *Lib. Ep.* 1462, 1463). On the basis of a literal interpretation of Jer. *Ep.* 1.15.2 Cavallera (1922: 2.13) suggests that Evagrius left for the East after the death of Auxentius in 374; cf. Kelly (1975: 36–8). When Jerome stayed at his estate in Antioch, Evagrius had already been ordained presbyter (Jer. *Ep.* 4.2.2). One of the rivalling bishops of Antioch, Paulinus, on his deathbed illegally consecrated Evagrius to be his successor in 388 (*Theod. HE* 5.23; Severus of Antioch *Ep.* 5.6 according to Rebenich 1992: 74 n. 326), and Evagrius did not survive his consecration long (*Socr.* 5.15.2, *Soz.* 7.15.1, 8.3.5). He was still alive in 392 (Jer. *Vir. ill.* 125, *Ambr. Ep.* 70 (56 Maur.)); it is generally assumed that he died in late 393 or early 394 (Rebenich 1992: 74).

De Vogüé (1991–2007: 2.82) points out that Evagrius provides Jerome's connection not only with Malchus (cf. on *quem idcirco* ... below) but also with the woman of Verceil, whose quasi-martyrdom Jerome describes in *Ep.* 1 (his first extant work of original composition (Kelly 1975: 39–40); Cavallera 1922: 2.13–14 dates it to

374 or early 375; cf. the table at 2.153). *Ep.* 1 has a number of thematic parallels with the *VM*, most notably the central themes of chastity and violence. From both stories Evagrius emerges as a patron of Christian virtue as presented by Jerome. Furthermore, as the translator of Athanasius' *VA* he provides the generic link between Greek hagiography and Jerome's monastic biographies (*VP* 1: *de Antonio tam Graeco quam Romano stilo diligenter memoriae traditum est*: see de Vogüé 1991–2007: 2.82).

The word *papa* is an honorific title generally applied to bishops; it can sometimes be applied to lower clergy. For the latter (rarer) use the *TLL* X.1.248.18ff. cites the *Acta* of the ecumenical council of Chalcedon (451: *misi ... presbyterum Abramium; ... expecto papam Abramium* (Schwartz 1914: vol. II.2.1, p. 9, 18); cf. *TLL* X.1. 244.37f.: Ruf. *Expositio Symboli* 1.1 addresses Laurentius, whose status as a bishop is not otherwise attested, as *fidelissime papa Laurenti* (*PL* 21.335). However, the bulk of the evidence in the *TLL* suggests that the word would most often be used of a bishop; and it seems likely that Jerome would refer to Evagrius in this manner by way of compliment after his consecration, to confirm his support against his rival Flavian. Grützmacher (1901–8: 1.63) even speculates that the news of Evagrius' consecration first inspired Jerome to compose the *VM* in his honour.¹ Bartelink (1980: 28) observes that Jerome tends to put *papa* before a personal name, while *episcopus* is occasionally placed after it (cf. e.g. *C. Ruf.* 3.24, lines 1–3 *tale quid et contra papam Anastasium disputas, ut quia Siricii episcopi habes epistolam, iste contra te scribere non potuerit*).

But even if, as seems reasonable in view of the evidence, *papa* is here used to mean 'bishop' it is noteworthy that the word is used anachronistically. The dramatic date of the reference is Jerome's visit to Evagrius in the 370s, more than a decade before he

¹ This hypothesis is supported by Jer. *Chron.* GCS 47 p. 222, where an ancestor of Evagrius, Pompeianus Francus, is credited with victory over Zenobia, the Nabatean queen of Palmyra, in the third century (cf. Rebenich 1992: 52 with n. 192). The *VM*'s engagement with a hostile eastern people may be read as a delicate allusion to Evagrius' ancestry.

was consecrated. If the use is proleptic, the fact that it refers to Evagrius' status not in the past but at the time of writing is not made explicit by Jerome and needs to be implied (and justified) by the reader.

Despite this difficulty, most scholars have used this interpretation (i.e. that *papa* means 'bishop' and refers to Evagrius at the time of writing) to establish Evagrius' consecration in 388 or 389 as *terminus post quem* for the composition of the VM. On the implications for the dating of the VM see Introduction 1.3.

ad ... possessionem deuolutus est: in legal contexts *deuoluor* is a standard term for the transfer of property, especially (but not exclusively) by inheritance. Most of the TLL citations on this meaning (V.1.872.13–31) are from the juristic corpora. In non-technical literature the word starts to occur in this sense in the fourth century (Ruf. *HE* 1.6.7, Cassian *Conl.* 12.6.3). It is clear from an error in the earliest manuscript (the Neapolitanus, which reads *sum* for *est*) that *deuoluor* was interpreted between the fourth and the seventh century in a non-legal way to signify movement to a place (*ad ... Euagrii ... possessionem deuolutus sum* 'I came to the estate of Evagrius' rather than 'I came into Evagrius' possession'). This misinterpretation persisted in the Greek version (and also in the Syriac translation which follows the Greek closely), and even in the paraphrase by the Bollandist De Buck in the *Acta Sanctorum* (Oct. 9, p. 60–1): *dum adolescentulus moraretur in Syria, ad papae Euagrii, necessarii sui, possessionem deuolutus erat eqs.:* Van den Ven (1901: 218–20), Schiwietz (1938: 218).

quem idcirco ... scripturus sum: Evagrius functions as the guarantor of the truth of Jerome's story. This kind of pre-empting and addressing a reader's doubts is familiar from the novel: Leclerc (SC 2007: 38) finds this strategy in Apuleius' *Met.* 9.30 and 11.23. In a similar way at VH 1.5 Jerome refers to the bishop Epiphanius as witness for his account.

unde: a generalising expression: Evagrius is not the direct source of Jerome's knowledge, but his name is a marker of its provenance; 'from where' is an appropriate translation of the word. If it should be understood in the sense 'from whom', this use of *unde* is attested already in Cato Agr. 5.3 [*uilicus*] *duas aut tres familias habeat, unde utenda roget et quibus det* ('from whom he may demand ...') and continues into Romance (Väänänen ed. Limentani 2003: 219). Löfstedt (1911: 180–1) takes this extended use of *unde* to be colloquial; cf. Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 208–9), Svennung (1935: 615n.). See also VM 7.3 *unde* 'consequently', with note.

§2: A description of Malchus and his way of life

erat illic senex quidam nomine Malchus, quem nos Latine 'Regem' possumus dicere: Malchus was a common name in Syria. Porphyry, who was born in Tyre, i.e. in Aramaic-speaking Phoenicia, reveals that his original name was Malchus at *Plot.* 17: Βασιλεὺς δὲ τοῦνομα τῷ Πορφυρίῳ ἐμοὶ προσῆν, κατὰ μὲν πατριον διάλεκτον Μάλκῳ κεκλημένῳ ... τοῦ δὲ Μάλκου ἐρμηνείαν ἔχοντος βασιλεὺς, εἴ τις εἰς Ἑλληνίδα διάλεκτον μεταβάλλειν ἐθέλοι ('I, Porphyry, had the name "King" [Basileus], as I was called "Malkos" in my native language ... and Malkos has the meaning 'king', if one wants to translate it into Greek'). The nickname Porphyry is derived from the fact that purple is a typical attribute of a king; cf. Beutler *RE* 22.1.276.

Jerome's learned translation of the name is an inversion of his practice of introducing exotic vocabulary elsewhere, e.g. VP 6.2 *in cisterna ueteri quam gentili sermone Syri 'gubbam' uocant* and VH 28.3 *draco mirae magnitudinis, quos gentili sermone 'boas' uocant*. Usually the foreign word is introduced by its Latin definition,

whereas here the Latin explanation follows the exotic reference (as would be expected when discussing a person's name). Here *quem* refers to the person of Malchus (rather than the Aramaic word *malech*, or perhaps rather *mlk*: Creason 2004: 391); hence *regem* should be capitalised and the phrase translated 'there was a certain old man of the name Malchus, whom we can call "Rex" in Latin.'

The practice of glossing or supplying words which the intended readership would not know is frequent in the Bible, e.g. Dan. 5:25–8, where Daniel interprets a divine message in an obscure language; Mk. 15:34 *et hora nona exclamavit Iesus uoce magna dicens Heloi Heloi lama sabachthani quod est interpretatum Deus meus Deus meus ut quid dereliquisti me*; Jn. 19:13 *Pilatus ... et sedit pro tribunali in locum qui dicitur Lithostrotus hebraice autem Gabbatha*. Glosses are a principal function of commentaries: cf. Jer. In *Matth.* 4.26.51: *Malchus, id est rex*. De Vogüé (1991–2007: 2.82) draws attention to this biblical character Malchus, who remains anonymous at Mt. 26.51 (in the commentary Jerome supplies the name from the version found at Jn. 18:10). He is a servant of the High Priest Caiaphas, and during the arrest of Jesus at Gethsemane Peter cuts off the servant's ear. Jesus rebukes Peter; in the version of Lk. 22:51 Jesus then heals the servant. The biblical Malchus (and, by extension, the protagonist of the *VM*) is interpreted by de Vogüé as a personification of the Jewish people which had been enslaved and was being liberated through Christ, a movement which de Vogüé finds mirrored in the story of the captive monk.

The same word was used by the Semitic-speaking Saracens of their tribal chieftains: cf. Caner (2010: 41) and see in particular Amm. 24.2.4 *Malechus Podosacis nomine, phylarchus Saracenorum Assanitarum, famosi nominis latro*. In the case of a story about a Saracen captive, should this parallel be taken to be a coincidence?

Another nuance of Jerome's gloss may be added by comparing the statement with Sen. *Ep.* 108.13, on the philosopher Attalus: *ipse regem se esse dicebat, sed plus quam regnare mihi uidebatur, cui liceret censuram agere regnantium*. Malchus 'the King' may be named thus to provide a similar paradigm: he enjoys the 'regal' status of a philosopher because he has overcome his desire for possessions and sex and is therefore in a position to rule himself and to instruct others.

Syrus natione et lingua: the 'Syrian language' is Aramaic, of which Syriac is a dialect developed by the Christian population of Syria and Mesopotamia from c. 200 AD onwards. Millar (1971: 7) advocates the restriction of the term 'Syriac' to the dialect of Edessa and the distinctive script and literary idiom which this region produced. See also Creason (2004: 392). Millar (2010: 63) notes Jerome's comments on the linguistic situation which he encounters during his stay near Antioch in his Letters:

... he describes himself as living in an area between Syria, or the *Syri*, and 'Saracen' territory (*Letters* 95.1; 7.1; 15.2; 16.2); and makes two jokes, first on the need either to learn a *barbarus sermo* or to keep silent (7.2), and the second inviting his addressee to imagine him going round the churches of the region preaching in either Syriac or Greek (17.2). There is no explicit claim to his having studied Syriac at this moment; but he must have done so at some time, for in his subsequent discussions of readings in Biblical texts he not only refers frequently to Syriac terms, but always distinguishes between Syriac and what he calls 'Chaldaean', which invariably means Jewish Aramaic (as found for instance in Daniel or Ezra ...).

Adams (2003a: 269) discusses the extent of Jerome's proficiency in Aramaic: although he took some pains to become acquainted with it (*In Dan.*, *praef.* (PL 28 col. 1292) *multo sudore multoque tempore uix coepissem anhelantia stridentiaque uerba resonare*), he apparently never learned to speak it properly (*ibid.*: *et ut uerum fatear, usque ad praesentem diem magis possum sermonem Chaldaicum legere et intellegere quam sonare*). That his passive knowledge was also deficient is revealed by his procedure in translating the book of Tobit, for which he employed a man to translate it orally from Aramaic into Hebrew:

quia uicina est Chaldeorum lingua sermoni Hebraico, utriusque linguae peritissimum loquacem repperiens, unius diei laborem arripui et quicquid ille mihi Hebraicis uerbis expressit, haec ego accito notario, sermonibus latinis exposui (*Prol. Tob.*).

This method is discussed in Millar (2010: 68), who concludes ‘that Jerome was familiar with the Aramaic of the Bible, but found it, by comparison with Hebrew, more difficult to understand when read aloud, or to read aloud himself.’ On Saracens speaking the *Syrus sermo* see *VH* 16.1–4, with Millar (2010: 75–6).

ut re uera eiusdem loci indigena: there is great confusion in the manuscripts concerning the words preceding *eiusdem*. Variants cited in Morales’ 2007 apparatus are: *ut rebar*, *utebatur* and *ut fatebar*; the table at Morales (1991:38) gives *ut rebar*, *utebatur*, *ut rebera*, *et erat*, *reuera ut*, *et ut fatebar*. Mierow prints *et ut rebar* (cf. below) and gives the variants *theubaston* and *theutubaston* (a place name which occurs at *VH* 20.9: the remoteness of these variants gives a good indication how serious the confusion is). From Jameson (1943) the following situation can be excerpted; it is likely that the evidence is incomplete. According to Jameson’s notes, several manuscripts have *utebatur* (pp. 474, 495);² one has *ut rebar* (p. 474);³ many have *rebar* (p. 495);⁴ three have *re uera ut* (p. 485);⁵ some have *re uera* (p. 495);⁶ two have *erat* (p. 489);⁷ several have *fatebatur* (p. 505);⁸ two have *confitebatur* (p. 506).⁹ From Jameson’s tables it is not always clear which of these readings are preceded by *et* or *ut*. According to my own transcriptions, the Neapolitanus has *et re uera*; the Monacensis has *ut rebar*; the Parisinus has *et ut re uera*; the Sessorianus has *et ut* (deletion) *bar*; and the Laurentianus has *ut re uera*.

² Berolinensis Lat. 791, as well as most members of groups G and H.

³ Bruxellensis Lat. II, 1181.

⁴ Groups ADIJKR, as well as Cameracensis 864 (767), Parisinus Lat. 3784, Parisinus Lat. 5314, Vallicellianus 17.

⁵ Andegavensis 284 (275); Andegavensis 807 (723); Cantabrigiensis Mm. 28.

⁶ Groups LT and the Neapolitanus.

⁷ Berolinensis Lat. 782, Catalaunensis 53 (57).

⁸ Bruxellensis Lat. 4815/18, which belongs to group G, and Berolinensis Lat. 117, Berolinensis Lat. 780, Bruxellensis Lat. 9398/99, Erlangensis 161, Monacensis 2540, Remensis 1390, and Sangallensis 558 from group E.

ut re uera is printed by Morales (SC 2007) and appears to produce the best sense: *ut re uera eiusdem loci indigena* may be translated as ‘like a genuine native of this place’, if we take comparative *ut* (cf. *OLD* s.v. *ut* (7)) closely with *indigena*, which is further modified by *re uera* ‘really’. Fuhrmann (1977: 60 n.1) tentatively suggests that *ut* is here equivalent to *tamquam* (cf. the use of *uelut* in Hor. *Sat.* 2.7.97–9 *miror / proelia rubrica picta aut carbone, uelut si / re uera pugnent*); but this type of modal *ut* is not discussed in Hofmann and Szantyr. Thus Fuhrmann’s desired meaning ‘as if he was in fact a native’ – which would correctly imply that Malchus’ status as a Maronian native is only an impression which may or may not be true – cannot legitimately be wrestled from this version. By contrast, a causal interpretation of *ut* (‘inasmuch as’, ‘given that’) would be grammatically permissible: see Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 635) and especially *OLD* s.v. *ut* (21). This causal function is accepted in Leclerc’s translation of Morales’ text (SC 2007): ‘car il était originaire de ce même lieu’; but this produces the wrong meaning overall because Malchus, as it turns out, is not originally from Maronias. A philological difficulty in adopting comparative *ut* is that there are no parallels for Jerome’s use of the collocation *ut re uera* in the LLT-A.

The case for and against alternative solutions can be argued as follows:

a) *et re uera* ‘and he was in fact a native of the same place’ produces a phrase which is overwhelmingly frequently paralleled in Jerome’s corpus (forty-three instances in LLT-A).¹⁰ It is also the reading of the Neapolitanus, the oldest and apparently most

⁹ Sangallensis 579 from group E and Scaphusianus 104.

¹⁰ In the biblical commentaries Jerome frequently uses *et re uera* to mark a climax in argument, introducing a statement which confirms preceding claims or proves the truth of the words of the Bible, e.g. *In Matt.* 1. line 867:

et de uestimento quid solliciti estis? sicut animam plus esse quam cibum comparatione auium demonstrat, sic corpus plus esse quam uestem ex sequentibus rebus ostendit dicens: considerate lilia agri quomodo crescunt, et reliqua. **et re uera**, quod sericum, quae regum purpura, quae pictura textricum potest floribus comparari?

reliable manuscript (cf. Introduction 4). But like the causal interpretation of *ut*, printing *et* produces a contradiction in the narrative: Malchus himself states that he is a native not of Maronias but Nisibis (3.1).

The contradiction would seem to disappear if we accept *Maroniati* for *Nisibeni* at 3.1 as in Mierow's edition of the text; but such a change would produce a greater problem than it solves (cf. commentary *ad loc.*). An alternative way around this difficulty would be to assume that *locus* refers not to the place of Maronias but to the region of Syria: for *locus* indicating a region or a territory, which is occasionally attested, the *TLL* VII.1581.73f. cites Cic. *Att.* 7.3.10: *uenio ad 'Piraea,' in quo magis reprehendendus sum quod homo Romanus 'Piraea' scripserim, non 'Piraeum' (sic enim omnes nostri locuti sunt), quam quod addiderim <'in'>; non enim hoc ut oppido praeposui sed ut loco.* But, firstly, the current passage would stretch this use, in my view beyond credibility, as it would have to refer not just to 'the area around Maronias' as in the Ciceronian example but to the vast territory between Antioch and Nisibis; and, secondly, taking Syria as the referent of 'the same place' would make the phrase almost tautological as Malchus has already been identified as 'Syrian by birth and language', which would make it surprising if he was *not* in fact a native of Syria.

However, the tautology need not be condemned too strictly: it can be a conversational trope. *idem* need not be pointed (as in 'that very place') but is sometimes used in an anaphoric sense, comparable to *supradictus* 'the aforementioned', a use which has affinities with the emergent definite article: cf. Abel (1971: 162), with further bibliography. The sense of the phrase would then be 'a Syrian by race and speech – and literally a native ('born in', an allusion to the etymology of *indigena*) of the aforementioned locality'. From the point of view of Jerome's Roman readers, Syria, despite being big, could be conceived as a region, due to its provincial status: for

conceptual shrinking of remote territories one may compare Saul Steinberg's 1976 map of 'The World as seen from New York's 9th Avenue'. Such a loose interpretation would accommodate the reading *et re uera*. The emphasis is not on the precise definition of Malchus' origins but on the general impression which he makes on Jerome. *et re uera* further has the advantage of producing a text which is grammatically faultless and which accords with Jerome's idiom elsewhere.¹¹

b) *(et) ut rebar* '(and), as I thought, a native of this place' arguably gives the best sense, considering that Malchus turns out in the next chapter to be a native of Nisibis, not of Maronias. *ut rebar* would indicate that Jerome only *assumed* that Malchus is from Maronias, while (correctly) implying that the assumption is false. *ut rebar* is printed in Hurter's edition (used as a foil by both Jameson and Morales 1991) and accepted by de Vogüé (1991–2007: 2.82 n. 25). It may be supported by the use of *sic ... rebar* in Virg. *Aen.* 6.690 (cf. Introduction 2.2.3 for the importance of Virgil as a literary model for Jerome). The problems with this phrase are technical. 1) It does not have much support in the best manuscripts; of my transcriptions, only the Monacensis has *ut rebar*, and possibly the Sessorianus, which reads *et ut* (deletion) *bar*. 2) A search of Jerome's corpus on the LLT-A finds no other instances of *reor* used in the imperfect first person as here, whereas the LLT-A gives sixty instances of *re uera* in Jerome's corpus.

c) *uidebatur* preceded by a colon, semicolon, or full stop after *lingua*: 'he appeared to be a native'. This is an emendation apparently supported by the version *utebatur*, which might have arisen from *uidebatur* and which is found in some inferior manuscripts according to Morales' apparatus and Jameson (1946: 474, 495, see above). *uidebatur* would leave the situation open so that the reader could supply the correct state

¹¹ We may add that at least in the immediate context this solution does not require elaborate subtleties of interpretation or special grammatical pleading. The gap between this statement and other parts of the VM may simply have to be accepted: after all, a comparable contradiction is found between Jerome's

of affairs, as the reference to appearance suggests a certain amount of doubt as to its veracity. In its immediate context this word seems so straightforward that it would hardly account for the amount of confusion experienced by the scribes. On the other hand, it would represent a stylistic lapse: it is too similar to *uisebatur* at the end of the next sentence and therefore seems likely to arise from scribal dittography.

d) Since all of these solutions are unsatisfactory to some extent one may choose to posit a lacuna in the text (e.g. after *re uera*), which, if supplied, would make *re uera* refer to something else and negate the phrase ‘a native of this same place.’ I have no suggestions, however, for words to fill such an assumed lacuna which would supply the required meaning.

eiusdem loci: twice elsewhere in Jerome: *In Dan.* 2.8 in a translation of Josephus; *Vir. ill.* 35.

indigena: usually opposed to *aduena* in Jerome.

anus quoque in eius contubernio: the discrepancy between the frame and Malchus’ narrative in this respect has often been pointed out (Fuhrmann 1977: 63 n.1; Berschin 1986: 1.141; de Vogüé 1991–2007: 2.83; Morales 2007: 188n). At 10.3 Malchus concludes his autobiography: *me monachis reddo; hanc trado uirginibus*. The most natural interpretation of this statement is that they joined different communities.¹² Yet Jerome here says that they are living together *in ... contubernio*, literally ‘in a sharing

description of the old couple living together in ch. 2 below and Malchus’ claim that he and the woman joined separate monasteries (10.3: cf. next note and Introduction).

¹² But Van den Ven’s figurative interpretation (1901: 254n. 2) should also be noted: he suggests that the meaning of the Latin *me monachis reddo; hanc trado uirginibus, diligens eam ut sororem, non tamen ei me credens ut sorori* (‘I rejoin the monks; the woman I give to the virgins, loving her as a sister, yet not entrusting myself to her as to a sister’) does not mean that they attach themselves to different communities, only that Malchus continues to live as a monk and the woman like a virgin, but that this statement does not preclude their sharing of one habitation: ‘Quoiqu’ils habitent tous les deux sous le même toit, veut dire S. Jérôme, Malchus mène la vie d’un moine et sa compagne celle d’une vierge. L’incidente *quia jam abbas ...*, les verbes *reddo* et *trado* au présent, les mots *diligens eam ...*, le portrait des deux vieillards tracé au début du récit, tout cela rend toute autre interprétation inadmissible.’ This suggestion is an economical way of removing the inconsistency, but it may not be the most obvious interpretation: would ancient readers have understood it in this way?

of the tent': *contubernium* can signify companionship (especially of military comrades), concubinage, a substitute for marriage among slaves, or even a valid (citizen) marriage (*TLL* IV.792.45ff.). The contradiction can only be solved by the assumption that Malchus and the woman move back together at some unspecified point between the end of Malchus' account and the time when Jerome meets them: thus e.g. Fuhrmann (1977: 63 n.1). De Vogüé (1991–2007: 2.83) seems to imply the same when he interprets the narrator's emphasis on the woman's great age as a justification of their cohabitation, which they would have entered only in the final stage of their lives. In the SC edition (2007: 76), by contrast, de Vogüé suggests that Jerome may not have remembered his initial scenario when writing 10.3. Burrus (2004: 38) gives a more psychologised account of the inconsistency:

[i]n the gap between the young Jerome's initial, burning question concerning the character of this coupling ... and the elderly Malchus's elusively narrated answer, we can locate the "idiomatic problem" that is also a matrix of unmentionable desire.

The Greek paraphrase avoids the problem altogether: there is no mention of the woman in the frame, so the reader can take Malchus' account of their separation at face value.

ualde decrepita et iam morti proxima: the woman's old age is emphasised more than that of Malchus. Her withered state serves as an outward proof of the chastity of their union (de Vogüé 1991–2007: 2.83; Morales 2007: 188). For this assumption we may adduce Suet. *Oth.* 2.2 *diligere simulauit quamuis anum ac paene decrepitam*, which confirms the notion that it is impossible to love a woman who is even close to being *decrepita*. *decrepitus* appears to be a comic word (five instances in Plautus, two in Terence, very rare in classical Latin: cf. Burton 2007: 53). As in the present case it usually reinforces terms of old age (*senex decrepitus*, *anus decrepita*).

tam studiosi ambo religionis: this is the reading of the five manuscripts at my disposal. Morales (1991, 2007) prints *studiose*, which is problematic on grounds of concinnity, and cites only one manuscript witness giving *studiosi* in the 2007 apparatus (Casinensis 140, which I have not seen) and two different manuscript witnesses (Cambridge (Mass.) Ms Typ 194H and Alcobaça 15 (367) in the 1991 apparatus. Mierow's text, *tam studiosi ambo et religiosi*, although an attractive conjunct hyperbaton with a Ciceronian structural parallel (*Leg. 2.47 pontifices ambo et eidem iuris peritissimi*) has only weak support in the overall hierarchy of manuscripts.¹³ In addition, the fact that a number of Mierow's own manuscripts omit *et* points to a version which reads *tam studiosi ambo religionis* as printed here. Five of the manuscripts studied by Jameson (1943: 465, her numbers 46, 47, 50, 51, 79h) have *studiose ambo* as well as *religiosi*. If this means that *et* is omitted in these (this is not clear from her notation), the combination *studiose ambo religiosi* ('both zealously religious') is inelegant but not strictly ungrammatical.

et sic ecclesiae limen terentes: wearing out a patron's threshold is a typical activity of clients (cf. Martial 10.10.1–3: *cum tu ... / mane saluator limina mille teras, / hic ego quid faciam?* and *id.* 12.29.1). Morales (2007 *ad loc.*) gives Eccli. 6:36 as a biblical parallel: *et si uideris sensatum euigila ad illum et gradus ostiorum illius exerat pes tuus* ('and if you see a man of understanding, go to him early in the morning, and let your foot wear the steps of his doors').

ut Zachariam et Elisabeth de euangelio crederes: Elizabeth and Zechariah are the parents of John the Baptist in Luke's gospel. They are already very old when he is born. Jerome's sentence recalls Lk. 1:6–7:

erant autem iusti ambo ante Deum incedentes in omnibus mandatis et iustificationibus Domini sine querella. et non erat illis filius eo quod esset Elisabeth sterilis et ambo processissent in diebus suis.

¹³ See the Introduction 4 (p. 71) on the limited manuscript basis for Mierow's text.

nisi quod Ioannes in medio non erat: in contrast to the childlessness of Zechariah and Elizabeth (cf. above), which is a source of distress to them,¹⁴ that of Malchus and the old woman is a sign of God's favour as it indicates their chaste life. The phrase is therefore an allusion to the radical change in value between the Old and the New Covenant: in the Old, children were habitually seen as one of the chief blessings from God; from St Paul onwards (where it was motivated by an expectation that the world would end soon) marriage and family are considered as obstacles to a holy life, devoted only to God.

De Vogüé (1991–2007: 2.83) adds a further respect in which the reference to John is relevant to the characterisation of Malchus. The prophet who lived in the desert and lived on honey and locusts was regarded as a main model for Christian monks.¹⁵ De Vogüé contrasts the barrenness of the old couple with the spiritual fertility of Jerome and Paula, of whom he considers Malchus and the woman to be a kind of allegory: 'Jérôme et Paula reviennent à notre pensée, mais non sans ce que manquait aux vieux époux syriens: une postérité de moines et de moniales.' But this interpretation produces less of a contrast than assumed by de Vogüé: if it is valid, Jerome, addressed by Malchus as *mi nate* at 3.1, should count as Malchus' spiritual offspring.

§3: *Jerome's enquiries*

de his cum curiose ab accolis quaererem: it is remarkable that the sight of an old and devout couple should excite such curiosity. Jerome's reaction makes the reader feel that there is something special about their relationship which justifies questions about

¹⁴ This is a theme from the Old Testament: formerly barren women miraculously conceive great heroes, e.g. Sarah and Isaac, Rachel and Joseph, Hannah and Samuel.

its nature. Note that *curiosus* here is reinforced by the polyptoton with its comparative *curiosius* below. Forms of *curiosus* and *curiositas* occur thirty-nine times in Apul. *Met.*, where the action is essentially driven by curiosity. Desire to find out about his hostess' witchcraft produces the metamorphosis of Lucius into a donkey and continues to lead him into trouble:

... anxius alioquin et nimis cupidus cognoscendi quae rara miraque sunt, reputansque me media Thessaliae loca tenere, qua artis magicae natiua cantamina totius orbis consono ore celebrentur, fabulamque illam optimi comitis Aristomenis de situ ciuitatis huius exortam, suspensus alioquin et uoto simul et studio, curiose singula considerabam (Apul. *Met.* 2.1).¹⁵

As Leigh observes (forthcoming) with reference to Apuleius' model, the *Onos* of Lucian, curiosity here as elsewhere is usually presented as a negative urge, associated with a surfeit of appetite. The misfortunes of the protagonist Lucius can be interpreted in both Lucian and Apuleius as punishment for his curiosity: cf. Apul. *Met.* 11.15 *curiositatis improsperae sinistrum praemium reportasti*. In the inserted story of Cupid and Psyche (Apul. *Met.* 4.28–6.24), Psyche's fall from grace is likewise a consequence of her curiosity: Merkelbach (1962: 1–2).

quaenam esset eorum copula, matrimonii, sanguinis, an spiritus: marriage and family ties are to be expected as explanations for two people sharing a home, and it is striking that the young Jerome seems to consider 'spiritual' ties as similarly probable. There are parallels for chaste marriages in fourth-century Syria, e.g. Amun in Palladius *Hist. Laus.* 8; cf. also the apocryphal Acts of Thomas (11–16), where Christ convinces a young royal Syrian couple on their wedding day to live in chastity (cf. Introduction 1.1.5). As Malchus' story unfolds it turns out that all three labels are appropriate to some degree: he came together with the woman in a type of marriage, albeit unconsummated

¹⁵ He is twice invoked in this role, together with Elijah, at VP 1.1 and 13.1; cf. also VH 1.7.

¹⁶ Another echo of the same passage is *omnes uoce consono* below, which closely recalls Apuleius' *totius orbis consono ore*; this is very probably an allusive reference. Note also the use of *mira* both in the passage quoted and at VM 2.3.

(ch. 6), they consider each other as brother and sister (6.7 *Christus nouerit fratrem*, 10.3 *diligens eam ut sororem, non tamen ei me credens ut sorori*), i.e. as members of the same family, and they are joined in their worship of Christ as Jerome has already seen.

For *copula ... spiritus* cf. 6.7 *animae copula*. According to Adkin (2003: 21) Jerome's concept of spiritual union in *Ep.* 22.1.4 derives from 1 Cor. 6:17 *qui autem adhaeret Domino unus spiritus est*. The concept of a *copula spiritus* is employed in early Christian discourse with a variety of meanings: for example, a collocation combining *spiritus* and *copulor* is used in a letter to Cyprian (75.3.3) to affirm the unity of the Christian community even over a spatial distance (*sensu ... et spiritu copulatos uos esse nobiscum*); at Lact. *Div. Inst.* 4.25.6 it denotes the tie of the body with the soul (*copulatum sibi spiritum trahit secum*). Here the phrase appears to refer to a culture of non-sexual cohabitation such as that of the *agapetae* (*syneisaktai*, *subintroductae*), virgins living chastely with Christian clergy (cf. Finn 2009: 86–93 for an overview of practices and attitudes). This culture is severely criticised by Jerome in *Ep.* 22.14.1–2:

pudet dicere, pro nefas! triste, sed uerum est: unde in ecclesias **agapetarum pestis** introiit? unde sine nuptiis aliud nomen uxorum? immo unde nouum concubinarum genus? plus inferam: unde meretrices uniuiuae? eadem domo, uno cubiculo, saepe uno tenentur et lectulo, et suspiciosos nos uocant, si aliquid aestimemus. frater sororem uirginem deserit, caelibem spernit uirgo germanum, et, cum in eodem proposito esse se simulent, quaerunt alienorum spiritale solacium, ut domi habeant carnale commercium. istiusmodi homines in Prouerbiis Salomonis arguit Deus dicens: alligabit quis ignem in sinu et uestimenta eius non conburentur? aut ambulabit super carbones ignis et pedes illius non ardebunt?

It is shameful to say it, indeed monstrous! This is the dismal truth: from where did this **pestilence of agapetae** enter the churches? From where a new name of 'wife' without marriage? Or rather, from where the new type of concubines? I shall go further: from where the one-man whores? They are kept in the same house, in one single bedroom, often even in the same little bed, and they call us distrustful if we have any suspicions. The 'brother' leaves his 'sister' a virgin, the virgin spurns her 'brother', and, while they pretend to have the same resolution, they seek spiritual solace in others, so that they may have carnal intercourse. This is the kind of people whom God exposed in the *Proverbs* of Solomon, where he says: 'Can a man scoop fire into his lap without his clothes being burnt? Can a man walk on hot coals without his feet being scorched?' [*Prov.* 6:27–8, transl. NIV].

In view of this criticism it seems surprising that the VM at least partially endorses the practice, even if only as a result of coercion (6.7–8): cf. Introduction 1.1.5, and see also Burrus (2004: 34 with n. 55) on the spiritual benefits of such relationships.

omnes uoce consona: *uox consona* occurs first in Sil. *Pun.* 5.199 and 17.443 (perhaps inspired by Virg. *Aen.* 5.148–50 *tum plausu fremituque uirum studiisque fauentum / consonat omne nemus, uocemque inclusa uolutant / litora*, where, however, the meaning is different). It is found four times in Apul. *Met.* to indicate the unanimous speech of a large crowd, either a mob or a meeting of worshippers (3.2 *cuncti consona uoce flagitant ... iudicium tantum theatro redderetur*, 4.16 *consonaque ciuium uoce satis felix ac beatus Demochares ille saepe celebratus*, 10.16 *clamor exurgit consona uoce cunctorum salute me prosequentium*, 11.13 *religiosi uenerantur tam euidentem maximi numinis potentiam ... claraque et consona uoce*). It is noteworthy that the equivalent phrase *consono ore* at 2.1¹⁷ occurs in the same passage quoted above on the motif of *curiositas*: it seems likely that this is the passage which Jerome imitates, whether consciously or not. Further instances are found at Lact. *Div. inst.* 1.4.1; eleven times in Augustine; and thirty-two times in Jerome, with the closest parallel in meaning at VH 27.4 *consona omnium uoce cognouit [Hesychius] ubi esset [Hilarion]*. Jerome mainly uses it in his biblical commentaries (and often in connection with *omnes*, as in the present passage) of agreement among translators of the Bible, e.g. *In Hier.* 1.1.5: *pro 'transmigratione', quod omnes alii uoce consona transtulerunt, LXX posuere 'captiuitatem'*). See also 2 Chr. 20:21 *statuit cantores Domini ut laudarent eum in turmis suis ... ac uoce consona dicerent confitemini Domino quoniam in aeternum misericordia eius*.

¹⁷ *ore consono* recurs in Apul. *Met.* 4.34.

sanctos: the villagers' reply does not only testify to the exceptional piety of the old couple, already noted by the narrator, but suggests that *copula spiritus* is the right answer to Jerome's question. King (2009: 213) argues that *sancti* is used here for the Syriac concept *qadishe* ('holy') which according to Brock (1973: 11) is used by the writer Aphrahat (fl. 337–345) to designate couples living together in chastity and thereby attaining the second level of perfection after virgins: 'of course he [Jerome], with his local knowledge, understands the meaning – that they are in fact *qadishe* ..., or "children of the covenant," belonging to the second rank of Syrian ascetics, couples who live together in chastity' (King 2009: 213). This argument may seem attractive in providing a deeper historical context, but it is not adequate as an interpretation of the present passage. Firstly, it is based on the use of a single author, Aphrahat, with no evidence that the word *qadishe* is not used in spoken Syriac to indicate all sorts of holiness; secondly, while Jerome himself may have 'local knowledge' of a specialised usage, this assertion raises the question whether he expected his (Roman) readership to be aware of it, which seems unlikely. The frequent use of *sanctus* and the breadth of its meaning among contemporary Christians can be seen from the *Itin. Eger.*, which has it 167 times (Väänänen 1987: 108), applied to Biblical characters or contemporary Christians of differing status: see van Oorde (1969: 180–1). If Jerome wanted to make a bilingual point he would probably have drawn attention to his cleverness, as discussed above à propos the gloss on the name 'Malchus'.

mira nescio quae respondebant: the information gleaned from Malchus' neighbours remains vague. If any of it is precise, its contents are not disclosed to the reader but summarised mysteriously as *mira nescio quae*. At any rate, what he hears confirms his own impression: the history of the union of Malchus and the woman contains an element of the miraculous.

For the phrase *nescio quae* cf. 3.2 below, *pauxillulum nescio quid portans uiatici. mira* is paralleled in Apul. *Met.* 2.1 (quoted above): *nimis cupidus cognoscendi quae rara miraque sunt. mirus* appears to be more elevated in style than its synonym *mirabilis*: cf. Introduction 3.1.3.

qua cupiditate illectus adorsus sum hominem, et curiosius sciscitans rerum fidem: the mysterious accounts of the village inhabitants increase the curiosity of Jerome (cf. *curiose*, same paragraph, above). The reader is also made impatient to receive a full account of the matter (cf. Fuhrmann 1977: 60).

cupiditate: cf. again Apul. *Met.* 2.1 (quoted above) *nimis cupidus cognoscendi quae rara miraque sunt*: see Leigh (forthcoming) for the appetitive connotations of curiosity in Apuleius and Greek thinkers of the Second Sophistic period.

adorsus sum: *adorior* ‘to approach for conversation’ forms the perfect active participle *adortus* in classical Latin (cf. *OLD*); but Gell. 9.2.10 and some later Christian authors have a new form *adorsus*: *TLL* I.814.47–53. This innovation may conceivably have arisen from writers’ assumption of a compound verb **adordior*: the simplex *ordior* is attested in the *OLD* (s.v. *ordior* (4b)) as meaning ‘to address’ in poetry, but the compound is not recorded in either *OLD* or *TLL*.

curiosius: picks up *curiose*, above.

rerum fidem: Jerome’s desire to receive ‘a reliable account of the circumstances’ implies that his own transcription (if that is what it is) is also to be trusted. For the phrase cf. *VH* 29.12 *o mira rerum fides*.

haec ab eo accepi: this phrase, together with the inserted *inquit* (3.1) marks the transition from Jerome’s frame to Malchus’ narrative. Jerome only reappears as a narrator in the final paragraph to emphasise the moral message which can be extrapolated from Malchus’ account of his life.

Ch. 3: Malchus' Origins, his Entrance into a Monastery, and his Desertion

Malchus begins his autobiographical account with a sketch of his place of origin, the social status of his parents and his relationship with them (§1). Because they oppose his wish to be a monk he escapes to the desert of Chalcis (§§ 2–3), where he lives with a community of monks (§4). The story gathers momentum when Malchus decides to return home after the death of his father to console his mother and eventually to deal with his inheritance (§5). His plans incur the vehement disapproval of his abbot, who tries to dissuade him (§6). Malchus remains unmoved even when the abbot implores him on his knees: he suspects the abbot of selfish motives (§7). Finally the abbot accompanies him out of the monastery as if he was conducting his funeral and accuses him of belonging to the devil (§8).

§1: *The conflict between Malchus and his parents*

mi nate: cf. the vocative *fili* at 3.8 below. *nate* is rare in Latin prose. The alternative form *gnate* is overwhelmingly found in Old Latin (*mi gnate* is found at Plaut. Asin. 829, 836, Ter. *Haut.* 1028; see *TLL* VI.1.753.8ff. for this and other vocative phrases containing the word), while *nate* is frequent in Classical and Silver Latin epic. For the use of *(g)nate* in high-register poetic language see Dickey (2002: 266, 269, 344). Malchus' use of this rare and archaic form at the beginning of his narrative may characterise him as an old man. It is also conceivable that the *recherché* form serves to imply the higher social status of the young addressee Jerome.

The form occurs only once in the Vulgate: Macc. 7:28 *peto nate aspicias in caelum et terram*. It is found in a few later Latin poems but an *LLT-A* search confirms that the form is very rare in patristic prose, except in quotations: the only other instance in Jerome occurs in a quotation from Virg. *Aen.* 1.664 in *Ep.* 53.7.3. An apparent exception, the use of *nate* by a Gallic woman in the *Vita Symphoriani Augustodunensis* (set in AD 305: *nate nate Synforiane, mentobeto to diuo*), is explained by Adams (2007: 303) as a vocative of Gaulish *(g)natos* (etymologically related to Latin *(g)natus*): it cannot be regarded as a pure Latin archaism (cf. Meid 1983: 1028–1029).

From classical Latin onwards the vocative *(g)nate* is replaced by *fili* in more prosaic contexts: Dickey (2002: 326). The idea of kinship in both *fili* and *(g)nate* is already vacuous by the time of Plautus, who jokes about their use (Dickey 2002: 127). Rather than indicating an actual relationship both words convey affection as well as politeness. In Christian Latin too the vocative *fili* (as used at 3.8 below) is by far the more frequent version of this type of address. It is often used by priests, perhaps as a consequence of its general use *de aetate minoribus monendis vel docendis* (*TLL* VI.1.757.79ff.), i.e. to create an ethos of well-meaning authority. In the Vulgate *fili* is found frequently in the ‘wisdom books’ of Proverbs (twenty-four instances) and Ecclesiastes (twenty-two instances). Both of these books are collections of instructions to the younger generation: e.g. Prov. 1:8 *audi fili mi disciplinam patris tui et ne dimittas legem matris tuae*. In the gospels Jesus’ use of *fili* expresses compassion rather than instruction: Mk. 2:5 *cum uidisset autem Iesus fidem illorum ait paralytico fili, dimittuntur tibi peccata* (cf. Mt. 9:2). In the Pauline and Pastoral Letters the ‘instructive’ element comes to the fore again, e.g. 1 Tim. 1:18 *hoc praeceptum commendo tibi fili Timothee*; cf. 2 Tim. 2:1, Hebr. 12:5. Frequent examples of ‘instructive’ *fili* are also found in Cyprian, e.g. *Ad Quir.* 1 praef. *obtemperandum fuit, fili carissime, desiderio tuo*.

The Laurentianus omits *mi nate*; the first word after *inquit* is *Maroniati*, which shares a number of letters with *mi nate* and could possibly have come to replace the correct *Nisibeni* because a scribe may have interpreted *mi nate* as *maroniati*: cf. next note.

Nisibeni: this form and misspelt versions are found in the majority of manuscripts, including the Neapolitanus, and is printed by Morales. Mierow prints *Maroniati*, with one instance of *Nisibin* and one of *nisi bene* in the apparatus. That a reference to Maronias is wrong is confirmed by the internal evidence. In ch. 4 Malchus attempts to travel back to this same place from Chalcis via Edessa, the normal route for travellers from Antioch to Nisibis (see below on 4.1; cf. Egeria's route from Antioch to Edessa, traced on map 32 in Mohrmann and van der Meer 1958). The destination of such a journey cannot be Maronias, which is only thirty miles from Antioch (above 2.1) and not in the vicinity of Persia (cf. 3.2). For the adjective ending *Nisibenus* cf. Amm. 18.10.1 *Craugasii Nisibeni cuiusdam uxorem*, 18.10.3, 25.8.13, SHA 23.10.3.

Nisibis today is Nusaybin in Turkey. In the fourth century it was an important border town between Roman and Persian territory: according to the sixth-century historian Petrus Patricius (fr. 14, *FHG* IV.189), in the treaty between the emperors Diocletian and Galerius and the Persian king Narses after Galerius' victory over the Persians (probably 297/8: *RE* XVII.740 Sturm) communications between the two peoples were restricted to Nisibis: εἶναι δὲ τόπον τῶν συναλλαγμάτων Νίσιβιν τὴν πόλιν παρακειμένην τῷ Τίγριδι (cf. Jones 1964: 827). After the defeat of Julian by the Persians in 363 it was restored to Persia (Amm. 25.7.9), and the Graeco-Roman inhabitants were evacuated by Jovian against their will (Amm. 25.7.11, 25. 9). Malchus must have left Nisibis long before it became Persian, since he is already an old man when Jerome meets him in the early 370s: cf. Introduction 1.4.

agelli: attested from Ter. *Adel.* 949 *agelli est hic sub urbe paulum quod locitas foras*, the diminutive of *ager* is found in Lucr. 5.1367 (*inde aliam atque aliam culturam dulcis agelli / temptabant*), in Virg. *Ecl.* 9.3 (*possessor agelli / diceret 'haec mea sunt; ueteres migrate coloni'*), and more frequently in Horace, e.g. *Ars* 117 (*cultor ... uirentis agelli*), usually in the genitive dependent on words similar to *colonus*. The contexts tend to imply poverty or modesty. From Silver Latin (esp. Martial and Pliny) onwards the form becomes more common. *agellus* occurs six times in Jerome (LLT-A), three of them in the *VH* (18.6, 25.8, 28.2).

colonus: ‘farmer’ (i.e. a synonym for *agricola*) or ‘inhabitant’: cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 9.4. There is a remote possibility that the word may be indicative of Malchus’ legal and social status. According to Kaser (1975: 146–51) *colonus* in legal contexts refers exclusively to dependent classes of peasants whose movements were more or less restricted. This notion is challenged by Eibach (1977: 104–129), who demonstrates the existence of at least two separate classes of *coloni*, those bound to a landlord, and those not bound. The fact that in his old age Malchus appears to be tied in some way to Evagrius, the *patronus* of Maronias (above, 2.1), makes it possible to countenance a similar dependency in his earlier life. On the other hand, his freedom to administer his father’s estate after the latter’s death (below, 3.5) indicates that he is not obliged to any landlord or patron; furthermore, there appears to be no evidence for ‘bound’ *coloni* in fourth-century Syria or Mesopotamia.¹ Emphasising the legal connotations of this label therefore yields no further insight into Malchus’ position at the time; at most, it can be taken to impart a vague legalising flavour to the way in which he views himself.

Weingarten (2005: 166 n.3) finds a more promising angle for interpreting this reference by pointing out that Nisibis had the status of *colonia* from the time of the

¹ I owe this information to Boudewijn Sirks.

Severans (Dio 75.3.2; see Isaac 2000: 360, with further bibliography). This means that any inhabitant was trivially a *colonus*. An alternative meaning is derived by Jerome's use of the word elsewhere in the sense 'outsider', e.g. *In Am.* 3.8 *non colonus et aduena, sed habitator*. This observation is attractive as it may be used to imply that Malchus, or his family, are not in fact indigenous Nisibeniens, thus supporting Jerome's impression in chapter 2 that he is a native of Maronias. But if this really is the meaning here, it is very well hidden, and nothing is made of it in the plot. It seems far-fetched, therefore, to adopt such an ingenious interpretation just to remove an inconsistency noted by pedantic readers. Weingarten's further observation (2005: n.3) that *colonus* is used referring to Adam, the inhabitant of Paradise, in *Jer. Ep.* 10.1.1 and 52.5.4, seems to invite the suggestion of a spiritual reading, but this is not discussed further.

solus parentibus: Elliott (1987: 78) notes that holy men and women in the Judaeo-Christian literary tradition are very frequently their parents' only children, e.g. Abraham, Mary, Jesus, Euphrasia, Onuphrius and Barbara (*ibid.* n.8). The four exceptions to this rule in the first book of the *Vitae Patrum* (PL 73) are Antony, Pachomius, Paul of Thebes (he has a sister, *VP* 4), and Eugenia (Elliott 1987: 79). A similar pattern is observed in Greek mythology, with Achilles, Odysseus, Telemachus, Ajax, Theseus, Perseus, and Oedipus all lacking siblings; the only major exception is Heracles (Elliott 1987: 80). The strong focus on the hero may explain the prevalence of this constellation: siblings might compete for attention with the main subject of a story and detract from his or her special status.

stirpem generis sui et heredem familiae: *et* is probably best understood as epexegetic: 'the stem of the family, and therefore the heir of the house'.

stirpem generis: 'the stem of the family', a legal term. After the death of a *paterfamilias* the inheritance was distributed among the children in equal proportions; if

any of the children had died after themselves having children, the fraction of the dead member was divided equally among his or her own children, and so on. Each child of the original *paterfamilias* thus represents a ‘stem’: rather than counting all surviving descendants of the deceased and dividing the inheritance equally among them, the entitlement of each ‘stem’ remained the same independently of the number of its members. Kaser (1971: 695) refers to Gaius 3.8: *conueniens esse uisum est non in capita sed <in> stirpes hereditatem diuidi* (de Zulueta 1946–53: 1.154). Cf. Kaser (1975: 511) and Just. Nov. 118.1. Malchus’ family only has one *stirps*, Malchus himself, who has neither siblings nor descendants.

heredem familiae: cf. 4.3 *hereditarius possessor*, with note *ad loc.*

monachum: this is the first occurrence of the word *monachus* in the VM. The TLL VIII.1397.45ff. appears to indicate that the first attested use of *monachus* in Latin is found in Evagrius’ translation of the VA; but it is in fact preceded by the earlier Latin version of the VA, e.g. *praef.* 1 (Bartelink 2004: 5) and *passim*.

The use of reported speech suggests that Malchus here quotes the answer which he actually gave to his parents, and the wording, with *monachus* opposed to *nuptiae*, implies that the parents would have understood the word *monachus* to mean ‘unmarried’, if not something stronger. Although Malchus goes on to join a group of monks, it is not clear whether he would have left home if his parents had acquiesced in his refusal of marriage: as Judge (1977) shows, the first attested use of the Greek μοναχός in 324 (P. Coll. Youtie 77) was applied to a man who remained an active member of a village, not a withdrawn hermit. The various implications of the word μοναχός in pagan and Christian contexts are discussed by Morard (1973): they can be categorised under the concepts ‘isolation’, ‘singularity’, and ‘unity’ (the last through etymological derivation of μοναχός from μονάς ‘unit’, rather than μόνοος, e.g. Isid. *Orig.* 7.13, PL 82.293). Out of these three,

Jerome's emphasis tends to be on the idea of solitude, e.g. *Ep.* 14.6.1 *interpretare uocabulum monachi hoc est nomen tuum: quid facis in turba qui solus es?* (cf. *Ep.* 58.5.1 *monachus, id est solus*), but he varies this theme in accordance with the requirements of the rhetorical context. In the present passage celibacy must be implied, perhaps as a special form of solitude.

Jerome frequently depicts chastity as the apex of the Christian virtuous life, with other aspects of asceticism, e.g. abstinence from meat and wine, subsidiary to this ideal: cf. below 3.4 *lasciuiamque carnis refrenans ieiuniis*, with note. *Jer. C. Helv.* 18–22, *Adv. Iov.*, and *Ep.* 49 to Pammachius in defence of the *Adv. Iov.*, *Ep.* 54 to Furia on widowhood, the two consolatory *Epp.* 66 and 75, and *Ep.* 130 to Demetrias² all represent marriage as inherently opposite to the monastic ideal. Jerome expresses a constant anxiety that the societal obligations generated by marriage will distract a Christian from his relationship with God: cf. Hunter (2007: 240).

esse: Winterbottom (2008: 373) points out that Morales' 2007 apparatus gives the variant *me esse* for four manuscripts belonging to the privileged group N.³ Of the five manuscripts collated for this commentary, only the Parisinus has this reading, which Winterbottom considers to be required by grammar; but Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 362) recognise that the subject accusative pronoun can be left out in an accusative with infinitive if it can easily be inferred. This happens frequently in comedy from Plautus onwards; also in Cicero, especially in the Letters, and in the historians, as well as in Horace, Propertius, and Ovid, and also frequently in post-classical and later Latin. Cf. also Löfstedt (1956: 2.262–3), who observes that the classification as ellipsis of an

² The last four references are from Menestrina (1990: 149–50 n.34).

³ But the oldest representative of this (putative) group, the Neapolitanus, does not have this reading. The argument is invalid as long as we suppose that the 'group' character of these manuscripts means that they are descendants from the Neapolitanus. If we want to privilege later members of this group over the Neapolitanus, a more complicated structure of the group must be assumed, in which the later manuscripts depend on a more reliable authority.

omitted accusative subject pronoun is a matter of taste; de Melo (2006: 17); and the argument by Halla-aho and Kruschwitz (2010: 149) that in early Roman tragedy, the omission of the accusative subject pronoun is not so much a mark of colloquialism as a ‘variation within written language.’ That Jerome used such variation is evident from Cuendet (1948: 117), who notes that in his work on the Latin New Testament Jerome often supplies an accusative subject pronoun omitted in the Greek original: out of fifty-four instances, he only preserves the ellipsis seventeen times. This means that Jerome exercises a degree of independence from his sources with regard to this feature.

quantis pater minis, quantis mater blanditiis persecuti sunt ut pudicitiam proderem: Morales prints *sint* (with the Neapolitanus) for *sunt*. The subjunctive would also be grammatically correct, but the indicative may be preferred for placing more emphasis on the actual fact of the parents’ opposition.

The clause is replete with stylistic devices: anaphora (*quantis ... quantis*), alliteration (*pater, persecuti, pudicitiam, proderem; minis, mater*), homoeoteleuton (*quantis, minis, blanditiis*) and double hyperbaton of an unusual type: attribute and noun are separated by another noun which does not govern it directly (*quantis pater minis, quantis mater blanditiis*). Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 691) indicate the scarcity of data for this type of separating element: usually a hyperbaton of noun and attribute is produced by the insertion of a genitive or a verb. See Introduction 3.2.4a for the hypothesis that this structure is motivated by the focussed word *quantis*.

For the connotations of *persecuti sunt* cf. notes on 1.3 *persequi* and *persecutionibus*. The purpose clause *ut pudicitiam proderem* reinforces Malchus’ negative evaluation of his parents’ concerns: he interprets their (arguably natural) wish that he should marry and continue the family line as a betrayal of the virtue of *pudicitia*.

minis ... blanditiis: flattery and violence are listed in the same order at Cic. *Mur.* 44 *non placet mihi inquisitio candidati praenuntia repulsae, non testium potius quam suffragatorum comparatio, non minae magis quam blanditiae*; De *orat.* 1.90 *blandiri eis subtiliter a quibus esset petendum et aduersarios minaciter terrere*; Liv. 32.40.11 *blandiendo ... ac minando*. A similar mixed strategy in a sexual context is found at Ov. *Met.* 6.685 *ast ubi blanditiis agitur nihil, horridus ira* and Liv. 1.58.3 (the rape of Lucretia): *Tarquinius fateri amorem, orare, miscere precibus minas*. Cypr. *Ep.* 10.1.2 uses the same idea applied to the trials of a Christian martyr: *ut incorruptam fidei firmitatem non blanditiae decipiant, non minae terreant, non cruciatus ac tormenta deuincant eqs.* The twin tactics of flattery and (threats of) force are often used in the Apocryphal Apostolic Acts by the husbands, fiancés, and former lovers of women converted to chastity through Christianity, e.g. in Ps.-Linus *Martyrium beati Petri apostoli* ch. 2 (ed. Salonius 1926, p. 25), where Agrippa's concubines are charmed by the apostle and refuse to give in to their lover's flattery: *uidens autem Agrippa praefectus quod Petri doctrinam sequentes libidinem eius unanimiter spernerent et ipsius blanditiis minime adquiescerent, coepit eis minas intentare horrificas eqs.* (cf. Söder 1932: 134). In the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, Thecla's fiancé Thamyras and her mother Theocleia go through a similar development from loving concern to violence in chapters 7–20; cf. also the description of Joseph's temptation by Potiphar's wife at Novatian *Pudic.* 8:⁴ *putauit se pudicitiam adolescentis incontinens mulier impudica nunc promissis nunc minis posse superare* (with a notable phrasal parallel to the final sentence of the VM, *pudicitiam ... non posse superari*). The topos invoked here is thus both pagan and Judaeo-Christian in origin.

⁴ On this work see also the note on *pudicitiam*, below.

blanditiis: formations of the stem *bland-* occur 115 times in Jerome's LLT-A corpus. See especially Jer. *C. Ruf.* 3.34 (lines 4–5) with Lardet's note (1993: 366–7) analysing Jerome's use of *blanditiae* in both negative contexts of temptation and with positive connotations ('Christian charms'. e.g. *Ep.* 22.29.4 *quodsi aliquam senseris infirmiore in fide, suscipe, consolare, blandire*).

pudicitiam: a key word of the VM. The term has complex ramifications in both pagan and Christian Roman society. Langlands (2006) in a study of the varied uses of this term in classical Latin literature finds that the concept is primarily applied to women⁵ and to children still in the power of a *paterfamilias*. *pudicitia* signifies the vulnerability of women and children to transgressive sexual acts, and at the same time their duty to resist such transgression. It is thus used with reference not only to a physical but also to a mental state.

Christian writers develop a theory of degrees of *pudicitia* (cf. *TLL* X.2.2496. 31–8), in analogy to the degrees of the related virtue of *uirginitas* postulated in Tertullian's treatise against second marriage, *Ex. Cast.* 1.4–5:

4. Prima species est uirginitas a natiuitate; secunda, uirginitas a secunda natiuitate, id est a lauacro, quae aut in matrimonio purificat<o> ex compacto aut in uiduitate perseuerat ex arbitrio; tertius gradus superest monogamia, cum post matrimonium unum interceptum exinde sexui renuntiatur. 5. Prima uirginitas felicitatis est, non nosse in totum a quo postea optabis liberari; secunda uirtutis est, contemnere cuius uim optime noris; reliqua species hactenus nubendi post matrimonium morte disiunctum praeter uirtutis etiam modestiae laus est.

4. The first species is virginity from one's birth: the second, virginity from one's second birth, that is, from the font; which (second virginity) either in the marriage state keeps (its subject) pure by mutual compact, or else perseveres in widowhood from choice: a third grade remains, monogamy, when, after the interception of a marriage, there is thereafter a renunciation of sexual connection. 5. The first virginity is (the virginity) of happiness, (and consists in) total ignorance of that from which you will afterwards wish to be freed: the second, of virtue, (and consists in) despising that the power of which you know full well: the remaining species, (that) of marrying no more after the disjunction of matrimony by death, besides being the glory of virtue, is likewise (the glory) of moderation (transl. Thelwall, ANF, adapted).

⁵ There are 111 lines of examples in *TLL* X.2.2484.4ff., as opposed to thirty lines of instances concerning men: 2485.41ff., of which lines 57–70 cover *stuprum* between males.

In the third century Novatian in *De bono pudicitiae* (ascribed in the transmission to Cyprian) adapts this list and applies the degrees to *pudicitia*: *Pudic. 4.1 pudicitia locum primum in uirginibus tenet, secundum in continentibus, tertium in matrimoniis* ('*pudicitia* has the highest status among virgins, the second highest with the continent, the third in marriages'): cf. Ambr. *Epist. extra coll. 14.40 sunt ergo uirginitatis praemia, sunt merita uiduitatis, est etiam coniugali pudicitiae locus*; Aug. *Civ. 15.26 in infimo habitet pudicitia coniugalis, supra uidualis atque hac superior uirginalis*; cf. Jer. *Adv. Iov. 1.41 docebo uirginitatem semper tenuisse pudicitiae principatum*.

The Christian version of *pudicitia* explicitly applies to both men and women, and to their relations with partners across the social spectrum (e.g. Tert. *Cult. fem. 2.1: ea salus, nec feminarum modo, sed etiam uirorum, in exhibitione praecipue pudicitiae statuta est*); but while some passages vehemently dissuade Christians from entering into marriage, in accordance with 1 Cor. 7:8 (*dico autem non nuptis et uiduis bonum est illis si sic maneant sicut et ego*), marriage is not explicitly presented as contrary to *pudicitia*. This continues the view of the pagan Roman tradition as discussed by Langlands (2006), where it would be absurd to suppose that a person's *pudicitia* could be assaulted by entering a lawful marriage. However, Tert. *Ex. Cast. 9.3* comes very close to equating marriage and fornication:

multum sane interest, maritus <suam> an [caelebs] aliam concupiscat, omnis mulier etiam caelibis alia est, quamdiu aliena nec per aliud tamen fit maritus nisi per quod et adulter. 'a<t> leges uidentur matrimonii et stupri differentiam facere.' per diuersitatem illiciti <scilicet et liciti>, non per condicionem rei ipsius. alioquin quae res et uiris et feminis omnibus adest ad matrimonium et stuprum? commixtio carnis scilicet, cuius concupiscentiam dominus stupro adaequauit.

I grant it makes a wide difference whether a married man desires his wife or an unmarried man desires another woman. Every woman, however, even to an unmarried man, is 'another', so long as she belongs to someone else; nor yet is the means through which he becomes a husband any other than that through which he also becomes an adulterer. 'But the laws seem to make a difference between marriage and fornication.' Yes, but through the diversity of the illicit and the licit, not through the nature of the thing itself. Besides, what is the thing which takes place in all men and women to produce marriage and fornication? Commixture of the flesh, of course; the

concupiscence of which the Lord put on the same footing with fornication (transl. Thelwall, ANF, adapted).

A similar stance is taken by Jerome in his pamphlets against Helvidius (c. 382, preceding the VM) and Jovinian (393: see Introduction 2.2.2). Even Jerome's target Jovinian is quoted as using the word *pudicitia* to describe commitment to virginity: '*non tibi facio, uirgo, iniuriam: elegisti pudicitiam propter praesentem necessitatem*' (Adv. Iov. 1.5). By the late fourth century, then, the equation of *pudicitia* with strict virginity (rather than chastity, a type of which is also found e.g. in faithful wives) had become a common idea.

Malchus seems to echo this view in regarding marriage as a defilement of *pudicitia*; but we do not have to read his statement as the pronouncement of a universal truth. In the context *pudicitia* may refer to the monk's vow of chastity, which is implied in the preceding sentence, *monachum potius esse uelle respondi*, although in Malchus' case this resolution has not been formalised in a consecration. Jerome condemns breaking such a vow at Adv. Iov. 1.13:

'si nupserit uirgo, non peccauit.' non illa uirgo, quae se semel Dei cultui dedicauit: harum enim si qua nupserit, habebit damnationem, quia primam fidem irritam fecit.

'If a virgin should marry, she has not sinned.' Not that virgin who has once and for all dedicated herself to the service of God: for, if one of these should marry, she will have damnation, because she has made her first faith to be of no account.'

But the situation of Malchus is more ambivalent, and the function of the VM as a propaganda piece for abstinence makes it likely that Jerome intended the reader to be aware of the more extreme interpretation of the phrase *ut pudicitiam proderem*: it is presented not as a straightforward antithesis to Malchus' monastic ambitions but also as a claim that marriage is inherently opposed to *pudicitia*.

pudicitia recurs with different meanings as the text develops: at 5.2 *pudicitia* is equivalent to *pudenda* (of genitals); at 6.5 *habet et pudicitia seruata martyrium suum* is a

commonplace applied here partly to Malchus' virginity, partly to the avoidance of what in Christian law would be adultery; at 6.7 the exhortation *habeto ergo me coniugem pudicitiae* is spoken by the woman, who considers herself capable of sharing Malchus' *pudicitia* although she is not herself a virgin: the phrase refers to continence in cohabitation, as it does at 9.10 *pudicitiae tantum conscientia pro muro saepti*, and probably at 11 *pudicitiam numquam esse captiuam*.

pudicitiam proderem: this alliterative collocation is fairly popular: cf. *Rhet. Her.* 4.52 *suae pudicitiae proditor est, insidiator alienae*; Plin. *NH* 17.244 *pudicitiam subuersam Piso grauis auctor prodidit*; Val. Max. 6.1.3 *filiae suae uirginitatem a paedagogo proditam*; Ruf. *Praefatio in Gregorii Nazianzeni orationes* lines 9ff. *nec tamen in conuersatione scholari uel aetatis uel sodalium inlecebris cedens prodidit pudicitiam*. Jerome need not have thought of any of these passages: the phrase may have offered itself either spontaneously or as a commonplace.

haec res sola indicio est: paralleled at Liv. 22.61.10: *ea res indicio est*. Morales (2007) prints *indicium*, which is the reading of the Neapolitanus, against the majority of the textual witnesses he uses which have the predicative dative *indicio*, as do my other four manuscripts. The nominative (or, with verbs other than the copula, the accusative in predicative apposition) was the more striking option in all periods according to Löfstedt (1956:1.194–9),⁶ and in later rhetorical Latin the nominative or accusative generally supersedes the predicative dative: Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 100). In late antique veterinary works the predicative dative is restricted to the formula *potui dare* (Mørland 1932: 115, Svennung 1935: 205). But Hofmann and Szantyr also observe (1965: 98) that a fondness for predicative datives is a mark of archaising authors such as Apuleius. These general stylistic considerations thus pull two ways: on the one hand Jerome is fond of

⁶ Cf. Svennung (1935: 204–5); Ennius *trag.* fr. 18 (line 61) Jocelyn (*Alexander*): *eum esse exitium Troiae, pestem Pergamo*.

striking usages, on the other hand he uses archaisms both to raise and to lower the register of the VM (see Introduction 3.1.2–4). If the general trend in late antiquity was towards the nominative, it is more remarkable that the dative should have been preserved by a considerable number of good manuscripts: in addition to the Livian parallel (above) this makes *indicio* the preferable form here, but more research on Jerome's use is necessary.

et domum et parentes fugi: a number of monks are on record as having left their home for the same reason of avoiding marriage. Elliott (1987: 82) lists Macarius the Roman (*Vitae Patrum* 1b.13.17), Abraham (*Vitae Patrum* 1a.7.1), Eugenia (*Vitae Patrum* 1d.16.2–3), Eupraxia, Eusebia Hospita, Euphrosyne (*Vitae Patrum* 1d.18.6–8) and others (cf. Symeon Metaphrastes for sources of other stories).

§2: *Malchus' first journey from East to West*

et quia ad Orientem ire non poteram propter uicinam Persidem et Romanorum militum custodiam: the Eastern frontier of the Roman Empire was contested during the fourth century: for the special position of Nisibis on this border see my note on *Nisibeni* at 3.1 p. 132 above). The Romans actively prevented their citizens from entering Persian territory: Millar (1971: 1 with n.1). Thus at Amm. 18.5 a Roman traitor deserting to the Persians needs to use an expensive and time-consuming ruse to escape the notice of the border guards (*ut lateret stationarios milites*, Amm. 18.5.3): he buys a farm on the Roman bank of the Tigris and crosses the river secretly with the help of the Persians.

The Greek translation gives the following account of the start of Malchus' flight:

... ἐβουλόμην εἰς τὰ τῆς ἀνατολῆς μοναστήρια ἀπελθεῖν. Διὰ δὲ τὸ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐκεῖθεν τοῖς Πέρσαις ἐπικειμένους παρατάσσεσθαι, ἀνατραπείς τῆς τοιαύτης ὁρμῆς ἐνεθυμήθην εἰς τὴν δύσιν ἀπελθεῖν. (Van den Ven 1900: 435).

... I wanted to go to the monasteries of the East. But because the Romans were at that time drawn up to attack the Persians from there, I turned back from this kind of start and planned to go to the West.

This version depicts Malchus as attempting to make his way eastwards; but the garrison makes it impossible for him to go any further. Thus the translation brings out the full force of the Latin *uerti pedes*: Malchus starts off in an easterly direction and then turns around at the border.

custodia: ‘garrison’: for this concrete meaning see *TLL* IV.1558.41ff.

pauxillulum nescio quid portans uiatici: on the hyperbaton see Introduction 3.2.4a.

The ‘motif of provisions’ is discussed by Elliott (1987: 59–60) as a common element in hagiographical accounts of monks’ journeys. The usual function is to stress a hero’s ascetic qualities, but this function is not emphasised in the *VM*, where there is no pious elaboration. This fact seems to indicate that this detail may be ‘realistic’ (Malchus is ill-prepared for a long journey) rather than indicating supernatural feats of endurance.

pauxillulum: in the textual transmission, forms meaning ‘very little’ are easily confused. Mierow prints *pauxillum*, but two of his manuscripts (Vaticanus 1201 and Barb. lat. 702) have *paululum* and one (Barb. lat. 605) has *pausillulum*: the support for *pauxillum* among the five manuscripts on which Mierow bases his edition (cf. Mierow 1945) is thus not particularly strong. Among the manuscripts which I have seen the Neapolitanus reads *pusillulum*, the Monacensis *pusillum*, while the Laurentianus, Sessorianus, and Parisinus agree on *pauxillulum*. *pauxillulum* thus has the best representation in the manuscript readings available to me, but the evidence is by no means decisive.

For statistical comparison, a search of the LLT-A yields two other instances of forms of *pauxillulus* and two of *pauxillus* in Jerome's corpus. *pusillus* occurs eight times and *pusillulus* not at all. *paululus* is by far the most frequent form in Jerome: with 142 occurrences it outnumbers all of the alternative words taken together (not counting the VM passage under discussion) by almost 12:1. But most of these instances are adverbial uses, for which *pauxillus* or *pauxillulus* are generally much rarer alternatives (cf. *TLL* X.1.827.28ff.). At *VH* 25.9 *pauxillulum*⁷ is used of food in a context very similar to the present passage: *quo in proxima uilla uenumdato et sibi alimoniam et his, qui forte ad eos ueniebant, pauxillulum panis emebant*.

Neither the manuscript tradition nor Jerome's use elsewhere provides a clear-cut case for printing *pauxillulum*, but it is difficult to decide on another form which should be preferred. The extreme diminutive (Don. *Ter. Phorm.* 37.2: *pauxillulum quartus gradus diminutionis: paulum paululum pauxillum pauxillulum*)⁸ seems to accord with Malchus' characterisation and his tendency to dramatise his experience. He also frequently uses archaising language, and it is clear from *TLL* X.1.861.54 and 862.31ff. that both *pauxillus* and *pauxillulus* essentially belonged to Plautine comedy (seven instances of *pauxillus*, e.g. *Aul.* 112, and six of *pauxillulus*, e.g. *Poen.* 538; *Ter. Phorm.* 37 is the only Terentian instance) and thereafter are mainly in archaisers: Cicero has *pauxillus* once, only to highlight its obsolete status at *Or.* 153; *pauxillus* is found again in the archaising prose of Apul. *Met.* 10.27, and *pauxillulus* at Gell. *praef.* 16.

portans: forms of *porto* occur in the VM at 4.2, 4.3, 7.2,⁹ 8.2, and in the VH at 10.1. Löfstedt (1911: 270–1) argues conclusively that the stylistic level of this verb is

⁷ According to Bastiaensen's 1975 text in *Vite dei Santi*; Morales (SC 2007) prints *paullulum*, both without discussion of manuscript evidence.

⁸ But this interpretation of *pauxillulus* as denoting the extreme of smallness should not be taken to mean that the diminution is necessarily always felt in its full force, and one should not expect every author to distinguish between *paululum*, *pauxillum*, and *pauxillulum* on the basis of Donatus' rather schematic scale.

⁹ Here I follow Morales, pace Winterbottom (2007: 373) in printing *deportabant*: see note *ad loc.*

lower than that of its more abstract synonym *fero*.¹⁰ In the *Vitae* Jerome never uses *fero* of carrying a concrete object. *porto* survives in the Romance languages. For Malchus' use of 'colloquial' items see Introduction 3.1.4; cf. also the note on *subito*, 4.2.

quod me ab inopia tantum defenderet: a mannered reference to Malchus' threatened destitution resulting from his flight. The adverb *tantum* 'only' appears to be used predicatively, 'the only thing to defend me from shortage' (*OLD* s.v. *inopia* 5), but it is separated from its nominal referent *quod. defenderet* may carry a military tinge; the subjunctive expresses the hope focalised through the young Malchus setting out that the provisions will be enough, rather than stating after the event that they were in fact sufficient. The phrase seems to allude to Malchus' concern with material possessions, a theme which in the *VM* is secondary only to the focus on chastity (cf. Introduction 1.5). Malchus' interest in possessions will conflict with the requirement of monastic poverty in the second half of the chapter (§§ 5–8).

§§ 3–4: *The desert of Chalcis*

quid multa?: this formula of *praeteritio* is repeated at 7.3. The phrase is an abbreviated version of *quid multa uerba faciam?*, which is found in Plaut. *Truc.* 405; Plautus also has *quid multa uerba?* and *quid multa?*. Cicero uses *quid multa?* thirty-eight times, in speeches and treatises as well as letters.

Malchus here cuts out the account of his journey to the desert of Chalcis; the reverse journey is described in somewhat more detail at 4.1.

¹⁰ A semantic distinction to the effect that *porto* places emphasis on the burden has been suggested but cannot be proved except in the case of the most strictly classicising authors: Löfstedt (1911: 270), with bibliography.

perueni tandem ad eremum Chalcidos, quae inter Immas et Beroeam magis ad austrum sita est: on the region cf. the map, Introduction 1.2; cf. below on 4.1.

The image of the region of Chalcis as a ‘desert’ is contradicted by Plin. *NH* 5.81: *Chalcidem cognominatam Ad Belum, unde regio Chalcidena fertilissima Syriae*. In fact the region is a mosaic of fertile and barren tracts of land: Brown (1971: 83) *et al.*

On the place and its history see Poidebard and Mouterde (1945), Bowersock (2002: 47–55), and Cohen (2006: 141–6). Chalcis was founded by Seleucus I Nikator (App. Syr. 57). It was reinforced by Julian with people from the conquered town of Anatha: Amm. 24.1.9 (see Bowersock 2002: 49). As evidence of the life of a landholder from Chalcis, comparable to Evagrius (cf. 2.1 above), Bowersock (2002: 49–51, with bibliography) discusses the Syriac *Life of Rabbala* (mid-fifth century AD).

eremum: a Greek loan word which was adopted into Latin by way of the early Christian biblical translations. The first anonymous translation of the *Vita Antonii* (ed. Bartelink 2004) uses *eremus* alongside *desertum* to render the Greek ἐρημος. In this translation *eremus* is used without specific monastic connotations; its use is motivated by its occurrence in the translations of the biblical passages quoted in the text. Monastic connotations are instead present in the use of the noun *desertum*, but the fact that it is used in alternation with *deserta loca*, e.g. VA 3.2 (Bartelink 2004: 10) is taken by Lorié (1955: 52–3) to mean that *desertum* is not yet regarded as a technical term. In Evagrius’ subsequent translation of the VA a third Latin synonym, *solitudo*, is introduced (Lorié 1955: 51). Evagrius uses each of the synonyms *eremus*, *desertum* and *solitudo* in clearly monastic contexts, but *solitudo* is used specifically to indicate the close relation between monk and desert, e.g. at VA 71.3 [*Antonius*] *laetabatur quia ad desideratam solitudinem rependabat* (Lorié 1955: 53–4).

The VM has the same three words for ‘desert’ as Evagrius’ Latin VA: *eremus* is found six times, *solitudo* three times (only in the first half), and *desertum* twice (once in each of the last two chapters). In the VP *eremus* is found seven times, *desertum* twice and *solitudo* also twice; in the VH the ratio is 7:2:10. This makes the loan word *eremus* the most frequent and the classical *desertum* (the classical alternative *deserta* is never used) the rarest term for the desert in Jerome’s *Vitae*. It seems that *eremus* also has the strongest monastic associations: it is used of the proto-monastic shepherds Moses and Jacob at 5.4, and of Malchus’ recovery of his monastic status at 5.5. A monastic connection may be defended at 6.5 *iaceat insepultus Christi testis in eremo*, and the word recurs in the context of the ants which prefigure monastic society at 7.1. *desertum* as the least ‘monastic’ term only refers to the space which Malchus and the woman have to cross (10.1) and then again to the general dangers assaulting a Christian (11). On *solitudo* in the VM see below 4.1. See also de Vogüé (1991–2007: 2.89 n. 66).

eorum me magisterio tradidi: Malchus is in the position of a disciple. His subjection to the authority of his fellow monks may influence the use of the legal term *postliminium* at the point of his return from the monastery at 4.2 (with note). He later abandons this submissive attitude in disobeying his abbot (3.6–8 below).

manu et labore uictum quaeritans: perhaps an allusion to 1 Cor. 4:12 *laboramus operantes manibus nostris* (cf. Aug. *C. Adim.* 20 *apostolus Paulus manibus suis operatus uictum quaerebat*). Morales (2007 *ad loc.*) also notes the resemblance of this motif to the instruction issued to Adam at the expulsion from Paradise: *in sudore uultus tui uesceris pane* (Gen. 3:19). The frequency of combinations of *quaero* or *quaerito* with *uictus* and sometimes also *manus* and/or *labor* both in pagan and Christian authors makes it difficult to assert with confidence any one model for this phrase. The phrase *uictum quaerere* goes back to Ter. *Eun.* 261 and *Heaut.* 447; the rarer *uictum*

quaeritare is found at Ter. Andr. 74–5 *primo haec pudice uitam parce ac duriter / agebat, lana ac tela uictum quaeritans*, a passage which is quoted at Aug. *Manich.* 1.70.

Ammianus uses *uictum quaeritare* in the excursus on the Saracens, a chapter which has a number of parallels with VM 4 as discussed below: Amm. 14.4.3 *nec eorum quisquam aliquando stiuam apprehendit uel arborem colit aut arua subigendo quaeritat uictum*.

The apparent verbal allusion to the same passage in a different chapter tempts the commentator to assume that Jerome intended to be recognised as a model: Malchus' activities as a monk are contrasted with Ammianus' account of the habits of the Saracens. But the phrase is also found in a fragment from the apocryphal *Euangelium Nazaraeorum* (fr. 10) which Jerome quotes at *In Matth.* 2.12.13 *caementarius eram manibus uictum quaeritans*. It is probably a standard phrase and the parallel with Ammianus coincidental.

The combination with *manus* is paralleled at Ambrosiaster *In Tim.* 1.5.15 *plus autem est cum pudore manibus uictum quaerere* and Cass. *Conl.* 14.7.3 *ille se rusticum et cotidiano manuum opere uictum quaerere*; combinations with *labor* are Apul. *Met.* 9.31 *ut communi labore uictum sibi quaereret*; Lact. *Epit.* 22.4 *ut uictum quaereret per laborem*; both *manus* and *labor* are used in Rufinus' translation of Ps.-Clement *Rec.* 7.27.1 *ut non labore manuum uictum quaereret*; Theophilus *Ep. ad Hieronymum* 92.1.3 *homines pauperes gratia et pecuniis inescatos, qui debuerant manu et labore uictum quaerere*; cf. also Tob. 2:19 *et de labore manuum suarum uictum quem consequi poterat deferebat* (with *consequi* as variation on *quaerere*).

manu et labore: the text here is debated: Morales prints *manu et labore* (as found in the Monacensis and Sessorianus). The Neapolitanus is inconclusive, at least in my transcription *manu (.) labore*, while the Laurentianus has *manuum et labore*. Mierow prints *manuum labore*, a decision which Winterbottom supports without argument (2008: 373). The hendiadys *manu et labore* is paralleled not only in Theophilus *Ep. ad Hier.*

92.1.3 (quoted above) but also in Cic. *Off.* 2.13 *sine hominum labore et manu*, while *labore manuum* is found in Rufinus' translation of Ps.-Clement's *Recognitiones* (together with *uictum quaerere*: cf. above) and also in Jerome's Vulgate translation of Tob. 2:19 (above).

quaeritans: the frequentative of *quaero* is common in Plautus (forty instances) and occurs four times in Terence, but it is hardly ever found in classical authors (exceptions: Cat. 58b.10, *Rhet. Her.* 4.9 and 4.21), and only sporadically afterwards. The only exception to this sporadic use is Ammianus, who has it sixteen times. This distribution means that *quaerito* is an archaism; originally probably colloquial because of the emotive charge of the frequentative morpheme, it must have become a mark of *recherché* style because of its rarity. This type of archaism is discussed at Introduction 3.1.2.

lasciuiamque carnis refrenans ieiuniis: an indispensable aspect of the early monastic life. Asceticism seeks to overcome all bodily desires in order to liberate the spirit so that it turns towards God. For the sense cf. also 1 Cor. 9:27 *sed castigo corpus meum et in seruitutem redigo*, quoted twice in Antony's *Letter 1* (Rubenson 1995: 202, cf. Finn 2009: 114).

Sexual temptation is here – as elsewhere in Jerome – depicted as a consequence of satiety.¹¹ Cf. Hilarion's self-address at *VH* 3.4:

'ego te,' inquit, 'aselle, faciam ut non calcitres, nec te hordeo alam sed paleis, fame te conficiam et siti, graui onerabo pondere, per aestus indagabo et frigora, ut cibum potius quam lasciuiam cogites.'

He said 'I will stop your kicking, you ass. I will feed you not on wheat but on chaff. I will make you weak with hunger and thirst; I will weigh you down with a heavy load. Through heat and cold I will strive to ensure that you think of food rather than of sexual gratification' (transl. White 1998: 91, minimally adapted).

Fasting is thus not an ascetic end in itself, but a means to wear out the body in order to stop sexual temptations: cf. *Ep.* 22.8.4 *prius uenter et statim cetera; manducauit enim populus et bibit, et surrexerunt ludere*; 22.11.1:

quodsi uolueris respondere te ... non posse a uino et esculentioribus cibis abstinere ... respondebo: 'uiue ergo lege tua, quae Dei non potes'. non quo Deus, uniuersitatis creator et dominus, intestinorum nostrorum rugitu et inanitate uentris pulmonumque delectetur ardore, sed quo aliter pudicitia tuta esse non possit.

But if you should wish to reply that you ... cannot abstain from wine and delicious food, I shall reply: 'Live, then, according to your own law, you who cannot live according to the law of God.' Not because God, the creator and lord of everything, delights in the bellowing of our intestines and in the emptiness of our stomach and in the heat of our lungs, but because sexual purity cannot be protected in any other way.'

See also *Ep.* 117.6.4 *difficile inter epulas seruatur pudicitia*, and note the contrast between this monastic abstinence and the Saracens' diet of meat and milk at *VM* 4.3 *cibus semicrudae carnes eqs.*, with note.

§5: *Malchus' plan to go home and to administer his inheritance*

After the death of his father Malchus suddenly decides to go home. He wants to comfort his widowed mother and after her death sell the farm of which he is the only heir and use most, but not all, of the proceeds for charitable and altruistic purposes. The essential infidelity which motivates this decision is only revealed in a small detail (highlighted as shameful in a parenthesis): Malchus intends to keep a part of the revenue of his inheritance for his own expenses. The mere notion of concern with one's inheritance is in danger of contradicting the monastic ideal. Antony, inspired by Mt. 19:21 (quoted in Evagrius' translation of VA 2.3 as follows: *si uis perfectus esse, uade, et*

¹¹ In classical literature the association of food and sex are also long established: see e.g. Gowers (1993:

uende omnia tua quaecumque habes, et da pauperibus, et ueni, sequere me, et habebis thesaurum in caelis),¹² dissolves his entire estate, albeit in two steps (VA 2–3). The same course is taken by Hilarion (see below on *partem in sumptuum meorum solacia reseruarem*), and by Jerome’s friend Paula: Jer. Ep. 108.6.5: *exheredans se in terra, ut hereditatem inueniret in caelo*. Malchus’ return from the monastery to look after his inheritance is therefore inherently problematic, even though the first two of his proposals for dealing with the money, i.e. giving to the poor and endowing a monastery (whether this is only a cell or a whole community: see note on *ex parte monasterium construerem* below) accord with Antony’s example.

incidit mihi cogitatio: in monastic rules the word *cogitatio* is used in the technical sense of ‘spiritual/internal temptation’: Diem (2005: 43–95). *cogitatio* occurs 454 times in Jerome’s LLT-A corpus; cf. e.g. Jer. Ep. 22.8.1, which characterises monks as men who, having given up bodily pleasures, are still ‘assaulted by thoughts’: *ex eo corpore solis cogitationibus oppugnantur*. At VP 7.1 Antony himself is struck by the *cogitatio* that he is the only monk in the desert, and the phrasing suggests a degree of sinful pride: *haec in mentem eius cogitatio incidit, nullum ultra se monachorum in eremo consedissee*.

dum adiuueret mater ... solarer uiduitatem eius: a charitable and commendable purpose: Malchus wants to alleviate his mother’s loneliness after his father’s death and comfort her by his presence and, presumably, by his filial care. Her anticipated death is only implied by the force of the *dum*-clause (‘as long as my mother was alive’) and the subsequent *et exinde*.

dum adiuueret mater: *adiuio* in later Latin is the usual compound of *uiuo* after words meaning ‘as long as’: Adams (1976: 118). This observation contradicts Jameson’s

238–40) on Cat. 13 and 32, with further bibliography. Note also how in Petron. 111–12 the Widow of Ephesus allows herself to be seduced after first breaking her fast.

argument (1938: 413–14) that the simplex *uiueret*, which is found in the Neapolitanus and nine other manuscripts, is likely to be the earliest version and was later emended to *aduiueret* by analogy with Jerome’s use elsewhere, e.g. *Ep.* 49.18.2 *dum aduiueret sanctae memoriae Damasus*, and in the Vulgate, such as *Jos.* 4:14 *sicut timuerant Mosen dum aduiueret*. Jameson regards the variant *dum adhuc uiueret* (which is printed by Mierow) as a further emendation of *aduiueret*, while admitting that *aduiueret* is found in ‘the vast majority of manuscripts’ (including the Monacensis and Laurentianus).

patrem mortuum audieram: Leclerc (SC 2007: 38) finds a parallel for this return of the protagonist upon receiving the news of his father’s death in Philostratus’

Vita Apollonii 1.13:

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τεθνεῶτα τὸν πατέρα ἤκουσεν, ἔδραμεν ἐς τὰ Τύανα, κάκεινον μὲν ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ χερσὶν ἔθαψε πρὸς τῷ τῆς μητρὸς σήματι, ἐτεθνήκει δὲ κάκεινῃ οὐ πάλαι, τὴν δὲ οὐσίαν λαμπρὰν οὖσαν διέλαχε πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀκολαστόν τε καὶ φιλοπότην ὄντα.

solarer: forms which are based on the verb *solor* (see Walde and Hofmann 1938–1956: 2.556 for the root) occur twice more in the following lines: *solacia* in the same section and *solacium* at 3.7; cf. *solacio* at 5.3.

solor seems to be the stylistically higher variant of *consolor*: the latter is attested from Plautus onwards but avoided in authors such as Lucretius, Sallust and Virgil (*TLL* IV. 479.25ff.). Cicero never uses *solor* but has many instances of *consolor*, whereas Tacitus avoids *consolor* but uses *solor* five times, four in the *Annals* (e.g. 2.14.3) and one in the *Histories* (2.48.2). Elsewhere Jerome only uses the verb *solor* at *Adv. Iov.* 2.37 and *Ep.* 127.8.2; forms of *consolor* are much more frequent in his corpus.

possessiuncula: *TLL* X.2.101 8–14: *parua possessio, sc. de praediolo vel modica substantia* (‘a small possession, i.e. of a little estate or moderate assets’). The diminutive force often disappears, and the form may serve to express a Christian contempt for

¹² Cf. Jerome’s comment at *Ep.* 14.6.4–5: *si perfectus es, cur bona paterna desideras?*

worldly possessions, as Jer. *Ep.* 53.11.3 to the wealthy Paulinus of Nola: *nisi tu ... tuas possessiunculas uendideris, non habet Christus, unde alat pauperes suos* ('unless you ... sell your *possessiunculae*, Christ has no funds to feed his poor').

partem erogarem pauperibus: the Christian commandment to sell one's possessions and give the proceeds to the poor is most clearly expressed in the story of the rich young man in the synoptic gospels (Mt. 19:16–22, Mk. 10:17–22, Lk. 18:18–25). Insofar as he intends to give to the poor, Malchus fulfils the obligations of a Christian.

erogarem: 'I would disburse'. Cf. e.g. *VH* 10.14 *nemo melius erogat quam qui sibi nihil reseruat*; 11.7: *cur enim non magis equorum pretium pro salute animae tuae pauperibus erogas?*

ex parte monasterium construerem: on the history of the word *monasterium* see Reitzenstein (1914), Morard (1973) (mainly on the Greek); Lorie (1955: 43–51). The first Latin translation of the *VA* (edited by Bartelink 1974) never uses *monasterium* to render the Greek μοναστήριον (Garitte 1939: 4), but Evagrius' later version uses this transliteration as a matter of course. Given the relatively short distance between the dates of the two translations, the rapidity of this linguistic shift is remarkable. It is not impossible to imagine that Evagrius' use was his own innovation.

In the *VA* the word μοναστήριον refers to the abode of an individual *monachus* (Bartelink 2004: 125 n.2, Barnes 2010: 166), a fact which is reflected in the various periphrases employed in the older Latin translation, most clearly at *VA* 15.2, where ὑποστρέψας δὲ εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον becomes *et reuersus iterum ad singularem suam mansionem* (Evagrius does not have the phrase); cf. also *VA* 41.1, where the early Latin version has *cella* and Evagrius *monasterium* for μοναστήριον.

Lorie (1955: 47) takes it that the same meaning 'individual cell' is present here in the *VM*; but this is not the interpretation of the Greek translation of the *VM*, which has

Malchus wishing to become a ‘father of monks’ himself – an even clearer challenge to his abbot’s authority. In fact, Jerome uses *monasterium* to signify both individual cell and an organisation of many monks living under the same abbot. Thus Lorié (1955: 47) notes the use of *monasterium* in the *VH* both for a hermit’s dwelling (*VH* 17.3 *frater ille ... impetrauit ut suum quoque monasterium in mansionum ordinem poneret*), and for a large complex of coenobitic monks at *VH* 19.1:

igitur sexagesimo tertio uitae suae anno cernens **grande monasterium et multitudinem fratrum** secum habitantium turbasque eorum, qui diuersis languoribus et immundis spiritibus occupatos ad se deducebant, ita ut omni genere hominum solitudo per circuitum repleretur, flebat quotidie et incredibili desiderio conuersationis antiquae recordabatur.

In the *VM* there is no hint of the contemporary debate over the relative value of coenobitic and anachoretic models of the monastic life; contrast this e.g. with Jer. *Ep.* 22.35–6, where anachoretic monasticism is depicted as the superior form: *anachoretas ... qui de coenobiis exeuntes excepto pane et sale amplius ad deserta nil perferunt* (*Ep.* 22.36.1).

construerem: this is the reading of the Neapolitanus, Monacensis, and Laurentianus, also printed by Mierow. Morales (1991, 2007) prints *constituerem*. Either reading produces an acceptable meaning; *constituo* (‘establish’) is more abstract and may therefore have a euphemistic function, while *construo* (‘pile up’) emphasises the act of building, which may seem desirable in the present materialistic context. I therefore follow the majority of the manuscripts which I have available in printing *construerem*.

quid erubesco confiteri infidelitatem meam?: the sense of hesitation produced by this parenthesis is explained by its content: Malchus is ashamed (*erubesco*) of the third aspect of his plans which he is about to relate.

erubesco confiteri: Diem (2005: 70ff.) points out that confession or written recording of sins is one of the methods which Antony advises his monks to practise: the

shame which they would feel in confessing their sins should cause them to avoid desiring to commit this sin in the first place (VA 55.12 Ἐστω οὖν ἡμῖν τὸ γράμμα ἀντὶ ὀφθαλμῶν τῶν σπνασκητῶν, ἵνα, ἐρυθριῶντες γράψαι ὡς βλέπεσθαι, μηδ' ὅλως ἐνθυμηθῶμεν τὰ φαῦλα).

A close parallel for *erubesco* with infinitive in classical Latin is Liv. 42.41.2 *quae fateri erubescam*; cf. also Macr. Sat. 3.15.5 *neque id confiteri Crassus erubuit*.

partem in sumptuum meorum solacia reseruarem: White (1998: 122)

translates ‘and the rest ... I intended to keep for my own expenses’, without providing a word-for-word equivalent for *solacia*. It is possible for *solacia* to have a meaning which involves the notion of compensation for expenses: there are parallels for a ‘materialistic’ use of *solacium* in legal writings. The *Vocabularium Iurisprudentiae Romanae* gives *reditus* and *salarium* as synonyms and cites Dig. 26.7.33.3 (Callistratus): *sumptuum, qui bona fide in tutelam, non qui in ipsos tutores fiunt, ratio haberi solet, nisi ab eo qui eum dat certum solacium ei constitutum est* ([i]t is usual to draw up an account of expenses which are incurred in good faith for the benefit of the tutelage, not that of the tutors themselves, unless the person who appointed the tutor decided upon a certain compensation for him’, transl. Watson *et al.* 1989). But the use of the cognate verb *solarer* at the beginning of the sentence, where Malchus comforts his mother, and the repetition of *solacium* at 3.7 (see note *ad loc.*) makes it likely that the word has a less technical and more emotional force, as Burrus (2004: 34) attempts to bring out by rendering the phrase ‘I would ... put aside the remainder to pay for my own comfort’ (with a switch of the syntactic positions of *solacia* and *sumptus*).

Morales points out the contrast with Hilarion’s attitude and conduct in the *VH*.

Hilarion gives away all of his inheritance at 2.6:

et parentibus iam defunctis partem substantiae fratribus, partem pauperibus largitus est, **nihil sibi omnino reseruans** et timens illud de Actibus Apostolorum Ananiae et Saphirae uel exemplum

uel supplicium, maximeque dominicae sententiae memor dicentis: ‘qui non renuntiauerit omnibus quae sunt eius, non potest meus esse discipulus’ (Lk. 14:33, cf. Mt. 19:21).

Cf. *VH* 17 and 18, where Hilarion deals with two avaricious monks (note especially 18.1 *detestabatur autem praecipue monachos qui infidelitate quadam in futurum seruarent sua*), and Jer. *Ep.* 108.30.2: *iactent alii pecunias ...: nemo plus dedit pauperibus, quam quae sibi nihil reliquit*. For this requirement in monastic rules cf. Cassian *Inst.* 7.21 *ne minuto quidem nummo conscientia monachi polluat*; Basil *Reg.* 29 (transl. Rufinus, *CSEL* 86.76); Benedict *Reg.* 33 (*si quid debeant monachi proprium habere*).

§6: *The abbot's opposition*

Malchus has succeeded in convincing himself of the validity of his motives for returning to his place of origin. But his abbot senses the infidelity which underlies Malchus' plans and points it out to Malchus, describing it in the strongest terms as a deception by the devil and a violation of Scriptural precepts.

clamare hoc coepit abbas meus: this is the reading of all the five manuscripts at my disposal (cf. Introduction 4). Morales and Leclerc (*SC* 2007) take *hoc* as referring to the abbot's speech, in the sense ‘my abbot began to shout this: “It is a temptation by the devil etc.”’ This is probably right. If *hoc* instead is the accusative subject of the abbot's *oratio obliqua* which follows immediately after this phrase, it is separated unusually far from the rest of the sentence.

For Jerome's use of *coepit* with the infinitive cf. Introduction 3.1.4b and note on 6.4 *coepi* below. *clamare coepit* is found twice in Cic. *Verr.*, 2.4.65 (*clamare iste coepit dignam rem esse regno Syriae*) and 67.

abbas: the intended reader would presumably have taken for granted that the group of monks whom Malchus joins was organised in a hierarchical order, just like the double foundation headed by Jerome and Paula respectively (de Vogüé 2007: 77–9, Kelly 1975: 129–34). Lorie (1955: 59) notes that *abbas* and *pater (monasterii)* were in competition as terms for the leader of a monastery, and that it was Jerome who established this technical sense of *pater* in his translation of Pachomius' *Regula* (e.g. *praef.* 6 *rationem operum suorum ad patrem monasterii referunt*, and *passim*: see the index of the edition by Boon and Lefort 1932: 204) and at *Ep.* 22.35.2 *medius quem patrem uocant incipit disputare*. The present passage is cited by Lorie (1955:59) as an early use of *abbas*, which comes to be the normal word for the head of a monastery in Cassian and Benedict, whereas the word *pater* in the monastic context signifies the founders of monastic orders. Later in the *VM* the abbot is referred to as *pater* (7.1, 10.3), which, even though the etymological meaning of the two words is the same, may convey a more emotional relationship to Latin readers than the loan word *abbas*.

On the duty of the abbot to ensure discipline and obedience in the Rules of Basil cf. Morison (1912: 50–1).

antiqui hostis: for the use of *hostis* of the devil see *TLL* VI.3.3064.32ff. In combination with *antiquus* it is used in Cypr. *Fort. praef.* 2. *aduersarius uetus ... et hostis antiquus*, and the phrase recurs in Jerome at *Comm. Ps.* 6.8 (*CCL* 72 p. 188 line 45), *Tract. Psalm. II* 96.8 (*CCL* 78 p. 444 line 148); *Ep.* 66.12.2, 118.2.2, and 130.10.3.

For the devil as enemy of the Christian cf. Tert. *Anim.* 35.3 *in diabolum transfertur aduersarii mentio* and Jer. *In Eph.* 2.4.27 (*PL* 26.511): *diabolus Graecum uerbum est, quod Latine dicitur criminator: lingua uero Hebraea Satan appellatur, id est, aduersarius, siue contrarius* (references from Scourfield 1993: 97). See also Jer. *Ep.*

14.4.2 *hostis, cui 'nomina mille, mille nocendi artes'* (with a quotation from Virg. *Aen.* 7.337–8).

astutiae: this word occurs seven times in Plautus and three times in Terence; it is rare in classical prose. The explicitly negative evaluation is paralleled e.g. at Sall. *Cat.* 26.2 (of Catiline). On Christian uses with the devil or demons see *TLL* II.986.33ff., e.g. Lact. *Inst.* 4.27.9 *religionem quae et rationem daemonum nouit et astutiam intellegit*; there is no close parallel elsewhere in Jerome.

hoc esse reuerti canem ad uomitum suum: Prov. 26:11 *sicut canis qui reuertitur ad uomitum suum sic inprudens qui iterat stultitiam suam*. This saying is elaborated at 2 Peter 2:22 and applied to those who are first converted to Christianity and subsequently lapse in their faith: *canis reuersus ad suum uomitum et sus lota in uolutabro luti*. The image is striking; it is no surprise that it is frequently quoted. For Jerome cf. e.g. *Ep.* 54.4.1 (arguing against a second marriage): *quid uis rursus ingerere, quod tibi noxium fuit? canis reuertens ad uomitum et sus ad uolutabrum luti* (Morales' reference 2007 *ad loc.*).

The word order is *reuerti canem* in the Monacensis, Sessorianus, Parisinus, and Laurentianus but *canem reuerti* in the Neapolitanus. It is impossible to be certain, but I have decided to follow the majority of my manuscripts and reject the order of the Neapolitanus.

hoc esse: a strong demonstrative emphasis: 'this is what it means for the dog to return to its vomit', paralleled by the following emphatic *sic*.

sic multos monachorum esse deceptos: the partitive genitive is banal according to Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 54). For similarly corrupt monks cf. e.g. *VH* 17 and 18.

numquam diabolum aperta fronte se prodere: Morales refers to VA 23.3 for the demons' arsenal of deceptive personae. The possibility of being deceived like Malchus by a mixture of altruism and greed is not explicitly addressed by Antony.

inter quae illud, ab initio quod Adam quoque et Euam spe diuinitatis supplantauerit: the relevance of the example of Adam and Eve, taken from Gen. 3, is not immediately obvious: Malchus is not 'tripped up' through his hope to achieve divine status (as in Gen. 3:5) but only through his desire to achieve a very small degree of worldly security. The abbot's reproach is only loosely connected to Malchus' actual offence, but it reinforces the warning that human beings are always vulnerable to the intrigues of the devil.

et cum persuadere non posset, prouolutus genibus obsecrabat: having appealed to Malchus' reason the abbot now tries to engage his emotions. For this *peroratio* he assumes the classic pose of the suppliant. At VM 6.7 the woman implores Malchus in a similar pose: *prouoluta pedibus meis*; cf. also VH 23.3 *aduoluti pedibus rogabant*; VH 3.8, 7.1, Ep. 22.30.5, 39.5.5, 108.7.2, 108.14.2, 120.5, 130.4.4, 147.8.1; Adv. Iov. 1.41 (PL 23.272); C. Ioannem 8; In Is. 3.7.14 (CCL 73 p. 103 line 30).

There are many variations in literature for expressing this supplicatory position, and the patterns of preference in individual authors are complex. Firstly, there is the choice between referring to either knees or feet; secondly, between *aduoluor* and *prouoluor* (occasionally the simplex is used: cf. the frequentative at Virg. *Aen.* 3.607 *genibusque uolutans*), and there are different ways of syntactic construction. Livy uses *prouoluor* with prepositional *ad* for both knees and feet and *aduoluor* with the dative only of knees. Tacitus only refers to knees and uses *prouoluor* with the dative (*Ann.* 11.30.1, 12.18.2, and 14.61.2), a use which Jerome is perhaps imitating here; moreover, Tacitus follows Sall. *Hist.* fr. incert. 16 Maurenbrecher in using a direct accusative object with

aduoluor (Tac. *Ann.* 1.13.6, 6.49.2, 15.71.1, *Hist.* 4.81.1). This direct object construction is the only version of the phrase which is *not* found in Jerome; other than that, he covers all possibilities, using both the dative and prepositional phrases for both feet and knees with both *prouoluor* and *aduoluor*.

ne se desererem, ne me perderem, ne aratrum tenens post tergum

respicerem: cf. Introduction 3.2.1 for tricolon with homoeoteleuton in the VM.

ne me perderem: some manuscripts read *proderem*, but this could easily be explained as dittography from *prodere* above. For *perdere* cf. 5.5, 6.4, 6.7, 6.8, and 7.1 (with notes), where Malchus acknowledges that he has ‘lost’ the status of monk: viewed in this context, the abbot here equates the monastic state with Malchus’ own person.

ne aratrum tenens post tergum respicerem: an allusion to a biblical topos, e.g.

Lk. 9:62 *ait ad illum Iesus nemo mittens manum suam in aratrum et aspiciens retro aptus est regno Dei*. The frequency with which this topos recurs in Jerome’s corpus is indicative of the author’s ambition to convert his readers to monasticism, e.g. *Ep.* 22.1.2:

ne respexeris, inquit, retro nec steteris in tota circa regione; in montem saluum te fac, ne forte comprehendaris. non expedit adprehenso aratro respicere postergum nec de agro reuerti domum nec post Christi tunicam ad tollendum aliud uestimentum tecta descendere;

cf. *Ep.* 71.1.4, 118.4.4, 145.3, *In Is.* 1.1.4, 16.57.7–8, 16.58.13, *In Ezech.* 1.1.12, 14.46.8–11 (*CCL* 75 p. 695 line 548).

post tergum: this phrase is repeated at 8.5 *currimus, post tergum semper aspicimus*; it is vastly more frequent in Jerome than in any other single author on the LLT-A database (seventy-one uses, including six where the editors’ spelling is *postergum*, plus twenty-nine in his Vulgate translations). The combination with *respicio* is paralleled in Jerome’s Vulgate version of Gen. 19:17 *noli respicere post tergum* (of Lot and his family, translating μή περιβλέψῃς εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω); by contrast, the Vetus Latina has *noli respicere post te* and *ne respexeris retro*.

§7: *Malchus' obstinacy*

uae misero mihi, uici pessimam uictoriam: in retrospect the narrator condemns himself for his attitude in this situation. Morales (2007 *ad loc.*) notes a parallel for this manner of realising a former delusion in *Ep.* 14.4.2: *et ego infelix uictorem me puto, dum capior?*

At *VH* 24.4 a disobedient monk is condemned by the narrator, who implies that his disobedience is consequently punished by God: *hoc tantum dixerim in terrorem eorum qui magistros suos despiciunt, quod post aliquantulum temporis morbo regio computruerit.*

uae misero mihi: this is the word order in the Neapolitanus, Monacensis, and Laurentianus. Morales' 2007 apparatus does not note any variants. The phrase comes from comedy: *uae misero mihi* is found eleven times in Plautus and five times in Terence, and *uae mihi misero* twice in Plautus and once in Terence; both versions of the exclamation disappear during the classical period. Jerome seems to revive the use as an artificial colloquialism (see Introduction 2.2.4 and 3.1.2); he uses the same phrase in his Vulgate translation of Jerem. 45:3.

uici pessimam uictoriam: figura etymologica. Morales (1991, 2007) prints the ablative *pessima uictoria*, as read also in the Monacensis and Laurentianus. But the internal cognate accusative is found in the Neapolitanus, Parisinus, and Sessorianus, whose reading I am adopting here. This accusative construction of the figura etymologica with *uincere* is found in classical Latin: Cic. *Marc.* 12 *ipsam uictoriam uicisse uideris*, Liv. 42.8.8 *claram uictoriam uincendo oppugnantes*, Sen. *Ep.* 9.19 *ipsam hostis sui*

uictoriam uicit. By contrast, the ablative is used by Jerome's contemporaries Paulinus of Nola *Ep.* 7.3 *ne mala uictoria uincat* and Aug. *De gratia et libero arbitrio* 8 *uictoria qua peccatum uincitur*. Rosén (1996: 134) analyses the relationship between this type of accusative and the ablative *figura etymologica*. With some types of verb the two are interchangeable: we find both *laudes laudare* and *laudibus laudare*, both *nomen nominare* and *nomine nominare* etc.¹³ Rosén further observes (1996: 143) that in later Latin the frequency of both of these types of *figura etymologica* increases under the influence of the Hebrew 'paronomastic absolute infinitive': '[t]he very commutability of cognate accusatives and cognate ablatives (which reaches an extreme in Biblical Latin), two cases which are otherwise quite marginally interchangeable, the first belonging essentially in the center of the predication, the second in the periphery, proves their affinity with adverbials.' The last remark confirms Pinkster's claim (1990: 10) that in such cognate constructions '[t]he noun is normally accompanied by an adjective or another expression as its Attribute. It is usually the Attribute which contains the most important information.' This statement should in turn be read with Rosén (1981: 122), arguing that providing such a 'modification of the verbal content' is often an important motivation for using this type of *figura etymologica*.

reputans illum non meam utilitatem sed suum solacium quaerere: two antithetical statements in parallel position. Morales cites *VP* 12.2 '*non debes,*' *inquit,* '*quaerere quae tua sunt, sed quae aliena.*' *utilitas* should be taken in a general sense, e.g. 'best interests'.

The motive which Malchus attributes to his abbot (falsely, as it turns out) is the seeking of his own *solacium*. This word is interpreted in the SC translation as the abbot's own 'inner peace' ('tranquillité'). But it is doubtful whether this translation covers the

¹³ There is inevitably a degree of textual uncertainty in many of these cases.

range of connotations which the word has for Malchus. He is clearly self-conscious about his plan to keep part of the money for his own *solacia*, and it seems plausible that this guilt may lead him to suspect that the abbot has similarly selfish motives: perhaps Malchus' farm would fall to the monastery if Malchus stays under its *magisterium*. In this case the abbot would have an economic motive for resisting Malchus' departure and his autonomous disposal of his funds. Alternatively the word may denote the friendship of Malchus which the abbot is afraid of losing, rather than any worldly commodity.

reputans: cf. 9.2 *illudque nobiscum reputantes*. *reputo* is a high-style alternative to *cogito*: cf. Adams (1970: 138). While *cogito* is frequent in all periods, the concentration of *reputo* in comedy (both Plautus and Terence), history, and authors such as Fronto and Apuleius suggests that it was cultivated as an archaism. It was probably regarded as 'high' rather than 'colloquial', as is indicated by its use in Tacitus, whose work contains the highest absolute number of instances of *reputo* in classical literature. In Tacitus, twelve out of eighteen forms of *reputo* are in the present participle: a higher proportion than in classical (pre-Christian) literature as a whole, where the present participle form accounts for about one third of the total instances of *reputo*. Jerome's LLT-A corpus has nine present participles out of a total of more than 150 instances of *reputo*: the two instances of the participle in the VM are therefore significant and may be chosen in imitation of Tacitus.

§8: *Malchus leaves the monastery*

quasi funus efferret: Malchus' greed and disobedience are viewed by the abbot as a sign or cause of his spiritual death. This is similar to the ejection from the church in consequence of a grave sin such as incest: cf. 1 Cor. 5:1–7, Tert. *Pudic.* 13.

funus efferret: in classical Latin *efferre* is used with the ablative *funere*, 'to carry out for burial' (e.g. Cic. *De or.* 2.225, Liv. 3.18.11); this use seems to be adapted to *funus efferre* in later Latin, 'to carry out a dead body' (for this meaning of *funus* see *OLD* s.v. 2).

'uideo te', ait, 'fili, Satanae notatum cauterio': some manuscripts place *te* before, others after *ait*. The Monacensis has it twice, once before and once after *ait*, clearly a scribal error which suggests that either placement could be seen as possible. There are no exact parallels for this phrase, but the preference of *te* preceding the higher verb is slightly better attested in the LLT-A corpus; cf. e.g. Ter. *Andr.* 688 *uidere te ait cupere* and Apul. *Met.* 3.12 *'rogat te', ait, 'tua parens Byrrhena'*. With *inquit* the tendency for *te* to precede is also more marked than the order *inquit te*: cf. VM 6.7 *'precor te', inquit, 'per Iesum eqs.'*

fili: omitted by Morales (1991, 2007), without any note in the apparatus. However, *fili* is found in all of the manuscripts which I have seen, and is also printed by Mierow; Morales' omission is likely to be an oversight.

For the use of this vocative in Christian Latin cf. note on *nate* at 3.3 above. Here *fili* serves to characterise the abbot as an instructor in the Christian tradition, whose admonitions arise from his concern for Malchus' soul.

cauterio: a branding iron, transliterated from the Greek *καυτήριον* (derived from *καύω*, 'to burn'), used to mark slaves and animals as their owner's property. In this sense

the use of Latin *cauterium* seems to be started by Christian authors (*TLL* III.710.44, e.g. Tert. *Apol.* 15.5); earlier the same word is used of a medical instrument for ‘cauterising’ in Plin. *NH* 22.102, 25.80 and Veg. *Mul.*, e.g. 1.14.3. The abbot implies that Malchus has become a slave of the devil because of his attachment to worldly goods.

non quaero causas, excusationes non recipio: the abbot will not discuss Malchus’ (partial) self-justification (cf. above, 3.5). He realises that they are deceptive and ultimately prompted by non-Christian instincts. On the chiastic formulation cf. Introduction 3.2.3.

ouis quae de ouili egreditur lupi statim morsibus patet: this phrase can be associated with specifically Christian imagery. For the sheep of the good pastor and the threat of the wolf see John 10:11–12: *ego sum pastor bonus bonus pastor animam suam dat pro ouibus / mercennarius et qui non est pastor cuius non sunt oues propriae uidet lupum uenientem et dimittit oues et fugit et lupus rapit et dispergit oues.*

This type of imagery appears to have its origins in the genres of wisdom literature and folkloristic fable, where animal metaphors (with wolf and sheep among the favourites) are routinely used to illustrate a moral about human behaviour, e.g. Aesop 153 (‘The wolf and the sheep’), 155 (‘The wolf and the lamb’), 159, etc. (references from Perry 1952). Among the extant fables in the style of Aesop, the closest correspondences with Malchus’ situation are found in Babrius 128 (no. 356 in Perry’s 1952 collection): a sheep is jealous of the ample meals given to the guard dog; the dog in turn points out that if it was not for him, the sheep would be exposed to the wolf. The abbot’s moralising metaphor can easily be decompressed into a very similar Aesopic fable.

The proverbial ‘lost sheep’ is equally at home in biblical moralising: Ps. 118:176 *erravi quasi ouis perdita* (cf. my note on 5.5 *perditurus*); Jerem. 50:6 *grex perditus factus est populus meus*. The New Testament uses the shepherd as a figure for Christ, who

gathers the sheep who have gone astray and thus protects them from the power of evil. The parable of the lost sheep and its rescue is told in Mt. 18:12–14 and Lk. 15:4–7; cf. also Mt. 10:6, 15:24. In contrast to the abbot's moral, the biblical intertext opens the way for the actual outcome of Malchus' story, which is different from that anticipated by the abbot: instead of leaving Malchus to the consequences of his materialism and disobedience, Christ will make a special effort to save him.

The use of animal similes for a monastic community establishes coherence between chapters 3 and 7: sheep and ants are used as images for man, who is not merely a gregarious animal (like sheep) but even social, like ants (this categorical differentiation is found in Arist. *HA* 1.488a). In ch. 3 the model for a coenobitic community is hierarchical: the monks as sheep are subject to the abbot who guides and protects them. This order corresponds to that of the Egyptian communities discussed in Jer. *Ep.* 22.35.1, where emphasis is placed on monks' obedience to various levels of superiors in language reminiscent of military hierarchy with *decuriae* and *centuriae* (cf. Dietz 2005: 81–4). By contrast, the ants' community of ch. 7 is based not on discipline enforced by fear but on a more positively motivated commitment to collaboration and sharing (de Vogüé 2007: 77).

ouis: for the use in proverbs and similes cf. *TLL* IX.22.1194.53ff. Otto (1890: 198–9) finds sheep and wolf only in proverbs with an absurd leaning: of a wolf fleeing from sheep (e.g. Virg. *Ecl.* 8.52); of the imprudence of attempting to snatch a lamb from a wolf (Plaut. *Poen.* 776); or of committing one's sheep to a wolf as shepherd (e.g. Plaut. *Pseud.* 140). The non-ironic topos of sheep's vulnerability to wolves seems to belong to Christian language, e.g. Mt. 10:16 (already in the Vetus Latina): *mitto uos sicut oues in medio luporum*.

ouile: 'sheep fold', used to denote the community of the faithful: *TLL* IX.22.1190.66ff., e.g. Aug. *In Rom. imperf.* 2.3 *ecclesia grex Dei et pecus Dei et ouile*

Dei uocetur; Lucif. Athan. 2.5 for the opposition with *lupus*: *patuerunt ... insidiae tuae lupi rapacis, quod enim contra Dei ouile machinam construxisses*.¹⁴ The examples cited at TLL IX.22.1191.4ff. of *ouile* as metaphor for a monastery postdate Jerome, e.g. *Reg. mag.* 29.4 *lectum abbas in medio habeat, ut ... ouium suarum gregem intra unum ouile collectum ... adtendat*.¹⁵

lupi: for the wolf as a metaphor of the devil, see TLL VII.2.1856.51ff.: Hil. *In Psalm.* 120.15: *ergo fidelem animam ab omni malo Dominus custodit, id est ... ne lupus laceret ... ne leo uastet. haec enim sunt diaboli ministeria*; *Inscr. christ.* Diehl 1767.8 [*in ecclesiam*] *plebs festina recurrens eripitur morsu dilaceranda lupi*; Pomerius 2.3.4 (fifth century, PL 59.447) *ne quem ... lupus diabolus astuta fraude subripiat*.

¹⁴ Lucifer, bishop of Cagliari, died 370/1, defended Athanasius at the Council of Milan 354/5: Lietzmann *RE* 13.1615–16; cf. Jer. *Vir. ill.* 95.

¹⁵ The *Regula magistri* was composed in the first half of the sixth century and used by Benedict for the composition of his Rule. It has been edited by de Vogüé in *Sources Chrétiennes* 105–6 (1964).

Ch. 4: The Raid by the Saracens

§1: Without transition chapter 4 starts a new episode. Malchus sets out to travel from Beroea near Chalcis towards Edessa, which is close to his home town Nisibis. The public road leads through a desert inhabited by marauding Arab nomads, the Saracens. Because of the danger which they pose to travellers, it is necessary to travel in groups. §2: The precautions of Malchus and his fellow travellers are in vain. The caravan is attacked, and there is no mention of any defensive action. The travellers are passive victims of the Saracens, who are depicted in impressionistic detail. §3: In the confusion of the raid, Malchus leaves unclear whether there is any formal distribution of booty among the Saracens, or whether they disperse immediately after the attack with whatever each can snatch for himself. Malchus by chance ends up belonging to the same master as a female fellow traveller. They are carried away on camels and fed with half-raw meat and camel milk.

§1: *The caravan*

de Beroea Edessam pergentibus ... publico itineri: the public highway from Antioch via Beroea and Edessa to Nisibis was a major travel and trade route connecting the Mediterranean with Mesopotamia. The emperor Sulpicius Severus had a road built along this route around AD 197 when he prepared a campaign against the Persians, which took place in 198.¹ This road was used by the emperor Julian and his army for their march from Antioch to the East in March 363 on what Ammianus calls ‘the usual route’ (*solitis*

¹ Cumont (1917: 16–18).

itineribus, 23.2.6).² The Tabula Peutingeriana gives the names of ten stops (*mansiones*) between Beroea and Edessa, including the cities of Bathnae and Hierapolis (Miller 1916: 776). The pilgrim Egeria uses the same route to journey from Antioch to Edessa (*Itin. Eger.* 18–19). She travels through Hierapolis (*Gerapolis* at *Itin. Eger.* 18.1, *Ierapolis* at 18.2), the provincial capital of Augusta Euphratensis. To cross the Euphrates she and her companions need large ships (18.2–3). Bathnae (*Batanis*: 19.1) is mentioned and described briefly as the last major stop before Egeria reaches Edessa.

The use of a preposition with the name of a town (here: *de Beroea*) is found both in Plautus (e.g. *Bacch.* 235–6 *aduenerit / in portum ex Epheso nauis*) and in classical Latin, e.g. *CIL* I².638 *uiam feci ab Regio ad Capuam*. In classical Latin (but not in Plautus) the prepositional phrase is restricted to situations where both a start and an end point of a journey are given. In these phrases (‘from A to B’) the use of at least one preposition is more common than their complete omission: Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 102). But the choice of *de*, rather than *ex* or *ab*, as a preposition to govern the name of a town is not attested for classical Latin according to *TLL* V.1.46.37ff.; however, it is common in later Latin (Adams 1976: 56; cf. Introduction 3.1.5d).

uicina est ... solitudo: this is the desert in which Jerome lived during his time as a Syrian monk between c. 374 and 376: cf. Kelly (1975: 46–56) and above on 2.1 (*dum ego adulescentulus morarer in Syria*). It is mentioned in two letters written during this stay: *Jer. Ep.* 5.1 *in ea mihi parte eremi commoranti quae iuxta Syriam Sarracenis iungitur* (‘to me, dwelling in that quarter of the desert which lies next to Syria bordering on the Saracens’); *Ep.* 7.1.2 *in ea ... eremi parte ... quae inter Syros ac Saracenos uastum limitem ducit* (‘in the corner of the desert which creates a wide border between the Syrians and the Saracens’).

² Cumont (1917: 1–3).

publico itineri: in pre-Christian literature this phrase is only found at Val. Max. 7.3.8 *per itinera uiasque publicas*. It is used as a technical term in the geographical works of Hyginus minor gromaticus (in *Corpus agrimensorum Romanorum* p. 134 line 8 in *Italia etiam itineri publico seruiunt sub appellatione subrunciuorum* and line 11 *publici itineris causa latitudines acceperunt*) and Iulius Frontinus (*ibid.* p. 5 line 16 and p. 10 line 7). In Christian writings it occurs twice in commentaries on Psalm 118: Hil. *In Psalm. 118 nun 5* (CCL 61A p. 130) *peregrinum autem et publicum iter ingredientibus lumen potius necessarium est* and Ambr. *Exp. Ps. 118.8.31 a publici tractus itinere recedentes erroris labyrinthos frequenter incurrunt*. This use seems to be metaphorical, contrasting the ‘way of the world’ with Christian expectations. Both the concrete and the spiritual sense may be present in Malchus’ use of the phrase.

solitudo: cf. 3.3 *eremum* with note. *solitudo* recurs at 5.1 and 6.9. In all of these instances it is associated with the domain of the Saracens. This distribution seems to imply a contrast with the more monastic connotations of *eremus*.

Saraceni: here and in the following descriptions (4.2, 5.1) Malchus’ account of the Saracens shows many parallels in motifs and vocabulary to Ammianus’ ethnographical excursus on the Saracens at 14.4 and on the Huns at 31.2. Jerome and Ammianus give a consistent picture of the peculiarities of these nomads, their unsettled and egalitarian way of life, their diet of half-cooked meat and milk, their ignorance of agri- and viticulture, their dress which leaves them half-naked, their aggression, and their attitudes to sexuality and marriage. These descriptions are stereotypical and distorted by a Graeco-Roman polarised world view which has little interest in a differentiated picture of the non-Roman citizens around and beyond the borders of the Roman Empire. The stereotypical quality of Ammianus’ description is evident from the similarities between

his account of the Saracens at 14.4.3–5, and his characterisation of the Huns at 31.2.³ Cf.

e.g. 14.4.3

nec eorum quisquam **aliquando stiuam adprehendit** uel arborem colit aut arua subigendo quaeritat uictum, sed errant semper per spatia longe lateque distenta **sine lare sine sedibus fixis aut legibus**: nec idem perferunt diutius caelum aut tractus unius soli illis umquam placet

with 31.2.10

nemo apud eos arat nec **stiuam aliquando contingit**. omnes enim sine sedibus fixis, absque lare uel lege aut uictu stabili dispalantur, semper fugientium similes, cum carpentis, in quibus habitant.

For the question of the relationship between Jerome's and Ammianus' accounts raised by these similarities, which are discussed in detail in the comments below, see the

Introduction 2.2.2.

For a summary of the situation of the Saracens on the Eastern border of the Roman Empire in pre-Islamic Late Antiquity see Caner (2010: 39–51). Shahîd (1984a: 124–41) discusses the possible etymologies of the term *Saraceni*. The term may be a self-designation of an Arab tribe taken over by the Romans when they came into contact with them in the second century AD, or a derivation from a specific place name, e.g. the Σαρακηνή recorded at Ptol. *Geo.* 5.17.3 (cf. below). Alternatively, it may derive from a Semitic term for 'Easterner' (*sharquī*, plural *sharqiyyīn*) or for 'thief/plunderer' (*sāriq*, plural *sariqīn*), or for 'emptiness' (*S^erāq*), i.e. the desert where they roam. Graf (1978: 14–15) links *Saraceni* to the word *širkat* ('confederation'), used by the nomads of themselves in the Ruwwāfa inscription. Graf's interpretation is accepted by Bowersock (1980: 483), although his additional argument that

whenever the Greeks and Romans can be observed alluding to Saracens, they are always making reference to large political units – not merely Arabs under tents but substantial groups of such Arabs with a central camp

does not seem to cover their description in the VM.

³ De Jonge (1935: 82).

‘Saracens’ is normally used as a collective word for those Arab tribes who do not live in cities (on both Roman and Persian territory) and thus are outside Roman domination. They are depicted in contemporary Roman literature as uncivilised nomads, living from animal pasture supplemented by raids on insufficiently protected communities and individuals. On the question of the various names and etymologies for the wandering and marauding Arab tribes, see below on *Ismaelitae* (4.2). Probably the earliest extant mention of the Saracens is in Eus. *HE* 6.42.4: πολλοὶ δὲ οἱ κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ Ἀραβικὸν ὄρος ἐξανδραποδισθέντες ὑπὸ βαρβάρων Σαρακηνῶν (‘and many [Christians] who fled to the same Arabic mountain were enslaved by the barbarian Saracens’).⁴

The Σαρακηνή was a part of Arabia first mentioned in Ptol. *Geo.* 5.17.3 and located on the eastern border of Egypt: Καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν δύσεως τῶν ὀρέων τούτων παρὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἢ τε Σαρακηνή παρῆκει; at Ptol. *Geo.* 6.7.21 the Σαρακηνοί, a different tribe according to Caner (2010: 43), are located in northern Arabia Felix. In the original sense, Arabia (not co-extensive with the later Roman province) was a region between the Roman and the Persian empires, stretching *ab Assyriis ad Nili cataractas* (Amm. 14.4.3). Some of the Arabic tribes had become urbanised, and their cities (e.g. the caravan city of Palmyra) had become incorporated into the Roman province of Arabia, which only comprised a part of the original region. The other tribes, who retained their nomadic way of life, were re-named ‘Saracens’. Ammianus indicates that this linguistic shift was still recent in his time: 22.15.2 *scenitas ... Arabas quos Sarracenos nunc appellamus*; cf. 23.6.13.⁵ Shahîd (1984b: 85) argues that in these statements Ammianus effaces the distinction between nomadic, i.e. ‘tented’ (*scenitus*), and settled Arabs, confederates of the Roman Empire currently in revolt: ‘[t]he unsuspecting reader, unaware of the distinction between the two, will con[c]lude that the *foederati*, and indeed all the Arabs,

⁴ De Jonge (1935: 121).

were Scenitae, whose customs justify Ammianus' final judgment on them in the last section of the ethnology as a *natio perniciosa*.⁵

Jer. VH 16 depicts a city of (settled) Saracens who are worshippers of Venus (*colunt autem illam [sc. Venerem] ob Luciferum, cuius cultui Saracenorum natio dedita est*) and speak the 'Syrian language' (see Millar 2010: 75, and cf. my note on VM 2.2 *Syrus natione et lingua*).

incertis semper sedibus huc atque illuc uagantur: the literary model for this phrase is Sall. *Cat.* 6.1: *Troiani, qui Aenea duce profugi sedibus incertis uagabantur*. For the application of this idea to the Saracens cf. Jer. *In Is.* 5.21.13–17:

hi per totam habitant solitudinem, de quibus puto et poetam dicere: 'Lateque uagantes Barcaei'⁶... quia habitant in tentoriis; qui quas nox compulerit sedes tenent, quibus armenta sunt et pecora camelorumque greges; qui non habent ostia nec uectes, non enim uersantur in urbibus, sed in solitudine habitant (*CCL* 73.208);

and *In Hier.* 1.21.2: *Cedar autem regio est solitudinis et Ismahelitarum, quos nunc Saracenos uocant ... et cuius meminit Daud dicens: 'habitaui cum habitantibus Cedar; multum peregrinata est anima mea'*. Similar remarks on the Saracens are Amm. 14.4.1 *ultra citroque discursantes*; 14.4.3 *sine lare sine sedibus fixis aut legibus; nec idem perferunt diutius caelum, aut tractus unius sol illis umquam placet*; 14.4.4 *uita est illis semper in fuga*; 14.4.5 *ita autem quoad uixerint late palantur, ut alibi mulier nubat, in loco pariat alio, liberosque procul educat, nulla copia quiescendi permissa*.

quae suspicio frequentiam in illis locis uiatorum congregat, ut imminens periculum auxilio mutuo declinetur: comparable precautions are taken by the pilgrim Egeria during her journey through the desert of Pharan in the nome of Arabia in the north-east of Egypt: she receives a military escort (*cum militibus et praepositis, qui nos deducebant semper de castro ad castrum, Itin. Eger.* 7.2, cf. 9.3 *nos autem inde iam*

⁵ Before Ammianus the term *scenitae* (*Arabes*) is used seven times in Pliny the Elder, e.g. *NH* 5.66. There are no other instances of *scenitus* in the LLT-A.

remisimus milites, qui nobis pro disciplina Romana auxilia praebuerant, quandiu per loca suspecta ambulaueramus). Rubin (1987: 181) argues that Egeria is not only protected by Roman soldiers but also guided by the nomadic inhabitants of the desert of Pharan, whom she describes as the only people who can find their way around this desert: 6.2 *Faranite autem, qui ibi consueuerunt ambulare cum camelis suis, signa sibi locis et locis ponent, ad quae signa se tendent et sic ambulant per diem eqs.* ('but the Pharanites, who are used to going about there with their camels, place signs for themselves here and there, and they keep to these signs and thus travel by day etc.'). These *Faranite* are taken by Rubin (1987: 182) to be a tribe of Arabs with good relations to the Roman people. The treaty between Arabs and Romans (versions of which go back to the time of the Roman conquest of the Nabatean kingdom in 106 BC) had been ruptured in 377/8 under Valens in the revolt of Mavia but was quickly repaired (Ruf. *HE* 11.6, Soz. 6.38.1, 5–9, Theod. *HE* 4.23, Socr. 4.36; cf. Bowersock 1980, esp. pp. 484–8; Shahîd 1984b: 138–202). Rubin (1987: 181) argues that the threats against which Egeria needs to protect herself do not come from the Arabs whose habits she describes but from 'local bandits and highwaymen'.

In contrast to Egeria, whose high status entitles her to military protection,⁷ Malchus does not mention any official support of his caravan. The measure of congregating to improve their defence turns out to be fruitless.

erant in comitatu meo uiri, feminae, senes, iuuenes, paruuli: the exact phrasing of the enumeration is unparalleled in the LLT-A, but similar ways of summing up a diverse crowd are found e.g. at Sen. *Dial.* 5.2.3 *uiri, feminae, senes pueri, principes uulgusque consensere*; Apul. *Met.* 11.10 *uiri feminaeque omnis dignitatis et omnis aetatis*; Cic. *Phil.* 13.45 *omnes te di homines, summi medii infimi, ciues peregrini, uiri*

⁶ Virg. *Aen.* 4.42. The OCT prints *furentes* for Jerome's *uagantes*: either Jerome used a different text of the *Aeneid* or he deliberately adapted the phrase.

mulieres, liberi serui oderunt, and Jdt. 7:12 *omnes uiri feminaeque iuuenes et paruuli* (in Jerome's version; the Vetus Latina has *omnes principes ciuitatis, iuuenes et mulieres et infantes*).

numero circiter septuaginta: Weingarten (2005: 178) regards this as a learned reference to the discrepancy between the two versions of the story of Jacob's emigration to Egypt with his sons, the founding fathers of the tribes of Israel. The Vulgate version of Gen. 46:27 gives their number as seventy (*omnis anima domus Iacob quae ingressa est Aegyptum fuere septuaginta*), whereas some versions of the Vetus Latina (ed. Fischer 1951–4: 476) follow the Septuagint in reading seventy-five, the number also given in Acts 7:14 by Stephen (cf. Jer. Ep. 22.11.3 *septuaginta et quinque animae introierunt Aegyptum*). Weingarten therefore claims that Jerome's vague phrase is an oblique reference to the discrepancy found in the Bible. This view receives some support from a variant reading *fere* for *fuere* in Gen. 46:27 in the Vulgate: *omnis anima domus Iacob quae ingressa est Aegyptum fere septuaginta* (found in Codex Ottobonianus latinus 66 Bibliothecae Vaticanae, seventh or eighth century). However, the syntactic incompleteness produced by this variant makes it unlikely that this reading reflects Jerome's own translation; otherwise *circiter* in the VM could be seen as an allusion to its synonym *fere*.

§2: *The Saracens approach*

et ecce: the depiction of the caravan is immediately followed by the Saracen attack with no intermittent narrative. The conjunction *et* has no connective function: it

⁷ Cf. Jones (1964: 830) on the use of the *cursus publicus* by important persons; cf. Dietz (2005: 19–21).

emphasises the surprise expressed by *ecce* (although the attack justifies retrospectively the formation of the caravan).

On *ecce* as a pragmatic particle which marks a change of narrative focus see Dionisotti (2007), especially p. 82 for ancient grammarians' 'odd idea of associating *ecce* with sudden calamity' in Virgil: Don. Ter. Ad. 722: *ecce dicitur, cum repente triste aliquid rebus interuenit laetis. aut certe, cum quando aliud agitur, aliud emergit nouum eqs.*, with quotations from Virg. *Aen.* 2.203–4 and 2.403–4. In Jerome's *Vitae ecce* twice more introduces alarming but ultimately positive reversals in the appearance of a lioness at VM 9.7 (in combination with *et*, as here) and of two lions at VP 16.2.

subito: the adverb contributes to the urgency already expressed by *ecce*. The combination *ecce subito* appears only once in classical Latin, at Cic. *Att.* 8.8.2 (*ecce subito litterae Domiti ad illum, ipsius ad consules!*), a colloquial passage (cf. Introduction 3.1.4). It reappears in the fourth century, not only in Jerome but also in Rufinus and Augustine.

Löfstedt (1911: 168–9) points out that texts written in the popular idiom prefer *subito* to its synonym *repente*. For example, the author of the *Bellum Africum* uses only *subito*, while the fastidious Tacitus only uses *repente*; cf. Axelson (1945: 32) on the avoidance of *subito* in Sallust. In the *Itin. Eger.* *repente* is not found, while *subito* occurs seven times. Jerome's corpus has an almost equal distribution of both: *subito* is found 106 times (three times in the *Vitae*), and *repente* 118 times. In the Vulgate the ratio is 26:27 in the Old Testament and 6:2 in the New. This distribution suggests that Jerome's style is variable.

Here the adverb forms part of the characterisation of the Saracens, whose swiftness is also emphasised by Amm. 14.4.1: *quicquid inueniri poterat momento*

temporis parui uastabant, miluorum rapacium similes, qui si praedam dispexerint celsius, uolatu rapiunt celeri, ac si impetraverint, non immorantur.

equorum camelorumque sessores Ismaelitae: the appositional structure is mimetically effective. First Malchus notes riders on horses and camels; next they are identified as Ishmaelites (cf. below), a shocking revelation: ‘riders on horses and camels – Ishmaelites’. For *essor* with the meaning ‘rider’ cf. Sen. *Dial.* 2.12.3 and Suet. *Iul.* 61.1 (OLD). *sedentes (in) camelis* would have been semantically possible (cf. VM 9.1 *duos camelis sedentes*) but it would probably have been postponed behind *Ismaelitae*, and the revelation would have been lost. Nouns in *-(t)or* characteristically generalise the meaning (see Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 157). There is another of these ‘revelatory’ appositions with a *-(t)or* noun in the first sentence of the *VH*, *habitatorem eius ... spiritum sanctum*. The referent identified comes second, and the first part gives information that might have been in a relative clause (though postponed after the antecedent).

equorum camelorumque sessores: cf. Amm. 14.4.3 *equorum adiumento perniciem graciliumque camelorum*. Malchus later specifies the type of camel used by the Saracens: *camelos, quos ob nimiam uelocitatem dromedarios uocant* (10.1). This fits nicely with Ammianus’ attribute *gracilium* if a slender build is associated with speed. On Arabs and their camels cf. Diod. Sic. 2.54.6–7:

πλεῖστα δὲ καὶ διαφορώτατα γένη καμήλων τρέφει, τῶν τε ψιλῶν καὶ δασέων καὶ διπλοῦν ἀνατετακότων τὸ κατὰ τὴν ῥάχιν κύρτωμα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο διτύλων ὀνομαζομένων, ὧν αἱ μὲν γάλα παρεχόμεναι καὶ κρεοφαγούμεναι πολλὴν παρέχονται τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις δαψύλειαν, αἱ δὲ πρὸς νωτοφορίαν ἡσκημέναι πυρῶν μὲν ἀνὰ δέκα μεδίμνους νωτοφοροῦσιν, ἀνθρώπους δὲ κατακειμένους ἐπὶ κλίνης πέντε βαστάζουσιν· αἱ δὲ ἀνάκωλοι καὶ λαγαραὶ ταῖς συστάσεσι δρομάδες εἰσὶ, καὶ διατείνουσι πλεῖστον ὁδοῦ μήκος, καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς τὰς διὰ τῆς ἀνύδρου καὶ ἐρήμου συντελουμένας ὁδοιπορίας. 7. αἱ δ’ αὐταὶ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους εἰς τὰς μάχας ἔχουσαι τοξότας ἄγονται δύο ἀντικαθημένους ἀλλήλοις ἀντινώτους· τούτων δὲ ὁ μὲν τοὺς κατὰ πρόσωπον ἀπαντῶντας, ὁ δὲ τοὺς ἐπιδιώκοντας ἀμύνεται.

[This land] also produces a great number and very different kinds of camels, both the hairless and the shaggy, and those which have two humps arranged along their spine and which are called, for this reason, *dityloi*. Of these kinds some provide milk and meat to be eaten [cf. VM 4.3 below: *cibus semicrudae carnes et lac camelorum potus erat*], and thus provide an abundance of food for

the inhabitants of the country, and some, trained to carry burdens, carry some ten *medimnoi* of wheat and bear up five men lying on a couch. Some are short-legged and slender in build, the dromedaries, and they can go at full stretch a long way, especially in the journeys which they make through the waterless desert. 7. And also in their wars the same animals carry into battle two archers who ride back to back to each other. One of them wards off the enemies attacking from the front, the other wards off the pursuers (transl. Oldfather 1935, adapted).

Horses and camels are also typical transport animals for caravans, as is evident from the iconography of the gods associated especially with the caravan city Palmyra (whose iconography depicts the Syrian god Azizu on a horse and the Arab god Arsu on a camel: Rostovtzeff 1932: 138); but in the context of Malchus' caravan, no animals are mentioned.

Ismaelitae: this term and its history with reference to the Saracens are traced by Millar (1993): at Gen. 16 Ishmael is born as the first son of Abram (re-named Abraham at Gen. 17:5). His mother is Hagar, an Egyptian slave of Abram's wife Sarai (re-named Sarah at Gen. 17:15). When Sarah gives birth to Isaac (Gen. 21:2), Ishmael and his mother are forced to leave the family. Ishmael then founds his own people (Gen. 25:12–16). The word *Ismaelitae* is found in the intertestamental text of Jubilees, which probably goes back to the second century BC.⁸ Apollonius Molon (first century BC) is the first pagan Greek writer to adopt the Jewish tradition of identifying the various Arab tribes with Abraham's descendants (quoted in Eusebius' *Praeparatio Euangelica* 9.19.1–3). The Jewish historian Josephus derives Arab customs of circumcision from the precedent of Ishmael (*Ant.* 1.213–14), and the identification of Arabs with Ishmaelites is adopted by Origen and later by Eusebius. Jerome's Latin version of Eusebius' *Chronicon* (GCS 47: Eusebius 7.24a) has it that the original Ishmaelites changed their names to *Agareni* (from the name of Ishmael's mother Hagar) and then to *Saraceni*. Jerome himself interprets this last shift as an unjustified appropriation of the name of Sarah, i.e. as a false claim to legitimate descent from Abraham: *In Ezech.* 8.25.1–7, CCL 75, p. 335). At Gen. 37:25–8

Joseph is sold by his brothers to camel-riding Ishmaelite traders. Given Jerome's identification of Saracens with Ishmaelites, Joseph's adventures parallel Malchus' situation in this respect, and the reference to Ishmaelites adds to Malchus' earlier allusion to the same story at 4.1 (*erant in comitatu eqs.*, with note). De Vogüé (1991–2007: 2.88 n. 65) further notes the parallel of Joseph's and Malchus' sexual temptation in captivity (Gen. 39:7–20, VM 6).

crinitis uittatisque capitibus: cf. Amm. 31.16.6 *crinitus quidam [Saracenus]*. In Jer. VP 1.3 *crinitus* is used in (inaccurate) accounts of Paul: *subterraneo specu crinitum calcaneo tenus hominem*. Long hair in men can be a sign of uncivilised wildness: Tac. *Ger.* 38.2: *insigne gentis obliquare crinem nodoque substringere: sic Suebi a ceteris Germanis, sic Sueborum ingenui a seruis separantur* (see Morales 2007: 193). Long-haired brigands also feature in the ancient novel. Xen. *Eph.* 1.13.3 depicts a pirate chief with loose and unkempt hair: Τῶν δὲ πειρατῶν ὁ ἑξαρχος Κόρυμβος ἐκαλεῖτο, νεανίας ὁφθῆναι μέγας, φοβερὸς τὸ βλέμμα· κόμη ἦν αὐτῷ ἀρχμηρὰ καθειμένη. Cf. Heliod. 2.20.5:

Βουκόλοι γὰρ ἄλλα τε πρὸς τὸ φοβερώτεροι φαίνεσθαι καὶ δὴ καὶ τὴν κόμην εἰς ὄφρυν ἔλκουσι καὶ σοβοῦσι τῶν ὥμων ἐπιβαίνουσιν, εὖ τοῦτο εἰδότες ὡς κόμη τοὺς μὲν ἐρωτικούς ἱλαρωτέρους τοὺς δὲ ληστρικούς φοβερωτέρους ἀποδείκνυσιν.

The Herdsmen cultivate an alarming appearance, particularly as regards their hair, which they pull forward to meet their eyebrows and toss violently as if falls over their shoulders, for they are well aware that long hair makes lovers seem more alluring but robbers more alarming (transl. Morgan, in Reardon 1989: 393).

seminudo corpore: cf. Amm. 14.4.3 on the Saracens: *seminudi coloratis sagulis pube tenus amicti*. See also below 4.3 *cibus semicrudae carnes eqs.*, and 6.3 *semiruta* with notes.

⁸ Millar (1993: 38–9).

pallia et latas galliculas trahentes: *galliculas* is the reading of the Neapolitanus. The Monacensis has *calliculas*, the Parisinus *gallicas*,⁹ the Sessorianus *galligas*, and the Laurentianus *caligas* (also printed by Mierow on the authority of the majority of the Vatican manuscripts). *callicula* is a variant spelling of either *caligula* or the *gallicula* of the Neapolitanus, both of which denote a type of shoe. The *gallica*, of which this is the diminutive, is associated with the Gauls by etymology and appears to be a more primitive type of footwear than the *caliga*, consisting of soles and straps (*TLL* VI.2.1680.48ff.). Jerome's translation of the Rule of Pachomius has both *gallica* (*Praef.* 4, with variant reading *caliga*) and *gallicula* (101, 104, 148).

Matthews (1989: 531 n.80) suggests the emendation of *caligas* to *sagula* (the diminutive form of *sagum*, 'a coarse woollen cloak worn by soldiers or barbarians': *OLD*) to match the description in Amm. 14.4.3 *coloratis sagulis pube tenus amicti*. The sense of long trailing cloaks which this emendation gives seems perhaps more plausible than the manuscript versions which depict the riders in wide floppy boots. But the looseness of *caligae* is discussed elsewhere in Jerome (*Ep.* 22.28.3 with Adkin 2003: 260–1; *Ep.* 22.34.3 *caligae follicantes*); furthermore, *sagula* would be pleonastic, repeating the sense of *pallia*, which also means 'cloaks'. The Greek translation omits the description of the Saracens' appearance altogether and thus does not offer any help in this matter.

pendebant ex umero pharetrae, et laxos arcus ... portabant: a version of the stereotypical depiction of oriental warriors as archers in western ancient literature, starting with Paris and Pandarus in the *Iliad* (3.17; 4.85–147). Here the Saracens' bows are relaxed 'because their purpose is booty not war': they want to kidnap the travellers, not to kill them.

⁹ As well as Reg. lat. 497, according to Mierow (1946: 41), and Beronlinensis lat. fol. 735, according to Morales' 2007 apparatus.

pendebant ex umero appears to be an echo from *Aen.* 11.575 *spiculaque ex umero* ... *suspendit et arcum*, of the hunting girl Camilla; without reference to archery the phrase is found at *Aen.* 10.341 *dexteraque ex umero* ... *pependit*; cf. also Prop. 2.12.10 *pharetra ex umero* and Ov. *Met.* 8.320–1.

portabant: cf. 3.2 with note.

hastilia: spears or spear shafts. *hastile* is a predominantly epic word, used at Enn. *Ann.* 6.402 *tinnit hastilibus umbo* and frequently in Virg. *Aen.*, e.g. 1.313 (= 12.165) *bina manu lato crispans hastilia ferro*. At Gell. 16.4.2 it is part of a list of military equipment.

non enim ad pugnandum sed ad praedandum uenerant: the Saracens are known as raiders, not warriors. Cf. Amm. 14.4.1 *miluorum rapacium similes, qui si praedam dispexerint celsius, uolatu rapiunt celeri*.

The text is that of the Monacensis, Parisinus, Laurentianus, and as printed by Mierow (whose apparatus records the variant readings *pugnam* and *praedam*, both found in Vat. lat. 1201). Morales follows the reading of the Neapolitanus and Sessorianus, which have *pugnandum sed ad praedam*, while acknowledging that *praedandum* is found for *praedam* in a considerable number of manuscripts. While the manuscript evidence is thus inconclusive, the gerundive homoeoteleuton receives support from Jerome's use of a nearly identical phrase in *Ep.* 121.5.9, where the two gerundives are paired with another antithetical homoeoteleuton: *dominus, qui non ad iudicandum uenerat, sed ad saluandum, non in potestate, sed in humilitate*. The second pair of these homoeoteleuta appears to validate the first beyond reasonable doubt; and the near-identical structure of this first homoeoteleuton to the VM phrase, together with the use in both cases of the verb *uenio*, makes it highly likely that the later use in the Letter is an echo of the VM pattern,¹⁰ which makes it probable that this passage should also have two gerundives. In addition, the

¹⁰ On *Selbstzitate* in Jerome cf. Adkin (2000: 80), with further bibliography.

effects of the Saracens' attack are also described in a sequence marked by homoeoteleuton: *rapimur, dissipamur ... distrahimur*. For multiple gerundives cf. further Jer. Ep. 21.5.2 *hoc talentum, quod non est in sudario conligandum, id est delicate otioseque tractandum, nec in terra defodiendum, terrenis scilicet cogitationibus obscurandum*; Ep. 82.11.1 *ex quo perspicuum est dolorem proprium causam ecclesiae non putandum nec stomachum unius hominis ... generali ecclesiae uocabulo nuncupandum*.

§3: *Malchus is taken captive*

rapimur, dissipamur, in diuersa distrahimur: cf. Introduction 3.2.1 for this tricolon with homoeoteleuton.

rapimur is paralleled in Ammianus' excursus on the Saracens at 14.4.1, who has *rapiunt* (see last note). *rapimur* may refer back indirectly to the abbot's metaphorical warning at 3.8 *ouis quae de ouili egreditur lupi statim morsibus patet*; the words *lupus* and *rapio* are associated in the Vulgate at John 10:12 *lupus rapit et dispergit oues*.

ego interim longo postliminio hereditarius possessor, et sero mei consilii paenitens, cum altera muliercula in unius eri seruitutem sortitus uenio: a summary of the double change of direction in Malchus' history so far. In running away from home, he has lost his claim to his parents' property. At the death of his father he hopes to regain it and to keep part of it for himself (first reversal), which is the aim of his journey. On the way he is captured and thus loses his claim again (second reversal). This experience causes him to regret his desire to be a *hereditarius possessor*. The last part of the

sentence, *cum altera muliercula ... uenio*, foreshadows the outcome of the story. It adumbrates the future relationship between Malchus and the *muliercula*.

postliminio: a complex concept. In legal texts *postliminium* signifies the set of rules according to which Roman citizens who have been captured by an enemy, either in war or in time of peace, have the right to regain their status and property after they escape or are released from captivity.¹¹ In times of peace it can also signify ‘the provision by which a former Roman citizen who abandoned his citizenship in favour of that of another state is reinstated’.¹² Here the word is in the ablative and qualified by *longo*. There are three possible ways of interpreting this expression in its context. Firstly, it may be a reference to the long tradition of the institution of *postliminium*: Roman citizens returning from captivity had for many centuries had the right to the restitution of their property by appealing to the law of *postliminium*. In this case the phrase would mean ‘I who was by ancient right of *postliminium* a hereditary possessor.’ Secondly, *longo* may indicate the length of time during which Malchus has had this right: ‘I, the hereditary possessor, who have long held the right of *postliminium*’. The third possibility is to assume a transferred meaning: *postliminium* may be a term which, although suggestive in its connotations, merely refers to the length of time which a person has spent in a certain situation, considered in the light of a current intention to return to a previous state of affairs (‘I who after a long time of absence was now returning as hereditary possessor’). This is the interpretation of *TLL* X.2.236.51ff., where our passage features under the definition *ipsum tempus peregrinationis uel intermissionis*.¹³ One of the parallels cited for this meaning in the *TLL* is in Jer. Ep. 128.5.4: *quae ut tumultario sermone dictarem et post neces amicorum luctumque perpetuum infanti senex longo postliminio scriberem, tua me, Gaudenti frater, inpulit caritas* (‘and your love, my brother Gaudentius, has motivated me

¹¹ Cf. Reinhardt (2003: 275–6) and Leigh (2004: 57–97).

¹² Reinhardt (2003: 275).

to dictate these things in an improvised text and, after the killing of my friends and unending mourning, to write, an old man, to a child after a long interval’).

Weingarten (1995: 147) points to a selection of similar transferred usages of *postliminium* in Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses* which are ‘generally inexact and sometimes probably deliberately ludicrous’, e.g. a return from home to the market after a purchase at 1.25 *postliminio me in forum reducens*, and a return from ass-shape into human shape at 3.25. Apuleius’ suggestion that it is possible to pass from death (*Met.* 2.28, *Flor.* 19) or coma (*Met.* 10.12) back into life through *postliminium* is echoed negatively by Tertullian *An.* 35 and Lact. *Epit.* 7.22.13. It is clear from these examples that *postliminium* is used outside a strictly legal framework to indicate automatic entitlements after a reversed change of status or position.

If we are dealing with a transferred meaning here, this can be taken in two ways. Firstly, in a historical sense, it can refer to Malchus’ absence from his home near Nisibis during his time with the monks near Chalcis. Weingarten objects that Jerome’s legal knowledge was too accurate to confuse Malchus’ voluntary subjection to the monks’ authority (*eorum me magisterio tradidi*, VM 3.4) with the coercion required for restitution through *postliminium* according to *Cod. Theod.* 5.7.1–2; but in the light of the liberties taken by similarly well-educated authors such as Apuleius, this would seem the most natural way to take the phrase. In this case Malchus’ departure is postulated as he leaves his parents (i.e. at 3.2; it is signalled at 3.5 *post multos annos* that this absence from home did last for a long time), and his return by *postliminium* is anticipated on his journey back; however, it is not realised but thwarted by his capture.

The other possibility is Weingarten’s proposal (1995: 148–50, 2005: 170) of a spiritual interpretation of *postliminium*, based on the notion that the legal sense can be

¹³ *Contra* Weingarten (1995: 147, 2005: 168–70).

taken as an analogy of resurrection (a captive is legally dead but the restitution of his rights by the provisions of *postliminium* makes him come alive as a citizen again). An example of Jerome's spiritual use is his *Praef. in Did.* (dated to 387) on his journey to Jerusalem from Rome: *illico ego, uelut postliminio, Ierosolymam sum reuersus: et post Romuli casam et ludorum lupercalia diuersorium Mariae et Saluatoris speluncam aspexi.*

This is Jerome's first visit to Jerusalem: his 'return' (*reuersus*) 'as it were, by *postliminium*' must therefore be taken in a non-literal sense: 'Jerusalem here is the celestial Jerusalem, to which Jerome returns after his spiritual "captivity" in Rome' (Weingarten 1995: 148–9). In the same way, Weingarten claims, Malchus is brought back from his abandonment of the monastic life and restored through the intervention of the Saracens:

in leaving his monastery and attempting to reclaim his earthly property Malchus has fallen into the power of the arch-enemy – Satan – and is thus regarded as dead by his abbot. Malchus' spiritual return is brought about by his subsequent capture by Saracen nomads, which leads him to return to the true values of his monastery. Paradoxically, the physical enslavement of his body leads to his spiritual liberation and rehabilitation. This is the heir returning from the dead to reclaim his heavenly portion by *postliminium*. (Weingarten 2005: 170)

But it is important to note that in the *Praef. in Did.* Jerome advertises the metaphorical sense by the addition of *uelut*; there is no such qualification in the present passage.

Furthermore, this interpretation produces a different chronological scenario: Malchus' absence from his spiritual home starts with his departure from the monastery (i.e. at 3.8) and ends with his capture on the same journey. This is a rather brief interval, which requires a very cautious interpretation of the attribute *longo*, probably in the first sense discussed above, i.e. 'by the ancient right of *postliminium*'. If it were not for this chronological discrepancy, one could easily assume that Jerome intended both the historical and the spiritual interpretation to be activated simultaneously by way of paradox: the acceptance of Malchus' earthly inheritance precludes his entitlement to his spiritual inheritance, and the thwarting of his earthly hopes restores him to spiritual

riches. But in the immediate context this interpretation is not defensible, and therefore I prefer to accept a weakened interpretation, i.e. to apply the phrase *longo postliminio* to the duration of Malchus' absence from his parents' house, even if this risks a diminution of the expressive potential of the word.

hereditarius possessor: the person who becomes *possessor* of a property by reason of inheritance from the person who was *possessor* of the property at the time of death. The phrase is not found in the *Vocabularium Iurisprudentiae Romanae*; the closest correspondence seems to be with *possessor hereditatis*,¹⁴ which is discussed in *Dig.* 5.3–4. *Dig.* 5.3.5 (Ulpian) reads: *Diuus Pius rescripsit prohibendum possessorem hereditatis, de qua controuersia erit, antequam lis inchoaretur, aliquid ex ea distrahere* ('[t]he deified Pius said in a rescript that the possessor of an inheritance which was going to be in dispute should be forbidden to dispose of anything before the suit is begun', transl. Watson *et al.* 1985: 1.182). The use of this phrase in the *Digest* seems to imply that a possessor is already physically in control of the goods which are the objects of his inheritance. It is even applied to someone who mistakenly thinks he is the legitimate heir (because of a will which is then refuted as invalid) and who already makes transactions in his function as possessor at *Dig.* 5.3.17: *quod si possessor hereditatis ob id, quod ex testamento heredem se esse putaret, legatorum nomine de suo soluit, si quis ab intestato eam hereditatem euincat, ... damnum uidetur esse possessoris* ('[i]f the possessor of an inheritance has discharged legacies from his own resources, because of the fact that he thought himself heir under the will, and if anyone on intestacy wins possession of the inheritance, [...] the loss is held to fall on the possessor', transl. Watson *et al.* 1985: 1.186). This person has no real legal entitlement. He is called *possessor hereditatis* simply because at the time referred to by the speaker he is in fact in control of the goods

¹⁴ *Vocabularium Iurisprudentiae Romanae* vol. IV/1, 899.20–7.

which are disputed. In contrast to this scenario, Malchus speaks of himself as *hereditarius possessor* when he has not actually taken possession of the land in question. His capture inescapably destroys this prospect.

A different view is taken by Weingarten (2005: 170), who argues that the Saracens' intervention makes it possible for Malchus to regain his spiritual inheritance, which he had abandoned in leaving the monastery, and that this restitution is what the phrase refers to (see last note).

sero mei consilii paenitens: this may refer trivially to Malchus' regret about a decision leading to unexpected disaster. The story of Jonah at Jon. 1 is the biblical model for a divine interruption of a journey which was started in disobedience to God: instead of fulfilling the command to go to Niniveh, the prophet boards a ship to Tarshish. When this ship is endangered by a storm he recognises his responsibility and asks to be thrown overboard. Accordingly in the case of Malchus we should note the protagonist's awareness of his guilt in coveting part of his father's possessions (3.5–6). He did not acknowledge this guilt when his abbot tried to impress it on him (3.7), but now he sees an element of divine justice in the caravan's misfortune. This is best brought out by translating 'repenting of' rather than 'regretting'.

On the personal use of *paeniteo* see Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 83, 417): while the impersonal construction (*paenitet me*) is the original one, personal *paeniteo* is already found in Pacuvius fr. 27 Schierl. The participle with the genitive occurs first in Sall. *Hist.* fr. 1.68 Maurenbrecher. In later Latin the deponent form *paeniteor* is also used. The present participle *paenitens* could be derived from either active or deponent form. Other impersonal verbs undergo a comparable development: see my note at 7.3 *coepi taedere captiuitatis*.

cum altera muliercula: ‘with a second person, a woman.’ *alter* is used in its classical meaning, ‘a/the second of two’: Malchus and the woman are the only members of their caravan to be assigned to this Saracen. Malchus mentions later that the woman’s husband may have been abducted by another Saracen: *siquidem captus nobiscum uir eius ab alio domino fuerat abductus* (6.2).

My translation suggests that *muliercula* might be in apposition to *altera*, explaining the use of the feminine gender. This is a possibility, but there are parallels for a more pleonastic meaning, if not of *alter* itself, at least of the related pronoun *alius*, e.g. Apul. *Met.* 3.8 *quaedam mulier ... decurrit ac pone eam anus alia*. In this context *anus alia* means ‘another woman, an old one’; the first woman is not old. This case is less easy to explain as apposition as *alia* follows rather than precedes the noun (*anus*) which it modifies. Van der Paardt (1971: 70–1 ad loc.) cites as parallels Apul. *Met.* 8.23 *equi atque alii asini*, Liv. 4.41.8 *plaustra iumentaue alia*, Plin. *NH* 2.102 *nubila tonitrua et alia fulmina*. See also Rolfe (1928), Löfstedt (1956: 2.188–90), Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 208). The use should be understood as resulting from a cognitive grouping of the entities connected with each other (often by *et*, in the VM with *cum*) and associated by pleonastic *alius*; they are implicitly opposed to another group (Löfstedt 1956: 2.188–90). This emphasis on the things which the connected entities have in common motivates the use of *alius*: although in Apul. *Met.* 8.23 donkeys are not horses, both take part in the conceptual category ‘beast of burden’; in Plin. *NH* 2.102 lightning bolts are not a different type of cloud or thunder, but all three are manifestations of a thunderstorm. Although pleonastic *alter* is not discussed by the aforementioned scholars, we can understand both Malchus and the woman as belonging to the category ‘captives’, as opposed to the Saracen captors. Apart from the use of *alter* for the more common *alius*, what is noteworthy here is the difference in grammatical gender between Malchus and the

woman, which makes their quasi-equivocation with *alter* more problematic. The form *altera* presents a contamination between ‘another captive’ (*cum captiuo altero*) and the fact that this captive is female.

While there is a similar, and more frequent, construction of this type in Greek, Löfstedt (1956: 2.188–90) rejects the suggestion that the use may be a Graecism; he points out examples of the same use in Romance and other modern European languages.

muliercula: in the Vulgate the word is used at 2 Tim. 3:6 *ex his enim sunt qui penetrant domos et captiuas ducunt mulierculas oneratas peccatis quae ducuntur uariis desideriis*: especially the phrase *captiuas ducunt mulierculas* resonates with the situation described here in the VM. Duval (1980: 535–6) cites Jerome’s adaptations of this passage elsewhere, e.g. *In Hier.* 1.57.4 *nulla heresis nisi propter gulam uentremque construitur ut seducat mulierculas oneratas peccatis*; *In Hier.* 5.67.4 *miseras mulierculas quae circumferuntur omni uento doctrinae, sic deceperint*; *In Is.* 17.64.4–5. The diminutive of *mulier* is generally frequent in Jerome’s writings: there are forty-six instances on the LLT-A database. Sometimes its force is contempt (e.g. *In Matth.* 4.23.5 *superstitiosae mulierculae*; *Adv. Vig.* 12 *muliercularum deliramenta*), sometimes pity: cf. Bartelink (1980: 121) for its derogatory use by Jerome, e.g. *Ep.* 57.13.1 *nam qui falsarius uocor et inter muliercularum radios et textrina dilanior, contentus sum crimen abluere, non referre* and *Ep.* 50.5.3 *inter mulierculas sciolus sibi et eloquens uidebatur*. As Lardet points out (1993: 250, commenting on *Jer. C. Ruf.* 3.3, lines 22–5), Plautus and Terence use it to designate adulteresses and prostitutes (cf. *TLL* VIII.1575.41–5).

in unius eri seruitutem sortitus uenio: Morales’ (2007: 194f.) reference to the story of Plato’s capture by pirates which Jerome narrates in *Ep.* 53.1.3 does not seem to be very much to the point.

eri: see 6.2 *erus* with note.

ducimur, immo portamur sublimes in camelis; et per uastam eremum semper ruinam timentes, haeremus potius quam sedemus: this description of Malchus' journey through the desert is quite comical. The narrator twice corrects the image of how he and his fellow captive are transported: they are not merely led away but carried on camels (*ducimur, immo portamur*), and they are not sitting on the camels but rather clinging to them in constant anticipation of a fall (*haeremus potius quam sedemus*). For the use of *haereo* to express the effort of staying on an animal's back cf. Cic. *Deiot.* 28 *quod haerere in eo (sc. equo) senex posset*; Hor. *Carm.* 3.24.54–5 *nescit equo rudis / haerere ingenuus puer*. *sedemus* refers back to *sessores*: riding on camels comes naturally to the Saracens but is a terrifying experience for Malchus. Morales (2007: 194) detects an allusion in *ducimur ... per uastam eremum* to Deut. 8:15 [*Dominus Deus*] *ductor tuus fuit in solitudine magna atque terribili*.

cibus semicrudae carnes et lac camelorum potus erat: cf. Amm. 14.4.6 on the Saracens: *uictus uniuersis caro ferina est, lactisque abundans copia qua sustentantur et herbae multiplices, et si quae alites capi per aucupium possint, et plerosque nos uidimus frumenti usum et uini penitus ignorantes*; 31.2.3 (of the Huns): *semicruda cuiusuis pecoris carne uescantur*. Porph. *Abst.* 1.5 confirms the view of nomads as carnivores: ἀφίημι γὰρ Νομάδων καὶ Τρωγλοδυτῶν ἀνεξευρέτους ἀριθμῷ μυριάδας, οἱ τροφήν σάρκας, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν ἴσασιν.

The Saracens' diet of meat and milk (cf. Malchus' moderated version of cheese and milk at 5.4) may be interpreted as antithetical to monks' dietary discipline (cf. 3.4 *lasciuiamque carnis eqs.*, with note). Abstinence from meat is recommended by Paul at Rom. 14:21 *bonum est non manducare carnem*. There was thought to be a close association between eating meat and sexual desire, as is illustrated in Jer. *Ep.* 79.7.7:

comedant carnes, quae carnibus seruiunt, quarum feruor despumat in coitum, quae ligatae maritis generationi ac liberis dant operam. quarum uteri portant fetus, earum et intestina carnibus impleantur.

Furthermore, *caro* (in the sense ‘the flesh’) is used as a metaphor for sexual desire throughout Christian ascetic literature; cf. *TLL* III.485.72ff. (combining references to *corporis infirmitas* and *libido*). The fact that food is earlier linked with *lasciuia carnis* (3.4, with note) allows us to suppose that this presentation of the Saracens’ diet implies a connection with the sexual licentiousness ascribed to them at Amm. 14.4.4 (*et incredibile est, quo ardore apud eos in uenerem uterque soluitur sexus*; see above for Amm. 14.4 as a possible model for the Saracens’ description here). In this ideological and literary context the remark about the Saracens’ food, if it implies their sexual proclivities, may contribute to the foreshadowing of the crisis of chastity in which Malchus finds himself in ch. 6.

semicrudae: Jerome uses compound adjectives beginning with *semi-* three times in the *VM* (cf. 4.2 and 6.3 with note), always in connection with the material culture of the Saracens. By this repetition, Jerome reinforces his portrayal of the Saracens as insufficiently civilised.

In an ascetic context Elliott (1987: 100) sees the rejection of cooked food as an essential symbol of the monastic experience. This is illustrated by the contrast between Macarius’ wedding banquet, which is an emblem of civilisation (*Vita Macarii* 18, *PL* 73. 422 *pater ... cunctos inuitatos hortatur ad uoluptatem conuiuii*), and the food of Macarius as a hermit, which consists of acorns, herbs, roots, and water (*Vita Macarii* 17, *PL* 73. 422A). The frugality of monks is held up as an example by Jerome in *Ep.* 22.7.2: [*monachi*] *etiam languentes aqua frigida utantur, et coctum aliquid accepisse luxuria sit*; cf. also the scanty fare of Hilarion, detailed at length in *VH* 5. Malchus’ Saracens share some aspects of the monastic way of life in that their food is, if not raw, at any rate not

completely cooked; but they diverge from it in eating meat and drinking milk, both of which are not recommended to the ascetic (see previous and next notes).

The description of the Saracens also seems to recall elements of Ammianus' account of the Huns in book 31.2.3 *semicruda cuiusuis pecoris carne uescantur*. They are said to eat half-cooked meat which they put between saddle and horseback during riding, so that it is heated by the resulting friction. This is not a factually true observation: Maenchen-Helfen (1955: 397) contrasts Ammianus' statement with Priscus' account (fr. 13.1, ed. Blockley 1981–3: 2.282–6) of Attila's banquet in AD 449; Cameron (forthcoming) points to archaeological evidence that Huns had cooking vessels. Jerome's ascription of the same habit to the Huns and other nomads at *Adv. Iov.* 2.7 (*Nomades et Troglodytae et Scythae et Hunnorum noua feritas semicrudis uescuntur carnibus*) is taken by Maenchen-Helfen (1955: 395–7) to be an unambiguous borrowing from this passage of Ammianus. If this argument stands it is highly unlikely that the parallel aspects of the present passage (a nomadic people eating *semicrudae carnes*) are independent of this influence. These parallels therefore raise problems concerning the relative dating of the three works (see Introduction 2.2.2). To complicate the picture, Weingarten (2005: 189–90) notes a reference in the Babylonian Talmud (BT Pesahim 41a) to a Persian custom of eating half-raw meat. This indicates that Jerome's phrase *semicrudae carnes* may not after all be a literary stereotype chosen for rhetorical effect but may have a basis in observable fact.

lac camelorum potus erat: for the rejection of milk by ascetics cf. Porph. *Abst.* 1.21. Although Malchus later gives up meat, dairy products continue to be the staple of his diet when he herds the sheep of his Saracen master: 5.4 *uescebar recenti caseo et lacte*.

Ch. 5: Malchus' Life Among the Saracens

After crossing a great river, Malchus arrives at the Saracens' habitation in a remote desert location. The captives are ordered to honour their master's wife and children by bowing before them (§1). The rest of the chapter describes the circumstances of Malchus' new life with the Saracens, and his response to them. Owing in part to the excessive heat of the region, he wears hardly any clothes (§2). He is ordered to pasture the Saracen's sheep, and he relishes the solitude offered by this task, and also the similarity of this way of life to that of the biblical heroes Jacob and Moses (§3–4). His task provides him with vegetarian sustenance, and he is grateful for this resumption of a monastic way of existence (§4–5).

§1: *Crossing a river and arrival at the Saracen's dwelling place*

grandi amne: probably the Euphrates, which is habitually described as *flumen magnum* in the Vulgate. It forms the border between two Roman provinces, Augusta Euphratensis in the west and Osrhoene in the east (Barrington Atlas map 101), and needs to be crossed on the route from Antioch to Edessa: cf. *Itin. Eger.* 18.2–3 *de quo satis bene scriptum est esse 'flumen magnum Eufraten'* [Gen. 15:18], *et ingens et quasi terribilis est; ita enim decurrit habens impetum sicut habet fluius Rodanus, nisi quod adhuc maior est Eufrates*. The river which Malchus and the woman cross on goat skins on their flight from the Saracens in the opposite direction at 8.3 is probably not identical with the present river: they find themselves in Mesopotamia (VM 10.3), which lies to the east of the Euphrates and would be reached from the East by crossing the Mygdonius (a solution

already suggested in the *Acta Sanctorum* s.v. Oct. 9, 63 A: see Opelt 1979: 151). If only one river is crossed on each journey, the Euphrates crossing here must take place south of its confluence with the Chaboras at Circesium. But this conclusion should not be pressed: there is no reason to expect Malchus to give a full and accurate account of all the topographical facts of his adventures.

grandi: in non-literary Latin language the classical word *magnus* comes to be gradually superseded by *grandis*, which by the fourth century is much more flexible than *magnus* in its semantic and morphological combinations: cf. Salenius (1920: 408–10) and Löfstedt (1907: 80–1). In classical Latin *magnus* tends to occur in more abstract, *grandis* in more concrete contexts, but the picture is complex: see Adams (2005: 86). Callebat (1968: 406–7) argues that *grandis* has a more emotional force than the objective *magnus*, and this may contribute to its popularity in the colourful registers which have a strong influence on later Latin. The most striking evidence for the later semantic weakening of *magnus* is *Itin. Eger.* 18.2 (cf. last note) *de quo satis bene scriptum est esse 'flumen magnum Eufraten', et ingens et quasi terribilis est*: the author feels the need to expand on the term *magnus* used in the Bible of the river Euphrates and to explain it as *ingens et quasi terribilis*, as if the word *magnus* does not have any (or not sufficient) meaning for herself and her readers. In his Letters Jerome avoids using *grandis* except in contexts where it is already established by earlier writers (Castellano (1961: 164–5): the Letters contain *magnus* more than twice as often as *grandis* (128:50). But in the biblical translations and revisions this tendency appears to be reversed, and Jerome occasionally translates with *grandis* where the older Latin translations have *magnus*: at Gen. 21:8, for example, manuscripts of the *Vetus Latina* (ed. Fischer 1951–4: 223) have *et fecit Abraham conuiuium magnum*, while Jerome translates *fecitque Abraham grande conuiuium* (Castellano 1961: 166).

In Jerome's *Vitae grandis* outnumbers *magnus* by eleven to five. *magnus* is restricted to three contexts: word play on Alexander Magnus (VH 1.3); the meaning 'amazing, marvellous' (VP 8.6, VH 2.2, 33.4); and the formulaic *magna ex parte. grandis*, by contrast, is used as the standard word to indicate size, width, length of time, capacity and number, a range of meanings also found in the *Itin. Eger*. The prevalence of this non-literary word in the *Vitae* may contribute to the display of Christian simplicity (cf. Introduction 3.1 and 3.1.4c). This view also appears to be supported by the fact that *grandis* is used once with *tam* to replace the classical *tantus* (VH 28.3 *tam grandes*), a usage which first occurs in Petronius 108.10 *tam grande facinus* (cf. Castellano 1961: 160). On the other hand, *grandis* is combined with the archaising, i.e. consciously literary, words *haud* (cf. above on 2.1), *ait*, and *amnis* (see below).

amne: for the choice of *amnis* instead of the more common *flumen* cf. *TLL* X.1943.5ff. 'the word [*amnis*] itself belongs primarily to a poetic or higher style, beloved by Virgil ... Later, with the exception of Ammianus, it becomes gradually rarer'. *amnis* is used only seven times in Jerome's corpus (excluding the Vulgate, on which see below), usually with reference to famous and/or large rivers such as the Nile (*In Is.* 4.11.15–16), the Rhône (*In Gal.* 2 *Praef.*, CCL 77A p. 79), the Jordan (*Ep.* 108.12.5) and the Phison (*Ep.* 53.1.4), but also as a metaphor for great Christian writers: *alioquin cum in uestra prouincia tanti in sanctas scripturas amnes fluxerunt, Tertullianus, Cyprianus, Lactantius, me quasi arentem riuulum uelle nunc bibi ridiculum est* (*Ep.* 155.3.1 = *Ep.* 27.3.1 in Augustine's Letters at CSEL 88). The present passage is the only instance of *amnis* in Jerome where the river is not named. This omission may be a function of the perspective of Malchus at the time of the experience: he is carried away into an unfamiliar country by a hostile and foreign people. On the back of his camel he has no access to the kind of information which would tell him the name of the river, but even in

his confusion he notices its size because of the effort which is necessary to cross it. The educated reader, by contrast, is enabled by the allusions to other texts to guess that the river in question is likely to be the Euphrates, another proverbially large river which lies in the region in which Malchus travels, and which in the fourth century formed the eastern frontier of the Roman Empire:

Orientis uero limes in longum protentus et rectum ab Euphratis fluminis ripis ad usque supercilia porrigitur Nili laeua Saracenis conterminans gentibus, dextra pelagi fragoribus patens; quam plagam Nicator Seleucus occupatam auxit magnum in modum (Amm. 14.8.5).

amnis occurs only four times in the Vulgate (*flumen* 143 times, *fluuius* eighty times), and exclusively in the Old Testament, i.e. in Jerome's translations: Gen. 31:21 *et amne transmisso pergeret contra montem Galaad*; Gen. 41:3 and 18, both times juxtaposed with *flumen* referring to the same river; 1 Chr. 1:46. *fluuius* and *flumen* can also be co-referential in the Vulgate: Gen. 15:18 *a fluuio Aegypti usque ad fluuium magnum flumen Eufraten*. If a *flumen* is named, it is most often the Euphrates, but this is not the case with *fluuius*. The Euphrates is also referred to simply as *flumen* (mostly in its function as a border), less frequently by *fluuius*. Van der Heyde (1932: 146) further notes that Egeria uses *fluuius* and *flumen* six times each, *amnis* never.

transmisso: for the collocation with *amne* in the ablative absolute cf. Tac. *Ann.* 12.13.1 *transmissoque amne Tigri permeant Adiabenos*. Jer. *Ep.* 53.1.4, Gen. 31:21 (quoted above); cf. also Amm. 27.5.6 *per Nouiodunum nauibus transmittendum amnem*.

solitudinem: for the distribution of words meaning 'desert' in Jerome's *Vitae* see note on 3.3 *eremum*.

dominam et liberos ex more gentis adorare iussi ceruices flectimus: this is a form of *proskynesis*, a gesture of homage which involves prostration and/or a kiss,

whether this is kissing the recipient, throwing her a kiss, or kissing the ground if the addressee is too venerable (Marti 1936). The Greek equivalent is προσκυνεῖν.

ex more gentis: from the fifth century BC onwards Greek (and later Roman) writers used the *topos* of *proskynesis* to illustrate the essential difference between ‘free’ Greeks and ‘enslaved’ Persians, who honour their kings in a way in which Greeks would only worship gods. Arr. *Anab.* 4.11.9 ascribes the invention of this custom to Cyrus:

λέγεται πρῶτον προσκυνηθῆναι ἀνθρώπων Κῦρον καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε ἐμμεῖναι Πέρσαις τε Μήδοις τὴν ταπεινότητα. The Persian custom may have led to the mistaken Greek conviction that the Persian king was regarded as a god: cf. Arist. *De mundo* 398a ὥς ἂν ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς δεσπότης καὶ θεὸς ὀνομαζόμενος, with Alföldi (1970: 13–14) and Brunt (1976: 538–40). Thus *proskynesis* to human beings is commonly denounced as a ‘barbaric’ custom in both Greek and Latin literature – even in periods when Hellenistic kings and Roman emperors were venerated in this manner as a matter of course (see below) –, and is ascribed to various peoples hostile to Greece or Rome. Cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 584–90, Hdt. 7.136, 8.118 (where the Persian king asks his entourage to leave his ship which is endangered by a storm: τοὺς δὲ προσκυνέοντας ἐκπηδᾶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν), Eur. *Troad.* 1021 προσκυνεῖσθαι βαρβάρων ὅπ' ἤθελες; Xen. *Anab.* 3.2.13, Strabo 11.13.9. Polybius *Hist.* 30.18.5 reviles the custom as ὑπερβολή ... ἀνανδρίας ἅμα δὲ καὶ γυναικισμοῦ καὶ κολακείας. These feminine associations are a slight divergence from the common theme, but ἀνανδρία and γυναικισμός belong essentially to the same rhetoric of disparagement directed at everything which is not fitting for the free Greek male. Philo *Leg. ad Gaium* 116 terms *proskynesis* a ‘barbaric’ custom without further specification: ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ τὸ βαρβαρικὸν ἔθος εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἤγαγον, τὴν προσκύνησιν; cf. Hesychius *Lexicon* s.v. ἀντίχειρε (‘thumb’): ἔνια τῶν βαρβάρων ἔθνῶν τοὺς ἀντίχειρας ὑποτιθέντα τοῖς γενείοις, καὶ τοὺς δακτύλους ἐκτείνοντα προσκυνεῖ τοὺς ἡγουμένους αὐτῶν.

In Latin historiography Livy associates the gesture with the Carthaginians:

30.16.4 *qui ubi in castra Romana et in praetorium peruenerunt more adulantium – accepto, credo, ritu ex ea regione ex qua oriundi erant – procubuerunt* (with Alföldi 1970: 14 n.6). Amm. 23.3.8 ascribes it to the Saracens when they honour Julian: *Saracenarum reguli gentium genibus supplices nixi ... tamquam mundi nationumque suarum dominum adorarunt.*

Christian writers adopted the traditional Graeco-Roman stance towards *proskynesis*. Origen calls for emulation of Herodotus' Spartan example (Hdt. 7.136) at *Cels.* 8.6:

Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν οὖν οἱ πρέσβεις τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα, καίτοι προσαναγκαζόντων σφόδρα τῶν δορυφόρων, οὐ προσεκύνησαν φοβούμενοι τὸν ἓνα κύριον αὐτῶν τὸν Λυκούργου νόμον· οἱ δὲ τὴν πολλῇ μείζονα καὶ θειοτέραν πρεσβείαν “ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ” πρεσβεύοντες οὔτε τὸν Περσῶν ἄρχοντα οὔτε τὸν Ἑλλήνων οὔτε τὸν Αἰγυπτίων οὔτε τὸν οὐτινοσοῦν ἔθνους προσκυνήσαιεν ἄν, κἄν οἱ δορυφόροι τῶν ἀρχόντων δαίμονες καὶ τοῦ διαβόλου ἄγγελοι προσαναγκάζειν αὐτοὺς ἐθέλωσι τοῦτο ποιεῖν καὶ πείθωσι μακρὰν χαίρειν λέγειν τῷ παντὸς νόμου τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς κρείττονι. Κύριος γὰρ τῶν “ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ” πρεσβευόντων ὁ Χριστός ἐστιν, ὑπὲρ οὗ πρεσβεύουσιν, ὁ “ἐν ἀρχῇ” λόγος ὢν καὶ “πρὸς τὸν θεὸν” ὢν καὶ “θεὸς” ὢν.

The Lacedaemonian ambassadors, when brought before the king of Persia, refused to prostrate themselves before him, when the attendants endeavoured to compel them to do so, out of respect for that which alone had authority and lordship over them, namely, the law of Lycurgus. But they who have a much greater and diviner embassy in ‘being ambassadors for Christ’ should not worship any ruler among Persians, or Greeks or Egyptians, or of any nation whatever, even although their officers and ministers, demons and angels of the devil, should seek to compel them to do so, and should urge them to set at nought a law which is mightier than all the laws upon earth. For the Lord of those who are ‘ambassadors for Christ’ is Christ Himself, whose ambassadors they are, and who is ‘the Word, who was in the beginning, was with God, and was God’” (transl. Crombie, ANF IV).

In the later Roman Empire the rhetorical *topos* of the foreign, eastern character of *proskynesis* acquired new force because *adoratio* of the emperor had become an obligatory ritual since the reign of Diocletian: Amm. 15.5.18 *Diocletianus enim Augustus omnium primus externo et regio more instituit adorari*; Jer. Chron. p. 226 Helm (GCS 47) [*Diocletianus*] *prius adorari se ut deum iussit*; cf. Eutropius 9.26, Aurelius Victor 39.4; Lact. Mort. Pers. 18.9:

erat autem Maximiano <filius> Maxentius, huius ipsius Maximiani gener, homo perniciosae ac malae mentis, adeo superbus et contumax, ut neque patrem neque socerum solitus sit adorare, et idcirco utrique inuisus fuit.

According to Moreau (1954: 313), this Lactantian passage shows that *adoratio* was required even of close relatives, and to both Augusti and Caesars in the Tetrarchy; cf. Alföldi (1934: 41, 59). Diocletian was not the first Roman to demand *proskynesis*; but in contrast to him, Caesar (cf. Suet. *Vitell.* 2.5), Antony, Caligula and Domitian met with strong resistance from the members of the upper classes. Alföldi points out (1970: 39) that resistance against this gesture was an issue only for the traditional senatorial élite: the lower classes were always supposed to bow down before their betters as a matter of course (cf. Cassius Dio 51.20.8).

Alföldi (1970: 47–9) argues that *proskynesis* was not directly taken over from the Persians but had some of its roots in Roman culture itself, as it developed from the prostration of the suppliant which was common and acceptable during the Republic, and also from the example of the Hellenistic royal houses which perpetuated a custom said to have been adopted by Alexander from the Persians after his conquest, according to Trogus, Curtius, Plutarch, and Arrian. *Proskynesis* became part of the court ceremony of his successors who associated themselves closely with divine powers.

gentis: Löfstedt (1959: 74–5) notes that in Latin *gens* tends to be used for barbaric peoples, *populus* for one's own. This secular usage is the background for the Christian use of *gentes* for pagans.

adorare: Marti (1936: 280ff.) traces the semantic changes which the word *adorare* underwent from its first attested use with the meaning 'to accuse' in the Twelve Tables (8.6, Festus 158 Lindsay s.v. *nec*) to the meaning *uenerari*, first used by Laevius, fr. 26 *Venerem igitur alium adorans, / si femina siue mas est*. From Pliny onwards *adorare* was used as a translation of προσκυνεῖν: NH 28.25 *in adorando dextram ad*

osculum referimus totumque corpus circumagimus. adorare may have been considered a suitable translation of the Greek term because it was already used for veneration in general, but perhaps also because of an etymology (probably correct according to de Vaan 2008: 436) which derived *orare* from *os* (e.g. Varro, *LL.* 6.76 *oro ab ore*): an element of kissing may have been (thought to be) inherent in the word itself (Marti 1936: 279). Ammianus describes several instances of *adoratio* of the imperial purple, i.e. the kissing of the emperor's purple robe both as a sign of abjection, and as a special privilege: 15.5.18, 15.5.27, 21.9.8. This kissing of the robe was already demanded by Alexander. At Plut. *Alex.* 51.3 Cleitus describes it as a barbaric custom.

Forms of *adorare* occur more than 600 times in Jerome's works and in the Vulgate. Although it often has the general meaning 'to worship, give a cult to somebody as to a god', Jerome also uses it to denote the gesture of *proskynesis*, in definitions such as the following: *qui enim adorant, solent deosculari manum et capita submittere* (*C. Ruf.* 1.19, lines 12–13; cf. *in Osee* 3.13.1–2; Marti 1936: 279). Combinations with words such as *cadere*, *procidere*, *prostratus*, *pronus*, *flexo genu* etc. abound in Jerome's writings and in the Vulgate.¹ Jerome's negative attitude to *adoratio* as a gesture of veneration is illustrated at *In Dan.* 1.3:

omnem Scripturam sanctam mente percurrrens – nisi tamen me fallit obliuio –, nequaquam reperio quod sanctorum quisquam Deum **cadens adorauerit**; sed quicumque idola et daemones et res illicitas **adorauerit, cadens dicitur adorare** – ut in praesenti loco –, non semel sed crebrius; et in euangelio diabolus loquitur ad Dominum: haec omnia dabo tibi, si **cadens adoraueris** me.

As I run through the whole of holy Scripture in my mind – unless perchance forgetfulness deceives me – I do not find anywhere that any of the saints falls down to worship God; but whoever worships idols and demons and forbidden things is said to worship them falling down – as in the present passage –, not only once but several times; and in the gospel the devil says to the Lord: 'All these things I shall give to you if you fall down and worship me.'

The gesture is marked here as decidedly un-Christian: none of the *sancti* in Scripture is found to honour God by *adoratio*, and when pressurised by non-believers to perform

adoratio to idols or to men they refuse to obey, including Christ himself when he is tempted by the devil (Mt. 4:9, a passage which Jerome quotes many times in his works). However, Jerome's general assertion is not an accurate picture of the situation in the Vulgate: for counterexamples see e.g. Gen. 18:2 [*Abraham*] *adorauit in terra* (when he receives his three visitors); 19:1 *adorauitque [Loth angelos] pronus in terra*; 43:26 *et [fratres] adorauerunt [Ioseph] proni in terram*; Ruth 2:10, 1 Sam. 20:41, 2 Chr. 20:18 etc. This proves that the God of the Old Testament and even human heroes are sometimes venerated in a gesture which is described in all but identical terms to that of pagan worship. Performing *adoratio* to foreign gods, by contrast, is equated with adultery: cf. Judg. 2:17 *fornicantes cum diis alienis et adorantes eos*.

Given that Jerome presents *proskynesis* to either human beings or (especially non-Christian) gods in these negative terms, it is intriguing that Malchus here submits to the Saracen's command without any sign of reluctance, although he thus becomes, strictly speaking, guilty of idolatry. Presumably it is even more humiliating that the objects of his *adoratio* are a barbarian woman and her children. Malchus' *proskynesis* is a formal acknowledgement of his new status as a slave. It seems appropriate that this gesture precedes the external changes (*mutato habitu*) which advertise his new status.

ceruices flectimus: as a gesture of *proskynesis*, this phrase is unparalleled in the Vulgate and in Jerome. But a bent neck is a sign of fear and submission at VH 10.4: *tremere ille coepit et ceruicem flectere nec aspicere contra ausus, omni ferocitate deposita pedes coepit sedentis lambere*. Cf. Cypr. Mort. 16 *an ceruicem flectant superbi*; Amm. 15.5.27 *adactusque inclinante negotio ipso ceruices adorare*: 'forcing himself, since the business was already bending our necks, to do obeisance'.

¹ For a synopsis of collocations with *adorare* in the Vulgate see García de la Fuente (1995).

§2: *Malchus' new way of life*

clausus carcere: cf. ch. 1.3 *fugientem me et clausum*, of Jerome. *clausus* and *carcer* are paralleled in Hilarion's complaint *si non carcere huius monasterii clausus tenerer*, VH 19.6.

mutato habitu: this phrase, which is printed by most editors, including Mierow and Morales, with an indication of overwhelming manuscript support, is not found in the same form in any of my five manuscripts. I read *muto habitum* in the Neapolitanus and Sessorianus, *muto habito* in the Monacensis, *muto habitu* in the Parisinus, and *mutato habitum* in the Laurentianus. According to Morales' apparatus *mutato habitum* is also the reading of the Neapolitanus, and he may be correct. Of these only *muto habitum* is grammatically possible; the other variants can be explained as corruptions of *muto habitum* or of *mutato habitu*. Of these two the latter phrase is preferable in that it gives a neater sense. An ablative absolute explained by an adjective (*mutato habitu, id est, nudus*) is more satisfying than the use of *id est* to equate the two verb phrases (*muto habitum, id est nudus ambulare disco*, 'I change my dress, that is, I learn to walk about naked'):² 'I change my dress' is not strictly equivalent to 'I learn to walk about naked' and would place a greater strain on *id est*.

Although Malchus goes on to give a pragmatic explanation of this phrase, the choice of words suggests that his change of dress implies a change of identity. Forms of *mutare habitum* are found from the first century AD onwards and are much more frequent in Christian than in non-Christian Latin. In Christian literature a change of dress can symbolise conversion, often to the monastic life: cf. especially VH 2.5: *et statim ut*

² It is even less elegant to take *nudus* as the equivalent of *muto habitum*, because the verb phrase is not syntactically commensurate with the adjective.

[Antonium] uidit [Hilarion], mutato pristino habitu, duobus fere mensibus iuxta eum mansit, contemplans ordinem uitae eius morumque grauitatem eqs.

nudus ambulare disco; nam aeris quoque intemperies praeter pudicitiam nihil aliud uelari patiebatur: this picture of Malchus as wearing only a loin cloth is paralleled in Ammianus' description of a Saracen warrior, 31.16.6 *nudus omnia praeter pubem*. It is significant that Malchus ascribes his scanty clothing not to barbarian shamelessness but to natural necessity; we may parallel this matter-of-fact observation with his comments on shade-seeking vermin at 9.2 and the effect of sudden darkness on human eyes at 9.6 (*nam oculorum istiusmodi natura est eqs.*, with note).

pudicitiam: cf. 3.1 with note for this key term, which Jerome uses more than 150 times in his writings. In contrast to the usual abstract meaning (cf. e.g. *In Is.* 15.56.4: *pudicitia non in debilitate [est] corporis, sed in animi uoluntate*), here the significance must be concrete. This is confirmed by the fact that a few inferior manuscripts have *pudenda* instead, a reading which Jameson supports (1946: 461) on the basis that there is no contemporary parallel for *pudicitia* used in the concrete sense. This observation is now confirmed by the *TLL*: I have not found any examples of concrete use in the entry s.v. *pudicitia* (X.2.2483.37–2487.72). But the lack of parallels does not make the use impossible; it may be a conscious innovation by Jerome.

§§ 3–5: *Malchus as shepherd: recovery of a monastic mode of existence*

traduntur: the first in a series of sentence-initial verbs. This order is common in Latin for narrating events rather than assigning properties to a subject (Devine and Stephens 2006: 157–66). The present tense has an aoristic sense: the narrative moves on immediately after mentioning his commission as a shepherd, and the following sentences describe the consequences of this task.

hoc fruor solacio, quod dominos meos et conseruos rarius uideo: the monastic desire for solitude is a pervasive theme in Jerome's *Vitae*, especially in the *VH*, in whose second half Hilarion is constantly on the run from his own fame: cf. e.g. *VH* 30.2 *in secundo ab urbe milliario habitabat ignobilis gaudensque uehementer quod paucis diebus quiete uiueret*.

On the hyperbaton *hoc fruor solacio* see Introduction 3.2.4a.

fruor: in contrast to the aoristic aspect of the preceding present tense verb *traduntur*, *fruor* describes an extended state of affairs.

uidebar ... recordabar ... uescebar ... orabam ... canebar ... delectabat ... agebamque: these sentence- or clause-initial imperfect verbs describe the ongoing conditions and feelings of Malchus during his work in captivity. They function as the background to the crisis narrated in ch. 6: cf. Devine and Stephens (2006: 161–2) for sentence-initial verbs used for background action. They are artfully arranged into a sequence of one triple homoeoteleuton in *-bar*, one double homoeoteleuton in *-bam* and two further variations on the imperfect ending, *-bat* and *-bamque*.

uescebar recenti caseo et lacte: a common aspect of descriptions of life at the margins of civilisation, principally associated with nomadic peoples such as the Scythians, Numidians, etc. Cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 5.90 *mihi amictui est Scythicum tegimen*,

calciamentum solorum callum, cubile terra, pulpamentum fames, lacte caseo carne uescor; Sall. *Iug.* 89.7–8 *Numidae plerumque lacte et ferina carne uescebantur et neque salem neque alia inritamenta gulae quaerebant: cibus illis aduersum famem atque sitim, non lubidini neque luxuriae erat*; Liv. 29.31.9 *quem ceperant exsules montem herbidus aquosusque est, et quia pecori bonus alendo erat, hominum quoque carne ac lacte uescentium abunde sufficiebat alimentis*; Plin. *NH* 6.161 *Nomadas lacte et ferina carne uesci*.

recenti caseo: cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 1.34 *pinguis ... caseus*, with Clausen's note (1994: 45–6) for the distinction between *caseus recens* (soft cheese) and *caseus siccus*, with reference to Varro, *RR* 2.11.3 *et etiam est discrimen utrum casei molles ac recentes sint an aridi et ueteres*.

orabam iugiter: an echo of Paul's command to 'pray without ceasing' at 1 Thess. 5:17 *sine intermissione orate*. Continuity of prayer is also emphasised in Evagrius' translation of VA 3.6 (*orabat frequenter, quippe qui didicerat quod oporteret sine cessatione Dominum rogare*) and 55.3 (*orate saepissime, psallite uespere et mane: de Vogüé 1991–2007: 2.89 n.71*).

sancti Iacob ... Moysi: Jacob worked for his uncle Laban in order to marry Laban's daughter Rachel (Gen. 29:15–28): Gen. 30:31 and 31:4 make clear that this work consisted in herding Laban's flocks. For Moses' marriage and his activity as a shepherd see Ex. 2:21 and 3:1 *Moses autem pascebat oues Iethro cognati sui sacerdotis Madian*. The background of these two biblical stories, in which the heroes to whom Malchus compares himself work as shepherds in return for wives, may foreshadow the imminent reward for Malchus' shepherding at ch. 6.1–2: cf. Morales' note (2007: 197 on 6.2).

sancti Iacob: see above on 2.3 *sanctos*. *sanctus* is habitually applied to biblical characters in the *Itin. Eger.* (cf. van Oorde 1930: 180). Delehayé (1927) gives a

diachronic overview of the development of the word from pagan antiquity to its use as a technical term, as title of a canonised saint.

fuere: an archaic and artificial form: Cic. *Orat.* 157 (cf. Quint. *Inst.* 1.5.42–4), Bauer (1933: 14 ff.), Leumann (1959: 144–5, 1977: 607–8). Both in Sallust and Tacitus the *-ere* forms of eight sample verbs (*sum, possum, dico, scribo, noui, duco, do, traho*) are much more frequent than their equivalents in *-erunt*: for Sallust the ratio is 34:1 (with twenty-five instances of *fuere* and none of *fuerunt*), for Tacitus 68:12.

Jerome has third person plural forms ending in *-ere* fourteen times in the *Vitae*, five in the *VP*, eight in the *VP* and only here in the *VM*, which is also the only instance of *fuere* in the *Vitae*. It seems an appropriate choice for referring to the venerable tradition of Christian Scripture. A sample search of the same eight verbs (*sum, possum, dico, scribo, noui, duco, do, traho*) in Jerome's corpus yields about ninety instances of *-ere* forms, the most frequent *fuere* (thirty-eight), *dixere* (twenty-five), and *scripsere* (eleven). The latter two are often used to refer to sources of quotations, e.g. *In Dan.* 2.7.2–3 *aiunt enim hi, qui de bestiarum scripsere naturis: leaenas esse ferociores.*

monachum ... fueram perditurus ... inueneram: this curious expression of 'losing the monk' is repeated in ch. 6.4 *monachum coepi plangere, quem perdebam*. One would normally take *monachus* as a reference to a person; here it is used as an attribute which Malchus can lose and regain. In *Ep.* 58.4.2 Jerome expresses the same thought in a more conventional phrase: *ut ... propositum monachi non amittas*. There are a few parallels in Latin literature for the use of a concrete noun which properly denotes an entire being to express a property acquired or given up by a person: cf. Catullus 63.6 *membra sine uiro*, Sidonius *Epist.* 4.9.3 *monachum complet*, Sulpicius Severus *Dial.* 2.11.1 *monachum professus*. This last example belongs to a construction whose use in Tertullian (e.g. *Adv. Marc.* 4.23, where the best manuscript has *cur recusat eum, qui tam*

indiuuum illi comitem offert?) is discussed by Löfstedt (1920: 49–52) with reference to Hor. C. 1.35.21–2 *te Spes et albo rara Fides colit / uelata panno nec comitem abnegat*. Löfstedt rejects the interpretation of this as a case of predicative use with ellipsis of the relative (i.e. *comitem* <se> *abnegat* ‘denies herself as a companion’). Instead, the use appears to be related to that of the present passage: *monachum perdo* ‘I lose my monkhood’ is not essentially different from *comitem abnego* ‘I deny my company’.

Apuleius provides a more daring continuation of this type of expression in the use of clothing metaphors to indicate a change of appearance or identity: Apul. *Met.* 2.22 *et aues et rursum canes et mures immo uero etiam muscas induunt*, 3.33 *auem ... induero*, 3.23 *ad meum redibo Lucium*.

perditurus: the verb *perdere* can mean both ‘to lose’ and ‘to destroy, corrupt’. The fact that Jerome uses this verb instead of the morally neutral *amittere* (found in a comparable context at *Ep.* 58.4.2, see previous note) may indicate that Malchus is aware of his own guilt in contributing to the near destruction of his monastic purity. Cf. Aug. *Grat. pecc. orig.* 2.24.28 [*Adam*] *nos in se perdidit faciendo uoluntatem suam ...* [*Christus*] *nos in se saluos fecit*. Like Augustine’s Adam, Malchus followed his own will in leaving the monastery for his inheritance; but by God’s intervention he has now been restored.

This pattern of being lost and found is a central theme of the New Testament: cf. the parables of the lost sheep (Mt. 18:12–14; Lk. 15:3–7, where the parable is explained with reference to repentance); the lost coin (Lk. 15:8–10); and especially the prodigal son (Lk. 15:11–32), who resembles Malchus in some respects (cf. de Vogüé 1991–2007: 2.93): he inappropriately demands his inheritance from his father and ends up herding swine. In this misery he decides to return home and confess his guilt: cf. VM 7.

Ch. 6: Malchus Obtains a Wife

§§ 1–2: Malchus' recovery of the monastic life is endangered by the Saracen master's appreciation of his services. The master gives him the woman who had been captured together with Malchus as a wife. When Malchus' refusal is met with threats of violence, he consents. §§ 3–6: Alone with the woman in a cave where they are expected to consummate their marriage, Malchus makes a long and confused speech which he concludes with a resolution to kill himself. §7: But the woman surprises him by declaring herself to be a Christian who has become converted to asceticism by her own captivity. She suggests that they pretend to be husband and wife to satisfy the Saracens but that they preserve their chastity and regard each other as brother and sister. §8: Malchus accepts her proposal with relief. §9: This arrangement has the desired effect to make the masters more lenient towards the couple, so that Malchus has even greater freedom than before to spend his time in the desert with the Saracen's sheep.

§1: The chapter begins with three short sentences which introduce the following episode as yet another reversal of fortune. The ultimate agency of this reversal is ascribed to the devil.

o nihil umquam tutum apud diabolum! o multiplices et ineffabiles eius insidiae! this exclamation recalls the warnings of Malchus' abbot at 3.6. *nihil umquam tutum* may refer to the abbot's *temptationem*, and *insidiae* is a variation on the theme of deception expressed by *astutias* and *deceptos*. As the devil once tempted Malchus to leave the monastery for the sake of his inheritance, he now uses the same Saracens for another attack on Malchus' renewed resolution. The devil is here seen in the same light as

Juno in the *Aeneid* and the deities who drive the plot of the ancient novel by attacking its heroes, e.g. Priapus at Petron. 139.2, where other heroes are listed who are persecuted by the wrath of the gods (Hercules, Laomedon, Pelias, Telephus, and Odysseus) and Fortuna in Apul. *Met.*, e.g. 7.20, 7.25 (*sed illa Fortuna meis casibus peruicax tam opportunum latibulum misera celeritate praeuersa nouas instruxit insidias*, with two verbal similarities to the present passage, viz. *latibulum* and *insidias*), 8.24. All of these versions are derived from the motif of Poseidon's persecution of Odysseus. While in the *Odyssey*, the *Aeneid*, and in the ancient novel the hostile deity is eventually placated by the hero's endurance and revokes the curse, in a Christian metaphysical framework the devil – the personified opposition to all that is good – cannot be won over in the same way but has to be defeated by the hero in a life-long struggle. It is therefore even more appropriate for the devil than for the gods of the novel to persist in attacking his victims. In fact, this persecution is a sign of Malchus' virtue as much as a consequence of his flaws.

On the artificial effect of the double interjection and the use of *o* with the nominative see the Introduction, 3.2.2. Both exclamations are elliptical. There is no exact parallel for this elliptical use of *nihil tutum apud*, but variations on the phrase occur elsewhere, e.g. Liv. 1.53.7 *se quidem inter tela et gladios patris elapsum nihil usquam sibi tutum nisi apud hostes L. Tarquinii credidisse*, Sall. *Iug.* 88.2 *nihil apud se remissum neque apud illos tutum pati*. The phrase *nihil tutum* also appears in Jerome's contemporaries Ambrose (*In Luc.* 7.30 *nihil tutum, nihil otiosum, nihil patitur esse securum, quod inter ipsa hospitia hominum praedam requirat*) and Rufinus (e.g. *HE* 8.14.6 and 10.20).

ineffabiles: in the abstract sense ‘impossible to express in language’ *ineffabilis* is used almost exclusively by Christian writers,¹ apart from two instances in Apuleius (Met 8.8 and 11.11): *TLL* VII.1.1285.69–1287.56. The negative sense which *ineffabilis* has here (synonym: *infandus*) is much less frequent than the positive use of the word (synonym: *sublimis*).

insidiae: cf. Eph. 6:11 *insidias diaboli*. Here the sense is metaphorical; at 8.5 Malchus fears a real ambush: *propter insidias late uagantium Saracenorum*. The recurrence may associate the strategies of the devil with the fighting habits of the Saracens.

sic quoque me latentem inuenit inuidia: a direct quotation from Ps.-Quint. *Decl. mai.* 13.2 *quid prodest? sic quoque me latentem inuenit inuidia*. For this declamation and its relationship with the VM cf. Introduction 2.2.6. *me latentem* parallels Jerome’s complaint in the preface (VM 1.3): *si uituperatores mei saltem fugientem me et clausum persequi desierint*.

§2: *The Saracen master forces Malchus to marry his fellow servant.*

dominus uidens ... captiuam: this long sentence describes the circumstances in which the master offers to let Malchus marry the woman who had been captured together with him, and the master’s motivation for doing so.

uidens ... deprendens: these two present participles are perfective in function: ‘having seen’ and ‘having detected’. Cf. Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 387): ‘Das Spätlatein findet in dem Part. Praes. ein bequemes Mittel, das fehlende Part. Perf. Akt. zu

¹ Pliny *NH* 5.1 and 28.20 has *ineffabilis* in the concrete sense, of sounds which are impossible to pronounce for Latin speakers.

ersetzen', e.g. Chiron 384 *incidens difficiliter resurgit; Itala* Lk. 15:18 as quoted by Jer. *Ep.* 21.15 *surgens ibo*. It is very common in Greek-influenced texts, e.g. Biblical Latin, usually to translate the aorist or perfect active participles. For minimal anticipations of a more general use with some aspectual flexibility in Cicero see Laughton (1964: 28–30, 38–40). Jerome's use may suggest the influence of his translatory work on his Latin, but this is difficult to prove without further study.

uolens, which follows, is a normal 'background simultaneous' present participle: 'wanting to reward me he gave me the woman as a wife.'

nihilque in me dependens fraudulentiae: with a degree of dramatic irony the master goes on to provoke Malchus' insubordination by 'rewarding' him for his faithfulness: Malchus will proceed at 6.7–9 to deceive the master with respect to his married status, and at 8.2 he not only runs away but also takes the two biggest he-goats to obtain provisions for his flight. In ch. 9, finally, Malchus becomes the cause of his master's killing by a lioness.

sciebam enim Apostolum praecepisse dominis sic quasi Deo fideliter seruiendum: Malchus explains his faithfulness with reference to Christian teaching. There are three instances of this Pauline exhortation in the Epistles of the New Testament (Morales' references), each of which contributes a different additional layer of significance to Malchus' situation: Eph. 6:5–9, on the relationship between (Christian) masters and servants (note especially 6:9, where masters are asked not to threaten their slaves):

(5) *serui oboedite dominis carnalibus cum timore et tremore / in simplicitate cordis uestri sicut Christo* (6) *non ad oculum seruientes quasi hominibus placentes / sed ut serui Christi / facientes uoluntatem Dei ex animo* (7) *cum bona uoluntate seruientes / sicut Domino et non hominibus* (8) *scientes quoniam unusquisque quodcumque fecerit bonum hoc percipiet a Domino / siue seruus siue liber* (9) *et domini eadem facite illis remittentes minas / scientes quia et illorum et uester Dominus est in caelis / et personarum acceptio non est apud eum;*

Col. 3:22–5 (note, with my comments on VM 3.5, the reference to Christians’ expected ‘inheritance’):

(22) *serui oboedite per omnia dominis carnalibus / non ad oculum seruientes quasi hominibus placentes / sed in simplicitate cordis timentes Dominum* (23) *quodcumque facitis / ex animo operamini / sicut Domino et non hominibus* (24) *scientes quod a Domino accipietis retributionem hereditatis / Domino Christo seruite* (25) *quo enim iniuriam facit recipiet id quod inique gessit / et non est personarum acceptio;*

Titus 2:9–10 (with emphasis on the concept of faithfulness):

(9) *seruos dominis suis subditos esse in omnibus / placentes / non contradicentes* (10) *non fraudulentos / sed in omnibus fidem bonam ostendentes / ut doctrinam salutaris nostri Dei ornent in omnibus.*

The wording of Malchus’ parenthesis is different from that of the passages quoted, but its phraseology recurs in Jerome’s commentary on Ephesians 6:5–6 (see note on *fideliter seruiendum*, below). Not all of these passages are of genuine Pauline authorship, but they all seem to go back to a shared principle of Pauline ethics. The precepts do not aim at a social revolution, as one might expect from an argumentative context which stresses the equal dignity of all persons before Christ. Instead they address the spirit of individual relationships within the established social order, including masters and slaves. They are valid even for Christian slaves of non-Christian masters and vice versa, as Malchus accepts. Only when the master’s commands go against Malchus’ monastic values by threatening his chastity the duty of obeying him becomes secondary to other motives.

sciebam: the word choice may suggest a connection between knowledge and ethics in the Socratic tradition: Malchus’ knowledge of the relevant precept leads to virtuous conduct.

Apostolum praecepisse dominis sic quasi Deo fideliter seruiendum: *praecipio* with a gerundive in an accusative and infinitive construction; *esse* is not expressed. Constructions of indirect statement with the gerundive to express obligation encroach on the classical construction of *praecipio* with an indirect command clause introduced by *ut*.

Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 372) take this use of *praecipio* to be characteristic of later Latin, but the *TLL* X.2.449.22ff. gives examples from the first century AD, e.g. Sen. *Contr.* 7.6.20, Sen. *Benef.* 2.9.1 *praecipiunt ... quaedam beneficia palam danda*, with several instances in Columella, Pliny the Elder and Younger, and Quintilian. Here the avoidance of an *ut* clause has the advantage of making the sentence less convoluted.

sic quasi: *sic* is one of the correlatives frequently used with *quasi* (Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 674), e.g. Plaut. *Amph.* 683 *sic salutas atque appellas, quasi dudum non uideris*. This correlative use is not confined to early Latin and archaising authors but is extremely frequent in Cicero. But in classical Latin there is usually a separating element between *sic* and *quasi* in the form of a predication which is to be compared with a (different) predication in the *quasi* clause, e.g. *sic est hic ordo quasi propositus atque editus in altum* (Cic. *Verr.* 2.3.98). The combination of *sic* and *quasi* without a separating constituent is found in early Latin: Naevius *trag.* fr. 42 Ribbeck p. 12 *sic quasi amnis celeris rapit, sed tamen inflexu flectitur*. It is also found in two of Jerome's main stylistic sources for the *Vitae*, Sallust (*Hist.* fr. I.136 Maurenbrecher *sic uero quasi formidine attonitus neque animo neque auribus aut lingua satis competere*: the inserted *uero* does not have the status of a predication but is in the Wackernagel position) and Tacitus (*Dial.* 13.2 *Vergilium ueneratus est sic quasi Augustum*). Pliny the Younger has it twice in the same passage (*Ep.* 8.6.14 *sic quasi foedera antiqua, sic quasi sacrae leges*). But it is also in the Latin Bible (outside the portions translated or revised by Jerome): Eccli. 28:22 *multi ceciderunt in ore gladii sed non sic quasi qui interierunt per linguam suam*; 2 Cor. 9:5 *hanc paratam esse sic quasi benedictionem non quasi auaritiam*; and twice at 4 Esra 16:45 (an apocryphal book): *qui nubunt sic quasi filios non facturi et qui non nubunt sic quasi uidui*. The combination becomes frequent in Christian texts from the fourth century onwards. One cannot be sure what Jerome's motives were in using it here.

fideliter seruiendum: in classical Latin the combination of *fideliter* with *seruire* occurs only at Prop. 3.24.23 (Heyworth's 3.25.3) *quinque tibi potui seruire fideliter annos*. It is later used by Cyprian (*Ep.* 12.2.2 *dum domino fideliter seruiunt*) and becomes frequent in Christian Latin, especially in the corpus of Augustine. Jerome uses the same phrase in his discussion of Ephesians 6:5–6 (quoted above): *In Eph. 3, PL 26.541 non indecens sit domino seruire carnali cum timore et tremore ... et sic ei seruire fideliter ut Christo*.

et uolens me remunerare, quo fidum sibi magis faceret: the Saracen's motive for rewarding Malchus is economically rational: he has recognised that Malchus is an able worker and wants to increase his dedication. As indicated above, the nature of the reward is such that it produces the opposite effect.

Winterbottom (2008: 373) supports the reading of *quoque* for *quo*, as found (albeit with some supra-linear annotation) in the Neapolitanus. This does not seem advisable: the master's intention to make Malchus more faithful to himself is logically tied to his wish to reward him. A purpose clause is better suited than parataxis to express this internal dependence, and with a comparative *quo* is the normal construction of a purpose clause. Furthermore, it is not common for *quoque* to be in first position (Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 485–6); Jerome, like most classical authors, usually has *quoque* after the word which it connects. Finally, *quo* is supported by the Sallustian parallel *Cat.* 11.5 *quo sibi fidum faceret* (see below).

remunerare: the shift from deponent *remuneror* 'I reward' to active *remunero* (which also forms a passive *remuneror* 'I am rewarded') is dated by Flobert (1975: 306,

367) to the period of high empire.² Active *remunero* and passive *remuneror* are found in Apul. *Met.* 3.15, 7.14, and 9.33, Petron. *Sat.* 140.8), Tert. (frequently, e.g. *De pat.* 10, *Apol.* 46, 25 *remunerasse*, *De cult. fem.* 1.2), Marcus Aurelius *ap. Fronto* 3.2 (p. 36 line 16 van den Hout), Amm. 25.1.6, and later writers: cf. Neue and Wagener (1892–1905: 3.66–7). This is the only place where the active form is found in Jerome’s corpus; *Ep.* 123.5.6 has the deponent: *quibus imperat, ut discant domum suam colere et remunerari parentes et sufficienter eis tribuere*, but the variant *remunerare* is found in two manuscripts in Hilberg’s apparatus. It seems impossible to decide whether the reason for this discrepancy is inconsistency on the part of Jerome himself or whether the text of one (or both) of the passages is corrupt (for examples of false readings elsewhere see Flobert 1975: 306 n. 6).

fidum sibi magis faceret: an imitation of a phrase found twice in Sall. *Cat.*: 11.5: *huc adcedebat, quod L. Sulla exercitum, quem in Asia ductauerat, quo sibi fidum faceret, contra morem maiorum luxuriose nimisque liberaliter habuerat; ibid.* 14.6 *postremo neque sumptui neque modestiae suae parcere, dum illos obnoxios fidosque sibi faceret.* The first of these parallels is pointed out by Fuhrmann (1983 *ad loc.*). For *fidum magis* cf. Sall. *Cat.* 22.2 *eo dicationem fecisse, quo inter se fidi magis forent alius alii tanti facinoris conscii*. Jerome’s choice of phrase may be motivated by the context of the Sallustian passages, the corruption of the Roman army under Sulla and Catiline’s subsequent soliciting of friends. If this inference is valid it suggests that the Saracen, like Sulla and Catiline, is appealing to Malchus’ baser instincts to secure his loyalty, without consideration for a more noble set of principles.

² The simplex *munero*, by contrast, is used in the active from Plautus (e.g. *Mil.* 691, 695) and generally outnumbers the deponent *muneror*: Flobert (1975: 112). Passive *muneror* occurs from Apul. *Ap.* 11 and *Met.* 10.23 onwards (Neue and Wagener 1892–1905: 3.67).

The use of the high-style archaism *fidum* is striking as a variation on the mundane *fidelis* which precedes in the same sentence. Adams (1973: 125 with note 22) discusses the different stylistic registers of the two words: *fidus* is by far the more frequent word in epic and it is a common alternative to *fidelis* in archaising authors such as Sallust, Curtius, Apuleius and Livy. Tacitus uses *fidus* almost exclusively (forty-six times); the only instance of *fidelis* in the *Annals* is in direct speech (*Ann.* 15.67.2). By contrast, Terence only has *fidelis*, which is also preferred in less elevated poetic genres, such as the elegiacs of Ovid, Catullus, and Propertius, and Persius' *Satires*. The Vulgate only has *fidelis*, and outside the Vulgate Jerome prefers *fidelis* by a ratio of 265:12 according to the LLT-A corpus.³ One of the other eleven instances of *fidus* is below at 6.9 *fidus gregis pastor*.

A textual variant which occurs in twelve of the manuscripts in Morales' 1991 apparatus is *et fidelem* for *quo fidum* (it is not clear whether these manuscripts also have *facere* instead of *faceret*). In addition to the superiority of the manuscript which read *fidum*, the Sallustian parallel and the perhaps more elegant *uariatio* seem to be sufficiently strong grounds for defending *fidum*.

fidum ... magis: cf. *TLL* VIII.60.80–62.71 for lists of adjectives whose comparative is formed with *magis* in accordance with specific morphological or etymological rules, and for individual cases of this periphrasis where none of the rules seems to apply. In the case of *fidus* this periphrasis of the comparative is not colloquial; on the contrary, it is endorsed by ancient grammarians as preferable to the simple form *fidior*: *TLL* VI.1.703.38ff., e.g. Charis. *Gramm.* Keil (1857: vol. 1. p. 113.10–11; Charis. *Exc.* (Keil 1857: vol. 1 p. 556.5); Bede *Gramm.* (Keil 1880: 7.273.21–2): *fidus fidissimus*

³ This number includes all instances of the adverb *fideliter*; it may be argued that this means the count gives a distorted picture as *fidus* does not form an adverb. However, *fidus* can also be used predicatively to replace an adverb.

comparatiuum non habet, sed pro eo dicendum 'magis fidus' itemque e contrario 'minus fidus'. Yet we find *fidior* at Liv. 40.3.4 and Iustin. 16.5.2 and 37.1.3, while *magis fidus* occurs in Val. Flacc. 7.355 and Tac. *Ann.* 1.57.1 (Neue and Wagener 1892–1905: 2.258).

In Romance languages the periphrastic comparative of *plus* or *magis* with the positive replaces the inflected comparative (on the regional variation between *plus* and *magis* see Väänänen 1981: 118). To some extent this development is anticipated in later Latin: Rönsch (1875: 278) gives one example of the periphrastic comparatives with *magis* in the *Itala*: Ws. 8:20 *magis bonus*. But Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 165) point out that this use is still comparatively rare, and I have not found any clear instances in Jerome.

tradidit: '[t]raditio was the transfer of ownership by transfer of the thing itself' (Buckland 1963: 227). In legal texts the word is used accordingly of inanimate objects and slaves (even of restoring a freed slave-woman's daughter to her mother: Ulpian, *Dig.* 36.1.11.2). By analogy this word was applied to a custom which formed part of the wedding ceremony, when the bride's parents formally placed her in the control of the husband (Buckland 1963: 112). At *Dig.* 48.5.12.7 Papinian twice uses the phrase *in matrimonium a patre ... tradita* of a girl given in marriage by her father. Cf. Treggiari (1993: 164): 'a marriage was more respectable *tradentibus parentibus*' (referring to *Decl. min.* 251.3 and Cat. 62.60–1); but this custom was not a legal requirement for the marriage to be valid.

The verb must here be used with the 'nuptial' meaning, since in strictly legal terms Malchus, himself a slave, cannot very well become the owner of the woman. But in the context of the transactional connotations of the surrounding verbs *remunerare* and *accipere* the word may be chosen to evoke the legal setting as well: after all, the woman is here regarded as an object with which Malchus is rewarded. At the end of his story

Malchus uses the same verb to indicate his separation from the woman: *hanc trado uirginibus*, 10.3.

illam conseruam mecum aliquando captiuam: ‘my fellow-slave, once captive with me’. The adjective *captiuus* normally refers to a person’s status after entering into captivity, and the woman is still a captive in this sense. The use of *captiua* to refer to the woman at the point when she was seized, i.e. to mark her transition into captivity, is problematic: there are no parallels either in the Bible or the *TLL*.⁴

But the alternative, adopted by Leclerc in his translation (2007: 197), of regarding *aliquando* as the equivalent of ‘so far’ (‘jusque-là’, i.e. ‘the woman who had so far been a captive’) is untenable not only on semantic grounds (*aliquando* means ‘once’, ‘at one point’) but also for reasons of narrative logic: being handed over to Malchus does not signify the end of the woman’s captivity. Nor does the word order of the Latin sentence warrant the sense which the French translation attempts to establish by treating *illam* as the principal object of *tradidit* with *aliquando captiuam* in apposition and *conseruam mecum* as the complement: ‘il me livra cette femme, jusque-là captive, pour en faire ma compagne de service’ (my emphasis). The translation explains the idiosyncratic punctuation in the Latin text of the *SC* edition, where a comma is placed after *mecum*; but if it was correct, *illam* would have to be placed next to *captiuam*, not next to *conseruam*. This interpretation seems motivated by a desire not only to retain the ordinary meaning of *captiuam* but also to provide a complement to depend on *tradidit*.

However, this solution raises more problems than it solves: *conserua* is not sufficiently strong to carry the implication of wifehood. *conserui* have been referred to at

⁴ Morales (1991: 52) notes in his table of variants that two manuscripts of group “I” have *captiuatam* (‘having been taken prisoner’: a Christian coinage, cf. *TLL* III.369.48ff.) for *captiuam*. He does not include this variant in his apparatus, and it is very likely that it only represents an attempt by a scribe to remove the unorthodoxy of Jerome’s use by substituting a more acceptable satisfying reading.

VM 5.3 (*hoc fruor solatio, quod dominos meos et conseruos rarius uideo*), and a *conseruus* plays a hostile part at 9.3–8. It is unlikely that in this context the present use should be taken to indicate a specific ‘helper’ function here (arguably in analogy with Eve as an *adiutor* for Adam at Gen. 2:20). Such a meaning is not found in the *TLL* (IV.422.533 ff. for *conseruus*; esp. 423.28–41 for *conserua*). The more natural interpretation would be that the woman, who is one of his fellow servants, is now being handed over to him, and that it is not her status as *conserua* but this act itself which implies that she is to be his wife (cf. note on *tradidit* above). Significantly, *accipere* is fleshed out in the French translation ‘prendre pour épouse’, and also in White’s English version (1998: 124): ‘he offered me ... the woman ... as a wife’.

It is unambiguous from the following sentence that the woman in question is not a character newly introduced to the plot. She is identical with the *muliercula* of 4.3, a traveller from Malchus’ caravan who is assigned to the same Saracen master after their capture. Her husband is referred to as a victim of the same raid at 6.2: *siquidem captus nobiscum uir eius*. It seems to be the most straightforward interpretation to regard *mecum aliquando captiuam* as parallel to *captus nobiscum*: it is not primarily a reflection on the woman’s state of captivity but an identification of her as the woman who shared with Malchus the experience of being captured and enslaved: ‘... the woman who had once been captured with me’ (White’s translation 1998: 124).

To support the argument that *captiuam* is simply a *uariatio* of *captus* in the next sentence, one may note that there are many cases in Latin literature where *captus* could easily be substituted for *captiuus* without changing the meaning of the phrase in which it occurs (e.g. Prop. 2.23.10 *captus ... immunda saepe latere casa*). *captiuus* is a narrower specification within a semantic field which is already covered by *captus*: someone who is a *captiuus* is always someone who has previously been captured, i.e. he is also *captus*. On

the other hand, not everyone who has ever been *captus* can be spoken of as a *captivus*: he may have been set free or fled at the time under discussion. Despite the fact that I have found no other instances where the direction of the substitution is reversed, it is not inconceivable that, either because of an author's boldness or because of changes in the language as such, the meaning of *captivus* may occasionally have widened to accommodate other nuances of *captus*. One possible motivation for such a widening in our text may have been the fact that the feminine *captiva* in Latin literature tends to carry sexual connotations more often than the simple *capta* (*TLL* III.373.8ff. for *captiva*, e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 3.324 *nec uictoris eri tetigit captiva cubile*; III.335.23–30 for *capta*). These allusive undertones of *captiva* may have made the word attractive for hinting at, rather than expressing directly, the marital purpose of the transaction.

Another possible starting point for resolving the issue may be the observation that in biblical Latin we often find the collocation (*aliquem*) *captivum ducere* (far less frequently *facere*) to denote the action of taking prisoners of war, especially of women, e.g. Gen. 34:29 *paruulos quoque et uxores eorum duxere captivas*. In classical Latin this circumstance is normally expressed by *capio*; exceptions are Cic. *Fam.* 5.11.3: *duces eum captivum in triumpho* and Sil. *Pun.* 7.503. The use here may be an ellipsis of this formula, i.e. *mecum aliquando (ductam) captivam*.

refutarem: 'I refused', a late usage of *refuto*: cf. Souter (1949: 346), quoting Cass. *De inc. c. Nest.* 3.11: *non erubescas ab ea sacramentum salutis agnoscere, a qua testimonium Deus non refutavit accipere*. The classical Latin meaning is either 'to check, to suppress' or 'to refute' (*OLD*).

diceremque me Christianum: de Vogüé (1991–2007: 2.90) takes this confession of Malchus as a sign of cowardice: he is not ready for martyrdom, so he does not go as far as to say that he is a monk and cannot marry anyone. But the formula *Christianus sum*

(or, in Greek, Χριστιανός εἰμι) is the central confession in pre-Constantinian martyr scenarios, leading directly to the death sentence, e.g. *Acts of Polycarp* 10.1 (Musurillo 1972: 10), *Acts of Carpus, Papyrus and Agathonice*, recension A (Greek) 5, 23, 34 (Musurillo 1972: 22–6), recension B (Latin) 2.4, 6.1 (Musurillo 1972: 30, 34); *Pass. Perp.* 3.2, 6.4 (Musurillo 1972: 108, 114); cf. Justin Martyr *Ap.* 2.2, Tert. *Apol.* 2.13, 49.5, *De corona* 1.2, *De fuga* 12.4. The heroic pedigree of this statement contrasts with Malchus' cowardly (or prudent) evasion of the sword.

nec mihi licere uxorem uiuentis accipere: Roman law at the time did not entail this prohibition. The marriage of a man captured by the enemy is held to be invalid at *Dig.* 24.2.1 (*Paulus 35 ad ed.*): *dirimitur matrimonium diuortio morte captiuitate uel alia contingente seruitute utrius eorum*. Cf. *Dig.* 49.15.14.1 ('[a] husband does not get his wife back by *postliminium* as a father does his son;⁵ it is only by consent that the marriage is renewed'). But if the wife was captured together with her husband and they both returned, the marriage would still have been valid, so that any children begotten during captivity were held to be legitimate: *CJ* 8.50.1 and 8.50.16, cf. *Dig.* 49.15.25 (Marcian).

The rule that captivity ends a marriage was modified in the sixth century by Justinian (*Nov.* 22.7) to the effect that the spouse of a captive remained married as long as it was known that the captive was alive and had to observe a five-year period before marrying another. This provision made its way into the *Digest*, e.g. at 49.15.8:

Paulus libro tertio ad legem Iuliam et Papiam: non ut a patre filius, ita uxor a marito iure postliminii recuperari potest, sed tunc, cum et uoluerit mulier et adhuc alii post constitutum tempus nupta non est: quod si noluerit nulla causa probabili interueniente, poenis discidii tenebitur.

Paulus in the third book on the Lex Iulia et Papia: A wife cannot be recovered by her husband, as a son can be by his father, by right of *postliminium*, but only when she wishes and so far as she

⁵ See VM 4.3 *postliminio* with note.

has not married another after the fixed period [of five years]; but if she is unwilling, without there being a valid reason, she will be liable to the penalties for [unjustified] divorce (transl. Watson *et al.* 1985).

Watson (1991: 38) argues that the passage contains an interpolation from *sed tunc* onwards: Paulus' original statement was rewritten under the influence of Justinian's innovation, and the original formulation did not conflict with *Dig.* 24.2.1 (quoted above). Justinian's innovation is also expressed (in an interpolation, according to Watson) at *Dig.* 24.2.6 (Julian).

For a detailed discussion of the legal situation and its development see Watson (1991: 37–53); cf. also Treggiari (1991: 44); Gardner (1986: 87–8); Buckland and Stein (1963: 67).

While it seems that the imperial law of the period would have permitted Malchus to marry the woman, contemporary Christians would not have approved: 'the *fides* that Romans occasionally expected a woman to show even to her dead husband, by refusing to remarry, was transformed into a perpetual loyalty to Christ, which good Christian widows were expected to show for the rest of their lives' (Brown 1988: 149). An example is Macrina, who transfers her faithfulness to her dead fiancé to Christ: Greg. Nyss. *Vit. Macr.* 5 and 23. The law preventing Malchus from marrying the woman is exclusively Christian; it is appropriately introduced by reference to his Christian identity.

erus: used twice of the master in the VM, here and in ch. 4.3: *in unius eri seruitutem sortitus uenio*. On the comic ancestry of *erus* and its use as an archaism see the Introduction, sections 2.2.4 and 3.1.3. An LLT-A search (of both *herus* and the more correct *erus* and their inflected forms, as well as the feminine (*h*)*era*) has not yielded any

other instances in Jerome's corpus. By contrast, the Saracen master is called *dominus* in the VM a dozen times.⁶

Köhm (1905: 167) explains that *dominus* was originally the owner of a house (*domus*) and *erus* the master of a slave, and that that distinction still lives on in Plautus. Later *erus* dropped out, and *dominus* took on its meaning too. It is interesting that Jerome has here reverted to the usage of Plautus, especially in view of the fact that *erus* is not used in his other works. One might speculate that Jerome found it appropriate for a human master from the viewpoint of a slave, and that Malchus uses it when he feels the oppressive power of the master most strongly, first at the beginning of his servitude and now as he realises how difficult it is to oppose his master's wishes.

euaginato me coepit petere gladio: for this kind of assault cf. Petron. 9.5 *cum ego proclamarem, gladium strinxit et 'si Lucretia es' inquit 'Tarquinium inuenisti.'* On the extended hyperbaton of *euaginato ... gladio* see Introduction 2.3.4b. The *Vaticanus Reg. lat.* 589, an inferior manuscript from the eleventh century, according to Morales' 2007 apparatus (and several others according to Morales 1991: 53) has *gladio me petere coepit*, without the hyperbaton.

coepit: cf. note on *coepi*, below.

et nisi ... sanguinem: when threatened with violence, Malchus yields to his master's command. The phrasing of this event is significant: the negative conditional clause makes Malchus' gesture of consent appear to be the natural and logical choice. Malchus presents the prospect of his death at this point as an undesired event. This attitude is strikingly different from that of martyrs and other saints, who usually desire

⁶ The word *dominus* is also used in the VM to signify God. Morales in his edition tries to avoid ambiguity by capitalising the word when it denotes God.

death and look forward to life in heaven. Malchus will change his mind later in the chapter (6.5, with notes).

nisi festinus tenere brachio mulierem praeoccupassem: there is great confusion in the manuscripts: according to Morales' 2007 apparatus, the Neapolitanus contains the reading I have printed; manuscript 'J' (Cantabrigensis 301 (515), twelfth century) inverts the order of *brachio* and *mulierem*; manuscripts 'T', 'G', 'H', and 'K', which belong to different groups and date from the eleventh to fifteenth century) invert *tenere* and *brachio*; manuscript 'F' (Claustroneoburgensis cc. 1.704, twelfth century) has *festinum brachio* (or *brachium*: Morales 1991: 53) *tenere et mulierem*. A more problematic reading is that of the early printed editions by Rosweyde and Vallarsi, *nisi confestim brachia tendens mulierem praeoccupassem*, 'had I not quickly taken hold of the woman in advance by stretching out my arms'. The participle *tendens* instead of *tenere* appears to be motivated by an interpretation of *praeoccupassem* as 'take in advance', which would make the infinitive *tenere* tautologous (cf. Jameson 1938: 414–15). But *praeoccupare* is not synonymous with *tenere*. *TLL* X.2.743.4ff. notes the sense of anticipating (and often thereby preventing) somebody's action, hence: 'if I had not anticipated him by taking the woman by the arm'. Jameson (1938: 414–15) argues that *praeoccupassem* corresponds to δραμών in the Greek translation, εἰ μὴ δραμών ἐκράτησα τὴν χεῖρα τῆς γυναικός, but it is equally possible to take δραμών as representing *festinus* and ἐκράτησα as translation of *praeoccupassem*. For the construction with the infinitive see *TLL* X.2.743.73–744.5, e.g. Liv. 4.30.3 *legem ... cum ab tribunis parari consules ... excepissent, ipsi praeoccupauerunt ferre*.

tenere brachio 'to take by the arm' may be a version of *dextrarum iunctio*, a gesture which formed part of the Roman marriage ceremony: see below on *pronubante nobis tristitia* (6.3).

festinus: this adjective is rare in classical Latin: we have one instance each in Sallust (*Hist. fr. inc. 2* Maurenbrecher), Virgil (*Aen. 9.488*), and Ovid (*Met. 11.347*). It is more frequent in Statius, Valerius Flaccus, and Apuleius, and continues to be popular in Christian Latin, with twenty-four occurrences in Jerome's corpus.

The use of the adjective is quasi-adverbial. Löfstedt (1956: 2.368ff.) notes that this predicative use of certain adjectives has associations both with high literary and with more colloquial language. Cf. Adams (1976: 71) on the semantic and stylistic equivalence of such appositional adjectives and corresponding adverbs in certain contexts. Examples of predicative *festinus* are Apul. *Met. 2.6 festinus denique et uecors animi manu eius uelut catena quadam memet expedio et 'salue' propere addito ad Milonis hospitium perniciter euolo*; Jer. *Ep. 36.1.2 ita festinus exterruit, ut ... ad scribendum transuolare*; *Ep. 117.7.3 celat festina, quod uolens retexerat*; Ex. 10:16 *festinus Pharaon uocauit Mosen et Aaron*. In all of these instances the adjective denotes not only haste but also a sudden determination. It seems that predicative use of *festinus* in later Latin parallels the older use of its near synonym *citus* in the same function, used e.g. at Liv. Andr. *Od. fr. 24* Blänsdorf, Plaut. *Amph. 1115*, Cat. 63 (three times), Virg. *Aen. 1.301, 4.574* and Tac. *Ann. 12.12.3*. The adverbial form *festine* does not occur before Cassiodorus.

§§ 3–8: *The first cave scene.*

There are numerous aspects of this scene which make it appropriate to set it in a cave (*spelunca semiruta*, 6.3). On one level the cave is associated with the Saracen environment, illustrating their wildness and remoteness from civilisation. The archetype of this connection in classical literature is Polyphemus' cave at *Od. 9.132ff*. In later

literature the association of robbers and other uncivilised people with caves has become a commonplace: note e.g. Cacus' cave at *Aen.* 8.193–7 and see Blum (2004: 7) for a list ranging from Jerem. 7:11 (*ergo spelunca latronum facta est domus ista in qua inuocatum est nomen meum*) to Wagner (*Siegfried* 2.1). The ancient novel likewise depicts robbers as living in caves: cf. Xen. *Eph.* 2.14.1, 3.3.4; 4.1.5 etc.; Heliod. 1.28–30, 2.2–18; 5.2.8, 5.4.4, 5.8.1, and in Latin Apul. *Met.* 4.6. The strong connection in popular imagination between robbers and caves is also shown by Dio's account of the bandit Bulla Felix (77.10), who is caught in a cave and thrown to wild beasts (Shaw 1984: 46–51). The association of bandits and caves is not confined to literature. For the use of caves as hiding places by outlaws see Weingarten (2005: 28 n. 47, with further bibliography); particularly interesting is the mention at Amm. 28.2.11 of bandits called Maratocupreni, whose name contains Aramaic words for 'caves' and 'village' (Matthews 1989: 402 and n. 46). While Malchus' cave must be interpreted before this background, there is no indication in the *VM* that the Saracens live themselves in caves.

If we assume that the cave is Malchus' own dwelling, a further layer of significance can be derived from the observation that in Syria and Palestine natural or artificial caves were often used as tombs. Toynbee (1971: 188–244) has collected the archaeological evidence for such burial customs; cf. Davies (1999: 72). Most prominent in Christian thought is the tomb of Jesus of Nazareth, hewn into a rock and sealed with a stone (Mt. 27:60, 66; Mk. 15:46; Lk. 23:53, 24:2; Jn. 20:1).

Tombs, in turn, could be used symbolically to signify a marginal existence: thus the synoptic gospels depict demon-possessed persons as living in tombs outside towns (Mt. 8:28, Mk. 5:2–5, Lk. 8:27). Hermits occasionally seized on this symbolism by making their dwelling in tomb-like caves or other types of tombs, or by building their cells in such a way as to invite their description as tombs, a space in which they could not

stand up and which barely fitted around their bodies lying down: cf. *VH* 4.3 *ut sepulcrum potius quam domum crederes*. In this way hermits signalled that they had died to normal society and had become like outcasts from the city. If Malchus lives in this cave, it completes the image of his monastic life (cf. *VM* 5.4–5) as he mortifies his body in a tomb-like cave; but now that image has been disturbed by the presence of the woman.

The cave as a place for Malchus and the woman to consummate their marriage evokes the setting of the *locus amoenus*. The type of Malchus' dwelling has not been described before, so that the cave appears to be introduced specifically for the present chapter as the place where Malchus himself leads his 'new wife'. The most prominent model for this setting is that of the 'marriage' of Dido and Aeneas in Virg. *Aen.* 4.165–72:

speluncam Dido dux et Troianus eandem	165
deueniunt. prima et Tellus et pronuba Iuno	
dant signum; fulsere ignes et conscius aether	
conubiis summoque ulularunt uertice Nymphae.	
ille dies primus leti primusque malorum	
causa fuit; neque enim specie famaue mouetur	170
nec iam furtiuum Dido meditatur amorem:	
coniugium uocat, hoc praetexit nomine culpam.	

The main points of contact, both parallels and antitheses, between the two passages have been pointed out by Pease (1935: 205), de Vogüé (1991–2007: 2.91), and Weingarten (2005: 171–4): Dido, like Malchus (and, as it turns out, like the woman) has committed herself to chastity after the death of her husband Sychaeus (*Aen.* 4.15–19); and Malchus' threat to kill himself parallels the suicide of Dido at *Aen.* 4.663–705. But the couple's Christian dedication leads to a happier outcome than Virgil's tragedy: their *animae copula* is a more stable union than the sham marriage of Dido's wishful thinking (*Aen.* 4.172). The ominous associations of the cave are overcome by the faith and determination of Malchus and the woman: the scene in the *Aeneid* functions as a foil for illustrating the triumph of Christianity. Virgil's depiction of the wedding in the cave in its turn is based

on Medea's marriage to Jason in Ap. Rhod. 4.1128–69. In the Greek novel we may compare the grotto in which Chloe is found (Longus 1.4.1–1.5.2) and discovers love together with Daphnis, so that they use it for an altar to Love (4.39), and Heliod. 2.2.2, where Theagenes imagines an underground cave as his wedding chamber: *θάλαμον ἐαυτῷ τὸ σπήλαιον ἀνέπλαττε*.

§3: Malchus describes elements of traditional Roman wedding ritual but makes clear that it is a joyless occasion for both him and the woman. The groom is expected to be impatient for evening to arrive, but for Malchus it comes too fast; the goal of the domum deductio is a derelict cave, the matron of honour is sadness and the couple hate rather than love each other; and they do not communicate with each other.

iam uenerat tenebrosior solito et mihi nimium matura nox: in literary descriptions of Graeco-Roman wedding ceremonies the bridegroom is depicted as impatient for evening to arrive, e.g. in the young men's chorus of the amoebean epithalamium at Cat. 62.26 *Hespere, quis caelo lucet iucundior ignis?* The bride, by contrast, is supposed to show apprehension, as expressed by the girls' corresponding chorus at Cat. 62.20: *Hespere, quis caelo fertur crudelior ignis?* For the unwelcome onset of night to a reluctant bride cf. also Xen. *Eph.* 3.6.1 *Καὶ ἤδη μὲν νύξ ἦν, παρεσκευάζετο δὲ ὁ θάλαμος, καὶ ἦκον οἱ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τεταγμένοι τὴν Ἀνθίαν ἐξαίροντες· ἡ δὲ ἄκουσα μὲν καὶ δεδακρυμένη ἐξῆει*. Malchus here portrays himself in the emotional state of the (virgin) bride (cf. his self-description as *uirgo* at 6.4, below) by stating explicitly that it is for him (*mihi*) that evening arrives too soon.

tenebrosior solito et mihi nimium matura nox: for the unusual darkness of the night cf. 9.1 *solem cernere nigrescentem*, when the couple enter the second cave.

tenebrosior: *tenebrosus* is first found at Virg. *Aen.* 5.839, 6.107, later than its synonym *tenebricosus*, although the formation of *tenebrosus* is of an archaic type (Ernout 1949: 29). It becomes much more frequent than *tenebricosus* (and *tenebricus*, which is found as early as Pacuvius but is extremely rare throughout; cf. Ernout 1949: 30) in post-classical, later and medieval Latin. The theory that *tenebrosus* and *tenebricosus* are in any way substandard (thus e.g. Knox 1986: 96) must be rejected.

duco in speluncam semirutam nouam coniugem: according to Roman custom the bride was led to the house of her husband as part of the marriage ceremony. ‘The *deductio* was a normal part of the ceremony, modified sometimes [...], but it does not seem to have been legally necessary’ (Treggiari 1993: 167), as a rescript by the emperors Theodosius II and Valentinian from the year 428 makes clear (*CJ* 5.4.22):

si donationum ante nuptias uel dotis instrumenta defuerint, pompa etiam aliaque nuptiarum celebritas omittatur, nullus aestimet ob id deesse recte alias inito matrimonio firmitatem uel ex eo natis liberis iura posse legitimorum auferri, inter pares honestate personas nulla lege impediende consortium, quod ipsorum consensu atque amicorum fide firmatur.

Buckland (1963: 112n.) explains that the *deductio in domum* is usually taken as evidence that the wife passes into the control of her husband. If this control can be established by other means, *deductio* is not a formal requirement for the validity of a marriage. Cf. Rage-Brocard, ‘*Deductio in domum mariti*’ (diss. Paris 1933: 101; *non uidi*). The fact that according to the legal sources the *deductio* had to lead to the groom’s house suggests that the *spelunca semiruta* is Malchus’ home.

in speluncam semirutam: for the cave as a setting of the scene cf. above on 6.3–8. Malchus’ dwelling has been referred to vaguely at 5.3 in his initial description of his new life with the Saracens: *quasi clausus carcere mutato habitu, id est nudus, ambulare*

disco. The mention of the cave now adds a realistic touch as it specifies the kind of dwelling Malchus has with the Saracens.

semirutam: there are two other instances of adjective formations with *semi-* in the VM: the description of the Saracens as *seminudo corpore* (4.2) and their diet of *semicrudae carnes* (4.3). In both cases these uses underline how far removed the Saracens are from Roman civilisation. Cf. also VH 16.3 *sed et ipsum oppidum [viz. Elusa] ex magna parte semibarbarum est propter loci situm*, and Ep. 7.2 for a variation on this formulation *hic autem aut barbarus semisermo discendus est aut tacendum est*, on the language of the Syrian monks whom Jerome met in the 370s (with Weingarten 2005: 27 n. 43).

A parallel combination of *spelunca* with an attribute beginning with *semi-* is found in Virg. *Aen.* 8.193–4: *hic spelunca fuit uasto summota recessu, / semihominis Caci facies quam dira tenebat*. Likewise at Apul. *Met.* 4.8 the cave-dwelling robbers and their eating habits are compared to ‘half-wild’ Lapiths: *estur ac potatur incondite ... ac iam cetera semiferis Lapithis †tebcinibus† Centaurisque similia*.⁷

A tumble-down cave features at Tac. *Ann.* 4.59.1–2. Its function is to provide a *locus amoenus* for the emperor Tiberius, but its derelict state causes disaster: as the entrance collapses, several slaves are crushed, and the emperor only survives through luck and because of the heroic action of his praetorian prefect, who throws himself on the emperor. For the threatening atmosphere produced by underground spaces see Sen. *Ep.* 57, where the philosopher described his feelings of oppression as he enters a gloomy tunnel (cf. Weinberg 1986: 130–3). Seneca links these emotions to the fear of being

⁷ Robertson (Budé edition, 1940–45) suggested replacing the nonsensical *tebcinibus* with *semihominibus* on the basis of Ov. *Met.* 12.536 *inter Lapithas et semihomines Centauros*, but this is rejected by Hijmans *et al.* (1977: 72) as ‘too violent an intervention.’

crushed and uses the experience as an occasion to argue against those who hold that the soul can be completely extinguished if the body is thus destroyed: *animo, qui adhuc tenuior est igne, per omne corpus fuga est* (Ep. 57.8). Both of those passages underline the potential of the adjective *semirutam* to reinforce the feeling of immediate and mortal danger as Malchus enters the cave.

semirutus is found seven times in Jerome, e.g. Ep. 108.8.2 *Antipatrida, semirutum oppidulum*. In other authors it is often used to describe the damage resulting from war, e.g. Liv. 10.4.6 *tecta semiruta uici per uastationem agrorum deusti*.

nouam coniugem: it seems that the normal word for a recently married woman was *noua nupta*, e.g. Varr. RR 2.4.9 *in coniunctione nuptiali noua nupta et nouus maritus primum porcum immolant*. Adams (1972b: 252–5) notes that *coniunx* is a high-register word belonging to poetry and honorific formulae. Jerome belongs to a group of prose authors (including Apuleius, Ammianus, and Augustine) who use *coniunx* more readily than others as a synonym for the much more common *uxor*.

pronubante nobis tristitia: *pronubante* ‘playing the part of the *pronuba*’ is a deliberate echo of Virg. *Aen.* 4.166 (cf. above on 6.3–8), where *pronuba Iuno* (also invoked in Ov. *Her.* 6.43, *Met.* 6.428, 9.762) plays a decisive part in the destructive union of Dido and Aeneas in the cave. Neither de Vogüé (1991–2007: 2.91) nor Weingarten (2005: 171–4) raise this echo in their discussion of verbal and structural parallels between the two accounts.

Walde and Hofmann (1954: 184) translate *pronubus/-a* as ‘Vorsteher(in) der Vermählung’ in analogy to Greek *παράνυμφος*, an analogy already established at Isid. *Orig.* 9.7.8: *pronuba dicta, eo quod nubentibus praeest, quaeque nubentem uiro coniungit. ipsa est et paranympa*. Cf. Ernout and Meillet (1979: 449) and Weinstock *RE* XXIII.1.751.33–5. This means that the married state of the *pronuba* is not inherent in the

etymology of the word. According to Heckenbach *RE* VIII.2132.53–8 and Weinstock XXIII.1.751.28–9 the *pronuba* linked the right hands of bride and groom during the wedding ceremony (cf. Claud. *Carm. min.* 31.54; Stat. *Silv.* 1.2.11; Isid. *Orig.* 9.7.8). On the iconography of the *dextrarum iunctio* see Blümner (1911: 355); Weinstock *RE* XXIII.1.751.47ff. The *pronuba* also led the bride to the wedding bed (Heckenbach *RE* VIII.2133.53–4).

According to an alternative interpretation *pronuba* means ‘a woman who has married before’ (in analogy to the word *innuba*, ‘a woman who is not (yet) married’): *TLL* X.2.1915.64–6. For the idea that this status gave the *pronuba* an auspicious function see Festus (Lindsay p. 282): *pronubae adhibentur nuptis, quae semel nupserunt, ut matrimonia ꝑpaupertatemꝑ auspicantes*, with Paul the Deacon (Lindsay p. 283): *pronubae adhibentur nuptis, quae semel nupserunt, causa auspicii ut singulare perseueret matrimonium*. It is also discussed at Tert. *Ex. cast.* 13.1: *denique monogamia apud ethnicos ita in summo honore est, ut uirginibus legitime nubentibus uniuiरा pronuba adhibeatur – et si auspicii causa, utique boni auspicii est*. Cat. 61.179–81 (186–8) alludes to the same function but does not use the word *pronuba*.

Lyne (1978: 281) argues from the fact that *pronuba* and its adjective do not appear to be used independently of Virgil (the only possible exception is Servius’ comment on Virg. *Aen.* 4.166 Varro *pronubam dicit quae ante nupsit et quae uni tantum nupta est*, which ‘may or may not imply that Varro actually used the word’: Lyne 1978: 281) and that it needs elucidation by later grammarians, that we may be dealing with a strictly literary use coined by Virgil, ‘formed perhaps on the analogy of προμνήστρια’. While this suggests that the word itself is artificial, it does not disprove the existence of the role of a female guardian for the bride at a Roman wedding.

I am not aware of any other instances where a noun expressing an emotion (here: *tristitia*) is personified as *pronuba*. Perhaps the closest analogy in this respect is Pacianus (c. AD 310–91, bishop of Barcelona from c. 365) *Ep.* 3.5.2: *pronubae pacis* (TLL X.2.1915.52: *pronubae* is used as an adjective, and the context is the mystic marriage between Christ and the Church). But Jerome's choice of *tristitia* as *pronuba* is in a tradition of inauspicious figures used in an oxymoron with the auspicious word *pronuba*: Virg. *Aen.* 7.319 *Bellona manet te pronuba*; Ov. *Her.* 2.117 *pronuba Tisiphone thalamis ululauit in illis*; Luc. 8.90 *me pronuba ducit Erinys*; Apul. *Met.* 8.12 *ultrices habebis pronubas et orbitatem comitem et perpetuae conscientiae stimulum*.

Sometimes inanimate objects are cast in the role of *pronuba*, e.g. a pine torch at *Ciris* 439 *pronuba nec castos accendet pinus honores*. In Sen. *Med.* 37–9, the eponymous protagonist imagines herself carrying the *pronuba pinus* into the wedding chamber, in order to punish Jason and his new wife at their wedding: *hoc restat unum, pronubam thalamo feram / ut ipsa pinum postque sacrificas preces / caedam dicatis uictimas altaribus*.

Tertullian is also fond of paradoxical combinations of the word: *Ad nat.* 1.2.9 *perducerentur infantariae et coci, ipsi canes pronubi*. He also uses the adjective *pronubus* at *Apol.* 6.4 and the noun as a predicate at *Ex. cast.* 13.1 (see above).

The TLL X.2.1916.74–1917.5 has only one other instance of the verb *pronubare* in Bacharius, *Ep.* 1 (*PL* supplement 1: 1036): *angelo pronubante*. The form and construction of the verb are identical to that in the VM. As a Christian writer of the early fifth century, Bacharius probably borrowed the use directly from Jerome.

tristitia: for another instance of Malchus' *tristitia* see 8.1: *occurrit mulier: tristitiam animi uultu dissimulare non potui*. By this time they have learned to understand

each other. The later *tristitia* is a symptom of Malchus' longing for the monastic community.

detestamur: the *TLL* V.1.809.71ff. derives this verb from *testari*. For the meaning required in this passage, the synonyms *exsecrari*, *auersari* and *odisse* are given. The word has connotations of speaking; cf. e.g. Apul. *Met.* 9.26 *uerbis exsecrantibus fullonis illius detestabatur uxorem*; Aug. *Civ.* 1.8 *in eadem afflictione mali deum detestantur atque blasphemant, boni autem precantur et laudant*. It is therefore striking that this 'oral' verb is juxtaposed with an assertion that it was not expressed (*nec fatemur*).

I have not found in the *TLL* a clear-cut case where 'aversion for a person' is the only possible interpretation of *detestari*. Either 'to curse' or 'to hate' would adequately yield a satisfactory sense in all of the examples. Perhaps Apul. *Ap.* 52 shows some awareness that the word can denote aversion in a sexual context: *neque enim grauius est ... in cubiculo despui quam in isto splendidissimo coetu detestari* (in the passive, not a deponent). But this interpretation is difficult: it depends on forcing the parallels between *despui* in the erotic and *detestari* in the public sphere.

§§ 4–6: *Malchus' speech*.

§4. *Malchus laments his captivity and the impending loss of monastic chastity. He regards this fate as particularly harsh because he gave up everything in order to attain the status of monk, but he admits that there may be an element of justice as he is punished for starting on a journey motivated by desire for recovering some of his worldly goods.*

monachum coepi plangere quem perdebam: the preceding chapter closed with Malchus' relief that he has recovered his monastic state after he jeopardised it by his decision to return home: *agebamque Dei iudicio gratias, quod monachum, quem in patria fueram perditurus, in eremo inueneram*; now he uses the same words *monachus* and *perdere* to indicate the imminence of the loss of this status, to underscore the dramatic reversal of his situation. The choice of *perdere* produces an ambiguity here as it can mean both 'to lose' and 'to destroy'. In the earlier passage *perdere* was contrasted with *inuenire*, so that the meaning must be 'to lose'; but now Malchus could also be considered an agent in the destruction of his monastic integrity: cf. VM 5.5. *perdere* is also used in the woman's assertion at 6.7 below: *uel interirem ante quam [castitatem] perderem*.

coepi: periphrasis with *coepi* is used to give an ingressive character to the main verb: its semantic function can be quite weak (Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 319; Löfstedt 1956: 2.450: '[eine] aoristische, fast abundante Umschreibung'). As a means to achieve colour, immediacy, and a particular emphasis on the verb in the infinitive, this periphrasis is at home in colloquial language, reproduced in the comedians, Petronius, and in texts which are less elevated in style, such as the *Bellum Hispaniense* and the *Peregrinatio Aetheriae*.

There are twenty instances of *coepi* in Jerome's *Vitae*, five of them in the VM. They appear to have dramatic function. The first instance, *clamare ... coepit abbas meus* (3.6), marks the transition from summarising narrative to speech, first reported and then direct. The second, *erus ... euaginato me coepit petere gladio* (6.2), makes clear to Malchus (and to the audience) how serious the situation is. The present passage is similar to the first, but now it is Malchus who reflects at length on his circumstances and the choices open to him. In chapter 7, a transitional scene preparing the ground for the

couple's escape which constitutes the final crisis of the VM, *coepi* is used twice. First Malchus begins to reflect: *coepi mecum tacitus uoluere* (7.1); and this reflection leads to the realisation that he has had enough of captivity: *coepi taedere captiuitatis* (7.3). In all five cases the action which unfolds is in some sense a consequence of the action introduced with *coepi*.

plangere: originally denoting the beating of the chest in mourning, this verb is transferred to the action of mourning or bewailing a dead person (cf. *OLD*). A phrase similar to Malchus' *monachum plangere* is found at Judg. 11:37, where the daughter of Jephtha, a young girl, prepares for her death by mourning her virginity: *plangam uirginitatem meam*. But the reason for the lament of Jephtha's daughter is the opposite of Malchus': she grieves because she will not have children, i.e. because she is a virgin and not a mother, whereas Malchus mourns for the loss of his status of monk which he expects to be imminent, i.e. for the end of his virginity, not of his life.

huccine miser ... martyr: Malchus' speech is in the mode of lamentation. Primarily (but not exclusively) associated with funerary rituals, the lament is an integral part of many literary genres from the earliest periods: cf. Alexiou (1974) and the contributions in Suter (2002), especially those by Perkell, Levaniouk, and Keith. It could be a specialised form of the *prosopopoeia* which was practised in schools of rhetoric (Birchall 1996: 2–5), and laments are frequent in the Greek novel, e.g. Chariton 1.8.3–4, 2.9.2–5, Xen. *Eph.* 1.4, 2.8.1, Ach. Tat. 1.13.2–6, Longus 2.22, Heliod. 1.8.2–3, 7.14.4–8. The formal characteristics of laments across the Greek novel are analysed by Birchall (1996: 7–14): they typically include an address; an expression of the contrast between past and present; frequent asyndeton; short and simple clauses; and rhetorical questions. In the novel these speeches are used to increase the pathos of a crisis the heroes reflect on the trials which they have already endured as they anticipate further suffering. They

frequently lament the prosperity which they formerly enjoyed in order to produce the starkest contrast with their present situation. Often laments are used as mere decoration which artificially delays the action and the inevitable happy end; but they can also have important structural purposes, e.g. recapitulation of events which have already been narrated (Birchall 1996: 14; e.g. Chariton 5.1.4–6) or, in the first half of Heliodorus (up to 5.33.3: Morgan 1989: 303), events in the past which have not been narrated, e.g. 1.8.2–3 (Birchall 1996: 15). Laments also serve to provoke reactions from other characters, e.g. Heliod. 5.2.6–5.3.1. A final point relevant to Malchus’ performance is Morgan’s observation (1989: 303) that novelistic laments complicate the audience’s experience of the direction of the plot: the laments’ ‘implicit theology sets up a counter-model to the divine providence ... that seems on other occasions to direct the story to its proper ending’.

Apuleius adapts the stereotype at *Met.* 4.24. Charite’s lament in the robber’s cave is paralleled in several ways by Malchus’ speech at VM 6.4–6 and elsewhere:

“A ego” inquit “**misera** tali domo tanta **familia** tam caris uernulis tam sanctis **parentibus** desolata et infelicis rapinae **praeda et mancipium** effecta inque isto saxeo **carcere seruiliter clausa** et omnibus deliciis, quis innata atque innutrita sum, priuata sub incerta salutis spe et carnificinae laniena inter tot ac tales latrones et horrendum gladiatorum populum uel fletum desinere uel **omnino uiuere potero?**”

Charite is a girl of high birth and therefore laments over the delights and commodities of the upper-class life which she has lost through being kidnapped. In becoming a ‘slave’ (*mancipium*) of the robbers she has experienced a tragic reversal of her status. She begins her lament by calling herself *misera*; Malchus’ second word is *miser*. Charite calls the robbers’ cave a *saxeus carcer* in which she is *clausa*, while Malchus described his situation as *quasi clausus carcere* at 5.2. Like Apuleius’ heroine, Malchus nostalgically recalls the loss of his *parentes*, *patria*, and *res familiaris*, although he has given them up voluntarily (*contempsisse*) for the sake of a holy life, a much more precious good. This

difference makes his situation more tragic: his very sacrifice is in danger of proving futile because he sees himself under pressure to commit a greater sin than that from which he fled. Finally, Charite asks whether she will be able to live at all (*omnino uiuere potero?*) after this disaster, and in the following section (Apul. *Met.* 4.25) she attempts to commit suicide after seeing a vision of her fiancé's death. Malchus' reasoning likewise ends in the determination to end his life (cf. below on 6.5–6).

huccine miser seruatus sum? the question is ambiguous in its generality. It may refer to Malchus' survival up to this point; to the fact that his life with the Saracens has hitherto been bearable; or even to the fact that the Saracens' attack has prevented him from claiming his inheritance and thus 'saved' his monastic status (cf. 5.5: *monachum, quem in patria fueram perditurus, in eremo inueneram*).

huccine: words of this kind are formed by a demonstrative pronoun (most frequently, but not exclusively, forms of *hic, haec, hoc*), an adverbial form of this pronoun (*hic, hinc, huc, illinc* etc.) or an adverbial particle (*sic, nunc, tunc* etc.), to which a deictic suffix *-ce* is attached, followed by the interrogative clitic *-ne*. The suffix *-ce* is archaic, and *-cine* forms are exceptional in preserving this suffix into the classical period, especially in poetry, while forms without *-ce* (i.e. *hicne* etc.) become more widespread from Cicero onwards (Kißel 1990: 388–9, 721).

Kißel (1990: 389) associates *-cine* forms with emotionally coloured colloquial language ('emotional gefärbte[...] Umgangssprache'). This appears to be true for the archaic period, where forms in *-cin(e)* abound in Plautus (fifty-five) and Terence (forty-four). There is a conjectured *sicine* at Liv. Andr. *com.* fr. 2 (Ribbeck p. 1), *hicine* at Naev. *com.* fr. 81 (Ribbeck p. 20) and Pacuv. fr. 103 Schierl, and *hocinest* in Accius *trag.* fr. 96 (Ribbeck p. 148). In classical Latin *-cine* forms are absent from the corpora of Caesar, Lucretius, Virgil and Tacitus. There are fifteen instances in Cicero: with the exception of

the relatively casual use at *Or.* 27 (*negat in eo positas esse fortunas Graeciae, hocine an illo uerbo usus sit*) all of these occur in highly stylised sentence structures, most often in or with tricola, at emotionally climactic (or ironic: *Tusc.* 3.8, 3.39 (a quotation), 3.43) points of the discourse. The same is true in Livy, where we find eleven *-cine* forms (ten of them in books 6–10), all in speeches and usually in highly rhetorical questions. Four times they come in the first sentence of a speech, often as the very first word, e.g. 4.19.3 *‘hicine est’ inquit ‘ruptor foederis humani uiolatorque gentium iuris?’* Kißel’s characterisation of the formation as ‘colloquial’, then, does not hold for Cicero or Livy: the forms seem to be artificial reminiscences of the earlier habit. Later archaisers partially revive the formation: Apuleius has thirteen instances, Tertullian four, the elder Arnobius and Ambrose twelve each, Rufinus’ translation of Origen six, Jerome five and Augustine sixty-one.

The use here seems to be a literary choice; for *-cine* with *miser* see e.g. Ter. *Heaut.* 1029 *miseram me, hocine quaesisti obsecro?*; cf. Cat. 77.3–4 *sicine subrepsti mei atque intestina perurens / sic misero eripuisti omnia nostra bona* (not a question but an indignant exclamation); Sall. *Iug.* 14.9 *eheu me miserum! hucine, Micipsa pater, beneficia tua euasere ... ?*

The spelling of these forms is debated. Neue and Wagener (1892–1905: 2.413) make the case for spelling words ending in *-cine* with a single rather than a double *c* on the basis of Plaut. *Pseud.* 954 *illicinest?* and Ter. *Eun.* 830 *istucine interminata sum hinc abiens tibi?*, where the metre dictates that the syllable preceding *-ine* must be short. But the fifth- to sixth-century grammarian Priscian states that *in antiquissimis codicibus inuenitur bis c scriptum, quomodo est apud Terentium in Andria* [625]: *hoccine est credibile aut memorabile?* (*Inst.* 12.5.25, Keil 1855: 1.592). It is possible that Jerome,

although Priscian's senior by about a century, would have regarded the double *c* as the correct way of spelling words of this kind.

ad hoc me mea scelera perduxerunt, ut ...: a similar structure whose content is closely related to the context of this phrase in Malchus' speech is found at Xen. *Eph.* 2.1.3: εἰς τοῦτο ἄρα μέχρι νῦν σώφρων ἐτηρήθην, ἵνα ἐμαυτὸν ὑποθῶ ληστῇ ἐρῶντι τὴν αἰσχρὰν ἐπιθυμίαν;

mea scelera: this seems to be a general reference to all the sins which Malchus has committed in his life, rather than a specific indication of the only 'crime' of which the reader knows: Malchus' desertion of the monastery for the sake of his inheritance is mentioned as a new thought below (*nisi quod forte eqs.*).

incanescente iam capite: Malchus' greying hair indicates the passing of time since he left home as a young man. After 'many years' (*multos annos*, 3.5) in the monastery and some unspecified but presumably much shorter time with the Saracens, he is on the verge of old age. White hair is a common 'metonymic figure for old age': Parkin (2003: 105 n. 357–8). Cf. Isid. *Orig.* 11.2.29 *canities autem uocata a candore, quasi candities. unde est illud: 'florida iuuentus, lactea canities', prout diceret candida.* In ancient literature, the external signs of old age, such as white hair and wrinkles, could be seen from two perspectives.

Firstly, they can be an expression of the 'inherent nobility' (Parkin 2003: 75) of old people, evoking respect and admiration.⁸ This association of grey hair with a good character can prove to be misleading.⁹ On this view, old age causes passionate desires to

⁸Prov. 16:31; Plut. *An seni* 789e; Pliny *Pan.* 4.7; John Chrys. *Ep. ad Hebraeos* 4.7.4 (PG 63.66), Amm. 14.6.6 (Parkin's references 2003: 75 n.77; 105). Cf. the white hair and beard of the old priest Kalasiris at Heliod. 2.21.2, which make him seem dignified and reliable: ἡ κόμη πρὸς τὸ ἱερώτερον καθεῖτο καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἦν λευκή, τὸ γένειον λάσιον καὶ σεμνότερον βαθυνόμενον.

⁹ Cic. *De Sen.* 62 with Powell (1988: 233–4); Menander fr. 553.1 Körte-Thierfelder (= *Monostichoi* 618 Jaekel) *ap.* Stobaeus *Flor.* 4.11.8 Wachsmuth-Hense; Menander *Monost.* 661 Jaekel; (cf. Democritus fr. 183 Diels-Kranz for the same sentiment, but without reference to grey hair); Cleanthes *ap.* Diogenes

cease, and the wise person will interpret this not as a loss but rather as ‘escape from a boorish and violent master’ (Plato, *Rep.* 1.329b; retold in Cic. *Sen.* 47).¹⁰ Similarly in early Christianity, Tertullian reports seats of honour in churches given to widows and mothers who had educated children, i.e. to women in the post-sexual phase of life: *Virg. uel.* 9.3 (reference from Brown 1988: 79). Clement of Alexandria, meanwhile, imagines grey-bearded patriarchs as the ideal audience of his *Paidagogos* (3.3.18.3, p. 247 Stählin) because they have achieved serenity and their souls are undisturbed by the passions which trouble the young (Brown 1988: 126–7, 134–5).

Conversely, these signs can be taken to indicate a person’s physical, and to suggest their mental, decline. In consequence, the thought of old people engaging in sexual intercourse is regarded as distasteful, and so sexual abstinence in old age is imposed from an aesthetic point of view: cf. e.g. *Ov. Am.* 1.9.4 *turpe senilis amor* (Parkin 2003: 199–201, with note 24 for passages); see also my note on VM 2.2 *ualde decrepita et iam morti proxima* (pp. 122–3 above).

This negative view of old age may lie behind the literary use of references to (signs of) old age to heighten the impact of an old person’s current misfortunes, or to indicate a tragic reversal towards the end of a previously happy life. This emphasis on old age to increase pathos is as old as Homer’s Priam (cf. *Il.* 24.162–5), who sees his prosperity come to a tragic end. The indignity of his condition is brought out by Virgil at *Aen.* 2.509–11 *arma diu senior desueta trementibus aeuo / circumdat nequiquam umeris et inutile ferrum / cingitur* and 544–6 *sic fatus senior telumque imbelle sine ictu / coniecit, rauco quod protinus aere repulsum, / et summo clipei nequiquam umbone pependit*.

Laertius 7.171; Herondas *Mim.* 1.67–8; *Anth. Pal.* 11.419 (Philo), 11.420 (anonymous; cf. Brecht 1930: 71, who adds Varro *Menipp.* fr. 5 *nec canitudini comes uirtus* and Lucian *Philopseudes* 23); Sen. *De Brev. Vit.* 7.10 etc. (references from Parkin 2003: 75 n.78).

¹⁰ Cf. Cic. *De Sen.* 7, 39, 42, 44, 46, 49; Plut. *An Seni* 788e, *Cup. Div.* 525a, *Non posse suauius* 1094e: references from Powell 1988: 198–9).

Jerome uses the motif of grey hair to increase the pathos of Malchus' situation: after spending most of his life without being exposed to sexual temptation, Malchus fears that his previous continence proves to be futile just as he enters the last phase of his life. A literal-minded reader might wonder whether Malchus could not have escaped the situation by pointing to his old age and politely excusing himself, but this misses the rhetorical drift of the passage. Despite being both a monk and on the verge of old age he has not yet conquered all impulses to sin.

uirgo maritus fierem: it is not only in the enumeration of his misfortunes that Malchus identifies with a maidenly heroine: he explicitly calls himself a virgin, just like a kidnapped girl who is in danger of being raped (e.g. Xen. *Eph.* 5.7: Anthia in the brothel; also in *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyrii* 33–6). This 'gender trespass' is immediately juxtaposed with Malchus' idea of himself as a husband (*maritus*) in one of many striking oxymorons in this passage (cf. *pronubante tristitia; persecutor et martyr; martyrem quam maritum; coniugem pudicitiae; uirtutem feminae*).

Preoccupation with the virginity of both male and female Christians is extremely widespread in late antique Christian discourse: cf. Brown (1988: 359, 438), Cameron (1989: 190), Feichtinger (1995). For male virgins see Rev. 14:4 *hi sunt, qui cum mulieribus non sunt coinquinati: uirgines enim sunt*. A specifically Syrian concern with male as well as female virginity is suggested by Brock (1973: 6). In pagan contexts the ascription of virgin status to a male is less frequent, but Feichtinger (1995: 89) shows that as early as Iliad 18.593 ἡῖθεοι are mentioned in parallel with παρθένοι, and the idea that these two groups were equally innocent of sex was taken up in pagan ascetic literature, e.g. Porph. *ad Marc.* 33: ἐκ παρθένου γὰρ ψυχῆς καὶ ἡθέου νοῦ τὰ τικτόμενα μακαριώτατα. Male virginity is also an issue in the Greek novel, at Ach. Tat. 5.20.5 μαθήσῃ τὴν σὴν με παρθενίαν μεμιμημένον, εἴ τις ἔστι καὶ ἐν ἀνδράσι παρθενία and

Heliod. 10.9.1 ἀπείρατος ... τῶν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης. As for the counter-intuitive notion that Malchus, the man, fears the woman's power to deprive him of his 'virgin' state, precisely such a scenario is imagined graphically at VP 3.

Winterbottom (2008: 373) praises 'the excellent addition 'uxoris alien(a)e' (with impeccable rhythm)' after *fierem* in the Neapolitanus, but this is perhaps a gloss to improve the parallels between the lament here and Malchus' botched martyrdom statement earlier. *uxoris alienae* is hard to integrate here: there is no other wife involved to whom this one would be *aliena*. If anything, she is 'another's wife' (*uxor alieni*); and Malchus' concern here is not so much with her marital status as with his own virginity.

quid prodest parentes, patriam, rem familiarem contempsisse pro Domino: a rhetorical question with high emotional colouring, brought out by alliteration of 'p' in three successive words and a tricolon whose last part is the longest. *quid prodest?* appears to be a formulaic expression of despair, often accusing the injustice of fate:¹¹ cf. Plaut. *Bacch.* 633–4 *quid mihi id prodest? / quid faciam?* The phrase is frequent in the 'lamenting' genre of elegy: e.g. Prop. 1.9.9–10 *quid tibi nunc misero prodest graue dicere carmen / aut Amphioniae moenia flere lyrae?*, Ov. *Pont.* 3.3.57–8 *quid tamen hoc prodest, uetiti si lege seuera / credor adulterii composuisse notas?* Cf. in particular Ps-Quint. *Decl. mai.* 13.2 *quid prodest? sic quoque me latentem inuenit inuidia* (the second clause has been quoted already by Malchus at 6.1). *quid prodest?* invites the answer *nihil prodest*; it suggests that Malchus thinks he has deserved better than being forced to marry after having successfully avoided marriage the first time (cf. 3.1).

¹¹ Such questions are frequently quoted by Seneca in his *Epistulae morales*, e.g. 16.4 *quid prodest si deus rector est?*: by attempting to answer them in a rational way he teaches Stoic acceptance of the seemingly irrational changes of fortune. The tenor of his teaching is that it is wrong to expect material rewards for virtuous conduct.

si hoc facio, quod ut ne facerem, illa contempsit: ‘if I do that for the sake of avoiding which I despised those things.’ This paradox of Malchus’ situation is expressed in this contorted conditional clause which, although grammatically correct in Latin, is difficult to translate into English. Malchus has deserted his family in order to avoid a marriage which would have been perfectly lawful from a Christian perspective; now he finds himself pressed to enter into a marriage which is not only contrary to his monastic ambitions but positively sinful. As he has argued at 6.2, such a union would count as an act of adultery because the woman is married already

facio ... facerem ... sustineo: Malchus is not explicit about the precise point of the problem. His self-depiction as a passive victim of this marriage scenario is upheld if *facio* is here used in the sense of *patior*: see Adams (1995b: 123) on Hor. *Sat.* 1.1.94 *ne facias quod / Vmmidius quidam*: ‘[h]ere *facio* does not replace an earlier verb, but is used in such a way that its subject is not agent of an action, but patient; *facio* is close in meaning to *patior* “suffer”.’ On the other hand, *facio* can also be used as a euphemism to imply the sexual act: see Adams (1982: 204). For the use of *facio* in this sense with a pronoun (here: *hoc facio*) cf. Adams (1981: 123), e.g. Ter. *Eun.* 657: *qui istuc facere eunuchus potuit?*; Schol. *Iuv.* 9.73: *quemadmodum me rogasti, ut hoc facerem*.

ut ne: manuscript support for *ut* is not unambiguous: the strongest argument is that this is the reading of the Neapolitanus. It is also found in the Monacensis and in three others of Morales’ manuscripts (1991: 55), but most other witnesses have simple *ne*. *ut ne* is archaising: it is frequent in Plautus, e.g. *Bacch.* 873–4 *uis tibi ducentos nummos iam promittier, / ut ne clamorem hic facias*, but even there it tends to be restricted to special, e.g. legal contexts. It is also used by Terence, Livy, and Varro (*RR* 2.9.13, 2.10.3, 3.16.16, 3.16.34), and in inscriptions (Konjetzny 1907: 350, e.g. *CIL* V.10701.6–7 *ita ut ne de nomine suo aut familiae exeat*): Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 641). Cicero uses it in

early works for specific emphasis, but it becomes less frequent in later works. By post-classical authors it is first avoided (in Quint. only once at *Inst.* 6.3.64)¹² and then revived by archaisers such as Apuleius (four instances), Gellius (five instances, twice to contrast with a preceding *ut*, e.g. 5.12.8 *nam deos quosdam, ut prodessent, celebrabant, quosdam, ut ne obsessent, placabant*), Gaius (three), and Augustine (eleven): Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 643) and LLT-A. Jerome elsewhere only has *ut ne* in the combination *ut ne quis* (three times), where *ne* seems motivated by the combination with *quis*. This phrase is also in the Vulgate and appears to be formulaic rather than archaising. This makes the current phrase (if it is original) unique in Jerome's corpus.

contempti: for the interpretation of a general refusal of marriage as a gesture of contempt cf. Dido at Virg. *Aen* 4.536 *quos ego sim totiens iam dedignata maritos*.

nisi quod forte propterea haec sustineo quia rursus patriam desideravi: an afterthought construction, of the type that might be introduced by a dash. Literally it appears to translate as 'unless it is that perhaps I am suffering this for this reason, because I desired my fatherland again.'

nisi quod 'unless it is that, except for the fact that' is not uncommon (Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 587): cf. e.g. VM 2.2 *nisi quod Ioannes in medio non erat*, 9.9 *nisi quod tutius fuerat leonis rabiem quam iram hominis sustinere*. But in connection with *forte* this combination is scarcely attested at all; the only parallels in the LLT-A are August. *De ordine* 1.8.21 *accipiat quisque, ut uolet, nihil curo, nisi quod forte inmodice gaudebam* and Descartes *Principia Philosophiae* 4.3 *nec alterius naturae, nisi quod forte sit minus pura*. This rarity leads to (or is the result of) some textual confusion: three of Morales' manuscripts (1991: 55) omit *quod* to produce *nisi forte*, a common phrase.

¹² Quint. *Inst.* 11.3.131 *ut ne id quidem transeam*, also cited by Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 641), is not an instance of *ut ne* but of *ne ... quidem*; the juxtaposition with *ut* is incidental.

Mierow prints *foret* instead of *forte*, but this reduces the construction of the sentence to nonsense because *quod foret* and *haec* would have to refer to the same thing.

The three words normally occur in the order *nisi forte quod*, but this requires an interpretation of *quod* in the causal sense, e.g. Cic. *Verr.* 2.169 *nisi forte quod apud publicanos gratus fuisti, in ea re spes te aliqua consolatur* ‘unless perhaps some hope comforts you in this matter because you were popular with the tax-collectors’ (cf. Q. *Rosc.* 20, *Acad. pr.* 140; also Ov. *Her.* 21.237, Plin. *Ep.* 7.27.14, Apul. *Ap.* 14, Augustine (fifteen times, e.g. *De doctr. Christ.* 2.37). A causal sense, however, is out of the question here: causation is already expressed, with a degree of redundancy, in *propterea* and *quia*. Therefore we are not dealing here with a simple transposition of *quod* to precede rather than follow *forte*.

§5. *Malchus takes counsel with his soul and comes to the conclusion that the only possibility of escape lies in death; he decides to take his own life.*

quid agimus ... martyr: Malchus’ resolution to kill himself also has numerous precedents in the Greek novel: see MacAlister (1996: 1–83). In the Latin novel cf. Apul. *Met.* 4.3 and 4.24–5; Encolpius’ attempt at self-castration at Petr. 132.7 may be a variation on this motif.

quid agimus . . . ? perimus an uincimus? expectamus ... confodimur?: these are deliberative questions, but they are not in the subjunctive. Handford (1947: 62–3) argues that situations like that at Plaut. *Ep.* 693 *quid ago? – quid agas?* should be explained by treating the first *ago* not as an indicative but as ‘a survival of the IE long vowel subj[unctive] with which we are familiar in Greek’. When this origin was forgotten, the

indicative was used by analogy in other forms, e.g. Plaut. *Mil.* 250 *quid agimus?* Cf. *TLL* I.1379.62ff.

Jerome's use does not precisely accord with Plautus' and may be a false archaism. Bennett (1910–14: 1.22–3) holds that in Old Latin comedy the indicative present is only used in the 'consultative' category of deliberative questions, i.e. to ask somebody else's advice. According to Sjögren (1906: 81ff.) the indicative is only very rarely used to cover the category of 'purely deliberative' questions, which are typical of soliloquy and generally express uncertainty or despair. The only exception to this rule is Terence, *Phorm.* 736: *quid ago?*, where Sjögren interprets the soliloquy as imagined conversation. The same case could be made for our passage by claiming Malchus is asking his soul for advice; but the context is so different that this is not a very strong defence against the charge of false archaism.

Another possible model is Virg. *Aen.* 4.534–6, where two deliberative present subjunctives (*experiar*, *petam*) are co-ordinated with *quid ago?* in the indicative present: *en, quid ago? rursusne procos inrisa priores / experiar, Nomadumque petam conubia supplex, / quos ego sim totiens iam dedignata maritos?* Both Austin and Pease hold that Dido's *quid ago?* should be interpreted as meaning 'what am I doing?' rather than a deliberative question 'what am I to do?' because *en* is elsewhere used with non-deliberative questions: Persius 3.5 and 5.154 *en, quid agis?*; Prud. *Apoth.* 470 *en, quid ago?* But this interpretation cannot be applied to our passage, where the present indicative is used in a string of questions whose tone is unambiguously deliberative as they refer to the choice between possible actions.

Another, more important parallel is Ps.-Quint. *Decl. mai.* 13.3 *quid agimus? inquam*. The declamation is an important intertext for the *VM* (cf. Introduction 2.2.6). I am unsure whether the grammatical explanation of the indicative question here is any

different from the other cases; it does seem deliberative (or despairing) in its context, at any rate.

quid agimus, anima?: a favourite phrase of Jerome's. The same three words also occur at Jer. *Ep.* 60.5.1 and 108.27.1. Scourfield's comment on *Ep.* 60.5.1 (1993: 112) does not mention the parallel in the *VM*.

anima: a vocative of self-address. Elsewhere *anima* can be used to address another person: Dickey (2002: 158–9) finds that the vocative *anima* is predominantly used in the middle to lower register, mainly to address women and often by female speakers or writers: cf. Cic. *Fam.* 14.14.2; Phaedr. 3.1.5; Apul. *Met.* 5.6. In inscriptions the word is used to address women (e.g. *CIL* IV.2413h) as well as men or boys (e.g. *CIL* IV. 4783). Among the Vindolanda tablets there is a group of letters in which a woman (in her own handwriting) address another woman as *anima mea*: *Tab. Vindol.* II.291.12; 292 b Back 3–4; 293.1 (conjectured). A man, Fronto, is addressed as *anima* by Marcus Aurelius *ap. Front.* 2.10.3 p. 30 line 13 van den Hout: *desiderantissime homo et tuo Vero carissime, consul amplissime, magister dulcissime, uale mi semper anima dulcissima*. These uses might be taken to support the view that Malchus is here addressing the woman; but self-address is guaranteed by the use of the second person singular in the following as Malchus resolves to commit suicide: *uerte in te gladium; tua magis mors timenda est quam corporis*.

While in classical Latin it is not usual to have *anima* as a vocative of self-address, the self-addressing vocative *anima mea* occurs several times in the Latin of the Vulgate, especially in the Psalms: PsG 41:6 *quare tristis es* (PsH *quare incuruaris*) *anima mea et quare conturbas me?* (repeated at 41.12 and 42:5); 102:1 *benedic anima mea Domino* (repeated at 102:2, 102:22; 103:1, 103: 35); 114:7 *conuertere anima mea in requiem tuam*; 145:2 *lauda anima mea Dominum*. The only instance of the vocative *anima* without

mea occurs at Lk. 12:19 *et dicam animae meae / anima habes multa bona posita in annos plurimos / requiesce comedere bibe epulare*, but it is directly preceded by the familiar combination *animae meae*.

Jerome's habitual use of the vocative of *anima* without a possessive pronoun (for other passages see previous note) is unusual when compared to both classical Latin and to the Vulgate.

There are numerous precedents in classical literature for addressing one's own soul and thus rhetorically to separate the 'I' from 'my soul'. In Homeric poetry we find 'the tendency to treat parts of the self, the *thymos*, *phrenes*, and *kradie*, not as if they were normally subdivisions of the self, but rather as virtually separate individuals' (Russo and Simon 1968: 484; cf. Dodds 1951: 16, Williams 1968: 461). Petronius draws attention to this tradition at *Sat.* 132.13 where Encolpius defends himself for arguing with his penis: *non et Vlixes cum corde litigat suo?* In Chariton characters address their ψυχή in two places: 3.2.9 καρτέρησον, ψυχή, προθεσμίαν σύντομον, ἵνα τὸν πλείω χρόνον ἀπολαύσης ἀσφαλοῦς ἡδονῆς ('endure, O soul, a brief delay in order to enjoy safe pleasure for a longer time'); 6.1.9 σκέψαι τί σοι πρακτέον ἐστίν, ὦ ψυχή ('consider, O soul, what you must do'). As in the present passage, these vocatives are not qualified by a possessive pronoun. For other instances of self-address in Jerome's *Vitae* cf. *VH* 32.4 *egredere, anima mea, quid dubitas?* and *VH* 3.4:

iratus itaque sibi et pectus pugnīs uerberans, quasi cogitationes caede manus posset excludere: 'ego te,' inquit, 'aselle, faciam ut non calcitres, nec te hordeo alam sed paleis, fame te conficiam et siti, graui onerabo pondere, per aestus indagabo et frigora, ut cibum potius quam lasciuiam cogites.'

perimus, an ... martyr: these lines contain a chaotic diversity of numbers and tenses in the verbs used. This chaos can be read as reflecting Malchus' inner turmoil. He

attempts to divide his self into body and soul but fails to convey clarity about the activities of each part.

uerte in te gladium: imperative of self-address. The second person must be taken to refer to the whole of Malchus rather than to his soul in particular (see next note).

tua magis mors timenda est quam corporis: ‘your death’ must be the death of the soul because it is contrasted with the death of the body. The referent of the pronoun oscillates between Malchus and his soul. Here the soul is considered as saved when the sword is turned against the body in a dualistic statement. Cf. also Aen. 4.703 *teque isto corpore soluo*: Iris addresses the dying Dido (*te*) and separates her conceptually from *istud corpus* which her *anima* (4.695), *calor*, and *uita* (4.705) are leaving.

habet et pudicitia seruata martyrium suum: ‘the preservation of chastity also has its own martyrdom.’ The third person present indicative is used to formulate the general principle for Malchus’ decision. Leclerc translates ‘La preservation de la chasteté implique elle aussi un martyre qui lui est propre’ (my emphasis), and Morales explains in his note ad loc.: ‘La virginité est considérée comme *égale en dignité* au martyre’ (my emphasis). These modifications do not sufficiently explain the thrust of the Latin phrase. Malchus does not say that being chaste is *like* being a martyr, but that suicide can be a valid form of ‘martyrdom’ if this is the only way to preserve one’s chastity.

The structure *habet ... suum* with a subject and an object is occasionally used in Latin to express certain laws of nature or experience: e.g. Sen. *Contr.* 9.5.7 *habet sua iura natura*; Sen. *Nat. Quaest.* 7.23.3 *cometes habet suam sedem*. Particularly illuminating for our case is Ov. *Am.* 1.9.1, where the phrase *habet sua castra Cupido* ‘Cupid too has his camps’ implies that the camps are not of the conventional military type; cf. the proverbial expression ‘virtue has its own reward’, which implies that this reward may not be of the usual type, i.e. not material. Jerome has the same structure at *Ep.* 22.2.1 *habent enim et*

maritatae ordinem suum (with Adkin 2003: 27): he concedes the worth of married life but presents this worth as constricted, inferior to virginity. Here, Malchus' statement can be taken to mean that the need to preserve his chastity by death would make that death into an instance of martyrdom, even if it would be an unusual (and not a universally accepted) type of martyrdom.

pudicitia seruata: this is what I read in all of the five manuscripts of which I have copies. Morales (1991: 56) reads *seruanda* in the Neapolitanus and three other manuscripts. Winterbottom (2008: 373) prefers the participle; his observation that the gerundive is 'influenced by *timenda*' in the preceding sentence is acute and pertinent. The two options are all but identical in meaning. Laughton (1964: 87) notes the similarity of this use of the gerundive with the *ab urbe condita* construction.¹³ 'The effective difference between the gerundive and the past participle, when used in this way, is that the participle expresses an action as complete, the gerundive as incomplete or prospective.' The use of the gerundive with the subject of a sentence, previously thought to originate with Liv. 2.13.2 *adeo mouerat eum ... subeunda dimicatio totiens*, in fact occurs as early as Cic. *Mur.* 42 *cogendi iudices inuiti retinendi contra uoluntatem* ('the fact that the judges had to be collected etc.': Laughton pp. 89–92). See also Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 393–4) for the use of the participle or gerundive with a noun instead of a verbal substantive with the genitive (here instead of **seruatio pudicitiae*, 'the preservation of chastity'). They observe that the gerundive comes to be used as a future passive participle in later Latin, which makes the use in the nominative more

¹³ 'A well-known participial usage in Latin ... whereby a predicative participle, usually past, coalesces with its noun in such a way that the two together form a complex of substantival character, capable of standing as subject or object of a verb, or of being governed by a preposition. This complex, in which the meaning of the participle predominates, is in many modern languages often best translated by a verbal noun with dependent genitive ('the foundation of the city'), though [...] such a translation does not do justice to the precision of the Latin idiom.' (Laughton 1964: 84).

straightforward. The choice between past participle and gerundive is therefore one of tense, and this means that it depends on the perspective of the speaker: does Malchus view his martyrdom as one to be undergone, or is he proleptically contemplating the result? The following phrase, *iaceat insepultus Christi testis in eremo*, which looks to the time after his death, suggests the latter option.

iaceat insepultus Christi testis in eremo: the jussive subjunctive expresses a reference to the future. It is odd that *Christi testis* is the subject which will lie ‘unburied in the desert’, because it undoes the separation between body and soul which Malchus has striven to establish; and moreover he has just identified with his soul in contrast with his body. Perhaps the solution lies in the cult of martyrs’ bodies which emerges in the third and fourth centuries. The point would then be that Malchus’ body, lying unburied with his wounds for all to see, will be the visible proof of Malchus’ status as *Christi testis*.

insepultus: Malchus’ concern to lie unburied is not to be taken for granted. According to the Christian/Neoplatonist principles which he has expressed so far, the fate of the body should matter very little to the ‘liberated’ soul. [For the corresponding Stoic attitude cf. the following anecdote from Sen. *Dial.* 9.14.3:

Minabatur Theodoro philosopho tyrannus mortem et quidem insepultam: ‘habes’ inquit ‘cur tibi placeas, hemina sanguinis in tua potestate est; nam quod ad sepulturam pertinet, o te ineptum, si putas mea interesse, supra terram an infra putrescam.’]

On the other hand, in classical literature unburied bodies are considered an outrage, and denial of burial is a sacrilege which is either used for the worst possible punishment for a criminal (e.g. *Anth. Gr.* 9.498, of the body of a matricide; Val. Max. 6.3.1d *sed quia statum ciuitatis conati erant conuellere, insepulta cadauera iacuerunt supremusque humanae condicionis honos filiis Gracchi et nepotibus Africani defuit*) or as a sign of supreme callousness and hubris of the one who denies burial (e.g. Liv. 1.49.1 *inde L. Tarquinius regnare occepit, cui Superbo cognomen facta indiderunt, quia*

socerum gener sepultura prohibuit, Romulum quoque insepultum perisse dictitans; 24.21.3 *insepultum iacere corpus*). The dilemma resulting from these two interpretations – just punishment versus religious taboo – is addressed in Soph. *Ant.* and in the second half of *Ajax*, in Aesch. *Septem* and Eur. *Phoen.*, and it recurs in declamatory exercises of the Second Sophistic period ([Quint.] *Decl. min.* 299; cf. 274). It was thought that burial of a person's body was a condition for their shade's successful entrance into the underworld: e.g. *Il.* 23.71–4 (Patroclus); Virg. *Aen.* 6.337–83 (Palinurus). For the pathetic commonplace cf. *Anth. Gr.* 7.247 (quoted in Plut. *Tit. Flam.* 9.2); Plut. *Quomodo adul.* 17c; Nonnus 10.107; Cic. *Inv.* 1.108 *inimicorum in manibus mortuus est, hostili in terra turpiter iacuit insepultus, a feris diu uexatus, communi quoque honore in morte caruit*. It seems that for the sake of increasing the emotional effect of the speech Jerome allows Malchus to have recourse to pagan theology and morality.

ipse mihi ero et persecutor et martyr: future tense. The paradox points up an intrinsic dilemma of suicide: it is not only death (passive) but also an act of violence which can be seen as wicked. Presumably we are to understand that the reward for martyrdom will eventually outweigh the punishment for being a persecutor. Morales gives four references in Christian writers of the fourth century condoning suicide under similar circumstances. The only plausible parallel of these is Chrysostom, *Homiliae in S. Pelagiam Duo*, PG 50, 579–86, where Pelagia hurls herself from a roof to escape a forced marriage; cf. the catalogue of dedicated pagan virgins, many of whom chose death rather than losing their virginity, at Jer. *Adv. Iov.* 1.41.

Malchus' claim to be a persecutor should probably be read as a rhetorical exaggeration. For the type of paradox cf. Tac. *Ann.* 3.28.1 *suarumque legum auctor idem ac subuersor*: according to the commentary by Woodman and Martin (1996: 256) this

parodies a pattern found e.g. at Liv. 6.36.7 *quarum legum auctor fuerat, earum suasorem se ... ferebat*.

§6. *Malchus draws his sword and bids farewell to the woman.*

sic fatus: a primarily epic phrase. It occurs ten times in the *Aeneid* to correspond to Homer's formula Ὡς ἔφατ(ο) which marks the transition from speech into action. Virgil's use is imitated by Lucan (twelve times), Valerius Flaccus (three times), Silius Italicus (three times), Statius (nine times) and Claudian (six times). There is one instance each in Ov. (*Fast.* 6.129) and in Apuleius (*Met.* 6.23), the only other ancient occurrence in prose.

Laurand (1926: 94–5) shows that Cicero rarely uses *for, fari* except a) in the highly pathetic formula *ne fando quidem auditus* at *Quinct.* 71 and *Nat.* 1.82; b) once at *Tim.* 40 in a context charged with religious associations: *deus ... fatur*; c) twice in verse, translating Eur. *Or.* 1–3 at *Tusc.* 4.63 and Hom. *Il.* 7.89–91 at *Trad. Hom. Il.* fr. 3, p. 351 Müller. The compound verb *effari* is described as old-fashioned and stylistically high by Cicero, *De or.* 3.153:

inuitata sunt prisca fere ac uetustate ab usu cotidiani sermonis iam diu intermissa, quae sunt poetarum licentiae liberiora quam nostrae; sed tamen raro habet etiam in oratione poeticum aliquod uerbum dignitatem. neque enim illud fugerim dicere ut Coelius: 'qua tempestate Poenus in Italiam uenit,' nec 'prolem' aut 'subolem' aut '**effari**' aut 'nuncupari' aut, ut tu soles, Catule 'non rebar' aut 'opinabar'; aut alia multa, quibus loco positus grandior atque antiquior oratio saepe uideri solet.

The only other form of *for, fari* in Jerome's LLT-A corpus is a quotation from his own translation of Is. 59:3 *lingua uestra iniquitatem fatur* at *In Is.* 16.59.3–4.

acumine contra me uerso: cf. perhaps Petron. 132.7: *conditusque lectulo totum ignem furoris in eam conuerti, quae mihi omnium malorum causa fuerat*. The phrase

echoes 6.5 *mucrone* and *uerte in te gladium*, and is echoed by the woman at 6.7 *in me primum uerte mucronem*.

uale, inquam ... maritum: this address to the woman, intended to be the first and the last words ever spoken to her, should be taken as sarcastic and contemptuous. Malchus only views the woman as temptation personified and thus as another agent of the devil. This is not to say that we should take for granted that Malchus is attracted by the woman and that his speech represents a rhetorical attempt to control his sexual urge. While this possibility plays a part in Malchus' struggle insofar as all women are traditionally regarded as dangerous to a monk's virtue (cf. below on 6.8), it conflicts with the expression of mutual aversion at 6.3. Malchus' main emotion seems to be sheer panic at the thought that he has been caught – again! – in the situation of forced marriage, a scenario from which he escaped at the beginning of his story (3.1). The recurrence of this situation reinforces his fear and loathing, and there may be a sense that the devil will not give up until he sees Malchus married and thus defeated in his struggle to remain a monk. From this point of view, the thought of death as the only escape appears compelling enough.

At the same time this concluding remark, intended to be the first and final address of the woman, reminds us of her presence and provides the cue for her to prove herself as a Christian agent in her own right.

Fuhrmann (1976: 65) compares this scene to Ach. Tat. 3.16–17 and Iambl. *Babyl. Epit. Phot.* 18. In both of these a suicide over a corpse presumed to be that of the beloved is narrowly prevented by the intervention of friends. While the sequence of speech and action in this scene is very similar, the relationships in Malchus' case are very different: he intends to kill himself not for the sake of a dead beloved but to protect himself, and is saved not by his friends but by his supposed enemy.

uale: for this word in the speech of a dying person cf. Virg. *Aen.* 11.827 (Camilla addressing Acca); Ov. *Am.* 2.6.48 *clamauit moriens lingua 'Corinna, uale'*; Met. 2.363; Stat. *Theb.* 11.187 *iamque uale, coniunx, dulcesque ualete Mycenae*; Suet. *Aug.* 99.1 *repente in osculis Liuiæ et in hac uoce defecit: Liuiæ, nostri coniugii memor uiue, ac uale!*; Pass. *Perp.* 21.4 *'uale', inquit, 'et memento fidei et mei.'* In Virgil *uale* is often used in the last words of the speech of (the apparition of) a character who is already dead: Creusa at *Aen.* 2.789, Anchises at *Aen.* 5.738, and Eurydice at *Geo.* 4.497; other than that, in Aeneas' farewell to Pallas at *Aen.* 11.98 and in the speech of the dying Camilla at *Aen.* 11.827.¹⁴ In the context of suicide e.g. Ov. *Her.* 9.165–8 *iamque uale, seniorque pater germanaque Gorge / et patria et patriæ frater adempte tuæ, / et tu lux oculis hodierna nouissima nostris / uirque (sed o possis!) et puer Hylle, uale.*

infelix: this vocative expresses scorn rather than compassion. For this continuum see Dickey (2002: 186–8; 333). Dido uses the word (with a tragic colouring) in her self-address at *Aen.* 4.596; the same word is used of her at 1.712, 1.749, 4.68, 4.450, 4.529, 5.3, 6.456.

habeto me martyrem potius quam maritum: *martyrem ... maritum* is a classic instance of paronomasia (*adnominatio*) as defined at *Rhet. Her.* 4.29: *adnominatio est, cum ad idem uerbum et nomen acceditur commutatione uocum aut litterarum, ut ad res dissimiles similia uerba adcommoventur.* Here the syllable *-tyr-* in *martyrem* is changed to *-rit-* in *maritum*; this second concept, if not logically opposed to *martyr*, is at least on the opposite end of the ascetic's value chart. *habeto* is weak in sense: it is the definition which matters (see *TLL* VI.3.2423.23ff., e.g. Plaut. *Cas.* 356 *hariolum hunc (sc. seruum) habeo domi*; *Rhet. Her.* 3.38 *non omnes habemus adsensores*). Cf. the woman's retort at

¹⁴ These references almost exhaust the use of *uale* in Virgil: the only occurrence in a death-free context is *Ecl.* 3.78–9 *Phyllida amo ante alias: nam me discedere fleuit, / et longum 'formonse, uale uale', inquit, 'Tolla.'*

6.7: *habeto me ergo coniugem pudicitiae*, another instance of *habeto* with a surprising use of the predicative. The woman reconciles the contrasts in one apparent oxymoron, whereas Malchus here presents such reconciliation as impossible.

§7: *The woman's proposal*

The woman solves Malchus' desperate dilemma. She thus represents both temptation (although this is never explicitly acknowledged) and shrewdness; her namelessness is probably designed to make her universally representative of the female gender (Kech 1977: 209 n. 130). Kech (1977: 165) points out the problematic aspects of her ingenious compromise formula *habeto me ergo coniugem pudicitiae*: while it seems to do justice to all sides, it tricks the Saracen master. The fraudulence of this solution is not presented as morally dubious within the narrative; nor, at 8.3, is Malchus' use of his master's goats at and the couple's secret flight.

prouoluta pedibus meis: cf. 3.6 *prouolutus genibus* used of the abbot, with note on the various combinations of words to describe the gesture. In contrast to *adoratio* (5.1 with note) this gesture is clearly one of supplication, not veneration: cf. *VH* 7.1 *repente genibus eius aduoluta*.

Supplicatory gestures of this type are common in the Greek novel, not only of entreaties but also mainly to express emotion: e.g. Chariton 3.5.5, Xen. *Eph.* 2.7.5; 2.11.8; 3.5.8; 3.8.4; 5.10.11; Longus 3.18.1, 4.10.1; Heliod. 10.34.6.

'precor te', inquit, 'per Iesum, per huius horae necessitatem rogo': the beginning of the woman's speech is carefully constructed. Two synonymous verbs in parataxis are placed at the beginning and at the end to give a chiasmic structure, while the

objects of both appeals are arranged in parallel structure with anaphora of *per*. The second clause (*per huius horae necessitatem rogo*) is weightier than the first insofar as it has more syllables and contains an additional genitive; but from a semantic point of view *per Iesum* is the most effective part of her plea as it signals her commitment to the same values as Malchus.

For the form of the supplication cf. Apul. *Met.* 4.30:

‘per ego te’, inquit, ‘maternae caritatis foedera deprecor, per tuae sagittae dulcia uulnera, per flammae istius mellitas uredines, uindictam tuae parenti, sed plenam tribue et in pulchritudinem contumacem seueriter uindica idque unum et pro omnibus unicum uolens effice eqs.’;

and Apul. *Met.* 6.2:

per ego te frugiferam tuam dexteram istam deprecor, per laetificas messium caerimonias, per tacita secreta cistarum et per famulorum tuorum draconum pinnata curricula et glebae Siculae sulcamina et currum rapacem et terram tenacem et inluminarum Proserpinae nuptiarum demeacula et luminosarum filiae inuentionum remeacula et cetera, quae silentio tegit Eleusinis Atticae sacrarium, miserandae Psyche animae, supplicis tuae, subsiste.

ne effundas sanguinem tuum: the wording recalls Malchus’ hesitation to have his blood shed by his master in 6.2: *illico fudisset sanguinem*. Earlier Malchus himself shrank from straightforward martyrdom; now the woman seems to thwart his aspiration to martyrdom again, after Malchus has finally made up his mind.

According to Morales’ table (1991: 57) eight manuscripts add *in sanguinem meum* after *tuum*, a reading shared by the Monacensis, Parisinus, and Laurentianus; the Sessorianus has *pro sanguine meo*. These additions do not appear in the Neapolitanus, and they should be rejected. The repetition of *sanguis* is not in itself suspect. Jerome is unusually fond of adapting the Old Latin formula *sanguen sanguine miscere* (Accius *trag.* fr. 83 Ribbeck p. 146: *sanguine sanguen miscere suo*), e.g. *In Osee 1.4.1–2 et pro scientia Dei ... sanguis sanguinem tetigit, siue sanguinem sanguini miscuerunt, ut augerent peccata peccatis*. But *in sanguinem meum* and *pro sanguine meo* are nonsensical if they mean ‘on account of my blood’. *pro sanguine meo* in the sense ‘instead of my blood’ is

unattractive for two reasons. Either one would have to admit that substantially the same thing is said in the next sentence (*uel si mori placet in me primum uerte mucronem*) and to attribute a weakness of thought to the author. Or else the following sentence would need to be taken to emphasise the word *primum*, meaning ‘but if you still want to die, at least kill me *first* [sc. rather than second, which is hardly a practicable alternative]’. It is not worth pointing out that she wants to be killed first: it is a necessary consequence from her statement that she wants to be killed. It therefore seems correct to delete all of these variant phrases as interpolations, quite apart from the fact that they do not appear in the best witnesses to the text.

uel si mori placet, in me primum uerte mucronem: the woman wants Malchus to live; only if he is determined to die does she want to die with him. Again her words recall the narrator’s own language: *in me ... uerte mucronem* is a variation on *acumine contra me uerso* at 6.6.

sic nobis potius coniungamur: words based on *iungo* cluster in this chapter: *coniungamur* recalls *coniugem* at 6.3, and the woman goes on to use *iungaris*, *iungi*, and *coniugem* in the second half of 6.7.

etiam si uir meus ad me rediret seruarem castitatem quam me captiuitas docuit: the conditions in which Malchus recovered his monastic status have had a similar effect on the woman: although she is not a virgin any more, she has renounced sexual intercourse and is prepared even to deny her husband his marital rights. The alliteration of *castitatem* and *captiuitas* brings out a correspondence between the two concepts in the woman’s thought. The choice of *docuit* is significant: we may compare the way in which Malchus refers to the teaching which he received at the monastery (5.4). *seruarem castitatem* recalls Malchus’ *pudicitia seruata* (6.5) and contrasts with *perderem* (6.7, next note). It is not explicitly separation from her husband but the experience of captivity to

which the woman's conversion to chastity is attributed. This seems an odd theory, but it is explained in the Greek translation (Van den Ven 1900: 441): ἡ γὰρ θλίψις αὐτῇ προσφεύγειν ἡμᾶς τῷ Κυρίῳ πρὸς οἰκείαν ἀσφάλειαν παιδεύει ('for this affliction teaches us to flee towards the Lord for our own safety').

uel interirem ante quam perderem: a less pathetic and more concise echo of Malchus' sentiments at 6.4: *tua magis mors timenda est quam corporis* and *habet et pudicitia seruata martyrium suum. perderem* echoes 3.6 *ne me perderem*, 5.5 *monachum quem in patria fueram perditurus* (with note), and 6.4 *monachum coepi plangere quem perdebam*.

cur moreris, ne mihi iungaris? ego morerer, si iungi uelles: again the woman uses plain language to expose Malchus' pathos and to point out the flaw in his desperate arguments. The parallel structure of question and statement with their shared words *mori* and *iungi* mirrors the agreement of Malchus and the woman on this point.

The simplex *iungaris*, *iungi* twice picks up the preceding compound *coniungamur* without any real difference in meaning. While this appears to be an Indo-European pattern (Watkins 1966) and appears in Latin as early as the Twelve Tables (8.12 *si nox furtum faxsit, si im occisit, iure caesus esto*) it had probably become artificial by the fourth century (Adams 1992, 1995: 635–6; see also Wills 1996: 438–43 for the use of this pattern in verse).

habeto me ergo coniugem pudicitiae: an echo of Malchus' last sentence: *habeto me martyrem potius quam maritum*.

coniugem pudicitiae: an unparalleled collocation to underline the boldness of the woman's suggestion. 'Partner in chastity' seems the best translation.

et magis animae copulam amato quam corporis: the phrasing is odd: the meaning we would expect is that Malchus is to love *her*, either *because of* the connection

of their souls or *by means of* a joining of souls not body. Instead the woman says that Malchus should ‘love the joining of souls’, which sounds rather abstract, especially when we consider how clearly she has expressed herself so far.

For *animae copula* cf. 2.3 *quaenam esset ... copula, matrimonii, sanguinis, an spiritus*.

sperent domini maritum: *spero* in the sense ‘expect, believe’ is paralleled in the Vetus Latina (Rönsch 1887–89: 3.77), in other *Vitae Patrum* (Hofmann *IF* 1926: 121), and in Pelagonius (*fl.* probably in the later fourth century: Adams 1995: 3) *Ars* 183.1; 183.2 *ne dolorem uentris sperans medellas et curas strofo praebeas*; 210.1 (Adams 1995: 153, 155 with note 11). Jameson discusses *sperent* in the light of the Greek translation νομίσωσι and advises printing *credant*, which is not well represented in the manuscripts. Adams (1995: 155 n. 11) points out that Pelagonius’ *sperans* at *Ars* 183.2 is translated with a form of νομίζω at *Hipp. Ber.* 62.5 (*Corpus Hippiatricorum Graecorum* I, Oder and Hoppe 1924: 254.15).

Christus nouerit fratrem: *fratrem* is best understood as an elliptic indirect statement, viz. [*te esse*] *fratrem* [*meum*], because the point is that Malchus and the woman are to treat each other as brother and sister (cf. 10.3: *diligens eam ut sororem, non tamen ei me credens ut sorori*). ‘Christ knows the brother’ would mean that Malchus is a brother of Christ, and Christ knows that he is.

facile persuadebimus nuptias: another elliptic expression, meaning ‘We will persuade (them) easily (that there exists between us a state) of wedlock.’

cum nos uiderint sic amare: if the couple’s love is to be proved to the masters it must show itself in their conduct; at the same time it is clear that in a chaste Christian relationship this conduct does not include the gestures of physical love. The woman appears to trust that the Saracens, despite their obvious lack of finer sensibilities (or at

least this is the way in which Malchus portrays them) will appreciate the signs of unanimity and affection (rather than sexual attraction) which the spiritual relationship which she proposes will produce between her and Malchus.

§8: *Malchus' reaction*

fateor, obstupui: parenthetical *fateor*, without accusative and infinitive for the content of the statement goes back to comedy: Plaut. *Aul.* 88 *pauper sum; fateor, patior*; Plaut. *Pseud.* 913, 1313, Ter. *Adel.* 188 *leno sum, fateor*, with Stockert (1983: 52); *Heaut.* 158. See also *TLL* VI.1.337.9ff.; Hofmann (ed. Ricottilli 2003: 251); Adams (2003b: 554–5) on parenthetical *potest fieri* and other forms in low-register Latin (and the survival of parenthetical *potest fieri* into Romance, e.g. French ‘peut-être’).

uirtutem feminae: depending on the emphasis one gives to *uir* in *uirtus* this combination can be read as another oxymoron.

coniuge plus amaui: I print the ablative form instead of the accusative chosen by Morales. ‘I loved my wife more’ is incongruous after the statement *uterque detestamur alterutrum* at 6.3, and too weak after the description of Malchus’ amazement and reassessment of her character.

In comedy the phrase *plus amo* is only combined with *quam*, not the ablative of comparison, e.g. Plaut. *Ep.* 66 *plusque amat quam te umquam amaui*, Ter. *Adel.* 903 *te amat plus quam hosce oculos*; with the ablative it is found in Catullus, e.g. 3.5, 14.1 *ni te plus oculis meis amarem*. In general the ablative of comparison is more frequent in classical poetry, often in a context of intense affection: Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 108).

Neville (1901: 70) defends the use of the ablative of comparison with *plus* in classical Latin. He only looks for examples where the ablative follows, not precedes, *plus*; but other words for which the same rules hold can definitely follow the ablative, e.g. Cic. *Q. Rosc. 9 triennio amplius* (Neville 1901: 73).

numquam tamen illius nudum corpus intuitus sum, numquam carnem tetigi, timens in pace perdere quod in proelio seruaueram: Malchus' emphasis on the absence of conjugal familiarity is in keeping with the precautions against sexual temptation taken by monks elsewhere. An extreme example is *Vitae Patrum* 5.4.68 (PL 73.873): a monk carrying his aged mother across a stream wraps his hands in his *pallium* to avoid touching her body; his reason is *quia corpus mulieris ignis est*. In Jerome cf. e.g. *Adv. Iov. 1.7*, quoting 1 Cor. 7:1 *bonum est homini mulierem non tangere* (a phrase frequently repeated by Jerome), and continuing

simulque animaduertenda est Apostoli prudentia. non dixit, bonum est uxorem non habere: sed, bonum est mulierem non tangere: quasi et in tactu periculum sit: quasi qui illam tetigerit, non uadat, quae uirorum pretiosas animas rapit, quae facit adolescentium euolare corda: alligabit quis in sinu ignem, et non comburetur? aut ambulabit super carbones ignis, et non ardebit? quomodo igitur qui ignem tetigerit, statim aduritur: ita uiri tactus et feminae sentit naturam suam, et diuersitatem sexus intelligit.

At the same time we must notice the Apostle's prudence. He did not say, it is good not to have a wife: but, it is good not to touch a woman: as though there were danger even in the touch: as though he who touched her, would not escape from her who hunts for the precious life, who causes the young man's understanding to fly away. Can a man take fire in his bosom, and his clothes not be burned? Or can one walk upon hot coals, and his feet not be scorched? As then he who touches fire is instantly burned, so by the mere touch the peculiar nature of man and woman is perceived, and the difference of sex is understood. (NPNF 2, 6:350).

Morales prints *feruere* between *tetigi* and *timens*. This must be a misprint: there is no trace of this word in the manuscripts I have seen, and it does not make any sense here. It may be a curious case of dittography from the last word of the first sentence at 7.2 *aspicio formicarum gregem angusto calle feruere*.

perdere ... seruare: cf. notes on 5.5 and 6.4 on *perdere monachum*.

in pace ... in proelio: this is part of the military imagery which is prominent in the VM, especially in chapter 1.

§9: *The outcome of the crisis*

transeunt in tali matrimonio dies plurimi: an indication that another long period passes, cf. 3.5 *post multos annos*, 7.1 *post grande interuallum*.

in tali matrimonio: ‘this kind of marriage’ answers Jerome’s initial question at 2.3 *quaenam esset eorum copula, matrimonii, sanguinis, an spiritus*, which prompts Malchus’ narrative.

amabiliores nos dominis fecerant nuptiae: a confirmation of the woman’s prediction at 6.7 *facile persuadebimus nuptias cum nos uiderint sic amare*. Malchus now calls the union *nuptiae* without making clear that it is only pretended: at this point that should be taken for granted.

nulla fugae suspicio: the masters’ confidence in Malchus’ fidelity indicates that they believe the marriage had the desired effect of making him more faithful (*quo fidum sibi magis faceret*, 6.2). Although it occurs in negated form, the mention of the possibility of flight prepares the reader for the adventure which lies ahead in chapters 8–10.

interdum et mense toto aberam fidus gregis pastor per solitudinem: Malchus resumes his quasi-monastic existence (cf. 5.3–5): a *fidus ... pastor*, he is about to break his faith with his master in the following chapter.

mense toto: on the ablative instead of the accusative of duration as a Latin innovation see Löfstedt (1911: 52–4): he cites Cat. 109.5 *ut liceat nobis tota perducere uita* as the first example of this substitution. As here, the change seems to have been

facilitated by the presence of *totus* which in itself expresses duration. Cf. Caes. *BG* 1.26.5 *tota nocte*; more instances are found in Caesar's later *BC*. Almost completely avoided by Cicero, Virgil, and Horace, the durative ablative becomes more normal in Propertius, Ovid, and Petronius (but not in the fastidious stylists Tacitus and Gellius).

Ch. 7: Malchus Decides to Return to the Monastery

Although content in his situation as chaste husband and shepherd, Malchus is seized with longing for the monastery which he abandoned (§1). The virtues of the cenobitic monastic life are illustrated by his observation of a colony of ants (§2). He wishes to imitate their labour and their concern for the community (§3). The implication is that such a community life is only possible among cenobitic monks, and that it is superior to his individualistic monasticism. There is no discussion in this chapter of the additional complication of his attachment to the woman (*VM* 6).

The chapter is particularly significant for the polemical purposes of the *VM* as it juxtaposes the eremitical life with cenobitic monasticism and champions the latter (cf. de Vogüé 2007: 80–1). The respective status of different monastic models was becoming an object of debate in the late fourth century. Basil, Cassian, and Pachomius all wrote rules for monastic communities. Jerome actively participated in this debate, e.g. by translating the Rule of Pachomius into Latin; see also Jer. *Ep.* 22.34–7. The *VM* appears as an attempt to construct a precedent for Jerome's own version of monastic life with Paula in a double community of monks and nuns (de Vogüé 1991–2007: 2.100–101). That Jerome was concerned in his hagiographic works to create aetiologies for existing models of monastic life is clear from the *VP*'s construction of a predecessor for Antony, while the *VH* shows the continuity of Antony's tradition, moving it from Egypt to Palestine and then all over the Mediterranean.

In the narrative construction of the *VM* this chapter provides a moment of rest between the adventures of the preceding and following chapters. Malchus does nothing except sit in the desert, reflect, and observe the ants. His contemplation initiates the final and climactic episode of adventure in the *VM*. The decision which leads to this climax is

narrated in two stages. First he fondly recalls life in the monastery which he abandoned; then the observation of the ants sharpens this vague nostalgia into a positive decision for a way of life which does not only embrace chastity but also community. The example of the ants is the stimulus for Malchus to make this decision and to act on it.

A novelistic parallel for a description of a natural spectacle with a moralising interpretation may be Ach. Tat. 1.15–18, where the narrator Clitophon suggestively describes a garden, explains the courtship rituals of peacocks to his beloved, and expands on the power of love more generally.

§1. *Malchus' nostalgia for the monastery*

post grande interuallum: cf. 3.5 *post multos annos*: Malchus twice indicates the passage of long periods of time. In this way the plot is made to cover almost all of Malchus' life, although it has been described by Fuhrmann (1976: 59) as a single complete action and therefore 'keine Lebensbeschreibung.'

The substitution of *grandis* for *magnus* in later Latin and Romance languages has been discussed above (ch. 5.1 *grandi amne transmisso*). There is no parallel for *grande interuallum* before Jerome. In earlier texts *interuallum* with temporal meaning is qualified by *magnus* or *longus*: *TLL* VII.1.2294.43ff. s.v. *intervallum*: 'rei interpositae': Sen. *Q. Nat.* 3.26.6 *post magnum interuallum temporis*; Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.75 *longo post interuallo temporis*.

solus in eremo: this collocation may be a conscious wordplay on 'alone' in Latin and 'deserted' in Greek: see O'Hara (1996: 64–65; 137) for similar, if more complex, juxtapositions of Latin adjectives glossing Greek nouns; cf. O'Hara (1990: 339): '[i]n

64.1–18, Catullus plays on the connection of the name of the ship Argo with the word ἄργός, “swift”, in a way that demonstrates his awareness of earlier etymologies’; see also Cairns (1979: 96–7) on word play on *tener* (Greek ἄβρός) and *Arabs* at Tib. 2.2.4, with references to Varro *LL* 6.96, 7.88–9, etc.

For the use of *eremus*, *solitudo*, and *desertum* in the *Vitae* cf. 3.3 *eremum* with note. Cf. also Ruf. *Hist. mon.* 11.9.3, where the phrase *solus ... in eremo* forms the background for a comparable (albeit diabolical) epiphany: *huic quondam cum solus esset in eremo, desiderium uescendi mellis exortum est, et conuersus uidit in saxo fauum mellis inhaerentem*.

praeter caelum terramque nihil uideo: a vision which is simultaneously grand and empty. The aspect of the desert landscape evokes the first stage of creation at Gen. 1:1 *in principio creauit Deus caelum et terram* (followed by *terra autem erat inanis et uacua eqs.*, Gen. 1:2). It illustrates the type of experience sought by the anchorite monk: to be without distraction and focus solely on communication with the divine. There is an implicit contrast between the perception of these huge entities and the observation of the ants in § 2.

The phrase *caelum terramque* is found twice in Lucretius (5.78, 6.601), as well as in Virgil (*Aen.* 1.133), Seneca (*Q. Nat.* 2.4.1), Statius (*Theb.* 11.692), Lactantius (*Div. Inst.* 4.4.10), and Rufinus (translation of Orig. *De princ.* 2.11.6; translation of Ps.-Clement *Rec.* 3.66.2). In none of these is it combined with *uideo*.

uideo: the first of four words referring to vision in this chapter; the others are *aspicio*, *uideres*, and *spectaculum*. Malchus presents himself as the spectator of a moral stage play enacted by ants and directed by God.

coepi mecum tacitus uoluere: for *coepi* see note on 6.4. This passage and 7.3 *coepi ... desiderare* are the only two out of the *VM*’s five instances of *coepi* to occur in

the first position. The only other instance of *coepi* in first position in Jerome's *Vitae* is VP 3.3, where it does not begin the sentence but comes after a subordinate clause: *quo cum, recedentibus cunctis, meretrix speciosa uenisset, coepit delicatis stringere colla complexibus*. A parallel for *coepi* in first position with a verb of mental activity in colloquial classical Latin is Cic. *Fam.* 7.5.1: *coepi uelle ea Trebatium expectare a te quae sperasset a me* (Löfstedt 1956: 2.450–1, with references to *coepi uelle* in *TLL* III.1424.34ff).

mecum . . . uoluere: cf. VP 16.2 *taliam eo animo uolente*. The phrases *mecum uoluo* and *mecum uoluto* are both relatively rare in Latin and belong to a high stylistic register. In early and classical Latin the combination of *mecum* with the frequentative verb *uoluto* is overwhelmingly more frequent than that with *uoluo*. *mecum uoluto* occurs as early as Plautus (*Mil.* 195–6 *sed quid est, Palaestrio, / quod uolutas tute tecum in corde?*) and is used exclusively by Virgil (*Ecl.* 9.37, *Aen.* 1.50, 4.533, 6.157–8, 10.159, 12.843), followed by Ovid (*Met.* 1.389) and Silius (5.369, 17.185). Among historians, Sallust prefers the non-frequentative form (*Cat.* 32.1, *Iug.* 113.1) while Livy uses both *uoluo* (26.7.3) and *uoluto* (30.14.3, 40.8.5, 42.11.5) and Tacitus only *uoluto* (*Ann.* 4.12.2, 13.15.1).

In later Latin *uoluo* becomes the normal verb for this formula: cf. e.g. Amm. 26.4.3; Ambr. *Exp. Ps.* 118.2.1.2, 19.10.2; Aug. *C. Acad.* 1.4.10, 1.6.18, *Ep.* 7.3.7, *Enarrat.* 86.2, Jer. *In Sophon.* 3.10–13 (CCL 76A p. 705 line 423), VP 8.1, *Ep.* 36.11.1, 108.11.1 (a close parallel, with *coepit* and predicative *tacita*: *statimque ... coepit ... tacita secum uoluere, quomodo eunuchus Aethiops gentium populos praefigurans mutauerit pellem suam eqs.* Only Claudian (*Rapt. Pros.* 1.118 and *Carm. mai.* 20.447) continues to use *mecum uoluto*; Aug. *De Trin.* 15.16 (CCL 50A p. 500) has *mecum uoluto* in a quotation from Virgil, together with a gloss. The combination of predicative *tacitus* with

forms of *mecum uoluto* first occurs in Virg. *Ecl.* 9.37 *id quidem ago et tacitus, Lycida, mecum ipse uoluto*.

mecum uoluere ... recordari ... cogitans: the marked *uariatio sermonis* with three verbs for ‘reflecting’ concentrates on Malchus’ thought process.

inter multa: ‘among many things’; it does not belong with *contubernia* in the same clause.

maximeque uultum patris mei, qui me erudierat, tenuerat, perdiderat: de Vogüé (1991–2007: 2.93) points out the thematic parallels between this passage and the story of the Prodigal Son (Lk. 15:17–19, 24, 32).

maximeque: for redundant *-que* cf. the note on *sicque* at 7.2 below.

patris mei: this is the only time for Malchus to refer to the abbot with the Latin word *pater*; elsewhere (3.6, with note; 10.3) he is called *abbas*, a Greek form from a Semitic root.

erudierat, tenuerat, perdiderat: for this conspicuous tricolon with homoeoteleuton in *-erat* at the end of the sentence cf. Introduction 3.2.1.

§2: *The ants*

The use of depictions or discussions of ants in ancient literature can be broadly classified in three categories. Firstly, the ant can be an object of scientific interest for its own sake, in descriptions of its physical characteristics, its habits, and its place among other creatures, or its significance in the realm of agriculture. Secondly, and perhaps most importantly, the ant frequently functions as a moral example (positive or negative) for human beings in paraenetic genres such as satires or homilies, or in the maxims at the end

of animal fables. A third type of depiction has ants acting as characters in a story which usually does not aspire to ‘realism’ but points to a deeper truth: ants are transformed into human beings (Aeacus and the Myrmidons: Hesiod fr. 205 Merkelbach-West, Hyg. *Fab.* 52, Ov. *Met.* 7.614–57) or humans into ants (Aesop *Fab.* 175 Hausrath); ants assist human beings (Psyche in Apul. *Met.* 6.10) or act as portents (e.g. Ael. *VH* 12.45, Cic. *Div.* 1.78; cf. Val. Max. 1.6.2). This third type of use may be labelled ‘mythical’. There is a significant degree of overlap between the three types, and many depictions of ants can be analysed from all three perspectives. Observations of ants in works on natural history frequently invite interpretation along moralising lines as moral interpretations feed back into scientific literature. The ‘scientific’ and ‘moralising’ categories probably pre-determine the representation of ants in the ‘mythical’, while the ‘mythical’ use generates meaningful and memorable patterns which may influence both observation and interpretation of ants.

For our present purposes it seems sensible not to dwell too much on strict boundaries between the different genres in which these categories are found. They can all be read as reflecting a shared background of a remarkably circumscribed selection of motifs which surface in various combinations. The collection of passages presented here is not designed to be definitive in its enumeration of motifs; nor should the references cited for each motif be taken as exhaustive lists. The presentation in lists ordered by motifs leads to a fragmented view of the relevant literature: passages cited cannot be discussed in their own contexts. My analysis is concerned to illustrate how rich the literary tradition was with regard to the particular features which Jerome selects for the composition of this chapter. This background will also serve to determine to what extent, if any, Jerome’s use of the material can be shown to be original. More comprehensive and

synthetic accounts can be found, for instance, in *RAC*, s.v. ‘Ameise’, in Keller (1909–13: 2.416–20), and in Davies and Kathirithamby (1986: 37–47).

Yet it is worth noting briefly the remarkable consistency of the more or less strictly ‘scientific’ tradition. The descriptions of ants by Aelian (*NA* 2.25, 4.44 Teubner, 6.43, 6.50), Pliny (*NH* 11.108–110), Plutarch (*Soll. an.* 967d–968a), and Philo (*De Animalibus* 42, 91f.) are closely related to one another. In part they go back to Aristotle, (*HA* 488a, 622b, 623b) but they seem to have other shared sources and/or copy each other. All of these authors provide more or less coherent accounts which share a number of preoccupations: cf. Terian (1981: 154). The features which these accounts single out are echoed in Malchus’ observations. Of these natural histories Pliny, the only Latin representative of this genre, is the most likely direct source for the account in *VM* 7. His influence is noted by Leclerc (2007: 42, notes 3 and 4). The following table gives Pliny’s passage in full and juxtaposes it with Jerome’s use of the same motifs (which are in a different order). Verbal parallels are underlined.

Pliny	VM
108 <i>plurima insectorum uermiculum gignunt, nam et formicae similem ouis uere</i>	—
– <i>et hae communicantes laborem ut apes,</i>	<i>laboratur in medium, et cum nihil cuiusquam proprium sit, omnium omnia sunt</i>
<i>sed illae faciunt cibos, haec condunt.</i>	<i>aliae herbarum quaedam semina... trahebant</i>
<i>ac si quis conparet <u>onera corporibus</u> earum, fateatur nullis portione uires esse <u>maiores</u>.</i>	<i>uideres <u>onera maiora quam corpora</u></i>
<i>gerunt ea morsu</i>	<i>forcipe oris trahebant</i>
<i>maiora auersae postremis pedibus moliuntur <u>umeris</u> obnixae</i>	<i>suppositis <u>umeris</u> adiuuabant</i>
<i>et his rei publicae ratio, memoria, cura.</i>	—

109 <i>semina adrosa condunt, ne rursus in frugem exeant e terra, maiora ad introitum diuidunt, <u>madefacta</u> imbre proferunt atque siccant.</i>	<i>ne <u>madefacta</u> humus in herbam horrea uerteret, illata semina praecidebant</i>
<i>operantur et noctu plena luna, eadem interlunio cessant.</i>	—
<i>iam in opere qui labor, quae sedulitas!</i>	<i>Salomonis ad formicae sollertiam nos mittentis ... coepi ... formicarum illarum sollicitudinem desiderare, ubi laboratur in medium</i>
<i>et quoniam ex diuerso conuehant altera alterius ignara, certi dies ad recognitionem mutuam nundinis dantur.</i> 110 <i>quae tunc earum concursatio, quam diligens cum obuiis quaedam conlocutio atque percunctatio!</i>	—
<i>silices itinere earum adtritos uidemus et opere semitam factam, ne quis dubitet, qualibet in re quid possit quantulacumque adsiduitas.</i>	<i>angusto calle feruere</i>
<i>sepeliunt inter se uiuentium solae praeter hominem.</i>	<i>hae luctu celebri, corpora defuncta deportabant.</i>

From this table we can see that the similarities between the two accounts lie in the general characteristics of the ants' life: their labour division, collection of food, their remarkable strength and industry, their cleverness in preserving their food, and their burial rituals. There are no significant verbal parallels (with the possible exception of *madefacta* (NH 109, VM 7.2), which is however used in slightly different contexts), and Jerome varies the structure of the description. Not every detail of the *NH* is taken up in the *VM*, but in turn Jerome adds a few points which appear to have been taken from elsewhere: their consideration and help for each other and the removal of soil from the nest (cf. below on *aliae egerebant humum de foueis et aquarum meatus aggeribus excludebant* and *ingrediens non obstabat intranti*).

a) Physical Features:

In discussions of ants authors normally remark on their small size: cf. e.g. Prov. 30:24–5, Hor. *Sat.* 1.1.33, Ov. *Met.* 7.625, Plin. *NH* 11.108, Quint. *Inst.* 5.11.24, Fronto *ad Ver.* 1.7.2 (van den Hout p. 112 line 20), Ambr. *Ex.* 6.4.16, Jer. *Tract. Psalm.* 91.5, 103.2, 135.25. The observation tends to be used for moralising comments which contrast ants' diminutive size with their great strength,¹ as in Pliny, or with more abstract concepts such as their impressive social awareness and foresight.²

b) Habits

Another readily observable fact about ants is that a great number of them are usually found in one place.³ Writers frequently comment on the bustling activity which goes on in an anthill: cf. Ap. Rhod. 4.1452–3, Virg. *Aen.* 4.407, Sen. *Dial.* 9.12.3, Jer. *Alt. Luc.* 22, Aug. *Ep.* 41.1.⁴ This empirical reality almost invariably provokes descriptions of the ant as industrious (i.e. as possessing a moral virtue): cf. e.g. Arist. *HA* 9.622b, Aesop *Fab.* 114 Hausrath, Basil *Hex.* 9.3, Front. *Laud. negl.* 5 (van den Hout p. 219 lines 9–10), Phaedr. 4.25, Plin. *NH* 11.109, Prov. 6:6, Ambr. *Ex.* 6.4.16 (with de Vogüé 1991–2007: 2.101–2). A favourite attribute of the ant in Greek literature is φιλόπονος, 'toil-loving': various formations of this word occur fifty-six times in the *TLG* corpus within ten lines of

¹ For iconographic illustration of this topos see Keller (1909–13: 2.421), who has a picture of a gem showing two ants pulling a plough (from 'M. u. G.' XXIV 3).

² By contrast, their colour is rarely mentioned; Virg. *Aen.* 4.404 calls them *nigrum ... agmen*, but this specification seems motivated not so much by scientific as by poetic considerations: according to Servius *ad loc.* the phrase is taken from Ennius, who uses it of elephants (Enn. *Ann.* fr. 502 Skutsch *it atrum campis agmen*). 'White' ants are mentioned at Paus. 3.26.3 and Ael. *NA* 4.5 : Keller (1909–13: 2.421) thinks they are termites.

³ Keller (1909–13: 2.416) implausibly links the Greek word μύρμηξ (from a dialectal variation of which the Latin *formica* is derived) to μυρίοι ('countless'). Davies and Kathirithamby (1986: 37), by contrast, derive μύρμηξ an *formica* from an Indo-European form *mormo-. The latter analysis is supported by de Vaan (2008, s.v. *formica*).

⁴ Ants are also described as moving in narrow columns: Arist. *HA* 622b, Aelian 2.25, Virg. *Aen.* 4.405, Ov. *Ars* 1.93, *Met.* 7.624–6, *Trist.* 5.6.39–40 (*gracili ... limite*); at Plin. *NH* 11.110 and Virg. *Geo.* 1.379–80 they are depicted as hollowing out a path for themselves.

μύρμηξ (in thirty-seven of these instances both words are found within three lines and in twenty within one line). Aristotle (*HA* 622b), Aelian (*NA* 4.44 Teubner), and Pliny (*NH* 11.109) observe that ants continue their work even in the night, provided that the moon shines. While this is probably an authentic observation (cf. Lubbock 1882: 27, cited by Keller 1909–13: 2.419 as modern evidence that ants do in fact continue to work in warm nights), Aelian uses it to make a moralising point, to criticise his contemporaries for their need of holidays as pretexts for being lazy.

Ancient literature also reflects the empirical fact that ants gather more food than they can eat immediately and that they store it in their nests: e.g. Prov. 30:25, Arist. *HA* 9.622b, 623b, Aesop *Fab.* 114 Hausrath, Phaedr. 4.25, Hor. *Sat.* 1.1.33–5, Ov. *Met.* 7.624, *Trist.* 5.6.39–40, Plin. *NH* 11.108, Front. *Laud. negl.* 5 (van den Hout p. 219 lines 9–10), Basil *Hex.* 9.3, Jer. *In Ez.* 2.6.12, *Tract. Psalm.* 103.24. This behaviour is generally taken as a sign of intelligence: Cic. *Nat.* 3.21 *in formica non modo sensus sed etiam mens ratio memoria*, Plin. *NH* 11.108 *et his rei publicae ratio, memoria, cura*, Phaedr. 4.25.⁵ Often this providential intelligence is ascribed directly to the ants who know that a season of plenty (summer and autumn) is going to be followed by one of want (winter) and who prepare their provisions accordingly, as a model for men who should plan for the future: e.g. Lact. *De ira Dei* 7.11; elsewhere this behaviour is taken to indicate the providential arrangement of Nature or of the divine, e.g. Jer. *Tract. Psalm.* 103.24.

Occasionally ants' habit of gathering what they have not sown is interpreted negatively. This opinion is expressed with particular force in Aesop *Fab.* 175 Hausrath, which give an aetiology of the ant from a metamorphosis of a grasping farmer who steals

⁵ Sen. *Dial.* 9.12.3 is an exception to this view: he denies that there is any purpose in the ants' feverish activity (*inanes aguntur*).

from his neighbour. For the evaluation of ants as pests cf. also Virg. *Geo.* 1.185–6, Jer. *Alt. Luc.* 22.

The conviction that ants are intelligent is further developed in the more detailed description of their habits: they make (underground) dwellings for themselves (Arist. *HA* 488a, Ap. Rhod. 4.1452–3, Ov. *Trist.* 5.6.39–40, Galen *de usu partium* (Kühn vol. 3 p. 7 line 17), Aesop *Fab. Synt.* 43 Hausrath); they build dams (Ael. *NA* 6.43) to prevent their store rooms from getting moist, and if their food gets damp they take it outside to dry (Plut. *Soll. an.* 967f, Plin. *NH* 11.109, Basil *Hex.* 9.3, Ambr. *Ex.* 6.4.20). In a similar way they carry out their eggs (or rather pupae: Keller 1909–13: 2.416) if they are endangered. This habit of evacuating food and/or pupae makes the ant useful for human beings as a weather sign (Arat. 956–7, Varro Atacinus fr. 14 Courtney, Virg. *Geo.* 1.379–80). Particularly astonishing is their habit of biting up individual grains and consuming the germ before storing the starch body in order to avoid germination (Ael. *NA* 2.25, Plut. *Soll. an.* 968a, Plin. *NH* 11.109, Basil *Hex.* 9.3): this is often interpreted as a sign of divinely bestowed foresight.

Ants' care for their sustenance is sometimes considered to be matched by their consideration for one another. Like bees, they are credited with a social instinct, but unlike bees they are not perceived as subject to a ruler: Arist. *HA* 488a. They are described as behaving in an orderly fashion and as co-operating with each other: Ael. *NA* 2.25, Quint. *Inst.* 5.11.24, Plut. *soll. an.* 967f. Aesop *Fab.* 176 Hausrath even has an ant co-operating with a dove, i.e. with a member of a different species. Pliny *NH* 11.109–10 goes further in asserting that ants set aside special days for getting to know each other, and asserts with Ael. *NA* 6.43 that they bury their dead. Ael. *NA* 6.50 and Plut. *Soll. an.* 967 e–f relate an episode allegedly observed by the philosopher Cleanthes, who saw one

tribe of ants ransoming a dead ant from another tribe, just as Priam ransomed Hector from Achilles in *Il.* 24.

In some cases this anthropomorphic viewpoint even extends to the description of the ant's anatomy: not only are they attributed a mouth, but also shoulders, as in the present passage (Plin. *NH* 11.108, Virg. *Aen.* 4.406, Ambr. *Ex.* 6.4.20)! Particularly in comedy alleged similarities between men and ants are exaggerated: Titinius *Com.* fr. 34 p. 138 Ribbeck *homo formicae pol per simil est rusticus*; Plaut. *Men.* 888 *moue formicinum gradum*.

c) Ants and bees

There is some overlap between ancient descriptions of ant colonies and bee hives. In contrast to ants, bees produce honey, which was (and is) a prized commodity. Knowledge about bees therefore held not only theoretical but economic interest: discussions of bees and the practicalities of beekeeping are found in Varr. *Rust.* 3.16, Colum. *Rust.* 9, Plin. *NH* 11.11–70 (cf. Krapinger 2005: 15, citing Klek 1926, “Die Bienenkunde des Altertums IV. Die Spätzeit”, *Archiv für Bienenkunde* 7, 41–81 (*non uidi*) for the *Geoponika*, Palladius and Aelian).

Since it would go too far to take apicultural treatises into account here, this discussion will restrict itself to the influence on the *VM* of between Virgil's description of bees at *Geo.* 4.149–218 (and its adaptation at *Aen.* 1.430–6). There are clear thematic relationships between these bees and the ants of *Aen.* 4.401–7. Virgil's bees have long been recognised as presenting a divinely organised model state, where individuals sacrifice themselves for the common good and, significantly, for their ruler. Among other adaptations, the moralising drift of this depiction was put to use in Ps.-Quint. *Decl. mai.* 13 (*Apes pauperis*), a work to which Jerome explicitly alludes at *VM* 6.1 (*sic quoque me*

latentem inuenit inuidia, with note, and Introduction 2.2.6). This fictional prosecution speech, given in the character of a poor man whose bees were killed by his rich neighbour, exploits the traditional associations of the bee hive with order and virtue, and it abounds in Virgilian quotations (detailed in Krapinger 2005). Jerome not only uses Virgilian phraseology (whether directly or filtered through the text of Ps.-Quintilian), but he also uses phrases from Ps.-Quintilian which are not taken from Virgil and transfers them from the bees to his ants. An intriguing aspect of Jerome's use is that he makes nothing of the sexlessness ascribed to the bees by Virg. *Geo.* 4.198–202 (... *neque concubitu indulgent nec corpora segnes / in Venerem soluunt aut fetus nixibus edunt eqs.*) and Ps.-Quint. *Decl. mai.* 13.16 (*solae omnium non edunt fetus sed faciunt*). In the VM there is no mention of ants' procreation, eggs, or offspring, but the nest seems to be a community of adults. Another marked departure from Virgil's bees is the absence of a king/leader/superior among the ants.

d) Jerome's use of the tradition

Selective as this discussion of literary ants (and bees) is, the picture which emerges is fairly broad. While some accounts are more influential on Jerome's representation in the VM than others, it is important to be aware of the creative potential which the ant provides through the different interpretations of its nature which are already available.

In VM 7 the ants' size is not explicitly mentioned but is implicitly contrasted with the vast unchanging entities of earth and sky (cf. above *praeter caelum terramque nihil uideo*, with note); it is developed with a moral implication in *onera maiora quam corpora* (cf. below). The depiction of the activities by means of which they maintain their nest has a utopian quality: in contrast to some of the ambivalent or outright negative attitudes to

ants discussed above, Malchus regards the ants in a purely positive light. Particular emphasis is placed on their consideration for each other, which results in their avoidance of obstructing each other's path, and in their ready assistance for any individual ant whose burden proves too much for it.

The moral example which Malchus finds in the ant colony matches his preceding reflections and gives them a point. Their behaviour, as described at 7.2, causes him to conclude that ants work for the community and do not possess anything for themselves (7.3) – a lesson which he failed to learn from his abbot in ch. 3. The ants' unselfish co-operation makes him realise that this is what he desires in a monastic community, and this realisation in turn increases his initial longing. Rather than an object of mere nostalgia, the monastery now represents the embodiment of an ideal transcending the precept of chastity which prompted Malchus to enter a monastery in ch. 2. While Malchus can be chaste by himself, or in the company of his fellow captive (6.7–8), he is unable to translate the ants' example of communal labour into human reality as long as he remains solitary.

The lesson learnt by Malchus transcends the superficial meaning of the moralising verse which he cites from Prov. 6:6: *uade ad formicam, o piger, et considera uias eius et disce sapientiam*.⁶ He does not need an incitement to industry, but his literal 'consideration of the ant's ways' enables him to discover a more 'spiritual' meaning in this verse. Thus the passage also provides a paradigm for interpreting Scripture.

To conclude the discussion of literary models for this passage we should consider the relationship of VM 7 with two verse passages: first, Hor. *Sat.* 1.1.27–45:

sed tamen amoto quaeramus seria ludo:
ille grauem duro terram qui uertit aratro,

⁶ This is one of only two places in the Bible where ants are mentioned; the other is Prov. 30:25. Opelt (1979: 152 n. 19) cites a Prov. 16:24, a passage referring to bees, quoted in Paulinus' *Vita Ambrosii* in a similar context.

perfidus hic caupo, miles nautaeque per omne
audaces mare qui curreunt, hac mente **laborem** 30
sese ferre, senes ut in otia tuta recedant,
aiunt, cum sibi sint congesta cibaria; sicut
paruula (nam exemplo est) magni formica laboris
ore trahit quodcumque potest atque addit aceruo 35
quem struit haud ignara ac non incauta futuri.
quae, simul inuersum contristat Aquarius annum,
non usquam prorepat et illis utitur ante
quaesitis sapiens; cum te neque feruidus aestus
demoueat lucro neque hiems, ignis, mare, ferrum,
nil obstat tibi, dum ne sit te ditior alter. 40

In Horace the negative view of the grasping ant is modified: its proverbial wisdom (*sapiens*, line 39; cf. Prov. 6:6) manifests itself both in its labour (*haud ignara ac non incauta futuri*, line 35) and particularly in its choice to rest from collecting provisions during the winter to enjoy its stores. This behaviour is contrasted with that of avaricious man who ignores external constraints in his single-minded pursuit of wealth. The only verbal parallels to this passage in VM 7 are *exemplo* (33) and *ore trahit* (34, transformed into *forcipe oris trahebant*). The Horatian context may recall the warning against avarice encountered in VM 3.

Secondly, Virg. *Aen.* 4.401–7 (cf. Hagendahl 1958: 118):

migrantis cernas totaque ex urbe ruentis,
ac uelut ingentem formicae farris aceruom
cum populant hiemis memores tectoque reponunt:
it nigrum campis agmen praedamque per herbas
conuectant calle angusto, pars grandia trudunt 405
obnixae frumenta umeris, pars agmina cogunt
castigantque moras, opere omnis semita feruet.

In the *Aeneid* the Trojans who prepare their departure from Carthage are described from Dido's point of view and likened to a colony of ants plundering a great heap of grain (which symbolises the wealth of Carthage). This passage has explicit verbal echoes in Jerome's description (cf. below s.v. *angusto calle*, *feruere*, *herbarum*, *hiemis memores*, *agmen*, *umeris*; also *aliae ... aliae*, which corresponds to the *Aeneid*'s *pars ... pars* but echoes more closely *Geo.* 158–64), whose concentration makes it extremely likely that

the parallel is designed to be noticed.⁷ The influence of the same book of the *Aeneid* is also noticeable in VM 6 (see notes *ad loc.*).

sicque: in classical Latin the connective particle *-que* would have been avoided as redundant and cacophonous with its clash of *-c-* and *-qu-* (Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 473). The use in later Latin appears to be a revitalisation of the early Latin sentence connector *-que* (cf. Adams 1976: 77, referring to the argument of Watkins 1973: 129 that sentence-connecting particles like *-que* are an Indo-European phenomenon). Later Latin forms more introductory adverbs with redundant *-que*, partly on the analogy with *itaque*, *namque*, *atque* etc.

There are eighteen examples of *sicque* in Jerome's LLT-A corpus; his use of *cumque* (488 instances), *statimque* (109 instances), *ibique* (sixty-six), *ideoque* (ten), *dumque* (nine), *itemque* (one), and *utinamque* (one) is likely to be governed by the same principles.

angusto calle: cf. Virg. *Geo.* 1.380 *angustum formica terens iter*, *Aen.* 4.405 *calle angusto*; of bees: Virg. *Geo.* 4.35 *angustos habeant aditus* (cf. Ps.-Quint. 13.4 *angusto festinaretur aditu*), 4.228 *sedem angustam* (v.l. *augustam*).

feruere: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4.407, 409, Aug. *Ep.* 41.1 *ferueat iter sanctarum formicarum*, Jer. *Alt. Luc.* 22 *feruenti agmine ... formica*. Of bees: Virg. *Geo.* 4.169 (=Aen. 1.436) *feruet opus, redolentque thymo fragrantia mella*.

uideres onera maiora quam corpora: cf. Plin. *NH* 11.108 *ac si quis conparet onera corporibus earum, fateatur nullis portione uires esse maiores*. Ants can in fact lift multiple amounts of their body weight (the exact ratio is disputed and depends on the species). Cf. Keller (1909–13: 2.419).

⁷ Leclerc (SC 2007: 43) acknowledges the allusion in passing and seems to use the connection to imply a positive interpretation of the Trojans' actions as an example of communal spirit.

uideres: probably an echo of Virg. *Aen.* 4.401 *cernas*. Pease (1935: 339) quotes Servius' comment *ad loc.*: *honesta figura si rem tertiae personae in secundam referas, hoc est, 'si quis cernat'* and gives parallels for the use of the present subjunctive, which in comparable contexts is less usual than the imperfect.

The mood is the potential of the past: 'you could have seen', which is almost always used in the generic second person ('you' = 'one') with a limited range of verbs (e.g. 'to know', 'to find', 'to say'): cf. Handford (1947: 107). For this form used outside a conditional construction cf. Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 334). The use is rare in Plautus, but Hofmann and Szantyr quote *Curc.* 331 *scires uelle gratiam tuam* as an exception. From Terence onwards the form becomes more common, although a conditional clause of the type *si adfuisses* is usually implied.⁸ In classical Latin (Cicero, e.g. *Phil.* 2.67 *conchyliatis Cn. Pompei peristromatis seruorum in cellis lectos stratos uideres*, and Livy, e.g. 2.43.9 *iniussu signa referunt maestique – crederes uictos –, execrantes imperatorem redeunt in castra*) this subjunctive is fairly frequent, while in later Latin it becomes a purely literary device (cf. Saloni 1920: 23). The use of the imperfect instead of the pluperfect for the past potential is commonly explained by reference to the more immediate character of the potential compared to the hypothetical meaning of the pluperfect. Mayer (1956: 133) objects that immediacy should not be the norm of a general use but an option determined by pragmatics (e.g. the historic present can be interpreted as a marked variation on the perfect or imperfect to achieve immediacy),⁹ whereas for the past potential the imperfect is the regular, unmarked form. Mayer instead takes the use as an indication that the Latin imperfect has its morphological origins in the preterit.

⁸ Handford (1947: 107) argues against regarding the remote conditional as the origin of the potential on the grounds that the range of verbs and forms so used is very narrow.

⁹ This interpretation is, however, contested by Pinkster (1990: 224–5): see commentary below, introduction to ch. 8.

The LLT-A has two other instances of the past potential of the verb *uideo* in Jerome, both in the *VH*: 13.7 *uideres de ore barbaro, et qui Francam tantum et Latinam linguam nouerat, Syra ad purum uerba resonare* (used to introduce, and perhaps increase the effect of, a miraculous occasion); and 21.3 *uideres senem huc atque illuc cum discipulis beati Antonii discurrere*. Cf. also the use of *crederes* at *VH* 31.4, and of *diceres*, found twice in *Ep.* 125.18.2–3: *criticum diceres esse Longinum* (‘you would have said [had you seen him] that he was a critic like Longinus’) ... *totus ambiguus, ut ex contrariis diuersisque naturis unum monstrum nouamque bestiam diceres esse concompactam* (‘impossible to define, so that one should have said that from various contrary natures a single monster, a new beast, had been put together’).

Although Malchus addresses the listener elsewhere (3.1 *mi nate*; 9.3 *quid putas fuisse nobis animi?*) there is no suggestion of any substantial interaction between the two beyond the telling and hearing of the story. The second person here is most likely to refer to the generic listener or reader rather than the young Jerome specifically.

aliae ... aliae ... illae ... haec: this description of the ants’ division of labour in an extension of Virg. *Aen.* 4.405–7: *pars grandia trudunt / obnixae frumenta umeris, pars agmina cogunt / castigantque moras*.

The verbal parallels are closer with Virg. *Geo.* 4.158–64

namque **aliae** uictu inuigilant et foedere pacto
 exercentur agris; **pars** intra saepta domorum
 Narcissi lacrimam et lentum de cortice gluten
 prima fauis ponunt fundamina, deinde tenacis
 suspendunt ceras; **aliae** spem gentis adultos
 educunt fetus; **aliae** purissima mella
 stipant et liquido distendunt nectare cellas;

and Ps.-Quint. *Decl. mai.* 13.4

quemadmodum **aliae** libratae pinnis onera conferrent, **aliae** deposita sarcina in nouas
 prorumperent praedas ... **aliae** militaribus castris pellerent uulgus ignauum, **aliae** longum
 permensae iter fatigatae anhelitum traherent, **haec** ad aestiuum solem porrectas panderet pinnas;

cf. Ps.-Quint. *Decl. mai.* 13.17 ut aliae congerant onera, aliae accipiant, aliae linant;
 Plin. *NH* 11.20–22 (also of bees): cum agmen ad opera processit, aliae flores adgerunt
 pedibus, aliae aquam ore guttasque lanugine totius corporis ... sunt enim intus quoque
 officia diuisa: aliae struunt, aliae poliunt, aliae suggerunt, aliae cibum comparant ex eo
 quod adlatum est. On labour division among ants in ancient literature cf. Plin. *NH* 11.108
communicantes laborem ut apes, Lucian *Icar.* 19 (Keller 1909–13: 2.419).

aliae herbarum quaedam semina forcipe oris trahebant: *herbarum* may be an
 echo of Virg. *Aen.* 4.404 *per herbas*. The presence of grass in the ‘desert’ is in keeping
 with the fact that this is where Malchus pastures his master’s sheep. This indicates that
 the depiction is inspired by the Syrian desert, which is in reality a landscape combining
 desert and steppe areas: cf. 3.3 *perueni tandem ad eremum Chalcidos eqs.* with note.

forcipe oris trahebant: cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1.1.34 *ore trahit*. In the same way ants use
 their mouths at Plin. *NH* 11.108 *gerunt ea morsu*. For Jerome’s more anatomically precise
forcipe cf. Basil *Hex.* 9.3 ταῖς ἐαντοῦ χηλαῖς. *trahebant* is equally precise: modern
 entomologists, e.g. Sudd (1967), observe that some species of ants carry lighter loads and
 drag heavier burdens.

aliae egerebant humum de foueis et aquarum meatus aggeribus excludebant:

a detail not found in Plin. *NH* 11.108–10 but paralleled in Ael. *NA* 6.43:

τὴν δὲ γῆν ἣν ἐξορύττουσιν, ἀλλὰ ταύτην ὑπὲρ τοῦ στομίου περιβαλόντες οἰοῦναι τεῖχιν τινα καὶ
 προβλήματα ἐργάζονται, ὥς μὴ τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καταθέον εἴτα ῥαδίως αὐτοὺς ἐπικλύσαν ἢ
 ἀπολέσῃ πάντας ἢ τοὺς γε πλείστους.

And the soil which they excavate they put around the mouth (sc. of the nest), forming as it were
 walls and barriers, so that the rain which descends from the sky may not easily flood them and
 destroy all or at any rate most of them (transl. Scholfield).

egerebant humum: possibly taken from Liv. 38.7.6 *non solum sub terra*

fodientes sed egerentes etiam humum fefellere hostem or Tac. *Ann.* 1.65.7 *amissa magna*
ex parte per quae <e>geritur humus aut exciditur caespes.

egerebant ... de foueis: the use of *de* with *egero*, rather than *ex*, which should be expected to complement a compound verb with the prefix *e(x)-*, is typical of later Latin. The transition was anticipated in the republican period: Cato *Agr.* has *de uino manipulum eicito* (115.1) alongside *ex oleis albis, nigris uariisque nuculeos eicito* (119) and *eximito de dolio* (112.3) as well as *ex fornace calcem eximit calcarius* (16); Cicero especially in his early speeches has phrases like *de manu ... eripere* (*Verr.* 2.4.112), *de carcere emitti* (*Verr.* 2.5.22), and *de balineis exeunti* in the later *Vatin.* 31; similarly *B. Afr.* 11.2 *de nauibus ... egredi* (with Wölfflin and Miodónski 1889: 21), 58.1 *de castris ... educunt* (Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 262–3).

Goelzer (1884: 338, 341) argues that Jerome's pervasive use of *de* in this way is the feature with respect to which the author goes furthest in embracing contemporary linguistic developments: in later Latin *de* comes to stand in not only for *ab* and *ex* but also to complement the simple ablative. Cf. Löfstedt (1911: 103ff.) on the dominance of *de* in the *Peregrinatio*; see also Médan (1926: 61) on Apuleius. Adams (2003b: 567) discusses *exportare* + *de* in Vindolanda tablets 659, noting the parallel expression *exit de paedagogio*, of which Väänänen *et al.* (1966–70: 1.254) find nine instances in the Palatine graffiti. Cf. also Väänänen (1966: 126) on *de* for *ab* in the Pompeian *Tabulae ceratae* CLV 8 (61 AD, *CIL* IV suppl. 1 p. 411): ACCEPIT·DE·POPPEA.

illae uenturae hiemis memores: while *hiemis memores* is in Virgil's description of ants at *Aen.* 4.403, this phrase is even closer to Virg. *Geo.* 4.156 *uenturaeque hiemis memores* (of bees); for the thought cf. also Hor. *Sat.* 1.1.35 *haud ignara ac non incauta futuri*, Ps.-Quint. *Decl. mai.* 13.17 (of bees) *non ut ferae uolucres, non praesentis modo cibi memores in diem uiuunt; duraturus hiemi reponitur uictus*. On the prescience of ants see the introduction to VM 7.2 (above).

ne madefacta humus in herbam horrea uerteret: a fact taken from Plin. *NH* 11.109, but the metaphorical expression *humus in herbam horrea uerteret* is more poetic: for *horrea* used of ants' storage cf. Ov. *Trist.* 1.9a.9 *horrea formicae tendunt ad inania numquam. madefactus* recurs at VM 8.4.

illata semina praecidebant: this example of ants' cleverness is also discussed at Ael. *NA* 2.25 and Basil *Hex.* 9.3 (διακόπτει γὰρ ταῖς ἐαυτοῦ χηλαῖς τῶν καρπῶν τὸ μεσαίτατον, ὥς ἂν μὴ ἐκφυέντες ἄχρηστοι πρὸς τροφήν αὐτῷ γένοιντο). Cf. also Keller (1909–13: 2.419).

hae luctu celebri corpora defuncta deportabant: Virg. *Geo.* 4.255–6 (on bees): *tum corpora luce carentum / exportant tectis et tristia funera ducunt* (Morales' reference); cf. Ps.-Quint. *Decl. mai.* 13.17 *efferuntur prius corpora, posteriorque operum quam funerum cura est*. The burial customs of ants are described in Ael. *NA* 5.49: μύρμηκες δὲ, καὶ ἐκεῖνοις ἐκφορᾶς νεκρῶν μέλιν καὶ καθαίρειν τοὺς σφετέρους χηραμοὺς ἢ σοφωτάτη φύσις ἔδωκεν ('ants also, thanks to the supreme wisdom of Nature, are careful to carry away dead bodies and cleanse their nests': transl. Scholfield), 6.43: σοφὸν δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνο προσακήκοα, ὅτι ἄρα τοὺς τεθνεῶτας μύρμηκας οἱ προσήκοντες ἐν ταῖς τῶν πυρῶν κηδεύουσι θυλακίσιν, ὥς πατέρας ἢ πᾶν τὸ φίλιον ἐν ταῖς σοροῖς οἱ ἄνθρωποι ('I have also heard the following example of their cleverness: their relations bury dead ants in the capsules of wheat, just as men bury their parents or all whom they love in coffins': transl. Scholfield), and 6.50 (a ransom ritual for the cadaver of an ant belonging to a different nest; cf. Plut. *Soll. an.* 967 e–f). Pliny *NH* 11.110 claims that ants *sepeliunt inter se uiuentium solae praeter hominem*.

luctu celebri: the closest parallel for this phrase is Amm. 20.5.5, in Julian's speech to his troops, with reference to the few Roman victims in the battle of Argentoratus (Strasbourg, 357 AD): *exsequias honestauimus celebri potius laude quam*

luctu. For the possible influence of Ammianus on Jerome cf. Introduction 2.2.2. The similarity here may be coincidental: in classical Latin *celebritas* and *luctus* are juxtaposed at Cic. *Leg.* 2.65 *sublata etiam erat celebritas uirorum ac mulierum, quo lamentatio minueretur; auget enim luctum concursus hominum*; Christian parallels are Aug. *Quaest. in hept.* 1.172 *nescio utrum inueniatur alicui sanctorum in Scripturis celebratum esse luctum nouem dies*; Civ. 7.20 *quae res cum fuisset luctu publico celebrata*.

deportabant: I read *portabant* in all my five manuscripts. Morales' apparatus ascribes the reading *deportabant* to the Neapolitanus and to other manuscripts which I have not seen. Winterbottom (2008: 373) rejects *deportabant* as a result of dittography from the preceding word *defuncta* and argues for *portabant* on the basis of the superior rhythm which it produces. This last argument is problematic: Oberhelman and Hall (1985: 223) have postulated an absence of prose rhythm in the VM. Furthermore, *deportabant* may be defended on the grounds of meaning: verbs which are synonymous with *deporto*, such as *effero* (TLL V.2.141.32ff.) and *exporto* (TLL V.2.1769.83ff.),¹⁰ can be used specifically of funerary transport, e.g. Plaut. *Asin.* 615 *utinam sic efferamur*; cf. also CIL XII.155 *corpus eius deportatum hic condidit*. Both *effero* and *exporto* are used of insects in Virg. *Geo.*: 1.379 [*formica*] *tectis penetralibus extulit oua*; 4.255–6 (of bees) *corpora luce carentum / exportant tectis et tristia funera ducunt*. These parallels make it attractive to assume the use of the prefixed verb here; but the manuscript evidence remains insecure.

quodque magis mirum esset: cf. Jer. *Ep.* 108.29.2: *quodque mirum sit, nihil pallor mutarat in facie*.

¹⁰ For the relationship between *ex* and *de* and its development cf. note on *egerebant ... de foueis*, above.

magis mirum: for periphrastic comparatives in the VM cf. 6.2 *fidum ... magis* with note. Here the periphrasis is used according to the phonetic rule for adjectives ending in *-rus*: TLL VIII.61.1ff.

agmine: used of ants at Virg. *Aen.* 4.404 *it nigrum campis agmen*.

egrediens non obstabat intranti: the phrasing closely parallels Ps.-Quint. *Decl. mai.* 13.4 (of bees) *turba tamen exeuntium non obstaret intrantibus*. The observation appears to be based on Plin. *NH* 11.22 (also of bees) *aliis intrent, aliis exeant*, ‘they go in by one way and leave by another’. Pliny does not extend this observation to ants, but descriptions of ants’ consideration for each other are found at Plut. *Soll. an.* 967f, Ael. *NA* 2.25, Dio Chrys. *Or.* 40.32, 40–41 (Keller 1909–13: 2.418).

quin potius: this combination increases the intensity of the following statement compared to the preceding: Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 676–7). In early Latin *quin* could have this escalatory force on its own (e.g. Plaut. *Amph.* 410–11 *quid, domum uostram? – ita enim uero. – quin, quae dixisti modo, / omnia ementitu*’s. But in colloquial use this type of *quin* became equivalent to *immo* (Don. *In Ter. Eun.* 902: *quin pro immo*) and therefore was often combined, like *immo*, with *etiam* (e.g. Plaut. *Capt.* 290) or *potius* (e.g. Plaut. *Cas.* 100). *quin etiam* is then used in classical Latin (in poetry shortened to *quin et* from Horace and Virgil), while *quin potius* is not further discussed in Hofmann and Szantyr. It occurs fifty-six times in Jerome’s corpus (LLT-A).

si quam sub fasce uidissent et onere concidisse: a hyperbaton of the hendiadys *fasce et onere* (‘the heavy load’): cf. Introduction 3.2.4d. On the partial semantic overlap between *fascis* and *onus* see Servius on Virg. *Ecl.* 9.65 (*hoc te fasce leuabo*): *fascem ait onus*, cf. TLL VI.1.307.24ff. Jerome uses the same *uariatio* in his *Praefatio in librum Ezrae* (lines 2–3): *magnitudo oneris inpositi ita ceruices premit, ut ante sub fasce ruendum sit quam leuandum*.

sub fasce: Virg. *Geo.* 4.204 *ultroque animam sub fasce dedere*, of the self-sacrificing spirit of bees. The ants' concern for each other removes the need for such self-sacrifice.

umeris: this particular anthropomorphism is also found in Virg. *Aen.* 4.406 (of bees: *Geo.* 4.217), Plin. *NH* 11.108 (*maiora auersae postremis pedibus moliuntur umeris obnixae*), and Ambr. *Ex.* 6.4.16, 6.4.20.

§3: *The moral of the ants*

quid multa?: the same *praeteritio* is used at 3.3. The difference is that the phrase here has a concluding function, whereas the first *quid multa?* replaced the narration of Malchus' entire journey from Nisibis to Chalcis.

pulchrum mihi spectaculum dies illa praebuit: cf. *triste spectaculum* of an empty beehive at Ps.-Quint. *Decl. mai.* 13.6; cf. also Ps.-Quint. *Decl. mai.* 13.4 *ipse spectator operis*.

unde: 'from where' in the sense of 'in consequence'. This use is found in classical Latin as well, e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 7.778–9 *unde etiam templo Triuiiae ... arcentur equi*. Löfstedt (1911: 180f.) points out that colloquial Latin uses *unde* as equivalent to *a*, *de*, *ex quo*, *qua* and *quibus*. For the development of this explanatory function into a causal meaning (equivalent to *quare* and *quamobrem*) in later Latin see Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 209; cf. *Vitae patr.* 3.188 *unde dicebat senex*, with Saloniuss 1920: 212).

Salomonis ad formicae sollertiam nos mittentis: the reference is to Proverbs 6:6 *uade ad formicam o piger et considera uias eius et disce sapientiam*. The same passage is discussed by Basil at *Reg. fus.* 37.2 (PG 31.1012 line 20) and (extensively) at *Homilia in*

illud: Ne dederis somnum oculis tuis (PG 31.1501–5). For bees as an example to humans cf. Ps.-Quint. *Decl. mai.* 13.16 *dicam animal quodammodo paruum hominis exemplar? hoc humana excogitare non potuit sollertia.*

pigras mentes sub tali exemplo suscitantis: the effect of Malchus' recollection of Prov. 6:6 is here represented as the action of Solomon himself.

sub tali exemplo: *sub* + *exemplo* in pre-Christian prose is preponderantly used in Tacitus (*Ann.* 3.68.1, 4.11.3) and Pliny the Younger (*Ep.* 1.18.5, 2.6.6, 3.18.2 etc.). It becomes much more popular with Christian writers, e.g. Tertullian (*De res. mort.* 48), Chromatius, and Augustine. There are eleven more instances of the phrase in Jerome's corpus, e.g. *Ep.* 55.4(3).5 *sub exemplo trium eunuchorum uirginitatis infert beatitudinem.*

coepi taedere captiuitatis: on *coepi* in initial position cf. above 7.1. *taedeo* is outside the current scope of the *TLL*. According to the *OLD* it does not appear to be used with a personal construction in classical Latin, where we would instead expect *coepit me taedere captiuitatis*. *taedet* is once used in a sequence of personal verbs in Cic. *Orat.* 131 (for this reason the text has been considered problematic by scribes and editors): *sed est faciundum etiam, ut irascatur iudex mitigetur, inuideat faueat, contemnat admiretur, oderit diligat, cupiat taedeat, speret metuat, laetetur doleat.*

In the history of Latin various impersonal verbs became personal, or acquired a personal use: *mihi dolet* was replaced by *doleo*, *ueretur* by *uereor*. In later Latin the deponent *taedeor* (formed from *taedet* on the analogy of *misereor*: Flobert 1975: 219) and then personal *taedeo* (primarily represented in the *Vetus Latina*: cf. Rönsch 1875: 382, e.g. Jerem. 15:9 as quoted at Cypr. *Ad Quir.* 2.23 and Lact. *Inst.* 4.19.4 *exterrita est quae parit et taeduit anima*) became more prominent. This language change from impersonal to personal can be paralleled in English: Old English constructions like *mec longade* 'me

longed’ came to be replaced by personal ones (‘I longed’); a few fossilised forms like ‘me thinks’ are preserved in Shakespeare (Traugott 1972: 81, 130–1).

monasterii cellulas: this phrase defines a monastery as coenobitic, consisting not just of one cell but several (contrast perhaps 3.5 *monasterium*). *cellulas* is a fitting word in this context: it is frequently used of beehives (*TLL* III.764.6ff.), e.g. Jer. *In Tit.* 1.12–14, (*CCL* 77C p. 30 lines 674–5): *apium, quae ... solent ... fauorum cellulas coaptare*, Ruf. *Hist. mon.* 21.1.3 (of monks) *uelut examen apum ... ex suis cellulis proruunt*). *cella* can even mean a cell of the honeycomb (*TLL* III.759.40 ff.: *i.q. singulae cavernulae fauorum apium*). Jerome clearly prefers the diminutive of the word: a LLT-A search yields seven instances of *cella* against fifty-two of *cellula* in his corpus.

formicarum illarum sollicitudinem: the industry of ants is proverbial and often combined with their ‘wisdom’ in providing for the future. The emphasis on the co-operation of tiny insects is more commonly associated with bees in ancient literature. It seems that Jerome here combines the two ‘moral’ topoi into one.

A textual variant for *sollicitudinem* in two manuscripts of Morales’ 2007 apparatus (more in Morales 1991: 62) is *similitudinem*, which is attractive in a context that underlines precisely the similarities between monastery and ant colony. But Jameson (1938: 417) defends *sollicitudinem* by reference to the (admittedly very free) Greek translation: Τὸν γὰρ τῶν μυρμηκῶν τρόπον συμφώνως θεῖα πνευματικῇ χάριτι εὐοδούμενοι ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς μοναστηρίοις οἱ τῷ Χριστῷ ἑαυτοὺς ... προσφέροντες ... φυλάσσειν ἀμέμπτως σπουδάζουσιν ... (‘For in the manner of the ants, harmoniously prospering through divine spiritual grace, in all the monasteries those who give themselves ... to Christ ... strive to be irreproachably on their guard ...’, Van den Ven 1900: 443). Jameson argues that σπουδάζουσιν ‘represents the eager zeal of the ants, their most characteristic quality, and strongly supports *sollicitudinem* which expresses exactly the same idea.’

laboratur in medium, et cum nihil cuiusquam proprium sit, omnium omnia sunt: for a more circumstantial description of monastic arrangements which uses similar vocabulary cf. Jer. *Ep.* 22.34.2 *de eo, quod laborauerint, in medium partes conferunt, ut habeant alimenta communia.*

This ‘communist’ desire contrasts with 3.5, where Malchus leaves the monastery because he wants to have some property for himself. Malchus has now come to desire for himself the unselfish and unpropertied life of whose value the abbot tried to convince him by threats and manifestations of authority.

laboratur in medium: a very elliptical phrase. With *in medium* one would expect a verb signifying ‘bringing’, ‘putting’, or similar, and an object which is placed in the middle as the fruit of the labour, as at Jer. *Ep.* 22.34.2 *de eo, quod laborauerint, in medium partes conferunt.* The phrasing here seems inspired by Virg. *Geo.* 4.153–7:

solae communis natos, consortia tecta
urbis habent magnisque agitant sub legibus aeuom,
et patriam solae et certos nouere penatis;
uenturaeque hiemis memores aestate **laborem**
experiuntur et **in medium quaesita reponunt.**

Cf. also Ps.-Quint. *Decl. mai.* 13.17 *in publicum uiuitur, et communes opes congeruntur in medium.* At Acts 4:35 the first Christians sell their possessions and put the money at the feet of the apostles to be divided within the community according to need: *et ponebant ante pedes apostolorum diuidebantur autem singulis prout cuique opus erat.*

omnium omnia sunt: Acts 4:32 *erant illis omnia communia*, rendering the Greek πάντα κοινά. In a monastic context the *Regula Benedicti* quotes the same passage in the ban on private property: 33.6 *omniaque omnium sint communia, ut scriptum est* (cf. VM 3.5 *partem in sumptuum meorum solacia reseruarem*, with note).

De Vogüé (2007: 77) contrasts this ‘communist’ version of the cenobitic ideal with the hierarchical model of Egyptian coenobitism as discussed at Jer. *Ep.* 22.35.1:

ueniamus ad eos, qui plures in commune habitant, id est, quos uocari coenobium diximus. prima apud eos confoederatio est oboedire maioribus et, quidquid iusserint, facere. diuisi sunt per decurias atque centurias, ita ut nouem hominibus decimus praesit et rursus decem praepositos sub se centesimus habeat. manent separati, sed iunctis cellulis.

and *Ep.* 22.35.8: *tales Philo, Platonici sermonis imitator, tales Iosephus, Graecus Liuius, in secunda Iudaicae captiuitatis historia Essenos refert.*¹¹ De Vogüé notes that the ants' nest lacks a leader: their society is organised horizontally, not vertically. It is Malchus himself who supplies the father figure by recalling his abbot prior to his perception of the ants (7.1 *coepi ... monachorum contubernia recordari, maximeque uultum patris mei*). Similarly, the community of Acts 4:32 functions because of the authority of the apostles, not only through spontaneous sharing.

By using a formulaic polyptoton Jerome here renders the idea more succinctly: cf. Wills (1994: 190): polyptoton is 'a simple way of achieving both pointedness and closure in a single clause'. Polyptoton of *omnis* is frequent in classical Latin prose, e.g. Cic. *Verr.* 2.3.145 *omnes omnia dicant*, *Rosc. Am.* 122, *Liv.* 28.24.16 *omnia omnes auderent*, 44.7.1. Cf. also Jer. *C. Ruf.* 2.17 (lines 33–4) *ita fiet ut, dum omnium omnia sunt, nihil alicuius sit*. The LLT-A evidence suggests that the order *omnia omnium* is more frequent in classical Latin; the reverse order *omnium omnia* is predominantly late.

¹¹ For the contrast between the monastic ideal of the VM and Jerome's pronouncements elsewhere cf. the Introduction.

Ch. 8: Malchus Flees with the Woman

Malchus cannot hide his longing for the monastic community from his wife (§1). He shares his thoughts and urges her to escape with him. She agrees and promises to keep the plan secret. Both plot the details and weigh up the chances of success in continuous excited whispers. In preparation for the journey Malchus slaughters his (or rather his master's) two largest he-goats to turn the skins into water-proof bags and the meat into provisions. They set off at sunset, taking advantage of their masters' belief that they are sleeping together (§2). On reaching the river they use the inflated skin bags to cross the water, in order that their pursuers should lose their tracks (§3). After the successful crossing the couple's provisions and water supply are about to run out (§4). They continue their journey in haste, fearing to be caught by their masters or other Saracens. This is one of the reasons, together with the excessive heat of the sun, why they prefer to move by night. The terror experienced during this night still affects Malchus as he tells the story (§5).

The entire chapter is written in the historic present. As Pinkster (1990: 224–5) observes, this is the normal tense for narrative sections, whose temporal relationship to the frame only needs to be marked at the beginning and the end of the passage.

§1: Malchus' conversation with the woman

This paragraph consists of short parataxes. During the report of the conversation the length of the sentences is reduced to two or three words each as the verbs alternate

between the two: *audit causas. hortor ad fugam. non aspernatur. peto silentium. fidem tribuit.*

tristitiam animi uultu dissimilare non potui: cf. Cic. Verr. 1.21 *cupiebam dissimulare me id moleste ferre, cupiebam animi dolorem uultu tegere et taciturnitate celare.*

hortor: out of the manuscripts at my disposal, Monacensis 6393 has the variant *hortatur*; the other four have *hortor*. According to Jameson (1938: 417) *hortatur* is well represented in the tradition. However, both the logic of the argument and the Greek translation φυγεῖν προήρημαι (first person) require *hortor*.

peto silentium. fidem tribuit: the Neapolitanus reads *peto silentii fidem. tribuit.* This is not in Morales' 2007 apparatus. Despite the high value of the Neapolitanus it seems preferable to follow the majority of the manuscripts (Monacensis, Sessorianus, Laurentianus; the Parisinus has a deletion at this point), not only to distribute the conversation evenly between Malchus and the woman (subsequently she is never presented as a separate agent any more) but also to retain the chiastic structure.

inter spem et metum medii fluctuamus: this seems to be conventional literary phraseology. The closest parallels in classical Latin are Liv. 42.59.8 *fluctuante rege inter spem metumque* and Suet. Claud. 4.4 *ne semper inter spem et metum fluctuemur*. Predicative use of adjectives such as *medius*, *dubius*, or *incertus* with *fluctuo* is common: cf. e.g. Liv. 36.10.4 *incerti fluctuantur animi magnae partis Larisaeorum inter metum praesentem hostium et uerecundiam absentium sociorum*; Sen. Ep. 4.5 *plerique inter mortis metum et uitae tormenta miseri fluctuantur*; Jer. In Is. 14.51.20 *qui inter uitia atque uirtutes medius fluctuat ... iste rectissime uocatur beta semicocta*. Without *fluctuo* the phrase is paralleled at Virg. Aen. 1.218 *spemque metumque inter dubii*; cf. e.g. Liv.

8.13.17 *tot populos inter spem metumque suspensos animi habetis*, Tac. Ann. 2.2.1 *his ac talibus inter spem metumque iactatum spes uicit*.

For the psychological sense of *fluctuo* see also Jer. Ep. 22.35.2 *si cogitationibus forte quis fluctuat*.

§2: Preparation and start of the escape

erant mihi: the imperfect is used for a state which forms part of the background for the actions subsequently expressed in the historic present. If Malchus regards these he-goats as his own (*mihi* = ‘belonging to me’, rather than ‘entrusted to me’ or similar) he avoids the problem of admitting theft.

mirae magnitudinis: forms of *mirus*, *mirari* etc. with *magnitudo* are found in Livy (e.g. 21.22.8 *tum uidisse post sese serpentem mira magnitudine*) and Pliny the Elder (e.g. NH 1.8.14 *mirae magnitudines serpentium*; 9.10). The ablative of quality, which is the norm in early and classical Latin, is replaced by the genitive in later periods: Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 68, 108). *mira magnitudo* is often used in connection with the (at least potentially) supernatural. At VH 28.3 a *draco mirae magnitudinis* is killed by Hilarion. For *mirus* cf. 2.3 *ad loc.* and Introduction 3.1.3.

utres facio: the significance of the skin bags and the relationship of this passage with Sall. *Iug.* 90–1 are discussed below. This phrase corresponds to Sall. *Iug.* 91.1 *ex coriis utres uti fierent, curabat*. Tardieu (1990: 85–6) quotes Victor Place, *Ninive et l’Assyrie*, book I, part I, section 6, ch. 3, vol. 2, 1870: 135–7 (*non uidi*) for the preparation and use of inflated skins observed in nineteenth-century Mesopotamia.

eorumque carnes uiatico praeparo: these provisions will dwindle quickly (cf. below *partes carniū portantes* and *maefactae carnes et ex parte lapsae uix tridui cibum pollicebantur*, 8.4). On the content cf. Sall. *Iug.* 91.1 *inopiam frumenti lenire*.

primo uespere: cf. 10.1 *ad uesperam*, with note.

putantibus nos dominis secreto cubitare: this continues the theme of deception. The masters' conviction that they know the nature of the couple's relationship enables the pair to flee: cf. 6.9 *nulla fugae suspicio*.

secreto cubitare: a hexameter ending of the colon. On hexameter in prose cf. Goodyear (1972: 89–91), who thinks it unlikely that the first sentence of Tac. *Ann.* was designed to be read as a hexameter; he discusses parallels of hexameter lines in prose.

cubitare: the frequentative seems to indicate habit: 'the masters thought that we were, as usual, lying in our private spot.' Cf. the examples cited at *TLL* IV.1273.75ff. for the use of *cubito* as proper frequentative, e.g. Plaut. *Pseud.* 1177 *tunc etiam cubitare solitu's in cunis puer?* Cic. *Cael.* 36 *tecum semper pusio cum maiore sorore cubitauit*; Festus 102 Lindsay *lectus dictus uel a collectis foliis ad cubitandum*; Sen. *Epist.* 90.14 *qui se complicuit in dolio et in eo cubitauit?*; Colum. 8.11.17 [*pulli*] *qui sic [sc. humi] cubitant tollendi sunt*; Apul. *Met.* 1.15 *ianitor pone stabuli ostium humi cubitans*; Jer. *VH* 5.2 *super nudam humum stratumque iunceaum usque ad mortem cubitauit*. *cubitare* is a synonym for *dormire* at Itin. *Alex.* 34 *quod solito diutius ac profundius cubitauisset*; Jer. *Ep.* 50.5.5 (an allusion to Cic. *Cael.* 36) *uolo omnes qui propter nocturnos forsitan metus soli cubitare non possunt uxores ducere*. While the word can have a sexual innuendo (cf. esp. Cic. *Cael.* 36 above), this is only made explicit in constructions with *cum* (e.g. Plaut. *St.* 547–8 *ego tibi meam filiam bene quicum cubitares dedi: / nunc mihi reddi ego aequom esse abs te quicum cubitem censeo*), which does not apply here.

inuadimus iter: a phrase reminiscent of Virg. *Aen.* 6.260: *tuque inuade uiam* (the Sibil to Aeneas). The phrase may have been suggested to Jerome by its use in Evagrius' translation of VA 59.2: *inuaderent iter quod ducit ad Aegyptum*. Other possible borrowings from this text are VM 9.7 *Iesu bone* (see note *ad loc.*) and the instruction to pass on the moral of the story in the concluding paragraph, VM 11 *uos narrate eqs.* with notes.

utres: attention is drawn to the skins again; for their use see 8.3 below.

partes carniū: probably 'the pieces of meat' rather than 'part of the meat'. Cf. Val. Max. 1.6.5 *carnis quoque in modum nimbi dissipatae partes ceciderunt*; Priap. 70.3 *carnum partibus additis in ignem* ('cuts of meat'), with Goldberg (1992: 350–1). For the plural *carnes* cf. VM 4.3.

portantes: for the use of *porto* instead of more literary *fero* cf. 3.2 *pauxillulum nescio quid portans uiatici* with note s.v. *portans*.

§3: Crossing a river with the help of inflated goat skins used as floats

For the actual practice of using inflated skins as floats see Hornell (1946: 6–20) and Tardieu (1990: 71–102), who provide descriptions and photographs of archaeological evidence for this practice which dates back to ninth-century Assyria; cf. also Casson (1971: 3n.) for more depictions. The description of a panel from the palace of Sennacherib (705–681 BC) (British Museum, Mansell Collection no. 430) seems to parallel the depiction of the couple's method of crossing the river: 'two men ... are floating leisurely down-stream, each balanced precariously astride of an inflated skin. One skin is small, presumably that of a goat...' (Hornell 1946: 7). Malchus' phrase *inflatis*

et ascensis utribus aquis nos credimus paulatim pedibus subremigantes appears to describe a similar position to floaters observed in twentieth-century Persia, Central Asia, and Northern India:

These skins float with the shortened legs uppermost, the owner **lying across the body** with his feet in the water. Sculling with a short-handled, broad-bladed paddle and **splashing with his feet**, he makes fairly good progress across a river if the current be moderate; even so, his course is so oblique **that he lands on the opposite bank some way downstream from his starting-point**, and this leeway has to be allowed for if he is to land at any specified place (Hornell 1946: 10; my emphases).

On floating techniques see also the account of Turkestan and North India (Hornell 1946: 12).

In Greek and Latin literature the use of this type of float is overwhelmingly associated with armies. Soldiers had to keep their luggage as small as possible in order to march efficiently, and animal skins would have provided a maximum of buoyancy without taking up much space during transport. In addition they were also useful as containers of drinking water, which made them doubly efficient. Hornell (1946: 7) notes that the iconographic record confirms the habit of carrying skins for Mesopotamian soldiers. For classical antiquity see the accounts of Xen. *An.* 1.5.10, Arr. *Anab.* 3.29.4, 1.3.6, with Casson (1971: 3n.); Curt. 7.5.18, 7.7.16. At Caes. *Civ.* 1.48.7 *utres* are a standard piece of equipment of Spanish soldiers: *quibus erat procliue tranare flumen quod consuetudo eorum omnium est ut sine utribus ad exercitum non eant*. Cf. Liv. 21.27.5 *Hispani sine ulla mole in utres uestimentis coniectis ipsi caetris superpositis incubantes flumen tranauere*; 21.47.5. Suet. *Iul.* 57 ascribes the same technique to Caesar himself: *si flumina morarentur, nando traiciens uel innixus inflatis utribus*. A part of the emperor Jovian's army uses skins to cross the Tigris in retreat from the Persians in Amm. 25.8.2; see also Tardieu (1990: 96–9).

Frontinus and Florus mention the use of a skin float by the Roman army to help break the siege of the town Cyzicus by Mithridates in accounts which closely resemble

each other. At Flor. 1.40.16 it is the commander Lucullus himself who is smuggled into the besieged town:

sed fiduciam oppidanis resistendi nuntius fecit docens aduentare Lucullum, qui – horribile dictu – per medias hostium naues utre suspensus et **pedibus iter adgubernans** uidentibus procul quasi marina pristis euaserat;

at Frontin. *Str.* 3.13.6 it is a messenger on a float made from two inflated skins into which a message has been sewn.

L. Lucullus ... militem e suis nandi et nauticae artis peritum iussit insidentem duobus inflatis utribus litteras insutas habentibus, quos ab inferiore parte duabus regulis inter se distantibus conmiserat, ire septem milium passuum traiecit; quod ita perite gregalis fecit, ut **cruribus uelut gubernaculis dimissis cursum dirigeret** et procul uidentis, qui in statione erant, marinae specie beluae deciperet.

The detail of steering with one's feet in both Florus (*pedibus iter adgubernans*) and Frontinus (*ut cruribus uelut gubernaculis dimissis cursum dirigeret*) is paralleled in the VM: *paulatim pedibus subremigantes*. Jerome's younger contemporary Orosius (*Hist. adv. pag.* 2.6.2.14, written between 416 and 418) describes the same scene as Florus and Frontinus, using the same participle *subremigans* as Jerome: he may have been influenced by the VM.¹

The passages cited give a broad picture of the use of inflated skins in use in northern, eastern, and western parts of the Roman Empire and its periphery. Although the number of references shows that the use of animal skins was widespread in antiquity it is not altogether clear how exotic the writers we have considered would have found this way of crossing water. Especially in the case of Frontinus and Florus, with their comparison of the floater to a sea animal, there seems to be a strong implication that this is unusual, and in Frontinus the exclamation *horribile dictu* confirms this. Jerome's imitation of the striking aspects of these depictions suggests that he is interested in paradoxography.

¹ Orosius knew and used other works by Jerome. On his use of Jerome's additions to Eusebius' *Chronicon* cf. Grant (1999: 109).

The element of sensationalism in Jerome's depiction appears the more pronounced if we compare the *VM* episode to the more sober account of Sallust *Iug.* 90–1, which Morales (2007: 204) cites as the principal model for this passage. For Jerome's use of Sallust and other historians in the *VM* see the Introduction, section 2.2.2. Sallust recounts the crossing of the river Tanais as follows:

90.3 sic incepto suo occultato pergit ad flumen Tanain. ceterum in itinere cottidie pecus exercitui per centurias, (91.1) item turmas aequaliter distribuerat et, **ex coriis utres uti fierent, curabat; simul inopiam frumenti lenire et ignaris omnibus parare quae mox usui forent.** denique sexto die, quom ad flumen uentum est, maxuma uis utrius effecta. 2. ibi castris leui munimento positus milites cibum capere atque, uti simul cum occasu solis egrederentur, paratos esse iubet, omnibus sarcinis abiectis aqua modo seque et iumenta onerare.

The correspondences in content between this passage and the *VM* are (1) the preparation of the skins in anticipation, before the river is reached; (2) the double motivation to slaughter the animals, of which the provision of food is mentioned first, while the usefulness of the skins emerges later. While it seems reasonable to suppose that in Sallust the skins are also employed to carry the river water through the desert after the crossing (cf. below), in the narrative of the *VM* the skins are not mentioned any more after they feature as floats: the narrator is not interested in their practical function apart from providing a picturesque means of transport.²

cumque: cf. note on *sicque*, 7.2.

peruenissemus ad fluuium – nam decem milibus aberat: this river is most probably the Mygdonius, an eastern tributary to the Chaboras which runs past Nisibis and forms the eastern border of the Roman province of Mesopotamia (Tardieu 1990: 80; cf.

² With very different functions, *utres* feature in the Latin novel. At Petr. 42.4 inflated skins are used by Trimalchio as an absurd analogy for the human condition: *utres inflati ambulamus*. At Apul. *Met.* 2.32 Lucius thinks he kills three burglars, but they turn out to be goat skins (3.9): *nam cadauera illa iugulorum hominum erant tres utres inflati uariisque secti foraminibus et, ut uespertinum proelium meum recordabar, his locis hiantes, quibus latrones illos uulneraueram*. The explanation for this mistake follows at 3.15–19: the skins have been bewitched by his host's wife into behaving like men.

Acta Sanctorum s.v. Oct. 9, 63 A). See note on 5.1 *grandi amne transmisso*, and cf. especially Opelt (1979: 151).

aquis nos credimus: cf. 9.2 *sinistrae nos foueae credimus* and 10.3 *non tamen ei me credens ut sorori*, with note.

subremigantes: in combination with *paulatim* the prefix *sub-* must refer to gentle or gradual motion (cf. *OLD* s.v. *sub-*), even though according to the *OLD* the main sense of the verb is '[t]o make rowing or paddling movements underneath': cf. Plin. *NH* 9.88, Virg. *Aen.* 10.227. As discussed above, the same verb is used to indicate the steering of an inflated skin by Orosius *Hist. adv. pag.* 2.6.2.14.

Goelzer (1884: 185–6) discusses a selection of compound verbs with *sub-* in Jerome not including *subremigo*. Often the prefix seems to add a sense of 'indirectly, allusively, in addition to the surface meaning', as in *subaudire*, *subindicare*, *subostendere*; *submurmurare* 'to murmur under one's breath'. Rufinus mocks Jerome's habit of coining new verbs by adding a prefix at *Ap.* 1.41: *quae Apostolum subindicasse dicis, tu perindica, qui non solum ea quae subindicata, uerum et quae confirmata ab eo scribis esse, nunc damnas.*³

in alteram nos exponente ripam: for the hyperbaton *alteram ... ripam* with *nos* in the Wackernagel position see the Introduction, section 3.2.4b–c.

§ 4: *The provisions of meat and water are about to become scanty.*

³ Noted and discussed by Philip Burton in a paper presented at the International Medieval Congress in Leeds, 14/07/2009.

inter haec: temporal *inter* ('during') is used with *haec* e.g. in Sall. *Cat.* 43.3 *inter haec parata*; post-classical *inter haec* for *interim* from Livy (e.g. 1.29.1) onwards; *haec inter* from Hor. *Sat.* 2.6.59, 77, Virg. *Aen.* 8.671. On Ammianus' frequent use of temporal *inter quae* (e.g. 17.6.1, 17.7.4) and *inter haec* (e.g. 14.6.1, 15.5.9; *haec inter* is less frequent and probably artificial, at 25.7.4, 27.9.8, 28.2.10) see Fesser (1932: 5).

madefactae carnes: perhaps to be related to 7.2, where the ants prevent their food from decaying: *ne madefacta humus in herbam horrea uerteret*.

uix tridui cibum pollicebantur: luckily the couple are discovered on the third day (*post diem tertium*, 9.1) by the master, who brings ample provisions and is obligingly killed by a lioness. Perhaps the phrase here foreshadows the time frame for the next event.

§5: *The couple continue their flight, moving chiefly by night, and full of fear of discovery*

promouemur: for the mediopassive use cf. *TLL* X. 2.1894.31ff.: Liv. 24.10.10 (as an instance of a miracle): *hastam Martis Praeneste sua sponte promotam esse*; Vitruv. 10.3.7 *extra finem centri promouentur* '[the load] slips away from the middle [of the carrying-poles]' (translation: Granger 1934: 301); Cels. *Med.* 8.12.1 (on dislocation of the jaw): *maxilla in priorem partem propellitur; ... si utraque [parte], totum mentum in exteriorem partem promouetur*. Throughout the development of the Latin language there was a tendency for the inflected mediopassive to be replaced by the reflexive construction: thus already in Plautus *me orno* (e.g. *Ep.* 194) is found alongside *ornor* 'I adorn myself' (e.g. *Poen.* 123). The mediopassive is therefore more likely to mark an old-fashioned style. Contrast VM 9.10 *mouere nos ausi*, an example of the more regular

reflexive construction; and for *promouere* cf. *Ep.* 22.21.5 *promouit se leo de cubili suo* (Jerem. 4:7, probably from the Vetus Latina; the Vulgate version has *ascendit* for *promouit se*, avoiding the popular construction).

insidias late uagantium Saracenorum: *insidias* echoes 6.1 *o multiplices et ineffabiles eius insidiae* (of the devil); the fear of *insidiae* is also the reason for the lioness' departure from the cave at 9.11.

late uagantium Saracenorum picks up 4.1 *Saraceni incertis semper sedibus huc atque illuc uagantur*, where fear of Saracens motivates travellers to join forces: see notes *ad loc.* Having experienced a Saracen ambush, the couple naturally fear a repetition. For *late uagantium* cf. Jer. *In Is.* 5.21.13–17 (CCL 73 p. 208 lines 19–21) *hi per totam habitant solitudinem, de quibus puto et poetam dicere: 'lateque uagantes Barcaei'* (Virg. *Aen.* 4.42–3; the Teubner text has *furentes* instead of *uagantes*), cf. *Epp.* 126.2.2, 129.4.3; *Amm.* 14.4.5 *ita autem quoad uixerint late palantur*.

propter ardorem solis nimium: for the heat of the sun cf. 5.2 *aeris quoque intemperies praeter pudicitiam nihil aliud uelari patiebatur*. A variation on this combination of *propter* and *nimius* is found at 10.1 *quos ob nimiam uelocitatem dromedarios uocant*.

paueo miser etiam referens: et iam securus toto tamen corpore perhorresco: one of a number of narratorial remarks expressing how the narrator is affected by the recollection of the events which he narrates (Fuhrmann 1976: 62). Others are 9.3 *quid putas fuisse nobis animi? quid terroris?*; 9.4 *rursus collabor et timore lingua balbutit; et quasi clamante domino muttire non audeo*; 9.9 *quis hoc umquam crederet ut ante os nostrum bestia pro nobis dimicaret?* Fuhrmann contrasts this type of comment with the proleptic remarks at 3.5 *quid erubesco confiteri infidelitatem meam?*, 3.7 *uae misero mihi! uici pessimam uictoriam* and 6.1 *o nihil umquam tutum apud diabolum! o*

multiplies et ineffabiles eius insidiae! sic quoque me latentem inuenit inuidia, where Malchus the narrator distances himself from the judgement of Malchus the protagonist.

toto tamen corpore: the placement of *tamen* in the second position between noun and adjective makes this phrase emphatic: it heightens the impression of extreme fear that is conveyed in these words. The VM often has clitics and unemphatic adverbs after emphatic modifiers, but they are particularly concentrated in this chapter. Cf. above 3.4 *eorum me magisterio*, 3.8 *lupi statim morsibus*, 4.1 *incertis semper sedibus*, 6.2 *euaginato me ... gladio* 6.5 *tua magis mors*, 7. 3 *pulchrum mihi spectaculum*, 8.3 *in alteram nos exponente ripam*, 8.4 *futurae nos siti*; below 9.2 *sinistrae nos foueae*, 9.6 *caeca sint omnia*, 9.9 *sublato autem illo metu*, 9.10 *pudicitiae tantum conscientia*, 9.11 *illius nobis semper ... occursum*, 10.1 *sub tali ergo terrore, decima tandem die*. In many cases this is not simply a question of ‘Wackernagel’s law’ (cf. Introduction 3.2.4b).

Ch. 9: The Second Cave and the Lioness

The couple find themselves pursued by two figures riding on camels (§1). They hide in the entrance of a deep subterranean cave and entrust themselves to the judgement of God (§2). The master and a fellow servant arrive at the mouth of the cave (§3). The master sends the servant to drag the couple out of the cave (§5). Entering the cave, the servant is blinded by the sudden darkness. He shouts out for the couple to give themselves up to the master (§6). At the sound of his voice a lioness appears from the recesses of the cave and kills him (§7). Meanwhile the master grows impatient. He comes after the servant and is killed in the same way (§8). The couple rejoice over their enemies' death but remain terrified for their own lives (§9). They remain in their hiding place, feeling protected by their chastity (§10). In the morning the lioness leaves the cave, carrying her cub. The couple wait before daring to go outside (§11).

§1: Malchus and the woman notice they are pursued and see a cave.

post diem tertium: 'on the third day', not 'after the third day' (this is clear from Cato Agr. 65.1: *postridie aut post diem tertium, quam lecta erit, facito*: 'do it on the second or third day after it has been collected'). The phrase is also used by Christian writers of the relation between Christ's death and resurrection: Ps.-Cyprian¹ *De rebaptismate* 9 *oportet eum (sc. Iesum) ... interfici et post diem tertium resurgere*, Lact.

¹ An anonymous writer, probably from the fourth century: Rauschen (1916:10).

Div. Inst. 7.17.3 *post diem tertium reuiuiscet*. This timing coincides with the end of the couple's provisions: 8.4 *carnes ... uix tridui cibum pollicebantur*.

dubio aspectu: the only parallel for this phrase is *Vitr.* 6.2.5, in an aesthetic context (appreciation of clear proportions): *uti non sit considerantibus aspectus eurythmiae dubius*.

respicimus: 'we see as we look back': *OLD* 2b s.v. *respicio*. The use with accusative and infinitive is a high-style literary construction: cf. *Virg. Aen.* 5.666 *respiciunt atram in nimbo uolitare fauillam*; *Liv.* 34.50.8 *respiciunt praesidium ab Acrocorintho descendens protinus duci ad portam atque abire*; *Stat. Theb.* 12.295–6 *ubi per campos errore fatiscere uano / inmeritam Argian supero respexit ab axe*. *respicimus* here forms a figura etymologica with *aspectu*.

duos camelis sedentes: although the riders cannot yet be securely identified, their means of transport marks them out as Saracens: cf. 4.2 *camelorum... sessores*.

uenire concite: the adverb *concite* is very rare according to *TLL* IV.38.38.

statimque mens mali praesaga putare dominum meditari mortem, solem cernere nigrescentem: the two historic infinitives *putare* and *cernere* must refer to the activities of the personified *mens* of both Malchus and the woman. This unusual perspective appears to be influenced by the Virgilian model *Aen.* 10.843 *adgnouit longe gemitum praesaga mali mens*, where the *mens* 'recognised' (*adgnouit*) the groan. Cicero uses *cerno* with the mind as grammatical subject, specifically of intellectual cognition, in contrast to sensual perception: *Acad. pr.* 129 *mentis acie qua uerum cerneretur* ('the sharpness of the mind by means of which the truth is seen'); *Nat.* 1.49 *ut primum non sensu sed mente cernatur*. Cicero's use of *mens cernit* in a non-sensory context is adapted by Christians and used especially for contemplation of the divine: *Lact. Div. Inst.* 3.9.13

nascimur, ut ... ipsum factorem rerum omnium contemplemur id est mente cernamus; cf. Lact. *Div. Inst.* 3.27.16, Ambr. *Exp. ps.* 118.11.8, Paulinus of Nola *Ep.* 49.10, Aug. *Ep.* 148.2; but Jerome tends to use the phrase for more concrete types of perception, as here. Note especially the parallel use with *praesaga* at *In Is.* 18 praef. *ut praesaga mente iam cernam quantorum in me rabies concitanda sit* and e.g. *Ep.* 108.10.2 *iurabat cernere se fidei oculis infantem pannis inuolutum uagientem in praesepe eqs.*

statimque: the adverb reinforced by (often redundant) *-que* is a mark of Jerome's style: cf. 7.2 *sicque* with note, 8.3. *cumque*, 9.1 (below) *dumque*. Combinations of this kind are more frequent in the *VP* and *VH*: *cumque* is found fifteen times in total, eleven of them in the *VH*.

mens mali praesaga: a Virgilian phrase: *Aen.* 10.843 *adgnouit longe gemitum praesaga mali mens*, of Mezentius' foreboding at the death of his son Lausus. The phrase is imitated at Sen. *Thyest.* 958 *mens ante sui praesaga mali*, Lucan 6.414–15 *cunctos belli praesaga futuri / mens agitat*; 7.186–7 *praesaga malorum / si data mens homini est*; 9.120 *tristis, ut in multo mens est praesaga timore*; and Val. Flacc. *Arg.* 1.694 *mensque mali praesaga quatit*.

A borrowing from Virgil consisting of three consecutive words is a rare phenomenon in the *VM* (but cf. 8.2 *inter spem et metum medii* with Virg. *Aen.* 1.218 *spemque metumque inter dubii*). By contrast, the *VP* quotes two complete lines (cf. Weingarten 2005: 38 with note 89). For thematic allusions to Virgil in the *VM* cf. esp. chapters 6 and 7, and Introduction 2.2.3.

meditari mortem: in the context *meditari* means 'plan', and the master is correctly perceived by the fugitives as wanting to kill them.

solem cernere nigrescentem: formations with *sol* and *niger* can be used of dusk, e.g. Pacuvius *Trag.* fr. 78 Schierl *solisque exortu capessit candorem, occasu nigret* (‘and at sunrise it [the sky] becomes luminous, at sunset it blackens’). Pacuvius also uses the concept of a sudden outbreak of storm on a clear day: *Trag.* fr. 239.3–4 Schierl, quoted in Cic. *Div.* 1.24: *interea prope iam occidente sole inhorrescit mare, tenebrae conduplicantur noctisque et nimbum occaecat nigror*, with Schierl *ad loc.* (2006: 494–7). *nigrescere* is used of Camilla’s experience of dying at Virg. *Aen.* 11.824: *tenebris nigrescunt omnia circum*. In the Christian tradition the combination of *sol* and *niger* is used of the final extinction of the sun accompanying the opening of the sixth seal at Rev. 6:12: *et sol factus est niger tamquam saccus cilicinus et luna tota facta est sicut sanguis*. Whether the darkening of the sun here is real or metaphorical, it serves to express the despair of the couple as they notice their pursuers, and it is firmly associated with impending death. Darkness is used in a similar way at 6.3 *iam uenerat tenebrosior solito et mihi nimium matura nox* (with note), where it also introduces a cave episode.

nigrescentem: Goelzer (1884: 178–9) remarks on Jerome’s predilection, in accordance with contemporary fashion, for inchoative verbs in *-scere*; this statement needs to be revised in accordance with the much more rigorous analysis of Haverling (2000) on the precise semantic functions of *sco*-verbs, pointing out that different verb stems acquired the suffix at different periods. *nigresco* ‘grow dark’ is in fact attested from Virgil onwards (cf. Haverling 2000: 430), and Jerome’s use here is likely to derive from Virg. *Aen.* 11.824 (quoted in the preceding note). It is thus perfectly classical (cf. Haverling 2000: 458).

dumque: cf. *statimque*, above, and *sicque*, 7.2, with notes.

uestigiis per arenas nos proditos intelligimus: this phrase registers the failure of the couple's attempt to cover their tracks by crossing the river. At 9.3 below their *uestigium* leads the pursuers to the cave in which the couple hide.

uestigiis per arenas: *per arenas* is an adnominal prepositional expression, 'our footsteps through the sand'. See Wharton (2009) for an overview of this use in Latin literature: adnominal prepositions with concrete nouns are 'a constant from Cato through Gregory and accounts for the majority of all APPs [adnominal prepositional phrases] in every author except Tacitus', although adnominal prepositional phrases are never as frequent in Latin as e.g. in French and English (Wharton 2009: 206).

offertur ad dexteram specus: passive *offerre* in the sense 'come into view, appear' is not unusual: *TLL* X(2).502.72. Cf. e.g. Livy 1.31.8 *nullam ei oblatam caelestium speciem*; Val. Fl. 7.328–9 *patuere fores oblataque contra / omnia*; Tac. *Hist.* 4.83.1 *Aegyptiorum antistites sic memorant, Ptolemaeo regi ... oblatum per quietem decore eximio ... iuuenem, qui moneret, ut ... effigiem suam acciret*, 4.84.2 *minax facies ... offertur*, Ann. 13.41.3 *adicitur miraculum uelut numine oblatum*; Plin. *Ep.* 7.27.2 *offertur ei mulieris figura humana grandior pulchriorque*; Ambr. *De excessu fratris Satyris* 1.72 *ades ... et semper offerris*.

ad dexteram: the use of the preposition *ad* with *dexteram* (sc. *partem*) to indicate rest as well as motion is already found in Plautus: *Rud.* 156 *hac ad dexteram [sunt homines]* (*TLL* V.1.932.43ff.). The classical construction for the static sense 'on the right' is *ab* + ablative: Sävborg (1941: 6), with a reference to *TLL* I.48ff. In later Latin the frequency of static *ad dexteram* increases. In Christian writers this may be a result of frequent references to Ps. 109:1, which in the Old Latin version reads *sede ad dexteram meam* (Jerome's Vulgate version has *a dextris meis*). This notion is adopted in the

indicative for Christ's seat at the right hand of God and included in the Nicene Creed (*sedet ad dexteram Patris*). During the transition to Romance the preposition *ad* continues to be used of the four points of the compass to indicate either movement or rest.

Eventually French 'à' replaces both Latin *ab* and *ad* (Sävborg 1941: 22, 32).

specus: this cave recalls the *spelunca* of 6.3. The present cave is also called *spelunca* (10.2, 10.8) and *antrum* (10.6). This is probably literary *uariatio* rather than a change in the perception of the cave.

longe sub terram penetrans: this detail proves crucial in the subsequent development as the far recesses of the cave hide the saving lioness (and her cub). The description may owe something to Cacus' cave at Virg. *Aen.* 8.193 *hic spelunca fuit uasto summota recessu*.

§2: *The couple enter the first part of the cave and entrust themselves to God's judgement.*

timentes uenenata animalia: the fear is unfounded in this case: the animal in the cave is dangerous but not poisonous. *timentes* echoes the earlier *timemus*.

solent quippe uiperae, reguli et scorpiones ceteraque huiuscemodi feruorem solis declinantia umbras petere: a parenthetical remark of scientific content (cf. the excursus on the ants in 7.2, the description of the floating skins in 8.3, and the eye adjusting to the change from light to darkness at 9.6 below).

The shade-seeking snake is used as a metaphor of the devil at Jer. *Ep.* 88.1: *nequaquam antiquus serpens sibilat, sed contortus et euisceratus in cauernarum tenebris delitescens solem clarum ferre non sustinet*.

uiperae, reguli et scorpiones ceteraque huiuscemodi feruorem solis

declinantia: for these creatures and their habits cf. the contradictory account in Jer. *Ep.*

7.3.1 *nos ... quasi reguli et scorpiones arentia quaeque sectamur* and *Ep.* 69.6.4; a similar phrase is used at *Tract. Psalm.* 90.4 *licet ambules in deserto istius saeculi: si te percusserit scorpio, si regulus, si aspis, si cetera uenenata animalia, securus esto de sanitate: serpens in eremo suspensus est.*

The phrase contains an enumeration of three species (*uiperae, reguli, scorpiones*) followed by a summarising phrase which defines their salient shared feature. For the AB&C co-ordination of the three species (*uiperae, reguli et scorpiones*) see Pinkster (1969), who challenges the notion that Cicero and Caesar do not use the pattern AB&C for co-ordination of items ‘on the same level’ (Pinkster 1969: 259), referring to Nisbet (1961: 160). For the summarising and defining phrase with *-que* (*ceteraque huiuscemodi ... declinantia*) cf. e.g. Cic. *Nat.* 2.127 *et bestiarum genera et arborum omniumque rerum quae a terra stirpibus containerentur*; *Leg. Man.* 40; *Vitr.* 10.7.4 *merularum ... uoces atque acrobatae bibentiaque et eadem mouentia <se> sigilla ceteraque, quae delectationibus oculorum et aurium usu sensus eblandiantur*; *Curt.* 3.4.10 *monstrabantur urbium sedes Lyrnesi et Thebes, Typhonis quoque specus et Corycium nemus, ubi crocum gignitur, ceteraque, in quibus nihil praeter famam durauerat*; *Colum.* 2.14 *cinerem caenumque cloacarum et culmos ceteraque, quae euerruntur*; 3.14.3; 12.18.5; *Quint. Inst.* 2.7.25 ‘*uortices*’ *et* ‘*uorsus*’ *ceteraque ad eundem modum*; *Gell.* 18.8.1 ὁμοιοτέλευτα *et* ἰσοκατάληκτα *et* πάρισα *et* ὁμοιόπτωτα *ceteraque huiusmodi scitamenta*; *Aug. Civ.* 2.5 *et Graecos et Romanos aliasque gentes*; see also TLL V.2.884.40–1. Tidner (1922: 54) quotes SHA Alex. 41.3 *fullones et uestitores et pistorum et pincernae, omnes castrenses*

ministri (rejecting the editorial insertion *et* before *omnes*), where the summary function is performed by the asyndeton of *omnes castrenses ministri*.

reguli: ‘basilisks’, a type of snake with a crest. *regulus* is the diminutive of *rex*, probably without connection to Malchus ‘Rex’; cf. βασιλίσκος, the Greek diminutive of βασιλεύς ‘king’. The transliterated form *basiliscus* is used of a snake in the Vulgate, Ps. 90:13 *super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis et conculcabis leonem et draconem*. It is said to be flying at Is. 30:6: *in terra tribulationis et angustiae leaena et leo ex eis uipera et regulus uolans*. For basilisks as a type of snake cf. Amm. 28.1.40 *nocens ut basilisci serpentes*; Isid. *Orig.* 12.4.6–8:

6. basiliscus Graece, Latine interpretatur regulus, eo quod rex serpentium sit, adeo ut eum uidentes fugiant, quia olfactu suo eos necat; nam et hominem uel si aspiciat interimit [cf. Plin. *NH* 29.66] ... 7. ... est autem longitudine semipedalis; albis maculis lineatus. 8. **reguli autem, sicut scorpiones, arentia quaeque sectantur** [cf. Jer. *Ep.* 7.3.1, 69.6.4], et postquam ad aquas uenerint, ὑδροφόβους et lymphaticos faciunt.

6. *Basilisk* in Greek is *regulus* (‘kinglet’) in Latin, because it is the king of snakes, so that those who see it flee, because it kills them by its smell, for it kills even a man if it looks at him. ... 7. ... It is half a foot in length, lined with white spots. 8. **Reguli, like scorpions, seek dry ground** and after coming to water they make men hydrophobic and frenzied (translation: Grant 1999: 138, adapted).

intrauimus quidem speluncam: *quidem* probably refers forward to the following sentence, *sed statim in ipso introitu sinistrae nos foueae credimus*: ‘we were afraid of poisonous animals; and it is true that we entered the cave, but we entrusted ourselves to a crevice in its very entrance’. Alternatively, *quidem* may be adversative, i.e. almost synonymous with *tamen*, and refer back to *timentes*: ‘although we were afraid of poisonous animals, we nevertheless entered the cave’. For this possible, although rare, shade of *quidem* cf. Solodow (1978: 75–82).

For the *uariatio* of words meaning ‘cave’ see note on 9.1 *specus*, above.

sed statim in ipso introitu sinistrae nos foueae credimus nequaquam ultra progredientes: a *uariatio* of right and left: the cave was *ad dexteram* (above), the niche (*fouea*) is on the left. At Heliod. 2.12.2–3 the courtesan Thisbe's proximity to the entrance of an underground labyrinth proves fatal, while the heroine Charicleia, for whom Thisbe is mistaken, is saved by hiding in its further recesses.

sinistrae nos foueae credimus: for the pronoun inserted between the adjective and the noun to which it belongs cf. 8.4 *toto tamen corpore*, with note. *nos ... credimus* is paralleled at 8.3 *aquis nos credimus*; cf. also 10.3 *non tamen ei me credens ut sorori*, with note.

ne dum mortem fugimus incurreremus in mortem: a neat paradox, emphasised by the chiasmic structure of the repeated *mortem* and the two verbs; cf. *VH* 2.8 *contempsit mortem ut mortem euaderet*. Depending on whether one takes *mortem ... in mortem* as different or as the same form, the structure is an instance of 'modification' ('the repetition of a word-stem in a new clause in a different form', Wills 1996: 271) or 'parallelism' ('the repetition of identical forms in different units', Wills 1996: 11); but the expression is too quaint to find parallels in poetry. The thought is similar to the proverbial 'out of the frying-pan, into the fire' (Tert. *Carn. Chr.* 6 *de calcaria ... in carbonariam*); cf. Jer. *Ep.* 118.2.1 *iuxta eloquia Prophetarum <leonem> fugiens ursum, extendensque manum ad parietem a colubro mordeatur*.

illudque nobiscum reputantes: it is not quite clear whether the following quotation should be attributed to the couple as a thought in direct speech, or whether it would be better to take *illud* as a marker of a (learned) quotation, such as Jer. *Ep.* 154.1.2 *in his hereticis illud exercendum est Dauiticum*: 'in matutinis interficiebam omnes peccatores terrae' (quoting Ps. 100:8); *Ep.* 127.6.1 *laudans illud Platonium, qui*

philosophiam meditationem mortis esse dixisset; see also Hagendahl (1958: 306 notes 1, 2, and 4) for instances of *illud* (*Vergilianum*). Cf. VM 3.6: *proponebat mihi exempla de Scripturis plurima, inter quae illud ab initio quod Adam quoque et Euam spe diuinitatis supplantauerit*.

reputantes: a literary expression; see the note on 3.7 *reputans*.

si iuuat Dominus miseros habemus salutem; si despicit peccatores habemus

sepulcrum: an adaptation of Sen. *Troad.* 510–12 *fata si miseros iuuant, / habes salutem; fata si uitam negant, / habes sepulcrum*. Morales does not note this allusion, although it was already pointed out by Duckworth (1948); see also Hagendahl (1958: 118). The same dilemmatic structure of a self-comforting thought is found at Jer. *Ep.* 1.2.2:

Spiritu Sancto ... confidam habiturus in utraque parte solacium: si me ad optatos portus aestus adpulerit, gubernator putabor; si inter asperos orationis anfractus inpolitus sermo substiterit, facultatem forsitan quaeras, uoluntatem certe flagitare non poteris.

§3: *The master and his companion, guided by the couple's footmarks, have almost reached the cave.*

This is related in a double rhetorical question encouraging the listener (young Jerome) to imagine Malchus' terror at that point. Cf. 8.5 *paueo miser etiam referens eqs.* with note.

quid putas fuisse nobis animi?: the partitive genitive after neuter pronouns like *quid* is extensively used in early Latin colloquial language according to Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 52–3).

quid terroris, cum ... : not a complete sentence but an ellipsis of *quid <putas fuisse nobis> terroris*, which must be understood from the preceding question. For the emotional effect of the anaphora (here of *quid*) cf. *o nihil ... o multiplices* at 6.1.

§4: *The action is delayed for another paragraph by a narratorial remark in which Malchus relives his fear at that moment.*

o multo grauior expectata quam illata mors!: the exclamation continues the emotional tension raised by the preceding rhetorical questions. A contrast between death expected and death inflicted is perhaps brought out by the homoeoteleuton of the attributive participles *expectata* and *illata*. For the use of *o* with the nominative cf. VM 6.1 *o nihil umquam tutum apud diabolum! o multiplices et ineffabiles eius insidiae!* (with note; cf. Introduction 3.2.2). As at 6.1 the content of the exclamation is presented as a general truth (gnomic). Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 48) observe that the increasing use of the nominative with exclamatory *o* parallels that with *ecce* from Cicero onwards: Sen.

Contr. 7.5.3 *o magnam ... peruersitatem* is rendered in the fourth (?) -century excerpts (ed. Håkanson 1989: 225) as *o magna ... peruersitas*.

rursus collabor et timore lingua balbutit: *balbutit* is best taken as the present of narration (i.e. not a historic present): as Malchus tells of his past fear he feels it again as he tells the tale (cf. 8.5 *paueo miser etiam referens eqs.* with note). He has difficulty speaking because in the situation which he narrates he did not dare to make a sound when his master was calling out in front of the cave. The complexity of narrative levels evoked in this sentence means that *rursus* (which I understand to mean ‘once again’, rather than ‘in my turn’) needs to be interpreted selectively: it only refers to those elements of the past and present situations which are parallel, i.e. fear and inability to speak. But the situations are different: in the present speaking is a requirement, whereas in the cave it is best to be silent in response to the master’s shouts, so that the couple’s location is not betrayed to the master. This interpretation contradicts the version printed and translated in the SC edition, which has it that Malchus expresses the wish to ‘shout out to’ (‘crier vers’) his master but is prevented by fear (cf. note on *et quasi clamante ... audeo*, below).

collabor: most manuscripts and editions have *cum labore*, but Jameson (1936: 417) suggests that this is a corruption of *collabor*, ‘I am breaking down’:

‘... *labore* can hardly be sound. Many scribes felt the difficulty and emended to *cum clamore et timore*, or *cum timore et tremore*, or *laborabamus timore*, or similar readings. A few manuscripts, including MS. 62,² read *collabor et timore* ... This is proved correct without a doubt from the Greek parallel: Ἰδόντες δὲ ἡμεῖς τὸν δεσπότην ἡμῶν, τοιοῦτῳ φόβῳ συνεσχέθημεν ὥς μὴ ἰσχύειν τὰς γλώσσας ἡμῶν εἰς λαλιὰν κινῆσαι, ἀλλὰ πρὸ τῆς τοῦ ξίφους πληγῆς τῇ τοῦ φόβου ὑπερβολῇ νεκροὶ γεγόναμεν. The last two words are clearly a translation of *collabor*, and it seems certain that *cum labore* arose out of *collabor*, probably written *conlabor*, a form which would facilitate the corruption.’ (Jameson 1936: 417)

² I.e. the Neapolitanus; the reading is shared by the Laurentianus.

The Greek translation is rather free and therefore not entirely reliable as a textual witness, and some (admittedly late) manuscripts (e.g. Berolinensis lat. fol. 735, twelfth century, as cited by Morales 2007) have the inverted order *cum timore et labore*, which is palaeographically further removed from *collabor*. One may also prefer the homoeoteleuton produced by *labore* (perhaps with the meaning ‘effort’, resulting in a stutter as it struggles with fear) and *timore* as having a more impressive ring to it than *collabor et timore*, in analogy to the argument supporting *non enim ad pugnandum sed ad praedandum uenerant* at 4.2 (with note). But the expectation of a sonorous homoeoteleuton is also a good reason why scribes may have been misled. On the other hand, Jameson’s suggestion is supported by the fact that Jerome does not normally use *cum* with the ablative to express instrument or cause, as a word search of his corpus in the LLT-A reveals. For a possible literary parallel supporting *collabor* see the conclusion of the next note. The collapse should probably be taken to be metaphorical rather than literal.

balbutit: cf. Jer. *Ep.* 60.1.2 *stupet animus, manus tremit, caligant oculi, lingua balbutit*, with Scourfield (1993: 83). The list in the letter appears to be an indirect imitation, filtered through the versions of Catullus and/or Lucretius (below), of Sappho’s catalogue of symptoms of eros and jealousy, of which loss of voice is one (fr. 31.9 ἄλλ’ ἄκαν μὲν γλῶσσαι ἔαγε†; cf. Cat. 51.7–9 *nihil est super mi / <uocis in ore> / lingua sed torpet*). At Lucr. 3.152–8 these reactions are reinterpreted as symptoms of fear:

uerum ubi uementi magis est commota metu mens,
consentire animam totam per membra uidemus
sudoresque ita palloremque existere toto
corpore et **infringi linguam** uocemque aboriri,
caligare oculos, sonere auris, succidere artus,
denique **concidere ex animi terrore** uidemus
saepe homines ...

Jameson's argument for printing *collabor et timore* (see previous note) gains more weight if the Lucretian parallel is relevant here: the phrase may be a variation on the final item of Lucretius' catalogue, *concidere ex ... terrore*.

et quasi clamante domino muttire non audeo: the 2007 *Sources Chrétiennes* edition prints *et quasi clamare domino mutire* [sic] *non audeo* and translates 'et, tout comme je n'ose crier vers le maître, je n'ose rester muet.' There are at least four problems with this. Firstly, *muttire* does not mean 'to be silent' ('rester muet') but 'to say "mu" or "mut"', i.e. 'to mumble': cf. Charis. *Gramm.* 2 Keil (1957: 1.240) *mu pro muttire Lucilius saturarum libro 'non laudare hominem quemquam neque mu facere inquam'* [Sat. fr. 426 Marx] and *ibid.* '*mutmut non facere audet*', *ut apud Apuleium Platonicum de prouerbiis scriptum est libro II*; also Varr. *LL* 7.101 *mussare dictum, quod muti non amplius quam mu dicunt*, with a quotation from Ennius (fr. inc. 10 Vahlen): *neque, ut aiunt, μῦ facere audent*. Secondly, *non audeo* is translated twice, which is problematic. Thirdly, taking *quasi* in the concessive or adversative sense ('although' or 'whereas') seems improbably strained. Fourthly, *domino* as the indirect object of *clamare* is highly unusual: the *TLL* gives only one single example of *clamare* with the dative, and that in an obscure late text, Sedulius *Carmen paschale* 1.268 *surdis clamare*. In classical Latin the verb is used absolutely, and the normal later construction is with *ad* plus dative.

The text is not discussed in Morales' 2007 apparatus; the table at Morales (1991: 68) notes two manuscripts reading *clamans dominum* and four manuscripts replacing *mutire* with *loqui*. My transcription of the Neapolitanus has an omission of the whole phrase; the Monacensis reads *et quasi clamantem domino muttire non audeo* (*clamantem* is most probably a spelling error), the Laurentianus *et quasi clamante domino non audeo*

loqui, and the Parisinus and Sessorianus have what must be the correct version of the phrase *et quasi clamante domino muttire non audeo*. This translates in a straightforward way: ‘and I do not dare to utter a syllable, as if the master was (now) shouting’; the action belongs to the present of narration, but the feeling of fear is identical to that which Malchus felt in the past. This interpretation appears to be supported beyond reasonable doubt by the adaptation of the second part of the phrase in those manuscripts, including the Laurentianus, which produce the same meaning by using the more common verb *loqui* for *muttire*.

§5: *The master sends the servant into the cave while he waits at the entrance with his sword drawn.*

ipse camelos tenet: even when the master lets go of the camels to go into the cave himself, they will stay where they are, so that the fugitive couple can use them: 9.8, 10.1.

euaginato gladio: a repetition of the instrumental ablative used at 6.1 *euaginato me coepit petere gladio*.

§6: *The slave enters the cave and threatens the couple with death.*

tribus ferme uel quattuor cubitis introgresso: the use of approximate distances makes the account appear very precise and vivid. Some manuscripts (but none of the five which I have seen) have the stylistically lower *fere* for *ferme*. Cf. 2.1 *Maronias triginta*

ferme milibus ab Antiochia, with note; cf. also 4.1 *numero circiter septuaginta* for another approximate number.

famulo: a *uariatio* on the more frequent *seruus*, possibly suggesting a more privileged status than that of the two fugitive *serui*: Isid. *Diff.* 1.525 *inter seruum et famulum. serui sunt in bello capti ... famuli autem ex propriis familiis orti* (*serui* are taken in war, *famuli* bred in the house). Hilarion is a *famulus Dei* at VH 30.4.

nam oculorum istiusmodi natura est, ut post solem umbras intrantibus caeca sint omnia: another scientific observation alongside the description of the ants in ch. 7, the floating skins in ch. 8 and the ruminating camels at 10.1 below (see notes). The detail of a man being blinded as he comes out of a bright light into a dark space is paralleled in the cave simile of Plat. *Rep.* 7, 516e–517a (τὰς δὲ δὴ σκιὰς ἐκείνας πάλιν εἰ δέοι αὐτὸν γνωματεύοντα διαμιλλᾶσθαι τοῖς ἀεὶ δεσμώταις ἐκείνοις, ἐν ᾧ ἀμβλυώττει, πρὶν καταστῆναι τὰ ὄμματα, οὗτος δ' ὁ χρόνος μὴ πάνυ ὀλίγος εἴη τῆς συνηθείας κτλ.); it immediately precedes the discussion of the likely murder of the philosopher at the hands of his companions in the cave. The parallel between this sequence in Plato and in the VM may be indirect or coincidental.

intranstibus caeca sint omnia: for the dative of a generalised plural participle with predicate + *sunt* + *omnia* cf. Jer. *Chron.* praef. (GCS 47 p. 7) *dibacchantibus adhuc in terra nostra barbaris incerta sunt omnia*. This type of phrase seems to imitate a clausula common in Cicero (usually after an emphasised expanded phrase, e.g. Cic. *Clu.* 104 *dicta et exposita et demonstrata sunt omnia*; it is also conspicuous in Tertullian, e.g. *De an.* 17 *qui redundantia fellis auruginant, amara sunt omnia*; Lactantius, e.g. *Div. inst.* 1.5.9 *disposita ordinata effecta sunt omnia*, Augustine, e.g. *Ep.* 146.11 *in Dei conspectu semper sint omnia*. The order *sunt omnia* is more than three times more frequent in the

LLT-A than *omnia sunt*, and ten times as frequent in Jerome (65:6). VM 7.3 *omnium omnia sunt* is one of the exceptions to this tendency.

caeca: not ‘blind’ but ‘dark’, i.e. ‘impossible to see in’, which is the less usual sense of the word: *OLD* s.v. *caecus* 7; *TLL* III.45.45ff. In this sense it is predominantly found in poetry and occasionally in quasi-poetic passages in prose, e.g. Cic. *Dom.* 24 *in illis rei publicae tenebris caecisque nubibus*; at Plin. *NH* 37.68 it is used in an echo of either technical or – perhaps more plausibly – popular language: *[smaragdi] aliqui obscuri, quos uocant caecos* (cf. *ibid.* 37.86). The twofold use of the adjective is explained by Varr. *LL* 9.58 (text and translation by Kent 1951: 2.482–3):

quare in quibus rebus non subest similis natura aut usus, in his uocabulis huiusce modi ratio quaeri non debet: ergo dicitur ut surdus uir, surda mulier, sic surdum theatrum, quod omnes tres <res> ad auditum sunt comparatae; contra nemo dicit cubiculum surdum, <quod> ad silentium, non ad auditum; at si fenestram non habet, dicitur caecum, ut caecus et caeca, quod omnia <non> habent <quod> lumen habere debent.

Wherefore in the names of those things in which there is no likeness of nature or of use as the basis, a relation of this sort ought not to be sought. Accordingly, as a *surdus* ‘deaf’ man is a current term, and a *surda* woman, so also is a *surdum* theatre, because all things are equally intended for the use of hearing. On the other hand, nobody says a *surdum* sleeping room, because it is intended for silence and not for hearing; but if it has no window, it is called *caecum* ‘blind’, as a man is called *caecus* and a woman *caeca*, because not all sleeping-rooms have the light which they ought to have.

uox per antrum sonat: *antrum* is the third of three different words for this cave (cf. above on *spelunca*). The phrase *uox (re-)sonat* is found five times in Plautus, always in questions: *Bacch.* 979 *quoianam uox prope me sonat?*, *Curc.* 111, *Pseud.* 702, *Rud.* 229, *Trin.* 45; for a different sense cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1.328 *nec uox hominem sonat* ‘your voice does not sound human’.

exite furciferi, exite morituri: the repetition of the imperative is separated by one of two parallel vocatives. On geminated imperatives see Wills (1996: 89–95). For the alternating pattern cf. e.g. Plaut. *Ps.* 133 *exite, agite exite, ignaui, male habiti et male*

conciliati (the repeated imperative is separated by the generic imperative *agite*, which reinforces it, and followed by three vocatives, two of them participial); *Aul.* 40 *exi, inquam, age exi*. This pattern is imitated in classical poetry, e.g. *Ov. Ars* 1.548 *surge age, surge pater* and *Met.* 4.583 *accede, o coniunx, accede, miserrima*; cf. Virgil's more sophisticated pattern at *Aen.* 6.546 *i decus, i, nostrum* (where the phrase *decus nostrum* is separated by the repetition of the imperative) and his Silver Latin imitators. In Jerome's *Vitae* a similar discontinuous repetition of the imperative is found at *VH* 32.4 *egredere, quid times? egredere, anima mea, quid dubitas?*

furciferi: *furcifer* is a particularly offensive insult according to Dickey (2002: 171):

“one punished with the *furca*”, ... a popular low-register insult most frequently used for castigating slaves in comedy. There it is employed by a slave threatening to torture another slave (*Pl. Cas.* 139), a youth berating a *leno* for theft (*Pl. Poen.* 784), a slave abusing a *leno* for all he is worth (*Pl. Ps.* 361), etc. Elsewhere it is also used for castigating slaves (e.g. *Hor. S.* 2.7.22) or freedmen (e.g. *Sen. Con.* 7.6.4), and Cicero uses it to his opponents in moments of particular anger (e.g. *Pis.* 14).

Cf. also Opelt (1965: 59 n. 6). The rarity of the word and its tendency to be found in clusters in Seneca (three times in *Contr.* 7.6) and Apuleius (three times in *Met.* 10) strongly suggests that it was used from classical Latin onwards as an artificial echo of comic language.

morituri: cf. Suet. *Claud.* 21.6: *ave imperator, morituri te salutant*, an exclamation by *naumachiarii* who call themselves *morituri* in order to win the emperor's pity: they are convicted criminals destined to die in the staged naval battle, unlike gladiators in the arena, for whom death was less inevitable (Leon 1939). In the vocative the use is paralleled at *Luc.* 2.523–4, a reproachful self-address: *in medios belli non ire furores / iam dudum moriture paras?* The *TLL* VIII.1496.5ff. gives the sense ‘fated to die, certain to die’ for *Virg. Geo.* 4.458 *moritura puella*.

quid statis? quid moramini? a rhetorical double question (with anaphora), with *uariatio* in the almost synonymous verbs.

exite, dominus uocat: cf. Sen. *Thyest.* 1002–3 *adeste, nati, genitor infelix uocat, / adeste* (with a reduplicated imperative: see above on *exite furciferi, exite morituri*). The servant's reference to the master's voice makes explicit that this scene is a showdown between the human *dominus* and God.

§7: *The lioness attacks and kills the servant.*

adhuc loquebatur: a juxtaposition of the servant's ineffective talk with the action of the lioness.

et ecce: cf. *et ecce* at 4.2 above, with note. *ecce* also introduces the appearance of two lions at Jer. VP 16.2.

per tenebras: a reference to the cave of ch. 6.6: *eduxi in tenebris quoque micantem gladium.*

leaenam: the lion is one of the most ubiquitous animals in literature. For a summary of its symbolic uses see Spittler (2008: 186–7). Lions are remarkably prominent in saints' lives: for example, at VP 16.2–5 two lions help Antony bury Paul's body. The iconography of Jerome himself normally includes a lion, owing to a story found in the *Vita diui Hieronymi* (PL 22.209–12) that he once removed a thorn from a lion's paw and thus earned the animal's gratitude. However, the story is almost certainly borrowed from an episode in the Life of Gerasimus in John Moschus' *Pratum Spirituale* 107 (PL 74.172–3). Furthermore, this story is suspiciously similar to that of Androcles and the lion, as narrated at Ael. NA 7.48 (7.44 Teubner) and Gell. 5.14.10–30: cf. Osborne (2007: 135–39, 148–54); Anderson (2004: 112–13).

Helpful lions in saints' lives may be inspired by their role in famous martyr stories, starting with Daniel in the lions' den at Dan. 6 (see Weingarten 2005: 10 for Jerome's familiarity with depictions of this story in the Roman catacombs). In the *Acts of Paul and Thecla* (ch. 33) Thecla is defended in the arena by a sympathetic lioness; in the *Acts of Paul* (section 7 and the 'appendix' in the Coptic Bodmer Papyrus XLI) Paul baptises a lion who talks to him in the arena where they are meant to kill each other. For

Jerome's knowledge of (and contempt for) these apocrypha see *Vir. ill.* 7.3: *igitur περιόδους Pauli et Theclae et totam baptizati leonis fabulam inter apocryphas scripturas computemus*. The idea that lions show mercy to suppliants is found in non-Christian literature as well. Plin. *NH* 8.48 comments on the lion's sense of justice:

leoni tantum ex feris clementia in supplices; prostratis parcat, et, ubi saeuit, in uiros potius quam in feminas fremit, in infantes non nisi magna fame. credit Iuba peruenire intellectum ad eos precum: in captiuam certe Gaetuliae reducem audiuit multorum in siluis impetum esse mitigatum adloquio ausam dicere se feminam, profugam, infirmam, supplicem animalis omnium generosissimi ceterisque imperitantis, indignam eius gloria praedam.

Only the lion shows mercy to suppliants: he spares those who are prostrate, and when he is furious, he roars against men rather than women, and not against children except if he is very hungry. Iuba believes that they understand prayers: he heard that an assault of many against a captive woman who was led back from Gaetulia had been mitigated when she dared to speak to them, saying that she was a woman, a fugitive, weak, and a suppliant of the animal who was most generous of all and ruling the others, and a prey unworthy of its glory.

See Spittler (2008: 172–3) for more examples in pagan literature for lions sparing women specifically. For this topos in the seventh century cf. Isid. *Orig.* 12.2.6.

These depictions of tame and just lions are powerful because the lion's mildness is unexpected. The foremost association of the lion is with power and violence: see e.g. Kurke (2011: 423) on Hdt. 6.131: 'both within the *Histories* and in other Greek texts, the lion can symbolize sovereignty but also savage, uncontrollable violence and destruction.' For the association of lions with kings cf. Tracy (2009: 110); among ancient authors note e.g. Plin. *NH* 8.48 *animalis omnium generosissimi ceterisque imperitantis*. In an astrological context the equivocation between lions and kings is found in Manil. 2.439–41 *lanigerum Pallas, Taurum Cytherea tuetur ... Iuppiter ... ipse Leonem* (cf. Manil. 2.460 *regnum ... Leonis*, 4.352–3 *Leonis / regna*; Plin. *NH* 18.271 *regia in pectore leonis stella*. Likewise in the Bible the anger of the lion is equated with the wrath of a king (Prov.

19:12 and 20:2). A savage lion is among the demonic beasts assaulting Antony at VA 9.5–7 (in Evagrius' translation):

nam et bestiarum et serpentium formas induentes, omnem protinus locum replevere phantasiis **leonum**, taurorum, luporum, aspidum, serpentium, scorpionum, necnon et pardorum atque ursorum. et haec singula secundum suam fremebant naturam: rugiebat **leo** accedere uolens eqs.

For they assumed the shapes of beasts and serpents and immediately filled the whole place with apparitions of lions, bulls, wolves, asps, serpents, scorpions, and also of leopards and bears. And each of them raged according to its nature: the lion roared, trying to attack ...

A lion kills the opponent of a Christian hero, a cupbearer who had taunted the Apostle Thomas, in the *Acts of Thomas*, ch. 8: ἔτυγεν δὲ ἐκεῖ εἶναι λέοντα, καὶ ἐθανάτωσεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀφῆκεν κεῖσθαι ἐν τῷ τόπῳ κατακόψας τὰ μέλη αὐτοῦ. In the current passage the selective brutality of the lioness turns out to be motivated by the presence of her cub in the cave: 9.11 *leaena ... apprehensum mordicus catulum ... effert*. The female of the lion is reputed to be particularly savage, especially after having given birth: Jer. *In Dan.* 2.7.2–3 *aiunt enim hi, qui de bestiarum scripsere naturis: leaenas esse ferociiores, maxime si catulos nutriant*.

guttare suffocato: the response matches the provocation: with his gullet strangled the servant cannot shout any longer.

cruentum intro trahere: another gory detail. It is not clear why the lioness would want to drag the body into the depths of the cave, but it would help to lure the master further into the cave at 9.8 if he does not immediately see the body of his servant with the tooth marks of a wild animal.

Iesu bone: the second invocation of Christ in the *VM*: cf. 6.7, where the woman's appeal to Jesus changes the situation in the first cave. *bone Iesu* is found in Evagrius' version of VA 10.2 at *PG* 26.859–60, but not in the edition of Bertrand (2006: 164), who

only has *Iesu*; the apparatus (2006: 210) gives *bone Iesu*, *Iesu bone*, *bone Domine*, and *Iesus* as variants). For another parallel between Evagrius' VA and the VM see 8.2 *inuadimus iter*, with note.

quid tunc nobis terroris, quid gaudii fuit: this exclamation repeats the question at 9.3 above in structure and partly in content: *quid putas fuisse nobis animi? quid terroris eqs.* Morales (1991: 69) cites eight manuscripts for the different word order *tunc terroris nobis* and nine for *nobis tunc terroris*, but these are not found in the five manuscripts I have seen.

spectabamus: out of my five manuscripts, *spectabamus* is only found in the Monacensis. The Neapolitanus and Sessorianus have *expectabamus*, the Parisinus *expectamus* and the Laurentianus *spectamus*. Among this confusion *spectabamus* is attractive as a compromise between *expectabamus* (different verb, same tense) and *spectamus* (same verb, different tense). The meaning must be 'we were watching', not 'we were waiting for'.

§8: *The master enters the cave.*

qui cum uideret illum moras facere: *uideret* is used casually with the meaning 'realise'. *moras facere* is a periphrasis (possibly used as a variation on *moramini* at 9.6), of a type associated not only with popular and later Latin but also with an archaising style: Sall. *Iug.* 53.3 has *fugam faciunt* (Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 755-6); cf. Hofmann (ed. Ricottilli 2003: 335-6 with bibliography in the notes, esp. n. 2, and p. 385) for the popular end of the spectrum. *Rhet. Her.* 4.16 has the phrase *conuicium fecit* in a sample of

substandard style (*sermo ... inliberalis*). Other verbs used for periphrastic constructions of this type are discussed with special reference to Terence, Petronius, and Egeria, by Flobert (1996); cf. Svennung (1935: 589) on *mittere* as a popular commonplace verb with a wide range of applications, adopted as such in the Romance languages (e.g. Italian *mettere*, French *mettre*). Clackson and Horrocks (2007: 185–6) note the influence of Greek *Koine* expressions with *ποιεῖσθαι* on Latin periphrastic expressions such as *mentionem facere* in the first century BC.

suspicatus est duos uni resistere: cf. Liv. 22.39.18: *duobus ducibus unus resistas oportet*.

sed et iram differre non ualens: the combination *sed et* is found in all of my manuscripts. The meaning here must be ‘and’ rather than ‘but’ (it introduces an additional reason for the master to enter the cave). This sense of *sed et* is discussed in Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 483), who ascribe it to a diachronic loss of meaning of *et*, especially frequent in later Latin in combination with *sed*: thus *Vitae Patrum* 5.5.32 *abbas Pastor sed et alii patres* is cited as a translation of Greek *ὁ ἀββᾶς Ποιμὴν καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν πατέρων* (PL 73 col. 882); cf. Salonius (1920: 335–6) on the same passage.

sicut tenebat gladium: *sicut* is used almost as a relative pronoun: ‘holding, as he was, the sword’ is a version of ‘who was holding the sword’, but with more emphasis on the master’s unchanged position. At Cic. *Leg.* 2.14, *ut fecit Plato, ... id mihi credo esse faciendum*, the particle *ut* can be taken as equivalent to a relative pronoun (‘what Plato did I believe I have to do’), and in low-register and later Latin this quasi-pronominal use of *ut*, *sicut*, and *ita* was extended: Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 557). Cf. Vit. 2.9.2 *per id, ut supra scriptum est, tempus*; VH 16.6 *sacerdos eorum, ut erat coronatus, Christi*

signo denotaretur ‘their priest, with his garland still on his head, would be marked with the sign of Christ’.

clamore ualido: the manuscripts disagree on this point: according to Morales (1991: 70), two have *rabido*, one has *rapido*, and six have *ualido*; of those I have seen, only the Neapolitanus has *ualido*, while the Monacensis, Parisinus, Laurentianus and Sessorianus all have *rabido*. Jameson (1938: 418) supports *ualido* as the closest equivalent of the Greek κράζων ... ἐμβριθῶς, which ‘suggests an idea not of fierceness or fury, but one of violence, loudness, or vehemence.’ *clamor ualidus* has a parallel at Hebr. 5:7 *preces supplicationesque ... cum clamore ualido et lacrimis offerens*; cf. also Apul. *Met.* 3.29 ‘o’ *quidem tantum disertum ac ualidum clamitavi* (‘only the ‘O’ I shouted out loud and clear’). *ualidus* is generally used as a more stylistically recondite synonym of *firmus*: Adams (1974: 59). While there is no instance of *clamor firmus* in the LLT-A or the TLL, *firmus* is used of the voice at *Rhet. Her.* 3.21.

The alternative phrase *clamor rabidus* is twice found in Stat. *Theb.*, at 5.96 and 8.632. The frequency of *rabido* in the VM’s manuscript tradition here could be a result of the close proximity of this phrase with *rabies* at 9.9, where the lioness’ anger is compared to that of the master: *nisi quod tutius fuerat leonis rabiem quam iram hominis sustinere*.

prius a fera tentus est quam ad nostras latebras perueniret: the master does not venture as far as the servant into the cave, but the lioness has already come forward. *prius ... quam ad nostras latebras perueniret* echoes 9.3: *iam ad latebras peruenissent*.

§9: *The master is killed by the lioness, who now presents the greatest danger to the couple.*

quis hoc umquam crederet ut ante os nostrum bestia pro nobis dimicaret? a rhetorical question for which the narrator steps outside the narrative: cf. 8.5 *paueo miser etiam referens eqs.* with note.

quis hoc umquam crederet: this is the reading of the five manuscripts of which I have seen copies. Morales (1991: 70 and 2007: 208) quotes a number of variants. Of these *quis hoc crederent* and *quis umquam hac crederent* are grammatically impossible; *qui sunt qui hoc crederent* appears to be a redistribution of *quis umquam hoc crederet*, a transposition of the phrase as printed here.

crederet ut: *ut* instead of *quod* after verbs of thinking or speaking is a later Latin construction (Hofmann and Szantyr 1965: 645, with further bibliography). *credo* with *ut* in Jerome only occurs in rhetorical questions with *quis*, e.g. *Ep.* 72.2.1 *quisne credet mortalium, ut undecim annorum puer generet filium?*

bestia pro nobis dimicaret: the vocabulary suggests a gladiatorial setting reminiscent of the lioness' fight on behalf of Thecla in the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, ch. 33. *dimicaret* also repeats the fourth word of the VM: 1.1 *qui nauali proelio dimicaturi sunt* (with note on *dimico*).

similis ante oculos nostros uersabatur interitus: *ante oculos nostros* all but repeats *ante os nostrum* in the previous sentence, but with a different meaning, of imagination rather than vision. This repetition is emphasised by *similis*. For the phrase *ante oculos uersabatur* cf. *Lucr.* 2.112–13 *cuius, uti memoro, rei simulacrum et imago / ante oculos semper nobis uersatur et instat*; *Cic. Verr.* 4.110 *uenit enim mihi fani loci*

religionis illius in mentem; uersantur ante oculos omnia (and elsewhere). It is the aim of the rhetorical skill of prosopopoeia to put a situation *ante oculos audientium*: *Rhet. Her.*

4.62 *rem ... ante oculos ponit, cum exprimit omnia perspicue, <ut> res prope dicam manu temptari possit*, cf. 4.68.

For the hyperbaton *similis ... interitus* see the Introduction, section 3.2.4b.

nisi quod tutius fuerat leonis rabiem quam iram hominis sustinere: the anger of a lion and a king are compared at Prov. 19:12 and 20:2. For the prudential force of the comparison cf. Prov. 17:12 *expedit magis ursae occurrere raptis fetibus quam fatuo confidenti sibi in stultitia sua*. For *nisi quod* see 2.2 and 6.4 *nisi quod forte* with note.

rabies: cf. the variant *rabido* of the Saracen's shouting above, 9.8 s.v. *clamore ualido*. For the use of the notion with animals cf. Mart. *Spect.* 21.3 [*tigris*] *saeua ferum rabido lacerauit dente leonem*, with Coleman's note *ad loc.* (2006: 163):

rabidus describes uncontrollably wild creatures, ruled by violent urges and prone to savage behaviour. Virgil uses it to characterize the tigers that are not present to disturb the safety and tranquillity of Italy: *G.* 2.151 'at rabidae tigres absunt'. In a transferred sense it is applied to the urges themselves: e.g. Virg. *A.* 6.421 – 2 (Cerberus) 'ille fame rabida tria guttura pandens | corripit obiectam'. Hence it is applied also to the parts of the body that give expression to these urges (notably by biting and mauling): cf. Luc. 10.445–6 (a caged animal) 'sic fremit in paruis fera nobilis abdita claustris | et frangit rabidos praemorso carcere dentes.'

§10: *The couple are too frightened to move and remain in their spot, believing that their chastity is keeping them safe.*

mouere ... nos: a reflexive use of *moueo*: cf. 8.5 *promouemur* with note.

pudicitiae ... conscientia: this phrase connects the chastity which the couple have maintained in the first cave episode ch. 6 to their survival in this second cave. In this way,

their ordeal may be compared to the ‘chastity test’ of the Greek novel. Thus Leucippe survives the ‘cave of the Syrix’ at Ach. Tat. 8.13–14, and at Heliod. 10.7–9 both Theagenes and Charicleia prove their virginity by passing a miraculous fire test.

pro muro saepti: a phrase found in Liv. 25.25.8: *castra contextu parietum pro muro saepta*, and nowhere else. The miraculous wall may recall Ex. 14:22, where the Israelites cross the Red Sea: *erat enim aqua quasi murus* (cf. Ex. 14:29).

§11: *The lioness carries out a cub from the recesses of the cave and leaves it. The couple hesitate to follow.*

leaena insidias cauens et uisam esse se sentiens: a sympathetic portrayal of the lioness’ intelligence. She is wary of an ambush after she delivered the ambush which destroyed the men who are known for their habit of ambushing others (cf. 8.5: *insidias late uagantium Saracenorum*). Cf. Pliny NH 8.9: the elephant helps men who are lost but suspects an ambush (*insidiarum metu*) when he finds a human footprint. Note the exaggerated cacophony in *esse se sentiens*.³

apprehensum mordicus catulum matutina effert: cf. Plin. NH 8.10 for the tigress’ habit of removing her cubs from humans: *sic et tigris, etiam feris ceteris truculenta atque ipsa elephanti quoque spernans uestigia, hominis uiso transferre dicitur protinus catulos – quonam modo agnito, ubi ante conspecto illo quem timet?*

³ See Hritzu (1939:33) for the definition of this figure: ‘a conscious juxtaposition of two words in which the last syllable of the immediately preceding is identical with the first syllable of the immediately succeeding’, cf. Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 699).

mordicus: ‘with the teeth’: the *OLD* cites examples from comedy, colloquial Latin, Apul. and Petr.; e.g. Naevius *com. fr.* 43 Ribbeck *utinam nasum abstulisset mordicus*.

matutina: the adjective replaces a temporal adverbial construction (i.e. not in the attributive sense ‘of the morning’, used of something that does not exist at other times of the day, such as the light of dawn, mist, hoar frost etc.); cf. e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 8.465 *nec minus Aeneas se matutinus agebat*. Fordyce (1977: *ad loc.*) refers to the similar use of analogously formed adjectives at Virg. *Geo.* 3.537–8: *lupus ... nocturnus obambulat*, *Aen.* 4.303 *nocturnusque uocat clamore Cithaeron*, Hor. *Epod.* 16.51 *uespertinus circumgemit ursus ouile*.

The examples in the *OLD* for *matutinus* used adverbially (section 1b) are Ov. *Ars* 1.367 *matutinos pectens ancilla capillos*, Met. 11.26 *matutina ceruus periturus harena*, ‘a standard term for the first session of the day’s entertainment in the amphitheatre’ (Hill 1999: 185; cf. Bömer 1980: 245 for parallels), Juv. 4.108 *matutino sudans Crispinus amomo* (with Courtney 1980: 221: ‘[r]espectable Romans would not wear perfumes until the time of the *cena*’). Sometimes words of this type appear to be suspended between attributive and adverbial function, e.g. Cinna *Zmyrna fr.* 6 *te matutinus flentem conspexit Eous*: the morning star is ‘of the morning’ (attributive) but also sees the addressee cry ‘in the morning’ (adverbial use).

nobisque cedit hospitium: both this cave and that of chapter 6 are transformed from wild and uncanny places into habitations suitable for humans: the *spelunca* of 6.3 is called *cubile* (8.1 with note), and the lioness’ cave now becomes a ‘guesthouse’. For the lioness’ hospitality cf. Ael. *NA* 7.48 (7.44 Teubner) on Androcles, whose removal of a thorn from a lion’s paw is rewarded with hospitality in the lion’s cave.

neque tamen satis creduli statim erumpimus: Morales' comma after *creduli*, like many other commas which he employs after attributive adjectives or participles, is particularly misleading here as it appears to separate the verb from its negation at the beginning, so that it is left unclear at this point whether or not the couple burst out from the cave. The next sentence confirms that they stay inside.

exspectamus ... et figurabamus: another instance of a historic present conjoined with a contemporaneous imperfect (cf. note on *praestolabamur* at 9.10 above).

illius nobis semper figurabamus occursum: in content this phrase is similar to 9.9: *similis ante oculos nostros uersabatur interitus*. The couple fear the lioness' *insidiae* as much as she fears theirs (above).

Ch. 10: Conclusion of Malchus' Narrative

The couple leave the cave. They ride the camels of their dead pursuers and reach a Roman camp (§1). They relate their story to the official and are referred to Sabinianus, *dux* of Mesopotamia, who buys their camels (§2). Meanwhile Malchus' abbot has died. Therefore Malchus settles in a monastery at Maronias and finds a place for the woman in a group of virgins (§3).

§1: Exit from the cave and journey back to Roman territory

eximus: this can be either (historic) present or a contracted perfect form. Switches between historic present and past tenses are frequent in the narrative passages. Here the meaning is not affected by the choice.

ad uesperam: the classical expression for 'in the evening' is *uespere* or *uesperi*; *ad uesperam* with the same meaning is found as early as Cic. *Cat.* 2.6 *consequentur ad uesperam*, probably motivated by the directional sense of the verb. Jerome has *uespere* about forty-five times, *uesperi* twelve times (both usually in Scriptural quotations or discussions), and *ad uesperam* (without *usque*) forty-five times. In the Vulgate the ratio of *uespere* to *uesperi* and *ad uesperam* (without *usque*) is 50:8:21. The preposition *ad* may indicate vagueness ('towards the evening'), but it is more likely that Jerome is influenced here by a more general tendency in later Latin to use a preposition instead of a bare ablative, with an extended range of meaning. See Adams (1995: 166–7) on the use of *ad diem* (§467), *ad noctem* (§457), and *ad solem* (§455) in Pelagonius' *Ars Veterinaria*.

The classical sense of *ad diem* is ‘at/by the appointed day’ (cf. *Rhet. Her.* 1.24 *qui ad diem commeatus non uenit*), but the meaning required by the context in Pelagonius (‘per day’, almost ‘every day’) is restricted to later Latin; similarly *ad noctem* ‘by night’ instead of *nocte* and *ad solem* ‘by day’. In Jerome *ad noctem* in the sense ‘by night’ is found only once (*Tract. Psalm.* 91.3, *CCL* 78 p. 134 line 52–3: *ueritas domini non adnuntiatur nisi ad noctem: in die non potest adnuntiari*); *ad diem* does not occur in the sense of ‘by day’, but only depending on the verbs *uenio* and *refero*. But *ad noctem* and *ad diem* are generalising, i.e. referring to any day or night, whereas *ad uesperam* refers to a particular evening, which makes it identical in meaning to *uespere* and therefore an instance of the later Latin use.

camelos, quos ob nimiam uelocitatem dromedarios uocant: it appears from the LLT-A that in Latin the word *dromedarius* is not found prior to Jerome and only rarely afterwards; but *dromas*, the transliteration of Greek δρομάς (καμήλος), which is found e.g. at *Diod. Sic.* 17.105.7, 19.37.6 δρομάδας καμήλους, and *Plut. Alex.* 31.7, is used at *Liv.* 37.40.12 *cameli quos appellant dromadas* and *Curt.* 5.2.10 *dromades cameli inter dona erant uelocitatis eximiae*.

If the form *dromedarius* is previously unknown in Latin, this fact sharpens the impact of Jerome’s learned reference here as he glosses a Greek word for the Latin reader. This method is reminiscent of the linguistic comment at 2.2: *senex quidam nomine Malchus, quem nos Latine ‘Regem’ possumus dicere*. Here the bilingual gloss is not totally explicit: the Greek verbal root *drom-* (∼‘to run’) is not explained, but only the connection of this meaning to the word *dromedarius*. For this type of bilingual gloss in Virgil cf. O’Hara (1996: 64), e.g. *Aen.* 1.744 (=3.516) *pluuiasque Hyadas*, where the juxtaposition suggests the semantic relationship of the adjective *pluuus* to the Greek verb

ῥω, from which root, by implication, the name *Hyades* is derived. Cf. VM 7.1 *solus in eremo* with note.

It seems odd that this gloss occurs so late in the story: the Saracen's camels were first mentioned at 4.2. Explanatory asides cluster in this part of the text: see also 9.2 (*solent quippe uiperarum reguli et scorpiones ceteraque huiusmodi feruorem solis declinantia umbram petere*) and 9.6 (*nam oculorum istiusmodi natura est, ut post solem umbras intrantibus caeca sint omnia*).

nimiam: here 'very great', rather than 'excessive'; the sense contrasts with that of VM 8.5 *propter ardorem solis nimium*. See Svennung (1935: 583) for the change in meaning: in later Latin *nimius* comes to be a synonym for *magnus*, and *nimum* for *ualde*, as it had already been in Plautus: *Amph.* 616 *nimia memoras mira*, *Aul.* 821, *Men.* 199, and *Stich.* 523. The *OLD* does not cite any instances from the classical period, but the corresponding adverb *nimis* is used in the sense 'very' at Cic. *Leg.* 1.27 and Cat. 56.4.

praeteritos cibos in ore uoluere et in aluum missos iterum retrahere: the camels' rumination may be another indicator of relaxation in the action. The description seems to be a *hysteron proteron*: in order to chew 'food that has gone past' the camel first has to 'pull back up what has been sent to the stomach'. A twelfth-century manuscript (Cantabrigensis 301 (515)) in Morales' 2007 apparatus has the textual variant *reuoluere*, presumably owing to a transposition of the last syllable of *ore* to yield *cibos in o[s] reuoluere*.

quibus ascensis et noua sitarcia refocillati: the co-ordination of two participles with different referents (*ascensis et . . . refocillati*) is slightly inconsistent. The participle *refocillati* is in apposition to the subject 'we' and not part of the relative construction *quibus ascensis*, which means that strict syntactic logic requires that *et* be left out to yield

‘the camels having been mounted, we, refreshed by new provisions, finally came to the Roman camp through the desert on the third day.’ Tidner (1922: 137–8) notes the same conjunction of the ablative absolute to the participle in the SHA, e.g. *Marc. Ant.* 28.4 *sexta die uocatis amicis et ridens res humanas, mortem autem contempnens ad amicos dixit:...*; cf. Suet. *Iul.* 33.1 *pro contione fidem militum flens ac ueste a pectore discissa inuocauit* (‘... weeping and with torn garment ...’; it would have been possible to co-ordinate ‘weeping and tearing’); *Vesp.* 24.1 *consulatu suo nono temptatus in Campania motiunculis leuibus protinusque urbe repetita, Cutilias ac Reatina rura ... petit.*

Deliberate *inconcinnitas* had a long history in literary Latin, esp. in Tacitus and Ammianus: see Hagendahl (1921: 112–38), who discusses a large number of types; however, the co-ordination of ablative absolute and *participium coniunctum* which is found here is not included.

quibus ascensis: this construction parallels *quibus occisis*, used of the goats at 8.2. *ascensis* in the ablative absolute with camels is found in the Vulgate, Gen. 24: 61 *igitur Rebecca et puellae illius ascensis camelis secutae sunt uirum.*

noua sitarcia refocillati: Apul. *Met.* 2.11 has the first occurrence in Latin of the Greek word σιταρχία (‘provisions’): *hac enim sitarchia nauigium Veneris indiget sola, ut in nocte peruigili et oleo lucerna et uino calix abundet.* Van Mal-Maeder (2001: 199) *ad loc.* notes that the word belongs to military language and is particularly associated with navigation (as suggested by the Apul. passage). See also Jer. *In Matth.* praef. *Romam subito nauigaturus hanc tibi a me quasi sitarciam dari uolueris*; Schol. *Juv.* 12.61 *‘aspice sumendast in tempestate securis’*: *inter sitarchiam et securem necessariam putato ad nauem uehendum*; Isid. *Orig.* 20.9.6 *sitarciae nautarum sunt, ab eo quod sutae sunt*). Here the word is a variation on the *uiaticum* used at 3.2.

The text of the *PL* edition (vol. 32, col. 60A) reads *sitarcia, id est annona*. Mierow (1945: 476) explains the extension *id est annona* as an intrusive gloss on the unknown Greek word *sitarcia*. It is found in four of Mierow's thirty-five Vatican manuscripts: Reg. lat. 500 (twelfth century), Vat. lat. 819 and 5257, Ott. lat. 223.

The verb *(re)focillo* is often spelt with only one 'l' in manuscripts and editions. According to de Vaan (2008: 237–8) *foculo*, of which *focil(l)o* must be a spelling variant, is connected with *foculum* 'warming device, revival'. The frequent use of double 'l' is probably due to confusion in popular thought with the diminutive ending, as e.g. in *bacillum* (the diminutive of *baculum*); *foculum* is not a diminutive.

The compound *refocillo* is not attested before Jerome, but the simplex goes back to Lucr. 6.858 *calido focilare uapore*; cf. also Sen. *Ep.* 13.14 *pudet me ibi sic tecum loqui et tam lenibus te remediis focillare*; *Laus Pisonis* 126 *miserum parua stipe focilat*; Plin. *Ep.* 3.14.4 and 3.16.12; Suet. *Aug.* 17.1; Front. *Marc. Caes.* 5.55 p. 81 line 1 van den Hout; Cypr. *Ep.* 18.2.1, 40.1; Don. *Vit. Verg.* p. 7 line 112; Jer. *Ep.* 1.14, 32.2. *refocilo* is a favoured verb in Jerome, both in his own writings (e.g. *Ep.* 108.7.2, 108.14.1; *VH* 31.5 *in hoc extremo iam uitae suae tempore refocillatus est*) and in his biblical translations (e.g. 1 Sam. 16:23).

§2: *The couple's transactions with Roman officials.*

oblati ... transmissi: the participles make the couple appear as passive objects of the official procedures; cf. the verb *tradidit* at 6.2, used with the woman as object of a transaction between the Saracen master and Malchus.

rei ordinem pandimus: an echo of Virg. *Aen.* 3.179 *Anchisen facio certum remque ordine pando* (Aeneas narrating a divine vision to his father) and 6.723 *suscipit Anchises, atque ordine singula pandit* (Anchises' prophecy of Rome's future; these are possibly influenced by Lucr. 1.55 *rerum primordia pandam*). For the use of *ordinem pando* with the genitive see Sen. *Herc.* 647 *pande uirtutum ordinem*; cf. Theophilus *ap. Jer. Ep.* 90.3 *rei ordinem pandas*.

Sabinianus Mesopotamiae ducem: *PLRE* 1.789: Sabinianus 3. He was installed as *magister equitum per orientem* at Edessa in 359: *Amm.* 18.5.5, 18.6.6–8. The designation *dux* is itself an administrative title, a lower rank than *magister militum*: Jones (1964: 2.609), and cf. Introduction 1.4.

Ammianus deals harshly with Sabinianus: 18.5.5 *Sabinianus cultus quidem senex et bene nummatus, sed imbellis et ignauus et ab impetranda magisterii dignitate per obscuritatem adhuc longe discretus*; 18.6.7 *reuersique fastidii plenum Sabinianum inuenimus, hominem mediocris staturae et parui angustique animi, uix sine turpi metu sufficientem ad leuem conuiuii, nedum proelii strepitum perferendum*. At 18.7.7 he is accused of hiding from danger among the tombs of Edessa: *Sabinianus ... lectissimus moderator belli interneciui per Edessena sepulchra quasi fundata cum mortuis pace nihil formidans more uitae remissioris fluxius agens ... in silentio summo delectabatur*. Barnes (1998: 85–6) and Kelly (2008: 50 with n. 61, and p. 179) explain *sepulchra* as a reference to the martyr churches (*martyria*) mentioned at *Itin. Eger.* 19.4. Barnes and Kelly argue that this depiction of Sabinianus' behaviour suggests that he was a Christian. According to Barnes (1998: 67), Sabinianus' *uita remissior* is 'virtually coded language for the [Christian] religion itself.' It is probable that Jerome refers to a known Christian official in order to give historical credibility to Malchus' account.

camelorum pretium accepimus: a curious detail. The money seems to be a recognition of the booty (the camels) taken by the couple as a result of the death of the Saracens, who are depicted as posing a threat to Roman citizens: cf. ch. 4. It is also surprising that Malchus is allowed to receive money when his desire for a fund of his own provoked his divine testing in the first place.

§3: *The final settlement of Malchus and the woman in Maronias*

et: a very minimalist transition: the journey to the west is not narrated.

quia iam abbas ille meus dormierat in Domino: this is the only death of a figure of authority in the *VM* which is interpreted as a positive event for the deceased: contrast the neutral tone in which the father's death is narrated at 3.5 and the triumph over the violent end of the master at 9.9. For the phrase cf. Jer. *Praef. in Didym.* (PL 23 c. 103) as quoted at Ruf. *Ap.* 2.27: *quia supradictus pontifex Damasus, qui me ad hoc opus primus impulerat, iam dormiuit in Domino.*

It is not made clear why the abbot's death is the reason for Malchus to settle in Maronias. There is an outside possibility that we are to take Maronias to be the place of Malchus' first monastery in the region of Chalcis. While the precise topographical detail provided by Malchus at 3.3 suggests that the listening young Jerome is not already familiar with the position of Chalcis, a scenario which argues against the identity of Maronias and the place of the first monastery, Malchus' comment may not have been directed at Jerome but rather at the reader, who is assumed to be less familiar with Syrian topography. But in the case of the monastery being positioned at Maronias, the reader

would not be very likely to make this connection from the two different directions at 2.1 and 3.3.

dormierat: the pluperfect form must be derived from a verb meaning ‘to fall asleep’ rather than ‘to sleep’, which is the classical meaning of *dormio*. *dormiui* could be the perfect of both *dormio* and *dormisco*, but the latter appears to be an invention of later Latin grammarians: Haverling (2000: 176). *dormio* in the sense ‘fall asleep’ is first attested for the period between AD 200 and 300: Haverling (2000: 175, 178, 206 n. 117, 238, 426). For this sense cf. Aug. *Gen. ad litt.* 12.32 fin. *cum expergefacti essent dormire timuerunt ...* and Porph. *Hor. Carm.* 3.1.20–21 *hoc ideo dixit, quoniam quidam regum Siculorum per nimias delicias ad chitarae et auium cantum dormiebant* (Haverling 2000: 206 n. 117); and for the perfect *dormiui* see Gen. 41.4–5 *expergefactus Pharaon rursum dormiuit et uidit alterum somnium* (the *Vetus Latina* has *somniauit*: Fischer 1951–4: 418); 1 Cor. 15:18 *ergo et qui dormierunt in Christo perierunt* (Haverling 2000: 238). This sense corresponds to the Greek aorist. Jerome’s use here may be related to his translation habits.

ad haec delatus loca: hyperbaton: cf. Introduction 3.2.4a.

me monachis reddo, hanc trado uirginibus: an almost chiastic structure (cf. Introduction 3.2.3), except for the object pronouns which raise to the beginning of their respective phrases for contrasting focus.

Malchus’ claim to have separated from the woman is inconsistent with the situation in which Jerome encounters them at 2.2 (*anus quoque in eius contubernio*: see note *ad loc*). The text gives no clues for solving this inconsistency.

The ideas expressed in this sentence resemble those found at the beginning of Antony’s ascetic life at VA 3.1 (in Evagrius’ translation: *sorore fidelibus ac notis*

uirginibus commendata, ut ad earum nutriretur exemplo). These ‘known and trusted virgins’ belong to a well-known type of organisation of female ascetics: see e.g. Goehring (1999: 24).

diligens eam ut sororem: Malchus echoes the woman’s proposal at 6.7: *Christus nouerit fratrem*.

non tamen ei me credens ut sorori: the caution expressed in this phrase corresponds to the disclaimer at 6.8: *numquam tamen illius nudum corpus intuitus sum, numquam carnem tetigi, timens in pace perdere quod in proelio seruaueram*. Both phrases start with a negative followed by *tamen* and a pronoun indicating the woman.

For *se credere* ‘to entrust oneself’ see *TLL* IV.1132.42ff., where the use is classified as equivalent to *se dedere* ‘to surrender oneself’. But the precise semantics of the two verbs are sometimes different, and here the notion of trust trumps that of surrender. At Tib. 1.4.9 (*o fuge te tenerae puerorum credere turbae*) the ideas of trust and surrender are in a delicate balance (‘don’t trust the boys; don’t surrender yourself to passion for them’); Jerome’s use is more closely paralleled at Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* 1.9.5 *nec tamen Iacob se ultra fratri credidit* and 1.35.4 *nec ultra se Dauid regi credidit*.

ut sororem ... ut sorori: polyptoton in epistrophe: cf. Wills (1996: 189–90). Here the repetition emphasises the contrast expressed by *non tamen*.

Ch. 11: The Moral

As Malchus' narrative has reached its end, Jerome in his persona as author of the written text recapitulates the stages of its transmission: he heard it from the aged Malchus when he was a young man, and now that he himself is old, he tells it to a younger audience and urges them to pass it on, together with its moral: it is impossible for the chaste Christian to be overcome by any adversity.

This passage is not classified as a full chapter in other editions, e.g. Mierow (1948). It consists of only two sentences which contain a kind of sphragis, directions for the dissemination of the story, and the moral to be drawn from it.

The structure of thought is occasionally found in classical literature. It seems to originate with Plat. *Symp.* 189d (introducing the myth of the origin of the sexes): ἐγὼ οὖν πειράσομαι ὑμῖν εἰσηγήσασθαι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ, ὑμεῖς δὲ τῶν ἄλλων διδάσκαλοι ἔσεσθε. Cf. Call. *H. Dian.* 186 εἰπέ, θεή, σὺ μὲν ἄμμιν, ἐγὼ δ' ἑτέροιςιν ἀείσω and Cat. 68.45–6: *sed dicam uobis [sc. Musis], uos porro dicite multis / milibus et facite haec carta loquatur anus.*

haec mihi ... senex: anaphora of *haec*, with *senex* repeated in chiastic manner enclosing the two objects *adulescentulo* and *uobis*. *adulescentulo* recalls the *adulescentulus* of Jerome's self-description at 2.1 (cf. note *ad loc.* for the chronological implications of this age terminology). The arrangement seems to imply that the audience which the primary narrator – now an old man – addresses is itself young: such an assumption would complete the parallel structure of the two parataxes.

castis historiam castitatis ... uirgines uirginitatem: two *figurae etymologicae* connecting the adjective *castus* and the noun *uirgines* with their cognate abstract nouns respectively.

uirgines uirginitatem custodire exhortor: Latin as a whole was moving in the direction of replacing final *ut* complementing verbs by means of the final infinitive, a long process of which Jerome's use reflects a late stage: cf. VM 1.2 *silere quippe me fecit*, with note. The simplex *hortor* was commonly used with final *ut* in all periods of antiquity from Plautus onwards, supplemented by the use with the bare subjunctive (i.e. without *ut*) from Turpilius (d. 104 BC) and by the infinitive construction from the *Rhet. Her.* onwards (Hofmann and Szantyr, 1965: 530, 346; for the infinitive see also *TLL* VI.3.3011.43ff.). Cicero uses the infinitive construction with *hortor* and verbs of similar meaning primarily in his early speeches, but also at *Off.* 3.55: *num te emere coegit, qui ne hortatus quidem est?* Constructions with *exhortor* exhibit a different pattern: *exhortor* appears to have been originally used with the infinitive, first attested at Colum. *Rust.* 11.1.11 *plurimi semetipos exhortantur uel aliquas partes earum addiscere* (*TLL* V.2.1446.56ff.); then at Petron. 76.10, Stat. *Silv.* 3 *praef.* line 22 Teubner, Aug. *Adv. Don.* 20.31 (*CSEL* 53 p. 131 line 21). *exhortor* with final *ut* is a non-classical extension of the final construction, attested only from Sen. *Ep.* 82.20 onwards: Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 647). Jerome's use here is classical.

uos narrate ... superari: this concluding exhortation seems to be modelled on the final chapter of the VA, where the narrator asks his readers to ensure that others will read the *Vita* to be inspired and encouraged by Antony's examples and experiences. Evagrius' version is as follows:

hunc itaque fratribus librum magnopere legere curate, ut, agnita fidei uita sublimium monachorum, **sciant** quod Saluator noster Iesus Christus glorificantes se glorificat, ... **et gentibus legite, ut uel sic agnoscant** quia Dominus noster Iesus Christus non solum est Deus, Dei Filius, sed etiam his qui eum sollicitè colunt, et in eum fideliter credunt, hanc dedit potestatem, ut daemones ... conculcent atque eiiciant.

Therefore take great care to read this book to the brothers, so that, when they have recognised the faithful lives of the reverend monks, **they may know** that our Saviour Jesus Christ glorifies those who glorify him ...; **read it also to the Gentiles, so that they may recognise** that our Lord Jesus Christ not only is God, the Son of God, but also that to those who worship him diligently and who believe in him faithfully he has given the power to trample underfoot and to drive out demons...

uos narrate posteris: this phrase confirms that Jerome's audience is envisaged as younger than himself: they are in a position to pass the story on to later generations. A similar emphasis on tradition can be observed at the close of some of the earliest martyr stories, e.g. the *Acts of Polycarp*, where each copyist inscribes his name at the end as an example for passing the story on. Cf. Jer. *In Ioel*. 1.2–3 (CCL 76 p. 162–3): *et senes ergo et habitatores terrae, filiis uestris posterisque narrate*; Cat. 68.45–6, quoted above in the introduction to the section; Liv. 1.16.7 *ita posteris tradant nullas opes humanas armis Romanis resistere posse* (and similar passages in Livy).

ut sciant ... superari: the ultimate goal of the story from the primary narrator's point of view is moral reassurance that it is possible to preserve one's chastity in the face of the worst adversities. By implication the audience should feel encouraged that it is possible to overcome their own (presumably lesser) afflictions.

ut sciant: cf. the first two lines of the corresponding VA passage in Evagrius' translation (above) for a verbal parallel.

pudicitiam numquam esse captiuam: on the problem of equating *captiua* and *capta* see note on 6.2 *illam conseruam mecum aliquando captiuam*. The idea of chastity being (taken) captive is picturesque: comparable instances of *pudicitia* personified are Sen. *Dial.* 4.13.2 *uacat pudicitia, libido occupatissima est*; Aug. *Civ.* 8.18 *scaenicas*

turpitudines, quas non amat pudicitia; Novatian *Pudic.* 3.1 *pudicitia semper uerecunda, dum innocentiae mater est*; cf. TLL X.2.2487.59–65, e.g. Mart. 6.7.1–2 *Iulia lex ... renata est / atque intrare domos iussa pudicitia est*. Here the meaning of the statement is ambiguous: either it emphasises personal responsibility for one's chastity (captivity is no excuse), or it refers to the providence of God who has saved Malchus from compromising his chastity without making him die for it.

hominem Christo deditum posse mori, non posse superari: the closing phrase is antithetical. The generalising tone exalts the story into an *exemplum* of Christian heroism. Given Malchus' failings at the earlier stages of his story, this categorical statement is exaggerated: it might be more appropriate to sum up the narrative as illustrating God's grace in rescuing even sinners from both temptation and death.

posse superari: the phrasing recalls Novatian *Pudic.* 8 (cited in note on 3.1. above), on the temptation of Joseph by Potiphar's wife: *putauit se pudicitiam adolescentis incontinens mulier impudica nunc promissis nunc minis posse superare*.

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