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THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA  
PATRISTIC STUDIES  
VOL. XXXI

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A Study of the Late Latin Vocabulary and  
of the Prepositions and Demonstrative  
Pronouns in the Confessions of  
St. Augustine

A Dissertation

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SCIENCES  
OF THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF  
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA  
WASHINGTON, D. C.  
1931

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## PREFACE

When Professor Roy J. Deferrari suggested in the spring of 1928 that I undertake as the subject of my doctoral dissertation a study of the vocabulary and style of the Confessions of St. Augustine, I eagerly welcomed the opportunity of making this long-deferred contribution to the study of Patristic Latin. Until that time there had appeared only two works dealing systematically with the language of the Confessions, viz. J. Balogh, *Vasa Lecta et Pretiosa, Szent Agoston Konfessziói Egy Stílustörténeti Tanulmány Vázlata*, Budapest, 1918, and Sr. M. Raphael Arts, *The Syntax of the Confessions of St. Augustine*, Washington, 1927. Hence my somewhat ambitious design at the time was to make an exhaustive study of the lexicographical, rhetorical, and structural peculiarities of the Confessions, and to give a detailed treatment of the prepositions and demonstrative pronouns. And in order to preclude the possibility of my duplicating a similar investigation that might have already been begun elsewhere, I requested Prof. James F. Willard to insert the probable title of my forthcoming dissertation in his *Progress of Medieval Studies in the United States of America* (published annually by the Medieval Academy of America and the University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado).<sup>1</sup> For various reasons, however, which will be mentioned below, I later decided to restrict the actual publication of my work within its present somewhat narrower limits.

At the very inception of my study I was fully aware that this investigation, in order to have a definitive value, would have to be done with painstaking thoroughness. It might suffice to confine the linguistic study of some minor Late writer to a treatment of only the most prominent non-Classical features of his Latinity; but an author of the importance of St. Augustine, whose writings have influenced the intellectual world scarcely less by their form than by their content, deserves to be studied as carefully and minutely as any writer of Classical Latin. Fifty years ago, when

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bulletin No. 7, May, 1929, p. 68; No. 8, May, 1930, p. 74; No. 9, May, 1931, p. 68.

the study of Patristic Latin was, so to speak, still in its infancy, works of the type of Regnier's *De la latinité des sermons de saint Augustin* were considered very satisfactory, even when compared with the epoch-making work of Goelzer on St. Jerome. But today, investigations that bear the stamp of superficiality are decidedly out of place. Very little is done to advance the cause of scholarship by making a study which, sooner or later, must be done over again, especially when one considers that the field of Patristic Latin is immense and the scholars therein engaged are few. Hence I immediately realized that an investigation of the vocabulary and rhetoric of the Confessions, one of the world's greatest masterpieces, must be done with an exhaustiveness worthy of their importance.

In order to accomplish this purpose, I saw that an index verborum of the Confessions would be of immense advantage. Much is gained by being able to study at the outset all the instances in which a given word or construction appears. This is especially true of words that occur very frequently, e. g. most prepositions and pronouns. Accordingly, with the help of a number of confrères and students, I first prepared an index verborum of the Confessions in card form.<sup>2</sup>

This index, comprising more than 78,000 cards, I then used as a basis for my study. By the end of December, 1930, the portions of my work dealing with the prepositions and pronouns were practically ready for the printer, while almost all the material for the vocabulary and much of that dealing with the style had already been assembled. At this time, however, the work of Prof. C. I. Balmus, *Étude sur le style de saint Augustin dans les Confessions et la Cité de Dieu*, was brought to my attention. At first it appeared that much of my labor had been in vain. But upon closer examination it became clear to me that Prof. Balmus had treated certain portions of his work quite inadequately and had omitted much of vital importance for the evaluation of the language and style of the Confessions. Attempting as he did to deal with both the Confessions and the City of God, he was naturally obliged to discuss many problems in a summary fashion. Nevertheless it seemed prudent that I forego the publishing of certain sections of

<sup>2</sup> It is my intention to publish this index at an early date.

my own work, namely those covering points that had been developed with greater thoroughness by Prof. Balmus, e. g. most of Chapters II-VI, which deal largely with the rhetorical aspects of the Confessions and, incidentally, form by far the most valuable portion of his study. But it was evident that I could improve considerably upon the first chapter, especially in the treatment of the demonstrative pronouns, neologisms, and semantics. Although the seven pages (53-60) that Prof. Balmus devotes to the pronouns give the reader a fair idea of St. Augustine's usage in this particular, I felt that my own account, with its greater wealth of examples and a statistical table based upon the total number of occurrences of the demonstrative pronouns in the Confessions, would be a decided improvement. The omission of almost twenty neologisms in a total of about fifty-three seemed a serious defect that needed to be corrected. Furthermore, the scant space of four pages allotted by Prof. Balmus to so important a matter as semantics (*Changements de sens*, pp. 83-86) left no doubt in my mind as to the advisability of publishing the results of my own investigation of the subject.

Accordingly, my first resolution was to exclude from my dissertation all matters dealing with the rhetorical features of the Confessions, and to publish only what I had done on the vocabulary and on the prepositions and demonstrative pronouns. But I further realized that if I were to include the lists of the Early, Rare Classical, Poetic, and Silver words and meanings in my presentation of the vocabulary, the printed bulk of the dissertation would expand beyond all reasonable limits. Hence my final decision has been to publish my work as it appears in its present form, including only the Late vocabulary, the prepositions, and the demonstrative pronouns. The Late element in an author's vocabulary is, after all, far more interesting and significant than the earlier elements; moreover, the reader may gain a general conception of the extent in which the latter are found in the Confessions by referring to Prof. Balmus's lists in Chapter I, although it is unfortunate that they are somewhat incomplete. Furthermore, when I had to choose between publishing the long lists of words coined before the Late period or my account of the prepositions and demonstrative pronouns, I unhesitatingly chose the latter, because of their greater

value for the study of Patristic Latin.\* It may be said that my treatment of the prepositions and demonstrative pronouns is on a scale of exhaustiveness that has been applied to few Late writers.

While De Labriolle has been my basic text, I have taken due consideration of the variants adopted by Knöll and Vega. When noting variants I have, for the sake of brevity, usually mentioned only the editors adopting them and not the Mss. in which they occur. In citing from the Confessions I have invariably adhered to the spelling of words as found in the text; but in alphabetically arranged lists scattered throughout the work I have reduced all irregularities of orthography, especially with regard to unassimilated consonants, to the system followed by the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* and other standard lexica. In the Index Verborum, however, the presence of unassimilated forms is indicated. This matter could scarcely be handled in any other way, because the spelling in the text is not always consistent.

In the preparation of my work I have attempted to interpret and classify every word, expression or construction that I recognized as coming within the scope of my investigation. No difficulty has been consciously passed over; and although some of my interpretations may prove to be incorrect, I shall nevertheless have the satis-

\*While most of the Early, Rare Classical, Poetic, and Silver words found in the Confessions were in general use during the Late period and would therefore be of comparatively little interest to students of Patristic Latin, there are nevertheless some of genuine importance as indicating the sources of St. Augustine's vocabulary. For example, I have found a number of words which, according to the information available in the various lexica, are first found in Cicero and then not until Augustine; others, again, occur first in Cicero and then only rarely in the Late period; still others were first used by Cicero and then very rarely in both Silver and Late Latin; surely such words, and especially those of the first group, are a strong confirmation of St. Augustine's intimate knowledge of Cicero. The groups of archaic, colloquial, and poetic words are likewise interesting and significant. Furthermore, I have a long list of Vergilian quotations and echoes occurring in the Confessions, gathered chiefly through the aid of J. Vasold's *Augustinus quae hauserit ex Vergilio*, Munich, 1908, although containing a number of additions of my own. It is my intention to publish this material, in whole or in part, in some future number of the *American Journal of Philology*.

faction of having unearthed difficulties for more experienced scholars to solve. In the introductory sections to each of the three parts, as well as at various points throughout the work, I have summarized the chief characteristics of the matters treated and have also drawn whatever conclusions were possible as to St. Augustine's general place among his contemporaries, his relations to predecessors and successors, his debt to colloquial usage, to the rhetorical tendencies of the day, to Scripture, etc. Since, however, my study covers only a small fraction of all of St. Augustine's writings, I have not attempted detailed comparisons with any author in particular, although I have called attention to various resemblances between the Confessions and the Sermons and Letters of St. Augustine.

In my study of the Late vocabulary I have relied so far as possible on the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, and then for the most part on the lexica of Georges and Benoist-Goelzer; my arrangement of the material conforms in general to the plan followed by Goelzer in his works on St. Jerome and St. Avitus. My investigation of the prepositions is based chiefly on the information furnished in the latest editions of Kühner-Stegmann and Stolz-Schmalz; all constructions not occurring or occurring only rarely in Classical authors have been pointed out and, in the case of less common usages, fully illustrated by references and citations, so as to give the reader an accurate idea of their frequency. In treating of the demonstrative pronouns I have been largely guided by Meader's two works, *The Latin Pronouns Is, Hic, Iste, Ipse* and *The Usage of Idem, Ipse and Words of Related Meaning*; inasmuch as comparatively little detailed work has been done thus far on the pronouns in Late Latin, I have tried to make my study as exhaustive as possible. In addition to the lexica, handbooks, and monographs mentioned above, I have constantly consulted the numerous works listed in the Bibliography; and whenever the treatment seemed incomplete in the standard works of reference, I have examined all other available lexica, indices or concordances to individual authors or to the Bible in search of additional material. And since St. Augustine did not yet employ the Vulgate version of the Bible when writing the Confessions, I have taken pains to ascertain the presence or absence in the Old Latin versions of every important

word and construction. Following the usage of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, I have uniformly designated the Old Latin versions by the convenient term "Itala."

It is scarcely necessary to state that I have as a rule not included in this study words and constructions occurring in passages which could be regarded as citations from Scripture, unless such citations were rather free and contained a rare word or phrase.

In my references to Latin authors I have generally conformed to the system of abbreviations employed in the *Index Librorum Scriptorum Inscriptionum* to the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*.

The following terms, used to designate the various periods of Latin literature, may need a word of explanation: *Early* = all Latin before Cicero; *Classical* = the prose of Cicero, Caesar, Sallust, and Nepos; *Silver* = the Latin from the death of Augustus to the death of Suetonius; *Late* = all Latin from the period of the Archaists (Fronto, Gellius, and Apuleius) on. When using the term *Poetic* I have had chiefly in mind the poets from Lucretius to Ovid. Since Livy belongs to the period of transition from Classical to Silver Latin I have, in all important instances, mentioned him specially when he was the first to use a certain word or construction in prose.

I wish to avail myself of the present opportunity to express my sincere gratitude to Professor Roy J. Deferrari, Dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences and Head of the Department of Greek and Latin, for suggesting the subject of this study and for the encouragement given by his constant personal interest; to Dr. Martin R. P. McGuire, Instructor in Greek and Latin, for his untiring assistance and stimulating direction throughout the course of this work; to the Reverend James M. Campbell, Associate Professor of Greek and Latin, for a careful reading of the manuscript; to the Reverend William F. Dwyer, S. S., Ph. D., for friendly interest and much valuable advice; and last but not least, to my fellow members of St. Procopius Abbey and the students of St. Procopius College who so generously assisted me in the preparation of the index verborum to the Confessions.

—C. L. H.

July 24, 1931.

## PART I

### LATE LATIN VOCABULARY

#### INTRODUCTORY

A study of the Late elements in an author's vocabulary should furnish definite answers to questions such as the following: What influence did the writer exercise on the language in the matter of coining new words as well as in his use of old words in new significations? To what extent does he draw on the fund of recent words and special meanings introduced by other Late authors? Does he show the influence of any particular writer or writers? If he indulges to a marked degree in any of the above practices, is he guided by mere caprice, love of display, rhetorical considerations, or rather by motives of a practical nature? Is he fond of colloquial words and expressions? Does he employ foreign loan-words unnecessarily? Does he incline to concrete or abstract forms of expression? What knowledge of Scriptural language does he show? The present writer trusts that he has reached definite conclusions on the above points with respect to the Late Latin vocabulary in the Confessions of St. Augustine.

For this purpose, the study of the Late words and meanings in the Confessions has been divided into the following five parts, with proper subdivisions: A. Neologisms; B. Words of Recent Coinage; C. Foreign Loan-words; D. Semantics; E. Ecclesiastical Terms. While in the present section I shall call attention to the characteristics that apply more or less to the Late vocabulary of the Confessions as a whole, the special peculiarities of the words in the various groups will be pointed out in the respective introductory paragraphs. Furthermore, I shall attempt to compare the Late words in the Confessions with those in the sermons and letters of St. Augustine, on the basis of the information furnished by the works of Regnier<sup>1</sup> and Parsons.<sup>1</sup> Several striking resemblances in these writings of our author will be brought to light.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bibliography. Regnier's work is somewhat incomplete, yet it will furnish a fair basis of comparison for the present study.

At the outset it may be confidently said that, so far as the Confessions are concerned, St. Augustine shows himself to be a true disciple of the best rhetorical traditions of his age, coining new words and meanings and appropriating those of his contemporaries and recent predecessors with considerable freedom, yet generally adhering to the tastes of the more careful writers of his time and rarely going to the extreme in any particular.

The Late fondness for abstract nouns, especially for those in *-tio* (*-sio*) and *-tas*, is very evident in the Confessions, where we find thirty-four Late examples with the former suffix (2 Augustinian, 32 recent) and eleven with the latter (3 Aug., 8 recent).<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, St. Augustine employs a large number of abstract nouns that were in use before the Late period, as may be seen from Prof. Balmus's lists on pp. 34-36.<sup>3</sup>

Verbal nouns in *-tor* (*-sor*), not only those coined in the earlier periods of the language (cf. Balmus, 38-40) but also those introduced by Late writers, are likewise very much in evidence. Of recent words with this suffix there are sixteen examples, while six others are of St. Augustine's own creation.<sup>4</sup>

There are only ten Late compound nouns in the Confessions (4 Aug., 6 recent), most of which are prepositional and present little of particular interest, except that a few seem to be of colloquial origin, as may be seen below.

Of Late adjectives, the most numerous are those in *-bilis* and *-alis*, amounting to thirteen (2 Aug., 11 recent) and six (all recent), respectively.<sup>5</sup> Late compound adjectives are twenty-five in number (5 Aug., 20 recent), and are formed for the most part either with a preposition or with the privative particle *in-*; nine have both component members derived from nominal or verbal stems.

<sup>2</sup> This same tendency is also noticeable in St. Augustine's sermons and letters; cf. Regnier, 167-173; Parsons, 27-37 and 39.

<sup>3</sup> These lists evidently were not meant to be exhaustive, as my own cards show the presence of many more nouns of this class.

<sup>4</sup> Note also the frequency of this formation in the sermons and letters, as attested by Regnier, 162-165, and Parsons, 43-47.

<sup>5</sup> These adjectives are also common in the sermons and letters; cf. Regnier, 180-182; Parsons, 51-52 and 58-61.

The adverbial suffixes most common in the Confessions are *-ter* (to be discussed on p. 4) and *-e*; of the latter there are twenty Late examples (6 Aug., 14 recent).<sup>6</sup>

The most striking feature of the Late verbs in the Confessions is the prominence of compounds, of which there are forty-four in all (7 Aug., 37 recent). Of these, thirty-three are compounded with prepositions, one with the particle *in-* and another with *re-*, and nine end in the colloquial suffix *-ficare*. Two are really bi-prepositional compounds.<sup>7</sup> Late verbs derived from adjectives are ten in number, all in use before St. Augustine's time; the absence of verbs formed from lengthy adjectives is especially noteworthy.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, there are five Late inchoative verbs, all ending in *-escere*.<sup>9</sup>

The colloquial element, so prominent in Ecclesiastical literature generally, is also represented in the Confessions, although not in the degree one might expect. For colloquial words created before Late Latin, cf. Balmus, 73-77, although some of the examples he cites had become so common in Late literature that they were no longer regarded as belonging exclusively to the language of the people, e. g. *adiutorium*, *curiositas*, *cantare*, *magnificare*. Besides this, we find in the Confessions a number of Late colloquial formations, some of which were coined by St. Augustine himself. Thus, of nouns in *-mentum* there are four examples (*praedicamentum* and *respiramentum* [Aug.]; *figmentum* and *solidamentum* [recent]).<sup>10</sup> The suffix *-ntia* is present in four recent examples,

<sup>6</sup> For their frequency in the sermons and letters, cf. Regnier, 194-195; Parsons, 84-86.

<sup>7</sup> A similar distribution of compound verbs occurs in the sermons and letters; cf. Regnier, 189-192; Parsons, 93-100.

<sup>8</sup> This is also true of the sermons and letters; cf. Regnier, 183-189; Parsons, 68-70.

<sup>9</sup> St. Augustine's preference for inchoatives in *-escere* over those in *-ascere* or *-iscere* is likewise evident in his sermons and letters; cf. Regnier, 187-191; Parsons, 71-73.

<sup>10</sup> Regnier, 166, cites only *respiramentum*, *figmentum*, *solidamentum*, and one other, *fulcimentum*, for the sermons; Parsons, 38, cites *figmentum* and two others, *decrementum* and *implicamentum*, for the letters; *indumentum*, listed by them both as Late, occurs already in Sen. Nat. 4, 13, 10.

*concupiscentia*, *omnipotentia*, *praescientia*, and *suaueolentia*.<sup>11</sup> Only two Late nouns in *-tudo* have been found, *hebetudo* and *inquietudo*.<sup>12</sup> Late nouns ending in *-arium* are *cellarium* and *reliquarium*.<sup>13</sup> *Creatura* is the only recent example of the suffix *-tura*.<sup>14</sup>

There are also a few Late adjectives in the Confessions that bear the stamp of colloquialism. Of those in *-osus* I have found four, *calumniosus*, *deliciosus*, *pestilentiosus*, and *taediosus*.<sup>15</sup> The suffix *-orius* likewise occurs in four Late instances (*circumuentorius* [Aug.]; *hortatorius*, *nutritorius*, *seductorius* [recent]).<sup>16</sup> The ending *-arius* is represented by a single Late example, *plenarius*.<sup>17</sup> *Somnolentus* is the only Late instance of the termination *-lentus*.<sup>18</sup>

The only colloquial formation for which St. Augustine shows a relatively strong liking is the adverbial suffix *-ter*. Thirty Late examples occur in the Confessions, of which eight are of his own coinage and twenty-two were introduced by recent writers.<sup>19</sup> This fondness on the part of St. Augustine need cause no surprise, for adverbs of this type were generally common in Late Latin, and by

<sup>11</sup> The first two of these and eight others are cited by Regnier, 171; the first three and fifteen others, by Parsons, 23-25.

<sup>12</sup> According to Regnier, 173, and Parsons, 48, the only Late formations of this type found in the sermons and letters are *anxietudo* (serm.) and *inquietudo* (let.); *rectitudo*, labelled by them both as Late, occurs (in a lit. sense) already in Frontinus (Grom. Vet. 3, 9).

<sup>13</sup> In addition to *cellarium*, the sermons contain *secretarium* and the letters *hastarium*; cf. Regnier, 165; Parsons, 20-21.

<sup>14</sup> This noun and *ligatura* are cited for the letters by Parsons, 49, and only *impostura* and *praepositura* for the sermons by Regnier, 173, although *creatura* is also frequent in the latter; cf. the Index Nominum et Rerum to G. Morin's *S. Augustini Sermones post Maurinos Reperti* (Rome, 1930).

<sup>15</sup> Regnier, 184, cites *calumniosus* and *deliciosus*, and also *dedecorosus* and *querulosus* for the sermons; Parsons, 64, lists *deliciosus* and *pestilentiosus*, and also *egestus*, *leprosus*, and *uenenosus* for the letters.

<sup>16</sup> *Nutritorius* is the only Late example cited by Regnier, 184; none of these are listed by Parsons, 62-63, but eleven others are adduced.

<sup>17</sup> This word, and also *dominarius* and *uoluptuarius* are listed by Parsons, 54; Regnier, 182, cites *binarius*, *supernumerarius*, and *usufructuarius*.

<sup>18</sup> According to the lists in Regnier, 184, and Parsons, 62, there are no Late words of this class in the sermons and letters.

<sup>19</sup> Note the frequency of adverbs in *-ter* in the sermons and letters, as shown by Regnier, 195-198, and Parsons, 78-83.

the year 400 A. D. many of them were undoubtedly regarded as good usage (cf. Goelzer [I], 197-201; Cooper, Word Formation, 200-204). Adverbs in -o, which may also be classed as colloquial, are represented by two Late examples, *caro* and *clanculo*.<sup>20</sup>

Among the numerous Late verbs in the Confessions, probably only the nine ending in -ficare (*sensificare* [Aug.]; *beatificare*, *castificare*, *fructificare*, *glorificare*, *iustificare*, *mortificare*, *sanctificare*, *uiuificare* [recent]), might be classed as colloquial, although they are largely Scriptural terms that had passed into general Ecclesiastical use.<sup>21</sup>

Diminutives, which belong largely to the domain of popular speech, are rare in the Confessions; of Late examples I have noted only one noun, *morula*,<sup>22</sup> and two adjectives, *grandiusculus* and *salsiusculus*, both apparently coined by St. Augustine, although there is a doubtful instance of the former in Ter. Andr. 814.<sup>23</sup>

The colloquial features of the Confessions as outlined above are indeed varied, but not numerous. In view of the fact that the language of the Scriptures and of many Ecclesiastical writings is replete with words and expressions taken from popular speech, we should also expect to find the same phenomenon in the Confessions. But, as we have seen above, this is not the case. And it is even more astounding that the sermons and letters of St. Augustine, naturally popular in tone, should contain practically the same proportion of the colloquial element as the Confessions. Only one conclusion can be drawn from these facts: although St. Augustine was not averse to borrowing formations from the language of the people, he nevertheless did so only when clearness and emphasis of expression would thereby be served. Possessed of a conception of language befitting a Christian teacher, that of imparting to men the principles of faith and morality, he never hesitated to stoop to

<sup>20</sup> Regnier, 99, cites *crastino* and *superfluo*; Parsons, 78, *clanculo* and *superfluo*.

<sup>21</sup> Regnier, 192, cites eleven such Late verbs; Parsons, 73-74, has thirteen.

<sup>22</sup> There are four in the sermons and ten in the letters, according to Regnier, 173-174, and Parsons, 88-90.

<sup>23</sup> *Grandiusculus* is the only Late diminutive adjective listed by Regnier, 185, and Parsons, 90; *cordiculatus*, cited by Parsons *ibid.* for Epist. 55, 6, is, as the author correctly states, "in reality an adjective formed from a diminutive rather than a diminutive adjective."

the humble terms and phrases of everyday speech, provided they could convey his meaning more precisely and emphatically than the polished language of Classical Latin.<sup>24</sup> Nevertheless, he seems to have resorted to popular words only when necessity demanded it; furthermore, although many of the words that he employs might be termed colloquial by origin or formation, yet a large portion of them had by his time become so firmly rooted in the literary language that he could hardly have avoided using them. Finally, it may be safely said that St. Augustine rarely, if ever, descends to the levels of "Vulgar Latin" in the strict sense of the term.<sup>25</sup>

On the other hand, it must be admitted that the rhetorical element in the Confessions is far more prominent than the colloquial. Although St. Augustine often states emphatically in his *De Catechizandis Rudibus* and *De Doctrina Christiana* that he is not in sympathy with the rhetorical principles of the second Sophistic, he was nevertheless so thoroughly imbued with them as the result of his early training that he never really succeeded in divesting himself of their influence. Yet we may say that his employment of these principles, like his use of colloquial words and expressions, served rather the practical purposes of clearness, vividness, and emphasis of expression than the frivolous ends of affectation and display. As the rhetorical features of the Confessions have already been treated quite extensively by Prof. Balmus in Chapters II-VI of his work, I shall merely add the observation that St. Augustine seems occasionally to have coined new words, or chosen Late ones, or again to have employed others in a strained meaning merely for the sake of stylistic effect. This is especially true in the case of sonorous formations that are well adapted for parallelism and word-play, e. g. nouns ending in -tor or -mentum or compounded

<sup>24</sup> St. Augustine's idea of the functions of language and style are best set forth in the fourth book of his *De Doctrina Christiana*; cf. Sr. Thérèse Sullivan, *S. Aurelii Augustini de Doctrina Christiana liber quartus* (Washington, 1930). Note also the following citations from St. Augustine: *Doctr. Christ.* 3, 3, 7, *plerumque loquendi consuetudo uulgaris utilior est significandis rebus quam antiquitas litterata*; In Psalm. 123, 8, *saepe enim uerba non latina pono, ut uos intellegatis*; *ibid.* 138, 20, *melius est reprehendant nos grammatici quam non intellegant populi*.

<sup>25</sup> For similar observations, cf. Regnier, vii-viii; Balmus, 74; on syntax, cf. Arts, 127.

with a preposition, adjectives ending in *-ilis*, or adverbs ending in *-iter*.

St. Augustine is very restrained in his employment of foreign loan-words;<sup>26</sup> most of the Greek words, and all of the Hebrew, are those that formed an indispensable part of the vocabulary of a fourth-century Christian writer. The Greek adjective *theōticus* is the only one in the *Confessions* of which it can be definitely stated that it was introduced into Latin literature by St. Augustine.<sup>27</sup>

With the exception of the Scriptures, the writings that seem to have influenced the vocabulary of the *Confessions* in the highest degree are those of Cicero, Vergil, and Apuleius. A discussion of the first two authors is beyond the scope of the present work, but a word may be said about Apuleius. This author was widely read and studied in Africa, and hence it is reasonable to suppose that St. Augustine, too, found delight in his works and absorbed much of his vocabulary. This is proved not only by several citations from St. Augustine mentioned by Prof. Balmus on pp. 318 and 319,<sup>28</sup> but also by the existence of a number of words in the *Confessions* that are peculiar to Apuleius, as noted below, p. 13.

It is almost superfluous to expand upon the statement that the *Confessions* are strongly permeated with Scriptural terminology. This is evident not only from the common Biblical words and phrases that are found almost on every page, but also from the numerous metaphorical expressions of Scriptural origin which are employed to describe the emotions of the soul, the struggle between good and evil, the beauty of virtue and the ugliness of vice, etc. It is remarkable that the man to whom the Scriptures had once seemed "unworthy to be compared to the stateliness of Tully" (Conf. 3, 5, 9) should a few years later become so thoroughly

<sup>26</sup> For those in use before Late Latin, cf. Balmus, 87-91.

<sup>27</sup> For *dys* and *melodia*, cf. p. 9, footnote.

<sup>28</sup> Epist. 135, Apuleius . . . nobis Afris Afer est notior; Civ. 18, 13, 13, p. 278, sicut Apuleius in libris, quos asini aurei titulo inscripsit; *ibid.* 8, 11, 15-20, p. 332, in utraque autem lingua . . . Apuleius Afer extitit Platonius nobilia.

imbued with their language as to recognize it as the most apt vehicle for the expression of his own ideas.<sup>29</sup>

In fine, the Late vocabulary of the *Confessions* is ample proof that St. Augustine was thoroughly acquainted with all the most recent developments in the Latin language, in the secular sphere as well as in the religious, and did not hesitate to draw therefrom whatever was suitable for the conveying of his spiritual message. To him the Latin language was a living thing that was constantly being called upon to furnish terms for the designation of new ideas brought into being by the progress of civilization. Hence he not only avails himself freely of recent words and significations, but also coins terms of his own and invests old words with new shades of meaning for the purpose of expressing clearly and forcefully the ideas he desired to impart to his readers. By a skilful blending of Classical, colloquial, rhetorical, and Scriptural elements, and by adding contributions of his own, he formed a style admirably suited for setting forth in all their subtle distinctions the profound truths of Christianity and the varied phases of the spiritual life; and since the *Confessions* at all times enjoyed a wide reputation, their language became a model of much devotional literature subsequently written in Western Europe.<sup>30</sup>

#### A. NEOLOGISMS<sup>1</sup>

One of the most interesting features of a writer's vocabulary are the words which he himself contributes, for they are an indication of his command of the language, as well as of his creative genius and ability to form new terms for the expression of new ideas.

<sup>29</sup> For an interesting account of St. Augustine's relation to Scriptural language, cf. Christopher, 175-176.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. A. Harnack, *Augustins Konfessionen* (Giessen, 1888), p. 11; G. Misch, *Geschichte der Autobiographie*, Vol. I, *Das Altertum* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1907), pp. 440-455; B. Wendell, *The Traditions of European Literature* (New York, 1920), p. 413.

<sup>1</sup> In spite of Prof. Balmus's assertions that his lists of neologisms on pp. 33, 38, and 82 of his *Etude sur le style de saint Augustin* are complete for the *Confessions*, he has nevertheless overlooked the following words: *absurditas*, *collaudator*, *conflorere*, *daemonicola*, *desperate*, *ditator*, *exaperire*, *exitabiliter*, *imaginare*, *imperturbabilis*, *incommutabilitas*, *informiter*, *inhianter*, *interblandiri*, *omnicreans*, *palliare*, *paterne*, *sensificare*, and

On the whole, St. Augustine can hardly be called a prolific creator of words, especially not of such that passed into general use. The reason for this is evident: Tertullian and other early Christian writers had already fashioned Ecclesiastical terminology in its essential features. St. Augustine could only supplement the list, chiefly by way of adding terms to convey new ideas conceived by himself, not only in the Ecclesiastical sphere but in the secular as well.

The Augustinian words occurring in the Confessions are comparatively numerous, totalling fifty-three in all (16 nouns, 13 adjectives, 16 adverbs, and 8 verbs), in addition to one Greek adjective, *theatricus*, and one doubtful verb, *adtransire*.

In the coining of these new formations St. Augustine followed the general tendencies of his age, though inclining rather to the usage of more careful writers. Thus, six nouns in *-tor*, three in *-tas*, and two in *-tio*; two adjectives in *-bilis*, one in *-orius*, and one in *-ilis*; eight adverbs in *-ter* and six in *-e* represent suffixes commonly used in the Late period. Of prepositional compounds there are three nouns and five verbs; of words compounded with a particle there are three adjectives and one verb; of non-prepositional compounds there are two adjectives and one noun, to which may be added one hybrid, *daemonicola*. St. Augustine's slight fondness for colloquial formations is manifested by two nouns in *-mentum*, one verb in *-ficare*, and two diminutive adjectives formed

*vaporaliter*. On the other hand, I have not included in my own list of neologisms a few words mentioned by Prof. Balmus on p. 82, because they appear either in other authors' works which are indisputably earlier than the Confessions or in works of somewhat uncertain date although so near to the time of the Confessions that it would be hazardous to claim that these words were coined by St. Augustine. Cf. *dictor* (Claud. Don. Aen. 1, 495), *imperfectio* (Rufin. Orig. in Cant. 2 p. 419), *inconcusse* (Hier. In Is. h. 7, 2), *indeficienter* (Hilar. In Psalm. 118, 1. 13, 2), *Italicianus* (Cod. Theod. 6, 19, 1; cf. the article *comites* in Pauly-Wissowa, vol. IV, col. 657, no. 50), *mortaliter* (Rufin. Interpr. Iosephi Antiq. 8, 15), *nodositas* (Rufin. Orig. in Cant. 2 p. 433), *submurmurare* (Hier. Vita Hilar. 22). The additional information for these words has been gathered chiefly from Benoist-Goelzer, *Nouveau dictionnaire latin-français*, 10th ed. Furthermore, *melodia*, mentioned by Prof. Balmus on p. 87, occurs already in Vulg. Sirach 40, 21, while *dyas*, listed on the same page, is found in Macr. Somn. Scip. 1, 6, 18 and 1, 12, 5.

from the comparative; in this connection we may also mention *meribibula* which, however, as is evident from the context, is practically equivalent to a citation. Rare formations are represented by one adjective in *-ianus* and by one instance of an acc. sing. neut. used adverbially. Two participial adjectives, one adjective formed by analogy, one verb formed from a noun, and one adverb ending in the archaic suffix *-tim* complete this general survey of Augustinian words in the Confessions.

A striking characteristic of several of these neologisms is the fact that St. Augustine apparently formed them out of a desire to secure some figure of sound (alliteration, assonance, etc.), i. e. the newly-formed word balances in some way one closely preceding it. Cf. 1, 17, 27, *coetaneis . . . conlectoribus*; 5, 5, 8, *consolatore . . . ditatore*; 7, 7, 11, *laxamentum . . . respiramentum*; 11, 13, 15, *omnipotentem . . . omnireantem*; 2, 3, 8, *seducebat . . . seductilis*; 7, 7, 11, *aceruatim . . . conglobatim*; 4, 4, 7, *coaeuum . . . conflorentem*; 10, 7, 11, *uiuifico . . . sensifico*.

A number of these neologisms became current in succeeding writers, while others, especially those formed under rhetorical influence or such compounds as *omnireans*, *terricrepus*, etc., seem to have died with their originator.<sup>2</sup>

### 1. NOUNS

Of the sixteen Augustinian nouns occurring in the Confessions, those in *-tor* are most in evidence, numbering six in all. There are also three nouns in *-tas*, two in *-tio*, two in *-mentum*, and one hybrid; four are compound formations. *Meribibula*, as indicated by the context, is undoubtedly a colloquial word and hence is not, strictly speaking, Augustinian. *Communiiceps*, because of its occurrence in inscriptions, may likewise be of earlier origin.

#### i. Nouns in *-tor* (*-sor*).

*collaudator*, one who joins in praising: 4, 14, 23, *pulchrum illud atque aptum . . . nullo conlaudatore mirabar*.

*collector*, a fellow student (Aug. In Psalm. 55, 10; Evod. in Aug. Epist. 158, 10; Greg. M.): 1, 17, 27, *quid mihi recitanti adclamabatur prae multis coetaneis et conlectoribus meis?*

<sup>2</sup> It should be kept in mind that further studies in Late Latin lexicography may prove some of these words to be earlier than Augustine.

*ditator*, an enricher (Petr. Chrysol., Greg. Tur., Ioh. Bicl.): 5, 5, 8, spiritum sanctum, consolatorem et *ditatorem* fidelium tuorum.

*numerator*, a counter, numberer (Aug. Lib. Arb. 2, 11, 30): 5, 4, 7, *numerator* siderum et *ensor* elementorum.

*ensor*, one who weighs, considers (Aug. Civ. 15, 27): 5, 4, 7 (cf. *numerator*).

*praenuntiator*, one who announces beforehand, a foreteller (Aug. Gen. ad Litt. 8, 4, 8; Serm. 163, 11; 288, 2; 288, 4): 9, 5, 13 (Esaias) euangelii uocationisque gentium . . . *praenuntiator*.

## ii. Nouns in -tas.

*absurditas*, incongruity, absurdity (freq. in Aug., cf. T. L. L. II 221, 11-42 and Georges s. v.; also in Claud. Mam., Fulg. Rusp., Boeth., Cassiod.): 6, 5, 8, *absurditatem*, quae me in illis litteris solebat offendere . . . ad sacramentorum altitudinem referebam.

*incommutabilitas*, unchangeableness, immutability (Aug. [Epist. 171A, 2; Serm. 6, 4; 7, 7], Dionys. Exig., Fulg. Rusp., Boeth.): 7, 19, 25, qui nouit *incommutabilitatem* uerbi tui; 12, 12, 15; 13, 15, 18.

*multiplicitas*, manifoldness, multiplicity (Boeth.): 10, 17, 26, magna uis est memoriae, . . . profunda et infinita *multiplicitas*.

## iii. Nouns in -tio.

*confractio*, a rubbing together, interfriction, stimulation (doubtful instances in Chiron 491 and Veg. Mulom. 2, 86, 2; otherwise in Aug. In Iob. p. 508, 18; Theod. Prisc. Eup. Faen. 55): 2, 8, 16, nec *confractione* consiorum animorum accenderem pruritum cupiditatis meae; 4, 8, 13.

*peruentio*, an arriving, arrival (Aug. [Epist. 149, 1; 155, 12], Mart. Cap.): 6, 1, 1, pollicens eis (nautis) *peruentionem* cum salute; 12, 12, 15.

## iv. Nouns in -mentum.

*praedicamentum*, that which is predicated; in plur., "the categories of Aristotle" (Boeth., Isid.): 4, 16, 29, illis decem *praedicamentis* putans quidquid esset omnino comprehensum.

*respiramentum*, a breathing-space, relief (Aug. Serm. 232, 8;

Ps. Rufin. In Ioel 1, 13-14): 7, 7, 11, nusquam erat laxamentum et *respiramentum*.

## v. Compound nouns.

*collaudator*. Cf. Section i.

*collector*. Cf. Section i.

*communiceps*, a fellow townsman (Corp. III 3285 and IX 5823; Gloss. V 183, 43): 6, 14, 24, Romanianus . . . *communiceps* noster.

*meribibula*, a wine bibber (cited as an adj. by Du Cange for Vita B. Lidwinae, tom. 2, April. p. 320, quaedam quoque de *meribibulis* mulierculis uenientes ad eam dicebant): 9, 8, 18, amarissima insultatione uocans (dominam minorem) *meribibulam*.

## vi. Hybrids.

*daemonicola*, one who worships demons, a heathen (Aug. Epist. 42, 1; 169, 1; 231, 5; Civ. 9, 19; 18, 41): 8, 2, 4, amicos enim suos reuerbatur offendere, superbos *daemonicolos*.

## 2. ADJECTIVES

The Augustinian adjectives in the Confessions are thirteen in number, exclusive of the Greek *theatricos*, which was presumably introduced into Latin literature by our author. They show a marked tendency toward the use of compound formations, for we note two compounded of the privative particle *in-* and a verb and ending in *-ibilis* (*imperturbabilis* and *irretractabilis*), one with the prefix *semi-* (*semisauicius*), and two whose first component part comes from a noun or adjective and the other from a verb (*omni-creans* and *terricrepus*). Furthermore, there is one adjective ending in *-orius*, two diminutives, one in *-ilis*, one in *-anus* (*-ianus*), two participial adjectives, and one formed by analogy, all of which will be listed below.

### i. Adjectives in *-ibilis*.

*imperturbabilis*. Cf. Section vi.

*irretractabilis*. Cf. Section vi.

ii. Adjectives in *-orius*.

*circumuentorius*, deceitful: 3, 3, 5, *circumuentoris* obsequia daemoniorum.

iii. Adjectives in *-ilis*.

*seductilis*, easy to be seduced (Alc. Avit.): 2, 3, 8, (*inimicus inuisibilis*) *seducebat me, quia ego seductilis eram*.

iv. Adjectives in *-anus (-ianus)*.

*praetorianus*, belonging to the praetor, praetorian (from *praetor*, whereas the *praetorianus* that occurs from Tacitus on is derived from *praetorium*): 6, 10, 16, ut *pretiis praetorianis* codices sibi conficiendos curaret.

## v. Diminutive adjectives from the comparative.

*grandiusculus*, pretty well grown up (Ter. Andr. 814 [*dub. lect.*; the other reading is *grandicula* and apparently the better one]; Aug. Catech. Rud. 10, 14; Epist. 27, 2; 104, 2; In Psalm. 130, 13; Civ. 19, 12): 9, 8, 17, *dorso grandiuscularum* puellarum paruuli portari solent.

*salsiusculus* (from *salsius*, the comparative of *salsus*), rather salt: 8, 3, 7, *ebriosi quaedam salsiuscula* comedunt.

## vi. Compound adjectives.

*imperturbabilis* (in- and *perturbare*), imperturbable (Aug. [Epist. 248, 2; Trin. 9, 6, 11], Oros., Fulg. Rusp.): 2, 10, 18, *quies est apud te ualde et uita imperturbabilis*; 4, 11, 16.

*irretractabilis* (in- and *retractare*), irrevocable (Cassian.): 10, 33, 50, *inretractabilem* sententiam proferens.

*omnicreans* (like *omnipotens*), all-creating: 11, 13, 15, *deum omnipotentem et omnicreantem*.

*semisaucius*, half-wounded, maimed: 8, 8, 19, *semisauciam* hac atque hac uersare . . . uoluntatem.

*terricrepus* (terror and *crepare*), terribly thundering: 8, 2, 3, *quae . . . Victorinus . . . ore terricrepe* defensitauerat.

## vii. Participial adjectives.

*subterpositus*, placed under: 13, 15, 17, *da mihi hoc subterposito, quia subterpositis* solidasti ea.

*uanitantes*, the vain, vain people (Aug. Ver. Relig. 33, *ne incidamus in uanitates uanitantium*): 8, 11, 26, *nugae nugarum et uanitates uanitantium* (this may also be the neut. pl. with the meaning "vain things," "vanities"). Cf. Gibb and Montgomery's note on this word, p. 227.

## viii. Adjectives formed by analogy.

*diuerus* (formed on the analogy of *conuerus*), spread out: 10, 34, 52, (Iacob) *nepotibus suis . . . diuezas mystice manus . . . imposuit*.

## ix. Greek adjectives.

*theatricus*, theatrical (Aug. Doctr. Christ. 3, 18; Civ. 6, 10; 18, 10; Epist. 44, 1; 55, 12; 138, 14): 3, 2, 2, *spectacula theatra*; 4, 1, 1; 4, 2, 3.

## 3. ADVERBS

Of the sixteen adverbs of Augustinian origin occurring in the Confessions, eight end in *-ter*, six in *-e*, one in *-tim*, and one in *-um* (acc. sing. neut. used adverbially).

i. Adverbs in *-ter*.

Seven of the following adverbs are derived from adjectives with *i*-stems, while only one, *inhianter*, is formed from the stem of the present participle.

*episcopaliter*, in episcopal fashion: 5, 13, 23, (Ambrosius) *peregrinationem meam satis episcopaliter* dilexit.

*exitiabiliter*, perniciously, ruinously (Aug. Civ. 1, 17): 6, 7, 11, *conpereram, quod (Alypius) circum exitiabiliter* amaret.

*incommutabiliter*, unchangeably, immutably (Aug. [Trin. 7, 1; Epist. 102, 1; 120, 19; 137, 12; 140, 6; 147, 22; 147, 47; 148, 15; 169, 7; 242, 1; 257], Claud. Mam., Fulg. Rusp., Cassiod.): 7, 9, 14, *supra omnia tempora incommutabiliter* manet unigenitus filius tuus; 7, 11, 17; 11, 31, 41; 12, 29, 40; 12, 2, 3; 13, 8, 9; 13, 11, 12 *quater*; 13, 16, 19 *series*.

*incorruptibiliter*, incorruptibly, imperishably (Max. Taur., Anon. In Iob 1 p. 54): 3, 2, 3, *hoc enim tu, domine deus, . . . incorruptibiliter* misereris, quod nullo dolore sauciaris; 7, 12, 18.

*informiter*, formlessly: 12, 29, 40, cum . . . (cantus) cantatur, auditur sonus eius, non prius *informiter* sonat et deinde formatur in cantum.

*inhianter*, with open mouth, eagerly, greedily (Aug. [Epist. 112, 8; 147, 20; C. Iul. Op. Imperf. 1, 70; Gen. ad Litt. 12, 30; C. Faust. 15, 7], Greg. M.): 9, 8, 18, plenos mero caliculos *inhianter* hauriret.

*instabiliter*, unsteadily, restlessly: 13, 20, 28, genus humanum . . . *instabiliter* fluuidum.

*uaporaliter*, like vapor (Aug. [Gen. ad Litt. 2, 4; 3, 10], Isid.): 13, 32, 47, (aquae) *uaporaliter* . . . superferuntur.

## ii. Adverbs in -e.

*acutule*, somewhat sharply (Aug. [Nat. et Grat. 28, 32; C. Iul. 6, 9, 26; C. Iul. Op. Imperf. 3, 188], Iulian. in Aug. C. Iul. 1, 71 [dub. lect.]): 3, 7, 12, *acutule* mouebat, ut suffragaret stultis deceptoribus.

*desperate*, desperately (Aug. [Epist. 53, 1; 56, 2], Cassian., Gild., Greg. M.): 6, 15, 25, (uulnus) *desperatus* dolebat.

*gratulatorie*, in a congratulatory manner: 8, 6, 14, *gratulatorie* miratus est, quod eas . . . prae oculis meis litteras . . . conperisset.

*imaginarie*, according to imagination, fictitiously (Aug. C. Epist. Manich. 43, 49, Sidon., Isid.): 3, 2, 3, quamuis haec *imaginaria* gererent in ludo spectaculi.

*paterne*, paternally (Aug. Epist. 37, 3): 4, 3, 5, benigne ac *paterne* monuit; 5, 13, 23, suscepit me *paterne* ille homo dei.

*procellose*, tempestuously: 13, 20, 28, genus humanum . . . *procellose* tumidum.

## iii. Adverbs in -tim.

*conglobatim*, in a mass: 7, 7, 11, ipsa occurrebant undique aceruatim et *conglobatim* cernenti.

## iv. Acc. sing. neut. used adverbially.

*sanum*, healthfully, sanely: 10, 1, 1, quando *sanum* gaudeo.

## 4. VERBS

Eight Augustinian verbs\* are found in the Confessions, of which five are prepositional compounds, and one a compound of the participle *re-*; of the remaining two, one ends in *-ficare* and the other is formed from a noun (*palliare*, from *pallium*).

### i. Verbs derived from nouns.

*palliare*, to cover, cloak (Aug. Serm. 9, 20): 10, 35, 54; uana et curiosa cupiditas nomine cognitionis et scientiae *palliat*.

### ii. Compound verbs.

(a) Verbs compounded with a preposition or participle.

*conflorere*, to bloom or flourish together: 4, 4, 7, conparaueram amicum . . . coaeuum mihi et *conflorentem* flore adolescentiae.

*exaperire*, to disclose, disentangle, explain (Cassiod.): 2, 10, 18, quis *exaperit* istam tortuosissimam et implicatissimam nodositatem?

*interblandiri*, to give an occasional caress: 9, 12, 30, (mater) obsequiis meis *interblandiens*.

*obdulcescere*, to become sweet (Seueri Maior. Epist. de Iudaeis, 17 [A. D. 417]): 7, 20, 26, si . . . in earum (sanctarum litterarum) familiaritate *obdulcuisses* mihi.

*remergere*, to immerse again: 8, 5, 12, qui (expergisci uolentes) tamen superati soporis altitudine *remerguntur*.

*substomachari*, to be somewhat vexed (Iulian. in Aug. C. Iul. Op. Imperf. 6, 16): 13, 12, 21, ille iam *substomachans* taedio.

(b) Verbs in *-ficare*.

*sensificare*, to endow with sensation (Mart. Cap., Claud. Mam.): 10, 7, 11, est alia uis, non solum qua uiuifico sed etiam qua *sensifico* carnem meam.

## B. WORDS OF RECENT COINAGE

So far as is evident from the Confessions, St. Augustine chose words originated by recent and contemporary writers generally on

\* Add to these the participle *adtransiens* in 5, 1, 1, the reading of Mss. SW, accepted by Knöll but rejected by De Labriolle and Vega; all other Mss. have *et transiens*.

the same principles that prompted him to coin words of his own. In the case of strictly Ecclesiastical terms he naturally had little choice and was obliged to employ words sanctioned by usage, irrespective of whether they were classical or colloquial in form. Otherwise he was on the whole guided by the taste of the more careful Late writers; colloquial or archaic words, or formations of a sonorous character, occur infrequently. Compound words (nouns, adjectives, and verbs), verbal nouns in *-tor*, abstracts in *-tio* and *-tas*, and adverbs in *-ter* and *-e* are the Late forms most in evidence. In order to give the reader a general idea of the Late words found in the Confessions, I am herewith presenting a list of the various suffixes, compound formations, etc., employed, together with an indication of the numerical frequency of each:

Nouns: ending in *-tio* (32), *-tor* (16), *-tas* (8), *-ium* (5), *-ntia* (4), *-tus* (3), *-tudo* (2), *-mentum* (2), *-arium* (2), *-crum* (1), *-culum* (1), *-tura* (1), *-alia* (neut. pl.) (1), *-as* (1), *-edo* (1); compounded with a preposition (4), with a particle (1), of a numeral and a noun (1); diminutive (1).

Adjectives: ending in *-bilis* (11), *-alis* (6), *-osus* (4), *-orius* (3), *-anus* (3), *-eus* (2), *-iuus* (1), *-ilis* (1), *-ilis* (1), *-icius* (1), *-arius* (1), *-idus* (1), *-lentus* (1); compounded with a preposition (5), with the particle *in-* (8), of an adjective and a verb (4), of an adjective and a noun (2), by juxtaposition (1); participial adjectives (9).

Adverbs: ending in *-ter* (22), *-e* (14), *-o* (2).

Verbs: derived from nouns (2), from adjectives (10), from an adverb (1); ending in *-scere* (5); compounded with a preposition (28 [*con* 11, *sub* 4, *in* 4, *de* 2, *ex* 2, *ob* 2, *super* 2, *pro* 1]), with the privative particle *in-* (1); ending in *-ficare* (8).

An examination of the above list shows the presence of only a few words of a decidedly colloquial character, namely, four nouns in *-ntia*, two each in *-tudo*, *-mentum*, and *-arium*, and one in *-tura*; four adjectives in *-osus*, three in *-orius*, one in *-arius*, and one in *-lentus*; twenty-two adverbs in *-ter* and two in *-o*; eight verbs in *-ficare*, most of which, however, are Ecclesiastical terms; lastly, a few of the non-prepositional compound nouns and adjectives may be termed colloquial.

Furthermore, several of the Late words found in the Confessions are peculiar to Apuleius, indicating thereby the influence that this writer exerted upon St. Augustine; note especially *locutor*, *beatificus*, *dulciloquus*, *sapidus*, *somnolentus*, *exsecrabiliter*, *clanculo*, *depudescere*, and *obnubilare*.

At times St. Augustine was undoubtedly influenced in his choice of Late words by stylistic considerations; this was especially the case with nouns in *-tor*, adjectives in *-bilis*, and adverbs in *-ter*, which lend themselves admirably for purposes of parallelism and assonance.

Most of the Greek loan-words, and all of the Hebrew, are Ecclesiastical in character and offer nothing of particular interest.

## 1. NOUNS

### i. Nouns in *-tor* (*-sor*).

Verbal substantives in *-tor*, frequent in all periods of the literature and especially in Late Latin, are likewise copiously represented in the Confessions. St. Augustine employs freely not only those of earlier coinage, but also those introduced by Late writers. At times they seem to be deliberately chosen for the sake of parallelism and word-play, e. g. 10, 31, 46, *laudes tibi, deo meo, . . . pulsatori aurium mearum, inlustratori cordis mei*; 10, 34, 53, *pulchritudinum exteriorum operatores et sectatores*. The following is a list of the Late nouns in *-tor* found in the Confessions:

*collocutor*, an interlocutor (Tert., Boeth.): 9, 6, 14, *ex persona conlocutoris mei*.

*conductor*, a fellow teacher (Mar. Victorin.): 1, 9, 15, *si in aliqua quaestiuncula a conductore suo uictus esset*;

*contradictor*, a gainsayer, opponent (Itala, Iren., Hilar., Amm., Hier., Oros., et al.): 12, 25, 35, *quid dicam contradictori huic, adtende*; 12, 15, 19; 12, 15, 22.

*dictor*, a speaker, an orator (Schol. Hor., Claud. Don., Hier., Casian., Ennod., et al.): 4, 14, 21, (Hierius) *in latina (facundia) . . . dictor mirabilis extitisset*.

*examinator*, an examiner, arbitrator (Tert., Amm.): 6, 9, 15, *causarum examinatore*.

*illusor*, a mocker (Tert., Hier., Vulg.): 3, 8, 16, *inrisores aut inlusores*.

*Illustrator*, an enlightener (Lact., Hier., Inscr.): 10, 31, 46, laudes tibi, deo meo, . . . *illustratori* cordis mei; 12, 11, 12; 12, 16, 23.

*Inhabitor*, a dweller, inhabitant (Ulp. Dig., Hier., Vulg.): 12, 11, 12, o beata (creatura), . . . beata sempiterno *inhabitate* tuo!

*Locutor*, a speaker (Apul.): 1, 18, 29, pacta litterarum et syllabarum accepta a prioribus *locutoribus*.

*Mediator*, a mediator (Apul., Itala, Lact., Hier., Vulg., Rufin., Ale. Avit.): 11, 2, 4, obsecro per . . . Iesum Christum filium tuum, . . . quem confirmasti tibi *mediatorem* tuum et nostrum; 10, 42, 67 *quater*; 10, 43, 63 *bis*; 11, 29, 39.

*Operator*, a creator, framer, maker (Tert., Lact., Ambr., Hier., Vulg.): 11, 13, 15, cum ergo sis *operator* omnium temporum; 10, 34, 53.

*Peccator*, a sinner (from the Itala and Tert. on): 1, 12, 19, tantillus puer et tantus *peccator*; 5, 10, 13; 7, 21, 27; 10, 31, 47; 10, 42, 67; 10, 43, 63; *et al.*

*Sacrificator*, a sacrificer (Tert., Cassiod.): 10, 34, 53, dico hymnum et sacrificio laudem *sacrificatori* (*dub. lect.*; *sanctificatori al.*) meo.

*Saluator*, a savior (from the Itala and Tert. on): 3, 4, 8, nomen *saluatoris* mei, filii tui; 5, 10, 20; 8, 1, 1. Cf. Aug. Serm. 299, 6, Christus . . . Iesus, id est Christus Saluator. hoc est enim latine Iesus. nec quaerant grammatici quam sit latinum, sed christiani quam uerum. salus enim latinum nomen est. saluare et saluator non fuerunt haec latina antequam ueniret Saluator: quando ad latinos uenit, et haec latina fecit.\*

*Sanator*, a healer (Hier., Vulg., Paul. Nol.): 4, 3, 5, morbi . . . *sanator*.

*Transgressor*, a transgressor (Tert., Arnob., Hier., Vulg.): 1, 17, 27, non enim uno modo *sacrificatur transgressoribus* angelis.

## ii. Nouns in -tio (-sio).

Verbal substantives in -tio or -sio form by far the most numerous class of abstract nouns in the Latin language, and practically

every writer of note is responsible for new creations of this type. Late writers were even more prolific in this respect than their predecessors, probably because it was this suffix that best supplied the growing exigencies of a philosophical and theological vocabulary (cf. Cooper, Word Formation, 3-17; St. Schm. 791). Hence it is not surprising that the number of Late nouns of this type occurring in the Confessions exceeds that of any other class of Late nouns, whether concrete or abstract, as the following list will reveal:

*Benedictio*, a blessing (from the Itala and Tert. on): 13, 20, 27, aliud ex alio crescendo multiplicatur in *benedictione* tua; 13, 24, 35 *bis*; 13, 24, 37 *bis*; 13, 25, 38.

*Cohibitio*, a checking, restraint (Tert., Lact., Leo M.): 12, 17, 25, ante *cohibitionem* quasi fluentis immoderationis.

*Commixtio*, a mingling (Apul., Itala, Tert., Cypr., Arnob., Ambr., Hier., Vulg., Rufin., Mart. Cap., *et al.*): 3, 6, 10, *commixtione* syllabarum.

*Conditio*, a creating (Itala, Tert., Hilar., Hier., Vulg., Rufin., Prosp., *et al.*): 12, 8, 8, post *conditionem* lucis; 12, 15, 20; 12, 23, 32; 13, 3, 4. Cf. also Semantics.

*Constellatio*, a constellation (Chalc., Iul. Val., Amm., Ambrosiast.): 7, 6, 8, cum me (Firminus) . . . consuleret, quid mihi secundum suas quas *constellationes* appellant uideretur; *ibid.*, ita ut easdem *constellationes* . . . utrique nascenti facere cogerentur.

*Contritio*. Cf. Semantics.

*Deceptio*, a deceiving, deception (Itala, Hilar., Ambr., Hier., Vulg., Paul. Nol., Mart. Cap., *et al.*): 8, 2, 3, scripta . . . plena fallaciarum et *deceptionum*.

*Dilectio*, love, charity (Itala, Tert., Heges., Hier., Vulg., Paul. Nol.; Ale. Avit., *et al.*): 2, 2, 2, ut non discerneretur serenitas *dilectionis* a caligine libidinis; 5, 9, 17; 8, 1, 1; 9, 12, 30; 13, 19, 24; 13, 24, 36.

*Dispersio*, a scattering, dispersion (Cic. Phil. 3, 30-*[dub. lect.]*), Itala, Tert., Heges., Hier., Vulg., Rufin., Cassian., Prosp., *et al.*): 2, 1, 1, colligens me a *dispersione*, in qua . . . discissus sum; 10, 11, 18; 12, 16, 23.

*Exaltatio*. Cf. Semantics.

*Fornicatio*, fornication (from the Itala and Tert. on): 2, 2, 2, ebulliebam per *fornicationes* meas.

\*Cited by Sister M. Madeleine Getty, *The Life of the North Africans as Revealed in the Sermons of St. Augustine* (Washington, 1931), p. 23.

*illuminatio*. Cf. Semantics.

*imperfectio*, imperfection (Rufin., Cassian., Alc. Avit.): 13, 4, 5, perfectio enim tibi displicet eorum *imperfectio*, ut ex te perficiantur.

*inchoatio*, a beginning (Itala, Hilar., Hier., Vulg., Rufin.): 13, 2, 3, *inchoatio* creaturae spiritalis; 12, 17, 26.

*inspiratio*. Cf. Semantics.

*iustificatio*, justification (Tert., Hier., Arnob., Vulg., Salv.): 12, 15, 20, iustitia, quae *iustificatione* facta est.

*manifestatio*, a manifesting, manifestation (Itala, Hilar., Ambr., Hier., Vulg., Rufin., Sulp. Sev.): 12, 13, 16, non in aenigmate, non per speculum, sed . . . in *manifestatione*, facie ad faciem; 12, 11, 11 bis; 12, 11, 13.

*mundatio*. Cf. Semantics.

*participatio*, a sharing, participation (Spart., Cypr., Hier., Vulg.): 7, 9, 14, (animae) *participatione* manentis in se sapientiae renouantur; 7, 18, 24 and 25.

*parturilio*, a bringing forth, travail (Cypr., Hier., Rufin., Oros., Vict. Vit.): metaph. in 8, 6, 15, *parturitione* nouae uitae.

*passio*. Cf. Semantics and Ecclesiastical Terms.

*pauisatio*, a pausing, halting, rest (Hier.): 9, 4, 7, tamquam in *pauisatione* (anhelare).

*perditio*, perdition, ruin (Tert., Cypr., Lact., Hier., Vulg.): 3, 11, 19, illa respondisset *perditionem* meam se plangere.

*praedestinatio*, a determining beforehand, predestination (Hier., Rufin., Prosp.): 13, 34, 49, uidimus, quia bona sunt singula et omnia bona ualde, in uerbo tuo, . . . in *praedestinatione* ante omnia tempora.

*praeteritio*. Cf. Semantics.

*protectio*, a protecting, protection (Ps. Quint., Tert., Ambr., Hier., Vulg.): 9, 13, 36, nemo a *protectione* tua dirumpat eam; 13, 17, 21 bis.

*recogitatio*, recollection, reflection (Donat., Cassian.): 2, 1, 1, recolens uias meas . . . in amaritudine *recogitationis* meae.

*regeneratio*, a regeneration (Itala, Tert., Cypr., Hier., Vulg., Rufin.): 9, 3, 6, post . . . *regenerationem* per baptismum.

*reluctatio*, resistance (Cod. Theod., Sev. Minor., Cassiod.): 7, 6, 9, omnis illa *reluctatio* mea concidit.

*resurrectio*, a rising from the dead, resurrection (from the Itala and Tert. on): 9, 3, 5, in *resurrectione* iustorum.

*reuelatio*, a revelation, vision (Tert., Vulg.): 9, 10, 25, si . . . sileant somnia et imaginariae *reuelationes*.

*sanctificatio*, sanctification, holiness (Tert., Hilar., Hier., Vulg., Rufin.): 13, 38, 53, nos requieturos in tua grandi *sanctificatione* speramus.

### iii. Nouns in -tas.

Abstract nouns in -tas, usually derived from adjectives, are common in all periods of the Latin language, but become especially frequent in Late writers because of the general fondness for abstract terms (cf. Cooper, Word Formation, 37-43; St.-Schm. 791). The number of Late words of this class found in the Confessions is comparatively small; only the following eight have been noted:

*animositas*. Cf. Semantics.

*falsitas*, falsity, falsehood, error (Itala, Arnob., Lact., Hilar., Amm., Hier., Rufin., Mart. Cap., Ennod., et al.): 4, 19, 29, *falsitas* enim erat, quam de te cogitabam, non ueritas; 3, 11, 20 bis; 5, 14, 25; 6, 1, 1; 7, 15, 21; 7, 19, 25; 10, 23, 33; 12, 31, 42.

*informitas*, lack of form, shapelessness (Tert., Chalc., Rufin.): 12, 8, 8, de qua terra inuisibili et inconposita, de qua *informitate* . . . faceres haec omnia; 12, 3, 3; 12, 4, 4 bis; 12, 9, 9; 12, 11, 14; 12, 12, 15; 12, 17, 25; 12, 19, 28 ter; 12, 21, 30 ter; 12, 22, 31 ter; 13, 3, 4; 13, 5, 6; 13, 33, 48.

*nodositas*, knottiness, intricacy (Rufin., Act. S. Sebast.): 2, 10, 18, quis exaperit istam . . . implicatissimam *nodositatem*?

*numerositas*, a great number, multitude (Tert., Ps. Hier., Rufin., Macr., Sidon., Alc. Avit.): 11, 18, 24, rerum *numerositas*.

*profunditas*, depth, profoundness (Hadr. in Vopisc., Ps. Hier., Macr., Vulg.): 12, 14, 17, mira *profunditas* eloquiorum tuorum; 2, 6, 14; 9, 1, 1.

*sollemnitas*, solemnity, festivity, celebration (Gell., Tert., Solin., Auson., Hier., Vulg., Rufin.): 3, 3, 5, in celebritate *sollemnitatum* tuarum; 8, 3, 6; 13, 23, 34.

*trinitas*. Cf. Semantics.

iv. Nouns in *-ium*.

Nouns ending in the suffix *-ium* are represented in the Confessions only by the following five Late examples:

*decennium*, a period of ten years (Apul., Ulp. Dig., Paul. Dig., Avien., Firm., Auson., Amm., Hier., Rufin.): 8, 7, 18, neque ita in quaerendo adtriti sunt nec *decennio* et amplius ista meditati.

*deliquium*. Cf. Semantics.

*exterminium*, destruction (Tert., Hier., Vulg.): 2, 4, 9, anima . . . dissiliens a firmamento tuo in *exterminium*.

*interstitium*. Cf. Semantics.

*satellitium*. Cf. Semantics.

v. Nouns in *-ntia*.

Nouns ending in *-ntia* belong primarily to colloquial Latin, although many of them were employed by Classical writers. Silver authors added a number to the list, but it was chiefly in Late writers that this formation became frequent. Many such words, especially compounds, were coined to render words from the Greek (cf. Cooper, Word Formation, 32-35; St.-Schm. 208). Only the following four Late examples occur in the Confessions:

*concupiscentia*, concupiscence (from the Itala and Tert. on): 2, 2, 2, exhalabantur nebulae de limosa *concupiscentia* carnis; 3, 1, 1; 6, 12, 22; 8, 7, 17; 10, 30, 42; 10, 31, 44; 10, 31, 46; 10, 31, 47; 10, 34, 51; 10, 35, 54.

*omnipotentia*, omnipotence (Symm., Macr., Prud., Rufin., Claud. Mam., Alc. Avit.): 2, 3, 3, non . . . longe est a nobis *omnipotentia* tua; 2, 6, 14; 7, 5, 7.

*praescientia*, foreknowledge, prescience (Tert., Ambr., Hier., Mart. Cap., et al.): 11, 31, 41, *praescientia* pollens animus, cui cuncta . . . futura . . . nota sint.

*suaueolentia*, a sweet odor, fragrance (Itala [as *suauiolentia* in Levit. 1, 9 et al., Cod. Ashb.; cf. Rönisch, Itala und Vulgata, 518], Sidon.): 8, 6, 15, mores *suaueolentiae* tuae.

vi. Nouns in *-tudo*.

The suffix *-tudo* is characteristic of colloquial and archaic Latin, and was revived to some extent in the Late period (cf. Cooper, Word Formation, 44-46; St.-Schm. 791-792). I have found only

the following two Late instances of this formation in the Confessions:

*hebetudo*, dullness, stolidity (Hier., Macr., Cael. Aur., Ennod.): 5, 8, 14, (scholastici) multa iniuriosa faciunt mira *hebetudine*.

*inquietudo*, restlessness, disquietude (Solin., Lact., Hier., Vulg., Rufin., Oros.): 8, 6, 13, deuitans . . . omnem *inquietudinem* animi; 1, 19, 30; 13, 8, 9.

vii. Nouns in *-tus*.

Verbal substantives ending in *-tus* (*-sus*) were preferred by tragic and epic poets to those ending in *-tio* (*-sio*), partly for metrical reasons. In the Silver period the formation came into more general use, and was employed also by Late writers, although even here it was kept in check by the corresponding forms in *-tio*. Only the following three Late examples have been noted in the Confessions:

*cogitatus*, a thinking, thought (Frontin. Strat. 2, 5, 30 [dub. lect.], Apul., Itala, Tert., Ambr., Hier., Vulg., Paul. Nol., et al.): 9, 4, 7, uenit dies, quo etiam actu soluerer a professione rhetorica, unde iam *cogitatu* solutus eram.

*praesidatus*, a governorship (Vopisc., Aur. Vict., Jurists): 6, 11, 19, uel *praesidatus* dari potest.

*prouectus*, increase, furtherance, progress (Pallad., Amm., Sidon.): 10, 37, 61, de *prouectu* . . . proximi delectari.

viii. Nouns in *-mentum*.

The suffixes *-men* and *-mentum* are practically synonymous in meaning, but the former is apparently characteristic of an elevated style of writing, while the latter belongs chiefly to colloquial speech. Late writers show a decided preference for the longer and more sonorous formation (cf. Goelzer [II] 61-62; Cooper, Word Formation, 84-88; St.-Schm. 242). The Confessions contain no Late nouns in *-men*, and only two in *-mentum*:

*figmentum*, a picture, image (Gell., Apul., Itala, Tert., Cypr., Lact., Amm., Hier., Vulg., Rufin., Paul. Nol., et al.): 10, 34, 53, in . . . picturis . . . diuersisque *figmentis*. Cf. also Semantics.

*solidamentum*, that which makes firm, a solid foundation (Itala, Lact.): 13, 15, 16, *solidamentum* auctoritatis; 7, 20, 26.

ix. Nouns in *-crum*, *-culum*.

These rare formations are represented in the Confessions only by two Late examples:

*lauacrum*. Cf. Semantics.

*habitaculum*, a dwelling (Gell., Pallad., Amm., Ambr., Hier., Vulg., Prud., Alc. Avit.): 3, 7, 13, cum unum sit *habitaculum* et una familia.

x. Nouns in *-arium*.

*cellarium*, a store-room, pantry (Tert., Ambr., Hier., Vulg., Cassian., Salv., et al.): 1, 19, 30, furta . . . faciebam de *cellario* parentum; 9, 8, 17.

*reliquarium*, a remnant or heritage (Itala Gen. 45, 7): 5, 8, 15, illis cruciatibus arguebatur in ea *reliquarium* Euae. The word is not in Georges or Benoist-Goelzer.

## xi. Compound nouns.

In general, St. Augustine avails himself freely of the numerous prepositional compounds that had been coined by recent writers, and even employed a limited number of the sonorous nominal formations that were so characteristic of several Late authors, notably Apuleius and Tertullian (cf. Cooper, Word Formation, 246-314; Parsons, 93-103). The Confessions contain six compound nouns of Late origin, four of which are prepositional, one compounded with the privative particle *in-*, and one composed of a numeral and a noun:

*collactaneus* (*con* and *lac*), a foster-brother (Gaius, Scaev., Itala, Ulp., Hier., Vulg.): 1, 7, 11, (infans) intuebatur pallidus amaro aspectu *collactaneum* suum.

*conductor* (*con* and *ductor*). Cf. Section i.

*constellatio* (*con* and *stella*). Cf. Section ii.

*decennium* (*decem* and *annus*). Cf. Section iv.

*deliquium* (*de* and *liqui*). Cf. Section iv.

*imperfectio* (*in-* and *perfectio*). Cf. Section ii.

*Omnipotentia* and *suaueolentia* might likewise be added to this list, although they are not, strictly speaking, nominal compounds, but derivatives of *omnipotens* and *suaueolens*, respectively.

## xii. Diminutives.

Only the following diminutive noun of Late origin occurs in the Confessions:

*morula*, a brief delay, interval (Apul., Cypr.): 11, 15, 20, (praesens) ita raptim a futuro in praeteritum transuolat, ut nulla *morula* extendatur; 11, 23, 29.

## xiii. Miscellaneous nouns.

In addition to the above nouns of Late coinage occurring in the Confessions, there still remain the following four, each representing a different suffix:

*creatura*, a creating (Itala, Filostr., Ambr., Hier., Vulg., et al.): 12, 15, 20, non inuenimus tempus ante illam (sapientiam), quia et *creaturam* temporis antecedit. Cf. also Semantics.

*magnalia*, great things, mighty works or words (Tert., Cypr., Hier., Vulg., et al.): 12, 21, 29, *magnalia* mirabilium; 13, 27, 42, *magnalia* miraculorum.

*primas*, one of the first, a chief (Apul., Amm., Vulg.): 6, 7, 11, (Alypius ortus erat) parentibus *primatibus* municipalibus.

*putredo*, rottenness, corruption (Apul., Veg., Ambr., Macr., Prud.; Cael. Aur.): 4, 3, 4, homo . . . , caro et sanguis et superba *putredo*; 2, 6, 14; 9, 8, 18.

## 2. ADJECTIVES

i. Adjectives in *-bilis*.

Adjectives of this termination are characteristic of Early Latin, and become increasingly numerous in Late writers. Ordinarily they possess a passive signification, and are formed for the most part from the present stem of the verb, although some occur that are derived from the supine, especially in the Late Latinity (cf. Cooper, Word Formation, 96-104; Leumann, 80-137; Parsons, 58-61; Barry, 86-90). Of the eleven Late examples of these adjectives found in the Confessions, eight are formed from the present stem and three from the supine. Occasionally, as in the case of nouns

\* *Ancula*, a small ring, hook, link (Conf. 8, 5, 10), cited by Prof. Balmus on p. 79 as occurring in Apuleius and the Vulgate, is already found in Val. Max. 8, 12, ext. 3, although in the sense of "a small loop at the edge of a sandal."

in -tor, they seem to be employed for the sake of symmetry and word-play, e. g. 7, 3, 4, *quamuis incontaminabilem et inconuertibilem et nulla ex parte mutabilem dicerem . . . dominum nostrum*.

(a) Formed from the present stem.

*acceptabilis*, acceptable, pleasing (Itala, Tert., Iren., Lact., Ambr., Hier., Vulg., Paul. Nol., Cassian., *et al.*): 8, 12, 28, *acceptabile sacrificium*; 10, 6, 8.

*creabilis*, that can be created (Ps. Apul., Hier., Gaudent., Vigil. Thaps.): 12, 19, 28, *quidquid creabile atque formabile est tu fecisti*; 12, 17, 26; 12, 22, 31; 12, 28, 39.

*damnabilis*, worthy of condemnation (Treb. Poll., Firm., Rufin., Cassian., Claud. Mam., *et al.*): 3, 4, 7, in qua (eloquentia) *eminere cupiebam fine damnabili*.

*formabilis*, that may be formed or fashioned (Chalc., Hilar., Prud., Claud. Mam.): 12, 15, 19, *num falsum est omnem naturam formatam materiamue formabilem non esse nisi ab illo (i. e. deo) . . . ?* 12, 17, 25; 12, 19, 28; 12, 22, 31.

*incontaminabilis*, that cannot be defiled (Tert., Rufin.): 7, 3, 4, *quamuis incontaminabilem et inconuertibilem et nulla ex parte mutabilem dicerem . . . dominum nostrum*.

*inconuertibilis*, unchangeable (Tert., Hier., Rufin.): 7, 3, 4 (*cf. incontaminabilis*).

*inuestigabilis*; not to be traced, unsearchable (Itala, Tert., Iren., Lact., Hier., Vulg.): 4, 4, 8, *inuestigabilis abyssus iudiciorum tuorum*; 2, 9, 17.

*mutabilis*. Cf. Semantics.

(b) Formed from the supine stem.

*contemptibilis*, contemptible (from the Itala and Tert. on): 10, 35, 57, in quam multis . . . *contemptibilibus* rebus curiositas cotidie nostra temtetur.

*corruptibilis*, corruptible, perishable (Itala, Tert., Lact., Hilar., Ambr., Hier., Vulg., Rufin., Paul. Nol., Claud. Mam., *et al.*): 7, 12, 18, *substantia corruptibilis*; 7, 1, 1; 7, 2, 3 *ter*; 7, 4, 6 *quater*.

*incorruptibilis*, incorruptible, imperishable (Itala, Tert., Arnob., Lact., Ambr., Hier., Vulg., Rufin., Alc. Avit., *et al.*): 2, 6, 13,

*indeficiens copia incorruptibilis suauitatis*; 3, 1, 1; 7, 1, 1 *bis*; 7, 2, 3; 7, 4, 6 *quinquies*; 7, 12, 18 *bis*; 8, 1, 1; 13, 4, 5.

ii. Adjectives in -alis.

Adjectives bearing this suffix, although in use in all periods of the language, become especially prominent in the Late Latinity (*cf. Goelzer [I], 146-147; Leumann, 17-39; Parsons, 51-52; Barry, 91-95; St.-Schm., 235-236*). The following six Late examples have been gathered from the Confessions:

*carnalis*, fleshly, carnal, sensual (Itala, Min. Fel., Tert., Cypr., Lact., Hilar., Ambr., Hier., Vulg., Rufin., Prud., Aug. [very freq.; *cf. T. L. L. III 474-476*], Cassian., Alc. Avit., *et al.*): 2, 1, 1, *carnales* corruptiones animae meae; 3, 6, 10; 4, 15, 25; 5, 8, 15; 6, 3, 4; 6, 16, 26 *bis*; 7, 17, 23; 8, 5, 10; 9, 10, 24; 9, 13, 34; 12, 17, 24; 12, 30, 41; 13, 12, 13; 13, 17, 21; 13, 23, 33; 13, 24, 37.

*intellectualis*, intellectual (Tert., Hier., Rufin., *et al.*): 12, 9, 9, *creatura . . . intellectualis*; 12, 13, 16; 12, 15, 20 *bis*; 12, 17, 24.

*matrimonialis*, matrimonial (Ps. Quint., Firm.): 9, 9, 19, (*tabulae*) *matrimoniales*.

*orientalis*, oriental (Gell., Iust., Vopisc., Capitol., Treb. Poll., Hier.): 9, 7, 15, *secundum morem orientalium* partium.

*originalis*, primitive, original (Apul., Itala, Tert., Vulg., Macr., Jurists, Inscr.): 5, 9, 16, *originalis* peccati uinculum.

*uindemialis*, belonging to the vintage (Macr., Inscr.): 9, 2, 2, *ad uindemiales* ferias; occurs as a noun in 9, 2, 3, *uindemialium* (dies), and 9, 5, 13, *peractis uindemialibus* (the lexica cite no other instances for the substantival use of this adjective).

iii. Adjectives in -osus.

Adjectives of this class, although comparatively numerous, were nevertheless employed rather sparingly by the more careful writers. In colloquial and Late Latin, however, this suffix abounds, partly because of its sonorous character and partly because of the ease with which it could be attached to nouns and adjectives alike, and at times even to verbs (*cf. Cooper, Word Formation, 122-132; Goelzer [I], 149-150; Parsons, 63-64; Barry, 99-101*). St. Augustine employs in the Confessions only the following four Late adjectives of this type:

*calumniosus*, calumnious, lying (Gaius, Apul., Tert., Arnob., Firm., Rufin., Oros., Sidon., *et al.*): 6, 5, 7, pugnacitas *calumniosarum* quaestionum.

*deliciosus*, delicious, pleasant (Filastr., Ambr., Hier., Rufin., Sedul., Mart. Cap., Salv., *et al.*): 10, 34, 53, nec eam (fortitudinem suam) spargant in *deliciosas* lassitudines.

*pestilentiosus*. Cf. Semantics.

*taediosus*, wearisome, irksome (Arnob., Firm., Ambr., Rufin., Cassio.): 4, 7, 12, quidquid non erat quod ille (i. e. deus) erat, inprobum et *taediosum* erat praeter gemitum et lacrimas.

#### iv. Adjectives in *-orius*.

This suffix is relatively rare in Early Latin, and does not become prominent until the Silver period, where it is most freely employed by Pliny the Elder. Late writers, especially Tertullian and the jurists, show special fondness for this formation. St. Augustine likewise seems to have made an abundant use of these adjectives, even to the extent of coining several himself (cf. Cooper, Word Formation, 155-162; Parsons, 62-63). The Confessions, however, furnish only the following three Late instances:

*hortatorius*, encouraging, cheering (Ambr.): 8, 11, 27, inridebant me inrisione *hortatoria*.

*nutritorius*. Cf. Semantics.

*seductorius*, seductive (Ambr.): 5, 6, 11, quod (eloquium) fiebat acceptius magisque *seductorium* moderamine ingenii.

#### v. Adjectives in *-eus*.

Adjectives of this termination, although characteristic of the colloquial language, were given greater prominence and prestige by Vergil and other poets of the Golden Age. Comparatively few additions, however, were made to the list by Silver and Late writers (cf. Cooper, Word Formation, 111 and 116-118; Goelzer [I], 150-152). The Confessions contain only the following two Late examples:

*carneus*, carnal, corporeal (Itala, Tert., Hier., Vulg., Rufin., Paul. Nol.): 3, 6, 10, corpora ista, quae uidemus uisu *carneo*; 8, 11, 26; 9, 4, 10; 10, 34, 52; 10, 42, 67.

*incorporeus*, incorporeal (Gell., Hier., Rufin., Macr., Mart. Cap.,

Claud. Mam.): 7, 20, 26, quaerere *incorpoream* ueritatem; 4, 15, 24.

#### vi. Adjectives in *-anus* (*-ianus*).

This rare suffix, which is employed chiefly in forming adjectives from proper nouns, is represented in the Confessions by three examples, all occurring for the first time in Late Latin as adjectives, although two, *mundanus* and *christianus*, are found as nouns much earlier, as noted below. Moreover, *christianus* and *Italicianus* are examples of adjectives ending in *-ianus* which were frequently coined through false analogy with formations from stems in *-io*, *-ia* (e. g. *medi-anus*) (cf. Cooper, Word Formation, 144-147; St.-Schm. 223).

*christianus*, Christian (from Tert. on): as adj. in 4, 3, 4, *christiana* . . . pietas; 5, 5, 9; 5, 11, 21; 6, 11, 19; 7, 19, 25; 8, 2, 4; 9, 4, 8; 9, 8, 17; *et al.*; as noun in 8, 2, 3, (Victorinum) *christianum* defunctum esse audieram; 8, 2, 5 *quinquies*; 8, 5, 10; 8, 6, 14; 9, 3, 5 *ter*; 9, 3, 6; *et al.* *Christianus* occurs as a noun in Tac. Ann. 15, 44; Plin. Epist. 10, 96; Traian. Plin. Epist. 10, 97; Suet. Nero 16; then from Tert. on.

*Italicianus*, Italian (referring to Italy as a prefecture) (Not. Dign. Occid. 5, 47; Cod. Theod. 6, 19, 1): 6, 10, 16, (Alypius) Romae adsidebat comiti largitionum *Italicianarum*.

*mundanus*, pertaining to the world, mundane (Ps. Apul., Chalc., Avien., Capitol., Ambr., Macr., Alc. Avit.): as adj. in 13, 30, 45, *mundana* moenia; as noun in 5, 5, 8, uanitas est . . . *mundana* ista . . . profiteri. The word occurs as a noun in Cicero, Tusc. 5, 108, *mundanus*, "a citizen of the world," "a cosmopolite."

#### vii. Compound adjectives.

(a) Adjectives compounded with a preposition or particle.

Among the various compound adjectives of this type, those formed with *con-* and *in-* are most in evidence in the Late period (cf. Goelzer [I], 163). This is likewise true for the Confessions, where there are four Late adjectives composed with *con-*, eight with *in-*, and one with *super-*.

*coaelaneus*, of the same age (Apul., Itala, Tert., Iren., Vulg.): as noun in 1, 17, 27, quid mihi recitanti adclamabatur prae multis *coaelaneis* . . . meis? 2, 3, 7, inter *coaelaneos* meos.

*coeternus*, coeternal (Tert., Hilar., Lucif., Filastr., Ambr., Hier., Rufin., Prud., Paul. Nol., Cassian.): 7, 9, 14, *unigenitus filius tuus coeternus tibi*; 7, 21, 27; 11, 7, 9; 11, 13, 16; 11, 14, 17; 11, 30, 40; 12, 9, 9; 12, 11, 12 and 13; 12, 12, 15; 12, 15, 19 *bis*; 12, 15, 20 and 22; 12, 20, 29 *quater*; 12, 22, 31 *bis*; 13, 5, 6.

*coaeuus*, of the same age (Mar. Victorin., Hilar., Hier., Vulg., Rufin., Prud., Cassian., Mart. Cap.): 4, 4, 7, *conparaueram amicū . . . coaeuum mihi*; 9, 6, 14.

*conformis*, similar, like (Itala, Hilar., Ambr., Hier., Vulg., Rufin., Paul. Nol., Sidon., *et al.*): 13, 2, 3, (*creatura*) *conformis formae aequali tibi*.

*incongruus*, inconsistent, incongruous (Ps. Apul., Chalc., Symm., Veg., Ambr., Boeth.): 12, 6, 6, *insolitum et incongruum auersaretur sensus meus*.

*inconsummatus*, incomplete, imperfect (Amm., Ambr., Vulg., Boeth.): 10, 30, 42, *lucens in eo, quod inconsummatus sum*.

*incontaminabilis*. Cf. Section i.

*inconvertibilis*. Cf. Section i.

*incorporeus*. Cf. Section v.

*incorruptibilis*. Cf. Section i.

*indeficiens*, unfailing (Itala, Tert., Lact., Ambr., Hier., Vulg., Rufin., Oros.): 2, 6, 13, *indeficiens copia incorruptibilis suauitatis*; 9, 10, 24; 13, 10, 11.

*inuestigabilis*. Cf. Section i.

*supercaelestis*, that is above the heavens, supercelestial (Tert., Firm., Hier.): 13, 15, 18, *supercaelestes populi angelorum tuorum*.

#### (b) Non-prepositional compound adjectives.

Compound adjectives other than prepositional, i. e. those with both component members formed from nominal or verbal stems, are relatively rare in Latin, and are confined almost exclusively to the Early and Late periods. The Latin language does not lend itself to this type of composition as readily and gracefully as the Greek (cf. Cooper, *Word Formation*, 306-310; Goelzer [I], 167-170). Only the following seven Late examples of these adjectives have been gathered from the Confessions:

*beatificus*, making happy, beatific (Apul., Aug. [about a dozen

instances cited in T. L. L. II, 1794, 26-34], Fulg. Rusp.): 7, 20, 26, (*uia ducens*) *ad beatificam patriam*; 2, 5, 11.

*dulciloquus*, sweetly speaking (Apul., Auson., Sidon.): 4, 8, 13, *legere libros dulciloquos*.

*multimodus*, manifold, various (Apul., Tert., Hilar., Amm., Hier.): 13, 1, 1, *institisti crebescens multimodis uocibus*; 10, 17, 26; 10, 34, 51.

*mundicors*, clean of heart (Itala): 11, 1, 1, *ut simus . . . mundicordes*.

*omnitenens*, holding all things, all-swaying (Tert., Rufin.): 7, 15, 21, *tu es omnitenens manu ueritate*; 11, 13, 15.

*primogenitus*, first-born (Lact., Ambr., Hier., Vulg., Rufin., *et al.*): 7, 9, 15, *populus primogenitus*. Cf. also Semantics.

*unigenitus*, only-begotten (Hilar., Hier., Vulg., *et al.*): 7, 9, 14; *unigenitus filius tuus*; as noun in 5, 3, 5; 5, 10, 20; 9, 4, 7; 12, 7, 7.

#### viii. Participial adjectives.

This list is intended to include, not the numerous participles occasionally used adjectively while retaining much of their verbal force, but only those that have lost (in Late Latin) their participial signification and are regarded as adjectives.

*compunctus*, goaded by the sting of conscience, remorseful (Sidon., Ennod., Alc. Avit., *et al.*): 9, 4, 10, *intus in cubili, ubi compunctus eram*.

*conspirans*, acting in harmony or in conspiracy with (Iul. Val.): 10, 42, 67, *adduxerunt sibi per similitudinem cordis sui conspirantes et socias superbiae suae potestates*.

*dealbatus*, bright (Chiron 635 and 698 [*dub. lect.*]): 7, 6, 8, Firminus . . . *dealbatiores uias saeculi cursitabat*.\*

*examinatus*, careful, scrupulous, exact (Rufin.): 7, 6, 8, *examinatissima diligentia*.

*exsecrandus*, detestable (Vulg., Eutrop., Salv.): 8, 3, 8, *exsecranda laetitia*; 5, 8, 15.

*formatus*, formed, having form (Physiogn., Dionys. Exig.): 12, 13, 16, *propter duo haec, primitus formatum et penitus informe*;

\* Cf. Erasmus's explanation of this word, cited in De Labriolle, *St. Augustin, Confessions*, vol. I, p. 154, footnote.

12, 6, 6 *bis*; 12, 15, 19; 12, 19, 28 *ter*; 12, 22, 31; 12, 24, 33; 12, 28, 39; 12, 29, 40 *ter*; 13, 2, 2.

*honorandus*, deserving of honor (Paul. Nol.): 2, 6, 13, *cum tu sis prae cunctis honorandus*.

*inolitus*, inveterate (Iul. Val., Fulg. Rusp., Cassiod.): 8, 11, 25, plus . . . in me ualebat deterius *inolitum* quam melius *insolitum*.

*nominatus*, famed, renowned (Tert., Hier., Rufin., Vulg., *et al.*): 5, 3, 3, *nominatus* apud eos ille Faustus; 5, 7, 13.

#### ix. Miscellaneous adjectives.

There still remain seven Late adjectives, representing as many different suffixes, all of which are here presented in one group.

*defectiuus*, imperfect, defective, false (Ps. Rufin., Greg. M., Grammarians): 2, 6, 12, *defectiua* species.

*infantilis*, pertaining to an infant or child; infantile (Apul., Iust., Ulp. Dig.; Edict. Diocl., Hier., Cass. Fel., Alc. Avit.): 1, 7, 11, imbecillitas membrorum *infantiliū*; 6, 4, 5, (sapere) *infantiles* nugas.

*pellicius*, made of skins (Pallad., Lampr., Ambr., Vulg., Sulp. Sev., Jurists): 7, 18, 24, uidentes ante pedes suos infirmam diuinitatem ex participatione tunicae *pelliciae* nostrae.

*plenarius*, full, plenary (Ambr., Prosp., Ennod.): 5, 5, 8, auctoritate *plenaria*; 10, 30, 42, usque ad pacem *plenariam*.

*reptilis*, creeping (Firm., Ambr., Hier., Vulg., Sidon., *et al.*): as noun in 10, 6, 9, *reptilia* animarum uiuarum; 13, 20, 28; 13, 21, 29.

*sapidus*, relishing, savory (Apul., Apic., Claud. Mam.): 6, 3, 3, quam *sapida* gaudia de pane tuo ruminaret; 10, 35, 55.

*somnolentus*, sleepy, drowsy (Apul., Solin., Ambr., Hier.): 8, 5, 12, uerba lenta et *somnolenta*.

### 3. ADVERBS

#### i. Adverbs in *-ter*.

Adverbs of this termination are especially frequent in colloquial and Late Latin, and hence it is not surprising that they form the largest category of Late adverbs occurring in the Confessions. Of the twenty-two examples listed below, seventeen are in the form

*-iter* derived from adjectives with consonant or *i*-stems. Only one, *sinceriter*, is formed from an *o*-stem. Adverbs of this latter type are archaic and vulgar, and occur with comparative infrequency (cf. Cooper, Word Formation, 200-204; St.-Schm. 299); it is interesting to note that *sinceriter* is likewise the only Late adverb of this irregular formation that occurs in St. Augustine's Epistles, according to Parsons, p. 78. Four adverbs, *incongruenter*, *incunctanter*, *indeficienter*, and *indesinenter*, have the suffix *-ter* added to participial stems; curiously enough, all four are also compounded with the privative particle *in-*. Several of these adverbs appear to be deliberately chosen for stylistic effect, e. g. 12, 17, 24, *uniuersaliter* . . . *breuiter*; 13, 20, 28, *corporaliter* . . . *sensibiliter*.

*carnaliter*, carnally (Itala, Tert., Cypr., Ambr., Hier., Rufin., Prud., Claud. Mam., *et al.*): 9, 6, 14, adiunximus etiam nobis puerum Adeodatum ex me natum *carnaliter* de peccato meo.

*exsecrabiliter*, execrably (Apul., Nov. Anthem.): 8, 7, 17, tanto *exsecrabilius* me comparatum eis oderam.

*fiducialiter*, confidently (Apul., Iren., Hier., Vulg., Rufin., Paul. Nol., Oros., *et al.*): 9, 13, 34, *fiducialiter* speramus aliquem apud te locum.

*immaniter*. Cf. Semantics.

*immobilter*, immovably, unshakenly (Chalc., Prosp., Cass. Fel., Cassiod.): 12, 20, 29, qui Moysen . . . in spiritu ueritatis locutum esse *immobilter* credunt.

*incomparabiliter*, incomparably (Hier., Oros., Claud. Mam., Sidon., Alc. Avit.): 6, 6, 10, gaudium spei fidelis *incomparabiliter* distat ab illa uanitate; 5, 8, 14.

*incongruenter*, unsuitably (Tert., Novatian., Cassian.): 13, 3, 4, quod . . . in primis conditionibus dixisti: fiat lux, et facta est lux, non *incongruenter* hoc intellego in creatura spiritali; 12, 17, 24.

*incunctanter*, without delay, unhesitatingly (Ulp. Dig., Cypr., Lact., Hier., Sulp. Sev., Oros., Alc. Avit., *et al.*): 7, 1, 1, quod uiolari non potest, *incunctanter* praeponēbam uiolabili.

*indeficienter*, unfailingly, incessantly (Hilar., Fulg. Rusp.): 12, 11, 13, (domus tua) *indesinenter* et *indeficienter* tibi cohaerendo nullam patitur uicissitudinem temporum.

*inadesinenter*, incessantly (Itala, Cypr., Lucif., Hier., Vulg., Rufin., Sidon., et al.): 12, 11, 13 (cf. *indeficienter*).

*inenarrabiliter*, indescribably (Hilar., Faust.): 13, 20, 28, ecce tu *inenarrabiliter* pulchrior.

*intelligibiliter*, intellectually (Chalc., Mar. Victorin., Rufin.): 13, 24, 37, res . . . *intelligibiliter* excogitatas generationes humanas propter rationis fecunditatem intelleximus.

*mortaliter*, mortally (Rufin. Interpr. Iosephi, Iul. in Aug., Alc. Avit.): 10, 17, 26, tanta uitae uis est in homine uiuente *mortaliter*.

*personaliter*, personally (Arnob., Ambr., Salv.): 5, 5, 8, (ille manichaeus) spiritum sanctum . . . *personaliter* in se esse persuadere conatus est.

*poenaliter*. Cf. Semantics.

*sensibiliter*, sensibly, in such a way as to affect the senses (Arnob., Hier., Cassiod.): 13, 20, 28, ut in aquis multis corporaliter et *sensibiliter* operarentur dispensatores tui mystica facta et dicta.

*sinceriter*, sincerely (Gell., Vulg., Jurists): 3, 2, 3, qui ueraciter *sinceriterque* miseretur.

*spiritualiter*, spiritually, in a spiritual sense (Hier., Vulg.): 5, 14, 24, *spiritualiter* . . . librorum locis expositis; 6, 4, 6; 13, 20, 23; 13, 23, 33 *ter*.

*temporaliter*, in time, for a time, temporarily (Tert., Rufin., et al.): 11, 6, 8, uerba *temporaliter* sonantia; *ibid.*, cuius (creaturae) motibus temporalibus *temporaliter* uox illa percurreret; 13, 34, 49, ubi . . . coepisti praedestinata *temporaliter* exequi; 13, 15, 18; 13, 29, 44 *bis*.

*terribiliter*, terribly (Arnob., Hilar., Vulg.): 12, 25, 34, *terribiliter* admonens eos.

*ueraciter*, truly (Ambr., Claud. Mam.): 12, 16, 23, tu loquere in corde meo *ueraciter*; 3, 2, 3; 11, 10, 12; 12, 29, 40; 13, 23, 33.

*uniuersaliter*, all together, universally (Gaius, Aug. Epist. 190, 22 and Catech. Rud. 1, 2; Inscr.): 12, 17, 24, nomine . . . caeli et terrae totum . . . mundum *uniuersaliter* et breuiter significare uoluit.

## ii. Adverbs in -e.

Adverbs of this ending, formed from adjectives of the first and second declensions and from past participles, present nothing

especially noteworthy and are common to all periods of the language. The following Late forms occur in the Confessions:

*allegorice*, allegorically (Tert., Porph., Arnob., Hilar., Hier., Serv., Salv., et al.): 13, 24, 37, si naturas ipsas rerum non *allegorice*, sed proprie cogitemus.

*devote*, faithfully, devoutly (Lact., Ambr., Rufin., Oros., Cassian., Prosp.): 8, 1, 1, audieram . . . , quod (Simplicianus) a iuuentute sua *deuotissime* tibi uiueret.

*figurete*. Cf. Semantics.

*fructuose*, profitably, advantageously (Paul. Nol., Cassian., Sidon., Alc. Avit., et al.): 11, 22, 28, cui *fructuosius* confitebor inperitiam meam nisi tibi . . . ?

*inconcusse*, firmly, resolutely (Hier., Cod. Theod.): 6, 5, 7, quam *inconcusse* fixum fide retinerem, de quibus parentibus ortus essem; 7, 7, 11.

*indefinite*, indefinitely (Gell., Hilar., Mart. Cap., et al.): 11, 26, 33, dico aut *indefinite*: "Longius est hoc tempus quam illud," aut etiam *definite*: "Duplum est hoc ad illud."

*inopinate*, unexpectedly (Iren., Chalc., Cassiod.): 8, 6, 14, tulit (codicem), aperuit, inuenit apostolum Paulum, *inopinate* sane.

*mystice*, mystically (Tert., Solin., Ambr., Hier., Mar. Victorin.): 10, 34, 52, cum Iacob . . . nepotibus suis . . . *mystice* manus . . . imposuit.

*nimie*, very much, very, extremely (Spart., Pallad., Cael. Aur., Cass. Fel., Alc. Avit.): 2, 9, 17, aliquid *nimie* ridiculum; 8, 12, 28.

*noxie*, harmfully, injuriously (Sulp. Sev., Rufin., Cassiod.): 1, 7, 11, flendo petere etiam quod *noxie* daretur.

*robuste*, stoutly, strongly, firmly (Paneg. Nazar., Fulg., Cassiod.): 6, 5, 8, id credebam aliquando *robustius*, aliquando exilius; 8, 11, 25.

*superuacue*, superfluously, uselessly (Tert., Paul. Sent., Vulg., et al.): 13, 24, 37, non *superuacue* solis aquatilium et hominum fetibus istam benedictionem (deus) adtribuit.

*suspense*, lightly (Rufin.): 10, 34, 53, *suspensius* (De Labr.; suspensus Knöll) incideram.

*uane*, vainly (Apul., Tert., Ambr., Vulg.): 10, 38, 63, saepe homo de ipso uanae gloriae contemptu *uanius* gloriatur.

## iii. Adverbs in -o.

Adverbs in -o are derived chiefly from adjectives of the first and second declensions and from past participles, and belong for the most part to the Early Latinity, although they are also found to some extent in Classical writers. In Late Latin several of these adverbs were introduced as parallels of earlier forms with other suffixes, especially -e, e. g. *tacite*—*tacito*, *dubie*—*dubio* (cf. Goelzer [I], 202; Neue-Wagener II, 611-633). Only the following Late formations occur in the Confessions:

*caro*, dearly, *care* (Ps. Quint., Ulp. Dig., Ambrosiast., Paul. Nol.): 11, 2, 2, *caro* mihi ualent stillae temporum.

*clanculo*, secretly, privately, *clanculum* (Apul., Tert., Heges., Amm., Ambr., Macr., Cod. Theod.): 5, 8, 15, ea nocte *clanculo* ego profectus sum; 6, 9, 14; 9, 8, 18.

## iv. Miscellaneous adverbs.

*circumquaque*, on every side, all around (Ambr., Aug., Eugipp., Ps. Rufin., Greg. M., et al.): 10, 35, 56, cum *circumquaque* cotidianam uitam uostram tam multa huius generis rerum circumstrepant.

*nullatenus*, in no way, by no means (Rufin., Mart. Cap., Claud. Mam., Vict. Vit., Cod. Iust., Fulg., Cassiod.): 7, 6, 8, conditionis iugo *nullatenus* relaxato.

*quaquauersum*, to all sides, every way (occurs as *quaqua uersus* in Apul. Met. 4 p. 145, 6; otherwise cited only for Aug., e. g. Civ. 18, 22; Epist. 81, 1): 7, 1, 2, te . . . undique cogitabam penetrare totam mundi molem et extra eam *quaqua uersum* per inmensa sine termino.

## 4. VERBS

## i. Verbs derived from nouns.

The Confessions present only the following two Late examples of verbs formed from nouns:

*compaginare* (from *compago*, -inis), to join together (Itala, Iren., Amm., Ambr., Hier., Rufin., Paul. Nol., Sidon., et al.): 13, 30, 45, quae tu contraheres et *compaginare*s atque contexeres.

*fornicari* (from *fornix*), to fornicate (from the Itala and Tert.

on): 2, 3, 7, ne *fornicarer* maximeque ne adulterarem cuiusquam uxorem.

## ii. Verbs derived from adjectives.

Late verbs of this class are more numerous in the Confessions than those derived from nouns. Furthermore, it should be noted that one of them, *humilitare* (*dub. lect.*), is a frequentative verb, and another, *amaricare*, ends in -icare, a suffix confined chiefly to the Early and Late periods of the language (cf. Cooper, Word Formation, 239-241).

*amaricare*, to make bitter, to irritate (Itala, Hier., Prosp.): the pres. ppl. occurs as a noun in 13, 17, 20, quis congregauit *amaricantes* in societatem unam? and 13, 24, 37.

*captiuare*. Cf. Semantics.

*falsare*, to falsify (Iren., Ambr., Hier., Sulp. Sev., Rufin.): 5, 11, 21, cum dicerent scripturas noui testamenti *falsatas* fuisse.

*foederare* (from *foederatus*; cf. T. L. L. VI 995, 82), to establish by agreement (Flor., Min. Fel., Tert., Heges., Amm., Ambr., Hier., Vulg., Macr., Boeth., et al.): 4, 2, 2, quod (placitum) *foederatum* esset generandi gratia.

*humiliare*. Cf. Semantics.

*humilitare*. Cf. Semantics.

*inimicari*, to entertain feelings of enmity (Vulg., Rufin.): 1, 18, 29, cor suum uastat *inimicando*.

*intimare*. Cf. Semantics.

*iucundari*, to rejoice, to enjoy one's self (Itala, Iren., Comm., Lact., Vulg.): 2, 2, 4, sine offensione *iucundari*.

*principari*, to rule, dominate (Itala, Lact., Hier., Rufin.): 3, 8, 16, *principandi* libidine.

*sordicare*, to stain (morally) (Cypr., Lact., Firm., Hier.): 1, 11, 17, ut adhuc *sordidarer*, si uiuerem.

## iii. Verbs derived from adverbs.

Only the following Late instance of this rare formation has been found in the Confessions:

*propalare* (from *propalam*), to divulge, make known (Comm., Oros., Claud. Mam., Sidon., Vict. Vit.): 9, 7, 16, (ossa) *propalata* (De Labr.; prolata Knöll) et effossa.

iv. Verbs in *-scere*.

The so-called inchoative verbs belong to all periods of the literature, although the Late Latinity was remarkably fertile in new formations. By far the greatest majority of these verbs end in *-escere*, and only a few in *-ascere* and *-iscere*. Late writers show a decided fondness for substituting the ending *-escere* for *-ascere* (cf. Cooper, Word Formation, 216-223). The same tendency is noticeable in the Confessions, where the Late formations of this type are restricted to the ending *-escere*, even to the extent of spelling the usual *congemiscere* as *congemescere*.

*congemiscere*, to sigh together (Itala, Tert., Hilar., Ambr., Hier., Rufin., Prud., Cod. Theod., *et al.*): 6, 7, 11, *congemescēbamus* in his qui simul amice uiuebamus.

*depudescere*, to become shameless (Apul.): 8, 2, 4, (Victorinus) *depudit* uanitati et erubuit ueritati.

*inanesce*. Cf. Semantics.

*tenebrescere*, to become dark (Tert., Hier., Vulg.): 12, 15, 21, *inest ei* (sapientiae) . . . ipsa mutabilitas, unde *tenebresceret* et frigesceret.

*uilesce*, to become worthless. (Avien., Veg., Hier., Paul. Nol.): 3, 4, 7, *uilit* mihi . . . omnis spes; 9, 10, 26.

## v. Compound verbs.

## (a) Verbs compounded with a preposition or particle.

Compound verbs of this type become very numerous in Late Latin. In some instances the new formations actually express a different idea than that conveyed by the simple verb, e. g. the prefix *con-* adds the notion of union, *re-* the notion of repetition, etc. But frequently the compound verb merely took the place of the simple verb, because the latter had either lost its original signification or no longer satisfied the craving for emphatic and sonorous expression so characteristic of Late writers (cf. Goelzer [I], 188-90).

The twenty-nine compound verbs listed below are distributed by prefixes as follows: *con* (11), *in* (5), *sub* (4), *de* (2), *ex* (2), *ob* (2), *super* (2), *pro* (1). Two of them, *supererogare* and *superexaltare*, are really bi-prepositional compounds. Furthermore, in

twenty instances the second member of the compound is a verb, while in the remaining nine it is derived from a noun or adjective, as noted below.

*coaptare*. Cf. Semantics.

*collaetari*, to rejoice together or with (Itala, Tert., Possid., *et al.*): 8, 3, 6, *dragma referatur in thesauros tuos conlaetantibus* uicinis mulieri, quae inuenit; 7, 19, 25; 8, 2, 5; 9, 3, 6.

*combinare* (*com* and *bini*), to unite, combine (Hyg., Hilar., Zeno, Sidon., *et al.*): 8, 6, 15, (*contubernales*) *combinati spatia* bantur.

*compati*. Cf. Semantics.

*concreare*, to create together (Gell., Hilar., Vulg., Prosp., Claud. Mam., *et al.*): 13, 33, 48, *de concreata*, id est simul a te creata materia.

*condelectari*, to be delighted with (Itala, Vulg., Greg. M., *et al.*): 7, 21, 27, *etsi condelectetur* homo legi dei; 8, 5, 12.

*confortare* (*con* and *fortis*), to strengthen, fortify (Itala, Ambr., Hier., Vulg., Rufin., Paul. Nol., Cassian., *et al.*): 13, 26, 40, *penuriam pati* nouit in te, qui *confortas* eum; 10, 31, 45; 10, 43, 70.

*congaudere*, to rejoice with (Itala, Cypr., Hier., Ambrosiast., Vulg., Sulp. Sev., Paul. Nol., Cassian., *et al.*): 3, 2, 3, *congaudebam* amantibus; 11, 31, 41.

*congemiscere*. Cf. Section iv.

*contemperare*. Cf. Semantics.

*contenebrare* (*con* and *tenebrae*), to darken, obscure (Itala, Tert., Hier., Vulg., Paul. Nol., Alc. Avit., *et al.*): 4, 4, 9, *dolore contenebratum est* cor meum; 7, 8, 12.

*depraedari*, to plunder (Apul., Itala, Iust., Hilar., Heges., Ambr., Hier., Vulg., Hyd., *et al.*): 2, 5, 11 (*homo*) *uoluit depraedari*, unde uiueret. The word occurs also in the form *depraedare*, likewise Late.

*deuiare* (from *de* and *uia* or *deuius*), to turn from the road (Itin. Anton., Vulg., Macr., Ven. Fort.): 10, 35, 57, *me . . . ad se conuertit illa uenatio, non deuiare* cogens corpore iumentis, sed cordis inclinatione. Cf. also Ecclesiastical Terms.

*elingere*, to lick up (Vulg.): 13, 30, 45, *elinxi* stillam dulcedinis ex tua ueritate.

*enubilare*, to make clear (Tert., Paul. Nol.): 10, 8, 12, donec *enubiletur* quod uolo atque in conspectum prodeat ex abditis.

*incarnare* (in and *caro*), to make flesh, to clothe with flesh; hence, in passive — to be made flesh, to become incarnate (Ambr., Rufin., Salv., Claud. Mam., Fulg. Rusp.): 5, 10, 20, metuebam . . . (Christum) credere *incarnatum* (De Labr. and Knöll; ex carne natum Vega).

*incrassare* (in and *crassus*), to render gross, (Itala, Tert., Ambr., Hier., Rufin., Vulg.): 7, 1, 2, ego . . . *incrassatus* corde.

*ingraudare*. Cf. Semantics.

*inoboedire*, to disobey (Iren., Hilar., Ambr., Vulg.): pres. ppl. as adj. in 1, 10, 16, non enim meliora eligens *inoboediens* eram, sed amore lundendi.

*inuiscerare* (in and *uiscera*). Cf. Semantics.

*obnubilare*, to overcloud, darken, obscure (Gell., Apul.): metaph. in 2, 2, 2, exhalabantur nebulae de limosa concupiscentia carnis . . . et *obnubilabant* atque obfuscabant cor meum.

*offuscare*, to darken, obscure (Tert., Ambr., Rufin., Salv.): 2, 2, 2 (cf. *obnubilare*).

*prolongare* (*pro* and *longus*), to prolong, extend (Itala, Hilar., Hier., Vulg.): 11, 28, 38, *prolongatur* memoria.

*subintrare*, to enter stealthily, to insinuate itself (Itala, Ambr., Hier.): 10, 37, 61, *subintrat* mihi excusatio.

*subiugare* (*sub* and *iugum*). Cf. Semantics.

*submurmurare*, to murmur a little (Hier., Gelas., Cassiod.): 6, 9, 14, sono . . . securis audito *submurmurauerunt* argentarii.

*subtegere*, to spread underneath (Iul. Val., Hilar.): *disserena oculis nostris nubilum, quo subteristi* eos.

*supererogare*. Cf. Semantics.

*superezaltare*, to exalt above others (Itala, Vulg., Rufin.): 3, 2, 3, sub tutore deo meo, . . . *superezaltato* (De Labr.; superelato Knöll) in omnia saecula.

#### (b) Verbs in *-ficare*.

Verbs of this termination belong to the colloquial language, and were avoided by the more careful writers. Late authors, in keeping with their preference for all classes of derivatives of *facere*, e. g. those in *-ficus*, *-ficium*, and *-fcatio*, employed these verbs with

especial freedom (cf. Cooper, Word Formation, 310-315). The following is a list of Late verbs in *-ficare* found in the Confessions:

*beatificare*, to make happy, to bless (Itala, Iren., Lucif., Vulg., Rufin., Paul. Nol., Cassian., et al.): 11, 1, 1, ut *beatificemur* in te. *castificare*. Cf. Semantics.

*fructificare*. Cf. Semantics.

*glorificare*, to glorify (Itala, Tert., Hilar., Ambr., Hier., Vulg., Prud., et al.): 5, 4, 7, si (homo) cognoscens te sicut te *glorificet*.

*iustificare*, to make just, to justify (Itala, Tert., Ambr., Hier., Vulg., et al.): 13, 34, 49, *iustificasti* inpios; 10, 43, 68; 12, 15, 20.

*mortificare*. Cf. Semantics.

*sanctificare*, to sanctify, hallow (Itala, Tert., Vulg., et al.): 9, 2, 3, propter nomen tuum, quod *sanctificasti* per terras; 13, 36, 51.

*uiuificare*, to make alive, quicken, vivify (Itala, Tert., Vulg., et al.): 10, 7, 11, qua (ui) *uiuifico* carnem meam.

## C. FOREIGN LOAN-WORDS

### 1. GREEK WORDS

The Late words of Greek origin occurring in the Confessions present nothing of special interest; most of them are ecclesiastical terms, well established in the language by St. Augustine's time. They are presented below under the general groups of nouns, adjectives, and verbs; the corresponding Greek terms have been omitted as being a matter of common knowledge.

#### i. Nouns.

*abyssus*, an abyss (with reference to the creation of the world) (Vulg. et al. Eccl.): 12, 3, 3, profunditas *abyssi*, super quam non erat lux; 12, 4, 4; 12, 8, 8 bis; 12, 17, 24; 12, 19, 28; 12, 21, 30; 12, 22, 31; 13, 2, 3 bis; 13, 5, 6; 13, 6, 7; 13, 8, 9; 13, 21, 30.

—, the depth of the sea, the deep (Tert., Hier., Vulg., Paul. Nol., Alc. Avit., et al.): 6, 1, 1, rudes *abyssi* uiatores; 5, 3, 4; 10, 6, 9; 12, 8, 8; 13, 21, 30. Cf. also Semantics.

*angelus*, an angel (Eccl.): 1, 17, 27; 3, 10, 18; 4, 1, 1; 7, 3, 5 bis; 7, 5, 7; 8, 3, 6 and 8; 9, 10, 25; 10, 42, 67; 13, 8, 9; 13, 15, 18; 13, 19, 25; 13, 38, 53 ter.

- apostolus*, an apostle (Eccl.): 7, 9, 15; 7, 21, 27 *bis*; 8, 1, 2; 8, 6, 14; 8, 10, 22 and 24; 8, 12, 29; 12, 22, 31; 13, 7, 8; 13, 22, 32.
- baptismus*, baptism (Eccl.): 1, 11, 17; 4, 4, 8; 5, 9, 16; 6, 13, 23; 8, 2, 4; 9, 3, 6; 9, 4, 12; 9, 9, 22; 9, 13, 34; 13, 20, 26; 13, 21, 29.
- blasphemia*, blasphemy (Eccl.): 3, 11, 19.
- catechumenus*, a catechumen (Eccl.): 2, 3, 6; 5, 14, 25; 9, 4, 8 *bis*.
- categoria*, a category or class of predicables (Chalc., Mar. Victorin., Macr., Claud. Mam., Boeth., *et al.*): 4, 16, 28, Aristotelica quaedam, quas appellant decem *categorias*.
- daemon*, an evil spirit, devil (Eccl.): 4, 2, 3; 9, 7, 16.
- daemonium*, an evil spirit, devil (Eccl.): 3, 3, 5 and 6; 4, 2, 3; 8, 2, 4.
- decalogus*, the Decalogue (Tert., Mar. Victorin., Hilar., Hier., Gaudent., *et al.*): 3, 8, 16, uiuitur male aduersus . . . *decalogum* tum.
- diabolus*, the devil (Eccl.): 3, 6, 10; 7, 3, 5 *quater*; 8, 4, 9.
- dyas*, the number two (a Pythagorean term; also in Macr. Somn. Scip. 1, 6, 18; 1, 12, 5): 4, 15, 24 (cf. *monas*).
- elemosyna*, alms (Eccl.): 5, 9, 17; 13, 23, 34.
- episcopus*, a bishop (Hadr. in Vopisc., Amm., and Eccl.): 3, 12, 21; 5, 3, 3; 5, 13, 23; 8, 2, 3; 9, 7, 15; 10, 33, 50.
- eremus*, a wilderness, desert (Tert., Ambr., Hier., Vulg., Sulp. Sev., Cassian., *et al.*): 8, 6, 15, ubera deserta *heremi*; 10, 31, 46.
- euangelista*, an evangelist (Ambr., Hier., Vulg., Prud., Oros., Alc. Avit., *et al.*): 13, 21, 31.
- euangelium*, the Gospel (Eccl.): 8, 10, 24; 9, 5, 13; 11, 8, 10; 13, 22, 32; 13, 26, 40.
- martyr*, a martyr (Eccl.): 1, 14, 23; 6, 2, 2 *bis*; 9, 7, 16.
- melodia*, a pleasing song, melody (Vulg., Mart. Cap.): 10, 6, 8, dulces *melodias* cantilenarum omnimodarum; 4, 15, 27.
- monachus*, a monk (Hier., Paul. Nol., Rut. Nam., *et al.*): 8, 6, 4.
- monas*, unity; a unit, monad (Tert., Ambr., Macr.): 4, 15, 24, illam *monadem* appellabam . . . , hanc uero *dyadem*.
- monasterium*, a monastery (Hier., Sidon., *et al.*): 8, 6, 15.
- paracletus*, an advocate, defender, comforter (usually of the Holy Spirit) (Eccl.): 3, 6, 10 (nomen) *paracleti* consolatoris nostri spiritus sancti.

- paradisus*. Cf. Semantics and Ecclesiastical Terms.
- presbyter*, a clergyman, priest (Eccl.): 8, 2, 5.
- propheta*, a prophet (Apul. and Eccl.): 3, 10, 18; 5, 14, 24; 6, 4, 6; 7, 21, 27; 9, 4, 9; 9, 5, 13; 11, 19, 25; 12, 18, 27; 13, 26, 41.
- psalmus*, a psalm (Eccl.): 8, 10, 24; 9, 4, 8 *quater*; 9, 7, 15; 9, 12, 31; 10, 33, 50; 12, 2, 2.
- typhus*, pride, vanity (Arnob., Mart. Cap.): 3, 3, 6, tumebam *tyfo*; 4, 14, 23, errabam *tyfo*; 4, 16, 28; 6, 6, 10; 7, 9, 13; 9, 4, 8; 10, 36, 59; 12, 25, 34.
- ii. Adjectives.
- agonisticus*, pertaining to a contest (Tert., Cypr., Ambr., Cael. Aur., *et al.*): 4, 3, 5, qui . . . coronam illam *agonisticam* inposuerat . . . capiti meo.
- apostolicus*, apostolic (Eccl.): as noun in 3, 4, 8, necdum mihi haec *apostolica* nota erant.
- catholicus*, Catholic (Eccl., although *catholica* [neut. pl.] occurs as a subst. in Plin. mai. and Apul.): cf. Ecclesiastical Terms.
- christianus*, Christian. Cf. Adjectives in *-anus* and Ecclesiastical Terms.
- criticus*, critical, decisive (Hippocr., Cass. Fel., Cael. Aur., Gloss., Isid.; as noun already in Cic., Hor., *et al.*): 6, 1, 1, per accessionem, quam medici *criticam* uocant.
- diabolicus*, diabolical (Eccl.): 3, 3, 6, nomen . . . *diabolicum*.
- ecclesiasticus*, ecclesiastical (Eccl.): 6, 11, 18, in libris *ecclesiasticis*; 9, 4, 7.
- euangelicus*, pertaining to the Gospel, evangelical (Eccl.): 8, 12, 29, ex *euangelica* lectione.
- haereticus*, heretical (Eccl.): 7, 19, 25, *haereticorum* Apollinistarum (error); *ibid.*, inprobatio . . . *haereticorum*.
- phantasticus*, phantastic, imaginary (Phoebad., Am. iun., Gelas., Fulg., Cassiod.): 6, 13, 23, uidebat quaedam uana et *phantastica*.
- iii. Verbs.
- baptizare*, to baptize (Eccl.): 1, 11, 18 *bis*; 4, 4, 8; 9, 6, 14; 9, 8, 17; 13, 12, 13.
- euangelizare*, to proclaim the Gospel (Eccl.): 13, 21, 29.
- zelare*, to be jealous (Eccl.): 1, 4, 4, *zelas* et securus es; 1, 7, 11, uidi *zelantem* paruulum; 13, 13, 14 *ter*.

## 2. HEBREW WORDS

The Hebrew element in the Confessions is represented by the following six words: *amen* (13, 23, 34); *Cherubim* (12, 22, 31); *gehenna* (11, 12, 14); *manna* (10, 6, 8); *sabbatum* (13, 35, 50; 13, 36, 51); *Seraphim* (12, 22, 31).

## D. SEMANTICS

The new meanings that a Late writer attaches to old words constitute the most interesting feature of his vocabulary, for they are an indication of the extent of his acquaintance with recent and contemporary literature as well as a measure of his command of the language in general. A writer who is able to apply old words to new ideas in an easy and natural manner possesses a more thorough mastery of the language than one who limits himself slavishly to the phrases and circumlocutions of earlier periods.

The numerous semantic changes noticed in St. Augustine's Confessions are in the first place an evidence of his thorough knowledge of Scriptural and Ecclesiastical literature. One need only compare in a cursory way three of his earliest works, the *Contra Academicos*, *De Beata Vita*, and *De Ordine*, written in 386, with the Confessions to note the distinctly Ecclesiastical tone that his vocabulary acquired during the space of those thirteen or fourteen years, even allowing for the difference in subject-matter between the Confessions and the earlier works. Again, St. Augustine's acquaintance with recent pagan literature is attested by the fact that a number of the Late meanings employed by him are peculiar to such writers as Apuleius, Justinus, Ammianus, and others. However, St. Augustine was not only well abreast of the recent developments in the Latin language, but also had an admirable faculty of freely evolving new meanings from old words. It is true that at times the rhetorician in St. Augustine makes himself felt, with the result that the new signification is too forced to be natural; but this happens very rarely. In most cases, the semantic change seems to flow easily and naturally from the fundamental meaning of the word and causes little or no difficulty to the reader. If the last three books of the Confessions become at times tiresome,

this is due rather to the subject-matter and to the highly allegorical style than to the vocabulary itself.

The Late semantic changes listed below are divided into the following six groups:<sup>1</sup> 1) etymological reaction, 2) change from the material meaning to the mental or moral, 3) change from the abstract meaning to the concrete, 4) restriction of meaning, 5) extension of meaning, and 6) miscellaneous changes of meaning; in the last group I have included under proper subdivisions various semantic changes that would not be sufficiently accounted for if placed in any of the preceding groups. Significations that are strictly Ecclesiastical are generally not included, and will be found in the section on Ecclesiastical Terms. On the other hand, I have listed below a few semantic changes that are already found in the earlier periods of the literature, especially if they become common in Late Latin. No attempt has been made to distinguish in any special way the changes in meaning original with St. Augustine, chiefly because this could not be done with any degree of finality save for the comparatively few words thus far covered by the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*; however, a meaning may be regarded as presumably Augustinian if it is followed by names of authors writing later than the Confessions or if not followed by any name whatever. Furthermore, the words in these groups have not been listed according to any ironclad rules; a language does not develop mechanically, and any attempt to classify precisely all semantic changes in a limited number of categories naturally proves futile. At times several principles were at work in the evolution of a meaning, and hence certain words might be listed in two or even three groups. I have merely classified the words in such a way as to illustrate the various semantic principles that were operative in the language.

The information relative to the semantic changes of the words listed below is presented as follows: first comes the Latin word with the English equivalent of its Late signification and a list of the representative authors that employ the word in this meaning, followed by references and at least one citation from the Confes-

<sup>1</sup> In this division I have been largely guided by Goelzer's treatment of semantics as outlined in his *De la latinité de saint Jérôme* and *Le latin de saint Avit*.

sions; and lastly, separated by a dash, is added the Classical or other meaning from which the Late signification developed. When the Classical meaning is obvious it has not been noted. Furthermore, the list of authors that use the word in its Late sense is not intended to be exhaustive, and the original meaning is usually designated in a general way as being either Early, Classical, Poetic, or Late.

### 1. ETYMOLOGICAL REACTION

Late writers occasionally employ in their literal sense words which in the earlier periods of the literature, especially the Classical, are found only in a figurative or technical signification. This phenomenon, aptly called "etymological reaction" by Bonnet<sup>8</sup> and Goelzer,<sup>9</sup> is not, strictly speaking, a semantic change, but for purposes of convenience it is usually included under Semantics. Various reasons may be hazarded for this reversion. Occasionally it may be due to the archaizing tendency of an author, especially if traces of this literal meaning are to be found in Early Latin; at other times it may be due to his preference for using an old word in its original sense instead of coining a new one; or the literal signification may have been in use in everyday speech without having found its way into literature until the Late period.

A number of instances of this so-called etymological reaction are found in the Confessions, most of which already occur in Late writers prior to St. Augustine. Note the following:

#### i. Nouns.

*animositas*, ardor, enthusiasm, ambition (Amm., Sidon.): 2, 3, 5, peregrinationis sumptus praeparabantur *animositate* magis quam opibus patris; 5, 10, 19; 6, 4, 5; — wrath, enmity (Itala, Hier., Vulg.).

*armamenta* (-orum), armor, *arma* (Prud.): 3, 7, 13, si quis nescius in *armamentis*, quid cui membro adcommodatum sit, ocrea uelit caput contegi et galea calciari; — the tackle of a ship (Class.).

*cognitor*, one who knows (Fronto, Apul., Itala, Tert., Cypr., Hilar., Hier., Ambr., Vulg.): 10, 1, 1, cognoscam te, *cognitor* meus; — an attorney, advocate (Class.).

<sup>8</sup> Op. cit. p. 205.

<sup>9</sup> De la latinité de saint Jérôme, p. 242; Le latin de saint Avit, p. 559.

*corpulentia*, corporeity, density, *corporalitas* (Tert., Chalc., Claud. Mam.): 13, 32, 47, *aëris corpulentia*, quae uolatus auium portat; — corpulence, fleshiness of body (Plin. mai.).

*laesio*, a hurting, injuring (Lact., Vulg.): 11, 9, 11, quid est illud, quod interlucet mihi et percutit cor meum sine *laesione*? — an attack (rhet.) (Cic.).

*ordinator*, an orderer, regulator, arranger (Apul., Hilar., Rufin., Cod. Iust.): 4, 3, 4, caeli ac siderum creator et *ordinator*; — one who institutes a lawsuit (Sen. phil.).

*plenitudo*, fulness, plenitude (Lact., Hier., Vulg.): 2, 6, 13, tu es . . . *plenitudo* et indeficiens copia incorruptibilis suauitatis; 9, 11, 28; 13, 2, 2; 13, 4, 5; — completeness (Rhet. Hier.); thickness, stoutness (Colum., Plin. mai.).

*praecisio*, a cutting off, cutting away (Apul.): 6, 15, 25, nec sanabatur uulnus illud meum, quod prioris (feminae) *praecisione* factum erat; — a breaking off abruptly (rhet.) (Rhet. Hier.); the piece cut off (Vitr.).

*praeteritio*, a passing, passing away (Aug. Gen. ad Litt. 2; 14, 28): 11, 27, 35, eius (syllabae) finitio *praeteritio* est; — a passing over, omission (in rhet.) (Aquil. Rom., Mart. Cap.).

*profunditas*, depth (of space) (Tert., Macr., Cassiod.): 12, 3, 3, *profunditas* abyssi; 13, 21, 29, maris *profunditas*; — depth, profoundness (Hadr. in Vopisc.).

*promissor*, a promiser: 9, 3, 5, *fidelis promissor*; — one who promises great things, a boaster (Hor., Quint.).

*subleuatio*, a raising up: 13, 7, 8, de *subleuatione* caritatis per spiritum tuum; — a lightening, alleviation (Cic.).

*uisus*, the sense of sight (Lact., Ambr., Hier., Alc. Avit.): 3, 6, 10, quae uidemus *uisu* carneo; — a seeing, glance (Class.).

*uocatio*, a calling, summoning: 13, 10, 11, in ea *uocatione*, qua dixisti: fiat lux; — an invitation to dinner (Catull.), a citing before a court (Varro).

#### ii. Adjectives.

*coaequalis*, coequal (Tert., Hier., Vulg.): 12, 15, 20, sapientia tibi . . . plane coaeterna et *coaequalis* (Knöll; aequalis De Labr.); — of equal age (Colum., Petron.).

*corpulentus*, corporeal, physical, *corporalis* (Ps. Apul., Tert.,

Chalc., Macr., Mart. Cap.): 10, 10, 17, si *corpulentum* non est, non contrectaui; — corpulent, fleshy (Enn., Plaut., Colum., Quint.).

*memoratus*, above-mentioned (Amm.): 9, 7, 16, tunc *memorato* antisti tuo per uisum aperuisti quo loco laterent martyrum corpora; — memorable, renowned (Verg., Silver).

*modestus*, moderate, short, brief (Pallad.): 10, 11, 18, *modestis* temporum interuallis; — modest, gentle, forbearing (Class.).

*primarius*, first, primary (Vulg.): 13, 32, 47, uidemus fir-  
mamentum caeli, . . . *primarium* corpus mundi; — of the first rank, distinguished (Class.).

### iii. Adverbs.

*consequenter*, subsequently, *deinde* (Hilar., Veg., Rufin., Mart. Cap.): 12, 17, 24, terram . . . inuisibilem . . . tenebrosamque abyssum, unde *consequenter* ostenditur per illos dies facta atque disposita esse cuncta ista uisibilia; — consistently, logically (Rut. Lup., Gaius).

*granditer*, strongly, mightily (Sidon.): 1, 9, 15, est ergo, qui tibi pie cohaerendo ita sit affectus *granditer*, ut . . . ; — sublimely (Ov.).

*immortaliter*, immortally, imperishably: 4, 2, 3, si corona illa esset *immortaliter* aurea; 5, 3, 4; — infinitely, exceedingly (Cic.).

*intime*, inwardly, profoundly (Apul., Inscr.): 3, 6, 10, quam *intime* . . . medullae animi mei suspirabant tibi . . . ! — intimately (Class.).

### iv. Verbs.

*humiliare*, to level to the ground, to make low (Vulg.): 9, 4, 7, *humiliatis* (De Labr.; *humilitatis* Knöll) montibus et collibus cogitationum mearum; — to abase, humble (Itala, Tert., et al.).

*humilitare*, to level to the ground, to make low: 9, 4, 7, *humilitatis* (Knöll; *humiliatis* De Labr.) montibus et collibus cogitationum mearum; — to abase, humble (Amm.).

*ingrauidare*, to weigh down, oppress, burden: 7, 5, 7, (pectore) *ingrauidato* curis mordacissimis; — to impregnate, make pregnant (Paul. Nol.).

*innouare*, to renew, alter (Min. Fel., Tert., Solin., Lact., Hier.,

Vulg., Claud. Mam.): 1, 4, 4, (deus) *innouans* omnia; 9, 10, 24 — with *se*, to return to a thing (Cic.).

*inuocare*, to call into: 1, 2, 2, quo te *inuoco*, cum in te sim? 13, 1, 1, *inuoco* te in animam meam; — to call upon, invoke (Class.).

*lenocinari*, to pander: 1, 16, 25, ut haberet auctoritatem ad imitandum uerum adulterium *lenocinante* falso tonitru; — to flatter, allure, cajole (Cic., Silver).

*palpare*, to touch, feel (Itala, Vulg., Cassian., Alc. Avit.): 10, 35, 54, neque enim dicimus: . . . gusta quam splendeat, aut: *palpa* quam fulgeat; — to caress, flatter (Plaut.); to strike, pat (Ov.).

*praesidere*, to sit before, sit at (Lact.): 6, 7, 12, tu, qui *praesides* gubernaculis omnium, quae creasti; — to preside over, direct (Class.).

## 2. CHANGE FROM THE MATERIAL MEANING TO THE MENTAL OR MORAL

The principle whereby the signification of a word passes from the material sphere to the mental or moral is a universal one and is applicable to all languages, for it is a common characteristic of human beings to represent their invisible mental and moral processes in terms of the visible world about them. Writers with a vivid imagination and a keen sense for natural phenomena are most apt to avail themselves of this principle. Hence we are not surprised that St. Augustine, too, possessed of a lively sense of imagery, often employs in a mental or moral sense words previously found only in a material meaning. The words from the Confessions that belong in this category are very numerous, and many of them seem to have been first used by St. Augustine in their new signification.

### i. Nouns.

*abyssus*, abyss, depth, profundity (of the heart, mind, thoughts, etc.) (Hier., Vulg., Cassian., Claud. Mam., et al.): 4, 4, 8, inuestigabilis *abyssus* iudiciorum tuorum; 7, 6, 10; 10, 2, 2;

—, abyss, depth, profundity (of sin, etc.) (Cassian.): 9, 1, 1, a fundo cordis mei exhauriens *abyssum* corruptionis; 13, 23, 34, *abyssus* saeculi et caecitas carnis; 2, 4, 9; 13, 7, 8; 13, 8, 9; 13, 14, 15; 13, 21, 30; — an abyss (lit.) (Eccl.).

*anfractus*, a wandering, distraction (Paneg. Nazar., Ambr.): 6, 6, 9, ad hoc . . . aerumnosis *anfractibus* . . . ambiebam; — a bending, turning (Class.).

*Babylonia* (fig.), the city of wickedness, the world (freq. in Aug.; cf. T. L. L. II 1655, 66): 2, 3, 8, ecce cum quibus comitibus iter agebam platearum *Babyloniae*.

*baculum* (fig.), a rod as an instrument of wrath or punishment (Hier., Vulg., Rufin., Eucher., Faust. Rei.): 6, 6, 9, *baculo* disciplinae tuae confringebas ossa mea.

*celsitudo*, exaltedness (Hilar., Amm., Rufin., Mart. Cap.): 2, 6, 13, superbia *celsitudinem* imitatur; 11, 13, 16; 11, 31, 41; 12, 26, 36; — height, loftiness (Vell. and Late).

*collum* (fig.), the neck as a symbol of pride (Itala, Amm., Victic.): 8, 2, 3, subiecto *collo* ad humilitatis iugum; 3, 3, 5.

*contritio*, suffering, sorrow, contrition (Ps. Quint., Hilar., Ambr., Vulg., Cassian.): 7, 7, 11, tacitae *contritiones* animi mei; 8, 9, 21; 8, 12, 29; — a grinding (Hier., Vulg., Paul. Nol.).

*contuitus*, mental contemplation (Donat., Ambr., Aug. [freq.; cf. T. L. L. IV 795, 77], Mart. Cap., Claud. Mam.): 12, 15, 18, expectatio rerum uenturarum fit *contuitus*, cum uenerint, idemque *contuitus* fit memoria, cum praeterierint; — a looking at (Curt., Plin. mai.).

*corruptio*, moral corruption (Rufin., Cassiod.): carnales *corruptiones* animae meae; 9, 1, 1; 10, 28, 39; — physical corruption (Class.).

*cothurnus*, pride, haughtiness, majesty (Amm., Alc. Avit., Ennod., Cassiod., Greg. Tur.): 7, 9, 14, *cothurno* tamquam doctrinae sublimioris elati. In the earlier Latinity the word is used to designate a) a high Grecian shoe, b) the high shoe or buskin worn by tragic actors, c) by meton., tragedy itself, or d) an elevated style. Cf. T. L. L. s. v.

*dissipatio*, a dissipation, distraction: 8, 10, 22, mecum contende-bam et dissipabar a me ipso, et ipsa *dissipatio* me inuito . . . fiebat; — a scattering (Cic.).

*ductus*, direction, purpose: 3, 3, 6, habebant et illa studia . . . *ductum* suum intuentem fora litigiosa; — a leading, conducting (Class.).

*dulcitus*, sweetness, charm, tenderness (Ulp., Inscr.): 9, 6, 14, nec satiabar . . . *dulcitudine* mirabili, considerare altitudinem consilii tui super salutem generis humani; — sweetness (lit.) (Cic. and Late).

*ebrietas*, spiritual inebriation: 5, 13, 23, (Ambrosii) eloquia . . . ministrabant . . . sobriam uini *ebrietatem* populo tuo. The phrase *sobria ebrietas* is undoubtedly an echo of Hymn. Ambros. Splendor Paternae Glorae 23, laeti bibamus *sobriam ebrietatem* spiritus. St. Ambrose frequently refers to this bold phrase; cf. Cain et Ab. 1, 19 and 20; Bon. Mort. 20; In Psalm. 1, 33; Isaac 50; cf. also Noe 29, 111, ebrietatis itaque species gemina est, una quae titubationem corpori adferat, atque eius supplantet uestigia, sensumque perturbet: altera quae mentem uirtutis uaporet gratia, et omnem infirmitatem uideatur auertere. For further details on this phrase, cf. A. S. Walpole, *Early Latin Hymns*, London, 1922; Hans Lewy, *Sobria Ebrietas, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Antiken Mystik*, in Beiheft 9 to *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1929.

*exaltatio*, pride, haughtiness (Tert., Cypr., Hier., et al.): 5, 3, 4, non . . . trucidant *exaltationes* suas; — a raising up (Chalc., Vulg.).

*figmentum*, a fiction, fancy (Apul., Itala, Min. Fel., Tert. and freq. Late): 1, 13, 22, poetica *figmenta*; 1, 17, 27; 3, 6, 10; 4, 2, 3; 4, 15, 27; 4, 16, 29; 6, 3, 4; — a figure, image (Gell. Tert., et al.).

*flagellum* (fig.) a scourge as a symbol of punishment or calamity (Itala, Firm., Ambr., Vulg., Rufin., Prosp.): 2, 2, 4, excessi omnia legitima tua nec euasi *flagella* tua; 5, 8, 15; 5, 9, 16; 8, 11, 25; 9, 4, 12.

*fluxus*, a flux, roving, instability (Ambr., Hier.): 2, 2, 4, sequens impetum *fluxus* mei relicto te; 1, 14, 25; 8, 7, 18; — a flowing, flow (Plin. mai., Late).

*fomes*, fuel, incitement (Gell., Apul., Tert., Cypr., Firm., Ambr., Hier., Vulg., Rufin., et al.): 3, 2, 2, rapiebant me spectacula theatrica plena . . . *fomitibus* ignis mei; 4, 8, 13; — kindling-wood, tinder (Sall., Verg., Silver).

*fornax* (fig.), a furnace as a symbol of trial or tribulation (Tert.,

Ambr., Vulg., Rufin., Alc. Avit.): 10, 37, 60, cotidiana *formar* est humana lingua.

*illuminatio*, mental or spiritual enlightenment (Itala, Tert., Ambr., Hier., Vulg., et al.): 12, 17, 25, ante *inlumenationem* sapientiae; 11, 2, 2; 13, 5, 6; — a lighting up (Itala, Ambr., Macr., Vulg.).

*illusio*, illusion, deceit (Itala, Vulg., Claud. Mam.): 10, 42, 67, inciderunt in desiderium curiosarum uisionum et digni habiti sunt *illusionibus*; 10, 30, 41; — a mocking, jeering (Quint., Late).

*inspiratio*, inspiration, influence (Tert., Cypr., Hilar., Hier., Vulg., Rufin.): 7, 1, 2, occulta *inspiratione* . . . administrante omnia, quae creasti; — a breathing in (Lact., Chalc., Cael. Aur.).

*instructio*, instruction (Arnob., Amm., Hier., Rufin., Alc. Avit.): 8, 2, 4, ubi . . . (Victorinus) imbutus est primis *instructionis* sacramentis; — an arranging (Class.).

*mixtio*, a confounding, confusing: 13, 20, 27, numquid . . . *mixtione* misceo neque distinguo lucidas cognitiones harum rerum . . . ? — a mixing (Vitr.).

*mundatio*, a spiritual cleansing (Hier., Vulg.): 1, 11, 17, dilata est . . . *mundatio* mea (referring to Baptism); — a physical cleansing (Theod. Prisc., Plin. Val.).

*notatio*, a mental impression: 10, 17, 26, per . . . *notiones* uel *notationes*, sicut affectionum animi; — a marking, noting (Cic.).

*nubilum*, cloudiness (mental or spiritual) (Apul.): 11, 9, 11, sapientia ipsa est, quae interlucet mihi, descendens *nubilum* meum; — a cloudy sky, cloudy weather (Silver).

*obscuritas*, spiritual darkness: 13, 2, 3, in reliquiis *obscuritatis* nostrae laboramus; 13, 4, 5; — darkness (lit.) (Liv. and Silver).

*phantasma*, an imaginary representation of something not previously perceived by the senses; a chimera, phantasm (cf. Gibb and Montgomery 62): 7, 1, 1, clamabat cor meum aduersus omnia *phantasmata* mea; 3, 6, 10 *quater*; 3, 7, 12; 4, 4, 9; 4, 7, 12; 5, 9, 16; 7, 17, 23 *bis*; 9, 3, 6; 9, 4, 9; 12, 11, 14; — a phantom, apparition (Plin. min., Late).

*profunditas*, depth, dulness: 13, 24, 37, signa corporaliter edita generationes aquarum propter necessarias causas carnalis *profunditatis* . . . intelleximus; — depth, profoundness (Hadr. in Vopisc.).

*recessus*, a mystery, secret, secret design: 5, 8, 14, altissimi tui (i. e. dei) *recessus*; — a secret spot, recess (Class.).

*rectitudo*, uprightness, rectitude, justice (Victorin. Poetov., Hier.): 5, 2, 2, offendentes in *rectitudinem* tuam; — straightness, directness (Frontin.).

*seductio*, a leading astray, seduction (Tert., Ambr., Vulg.): 1, 15, 24, ut dulcescas mihi super omnes *seductiones*, quas sequebar; 2, 9, 17; 10, 34, 52; — a leading aside (Cic.).

*soliditas*, solidity, firmness (of abstract things): 4, 14, 23, anima infirma nondum haerens *soliditati* ueritatis; *ibid.*, cor . . . inane *soliditatis* tuae; — solidity, thickness (Cic.).

*superficies*, the surface, external appearance, show (Tert., Hier., Prosp.): 6, 7, 12, *superficie* (uirtutis) decipi faciles; 12, 14, 17; — the top, surface (Colum., Plin. mai.).

*textus*, text, context (Capitol., Amm., Paulin., Cassian.): 7, 21, 27, *textus* sermonis eius; — texture, structure (Lucr., Plin. mai.).

*uisus*, insight, intuition: 12, 25, 34, nec *uisus*, sed tyfus eam (temeritatem) peperit; — a seeing, glance (Cic., Verg., et al.).

## ii. Adjectives.

*acutus*, sharp, bitter (of speech): 9, 8, 18, durum et *acutum* conuicium; — sharp (lit.) (Class.).

*Babylonicus*, Babylonian (fig., referring to Babylon as a type of pride): 8, 2, 4, ex culmine *Babylonicae* dignitatis.

*captiuus*, spiritually captive (Hier., Vulg., Rufin., Prosp., Sidon.): 2, 6, 14, ut mancam libertatem *captiuus* imitarer.

*conspiciuus*, understandable: 7, 1, 2, ego . . . incrassatus corde nec mihimet ipsi uel ipse *conspiciuus*; — visible (Hor., Ov., Silver).

*explicitus*, plain, explicit: 7, 3, 4, non tenebam *explicitam* et enodatam causam mali; — free from obstacles, easy (Caes.).

*extentus*, intense: 5, 6, 10, nimis *extento* desiderio expectabam uenturum istum Faustum; — extended, wide (Lucr., Hor., Silver).

*extraneus*, not in accord with, unfriendly (Tert., Hier.): 10, 4, 5, animus . . . fraternus, non *extraneus*; — extraneous, foreign (Class.).

*iacens*, base, low: 2, 5, 11, (bona) abiecta et *iacentia*.

*opacus*, dark, obscure, mysterious: 11, 2, 3, tot paginarum *opaca* aecreta; — dark, obscure (physically) (Poet.).

*praegrandis*, exceeding, intense: 1, 9, 15, *animus praegrandi affectu tibi cohaerens*;—very large, huge (Pacuv., Silver).

*profundus*, deep, profound (Heges. 4, 9, 2): 6, 5, 8, in *intellectu profundiore*; 10, 17, 26.

*scaeuus*, sinister; stupid, silly (Gell., Apul.): 3, 3, 6, *hoc . . . nomen (i. e. euersores) scaeuum et diabolicum*;—on the left side (Vitr.).

*tortuosus*, crooked, tortuous (morally): 6, 16, 26, o *tortuosas uias*! 9, 4, 7;—winding, tortuous (Cic.).

*turgidus*, swollen with pride: 3, 5, 9, *dedignabar esse paruulus et turgidus fastu mihi grandis uidebar*;—swollen (lit.) (Class.).

*uolatilis*, flighty, roving: 11, 13, 15, *si cuiusquam uolatilis sensus uagatur per imagines retro temporum*;—winged, flying (Class.).

### iii. Adverbs.

*profunde*, deeply, profoundly (Vulg., Cassiod.): 13, 20, 28, *genus humanum profunde curiosum*;—deeply (of space) (Plin. min., Late).

*singulariter*, in singleness of mind or purpose (Cf. Aug. In Psalm. 4, 10): 9, 4, 11, *tu, domine, singulariter in spe constituisti me*;—one by one, singly (Lucr.).

### iv. Verbs.

*aedificare*, to build up, strengthen (spiritually) (Tert., Ambr., Vulg., Prosp.): 12, 27, 37, *salubriter aedificatur fides*; cf. 7, 20, 26;—to build, erect (Class.).

*ascendere*, to enter (of thoughts entering the mind) (Itala, Tert., Hier., Vulg.): 9, 4, 12, *ascendit in cor meum admonere omnes*.

*astruere*, to support, prove (Papin., Iren., Hilar., Ambr., Hier., Mart. Cap.): 4, 15, 24, *exemplis corporeis astruebam*;—to build near (Silver).

*captiuare*, to take captive, enthrall (Itala, Filastr., Ambr., Hier., Vulg.): 6, 7, 12, *quos illa captiuasset insania*;—to take captive (lit.) (Itala, Vulg., et al.).

*castificare*, to render chaste (Ps. Cypr., Ambr., Ps. Rufin., Sulp. Sev.): 9, 9, 19, *ut in te credens castificaretur*;—to render clean (Itala, Vulg., et al.).

*consopire*, to lull to sleep, stupefy (transf.) (Decl. in Catil.,

Gell., Arnob., Hilar., Amm., et al.): 7, 14, 20, *consopita est insania mea*;—to lull to sleep (lit.) (Cic.).

*detrahere*, to apply, refer: 3, 11, 20, *cum mihi narrasset ipsum uisum et ego ad id detrahere conarer, ut illa se potius non desperaret futuram esse quod eram*;—to draw away (Class.).

*deuiare*, to go astray, err (Iren., Symm., Auson., Amm., Ambr., Hier., Vulg., Rufin., et al.): 2, 5, 10, *neque deuiandum a lege tua*; 4, 15, 26; 9, 9, 22;—to turn from the road (Vulg., Macr., et al.).

*dilaniare*, to disturb, harass, torture mentally (Lact., Hier., Vulg., Oros.): 11, 29, 39, *tumultuosis uarietatibus dilaniantur cogitationes meae*; 4, 6, 11;—to tear to pieces (Class.).

*dilucescere*, to become evident, clear (Fav. Eul.): 11, 22, 28, *noli claudere desiderio meo ista . . . , quominus in ea penetret et dilucescant*;—to grow light, to dawn (Class.).

*dirimere*, to distinguish, discern (Amm., Rufin.): 7, 19, 25, *quomodo catholica ueritas a Fotini falsitate dirimatur*;—to part, separate, divide (Class.).

*discutere*, to examine, inquire into, discuss (Itala, Tert., Firm., Ambr., Hier., Rufin., Oros., et al.): 5, 7, 12, *quae . . . ubi consideranda et discutienda protuli*; 2, 8, 16; 9, 13, 34; 11, 15, 20;—to break up, disperse (Class.).

*dissilire*, to be torn apart (of the mind): 11, 29, 39, *ego in tempora dissilui*;—to leap or burst asunder, fly apart (Lucr., Plin. mai.).

*dissipare*, to dissipate, distract: 8, 10, 22, *mecum contendebam et dissipabar a me ipso*;—to scatter, disperse (Class.).

*distabescere*, to consume one's self, to waste away (Itala, Arnob.): 3, 3, 5, *in quantas iniquitates distabui . . . !*—to melt away, waste away, dissolve (Cato, Paul Fest., Late).

*distendere*, to distract, perplex (Itala, Ambrosiast., Heges., Casian., Salv.): 11, 29, 39, *in ea quae ante sunt non distentus, sed extensus*;—to stretch, extend (Caes., Silver).

*dulcescere*, to grow sweet (transf.) (Ambr.): 1, 15, 24, *ut dulcescas mihi super omnes seductiones, quas sequebar*; 2, 1, 1; 6, 6, 9; 8, 4, 9; 9, 4, 10;—to grow sweet (lit.) (Class.).

*ebibere*, to drink up mentally: 6, 8, 13, *ut enim uidit illum sanguinem, inmanitatem simul ebibit*;—to drink up, drain (Plaut., Ter., Ov., et al.).

*elidere*, to cast down (transf.) (Vulg.): 4, 1, 1, nondum salubriter prostrati et elisi a te, deus meus; — to break down, destroy (Class.).

*eliquare*, to clarify, elucidate: 10, 3, 4, quo fructu ista faciam, eliqua mihi; — to strain, clarify (lit.) (Colum., Sen. phil.).

*euacuare*, to make void or ineffective (Itala, Vulg., Cod. Iust.): 10, 43, 68, ut (Christus) . . . euacuaret mortem iustificationum in priorum; — to empty out, rid one's self of (Plin. min.).

*euanesce*, to become dissipated: 2, 1, 1, ab uno te auersus in multa euahui; — to vanish, disappear (Class.).

*euigilare*, to arouse one's self from thought: 11, 13, 15, si cuiusquam uolatilis sensus uagatur per imagines retro temporum . . . , euigilet atque adtendat, quia falsa miratur; — to wake up (Stat., Quint., Late).

*euiscerare*, to gnaw, waste (of cares, etc.): 6, 6, 10, ego curis euiscerarer; — to disembowel (Enn., Pacuv., Cic. poet., et al.).

*exaltare*, to elevate, exalt (Ambr., Vulg.): 13, 19, 25, exaltatus est, cui adhaesistis, et exaltauit uos; — to raise, elevate (Paul. Fest., Inscr., Late); in Colum. the word means "to deepen."

*excaecare*, to make blind (mentally) (Petron., Cypr., Vulg. [freq.]): 5, 2, 2, fugerunt, ut non uiderent te uidentem se atque excaecati in te offenderent; — to make blind (lit.) (Class.).

*excedere*, to transgress: 2, 2, 4, excessi omnia legitima tua; — to go beyond a certain limit or measure (Liv., Val. Max., et al.).

*exire*, to issue, turn out: 8, 8, 19, donec exiret (lis), qua tu sciebas, ego autem non.

*extendi*, to direct one's attention to, to long for (Vulg.): 11, 30, 40, extendantur etiam in ea, quae ante sunt; 9, 10, 25; 12, 16, 23; 13, 13, 14; — *extendere* = "to stretch out," "to extend" (Class.).

*feruefacere*, to inflame, incite: 8, 4, 9, quando enim cum multis gaudetur, et in singulis uberius est gaudium, quia feruefaciunt se et inflammantur ex alterutro; — to cause to boil, make hot (Class.).

*flammare*, to burn with eagerness or passion (Amm., Claud. Don., Prud., Greg. M.): 11, 22, 38, studia mea flammantia . . . in scripturas tuas; — to burn (lit.) (Lucret., Prop., Silver).

*fructificare*, to bear fruit (transf.) (Itala, Tert., et al.): 13, 25, 38, hoc fecerunt fratres et tali lege fructificauerunt; — doubtful

instances of the literal sense of this word occur in Colum., Plin. mai., and Calp. Ecl.; otherwise the word is Late. Cf. T. L. L. VI 1368, 11.

*fulgere*, to shine, to be illustrious or conspicuous (Itala, Comm., Hilar., Vulg., Paul. Nol.): 10, 6, 8, ubi fulget animae meae, quod non capit locus; 13, 34, 49; — to flash, glitter; to lighten (Class.).

*illabi*, to slip into a habit or custom: 8, 5, 12, (animus) in eam (consuetudinem) uolens inlabitur; — to sink down, to flow into (Class.).

*inanesce*, to become vain: 10, 39, 64, intus est aliud . . . temptationis malum, quo inanescunt qui sibi placent de se; — to become empty (Amm.).

*inferuescere*, to become inflamed or kindled (transf.): 9, 4, 9, inferbui sperando et exultando in tua misericordia; — to boil, grow hot (Cato, Hor., Silver).

*inuiscerare*, to fix deeply in the mind (Aug. Serm. 24; 330, 1; Epist. 187, 41; 266, 1): 7, 21, 27 haec mihi inuiscerabantur miris modis, cum minimum apostolorum tuorum legerem; — to put into the entrails (Nemes.).

*miscere*, to confuse, confound: 13, 20, 27, numquid . . . mixtione misceo neque distinguo lucidas cognitiones harum rerum . . . ?

*mortificare*, to mortify, subject (Vulg. et al. Eccl.): 8, 11, 27, obsurdesce aduersus immunda illa membra tua . . . , ut mortificentur; — to kill, destroy (Itala, Tert., Arnob., Hier., et al.).

*obscurare*, to darken spiritually (Vulg.): 12, 10, 10, defluxi ad ista et obscuratus sum; — to darken (lit.) (Class.).

*occidere*, to kill spiritually (Vulg.): 5, 14, 24, ubi (in scriptis ueteribus), cum ad litteram acciperem, occidebar; 3, 6, 11.

*prensare*, to grasp mentally: 1; 8, 13, prensabam (De Labr.; pensabam Knöll, Vega) memoria, cum ipsi appellabant rem aliquam; — to grasp (lit.) (Verg., Hor., Silver).

*retinere*, to retain, remember (Gell., Ulp. Dig., Hier.): 5, 3, 6, multa . . . ab eis ex ipsa creatura uera dicta retinebam; — to hold, retain (physically) (Class.); cf. *memoria retinere* (Class.). St. Augustine employs this word also in a variety of other ways to express the idea of retaining or remembering; cf. 3, 4, 8, nomen saluatoris mei . . . cor meum . . . alte retinebat; 9, 9, 16, non relenta imagine; 4, 4, 8; 5, 3, 3; 8, 2, 5; 9, 14, 22.

*reuelare*, to disclose, reveal (Apul., Tert., Ambr., Hier., Vulg.): 3, 7, 14, sicut deus *reuelaret*, futura praenuntiantes; 6, 13, 23; 8, 2, 3; 8, 12, 30; 12, 17, 24; 12, 30, 41; 12, 32, 43;

—, to make clear, explain (Tert., Auson., Hier.): 11, 2, 3, o domine, perforce me et *reuela* mihi eas (paginas); — to unveil, uncover (Ov., Silver).

*seducere*, to lead astray, seduce (Tert., Vulg.): 3, 4, 8, sunt qui *seducant* per philosophiam; 4, 1, 1, *seducebamur* et *seducebamus*; 2, 3, 8; 3, 3, 6; 3, 6, 11; 3, 12, 21; 9, 7, 15; 10, 37, 62; — to lead aside, lead away (Class.).

*siluescere*, to run wild (morally) (Aug. Dialect. 10; Civ. 2, 18): 2, 1, 1, *siluescere* ausus sum uariis et umbrosis amoribus; — to run to wood, to grow wild (Cic., Colum.).

*tangerè*, to reach, comprehend: 6, 7, 12, (animae) nondum uirtutis altitudinem scientes *tangere*; — to reach, arrive at (Class.).

*uacare*, to be empty, to be devoid of meaning: 6, 11, 19, non *uacat*, non est inane, quod . . . ; 13, 24, 36, *uacat* hoc, . . . inaniter . . . dictum est; — to be empty (of space) (Class.).

### 3. CHANGE FROM THE ABSTRACT MEANING TO THE CONCRETE

By a kind of reversal of the foregoing process, words originally abstract in meaning occasionally acquire a concrete signification. This principle is already noticeable in Early Latin, and remained operative in all the succeeding periods of the literature. Silver authors, under the influence of poetry and rhetoric, show great freedom in this respect. Much of the technical terminology in Latin literature, legal, military, etc., is traceable to the workings of this principle. Late and especially Ecclesiastical writers, necessarily partial to abstract nouns because of the demands of a philosophical and theological vocabulary, were most apt to employ them in a concrete sense (cf. St.-Schm. 792). St. Augustine, in the Confessions at least, seems to be somewhat sparing in his use of abstract nouns in a concrete meaning acquired in Late Latin, as the following few examples will show:

*conditio*, a creature (Itala, Tert., Comm., Hilar., Hier., Prud., et al.): 3, 6, 10, nec (ista corpora) in summis tuis *conditionibus* habes; — a creating (Itala, Tert., et al.).

*creatura*, a creature, the creation (Itala, Tert., et al.): 1, 1, 1 *bis*, homo, aliqua portio *creaturae* tuae; 1, 20, 31, non in ipso (deo), sed in *creaturis* eius . . . uoluptates, sublimitates, ueritates quaerebam; 2, 3, 6; 2, 6, 12; 3, 6, 10; 3, 8, 15; 4, 12, 19; 5, 1, 1; 5, 2, 2; 7, 14, 20; 8, 1, 2; 11, 6, 8; 12, 9, 9; 12, 11, 12; 12, 23, 32; 13, 2, 2; 13, 2, 3; and about 50 other instances; — a creating (Itala, Ambr., Hier., et al.).

*dignatio*, a sip of wine taken for courtesy: 6, 2, 2, plus etiam quam unum pocillum . . . , unde *dignationem* sumeret, non ponebat; — esteem, favor (Silver).

*fabrica*, a building, structure, fabric (Solin., Comm., Pallad., Ambr., Vulg., Macr., Rufin., et al.): 6, 9, 15, architectus, cuius maxima erat cura publicarum *fabricarum*; 13, 30, 45; — the art or the science of building (Class.).

*fabricatio*, a structure, thing constructed (Vulg.): 10, 34, 53, in uestibus, calciamentis, uasis et cuiuscemodi *fabricationibus*; — structure, composition (Cic.).

*intellegentia*, an intelligent being: 13, 8, 9, ut inhaereret tibi omnis oboediens *intellegentia* caelestis ciuitatis tuae; — understanding, intelligence (Class.).

*iudicium*, a judge: 6, 9, 14, (fur) inde offerendus *iudiciis* trahebatur.

*largitio*, the imperial treasury or fund for presents and distributions (Eutrop., Amm., Cod. Theod., Cod. Iust.): 6, 10, 16, (Alypius) Romae adsidebat comiti *largitionum* Italicianarum; — a dispensing, distributing; bribery (Class.).

*lassitudo*, a tiresome or enervating action: 10, 34, 53, nec eam (fortitudinem suam) spargant in deliciosas *lassitudines*; — faintness, lassitude (Class.).

*lectio*, that which is read, a text (Tert., Arnob., Amm., Ambr., Hier., Macr., Serv., et al.): 6, 7, 12, forte *lectio* in manibus erat; 9, 5, 13; — a reading, the act of reading (Class.).

*memoria*, a monument, memorial, memorial chapel (Inscr., Hier.): 5, 8, 15, *memoria* beati Cypriani; 6, 2, 2, *ter*.

*minutiae*, trifles, details (Treb. Poll., Amm., et al.): 7, 6, 8, ut easdem constellationes usque ad easdem *minutias* utriusque nascenti facere cogarentur; — *minutia* = "smallness," "fineness" (Sen. phil.).

*notitia*, a notice, list (Jurists): 13, 18, 23, *notitiae* donorum;— a knowing, knowledge; an idea (Class.).

*promissio*, a person promised: 9, 4, 9, unde mitteret (Christus) ex alto *promissionem* suam, paracletum;— a promising, promise (Class.).

*provisio*, a store, stock: 9, 8, 18, nonne protulisti . . . ex altera anima conuicium tamquam medicinale ferrum ex occultis *provisionibus* tuis . . . ?— a forethought, precaution (Cic.).

#### 4. RESTRICTION OF MEANING

In general it may be said that all words alter their meaning either by a restriction or by an extension of their semantic area; words originally possessing a broad signification are gradually restricted to one or several specialized meanings, while others having at first a limited meaning acquire in the course of time a general sense, applicable to a variety of ideas. Thus, the change from the abstract to the concrete may be termed a restriction of meaning, for an abstract term is general in character, while its concrete counterpart may be considered as its specific application. On the other hand, the change from the material sense to the mental may be regarded as an extension, for in this instance the originally narrow application of the word is extended to include a new idea.

In this connection, however, the term "restriction" is to be understood as the limiting of the meaning of a word more or less within the sphere of its original signification. Thus, the meaning of *mundus* is restricted from "the universe" to "the earth," *orbis*; *depositio*, literally meaning "a placing down," acquires the narrow sense of "a placing into the grave," "a burial."

So far as may be judged from the Confessions, St. Augustine avails himself freely of meanings thus developed in the Late Latinity, and seems to have contributed several himself, as is evident from the following examples:

##### i. Nouns.

*assessio*, a sitting as an assessor (Cod. Iust.): 8, 6, 13, post *assessionem* tertiam;— a sitting by (Cic.).

*auditor*, a listener, disciple (referring to a lower order of the

Manichaeans [similar to the use of *auditor* in the sense of *catechumenus*; cf. Tert. Paenit. 6]): 5, 10, 18, (iungebar) non . . . tantum *auditoribus* eorum . . . , sed eis etiam, quos electos uocant;— an auditor or disciple (in gen.) (Class.).

*collatio*, conference, discussion, *colloquium* (Cypr., Hier., Rufin., Sedul., Cassian.): 7, 6, 8, pari studio et *conlatione* flagrabant in eas nugas;— a bringing together, collecting (Class.).

*comes*, a count (in the present instance a title applied to the treasurers of the Western Empire from the time of Constantine) (Amm., Not. Dign. Occ., Cod. Theod.): 6, 10, 16, (Alypius) Romae adsidebat *comiti* largitionum Italicianarum;— a companion, comrade (Class.).

*comitatus*, an imperial court (Edict. Imp. Constant., Amm., Maximin., Sulp. Sev.): 6, 14, 24, (Romanianum) graues aestus negotiorum suorum ad *comitatum* adtraxerant;— a retinue, train (Class.).

*contradictio*, a contradiction, inconsistency (Boeth., Cassiod., Isid.): 12, 25, 34, deus meus, in cuius sinu non est *contradictio*;— a reply, objection (Silver).

*cruditas*, the bitterness or crudity of undigested food (Censor., Vindic., Symm., Cassian.): metaph. in 9, 9, 21, per-acida conloquia *cruditas* exhalatur odiorum;— an overloading of the stomach (Class.).

*dispensator*, a dispenser of things divine (Cypr., Heges., Hilar., Ambr., Hier., Vulg., Rufin., Oros.): 6, 9, 15, *futurus dispensator* uerbi tui; 10, 30, 41; 12, 27, 37; 12, 30, 41; 13, 20, 28; 13, 22, 32;— a manager, steward (Class.).

*elatio*, self-exaltation, pride, haughtiness (Arnob., Ambr., Vulg., Fulg.): 13, 21, 30, *fastus elationis*;— exaltation or elevation of mind, speech, etc. (Class.).

*eloquium*, the language of a people (Hier.): 10, 12, 19, istae . . . nec graecae nec latinae sunt nec aliud *eloquiorum* genus;— language (Verg., Hor., Ov.).

*euersio*, a subverting, disruption, i. e. "hazing" (of the senseless behavior of undisciplined students): 5, 12, 22, illas *euersiones* a perditis adolescentibus ibi (Romae) non fieri manifestatum est mihi; 3, 3, 6 bis;— subversion, destruction (Class.).

*euersor*, a wrecker, i. e. "a hazer" (of upper classmen who annoy

freshmen, etc.): 3, 3, 6, remotus omnino ab euersionibus, quas faciebant *euersores*; — a subverter, destroyer (Class.).

*figuratio*, allegory, prefiguration (Lact., Firm., Hilar.): 13, 34, 49, propter quorum *figurationem* ista . . . scribi uoluisti; — a figurative mode of speaking (Fronto).

*flatus*, a breath (of speech) (Tert., Rufin., Capreol., Greg. M.): 9, 2, 3, ex lingua subdola contradictionis *flatus*; — a breathing, breath (Ov., Silver).

*fluxus* = profluuium seminis (Vulg., Cassian., et al.): 10, 30, 42, usque ad carnis *fluxum*; — a flowing, flow (in. gen.) (Plin. mai., Late).

*interstitium*, an interruption, cessation: 10, 28, 39, numquid non tentatio est uita humana super terram sine ullo *interstitio*? — a distance, interval (Macr., Mart. Cap.).

*lauacrum*, Baptism (Auson., Vulg.): 1, 11, 17, post *lauacrum* illud maior . . . delictorum reatus foret; — a bath (Gell., Amm., Spart.).

*nodus*, the bond or tie of the tongue (Gell., Iust.): 1, 9, 14, rumpebam *nodos* linguae meae; — a knot (Class.).

*obsequium*, service, worship (Capit., Veg., Vulg.): 3, 3, 5, *obsequia* daemoniorum; 13, 1, 1; — deference, respect (Ov., Silver).

*organum*, an organ of the body (Prud.): 11, 3, 5, sine oris et linguae *organis*; — an implement or instrument of any kind (Silver).

*paradisus*, Paradise, the abode of Adam and Eve (Hier., Vulg.): 2, 2, 3, ad temperamentum spinarum a *paradiso* tuo seclusarum; — a park, garden, orchard (Vulg.).

*passio*, a passion, affection (Ambr., Hier., Rufin.): 10, 14, 22, eas (notiones) ipse animus per experientiam *passionum* suarum sentiens memoriae commendauit; — a suffering, enduring (Ps. Apul., Tert., Prud.).

*persona*, a person, individual (Capitol., Ulp. Dig., Hier., Alc. Avit.): 8, 6, 13, innotescere *personis* secundum hoc saeculum maioribus; — a personage (Class.).

*phantasia*, a mental image, a memory-image produced by actual sense-impression: 3, 6, 10, *phantasiae* corporum, quae sunt; 9, 10, 25; — an idea, notion, fancy (Sen. rhet.). Cf. Gibb and Montgomery, 64.

*placitum*, a resolution, purpose, decision: 8, 6, 15, at illi narrato *placito* et proposito suo, quoque modo in eis talis uoluntas orta est atque firmata, petiuerunt, ne . . . ; 8, 11, 25; 8, 12, 30; 9, 8, 17; 12, 27, 37;

—, an agreement, pledge: 4, 2, 2, quid distaret inter coniugalibus *placiti* modum . . . et pactum libidinosi amoris; 8, 8, 19.

—, a project, plot, plan: 6, 14, 24, totum illud *placitum*, quod bene formabamus, dissiluit in manibus; — that which is pleasing, agreeable (Verg.).

*plantarium*, a branch, shoot: metaph. in 7, 3, 5, quis . . . in-seuit mihi *plantarium* amaritudinis . . . ? — a nursery (Plin. mai., Late).

*primogenita*, -orum, the rights of the first-born (Vulg.): 7, 9, 15, Esau perdidit *primogenita* sua; — *primogenitus* — "first-born" (Lact., Ambr., Hier., Vulg., et al.).

*similitudo*, a mental image: 10, 8, 14, *similitudines* rerum uel expertarum uel ex eis, quas expertus sum, creditarum; — resemblance, similitude (Class.).

*trinitas*, the Holy Trinity (Hilar., Hier., Rufin.): 12, 7, 7, deus, una *trinitas* et trina unitas; 12, 9, 9; 13, 5, 6 *ter*; 13, 11, 12 *ter*; 13, 22, 32 *bis*; — the number three (Tert., Prisc.).

*uenator*, one who fights with wild beasts in the arena (Ulp. Dig., Tert., Veg., Aug. [cf. the Index Verborum to Sister M. Madeleine Getty, *The Life of the North Africans as Revealed in the Sermons of Saint Augustine*, Washington, 1931]): 4, 14, 22, *uenator* studiis popularibus diffamatus; — a hunter (Class.).

*uetustas*, former manner of life: 9, 4, 10, mactans *uetustatem* meam; 11, 10, 12, pleni sunt *uetustatis* suae (probably echoes of Vulg. I Cor. 5, 7, expurgate uetus fermentum); — old age (Class.).

*ungula*, a claw (an instrument of torture) (Hier., Prud., Jurists): 1, 9, 15, eculeos et *ungulas* atque huiusmodi uaria tormenta; — a claw, hoof (Class.).

## ii. Adjectives.

*affluens*, rich, wealthy (Ps. Cic. in Sall., Firm., Hier., Salv.): 2, 6, 13, bonorum omnium largitor *affluentissimus*; — abundant, abounding in (Class.).

*dissidens*, discordant, inimical (Arnob., Hilar., Claud. Mam.):

9, 9, 21, inter *dissidentes* atque discordes . . . animas; — unlike, dissimilar (Sen. phil., Late).

*diuersus*, diverse, *varius* (Spart., Treb., Hier., Cass. Fel.): 10, 7, 11, quae *diuersa* . . . ago unus animus; 10, 26, 37; 10, 34, 53; 12, 18, 27; 12, 31, 42; — different, contrary, conflicting (Class.).

*figuratus*, symbolical, allegorical (Tert., Rufin., Aug. [freq., cf. T. L. L. VI 745, 44-60]): 13, 24, 36, dicta *figurata* librorum tuorum; — figurative (Quint., Late).

*frigidus*, frigid, not pious (Itala, Tert., Hier., Vulg., Rufin.): 10, 36, 59, ut te peruersa et distorta uia imitanti tenebrosi *frigidique* seruirent; 9, 7, 15; — frigid, indifferent (in gen.) (Class.).

*indigestus*, undigested (Veg., Macr., Cael. Aur.): metaph. in 9, 9, 21, turgens atque *indigesta* discordia; — unarranged, without order (Ov., Silver).

*integer*, grammatically correct (Aug. Doctr. Christ. 4, 10, 24 bis; cf. Cic. Opt. Gen. 12, *integre* et ample et ornate dicere): 1, 18, 28, si . . . *integris* et rite consequentibus uerbis . . . narrarent; — unimpaired, sound, fresh (Class.).

*naturalis*, illegitimate (Jurists, Interpr. Iosephi): 6, 15, 25, relicto apud me *naturali* ex illa filio meo; — by birth, one's own (Silver).

*omnimodus*, total, complete, absolute: 9, 12, 29, *omnimoda* extinctio; 12, 4, 4; 12, 12, 15; — all manner of, every (Varro, Late).

*poenalis*, culpable, worthy of punishment (Cod. Iust.): 11, 30, 40, nec patiar quaestiones hominum, qui *poenali* morbo plus sitiunt, quam capiunt; — pertaining to punishment, penal (Plin. mai., Late).

*sciens*, endowed with knowledge: 13, 11, 12, sum *sciens* et uolens; — knowing, understanding, skilled (Class.).

*uolens*, endowed with a will: 13, 11, 12, sum *sciens* et *uolens*; — willingly, voluntarily (Class.).

### iii. Adverbs.

*dissolute*, dissolutely, *lasciue*: 8, 11, 27, casta dignitas continentiae, serena et non *dissolute* hilaris; — carelessly (Class.).

*figurate*, symbolically, allegorically (Tert., Comm., Ambr.,

Hier.): 13, 24, 37, si . . . *figurate* posita ista tractemus; — figuratively (Porph., Don., et al.).

*immaniter*, frightfully, monstrously (transf.) (Gell., Amm.): 10, 37, 60, numquid male uiuendum est et tam perditae atque *immaniter*, ut nemo nos nouerit, qui non detestetur? — frightfully, dreadfully (Verg., Late).

*poenaliter*, in a manner deserving of punishment, penally: 10, 33, 50, *poenaliter* me peccare confiteor; — by punishment (Amm.).

### iv. Verbs.

*abscidere* = castrare (Itala, Arnob., Lact., Ambr., Hier.): metaph. in 2, 2, 3, *abscisus* propter regnum caelorum.

*confundere*, to put to shame (Itala, Tert., Cypr., Hilar., Ambr., Hier., Vulg., Rufin., et al.): 1, 18, 29, reprehensi *confundebantur*; 6, 4, 5; 6, 9, 15; 8, 7, 18; 13, 19, 25; — to disturb, disconcert (Verg., Ov., Silver).

*coniugare*, to unite in matrimony (Apul., Arnob., Iul. Val., Aug. [freq., cf. T. L. L. IV 326], Alc. Avit., et al.): 8, 1, 2, nec me prohibebat apostolus *coniugari*; 6, 12, 21; 6, 13, 23; — to unite, join (in gen.) (Class.).

*contradicere*, to oppose, thwart (Itala, Iren., Hilar., Hier., Vulg., Rufin., Oros., et al.): 9, 2, 2, tu nobis . . . dederas sagittas acutas et carbones uastatores aduersus linguam subdolam uelut consulendo *contradicentem*; — to object, raise an objection (Class.).

*crebrescere*, to repeat often: 13, 1, 1, institisti *crebrescens* multimodis uocibus, ut . . . ; — to become frequent, increase, spread (Verg., Silver).

*deficere*, to pine, long for (Vulg.): 3, 6, 10, tu, amor meus, in quem *deficio*; — to become faint, to weaken (Class.).

*deligere*, to choose, wish, resolve (Tert., Lucif., Rufin., Leo M.): 9, 5, 13, tibi ergo seruire *delegissem*; — to choose out, select (Class.).

*deputare*, to assign, destine (Tert., Iren., Heges., Hilar., Amm., Ambr., Hier., Vulg., Rufin., et al.): 6, 11, 18, *deputentur* tempora, distribuuntur horae pro salute animae;

——, to ascribe, attribute (Tert., Hilar., Veg., Ambr., Rufin., Paul. Nol., Mart. Cap., et al.): 2, 7, 15, gratiae tuae *deputo* et misericordiae tuae, quod . . . ; *ibid.*, gratiae tuae *deputo* et quaecumque non feci mala; — to consider, esteem, count as (Class.).

*dispensare*, to spread (of speech or writing): 12, 26, 36, ut per seruitutem cordis ac linguae meae litterae illae *dispensarentur*; 12, 23, 32; 13, 15, 16;—to dispense, distribute (Plaut., Ov., Silver).

*figurare*, to represent allegorically, symbolically (Tert., Hilar., Ambr., Hier., Prud.): 13, 25, 38, dicebamus . . . eis terrae fructibus . . . in allegoria *figurari* opera misericordiae;—to imagine, fancy, picture (Silver).

*modulari*, to temper, mitigate: 2, 2, 3, quis mihi *modularetur* aerumnam meam?—to regulate (Plin. mai.).

*nescire*, not to know carnally (Vulg.): 6, 15, 25, nouens tibi alium se uirum *nescituram*;—not to know (in gen.) (Class.).

*obsequi*, to do honor unto (Eutrop.): 5, 9, 17, cor . . . uiduae . . . *obsequentis* atque seruientis sanctis tuis;—to comply with, yield to, gratify (Class.).

*ordinare*, to appoint, station, establish: 13, 15, 18, super hoc firmamentum *ordinasti* eos (angelos);—to set in order, arrange, regulate (Class.).

*persequi*, to persecute for religious belief (from Tert. on): 9, 7, 15, cum Iustina . . . Ambrosium *persequeretur* haeresis suae causa;—to pursue, prosecute (Class.).

*polluere*, to render unclean (ceremonially) (Vulg.): 10, 31, 46, scio . . . Iohannem . . . animalibus, hoc est locustis in escam cedentibus, non *fuisse pollutum*;—to soil, defile (lit.) (Ov., Silver).

*praedicare*, to ascribe to, to predicate (Plaut.): 7, 19, 25, mentem . . . hominis non existimabat in eo (Christo) *praedicari*;—to make known, publish, state (Class.).

*praesidere*, to give audience to: 10, 26, 37, ueritas, ubique *praesides* omnibus etiam consulentibus te;—to preside over, direct (Class.).

*praesignare*, to prefigure, foreshadow (Tert.): 10, 34, 52, in filiis *praesignata* futuri populi genera;—to mark before (Plin. mai., Frontin.).

*probare*, to find out by examining, learn, know (Pallad., Vulg.): 13, 22, 32, ut nos *probemus*, quae sit uoluntas tua; *ibid.*, *probat* ipse, quae sit uoluntas tua;—to try, test, examine (Plaut., Ov., Silver).

*rapere*, to catch a glimpse of: 11, 11, 13, quis tenebit . . . et figet (cor) . . . , ut paululum stet et paululum *rapiat* splendorem . . . aeternitatis . . . ?—to snatch, seize (Class.).

*resonare*, to convey, express: 12, 31, 42, sic mallet scribere, ut, quod ueri quisque de his rebus capere posset, mea uerba *resonarent*;—to echo (Class.).

*tenere*, to hold, regard, consider (Paneg. Nazar., Alc. Avit.): 9, 4, 9, (phantasmata) pro ueritate *tenueram*; 13, 5, 6; 13, 24, 37;—to hold fast, maintain, defend (Class.).

## 5. EXTENSION OF MEANING

As stated in the preceding section, words originally limited in meaning took on in the course of time a wider signification. Strictly speaking, the term "extension" as used here should include only such words that show a broadening of their sense within the general limits of their original meaning (cf. the extension of *proelium* from "a battle" to "a war," *bellum*). But in order to obviate an unnecessary multiplication of divisions and subdivisions, I am employing this term in a wider sense, to include all words used in the Late period in connection with objects and ideas to which they had not been previously applied. Thus, I have also listed in this section words which show a transition from the material meaning to the temporal, or from a material signification to one which is closely allied to the moral, though not as intimately as in the case of words included in Section 2.

As might be expected, the words in this list are more numerous than those in any of the preceding ones; it is especially here that we may realize how thoroughly St. Augustine was acquainted with meanings developed by recent or contemporary writers, and how well he was equipped to utilize old words for the expression of new ideas of his own.

### i. Nouns.

*aduersitas*, adversity, calamity (Ps. Quint., Ps. Cypr., Ps. Ambr., Prosp., Sidon., Ennod.): 10, 28, 39, uae prosperitatibus saeculi . . . a timore *aduersitatis* . . . ! *ibid.*, two other instances;—an antidote (Plin. mai. and Late).

*amatorium*, a hymn of love: 12, 16, 23, cantem tibi *amatoria*; — an amatory song (Cypr., Isid.).

*ansula*, a small ring, hook, link (Apul., Arnob., Amm., Vulg., et al.): 8, 5, 10, quibus quasi *ansulis* sibimet innexis — unde catenam appellaui — tenebat me obstrictum dura seruitus; — a small loop at the edge of a sandal (Val. Max., Sidon.).

*cantilena*, a song, music (Gell., Apul., Auson., Amm., Hier., Vulg., Paul. Nol., et al.): 10, 33, 50, melos . . . *cantilenarum* suauium; 10, 6, 8; — a song (in a disparaging sense); trite prattle, gossip (Class.).

*cantio*, singsong: 1, 13, 23, unum et unum duo, duo et duo quatuor odiosa *cantio* mihi erat; — a song (Class.).

*conuersatio*, mode of acting, mode of life (Itala, Tert., Ulp. Dig., Cypr., Filast., Ambr., Hier., Vulg., Rufin., et al.): 6, 2, 2, propter eius religiosissimam *conuersationem*; 9, 9, 22; 9, 12, 33; — intercourse, companionship (Silver).

*cor*, the soul, *anima* (Itala, Tert., Laet., Hilar., Ambr., Hier., Vulg., Prosp., et al.): 1, 8, 13, uariis membrorum motibus edere uellem sensa *cordis* mei; 2, 8, 16; 3, 6, 10; 5, 14, 24; 7, 2, 3; 9, 11, 28; 11, 2, 3; 13, 21, 29; et al.

*deliquium*, fluidity, instability: 13, 5, 6, multa diximus . . . de abyssu tenebrosa secundum spiritalis informitatis uagabunda *deliquia*; — a flowing down, liquefaction (Hilar., Hier., Prud.).

*distentio*, a stretching out, extension (of time): 11, 23, 30, uideo . . . tempus quandam esse *distentionem*; 11, 26, 33; 12, 15, 22; — a stretching out, distension (of space) (Silver).

*dominator*, a master (in gen.) (Chiron., Ruric., Maxim.): 9, 6, 14, Alypio . . . fortissimo *dominatori* (Knöll; domitori De Labr., Vega) corporis; — lord, sovereign (Class.).

*euectio*, a permit to travel by the public post (Symm., Cod. Iust.): 5, 13, 23, missum est a Mediolanio Romam ad praefectum urbis, ut illi ciuitati rhetoricae magister prouideretur inperita etiam *euectione* publica; — a permit to travel with an official body of men (Cato Frg. Or. 2 in Fronto Epist. ad Antonin. 1, 2).

*euidencia*, appearance: 11, 4, 6, uox dicentium est ipsa *euidencia*; — perspicuity, clearness (rhet.) (Cic., Quint.).

*excessus*, exuberance, excess: 9, 8, 18, non . . . ulla temulenta

cupidine faciebat hoc, sed quibusdam superfluentibus aetatis *excessibus*; — a projecting beyond a certain limit (Cels., Late).

*filius*, a descendant (found occasionally in Class. Latin, but becomes common only in Eccl. writers): 8, 9, 21, contritiones *filiorum* Adam; 1, 9, 14; 1, 16, 25; 8, 10, 22; 13, 21, 30.

*fluxus*, flow, tide (of time): 9, 8, 18, ad usus tuos contorquens profunda torrentis, *fluxum* saeculorum ordinate turbulentum; — a flowing, flow (of liquids) (Plin. mai., Late).

*frater*, a brother, a neighbor; in plur. = brethren (in a Christian signification) (common from Min. Fel. and Tert. on): 5, 5, 9, cum . . . audio christianum aliquem *fratrem* . . . ista nescientem; 9, 2, 4; 9, 4, 7; 9, 12, 31; 9, 12, 33; 9, 13, 37; 10, 4, 6; 10, 37, 62; 12, 25, 35. In 9, 13, 37 *fratrum* refers to Patricius and Monnica; this use of *fratres* (of both brothers and sisters) occurs already in Cicero, but becomes common only in Late legal literature. Cf. T. L. L. VI 1225, 57-84.

*gluten*, a bond (Ps. Apul., Hier., Prud., Sidon., Alc. Avit., as *glutinum*): 4, 10, 15, *glutine* amoris; — glue (Sall., Verg., Silver, as *gluten* and *glutinum*).

*interpositio*, an interval (of time): 13, 33, 48, sine ulla temporis *interpositione*; — a putting between, insertion (Vitr.).

*latitudo*, largeness, plenitude: 12, 23, 32, qui ueritate tua pascuntur in *latitudine* caritatis; — breadth, width; extent, size (Class.).

*libramentum*, a balancing, equilibrium (Veg.): 10, 16, 25, terrae *libramenta* quaerimus; — weight, gravity (Liv.).

*litteratura*, literature (Tert.): 2, 3, 5, in qua uicina urbe iam coeperam *litteraturae* atque oratoriae percipiendae gratia peregrinari; 8, 5, 10; 10, 9, 16; — grammar, rhetoric (Varro, Silver).

*machinamentum*, a trick, device, fancy (Cod. Theod.): 5, 14, 25, *machinamenta* illa soluerentur et abicerentur ex animo meo; — a military engine (Liv.).

*massa*, a mass, bulk (in gen.) (Hier.): 5, 10, 20, saluatorem nostrum . . . tamquam de *massa* lucidissimae molis tuae porrectum ad nostram salutem . . . putabam; 7, 5, 7; — a lump or mass of some particular substance (Plaut., Poet., Silver).

*militia*, an office or employment at court (Prud., Cod. Iust.):

8, 6, 15, relicta *militia* saeculari seruire tibi (i. e. deo); 9, 8, 17;—military service (Class.).

*muscupula* (*muscupulum*?), a snare (Itala, Hier., Vulg.): 3, 1, 1, oderam securitatem et uiam sine *muscupulis*;—a mouse-trap (Lucil., Varro, Silver).

*nomen*, name (of delegated authority) (Vulg.): 13, 12, 13, in *nomine* tuo baptizamus; 11, 22, 28; 13, 20, 26.

*nutritor*, a fosterer, patron: 8, 6, 15, erat monasterium Mediolanii, . . . sub Ambrosio *nutritore*;—a bringer up, nurse, governor (Suet., Late).

*obiecta*, objections: 5, 14, 24, qui . . . *obiecta* refellerent;—charges, accusations (Ov., Quint.).

*ordo*, authority, ascendancy: 13, 17, 20, ita facis mare *ordine* imperii tui super omnia;—rank, station (Class.).

*ossa*, the inmost part, the soul (Verg., Vulg. [freq.]): 5, 1, 1, sana omnia *ossa* mea.

*palatium*, the imperial court (Lact., Amm.): 8, 6, 14, Ponticianus quidam, . . . praeclare in *palatio* militans; 8, 6, 15;—a palace (Ov., Iuv., Late).

*potentatus*, might, power (Arnob., Vulg.): 2, 6, 14, an libuit facere contra legem saltem fallacia, quia *potentatu* non poteram . . . ?—political power, rule command (Class.).

*praesumptio*, presumption, boldness, arrogance (Apul., Tert., Cypr., Amm., Hier., et al.): 7, 20, 26, quid interesset inter *praesumptionem* et confessionem;—a taking beforehand, an enjoying in advance (Plin. min.).

*procuratio*, a procuring, obtaining: 5, 7, 13, *procuratio* salutis;—a caring for; a charge, management (Class.).

*progressus*, a course, bent: 13, 21, 31, seruiunt enim rationi haec animalia, cum a *progressu* mortifero cohibita uiuunt et bona sunt;—a going forward, advance (Class.).

*pulsator*, one who knocks, strikes (Claud. Mam.): 10, 31, 46, laudes tibi, deo meo, . . . *pulsatori* aurium mearum;—one who plays the cither (Val. Fl.).

*reatus*, guilt, culpability (Tert., Hier., Vulg., Prud.): 1, 11, 17, delictorum *reatus*; 3, 8, 15, criminis *reatu* tenerentur;—the condition of an accused person (Mart., Late).

*rex*, an emperor, *imperator* (Sulp. Sev.; cf., however, a similar

use of the word already in Sen. Clem. 1, 3, 3, nullum tamen clementia ex omnibus magis quam *regem* aut principem decet [addressed to Nero]: 9, 7, 15, Iustina, Valentiniani *regis* pueri mater.

*satellitium*, support: 6, 15, 25, *satellitio* perdurantis consuetudinis;—an escort, convoy (Iul. Val.).

*spiritus*, a spirit, spiritual being (Vulg.): 4, 3, 4, nullae preces ad aliquem *spiritum* . . . dirigerentur; 12, 3, 3, corpus . . . *spiritus*; 3, 3, 6; 3, 7, 12; 5, 1, 1; 9, 7, 16; 12, 3, 3; 12, 11, 12; 13, 2, 3; 13, 8, 9; et al., in addition to instances of *sanctus spiritus*—"the Holy Spirit";—spirit, soul, mind (Verg., Ov., Silver).

*stilla*, a tiny portion (of time) (Aug. Epist. 261, 1; 280, 1): 11, 2, 2, *stillae* temporum;—a drop (Class.).

*stilus*, that which is written, a writing (Tert.): 7, 21, 27, arripui uenerabilem *stilum* spiritus tui;—a "style" for writing (i. e. the instrument) (Class.).

*stipendium*, a reward, recompense (Vulg., Cassian., Salv., Alc. Avit.): 10, 43, 68, *stipendium* iustitiae uita et pax est;—pay, stipend (milit.) (Class.).

*successus*, an advance, advancing (transf.) (Iust.): 3, 5, 9, uideo . . . rem (scripturam sanctam) incesu humilem, *successu* excelsam et uelatam mysteriis;—an advance, approach (of troops, etc.) (Caes., Verg.).

*sustentaculum*, sustenance, nourishment (Aug. Mor. Eccl. 33): 6, 3, 3, corpus reficiebat necessariis *sustentaculis*;—a stay, support (Tac.).

*tractus*, a continuation, i. e. sequel, reward: 6, 16, 26, (credidi) post mortem restare animae uitam et *tractus* meritorum;—a drawing out, protracting (Class.).

*uia*, manner of life (occurs occasionally in Class. writers, but is common only in Eccl. Latin): 1, 13, 22, adquiesco in reprehensione malarum *uiarum* mearum; 1, 15, 24; 2, 1, 1; 2, 3, 6; 3, 3, 5; 6, 5, 8; 6, 16, 26; 7, 7, 11; 7, 9, 13; 8, 1, 1; 10, 34, 52; et al.

*uerbum*, an expression, phrase, *uerba* (Plaut., Ter., Sall., Late [esp. Eccl.]): 6, 9, 15, dispensator *uerbi* tui; 9, 8, 17, addens *uerbum* sanum: "Modo aquam bibitis, . . ."

## ii. Adjectives.

*astutus*, wise, prudent (Hilarian., Vulg.): 13, 21, 31, *serpentes boni non perniciosi ad nocendum, sed astuti ad cauendum*; — shrewd, artful, crafty (Class.).

*constitutus*, placed, situated, *positus*, *ἔν* (Sen. phil., Apul., Itala, Tert., Firm., Hilar., Hier., Vulg., Oros., et al.): 4, 16, 28, *ubi sit (homo) constitutus aut quando natus*; — constituted, arranged, disposed (Class.).

*inuisus*, invisible (Apul., Itala, Lact., Comm., Vulg.): 12, 22, 31, *non . . . adhuc informes sunt et inuisae (aquae)*; — unseen, new (Class.).

*litterarius*, literary (Symm.): 6, 10, 16, *inlectus erat studio litterario*; 9, 2, 4; — pertaining to reading and writing as elementary subjects (Quint.).

*manifestus*, manifest, known (of persons) (Vulg.): 10, 2, 2, *tibi ergo, domine, manifestus sum*; — clear, evident, manifest (Class.).

*medius*, meddling, intriguing: 9, 9, 20, *ut . . . filio suo medias linguas famularum proderet*; — middle (Class.).

*nutabilis*, frail, mutable: 5, 9, 17, *nutabile . . . bonum*; — tottering (Apul.).

*nutritorius*, pertaining to bringing up: metaph. in 12, 27, 37, *si quisquam . . . extra nutritorias cunas superba inbecillitate se extenderit*; — nourishing (Th. Prisc.).

*pestilentiosus*, pestilential, destructive: 4, 10, 15, *conscindunt eam (animam) desideriis pestilentiosis*; — pestilential, unhealthy (Ulp. Dig., Ps. Soran., Marc. Emp.).

*poenalis*, painful, laborious (Claud. Mam.): 1, 13, 20, *illas primas (litteras), ubi legere et scribere et numerare discitur, . . . poenales . . . habebam*; — pertaining to punishment, penal (Plin. mai., Late).

*popularis*, friendly, all-embracing: 6, 5, 8, *ut (sacra scriptura) exciperet omnes populari sinu*; — belonging to the people; popular (Class.).

*positus*, stationed, being, *ἔν* (Tert., Arnob., Ambr., Paulin., Sulp. Sev.): 10, 31, 47, *in his . . . temptationibus positus certo cotidie aduersus concupiscentiam manducandi et bibendi*.

*procellosus*, turbulent, troublesome (Aug. Civ. 20, 16; In Euang.

Ioh. 124, 7): 1, 8, 13, *uitae humanae procellosam societatem altius ingressus sum*; — stormy (Silver).

*regius*, imperial: 9, 7, 16, *ad coercendam rabiem femineam, sed regiam*.

*saltatorius*, theatrical: 3, 2, 4, *in aerumna . . . saltatoria ea magis placebat actio histrionis . . .*; *qua mihi lacrimae excutiebantur*; — pertaining to the dance (Class.).

*sanus*, sound, rational, sane (Vulg.): 4, 16, 31, *alimento sanae fidei*; 6, 4, 5, *in doctrina . . . sana*; 7, 19, 25; 9, 8, 17; 12, 22, 31; — in Class. Latin *sanus* in the sense of "rational," etc., is used only with persons, with such words as *mens*, *animus*, *sensus*, etc., and also to designate style as being "sound" or "correct."

*spiritalis*, spiritual (as opposed to corporeal) (Cypr., Hier., Vulg., Rufin., et al.): 3, 6, 10, *priora spiritalia opera tua quam ista corporea*; 5, 14, 25; 6, 3, 4; 12, 15, 19; 12, 17, 24; 12, 20, 29; 12, 21, 30; et al.;

——, spiritual (as opposed to carnal) (Vulg.): 7, 1, 1, *in fide spiritalis matris nostrae*; 6, 3, 4; 8, 5, 10; 13, 23, 33 bis; — belonging to breathing, wind, air (Vitr.).

*transitorius*, passing, transitory (Aug. [freq.], Cassiod., Boeth.): 9, 13, 37, *in hac luce transitoria*; 11, 6, 8 bis; 12, 15, 18; — adapted for passing through (Suet., Late).

*uiuus*, living, vivid: 2, 9, 17, *uiuua recordatio animae meae*.

*umbraticus*, shadowy, unreal (Lact.): 2, 6, 12, *defectiua species et umbratica*; — belonging to the shade (Plaut.).

*uolaticus*, fleeting, ephemeral (Aug. Serm. 19, 5; 24, 5): 5, 12, 22, *uolatica ludibria temporum*; — flying, winged (Plaut., Apul.).

*uolubilis*, rolling, fleeting (of time): 12, 15, 22, *omne spatium aetatis uolubile*; 12, 9, 9;

——, fleeting, perishable: 5, 7, 19, *aliquod nutabile aut uolubile bonum*; — turning, rolling (Class.).

## iii. Adverbs.

*germanitus*, sincerely, truly (Aug. 3, 14, 20; Epist. 140, 79): 4, 4, 7, (*fidem ueram*) *non germanitus et penitus . . . tenebat*; — in a brotherly manner (Pompon., Pomer.).

*pariter*, together, *unā* (Hier., Claud., Claud. Mam., Alc. Avit.): 4, 4, 7, *mecum puer creuerat et pariter in scholam ieramus pariter*.

que iuseramus; 6, 10, 17; 8, 6, 15; 9, 8, 17; 12, 30, 41;—in an equal degree, in like manner; (with *cum*) at the same time (Class.).

*publice*, publicly, openly, *palam* (Gell., Apul., Eutrop., Ambr., Vulg.): 8, 2, 5, (rhetoricam) *publice* professus erat; 1, 16, 26; 12, 25, 34;—in behalf of the State, at the cost of the State (Class.).

*statim*, at the same time, *simul*: 11, 2, 3, *deus meus, lux caecorum et uirtus infirmorum statimque lux uidentium et uirtus fortium*;—at once, instantly (Class.).

*tepide*, feebly, faintly: 8, 11, 27, *tepidissime hoc dicebat*;—tepidly, lukewarmly (Colum., Plin. min.).

#### iv. Verba.

*asserere*, to maintain, affirm, assert (Pa. Quint., Apul., Tert., Lact., Amm., Ambr., Hier., Oros., et al. [doubtful instances of this meaning occur already in Rhet. Her., Sen. phil., and Phaedr.; cf. T. L. L. II 865, 36-41]): 4, 15, 26, *ut assererem mira dementia me id esse naturaliter, quod tu es*; 3, 6, 11; 5, 14, 24; 6, 10, 16;—to claim, appropriate (Ov., Silver).

*assumere*, to lift up, raise (Itala, Vulg.): metaph. in 7, 10, 16, *cum te primum cognoui, tu assumisti me, ut uiderem esse, quod uiderem*;—to take to one's self (Class.).

*circumferre*, to toss about (Itala, Hier., Vulg. Rufin.): 4, 14, 23, *circumferebar omni uento*; 5, 5, 9;—to carry around or from place to place (Class.).

*compati*, to have compassion (Ambr., Hier., Heges., Vulg., Rufin., et al.): 13, 17, 21, *compatimur ad subueniendum indigentibus*; 3, 2, 2;—to suffer with (Itala, Tert., Vulg., et al.).

*contemperare*, to conform to, adapt (freq. in Aug.; cf. T. L. L. IV 646, 44-60): 7, 19, 25, *catholicae fidei conlaetatus et contemperatus est*;—to temper by mixing (Apul., Chiron, et al.).

*corrumpi*, to perish, die: 13, 26, 41, *qui (Helias) posset etiam talis cibi egestate corrumpi*.

*currere*, to run the course of life, etc. (Itala, Ambr., Hier., Vulg., Paul. Nol., Prosp., Alc. Avit.): 8, 4, 9, *amemus, curramus*; 4, 12, 19; 6, 16, 26; 7, 7, 11; 9, 7, 16; 13, 8, 9; 13, 15, 18.

*deuolui*, to turn (of discourse) (Tert., Amm., Hier., Rufin.): 8, 6, 15, *inde sermo eius deuolutus est ad monasteriorum greges*;—to come to, arrive at (transf.) (Class.).

*diffamare*, to publish, proclaim, celebrate (Apul., Itala, Iul. Val., Vulg., Rufin., Aug. [freq., cf. T. L. L. V 1062, 49-57], Leo M.): 4, 14, 22, *uenator studiis popularibus diffamatus*;—to spread by ill report, defame (Silver).

*dimicare*, to strive, dispute (Tert., Hier., Rufin.): 13, 11, 12, *contendunt et dimicant (de trinitate)*;—to struggle, fight (chiefly of military matters) (Class.).

*dirumpere*, to separate (of persons) (Itala, Lucif., Zacch., Ennod., Facund.): 9, 13, 36, *nemo a protectione tua dirumpat eam*;—to break off, sunder, sever (transf.) (Class.).

*disserere*, to explain, interpret (Min. Fel., Tert., Hier., Vulg., Rufin., et al.): 8, 10, 24, *euangelium disserere*;—to discuss, treat of (Class.).

*eligere*, to prefer, *malle* (Ambr., Vulg.): 4, 14, 22, *eligens latere quam ita notus esse*; 6, 6, 9;—to pick out, choose (Class.).

*eludere*, to evade, elude: 11, 12, 14, *eludens quaestionis uolentiam*;—to elude or parry an enemy's blow (Class.).

*emendicare*, to solicit (Jurists): 10, 36, 63, *emendicata suffragia*;—to obtain by begging (Silver).

*erogare*, to distribute (Tert., Ambr.): 10, 43, 70, *cogito pretium meum et manduco et bibo et erogo*;—to pay out money from the public treasury, to disburse (Class.).

*euolui*, to roll away, elapse (Vulg., Alc. Avit.): 9, 3, 6, *euoluti sunt dies illi tandem*;—to roll forth, glide away (Verg., Silver).

*exserere*, to give rise to: 12, 29, 40, *formae rerum exserunt tempora*;—to thrust out, put forth (Caes., Ov., Silver).

*exterminare*, to abolish, destroy, ravage (Itala, Iren., Vulg.): 10, 34, 53, *exterminantes quod facti sunt*;—to expel, remove (Class.).

*fecundare*, to fill, replenish (Tract. in Luc., Paul. Med.): 13, 32, 47, *uidemus umidam . . . naturam piscibus et beluis et alitibus fecundatam*;—to make fruitful, fertile (Verg., Silver).

*firmare*, to resolve: 6, 14, 24, *firmaueramus remoti a turbis otiose uiuere*;—to confirm, prove, approve (Class.).

*habere*, to have (as an auxiliary verb) (this meaning occurs fre-

quently in Early Latin, and to some extent also in the Class. period, especially with such participles as *cognitum*, *deliberatum*, *exploratum*, *perspectum*, *persuasum*, *propositum*, *susceptum*, etc., but in the Late Latinity it became much more common, and eventually gave rise to the compound perfect tense of the Romance languages, e. g. *j'ai vu*; cf. Thielmann, *Archiv* 2 [1885], 372-423 and 509-549; K.-Steg. II 1, 763; St.-Schm., 561 and 608): 4, 14, 22, *grande profundum est ipse homo, cuius capillos tu, domine, numeratos habes*; 5, 6, 10, *sensi autem aliud genus hominum veritatem habere suspectam*.

*honestari*, to be earnest or grave: 4, 8, 13, *simul nugari et simul honestari*; — *honestare* = "to adorn with honor," "to dignify" (Class.).

*incantare*, to inculcate by repeating over and over again: 6, 8, 13, *non . . . relinquens incantatam sibi a parentibus terrenam uiam*; — to charm, bewitch (Hor., Apul.).

*innectere*, to insert: 6, 7, 12, *innexueras litteris: corripe sapientem, et amabit te*; — to tie or fasten to (Poet., Silver).

*insinuare*, to convey to, make known, teach (Itala, Iul. Val., Ambr., Hier., Macr., Vulg., Sulp. Sev., Cassian., Claud. Mam., et al.): 8, 2, 3, *in istis (libris) . . . insinuari deum et eius uerbum*; 9, 5, 13, *insinuauit per litteras antistiti tuo . . . pristinos errores meos*; 6, 7, 12; 8, 6, 14; 9, 4, 12; 12, 4, 4; 12, 12, 15; 12, 13, 16; 12, 17, 25; 12, 19, 28; 13, 6, 7 bis; — to bring into, insinuate into, introduce (Class.).

*instituere*, to cause, procure: 8, 3, 7, *eas . . . uoluptates . . . institutis et uoluntariis molestiis homines adquirunt*; — to erect, found, construct (Class.).

*intercurrere*, to intervene: 6, 1, 1, *transituum me ab aegritudine ad sanitatem intercurrente artiore periculo . . . praesumebat*; — to run between (Lucr., Plin. mai.).

*intimare*, to announce, make known (Apul., Tert., Cypr., Arnob., Comm., Cassian., Mart. Cap., Alc. Avit., et al.): 6, 9, 15, *quem (puerum) posteaquam recoluit Alypius, architecto intimauit*; 12, 4, 4; — to put or bring into (Tert., Solin., et al.).

*ire*, to walk in the way of life, and in general of human conduct (Vulg.): 2, 3, 7, *cum irem abs te longius*; 2, 3, 8; 3, 7, 12; 4,

12, 18; 6, 5, 8; 7, 7, 11; 7, 20, 26; 8, 1, 1 and 2; 8, 7, 17 and 18; 13, 9, 10; 13, 19, 25.

*magnificare*, to make glorious, exalt (Vulg.): 9, 4, 9, *magnificatus erat* (Christus) *resurgens a mortuis*; — to value greatly, esteem highly (Plaut., Ter.).

*mandare*, to send word (Eutrop.): 4, 2, 3, *recolo . . . mandasse mihi nescio quem haruspitem, quid ei dare uellem mercedis, ut uincerem*; — to enjoin, command; to commit, entrust (Class.).

*militare*, to hold an office at court (Cod. Iust.): 8, 6, 14 (Ponticianus) *praeclare in palatio militans*; 8, 6, 15; 9, 8, 17; — to perform military service (Class.).

*ministrare*, to minister unto (in a religious sense) (Vulg.): 7, 9, 15, *quibus (idolis) de auro tuo ministrabant*; — to wait upon; to serve up food or drink (Class.).

*multiplicare*, to enrich (Vulg.): 9, 4, 10, *multiplicari terrenis bonis*; — to multiply, increase (Class.).

*murmurare*, to murmur, mutter, complain (Vulg.): 10, 31, 46, (populus) *aduersus dominum murmurauit*; 3, 7, 13; — to murmur, mutter (of the voice only, without the idea of complaining) (Plaut.).

*nutare*, to be unresolved, unsettled: 8, 1, 1, *de mea . . . temporali uita nutabant omnia*; — to doubt, hesitate (Class.).

*obicere*, to put forth, propose: 5, 6, 10, *qui (manichaei) . . . quaestionibus a me obiectis deficiebant*; — to taunt, reproach, upbraid with (Class.).

*occidere*, to destroy, put an end to: 10, 31, 43, *cum occideris indigentiam meam satietate mirifica*.

*occultare*, to harbor: 5, 10, 19, *plures . . . eos Roma occultabat*; — to conceal, secrete (Class.).

*offendere*, to offend against, violate: 12, 25, 35, *perniciosis contentiōibus ipsam offendere caritatem*; — to offend, displease (Class.).

*offerre*, to offer, permit, allow: 8, 2, 5, *oblatus esse dicebat Victorino a presbyteris, ut secretius redderet, sicut nonnullis, qui uerecundia trepidaturi uidebantur, offerri mos erat*; 9, 3, 5.

*operire*, to overwhelm with grief, etc.: 4, 5, 10, *quo (luctu) tunc operiebar*; — used in a similar way in Cicero, but only in the pass. ppl. and with words denoting shame, disgrace, etc.

*portare*, to bear up, sustain (lit.): 13, 32, 47, *aëris corpulentia, quae uolatus auium portat*;

——, to support, sustain (transf.): 1, 4, 4, (deus) *portans et implens et protegens*; 4, 16, 31, *protege nos et porta nos. tu portabis, tu portabis et paruulos et usque ad canos tu portabis*;—to carry, bear, convey (Class.).

*posse*, to get along, manage: 4, 4, 7, *mecum iam errabat in animo ille homo, et non poterat anima mea sine illo*.

*praefigere*, to set, fix: 2, 2, 3, *quis . . . suauitatibus metas praefigeret . . . ?*—to fasten before, fix on the end of, set up in front (Caes., Verg., Silver).

*praeloqui*, to announce beforehand (Lact.): 5, 3, 3, *fama . . . de illo (Fausto) praelocuta mihi erat, quod . . .*; 13, 36, 51;—to say by way of preface, to premise (Silver).

*praepondere*, to place above: 13, 20, 26, *uoces nuntiorum tuorum uolitantes super terram iuxta firmamentum libri tui, praeposito illo sibi ad auctoritatem, sub quo uolitare, quocumque irent*;—to put before, place first (Class.); to place over as chief (Class.).

*praesumere*, to presume, dare, be bold (Itala, Hier., Heges., Vulg., Sulp. Sev., Claud. Mam., et al.): 6, 8, 13, *eo infirmior (animus), quo de se praesumserat*;—to take beforehand, take to one's self (Ov., Silver).

*praetendere*, to hold out, hold forth (transf.): 6, 10, 16, *praetentae sunt minae*;—to stretch forth, extend (Fab. Pict., Poet., Silver).

*praeuenire*, to anticipate, not to wait for: 9, 2, 3, *uindemialium diem praeuenire*;—to precede, get the start of (Silver).

*propinquare*, to draw near, approach (transf.): 5, 13, 23, *propinquabam (saluti) sensim et nesciens*;—to approach (in space) (Sall., Verg., Silver).

*quaeritare*, to seek, aspire to: 1, 18, 29, *homo eloquentiae famam quaeritans*;—to seek, search for (Early, Rhet. Her., Catull., Silver).

*referre*, to apply, employ for a certain purpose: 1, 12, 19, *quo referrem quod me discere cogeant*; 3, 4, 7, *non . . . ad acuendam linguam referebam illum librum*;—to bear, carry, or bring back (Class.).

*respirare*, to sigh with love or longing: 10, 4, 5, *respirant in bonis meis, suspirant in malis meis*;—to breathe (Class.).

*ruminare*, to feed upon, eat: 6, 3, 3, *quam sapida gaudia de pane tuo ruminaret*;—to chew over again, to ruminate (Verg., Ov., Silver).

*scire*, to know a person, *nosse* (Apul., Tert., Capitol., Spart., Hier., Claud. Mam.): 1, 1, 1, *utrum . . . scire te prius sit an inuocare te*; *ibid.*, *an potius inuocaris, ut sciaris?* 5, 4, 7; 13, 23, 33;—to understand, perceive (Class.).

*solidare*, to make firm, establish (transf.) (Cypr., Aur. Vict., Cod. Theod.): 11, 30, 40, *stabo atque solidabor in te (i. e. in deo)*; 13, 15, 17; 13, 34, 49;—to make firm, dense, solid (Verg., Silver).

*subiugare*, to subjugate, subject (Lact., Hier., Firm., Claud.): 10, 33, 49, *uoluptates aurium . . . me . . . subiugauerunt*;—to bring under the yoke (Arnob., Eutrop.).

*suboriri*, to arise (of thoughts) (Boeth.): 5, 10, 19, *suborta est . . . mihi cogitatio*;—to spring up, arise (lit.) (Lucr., Plin. mai.).

*subsistere*, to subsist, exist (Hier., Claud. Mam., Cassian., Ennod., Alc. Avit.): 13, 2, 2, *ex plenitudine quippe bonitatis tuae creatura tua subsistit*; 6, 4, 5;—to stay, remain (Varro, Silver).

*superare*, to pass (in time): 11, 13, 16, *praecedis omnia praeterita (tempora) . . . et superas omnia futura*; 12, 28, 38;—to be superior, to surmount (Class.).

*supererogare*, to do more than one's duty: 1, 4, 4, *supererogatur tibi, ut debeas*;—to pay over and above (Vulg., Cod. Iust.).

*suspendere*, to make depend upon: 12, 18, 27, *nouit magister uester, in quibus duobus praeceptis totam legem prophetasque suspenderit (cf. Vulg. Matth. 22, 40, in his duobus mandatis uniuersa lex pendet, et prophetae)*;—to hang up, suspend (Class.).

*tendere*, to extend (of mental processes): 11, 27, 36, *cogitationem tendimus ad mensuram uocis*; 11, 23, 38;—to stretch, extend (Class.).

*tendi*, to extend (of time) (Hier.): 11, 26, 33, *(praesens tempus) nullo spatio tenditur*; 11, 27, 34;—cf. *tendere*.

*tenere*, to have, *habere*: 4, 3, 5, *quo te in hominibus sustentas, rhetoricam tenes*;—to have in one's power, to possess (Class.).

——, to hold, include (of time): 11, 27, 36, *cum metimur*

silentia et dicimus illud silentium tantum tenuisse temporis, quantum illa uox tenuit; — to hold, include (of space) (Class.).

*transuolare*, to pass by (of time): 11, 2, 3, momenta *transuolant*; 4, 11, 17; 11, 15, 20; — to fly by, pass by (lit.) (Hor., Plin. mai.).

## 6. MISCELLANEOUS CHANGES OF MEANING

### i. Greek influence.

Occasionally a Late signification of a word, especially of a compound verb, is to be explained not by any of the general semantic principles treated above but by the fact that this new meaning was attached to the word by the early translators of the Bible, who, in their striving for accuracy and faithfulness, were led to transliterate rather than translate the Greek original. Thus, ἀφίεσθαι = "to permit" is rendered by *dimittere*, apparently because this was the first word that suggested itself to the translator as being the usual equivalent of ἀφίεσθαι in the sense of "to send away." Such and similar instances of transliteration in the Latin Bible are numerous; and through extensive usage many of these new meanings gained wide currency in Eccl. literature. Representative examples from the Confessions are the following:

*accipere*, to take, *capere*, *sumere*: 2, 2, 4, cum accepit in me sceptrum . . . uesania libidinis; 6, 15, 25, *accepturus* (uxorem); 7, 6, 10, hinc . . . *accepto* aditu. This meaning of *accipere* is found very rarely, if at all, in Early writers, but frequently in Late and especially Eccl. Latin, because in the Itala and the Vulgate this verb frequently renders λαμβάνειν, which means both "to take" and "to receive" (the latter being the Class. signification of *accipere*). Cf. Itala Gen. 22, 6, and Matth. 5, 40; Itala and Vulg. Matth. 26, 26.<sup>10</sup>

*adeps*, the fat of grain: 5, 13, 23, (Ambrosii) eloquia strenue ministrabant *adipem* frumenti tui. The word στέαρ in the Septuagint is translated by *adeps*, not only in its usual meaning of "the fat of animals," but also when employed in the sense of στέαρ,

<sup>10</sup>Cf. T. L. L. I 304, 53-67 and the literature there cited; also Löfstedt (Peregr.) 304.

"flour made into dough." Cf. Itala and Vulg. Psalm. 80, 17 and 147, 14.

*commemorare*, to bring to mind, recall: 1, 7, 11, quis me *commemorat* peccatum infantiae meae . . . ? quis me *commemorat*? The exact meaning of the word in this passage is, of course, "to remind one of something," but this is only an extension of the signification mentioned above, which gained currency by the fact that in the Bible *commemorare* frequently renders the Greek μνησθῆναι in the sense of "to recall," "to call to mind." Cf. Itala Gen. 19, 29 (Vulg. recordari) and 42, 9 (Vulg. recordari); Itala and Vulg. Sirach 49, 11.

*deputare*, to class among, to number among: 8, 2, 4, nec *deputabo* te inter christianos; 10, 36, 58, hoc inter contemnenda *deputabimus*. The verb λογίζεσθαι, when used in the passive in the sense of "to be numbered among," is frequently translated by *deputari*, e. g. Itala Is. 53, 12 (Vulg. reputari) and Rom. 9, 8 (Vulg. aestimari).

*dimittere*, to permit, allow: 3, 11, 20, me . . . *dimittebas* . . . uolui et inuolui illa caligine; 7, 7, 11, nec *dimittebant* redire. In several instances in the Bible we find *dimittere* used for ἀφίεσθαι, not only when the latter means "to send away" but also when it signifies "to permit." Cf. Itala Luc. 18, 16 (Vulg. sinere); Itala and Vulg. Gen. 20, 6, and Matth. 8, 22.

*distentio*, a distraction: 11, 29, 39, ecce *distentio* est uita mea; *ibid.*, non secundum *distentionem*, sed secundum intentionem sequor ad palmam supernae uocationis. In Itala Eccles. 3, 10 and 5, 13, and in Vulg. Eccles. 8, 16, this word renders περισπασμός (in Eccles. 3, 10 and 5, 13 the Vulgate has *afflictio*).

*dormire*, to fall asleep: 9, 12, 32, deinde *dormiui*, euigilaui. In Itala and Vulg. Psalm. 3, 6; *ibid.* 4, 9; Ioh. 11, 11; I Cor. 15, 6; *et al.*, this verb is employed for κοιμᾶσθαι = "to fall asleep," in place of the usual *obdormire*.

*eruere*, to rescue, deliver: 1, 15, 24, *eruisti* me ab omnibus uitiis meis pessimis; *ibid.*, (ut) *eruās* me ab omni temptatione; 1, 18, 28; 6, 8, 13; 7, 2, 3; 9, 4, 7 *bis*. In the Itala and the Vulgate, e. g. II Reg. 12, 7 and Gen. 48, 16, *eruere* renders ῥύεσθαι, where this verb means "to draw out of danger," "to deliver."

*euanesce*, to become vain: 5, 3, 5, *euanescent* in cogitationibus suis; 5, 4, 7. In Class. Latin *euanesce* means "to vanish," but

in Itala and Vulg. Rom. 1, 21, *evanuerunt* in cogitationibus suis, it acquires the sense mentioned above, as the equivalent of *ματαιοῦσθαι*, "to become vain." Here the translator apparently connected the Greek verb with *μάταιος* = *uanus*, "vain," which put him in mind of its derivative, *euanescere*.

*firmamentum*, the sky, the firmament: 7, 5, 7, *firmamentum caeli*; 12, 8, 8; 12, 22, 31; 13, 15, 16; 13, 18, 23; 13, 34, 49; *et al.* In Class. Latin the word signifies "a support," "stay," "prop," and as such it was deemed a suitable term to use for *στερέωμα* in the sense of "the firmament," "sky," as in Itala and Vulg. 1, 7.

*luminare*, a luminary, heavenly body: 5, 3, 4, *defectus luminarium solis et lunae*, 5, 3, 6; 11, 23, 39; 13, 23, 34 and 35; 13, 34, 49; *et al.* This word, meaning "a window" in Class. Latin, is used in the Itala and the Vulgate as the equivalent of *φωστήρ*, e. g. Gen. 1, 14; Sirach 43, 7; Phil. 2, 15.

*negare*, to deny any knowledge of, disown: 8, 2, 4, *timuit . . . negari a Christo coram angelis*. The verb *ἀρνέσθαι*, which means both "to say no," "decline," "refuse," and "to disown," is translated in the Bible also in its second meaning by *negare*, although the Latin verb had never been used in this sense. Cf. Itala and Vulg. Matth. 26, 34; Luc. 12, 9; Act. 3, 13.

*operari*, to work, produce, cause: 6, 7, 12, (*correctionem*) *operatus es*; *ibid.*, *de corde et lingua mea carbonem ardentem operatus es*; 8, 10, 22; 10, 11, 12; 13, 20, 28; 13, 21, 29; 13, 27, 42. This verb, at first used only intransitively, is transitive in the Itala and the Vulgate, e. g. Rom. 13, 10; Gal. 6, 10; Hebr. 11, 33, as the equivalent of *ἐργάζεσθαι*, which may be employed either transitively or intransitively.

*pronuntiare*, to foretell, predict: 4, 3, 5, *ut multa inde uera pronuntiarentur*. In Itala Gal. 3, 8 this verb renders the Greek *προεγγελλίσθαι* (the Vulgate has *praenuntiare*).

## ii. Interchange of transitive and intransitive.

The transitive use of normally intransitive verbs and vice versa is found to some extent already in Class. Latin but becomes frequent only in Poetic, Silver and especially Late literature (cf. St-

Schm. 376-379 and 418-419). Note the following Late examples of this practise in the Confessions:

### (a) Change from intransitive to transitive.

*instrepere*, to make resound, utter (Apul.): 8, 2, 5, *omnes . . . instreperunt nomen eius*; — to make a noise, to sound (intrans.) (Verg.).

*obdurare*, to harden, make insensible (Lact., Capitol., Paneg. Nazar., Hier., Vulg.): 6, 8, 13, *utinam et aures opturasset* (Alypius)! — to hold out, persist (Cic., Hor., Ov.).

*pertransire*, to pass through, pass over (Hier., Vulg.): 13, 7, 8, *cum pertransierit anima nostra aquas*; — intrans. in Plin. mai.

*radiare*, to illumine, make visible, shed light upon (Firm., Rufin.): 10, 34, 52, *cum* (Iacob) . . . *captus oculis in filiis prae-signata futuri populi genera luminoso corde radiauit*; — to emit rays, to beam (Poet. and Silver). According to St. Augustine, objects are made visible to us partly by the rays which the eyes send forth. Cf. Gen. ad Litt. 1, 16, 31; *iactus enim radiorum ex oculis nostris cuiusdam lucis quidem est iactus . . . sed tamen ex ea luce quae in sensu uidentis est, tam exigua uidetur ut nisi adiuuemur extranea luce, nihil uidere possimus*. Cf. also Serm. 277, 10, 10 and Conf. 10, 6, 9. See Gibb and Montgomery 280 and 313.

*sagittare*, to pierce with an arrow, to pierce (Ambr., Vulg., Cael. Aur.): 9, 2, 3, *sagittaueras tu cor nostrum caritate tua*; — to shoot with arrows (Curt., Late).

### (b) Change from transitive to intransitive.

*combinare*, to be joined with, associate with (Itala, Paul. Nol., *et al.*): 5, 10, 18, *adhuc combinabam cum electis eorum*; — to unite, combine (Hyg., Hilar., Zeno, Sidon., *et al.*).

*praestare*, to do good, serve (cf. Aug. Lib. Arb. 2, 1, *deus . . . benignissimus in praestando*): 6, 10, 16, (*uir*) *innumerabilibus praestandi nocendique modis ingenti fama* (celebratus); — to give, furnish, present (Class.).

*resumere*, to recover, to restore one's courage (Cael. Aur., Cass. Fel., Soran.): 11, 2, 3, *non habent illae siluae seruos suos recipientes se in eas et resumentes*; — *resumere uires, animum*, etc., occurs in Ov. and Silver writers.

*retransire*, to pass back again, to return: 10, 30, 41, intra momentum, quo hinc ad soporem *retranseo* uel huc inde *retranseo*; — to cross again (Grom. Vet.).

*subdocere*, to teach as an assistant to some one: 8, 6, 13, ut . . . grammatico *subdoceret*; — the only other instance cited by the lexica for this verb is Cic. Att. 8, 4, 1, where it is used transitively.

*uegetare*, to live (Boeth.): 2, 6, 12, in mente hominis atque memoria et sensibus et *uegetante* uita; — to enliven, animate (Sen. phil. and Late).

### iii. Interchange of active and passive.

The Confessions contain four adjectives and one adverb that show in Late Latin a change from the active to the passive or vice versa.

#### (a) Active to passive.

*experiens*, experienced, *expertus* (Arnob., Paneg. Nazar., Isid.): 6, 9, 15, *experientior* instructorque discessit; — active, industrious (Class.).

*incaute*, unawares, unexpectedly (Commod.): 10, 36, 59, *incaute* capiamur; — incautiously (Class.).

*uisibilis*, visible (Apul., Ambr., Vulg., Claud. Mam., Alc. Avit.): 10, 18, 27, corpus quodlibet *uisibile*; 1, 18, 23; 5, 3, 6; 5, 10, 19; 12, 6, 6; 12, 8, 8; 12, 12, 15; 12, 17, 24; 12, 17, 25 and 26; 12, 19, 28; 12, 21, 30; 12, 24, 33; 12, 28, 29; 13, 32, 47; 13, 34, 49; — able to see, seeing (Plin. mai.).

#### (b) Passive to active.

*flabilis*, moving, fleeting, *qui fiat* (Cassiod., Ven. Fort.): 10, 6, 9, interrogaui auras *flabiles*; — airy, *qui fari potest* (Cic., Late).

*marcidus*, exhausting, wearying (Claud.): 8, 1, 2, *tabescens* curis *marcidis*; — weak, exhausted (Silver).

### iv. Change in meaning of prefix.

In a few compound verbs in the Confessions the Late meaning is due to a change in the meaning of the prefix and not to a change in the meaning of the verb as a whole. Note the following examples:

*congratulari*, to rejoice with, to congratulate (Itala, Vulg., Rufin.,

Paul. Nol.): 10, 4, 5, an *congratulari* mihi cupiunt, cum audierint . . . ? 8, 6, 15; 13, 26, 39. In these instances the prefix *con-* has a copulative force, whereas in *congratulari* (= to rejoice greatly) as found in Plaut., Liv., and other earlier authors it has an intensive force.

*dissilire*, to leap from one place to another (Auson., Claud., Vulg., Fulg., Boeth.): 2, 4, 9, (anima) *dissiliens* a firmamento tuo in exterminium. In Poetic and Silver Latin the verb means "to leap asunder," "to fly apart," the prefix *dis-* answering to our "asunder," "apart," "in different directions," etc.

*interlucere*, to gleam through: 11, 9, 11, quid est, quod *interlucet* mihi . . . ? . . . sapientia ipsa est, quae *interlucet* mihi, discindens nubilum meum; — to shine forth at intervals (Liv., Tac.).

*succutere*, to shake slightly, pluck softly (*sub-* has a moderating force): 8, 11, 26, nugae . . . et uanitates . . . *succutiebant* uestem meam carnem; — to fling aloft, toss up (Lucr., Ov., Silver).

*transfluere*, to overflow: 9, 12, 29, maestitudo ingens . . . *transfluebat* in lacrimas; — to flow through (Plin. mai.) or to flow by (Frontin.).

*suppetere*, to demand secretly, stealthily. (*sub-* apparently denotes the idea of concealing; in Itala II Macc. 4, 7, the verb means "to canvass" or "solicit secretly"): 10, 31, 44, saepe incertum fit, utrum adhuc necessaria corporis cura subsidium petat an uoluptaria cupiditatis fallacia ministerium *suppetat*; — to be at hand (Class.), to suffice (Class.).

### v. Interchange of compound and simple verbs.

#### (a) Simple for compound.

In Early Latin and then chiefly in poetry, simple verbs were frequently employed in place of compound verbs. This usage was imitated by the prose writers of the Silver period, especially Tacitus, and was much extended in Late Latin (cf. Löfstedt [Peregr.] 58; Goelzer [II] 678; St.-Schm. 548 and 793). As Late examples from the Confessions note the following: 6, 7, 12, *uenit*, salutauit, *sedit* (= consedit); 8, 8, 19, *sedimus* (= consedimus) . . . remoti ab aedibus; 9, 12, 32, deinde *dormiui* (= obdormiui), euigilaui.

## (b) Compound for simple.

The use of compound in place of simple verbs is largely colloquial, and is also noticeable in many Late writers (cf. Goelzer [II] 674-676; St.-Schm. 548 and 551). The following Late examples have been gathered from the Confessions:

*coaptare*, to make fit, get ready, form, *aptare*, (Hilar., Hier., Cassian.): 10, 1, 1, *uirtus animae meae, intra in eam et coapta tibi*; 12, 29, 40, (sonos) in *formam cantici coaptamus*; — to join, adjust together (Apul., Hilar., Hier.).

*contestari*, to bear witness, testify, *testari* (Itala, Min. Fel., Tert., et al.): 8, 1, 2, *contestante uniuerſa creatura inueneram te creatorem nostrum*; 8, 3, 7; — to call to witness (Class.).

*illabi*, to slip into a habit or custom: 8, 5, 12, (*animus*) in *eam (consuetudinem) uolens inlabitur*; — Class. writers employ *labi* in this sense.

*obterere*, to wear the ground by walking, *terere* (i. e. to tread): 9, 6, 14, *usque ad Italicum solum glaciale nudo pede obterendum*; — to bruise, crush (Class.).

*personare*, to sound, *sonare*: 11, 26, 33, *fieri potest, ut ampliore spatio temporis personet uersus breuior, si productius pronuntietur, quam longior, si correptius*; — to sound through and through, to resound (Class.).

*procurare*, to cause to be done, to bring about, *curare* (Amm., Cassian., Claud. Mam., Ennod., Alc. Avit.): 9, 10, 23, *prouenerat, . . . procurante te occultis modis tuis, ut . . .*

—, to procure, provide, *curare*: 3, 3, 5, *agere negotium procurandi fructus mortis*; 7, 6, 8, *procurasti peruicaciae meae . . . hominem amicum*; 4, 3, 6; 6, 15, 25; 7, 9, 13; — to take care of, attend to (Class.).

*praturbare*, to disturb, vex, *turbare*: 3, 3, 6, (*ignotorum uerecundiam*) *proturbarent* (Mss. MW have *perturbarent*); — to drive on, drive away, repulse (Caes. and Silver).

*redarguere*, to accuse of, *arguere*: 9, 13, 34, *iam sanato corde ab illo uulnere, in quo poterat redargui carnalis affectus*; — to refute, confute, contradict (Class.).

*retinere*, to hold, uphold, maintain, *tenere*: 5, 10, 18, (*eam doctrinam*) *iam remissius neglegentiusque retinebam*; 6, 4, 5; 6, 5, 7; — to keep, retain (Class.).

*reuerberare*, to reproach (probably for *uerberare* — to lash, torment, harass, as in Cic. Pis. 26, 63): 9, 11, 27, *illa uulto anxio reuerberans eum oculis*; — to strike back, repel (Silver).

## vi. Confusion in the meaning of prefixes.

In the Late period, less careful writers were apt to confuse one compound word for another that was similar to it in form and meaning. This was especially true in the case of verbs (cf. Goelzer [II] 677). Very few instances of this confusion occur in the Confessions. Note the following:

*abripere*, to tear from, *eripere* (Itala, Spart., Paul. Petr., Ennod.): 4, 4, 8, *ille abreptus dementiae meae*; 9, 2, 2; — to tear away, remove (Class.).

*perspicuus*, visible, *conspicuus* (Greg. Tur.): 12, 28, 39, *sensibilis moles ista corporea sinu grandi continens perspicuas promptasque naturas*; — transparent, clear (Ov. and Silver).

*subducere*, to bring down, *deducere*: 7, 3, 5, *non usque ad illum infernum subducebar erroris*; — to draw up (Class.), to withdraw (Class.).

*suscipere*, to receive, welcome, *excipere* (Vulg.): 4, 8, 13, *suscipere uenientes cum laetitia*; 5, 13, 23, *suscepit me paterne ille homo dei*; 1, 6, 7; 8, 11, 27; 13, 26, 41; 13, 27, 42; — to receive as a citizen, pupil, etc. (Class.).

## vii. Impersonal use of verbs.

The Confessions contain the following two verbs that appear to be used impersonally for the first time:

*elucere*, to be apparent, clear: 1, 14, 23, *hinc satis elucet maiorem habere uim ad discenda ista liberam curiositatem quam meticulosam necessitatem*.

*eminere*, to be apparent, plain: 5, 5, 8, *ausus eius sacrilegos fuisse satis emineret*; 11, 6, 8.

## viii. Rhetorical influence.

In previous sections we had occasion to observe that St. Augustine at times coined new words (esp. compounds) and also employed a number of Late ones for the purpose of producing a figure of sound. He pursued this principle also in the matter of

employing words in peculiar meanings in order to secure a play on words. The following passages will illustrate his usage in this regard:

*deponere*, to separate: 10, 36, 59, a ueritate tua gaudium nostrum deponamus atque in hominum fallacia ponamus.

*euersus*, perverted: 3, 3, 6, quid itaque uerius quam *euersores* uocarentur, *euersi* plane prius ipsi atque *peruersi* . . . ?

*euertere* to destroy (spiritually): 4, 16, 31, *reuertamur* iam, domine, ut non *euertamur*.

*priuatio*, an imperfection, defect: 13, 33, 48, habent (opera tua) . . . ortum et occasum, profectum et defectum, speciem et *priuationem* (St. Augustine probably had in mind *priuationem speciei*, but omitted *speciei* in order to secure a more perfect parallelism with the two preceding phrases).

*reuertere*, to turn back again (transitively): 6, 16, 26, (anima) uersa et *reuersa* in tergum et in latera et in uentrem. The transitive use of this verb is very rare, occurring before St. Augustine probably only in Lucr. and Pompon. Cf. Georges s. r.

*suspensum*, suspense of judgment: 6, 4, 6, tenebam cor meum ab omni adsensione timens praecipitium et *suspensio* magis necabar. The word is used in this sense for the sake of a word-play on *suspensio* (found in Aug. C. Acad. 2, 5, 12 for "suspense of judgment"), just as *adsensio* seems to play on *adscensio*.

#### ix. Analogy.

Occasionally a word acquires a new meaning on the analogy of a word from which it is derived or of a word closely resembling it in form. Note especially the following examples from the Confessions:

*abiectio*, contempt, abjection, humble condition (Ambr., Vulg., Paul. Nol., Salv., Ennod.): 1, 20, 31, fugiebam dolorem, *abiectionem*, ignorantiam. In Class. Latin the word meant "dejection," "despondency," but it acquired its Late signification on the analogy of *abiectus*, which means both "despondent" and "abject," "low."

*conceptio*, a conception (mental) (Varro [1], Gell., Tert., Arnob., Hilar., Mart. Cap., Boeth.): 11, 18, 24, quae rursus *conceptiones* iam sunt, et eas praesentes apud se intuentur qui illa praedicunt. Class. writers use the word in the sense of "conception," "a be-

coming pregnant"; Varro and Late writers employ it in the meaning mentioned above, on the analogy of *concupere*, which signifies both "to receive fecundation" and "to imagine," "to think."

*deiectio*, dejectedness, sadness (Mar. Victorin., Heges., Hier., Vulg., Cassian., Greg. M.): 2, 2, 2, ibam porro longe a te in plura et plura sterilia semina dolorum superba *deiectione* et inquieta lassitudine. In the Class. period the word occurs only in Cic. Caecin. 57 in the legal sense of "ejection," "a turning out of possession"; its Late meaning of "dejection" arose on the analogy of *deiectus*, "dejected," "sad" (Verg., Stat., Quint.).

*oratio*, a prayer (freq. Eccl.): 3, 11, 20, (mater mea) non desineret horis omnibus *orationum* suarum de me plangere ad te; 3, 10 18; 3, 11, 19; 5, 9, 17; 9, 6, 14; 8, 6, 15; 9, 7, 15; 9, 13, 37; 10, 35, 57. This meaning arose on the analogy of *orare*, "to pray." For further details, cf. Löfstedt (Peregr.) 39-41.

*reducere*, to lead back (absol., of a road, etc.): 6, 5, 8, ignorabam . . . quae *uia* duceret uel *reduceret* ad te; 8, 10, 23 bis. This phrase is clearly modelled on the analogy of the Poetic and Silver *uia ducit*.

*suggestio*, a suggestion, hint (Vopisc., Symm., Hier., Rufin., Cassian., Inscr.): 10, 35, 56, quantis mecum *suggestionum* machinationibus agit inimicus . . . ! 10, 30, 41. The word occurs first in Quint. Inst. 9, 2, 15 in the sense of *subiectio*, a rhetorical figure which consists in questioning and replying to one's self; its Late meaning arose on the analogy of *suggerere* — "to inspire," "to suggest."

*uiuacitas*, vivacity (Arnob.): 4, 3, 5, *uiuacitate* sententiarum. This word, of Silver origin, first meant "vital force," "length of life," etc.; the Late signification was suggested by *uiuax* in the sense of "lively," "vivacious."

#### E. ECCLESIASTICAL TERMS

In the present section I have set apart those words and phrases occurring in the Confessions that possess a distinct ecclesiastical signification, and have separated them into the following six categories: 1) God and His Relations with the World; 2) The

Christian Religion, the Church and its Members, the "Unbelieving"; 3) The Christian Life, Virtue, Good Works, etc.; 4) Sin, Worldliness, etc.; 5) Divine Worship, Grace, Sacraments, etc.; 6) The Last Things of Man. This list includes not only words that were coined by Christian writers to express objects and ideas peculiar to their religion, or pagan religious terms used to designate corresponding notions in Christianity, but also words that had undergone a semantic change from the secular sphere to the ecclesiastical. Religious phrases and word-groups that tend to take on a set form have likewise been placed in this section. In most instances complete references (with occasional extended citations) have been given for each word or phrase, but in the case of very common expressions references have been limited to a select few or have been omitted altogether.

Although most of the ecclesiastical terms presented below are of the commonest kind and present nothing of particular interest, there are nevertheless some that show St. Augustine's admirable command of Scriptural terminology. This is especially true of the numerous metaphorical phrases, of Scriptural origin, that he employs to describe the various phases of a virtuous life, or to depict sin, worldliness, etc.

The words *sacramentum*, *confessio*, and *confiteri* each possess an interest all their own, and hence have been treated with especial fulness.

### 1. GOD AND HIS RELATIONS WITH THE WORLD

God the Father is referred to by the usual terms *deus*, *dominus*, *pater*, and *creator*; He is also styled *conditor* (1, 20, 31; 7, 3, 5; 11, 4, 6; 11, 13, 15; 11, 31, 41), *auctor* (3, 8, 15; 11, 13, 15), *rector* (1, 20, 31; 3, 8, 16; 9, 8, 18), *ordinator rerum omnium naturalium* (1, 10, 16; cf. also 4, 3, 4; 10, 35, 57), *operator omnium temporum* (11, 13, 15), *regnator universae creaturae* (3, 8, 15; cf. also 11, 19, 25), *moderator universitatis* (7, 6, 10), *caeli et terrae artifex* (11, 13, 15), *fabricator et possessor (caeli)* (12, 15, 21), *bonorum omnium largitor* (2, 6, 13). In His quality of omnipotence He is designated by the common term *omnipotens* (e. g. 1, 4, 4), by the rare *omnitenens* (7, 15, 21), and by a word of St. Augustine's own coinage, *omnicreans* (11, 13, 15).

Omnipotence is *omnipotentia* (e. g. 2, 3, 3). The act of creating is expressed by *creare* (e. g. 1, 4, 4), *condere* (3, 6, 10; 7, 5, 7; 10, 11, 12; 11, 13, 15; 12, 15, 18; 12, 17, 25; 12, 19, 28; 12, 28, 39; 13, 30, 45), *instituere* (7, 5, 7; 11, 5, 7), *conditio* (12, 8, 8; 12, 15, 20; 12, 23, 32; 13, 3, 4). Creation as a whole or individual creatures are referred to as *creatura* (e. g. 1, 1, 1), *conditio* (3, 6, 10), *condita* (neut. pl.) (1, 13, 21). Corporeal creation as distinguished from the spiritual heaven is designated by the neut. pl. *nouissima* (5, 2, 2; 12, 2, 2). Man is mentioned as being created *ad imaginem et similitudinem (dei)* (e. g. 13, 32, 47) or simply *ad imaginem (dei)* (e. g. 6, 3, 4).

The power whereby God governs all creation is once expressed by *inspiratio* (7, 1, 2). Fore-knowledge or prescience is *praescientia* (11, 31, 41). Predestination is *praedestinatio* (13, 34, 49), and "to predestine" is *praedestinare* (5, 9, 17; 13, 34, 49).

The second person of the Blessed Trinity is designated by the well-known terms *Christus*, *Iesus*, *dominus*, *filius dei*, *filius tuus*, *unicus filius tuus* (*unicus* occurs as a noun in 6, 4, 5, *ecclesia unica corpus unici tui*; also in 11, 2, 4; 13, 2, 3; 13, 13, 14; 13, 34, 49), *unigenitus filius tuus* (*unigenitus* is used substantively in 9, 4, 7, *Alypium* . . . *subegeris nomini unigeniti tui*; also in 5, 3, 5; 5, 10, 20; 12, 7, 7), *uerbum* (e. g. 4, 11, 16; 5, 3, 5; 7, 9, 13). Especially in the last three books of the Confessions, Christ is called *principium* (11, 8, 10; 11, 9, 11; 12, 7, 7; 12, 15, 20; 12, 17, 25; 13, 5, 6), *sapientia* (11, 9, 11; 12, 7, 7; 12, 17, 25; 12, 19, 28; 12, 28, 39), *uirtus* (11, 9, 11), *ueritas* (11, 9, 11), *aeterna simplicitas* (9, 4, 10). The human nature of Christ is termed *humanitas* (1, 1, 1). As commonly in Eccl. writings, things pertaining to Christ are designated by the adjective *dominicus* (4, 3, 4; 6, 2, 2; 6, 3, 4; 9, 5, 13).

As the Savior, Mediator, Master, etc., of mankind, Christ is termed *saluator* (3, 4, 8; 5, 10, 20; 8, 1, 1), *mediator* (10, 43, 68; 11, 2, 4; 11, 29, 39), *magister* (11, 8, 10; 12, 18, 27; 13, 19, 24; 13, 26, 41). He is also styled *rex noster* (10, 31, 46; 10, 35, 56), *uictor et uictima* (10, 43, 69), *sacerdos et sacrificium (ibid.)*, *sponsus noster* (13, 13, 14), *caput et corpus ecclesiae* (13, 34, 49).

Finally, in 13, 21, 29, *quamuis (terra) pisces manducet leuatum*

de profundo (also in 13, 23, 34), we have an allusion to the well-known acrostic IXΘΥΣ, symbolic of Christ.<sup>11</sup>

The principal facts of Christ's life are referred to by the following terms: *descensus* (= descent upon earth, i. e. the Incarnation) (4, 12, 19), *incarnari* (5, 10, 20, *dub. lect.*), *passio* (6, 2, 2; 10, 43, 68), *cruz* (1, 11, 17; 5, 9, 16; note the use of *cruz* as a symbol of Christianity in 8, 2, 3, *edomita fronte ad crucis opprobrium*), *lignum* (= the tree of the Cross) (9, 13, 35), *resurgere* (9, 4, 9), *descensus* (= descent into Limbo) (4, 12, 19), *ascensus* (= the Ascension) (4, 12, 19), *redimere* (10, 36, 58; 10, 43, 70), *emere* (= to redeem) (9, 13, 36). The Redemption is styled *pretium* (7, 21, 27; 9, 12, 32; 9, 13, 36; 10, 43, 70).

The third person of the Blessed Trinity is *spiritus dei*, *spiritus tuus*, *spiritus sanctus*, or merely *spiritus*; He is also termed *paracletus* (3, 6, 10), *consolator* (*ibid.* and 5, 5, 8), *promissio* (= the Promised One) (9, 4, 9), *doctor famuli tui* (i. e. Moysi) (12, 9, 9).

The Scriptural use of *facies dei* for the presence of God, and of *dextera dei* for His power, aid, etc., is exemplified in the following: *noli abscondere a me faciem tuam* (1, 5, 5; cf. also 5, 2, 2; 13, 21, 30), *aderat . . . dextera tua raptura me de caeno* (6, 16, 26), *dexteram tuam inuocaui ad salutem meam* (10, 41, 66; cf. also 9, 1, 1; 10, 31, 44). The phrase *nomen dei* is occasionally employed for God Himself, e. g. *confitear nomini tuo* (2, 7, 15), *Alypiūm . . . subegeris nomini unigeniti tui* (9, 4, 7; cf. also 9, 2, 3; 9, 4, 12; 10, 4, 5; 10, 31, 47).

Holy Writ is designated as follows: *scriptura* (e. g. 1, 17, 27), *scripta uetera* (5, 14, 24), *uetera scripta legis* (6, 4, 6), *nouum testamentum* (5, 11, 21); *libri tui*, *diuini libri*, *libri ecclesiastici*, and similar expressions occur frequently; also *sanctae litterae*, *sacrae litterae*, *litterae tuae*. For God's Law, the Mosaic Law, the Ten Commandments we find *decalogus* (3, 8, 16), *Iudaeorum lex* (5, 11, 21), *lex et prophetarum* (e. g. 5, 14, 24), *lex tua* (11, 2, 2), or simply *lex* (13, 24, 37). A psalm is *psalmus* (e. g. 8, 10, 24); the psalter is either *Dauidicum psalterium* (10, 33, 50) or simply

*psalterium* (9, 12, 31). The Gospel is *euangelium* (e. g. 8, 10, 24), *euangelica lectio* (8, 12, 29); in 7, 21, 27 we meet the expression *uenerabilis stilus spiritus tui*. St. Paul's Epistles are referred to as *apostolus Paulus* or merely as *apostolus*, e. g. *audissime arripui . . . apostolum Paulum* (7, 21, 27), *delectari lectione apostoli* (8, 10, 24). "Words of the Apostle" are *apostolica* (neut. pl.) (3, 4, 8). Christian writings are *christianae litterae* (8, 12, 29). A chapter of the Bible is styled *capitulum* (8, 2, 4).

"The Word of God" in general is designated as *uerbum tuum* (e. g. 6, 9, 15), *eloquia tua* (e. g. 9, 13, 35), *eloquia sancta* (13, 5, 6), *eloquia casta* (7, 21, 27; 13, 15, 17), *dominicum eloquium* (9, 5, 13), *eloquium diuinum* (10, 35, 54), *sermo tuus* (e. g. 5, 9, 17), *sermones tui* (11, 2, 4), *dominica uox* (4, 3, 4), *oraculum* (8, 12, 29), *oraculum tuum* (11, 9, 11), *oracula sancti spiritus* (12, 15, 22). A judgment or ordinance of God is *iudicium* (4, 4, 8; 7, 3, 5; 7, 6, 10; 10, 42, 67); His laws or commandments are *legitima* (neut. pl.) (2, 2, 4). The "evidence" of God's will, His Law, is *testimonium* (13, 15, 17).

A prophet is *propheta* (e. g. 3, 10, 18); in 9, 5, 13, *Isaias* is called *euangelii uocationisque gentium . . . praenuntiator*. An apostle is *apostolus* (e. g. 7, 9, 15); an evangelist, *euangelista* (13, 21, 31). "To proclaim the Gospel" is *euangelizare* (13, 21, 29).

Allegory and symbolism in Scripture are referred to as follows: *figurare* (= to represent allegorically, symbolically) (13, 25, 38), *praesignare* (= to prefigure, foreshadow) (10, 34, 52), *figuratio* (= a prefiguring, foreshadowing) (13, 34, 49), *figuratus* (= symbolical, allegorical) (13, 24, 36), *figurate* (= symbolically, allegorically) (13, 24, 37), *allegorice* (= allegorically) (13, 24, 37). "To reveal" is *reuelare* (e. g. 3, 7, 14); a revelation or vision is *reuelatio* (9, 10, 25). "To inspire" is *inspirare* (1, 1, 1; 3, 7, 14; 9, 6, 14; 9, 13, 37; 12, 32, 43; 13, 1, 1; 13, 25, 38).

Wonders, miracles, miraculous signs, etc., are designated as *miraculum* (13, 21, 30; 13, 27, 42; 13, 34, 49), *prodigium* (10, 35, 56), *signum* (10, 35, 55 and 56). Note also *magnalia mirabilium* (13, 21, 29) and *magnalia miraculorum* (13, 27, 42).

A divine mystery, i. e. something transcending mere human intelligence, is *mysterium* (e. g. 3, 5, 9, *uideo rem* [i. e. *scripturam*

<sup>11</sup> For a full treatment of this subject, cf. Fr. J. Dölger, *Der heilige Fisch in den antiken Religionen und im Christentum*, 2nd ed., Paderborn, 1924.

sanctam] . . . uelatum *mysteriis*; cf. also 13, 24, 35; 13, 25, 38; 13, 26, 40). "Mystic" is *mysticus* (6, 4, 6; 13, 20, 28; 13, 21, 30); "mystically" is *mystice* (10, 34, 52).

The word *sacramentum* is of more than passing interest, and hence I shall cite all the instances in which it occurs in the Confessions and shall attempt to determine the specific idea to which the word in each case refers. Furthermore, although all the applications of the word do not, strictly speaking, belong in this section of Eccl. vocabulary, I have nevertheless thought it fit to list them all here in order to give the reader an idea of their varied character.

In Class. Latin *sacramentum* was chiefly used as a legal and military technical term, and designated either a sum of money deposited by the two parties at suit (or, by metonymy, the civil suit itself) or the military oath of allegiance, *iusiurandum*. The word was also employed in the general sense of "an oath" or "a solemn obligation." Christian writers adopted the word and used it in a variety of significations and shades of meaning. Its general Eccl. sense seems to be "a sacred thing possessing a mysterious character," "a religious mystery." This is especially evident from the fact that in the Itala, as well as to some extent in the Vulgate, the word renders the Greek *μυστήριον*. In fact, it may be said that even during the time of St. Augustine *sacramentum* still possessed this broad meaning without showing any definite tendency of inclining toward the narrow sense of "sacrament" which it acquired several centuries later.<sup>12</sup> Hence the English equivalents given below for its occurrences in the Confessions are to be considered rather as its "applications" than as its "meanings."

I have separated all the instances of *sacramentum* in the Confessions into two groups; in the first are included those passages in which the word refers to a mysterious or mystical truth, doc-

<sup>12</sup> For further information concerning this word, cf. esp. the following two works: É. de Backer, *Sacramentum, le mot et l'idée représentée par lui dans les œuvres de Tertullien* (*Recueil de travaux*, fasc. 30, Louvain, 1911); J. de Ghellinek, É. de Backer, J. Pouckens, G. Lebacqz, *Pour l'histoire du mot "Sacramentum" I. Les Antécédents* (*Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense*, fasc. 3, 1924).

trine, etc.; in the second are listed those instances in which the word is used to designate a rite, sacrament, miracle, etc.

a) 6, 5, 8, absurditatem, quae me in illis litteris (i. e. scripturis sacris) solebat offendere, ad *sacramentorum* altitudinem (= to the depth of its mysteries) referebam; 6, 7, 12, non eum oblitus eras futurum inter filios tuos antistitem *sacramenti* tui (= Thy sacred doctrine or religion); 7, 19, 25, quid . . . *sacramenti* (= mystery, mysterious truth) haberet 'uerbum caro factum,' ne suspicari quidem poteram; 8, 2, 4, ubi . . . imbutus est primis instructionis *sacramentis* (= the first mysteries of catechetical instruction), non multo post etiam nomen dedit, ut per baptismum regeneraretur; 8, 10, 23, qui *sacramentis* (= sacred mysteries, mystic truths) eius (i. e. ecclesiae) imbuti sunt atque detinentur; 9, 3, 6, nondum imbutus ullis ecclesiae tuae *sacramentis* (= sacred mysteries, mystic truths), sed inquisitor ardentissimus ueritatis; 9, 4, 8, miserabar eos . . . ; quod illa *sacramenta* (= mysteries, referring to the mystical character of the Psalms) . . . nescirent; 10, 30, 41, antequam dispensator *sacramenti* tui (= Thy sacred doctrine or religion) fierem; 11, 2, 2, praedicare uerbum et *sacramentum* tuum (= Thy sacred doctrine or religion) dispensare populo tuo; 13, 18, 23, 'sermo . . . scientiae,' qua continentur omnia *sacramenta* (= mysteries, mysterious truths); 13, 20, 26, repserunt . . . *sacramenta* tua (= Thy sacred or mysterious truths, preached by the Apostles), deus, per opera sanctorum tuorum inter medios fluctus temptationum saeculi ad imbuendas gentes nomine tuo in baptismo tuo; 13, 24, 36, ecce simplex dilectio dei et proximi, quam multiplicibus *sacramentis* (= sacred symbols, allegorical expressions) et innumerabilibus linguis et in unaquaque lingua innumerabilibus locutionum modis corporaliter enuntiatur!

b) 1, 11, 17, mater . . . iam curaret festinabunda, ut *sacramentis* salutaribus (= the saving rites of Baptism) initiarer et abluerer; 4, 2, 3, me . . . foeda illa *sacramenta* (= the rites of soothsayers) detestatum . . . respondisse; 8, 2, 4, erubescendo de *sacramentis* (= the Sacraments) humilitatis uerbi tui et non erubescendo de sacris sacrilegis superbiorum daemoniorum; 9, 6, 14, placuit et Alypio renasci in te mecum iam induto humilitate *sacramentis* tuis (= Thy Sacraments) congrua; 9, 13, 36, ad cuius pretii nostri *sacramentum* (= the Sacrament of our Redemp-

tion, the Mass) ligauit ancilla tua animam suam uinculo fidei; 10, 3, 4, quae (praeterita mala mea) remisisti et texisti, mutans animam meam fide et sacramento tuo (= Thy Sacrament, probably referring to Baptism); 10, 35, 56, nec anima mea umquam responsa quaesivit umbrarum; omnia sacrilega sacramenta (= pagan rites) detestor; 10, 42, 67, quem inuenirem, qui me reconciliaret tibi? ambiendum mihi fuit ad angelos? qua prece? quibus sacramentis (= sacred rites in general)? 13, 20, 28, homines corporalibus sacramentis subditi (= subjected only to the visible rites of the Sacraments, and not to the invisible graces which they impart); 13, 21, 30, operentur . . . in terra ministri tui, non sicut in aquis infidelitatis annuntiando et loquendo per miracula et sacramenta et uoces mysticas, ubi intenta sit ignorantia mater admirationis in timore occultorum signorum (apparently a reference to the miracles which the Apostles and other early evangelists performed in order to attract the pagans to the Faith); 13, 23, 34, in ea sollemnitate sacramentorum (= the rites of the catechumenate and Baptism), quibus initiantur quos peruestigat in aquis multis misericordia tua; 13, 27, 42, homines idiotae atque infideles, quibus initiandis atque lucrandis necessaria sunt sacramenta initiorum (= the initiatory rites of the catechumenate, apt by their mysterious character to impress the pagan mind) et magnalia miraculorum; 13, 34, 49, ad imbuendas infideles gentes sacramenta et miracula uisibilia uocisque uerborum secundum firmamentum uerbi tui, quibus etiam fideles benedicerentur, ex materia corporali produxisti (a reference to the idea of corporeal, visible signs [of Sacraments] imparting invisible grace).

## 2. THE CHRISTIAN, RELIGION, THE CHURCH AND ITS MEMBERS, THE "UNBELIEVING"

The Christian religion is *religio* (4, 1, 1; 5, 5, 8; 10, 35, 55); faith is *fides* (e. g. 1, 1, 1), *christiana fides* (e. g. 5, 11, 21); "to believe," "to have faith" is *credere* (e. g. 1, 1, 1). The Catholic faith is designated as *catholica fides* (e. g. 5, 10, 20); Catholic doctrine, truth, etc., is *doctrina catholica* (6, 5, 7), *catholica ueritas* (7, 19, 25), *catholica uia* (5, 14, 24). "To profess one's faith" is *fidem profiteri* (8, 2, 5); cf. also *salutem profiteri* (*ibid.*) and *pronuntiare fidem* (*ibid.*), apparently with the same signification.

Following Scriptural usage, St. Augustine is fond of characterizing sound faith or doctrine by the adjective *sanus* (4, 16, 31; 6, 4, 5; 7, 19, 25; 13, 22, 31).

A Christian or Catholic is referred to as follows: *christianus* (subst.) (e. g. 8, 2, 3), *christiana* (subst.) (9, 3, 6), *christianus frater* (5, 5, 9), *catholicus* (subst.) (7, 19, 25), *catholicus christianus* (6, 1, 1; 9, 10, 26), *fidelis catholicus* (6, 1, 1; 9, 3, 6).

The Catholic Church is *ecclesia* (e. g. 3, 12, 21), *ecclesia tua* (1, 11, 17); *ecclesia Christi* (8, 2, 4), *catholica ecclesia* (5, 14, 25; 7, 5, 7; 7, 7, 11; 8, 6, 14), *catholica* (subst.) (5, 14, 24), *catholica tua* (6, 4, 5; 7, 1, 1).<sup>12</sup> St. Augustine also calls the Church the Body of Christ, the Spouse of Christ, the Mother of the Faithful, etc.; cf. *ecclesia unica corpus unci tui* (6, 4, 5), *sponsa* (13, 13, 14), *mater catholica* (6, 3, 4; 9, 13, 37), *mater omnium nostrum* (1, 11, 17). In 8, 2, 4 *ecclesia* no doubt refers merely to the local Church or congregation; cf. *Mediolanensis ecclesia* (9, 7, 15).

The Church Triumphant is regarded as the Heavenly City, the Eternal Jerusalem, and the angels and saints as its citizens, e. g. *regnum tecum perpetuum sanctae ciuitatis tuae* (11, 2, 3), *pax sanctorum spirituum, ciuium ciuitatis tuae* (12, 11, 12; cf. also 12, 15, 20; 13, 8, 9), *obsecro te per . . . patriam Hierusalem* (9, 13, 37; cf. also 12, 16, 23). In the same way, the members of the Church Militant are styled citizens of this Heavenly City, e. g. *dicebam paruulis fidelibus tuis, ciuibus meis* (4, 15, 26; cf. also 10, 4, 6). Hence St. Augustine also looks upon his parents as his *ciues* in the *aeterna Hierusalem* (9, 13, 37). In accordance with this idea of heavenly citizenship, men are regarded as mere *preregrini* upon this earth (10, 4, 6), and their sojourn here is a *preregrinatio* (9, 13, 37; 11, 2, 4; 12, 11, 13; 12, 15, 21; 12, 16, 23; 13, 14, 15).

"The faithful" are termed *fideles* (subst.) (e. g. 5, 5, 8); "a faithful one," i. e. a Christian, is *fidelis*, e. g. *mea mater, fidelis tua* (3, 11, 19). *Fidelis* as an adjective (= believing, Christian) occurs a number of times, e. g. *fidelis homo* (5, 4, 7), *populus*

<sup>12</sup> St. Augustine is very fond of using *catholica* substantively to designate the Catholic Church; cf. P. Odilo Rottmanner, *Catholica*, in *Revue Bénédictine* 14 (1900), pp. 1-9; Cabrol-Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, II 2, 2629-2633.

*fidelis* (8, 2, 5), *domus fidelis* (9, 8, 17). In 8, 6, 14 and 9, 3, 5 we meet the pleonastic combination *christianus et fidelis*. Adoption as a child of God is *adoptio* (11, 2, 4). A calling to the faith is *uocatio* (9, 5, 13). A member of the Church is *membrum*, e. g. in *domo fideli, bono membro ecclesiae tuae* (9, 8, 17), *membrum est enim sponsae* (13, 13, 14), (Christus) *numerans me inter infirma membra corporis sui* (10, 31, 47).

"A servant of God," either lay or ecclesiastical, is designated in a variety of ways, e. g. *seruus tuus* (e. g. 1, 7, 12), *seruus uerbi tui* (13, 24, 36); *conseruus* (12, 25, 35), *famulus tuus* (e. g. 12, 9, 9), *Moyseus pius famulus dei* (12, 15, 22), *Moyseus egregius domesticus fidei tuae* (12, 23, 32), *puer tuus* (13, 27, 42), *homo dei* (e. g. 5, 13, 23), *homo tuus* (e. g. 8, 5, 10). Christians are also frequently styled the "sons of God," e. g. *exultare oportuit filios tuos* (8, 4, 9). Reference is made to Monnica as "the handmaid of God" as follows: *famula tua* (9, 8, 17 and 18; 9, 13, 34 and 37), *ancilla tua* (9, 7, 15; 9, 12, 33; 9, 13, 36), *bonum mancipium tuum* (9, 9, 21); cf. also *erat enim (Monnica) serua seruorum tuorum* (9, 9, 22). Service or devotion to God is *famulatus* (10, 35, 56; 11, 2, 3). "A brother" in the Christian signification is *frater*, e. g. *cum . . . audio christianum aliquem fratrem . . . ista nescientem* (5, 5, 9), *quisquam seruorum tuorum, fratrum meorum* (9, 2, 4); "a neighbor" in the same signification is *proximus* (10, 37, 61).

A monastery is *monasterium* (8, 6, 15); a monk is *monachus* (8, 6, 14) or *frater* (8, 6, 15).

Opposed to the members of the true Church are the infidels, pagans, heretics, etc., who are designated by the following terms: *infideles* (13, 34, 49), *gentes* (7, 9, 15; 9, 5, 13; 13, 20, 26; 13, 21, 29; 13, 34, 49), *gentiles* (6, 2, 2), *daemonicolae* (8, 2, 4), *haeretici* (7, 19, 25). Unbelief, lack of faith is *infidelitas* (13, 21, 29 and 30); cf. also *ima infida* (= the depths of infidelity) (3, 3, 5). Heresy is *haeresis* (3, 12, 21; 5, 10, 19; 9, 7, 15); a religious sect is *secta* (3, 12, 21; 5, 6, 11; 5, 7, 13; 5, 14, 25 [referring in each instance to the Manichaeans]); note also *ille per manichaeas fallacias aberrabat* (5, 13, 23). An idol is *idolum* (7, 9, 15; 7, 14, 20; 8, 2, 3). "To persecute for religious belief" is *persequi* (9, 7, 15 and 16). A martyr is *martyr* (e. g. 1, 14, 23).

A church is *ecclesia* (e. g. 5, 9, 17) or *basilica* (9, 7, 16); a memorial chapel is *memoria* (5, 8, 15; 6, 2, 2 *ter*). In 8, 3, 6 a church is termed *domus (dei)*. *Tabernaculum* occurs in 8, 4, 9 and *sanctuarium* in 10, 25, 36, but only metaphorically. A religious congregation is *plebs* (9, 7, 15) or *grex* (e. g. 8, 2, 5).

Words and phrases employed in connection with the sacred ministry are the following: *episcopus* (e. g. 3, 12, 21), *sacerdos* (e. g. 3, 12, 21), *antistes* (= a priest in 6, 7, 12; a prelate, bishop in 9, 5, 13; 9, 7, 16), *presbyter* (8, 2, 5), *minister* (= a minister of religion, a servant of God) (10, 26, 37; 12, 32, 43; 13, 21, 30), *dispensator uerbi tui* (6, 9, 15), *dispensator sacramenti tui* (10, 30, 41), *praedicator* (1, 1, 1; 6, 2, 2), *praedicator uerbi tui* (13, 15, 18), *praedicare* (1, 1, 1; 10, 23, 34), *praedicare uerbum* (11, 2, 2), *ostiarius* (= a sexton, sacristan) (6, 2, 2), *ministerium* (= the sacred ministry) (1, 1, 1). Ministers of religion are also styled *sancti* (e. g. 5, 9, 17).

### 3. THE CHRISTIAN LIFE, VIRTUE, GOOD WORKS, ETC.

"Health of the soul," "deliverance from sin," "salvation," etc., is designated by *salus* (e. g. 1, 11, 18); "salutary," "affording salvation" is *salutaris* (1, 11, 17; 5, 14, 25; 6, 13, 23) or *salutifer* (3, 4, 8); "saved from sin," "brought to salvation" is *saluus* (10, 43, 68); "to one's salvation" is *salubriter* (4, 1, 1; 5, 13, 23).

The three theological virtues are *fides* (e. g. 1, 1, 1), *spes* (e. g. 10, 20, 29), and *caritas* (e. g. 4, 16, 31); cf. also *dilectio* (13, 24, 36).

The commandments of God are *praecepta* (e. g. 1, 18, 29); at times they are alluded to by the Scriptural term *iugum (Christi, tuum, etc.)* (8, 4, 9; 9, 1, 1; 10, 36, 58; 13, 15, 17).

The word most commonly used for "deeds," "works" (good or evil) is *opera* (e. g. 6, 2, 2; 2, 7, 15). Free will, which enables one to choose between good and evil, is *liberum arbitrium* (7, 3, 5; 9, 1, 1).

The language used to denote piety, devotion, holiness, etc., is as follows: *pietas* (e. g. 1, 11, 17), *pius* (e. g. 2, 3, 6), *pie* (e. g. 1, 9, 15), *sanctitas* (5, 5, 9), *sanctus* (e. g. 3, 7, 14), *sancte* (9, 12,

33), *religiosus* (6, 2, 2; 9, 11, 28; 9, 12, 31), *religiose* (5, 3, 4; 10, 33, 49; 12, 31, 42), *devote* (8, 1, 1), *iustitia* (e. g. 2, 10, 18), *iustus* (e. g. 2, 5, 10), *iustificare* (10, 43, 68; 12, 15, 20; 13, 34, 49), *iustificatio* (12, 15, 20), *perfectus* (5, 5, 9; 13, 19, 25). Spiritual perfection is once termed *consummatio* (13, 20, 28).

St. Augustine employs a number of phrases (chiefly Scriptural) to denote "walking in the way of virtue," "finding God," "embracing God," "clinging unto God," etc., e. g. *ambulent, ambulent, ne eos tenebrae comprehendant* (13, 23, 33; cf. also such phrases as *ambulare in uia, uiam*, etc., used in a good or bad sense: 1, 15, 24; 2, 3, 6; 4, 12, 18; 6, 1, 1; 7, 21, 27; 8, 1, 1), *quaerentes . . . inuenient eum* (deum) *et inuenientes laudabunt eum* (1, 1, 1), *ut . . . amplectar te* (1, 5, 5), *donec amplecterer . . . Christum* (7, 18, 24), *exaltatus est, cui adhaesistis* (13, 19, 25), *inhaerete illi, qui fecit uos* (4, 12, 18; cf. also 5, 4, 7; 6, 6, 9; 10, 17, 26; 10, 28, 39).

Military terms are occasionally employed to denote spiritual warfare, service to the Lord, etc.; cf. *militare tibi* (8, 5, 11), *iam pleno corde militia tua* (9, 2, 4), *miles castrorum caelestium* (10, 31, 45), *stipendium iustitiae uita et pax est* (10, 43, 68).

The virtue of humility is *humilitas* (e. g. 1, 11, 17; 6, 5, 3; 7, 20, 26; 9, 6, 14; 10, 43, 68); "humble" is *humilis* (3, 8, 16; 7, 18, 24; 10, 35, 56; 11, 31, 41); "humbly" is *humiliter* (12, 30, 41). "A child," "a little one" (with respect to understanding, humility, etc.) is *paruulus* (e. g. 3, 5, 9; 4, 15, 26; 8, 2, 3; 10, 4, 6; 12, 14, 17; 12, 30, 41; 13, 22, 32).

Terms relative to the virtue of chastity are the following: *continentia* (6, 11, 20; 8, 7, 17; 8, 11, 27; 9, 3, 6; 10, 29, 40), *continens* (6, 11, 20; 10, 29, 40; 10, 31, 45), *continenter* (6, 12, 21), *castificare* (9, 9, 19), *mortificare* (8, 11, 27), *mundicors* (11, 1, 1).

Fasting, abstinence, etc., is *abstinencia* (10, 31, 46) and *ieiunium* (10, 30, 43).

Edification is *aedificatio* (12, 18, 27).

Fraternal charity is designated by *caritas* (e. g. 3, 2, 3), *fraterna caritas* (11, 2, 3), *dilectio* (e. g. 5, 9, 17), *dilectio proximi* (e. g. 13, 19, 24). Alms is *eleemosyna* (5, 9, 17; 13, 23, 34).

The fruit, consequence, or reward of good or evil works is *fructus* (e. g. 3, 3, 5; 9, 9, 22); "to bear fruit" is *fructificare* (13, 25, 38). Merit, in a religious sense, is *meritum* (7, 6, 10; 9, 13, 34); in 6, 16, 26 *meritum* apparently means only "a good act" (cf. also 13, 1, 1).

The words *confessio* and *confiteri* have been treated at length by several scholars,<sup>14</sup> chiefly for the purpose of throwing light upon the literary character of the Confessions. My intention here is merely to present all the instances in which these words occur in the Confessions and to determine the signification attached to each.

By way of introduction it should be stated that in the Latin versions of the Old Testament, both the Itala and the Vulgate, *confessio* and *confiteri* are almost always concerned with praise, and very rarely refer to acknowledgment of sin. This is especially true for the Psalms. Strangely enough, however, the former meaning was not current in ordinary speech, for St. Augustine states in Serm. 67, 1 that the faithful were wont to understand *confessio* as "confession of sin" and "to beat their breasts" whenever they heard the word mentioned in the reading of the Bible. St. Augustine frequently remarks upon this double meaning of *confessio*, e. g. Serm. 29, 2, *confessio aut laudantis est aut poenitentis*, and regards the *confessio peccati* as inclusive of the *confessio laudis*. Cf. In Psalm. 105, 2; 91, 3; 94, 4.

In the Confessions themselves, both *confessio* and *confiteri* have a much wider range of application, and very frequently include both the *confessio laudis* and the *confessio peccati*. At times they have a signification similar to the one occasionally found in the New Testament, viz. "confession of faith." Again, they are frequently equivalent to a solemn acknowledgment of a mere fact. These and similar meanings will be noted below.

In the following instances *confessio* refers to confession of sin: 10, 3, 3, *quid mihi . . . est cum hominibus, ut audiant confes-*

<sup>14</sup> Cf. especially H. Böhmer, *Die Lobpreisungen des Augustinus*, in *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 26 (1915), pp. 420-423; M. Wundt, *Augustins Confessiones*, in *Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 22 (1923), pp. 164-166; M. Zepf, *Augustins Confessiones*, Tübingen 1926, pp. 5-9. The T.L.L., in citing examples for these two words, has neglected the Confessions almost entirely.

*siones* meas, quasi ipsi sanaturi sint omnes languores meos? 10, 3, 4, *confessiones* praeteritorum malorum meorum; 10, 34, 51, restat uoluptas oculorum . . . carnis meae, de qua loquar *confessiones*; 12, 26, 36, deus meus . . . , qui audis *confessiones* meas et dimittis peccata mea. *Confessio* appears to be used in the sense of "repentance" in 7, 21, 27, non habent illae paginae uultum pietatis huius, lacrimas *confessionis*.

Note the use of *confessio* as "an humble acknowledgment of ignorance" in 7, 20, 26, ut . . . distinguerem, quid interesset inter praesumptionem et *confessionem*.

In the following examples *confessio* has to do chiefly with the confession or avowal of a belief, doctrine, etc., although in all of them, and especially in 13, 12, 13, the idea of praise likewise appears: 12, 16, 23, tu esto, deus noster, arbiter inter *confessiones* meas et contradictiones eorum; 12, 32, 43, ea fide *confessionis* meae; 13, 12, 13, procede in *confessione*, fides mea; dic domino deo tuo: sancte, sancte, sancte . . . ; 13, 15, 17, quae (eloquia) sic mihi persuaderent *confessionem* et lenirent ceruicem meam iugo tuo; 13, 24, 36, placeat . . . *confessio* mea coram oculis tuis, qua tibi confiteor credere me, domine, non incassum te ita locutum.

In the following instance *confessio* denotes a solemn avowal of a mere fact (as *confiteri* in 1, 19, 30; 3, 11, 20; *et al.*): 11, 26, 33, nonne tibi confitetur anima mea *confessione* ueridica metiri me tempora?

The use of the word *confessio* that is especially peculiar to the Confessions connotes acknowledgment of sin as well as praise and thanksgiving. This meaning is exemplified in the title of the work and in the following passages: 5, 1, 1, accipe sacrificium *confessionum* mearum de manu linguae meae; 5, 10, 20, spiritalia tui blande et amanter ridebunt me, si has *confessiones* meas legerint; 9, 8, 17, accipe *confessiones* meas et gratiarum actiones, deus meus, de rebus innumerabilibus; 9, 13, 37, ut quod a me illa (i.e. Monnica) poposcit extremum uberius ei praestetur in multorum orationibus per *confessiones* quam per orationes meas; 10, 1, 1, uolo eam (ueritatem) facere in corde meo coram te in *confessione*, in stilo autem meo coram multis testibus; 10, 2, 2, *confessio* . . . mea, deus meus, . . . tibi fit tacite et non tacite; 10, 3, 4, quis adhuc sim ecce in ipso tempore *confessionum* mearum;

10, 4, 6, hic est fructus *confessionum* mearum, non qualis fuerim, sed qualis sim; 12, 24, 33, uoui tibi sacrificium *confessionis* in his litteris; 12, 30, 41, hi sermones *confessionum* mearum.

The plural *confessiones* occurs in twelve instances (Böhmer, *op. cit.*, p. 423, mentions only seven), of which the following five refer to the whole work: 5, 1, 1; 5, 10, 20; 9, 13, 37; 10, 3, 4; 10, 4, 6; the remaining seven instances are 9, 8, 17; 10, 3, 3; 10, 3, 4; 10, 34, 51; 12, 16, 23; 12, 26, 36; 12, 30, 41.

The well-known Scriptural use of *confiteri* in the sense of "to give praise unto," "to praise," "to glorify" is exemplified in the Confessions as follows: 1, 6, 9, an . . . te . . . laudari a me iubet et *confiteri* me tibi? 1, 6, 10, *confiteor* tibi, domine caeli et terrae, laudem dicens tibi de primordiis et infantia mea; 1, 7, 12, iubet me laudare te in istis et *confiteri* tibi; 2, 7, 15, gratias agam et *confitear* nomini tuo; 3, 12, 21, propero ad ea quae me magis urgent *confiteri* tibi; 5, 5, 8, uanitas est . . . mundana ista . . . profiteri, pietas autem tibi *confiteri*; 7, 3, 5, non usque ad illum infernum subducebar erroris, ubi nemo tibi *confitetur*; 11, 31, 41, qui intellegit, *confiteatur* tibi, et qui non intellegit, *confiteatur* tibi; 12, 32, 43, sine me itaque breuius in eis *confiteri* tibi; 13, 14, 15, semper *confitebor* illi.

Another meaning of *confiteri* that occurs frequently in the Confessions is "to confess sin." Several such instances, however, show clearly that St. Augustine has likewise in mind the idea of thanking and praising God for the remission of his sins, e. g. 4, 1, 1, *confitear* tibi dedecora mea in laude tua; 6, 6, 9, uide cor meum, domine, qui uoluisti, ut hoc recorderer et *confiterer* tibi. nunc tibi inhaereat anima mea, quam de uisco . . . mortis exuisti; 11, 1, 1, *confitendo* tibi miserias nostras et misericordias tuas super nos. Note also the following passages where the prevalent meaning of *confiteri* is "to confess sin": 1, 13, 22, *confiteor* tibi quae uult anima mea, deus meus, et adquiesco in reprehensione malarum uiarum mearum; 3, 6, 11, tibi . . . *confiteor*, qui me miseratus es nondum *confitentem*; 4, 1, 1, nos . . . infirmi et inopes *confiteamur* tibi; 4, 3, 4, bonum est *confiteri* tibi, domine, et dicere: miserere mei; 4, 6, 11, non . . . tempus quaerendi nunc est, sed *confitendi* tibi; 4, 12, 19, cui *confitetur* anima mea, et sanat eam, quoniam peccauit illi; 4, 14,

23, unde certus *confiteor* tibi, quod illum in amore laudantium magis amaueram quam in rebus ipsis, de quibus laudabatur? 4, 15, 26, contendebar magis incommutabilem tuam substantiam coactam errare quam meam mutabilem sponte deuiasse et poena errare *confitebar*; 5, 1, 1, quam (linguam meam) formasti et excitasti, ut *confiteatur* nomini tuo, et sana omnia ossa mea; *ibid.*, neque enim docet te, quid in se agatur, qui tibi *confitetur*; 5, 2, 2, ecce ibi es in corde eorum, in corde *confitentium* tibi . . . et plorantium in sinu tuo post uias suas difficiles; 5, 10, 18, delectabat . . . cum aliquid mali fecissem, non *confiteri* me fecisse; 10, 3, 4, domine meus, cui cotidie *confitetur* conscientia mea spe misericordiae tuae securior quam innocentia sua; 10, 33, 50, poenaliter me peccare *confiteor*; 10, 37, 61, quid . . . tibi in hoc genere temptationis . . . *confiteor*? 10, 37, 62, ut *confitear* . . . quod in me saucium conperero. Note also the following instances in which *confitens* closely approaches the meaning of "penitent," "repentant": 2, 3, 5, quid propius auribus tuis, si cor *confitens* et uita ex fide est? 3, 8, 16, propitius es peccatis *confitentium*.

In the following instances *confiteri* is used in a broad sense of confessing both good and evil: 10, 2, 2, quid occultum esset in me, etiamsi nollem *confiteri* tibi? *ibid.*, tibi ergo, domine, manifestus sum, quicumque sim. et quo fructu tibi *confitear*, dixi; *ibid.*, cum . . . malus sum, nihil est aliud *confiteri* tibi quam displicere mihi; cum uero pius, nihil est aliud *confiteri* tibi quam hoc non tribuere mihi; 10, 3, 3, domine, . . . sic tibi *confiteor*, ut audiant homines, quibus demonstrare non possum, an uera *confitear*; 10, 22, 32, absit a corde serui tui, qui *confitetur* tibi, absit, ut . . . ; 11, 1, 1, tu prior uoluisti, ut *confiterer* tibi; 12, 3, 3, nonne tu, domine, docuisti hanc animam, quae tibi *confitetur*?

Most frequently, however, St. Augustine employs *confiteri* to mean "to acknowledge gratefully," "to confess solemnly," "to proclaim," etc. Thus, he acknowledges with thanks and praise the mercies of God in his behalf: 1, 15, 24, neque deficiam in *confitando* tibi miserationes tuas; 11, 1, 1, *confitando* tibi . . . misericordias tuas super nos; cf. also 4, 16, 31; 5, 1, 1; 8, 1, 1. Again, by way of personification, he represents the mercies of God as "acknowledging themselves" unto Him, thus: 5, 10, 20, deus meus, cui *confitentur* ex me miserationes tuae; cf. also 6, 7, 12; 7, 6, 8.

Various other graces and favors from God, St. Augustine "confesses" as follows: 5, 8, 14, hoc unde mihi persuasum est, non praeteribo *confiteri* tibi; 8, 2, 3, magnam laudem gratiae *confitendam* tibi; 8, 6, 13, de uinculo . . . desiderii concubitus . . . et saecularium negotiorum seruitute quemadmodum exemeris, narrabo et *confitebor* nomini tuo; 9, 4, 7, *confiteri* tibi, quibus internis me stimulis perdomueris; 9, 6, 14 b's, munera tua tibi *confiteor*; 12, 6, 6, si totum *confitear* tibi . . . , quidquid de ista materia docuisti mihi; *ibid.*, si totum tibi *confiteatur* uox et stilus meus, quidquid de ista quaestione enodasti mihi.

St. Augustine employs *confiteri* in the sense of "to confess one's faith" only in one instance, viz. 1, 11, 17, te, domine Iesu, *confitens* in remissionem peccatorum; but in several instances he uses the word to mean "to declare solemnly" a doctrine, belief, etc., thus: 7, 4, 6, te . . . esse incorruptibilem *confitebar*; 11, 2, 3, *confitear* tibi quidquid inuenero in libris tuis; 12, 2, 2, *confitetur* altitudini tuae humilitas linguae meae, quoniam tu fecisti caelum et terram; 12, 18, 27, quae mihi ardentem *confitenti*; 13, 24, 36, *confiteor* credere me, domine, non incausum te ita locutum.

Frequently St. Augustine employs *confiteri* of "confessing" (solemnly or humbly) certain facts of his present or past life. To say that in such cases *confiteri* means no more than *dicere* or *narrare*, as Böhmer does (*op. cit.*, p. 422), is incorrect, for in almost every instance we may readily gather from the context that there is a secondary idea of solemnity or humility attached to the word. Note, for example, the following passages, in which St. Augustine confesses what he is at the very time of writing his Confessions: 10, 3, 4, *confiteor* . . . quis ego sim, non quis fuerim; *ibid.*, uolunt . . . audire *confitentem* me, quid ipse intus sim; *ibid.*, dicit . . . eis . . . caritas . . . non mentiri me de me *confitentem*; 10, 4, 6, hic est fructus confessionum mearum, non qualis fuerim, sed qualis sim, ut hoc *confitear* . . . ; 10, 5, 7, *confitear* ergo quid de me sciam, *confitear* et quid de me nesciam. — Again, he confesses his knowledge or ignorance, thus: 11, 2, 2, tibi *confiteri* scientiam et inperitiam meam; 11, 7, 9, noui, *confiteor* tibi, domine; 11, 18, 23, *confiteor*, deus meus, nescio; 11, 22, 28, *confitebor* inperitiam meam; 11, 25, 32, *confiteor* tibi, domine, ignorare me adhuc, quid sit tempus, et rursus *confiteor* tibi, domine, scire

me in tempore ista dicere; 12, 23, 32, (infirmi<sup>tem</sup> meam) tibi *confiteor* scienti deo meo; 12, 30, 41, si tibi non *confiteor* 'nescio.' — Other facts from his own life or from the lives of others he confesses as follows: 1, 19, 30, *confiteor* tibi, deus meus, in quibus laudabar ab eis; 3, 11, 20, *confiteor* tibi, domine, recordationem meam; 5, 9, 16, (baptismum) de materna pietate flagitavi, sicut iam recordatus atque *confessus sum*; 9, 7, 16, ut haec etiam *confiterer* tibi (referring to the discovery of the bodies of the martyrs Protasius and Gervasius); 9, 12, 32, et hoc *confiteor* misericordiae tuae . . . , quoniam laui et talis eram, qualis priusquam lauisssem; 9, 12, 33, et nunc, domine, *confiteor* tibi in litteris (referring to his sorrow over the death of his mother); 11, 26, 33, nonne tibi *confitetur* anima mea confessione ueridica metiri me tempora? Note also 10, 31, 45, iste (apostolus) se accepisse *confitetur*.

It still remains to mention that in a few instances *confiteri* approaches closely its usual Class. meaning of "to confess," "to acknowledge." Note the following: 5, 7, 12, nouerat enim se ista non nosse nec eum puduit *confiteri*; 9, 7, 16, *confessis* eisdem daemonibus; 10, 6, 9, interrogavi terram, et dixit: 'Non sum'; et quaecumque in eadem sunt, idem *confessa sunt*. In the following instance *confitens* is used in the sense of "candid," "frank": 5, 7, 12, pulchrior est . . . temperantia *confitentis* animi quam illa, quae nosse cupiebam.

#### 4. SIN, WORLDLINESS, ETC.

Original sin is *originale peccatum* (5, 9, 16); in 5, 8, 15, it is termed *reliquarium Euae*; in keeping with this idea, men are called *filiis Adam* (e.g. 1, 9, 14). Sin in general is designated by numerous words and phrases; cf. *peccatum* (e.g. 1, 1, 1), *delictum* (e.g. 9, 6, 14), *delictorum reatus* (1, 11, 17), *defectus* (2, 4, 9), *debitum* (e.g. 9, 13, 35), *impietas* (3, 12, 21; 5, 10, 18; 13, 23, 33), *iniquitas* (e.g. 2, 4, 9; 3, 3, 5; 5, 10, 18; 8, 7, 16; 10, 37, 62), *imperfectio* (13, 4, 5), *auersio* (i.e. a deo) (13, 2, 3), *peccare* (e.g. 1, 7, 11), *mala committere* (5, 9, 16), *ire a deo* (1, 18, 28; 2, 2, 2; 2, 3, 7; 4, 9, 14; 5, 2, 2), *relinquere deum* (1, 13, 21; 2, 2, 4; 10, 34, 53), *recedere a deo* (e.g. 1, 14, 23; 2, 3, 5; 6, 16, 26; 10, 40, 65), *egredi a deo* (2, 5, 10), *peregrinari a deo* (3, 6, 11; 10, 5, 7), *deuiare a deo* (9, 9, 22), *deuiare a lege dei*

(2, 5, 10), *contra deum surgere* (7, 7, 11), *ascendere contra deum* (4, 12, 19), *auerti a deo* (2, 6, 14), *fornicari a deo* (1, 13, 21; 2, 6, 14). "To offend against," "to violate" is *offendere*, e.g. *offendere caritatem* (12, 25, 35).

So far as concerns terms for particular sins, only the following need be mentioned: *blasphemia* (3, 11, 19; 4, 16, 31), *concupiscentia* (e.g. 2, 2, 2), *fornicatio* (*ibid.*). "Sacrilegious" is *sacrilegus* (e.g. 3, 3, 5; 4, 16, 31; 5, 5, 8; 8, 7, 17; 10, 35, 56).

The effects of sin are vividly portrayed by the employment of words denoting destruction, death, etc. Note especially the following: nisi . . . uiam tuam quaererem, . . . *periturus essem* (7, 20, 26; cf. also 3, 12, 21), *perditionem meam* . . . *plangere* (3, 11, 19), non me siuisti . . . *bis mori* (i.e. mortem corporis et animae) (5, 9, 16), *moriebamur* male uiuendo (13, 22, 32; cf. also 1, 5, 5; 1, 13, 20; 2, 2, 4; 6, 11, 20; 8, 8, 19; 9, 13, 34; 10, 20, 29; 13, 21, 30), *haesitans mori morti et uitae uiuere* (8, 11, 25),<sup>15</sup> male uixi ex me, *mors mihi fui* (12, 10, 10; cf. also 1, 13, 21; 2, 6, 14; 3, 11, 19; 4, 12, 18 and 19; 5, 9, 16; 6, 6, 9; 6, 12, 22; 7, 6, 8; 8, 7, 18; 9, 1, 1; 10, 42, 67), *qui diligunt uitam mortuam* (5, 8, 14), *de mortuis uiuos feceras* (9, 2, 3), *motus* . . . *animae mortuae* (13, 21, 30), *quid facerem surdis mortuis* (9, 4, 11), *mortifera* suauitate trahebam catenam meam (6, 12, 21; cf. also 13, 21, 29), et hoc peccatum cum ceteris horrendis et *mortiferis* . . . *remisisti mihi* (9, 2, 4). Likewise *tenebrae* and *tenebrosus* are occasionally used to depict sin, e.g. *ambulabam per tenebras* (6, 1, 1), in affectu *tenebroso* (1, 18, 28). "To be darkened" spiritually is *obscurari* (12, 10, 10). "To kill" spiritually is *occidere* (3, 6, 11; 5, 14, 24). "To defile" by sin is *sordidare* (1, 11, 17).

Sinners are *peccatores* (e.g. 10, 42, 67), *iniqui* (e.g. 3, 7, 13), *iniusti* (5, 2, 2), *transgressores* (1, 17, 27), *impii* (10, 22, 32); one morally unclean is styled *immundus* (8, 11, 27; 9, 7, 16).

A temptation is *temptatio* (e.g. 1, 11, 18; 1, 15, 24; 10, 5, 7; 13, 20, 26); *temptamentum* (6, 3, 3); "to tempt" is *temptare*

<sup>15</sup> For a list of similar phrases employed by St. Ambrose, cf. J. E. Niederhuber's German translation of his works, vol. I: *Exameron*, p. lxviii, footnote (in the *Bibliothek der Kirchenväter*, Kempten and Munich, 1914).

(e. g. 10, 35, 57); a seduction is *seductio* (e. g. 1, 15, 24); "to seduce" is *seducere* (e. g. 4, 1, 1).

St. Augustine frequently employs the word *mundus* to designate the world (as opposed to heaven), worldly things, vanities, etc.; e. g. *ciues huius mundi* (8, 2, 3), *mundus iste nobis uilisceret* (9, 10, 26), *amicitia . . . huius mundi* (1, 13, 21), *iste mundus oblitus est creatorem suum* (2, 3, 6), *amplectendo mundum fugientem* (5, 12, 22), *exuebatur mundo mens eius* (8, 6, 15). A similar use is made of *saeculum*, e. g. *Ambrosium felicem quendam hominem secundum saeculum opinabar* (6, 3, 3), *ibam per uiam saeculi latam* (6, 5, 8), *contemto saeculo seruire tibi* (8, 5, 11), *continere se ab amore huius saeculi* (13, 21, 29); cf. also 1, 7, 12; 1, 9, 14; 6, 11, 19; 6, 14, 24; 7, 6, 8; 8, 1, 2; 8, 5, 11 and 12; 8, 7, 18; 8, 12, 30; 9, 3, 5; 9, 10, 26; 10, 28, 39; 10, 34, 52; 10, 36, 59; 13, 20, 26; 13, 22, 32; 13, 23, 33 and 34. In like manner *saecularis* is employed in the sense of "worldly," "temporal," "secular," e. g. *saeculares actus* (6, 10, 17), *saecularis spes* (7, 6, 8); cf. also 5, 3, 6; 8, 6, 13 and 15; 9, 8, 17. *Temporalis* occurs in the sense of "worldly" in 2, 5, 10, *honor temporalis*. The earthly part of man, the body, is referred to as *terra*, e. g. *terra amborum coniugum* (9, 11, 28), *haec terra, quam porto* (12, 2, 2); cf. also such expressions as *terra iens in terram* (7, 8, 12), *terra et cinis* (1, 6, 7; 7, 8, 12; 10, 5, 7). In 1, 11, 18 *terra* is used to designate man without the life of grace. *Terra* in the sense of "earthly things" occurs in 5, 8, 14, *terram sapiebant*; cf. also 8, 5, 11; 11, 2, 4. A number of times *terrenus* means "earthly," "worldly," e. g. *terrena uia* (6, 8, 13), *terrena felicitas* (8, 7, 17; 9, 10, 26; 13, 17, 20). The body, *corpus*, is referred to as *caro*, e. g. *sicut audiui a parentibus carnis meae* (1, 6, 7; cf. also 1, 11, 17; 2, 3, 8; 2, 5, 10; 5, 9, 16; 5, 10, 19; *et al.*). *Caro* is also used to designate the body as opposed to the spirit, e. g. *non secundum intellectum mentis . . . sed secundum sensum carnis* (3, 6, 11); cf. also 4, 10, 15; 4, 11, 17; *et al.* Note also the Scriptural phrase *caro et sanguis* in 4, 3, 4; 5, 2, 2; *et al.* "Fleshly," "carnal," "sensual" is *carnalis*, e. g. *carnales corruptiones animae meae* (2, 1, 1); "carnal," "corporeal" (as opposed to "spiritual") is *carneus*, e. g. 9, 4, 10, *carneis luminibus (= oculis)*; cf. also 10, 34, 52. *Animalis* in the following two instances denotes

"animal," "carnal," "sensual": *per imagines animales* (10, 30, 42), in *quibus adhuc paruulis animalibus* (12, 27, 37).

##### 5. DIVINE WORSHIP, GRACE, SACRAMENTS, ETC.

The normal words for worship are *adorare* (8, 1, 1), *colere* (e. g. 8, 5, 10), *cultor* (5, 13, 23), *obsequium* (e. g. 13, 1, 1). "To bless," "glorify," "praise" God is expressed by *benedicere* (8, 12, 30; 9, 4, 7; 11, 7, 9; 13, 23, 34), *glorificare* (5, 4, 7), *magnificare* (10, 31, 47).

Prayer is designated as follows: *orare* (5, 8, 15; 5, 9, 16 and 17; 6, 3, 3; 10, 4, 5; 10, 31, 45; 10, 37, 62; 11, 1, 1; 12, 24, 33 [there are also seven instances of the parenthetical phrase *oro te*]), *rogare* (1, 9, 14; 3, 12, 21; 10, 35, 56), *deprecari* (1, 9, 15; 5, 8, 15; 6, 13, 23; 9, 4, 12; 9, 13, 35 [*precari* does not occur]), *inuocare* (e. g. 1, 1, 1), *oratio* (e. g. 3, 10, 18), *prex* (3, 4, 7; 4, 3, 4; 4, 5, 10; 5, 9, 17; 6, 1, 1; 9, 12, 32; 10, 42, 67 [all in the plural except the last]), *uotum* (3, 4, 7; 6, 2, 2; 6, 13, 23; 11, 23, 30; 13, 18, 22), *inuocatio* (1, 9, 14). "To hearken to," "to grant" is the usual *exaudire* (e. g. 1, 7, 11; 3, 8, 16; 4, 5, 10; 8, 7, 17; 11, 2, 3). A vigil with prayer is *uigilia* (9, 7, 15). "To bend the knee" in adoration in *flectere genu* (13, 7, 8).

Divine grace or favor is *gratia* (e. g. 2, 7, 15), *munus* (e. g. 5, 9, 17); divine blessing is expressed by *benedictio* (e. g. 13, 20, 27), *benedicere* (e. g. 13, 18, 22). "To anticipate" or "prevent with grace" is *praeuenire* (13, 1, 1 *ter*). "To draw nigh unto with grace" is *propinquare* (5, 3, 3); cf. also *propinquus* (6, 16, 26). "To free" spiritually is *liberare* (1, 10, 16; 10, 33, 49; 11, 1, 1).

The terms for spiritual enlightenment are *illuminatio* (11, 2, 2; 12, 17, 25; 13, 5, 6), *illuminare* (e. g. 2, 8, 16; 6, 1, 1; 7, 1, 2; 8, 4, 9; 11, 25, 32; 13, 2, 3), *illustrare* (4, 15, 25; 13, 4, 5), *lumen* (e. g. 1, 13, 21). "To inspire" is *inspirare* (e. g. 1, 1, 1). "To make blessed," "to bless" is *beatificare* (11, 1, 1); "to bless," "to hallow" is *benedicere* (e. g. 10, 34, 52; 13, 18, 22; 13, 21, 29; 13, 34, 49).

A catechumen is *catechumenus* (2, 3, 6; 5, 14, 25; 9, 4, 8); "to be initiated into" the mysteries of faith or the sacraments,

particularly Baptism, is *initiari* (1, 11, 17; 13, 20, 28; 13, 23, 34; 13, 27, 42). Note also the following reference to the ceremonies of the catechumenate: *signabar . . . signo crucis eius et condiebar eius sale* (1, 11, 17). "To enroll" for Baptism is *nomen dare* (8, 2, 4; 9, 6, 14).

The following terms occur for Baptism: *baptismus* (e. g. 1, 11, 17), *baptizare* (e. g. 1, 11, 18), *aqua gratiae* (5, 8, 15), *aqua sancta* (9, 2, 4), *aqua salutaris* (9, 13, 35), *fons* (8, 2, 3), *lauacrum* (1, 11, 17), *mundatio* (*ibid.*), *abluere* (1, 11, 17; 5, 8, 15; 6, 13, 23; 6, 16, 26). In *effigies* (1, 11, 18) we have an allusion to the image of God in the soul restored by Baptism (*cf.* a similar use of *imago* and *similitudo* in 13, 34, 49).

The language used with reference to spiritual regeneration is as follows: *regeneratio* (9, 3, 6), *regenerare* (6, 3, 4; 8, 2, 4; 9, 13, 34), *renouatio* (9, 4, 10), *renasci* (9, 6, 14), *nasci* (9, 8, 17), *reuiuiscere* (12, 10, 10), *uiuificare* (9, 13, 34), *repullulare* (13, 26, 39). A man renewed by grace is styled *nouus homo* (5, 5, 9). "To beget," "to bring forth" spiritually is *generare* (13, 22, 32). Spiritual life is designated by *uita* (8, 11, 25; 10, 34, 52; 10, 43, 68; 13, 21, 30), *uiuere* (10, 20, 29; 10, 43, 70; 13, 21, 30), *uiuus* (9, 2, 3; 10, 28, 39).

Expressions for the remission of sin are numerous; *cf.* *remissio peccatorum* (1, 11, 17), *dimittere peccata* (7, 9, 14; 9, 3, 5), *peccatum ignoscere* (9, 2, 4), *peccatum remittere* (*ibid.* and 9, 4, 12), *donare peccata* (2, 7, 15; 5, 9, 16), *peccata soluere* (2, 7, 15), *debita dimittere* (5, 9, 17; 9, 13, 35 and 36), *mala remittere et tegere* (10, 3, 4), *peccatorum languoribus exui* (2, 7, 15), *propitius esse peccatis* (3, 8, 16).

Terms for conversion, sorrow for sin, etc., are *conuersio* (9, 3, 6; 13, 2, 3), *conuerti ad deum* (2, 7, 15; 5, 1, 1; 6, 6, 9; 8, 12, 29; 9, 8, 17; 13, 4, 5 and 6; 13, 12, 13), *conuerti* (4, 11, 17; 5, 2, 2; 13, 1, 1), *redire ad deum* (e. g. 1, 18, 28), *reuerti* (4, 16, 31), *contritio* (e. g. 8, 9, 21), *compunctus* (= remorseful) (9, 4, 10). "To win over," "to convert" is *lucrari* (9, 9, 19 and 22; 9, 13, 37; 13, 27, 42). Note also the following two expressions meaning "to die to one's self," "to die to sin," etc.: *quales se ipsi fecerant non occidunt se tibi* (5, 3, 4); *amo eos occidi sibi, ut uiuant tibi* (12, 14, 17).

To denote spiritual "cleansing" St. Augustine employs *mundare* (4, 6, 11; 8, 1, 1), *mundatus* (10, 37, 60), *mundus* (1, 7, 11).

Words and expressions relative to the Sacrifice of the Mass are *oblatio* (5, 9, 17), *sacrificium pretii nostri* (9, 12, 32), *poculum pretii nostri* (7, 21, 27), *communicatio dominici corporis* (6, 2, 2), *uictima sancta* (9, 13, 36), *altare* (5, 9, 17; 9, 11, 27; 9, 13, 36 and 37).

*Sacrificare* occurs several times, but never in connection with the Mass; note especially the following instances: *de sanguine cordis matris meae per lacrimas eius . . . pro me sacrificabatur tibi* (5, 7, 13), (*in corde meo*) *sacrificaueram* mactans uetustatem meam (9, 4, 10), *tibi dico hymnum et sacrifico* laudem sacrificatori meo (10, 34, 53), *sacrificem* tibi famulatum cogitationis et linguae meae (11, 2, 3).

Sunday, the Lord's Day, is *dies dominicus* (6, 3, 4). A celebration, festivity, solemnity is *celebritas* or *sollemnitas*, e. g. in *celebritate sollemnitatum* tuarum (3, 3, 5), *gaudium sollemnitatis domus tuae* (8, 3, 6), in . . . *sollemnitate sacramentorum tuorum* (13, 23, 34).

Psalms, canticles, hymns, etc., are referred to as follows: *cum legerem psalmos* David, *cantica fidelia* (9, 4, 8), *fleui in hymnis et canticis tuis* (9, 6, 14); *cf.* also, for *canticum*, 6, 2, 2; 9, 7, 16; 11, 28, 38; 11, 31, 41; 12, 6, 6; 12, 29, 40; for *hymnus*, 9, 7, 15 and 16; 10, 4, 5; 10, 34, 52 and 53; for *psalmus*, 8, 10, 24; 9, 4, 8; 9, 7, 15; 9, 12, 31; 10, 33, 50; 12, 2, 2.

The phrase *tabulae matrimoniales* (= marriage contract) occurs in 9, 9, 19 (*cf.* also Aug. Sermon 51, 22).

## 6. THE LAST THINGS OF MAN

Interesting terms relative to death and burial are the following: *ante dormitionem eius* (9, 9, 22), *imminente die resolutionis suae* (9, 13, 36), *iam iuxta sepulchrum posito cadauere, priusquam deponeretur* (9, 12, 32).

The end of the world is termed *finis saeculi* (8, 3, 8; 9, 11, 28; 13, 15, 18). Eternity is designated as *aeternitas* (e. g. 4, 16, 31), *uita aeterna* (e. g. 8, 1, 1), *aeterna lux* (9, 8, 17), *futurum saeculum* (2, 3, 8); *cf.* also *aeterna* (= eternal things, things of

eternity) (11, 11, 13), in *aeterno* (—in eternity) (*ibid.*). "Eternally," "for all ages," etc., is in *aeternum* (e. g. 9, 10, 24), in *omnia saecula* (3, 2, 3).

Heaven is designated by the usual *caelum* and *caeli*, and also by *excelsa* (neut. pl.) (1, 18, 29; 13, 13, 14), *caelestia* (12, 11, 12); it is also styled *aeterna domus dei* (e. g. 12, 17, 25), *beatifica patria* (7, 20, 26), *paradisus* (9, 3, 5).<sup>18</sup>

Resurrection is *resurrectio* (9, 3, 5); "to raise from the dead" is *resuscitare* (9, 11, 28; cf. also 6, 1, 1). The Last Judgment is referred to as *futurum iudicium tuum* (6, 16, 26). "To make recompense," with special reference to the final reward in Heaven, is rendered by *retribuere* (e. g. 9, 3, 5, *retribues illi* [i. e. *Verecundo*], domine, in resurrectione iustorum, quia iam ipsam sortem *retribuisti ei*), and by *coronare* (e. g. 6, 2, 2, cuius [i. e. domini] passionis imitatione . . . *coronati sunt* martyres; cf. also 10, 36, 58; 11, 9, 11). The contemplation of God in Heaven is *contemplatio* (12, 9, 9; 12, 12, 15; 12, 15, 19; 13, 18, 22). Eternal rest and peace in Heaven is *supereminens requies* (13, 7, 8), *pax* (e. g. 9, 13, 37), *pax plenaria* (10, 30, 42), *pax, quam nescit arrogantis oculus* (10, 38, 63), *pax sabbati*, *pax sine uespera* (13, 35, 50), *sabbato uitae aeternae requiescere (in deo)* (13, 36, 51); note also 13, 38, 53, *nos requieturos in tua grandi sanctificatione speramus*.

An angel is *angelus* (e. g. 8, 3, 6); *Cherubim* and *Seraphim* occur in 12, 22, 31; note also *supercaelestes populi angelorum tuorum* (13, 15, 18), *omnes angeli et cuncta spiritalia (caeli)* (7, 5, 7). The angels and saints in Heaven are designated by the epithets *sanctus* (e. g. 12, 11, 12) and *beatus* (5, 8, 15). As a noun, *sanctus* occurs frequently, e. g. in 6, 2, 2; 9, 10, 23.

Hell is referred to by the words *infernus* (7, 3, 5), *inferus* (3, 6, 11), *inferi* (1, 2, 2; 2, 1, 1), *gehenna* (11, 12, 14); its pains are designated as follows: *quo enim irem . . . , nisi in ignem atque tormenta digna factis meis . . . ?* (5, 9, 16). The devil is *diabolus* (3, 6, 10; 7, 3, 5; 8, 4, 9), *accusator callidus* (9, 13, 36), *aduersarius uerae beatitudinis nostrae* (10, 36, 59), *antiquus peccator* (7, 21, 27), *praepositus mortis (ibid.)*, *leo et draco* (7, 21,

27; 9, 13, 36), *inimicus inuisibilis* (2, 3, 8), *hostis* (9, 13, 36), *serpens* (6, 12, 21). Evil spirits or demons are *daemones* (4, 2, 3; 9, 7, 16), *daemonia* (3, 3, 5; 4, 2, 3; 8, 2, 4), *fugitivi desertores cum principe suo leone et dracone* (7, 21, 27), *transgressores angeli* (1, 17, 27). "Diabolical" is *diabolicus* (3, 3, 6).

<sup>18</sup> For further terms, cf. Sect. 2, The Christian Religion, etc.

## PART II PREPOSITIONS

### INTRODUCTORY

The extended use of the preposition in Late and especially Ecclesiastical Latin is a well-known fact. Since the causes that originated and fostered this movement in the language are adequately discussed elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> it is my intention in the following pages merely to point out to what extent this phenomenon occurs in the Confessions of St. Augustine.

Judging at first sight from the amount of space I have devoted to my treatment of the prepositions, one might be led to imagine that St. Augustine's usage in this respect is for the most part un-Classical. But this is far from the truth. It is of course true that St. Augustine avails himself of a number of prepositional constructions that are practically non-existent in Classical authors, and that he employs prepositions with many verbs, adjectives, and nouns not so used by the writers of the Golden Age of Latin prose; but at the same time it must be kept in mind that most of these usages are, after all, only extensions of practises that are represented to some extent in Classical Latin. Thus, for example, the final use of *in* with the accusative is found occasionally in the writers of Early and Classical Latin, but becomes relatively frequent only with Livy; again, the use of causal *de* in Classical writers was restricted almost exclusively to the phrase *de causa*, but Silver and Late writers, under the influence of colloquial and poetic language, introduced a greater variety of expressions. Many other instances might be adduced of prepositional uses that are frequent only in the Late period, but whose origins may be traced to the earliest extant remains of literary Latin. Classical authors, in their striving for artificiality, naturally preferred pure case distinctions to prepositional phrases; but succeeding writers, even such finished stylists

<sup>1</sup> Cf. esp. K.-Steg. II 1, 488-492; St.-Schm. 494-496 and the literature there cited.

as Livy, soon realized that the use of simple case constructions at times led to indistinctness and ambiguity of meaning. For these and other reasons the employment of prepositions became increasingly abundant in the Silver Age of Latin literature and showed itself with even greater frequency in Late and especially Ecclesiastical writers. The latter had very important reasons for an abundant use of prepositional constructions. Being commissioned to convey new theological ideas to readers and listeners who often possessed only a meager amount of literary culture, they were obliged to resort to the use of prepositions in order to render their meaning unmistakably clear. To be sure, there were also other factors that led the way toward a more and more analytical expression of thought, but the one just mentioned was apparently the most compelling one in the case of Patristic writers. Nevertheless, as said above, this abundant employment of prepositions in the Late Latinity, at least in the case of the more careful writers, generally proceeded along lines inaugurated several centuries earlier.

This extension of usages occasionally found in Classical Latin occurs in the Confessions chiefly in the following instances:

- 1) in the local use of *ad*, *per*, *inter*, *ex*, and *in* (with acc. and abl.);
- 2) in the temporal use of *ad*, *ante*, *post*, *intra*, *inter*, *per*, *ab*, *de*, *ex*, *cum*, and *in* (with acc. and abl.);
- 3) in the use of *ex* to denote source;
- 4) in the use of *ad* and *prae* to indicate comparison;
- 5) in the use of *per* and *ab* to express instrumentality or agency;
- 6) in the use of *de*, *ex*, and *pro* to express various meanings equivalent in a general way to *secundum* (= according to);
- 7) in the modal use of *per*, *in* with the abl., and *sub* with the abl.;
- 8) in the causal use of *ad*, *per*, *de*, *ex*, *prae*, and *in* with the abl.;
- 9) in the final use of *ad* and *in* with the acc.;
- 10) in the consecutive use of *ad* and *in* with the acc.;
- 11) in the use of *de*, *ex*, and *in* (with acc. and abl.) to form adverbial phrases;
- 12) in a number of miscellaneous uses, such as that of *ad* with words denoting the Deity, and to express general ideas of relation-

ship; of *secundum* in the sense of "according to"; of *erga* to express personal relations; of *ultra* in the sense of "beyond," "more than"; of *de* in the sense of "concerning," "about"; of *de* in the sense of "with reference to"; of partitive *ex*; of *ex* with the abl. of material; of *cum* to denote general ideas of accompaniment, community, etc.; of *pro* in the sense of "for," "in behalf of," "for the benefit of"; of *in* (with acc. and abl.) in various figurative significations closely related to the local meaning; of *in* with the abl. to denote "in the person of," "in the form of"; of *in* with the abl. to denote reference, respect, relation, etc.

Of usages originating chiefly with the poets of the Augustan Age or with Silver writers the following occur in the Confessions:

- 1) the use of *supra* in the sense of "in addition to";
- 2) the use of *per* in a local distributive sense;
- 3) the use of *ab* in a causal sense;
- 4) the use of *ab* with names of towns;
- 5) the use of *de* with the abl. of material;
- 6) the use of *de* and *ex* to denote instrument;
- 7) the use of *prae* with verbs of rest;
- 8) the use of *sub* with the abl. to denote an accompanying circumstance;
- 9) the use of *super* with the acc. in the sense of *praeter* (= besides, in addition to);
- 10) the use of *super* with the acc. to denote official superiority.

To these instances might also be added the use of *iuxta* as a preposition, which is rare before Silver Latin.

It should be added that in the above lists are included examples of isolated prepositional phrases first used by Late writers, as will be duly noted below. Besides this, however, St. Augustine naturally employs in the Confessions a number of prepositional constructions that either originated in the Late period (esp. among Eccl. writers) or occur very rarely before that time. The list of these peculiarities may seem rather lengthy, but it should be kept in mind that the number of examples among which they are distributed is comparatively small. Some of the usages from the group immediately preceding might likewise be entered here, e. g. the instrumental employment of *de* and *ex*; otherwise, however, the chief Late (or

largely Late) uses of the prepositions as exemplified in the Confessions may be summed up as follows:

- 1) the use of *ad* with verbs of saying;
- 2) the phrases *ante conspectum* and *ante faciem*;
- 3) the use of *ante* for *coram*;
- 4) the use of *post* with verbs like *ire*, *currere*, etc.;
- 5) the use of *post* with a substantive and a perf. pass. ppl. in place of an abl. absolute;
- 6) extensions of the local use of *inter* with certain verbs;
- 7) the use of *per* in a temporal distributive sense;
- 8) the use of *praeter* in the sense of *sine*, and to denote rest outside a person or thing;
- 9) the instrumental use of *ab*;
- 10) the use of *ab* with various adjectives;
- 11) the use of *ex* in place of *per* and the acc. of the person to denote agency;
- 12) the use of *sine* in the sense of "without the aid of";
- 13) the phrases *coram me*, *coram te*, etc.;
- 14) the final use of *pro*;
- 15) the use of *in* with the abl. to denote the end of motion;
- 16) the phrase *in Christo Iesu* and allied expressions;
- 17) the following uses of *super* with the acc.: in certain local phrases; in the sense of *plus quam*, *amplius quam*; in the sense of *de* (= concerning, about); to denote feeling or affection.

The colloquial element, which makes itself strongly felt in the Late Latinity in general, likewise affects St. Augustine's employment of the prepositions in the Confessions, although not to any marked degree. Practically the only usages of this type, each represented by relatively few examples, need be mentioned:

- 1) the use of *ad* and the acc. in place of the dat.;
- 2) the use of *ad* for *apud* or *coram* to denote proximity;
- 3) the use of *apud* with names of towns;
- 4) the use of causal and final *propter* in place of *ob*;
- 5) the use of *ab* to denote reference;
- 6) the use of *de* in a partitive sense;
- 7) the instrumental use of *cum*;

- 8) the use of *sine* with the abl. of a noun in place of an adjective (or adverb) compounded with the negative prefix *in-*;
- 9) the use of temporal *in* with the abl.
- 10) the use of instrumental *in* with the abl.

The employment of one preposition in place of another is especially frequent in Late writers. The Confessions likewise contain several instances of this usage, of which the following are most in evidence:

- 1) the use of *ad* for *in* after verbs of motion;
- 2) the use of *ad* for *apud* or *coram* to denote proximity;
- 3) the use of *apud* for *in* or *cum* with verbs denoting "to ponder," "to meditate," "to soliloquize," etc.;
- 4) the use of *apud nos* for *inter nos*;
- 5) the use of *aduersus* for *contra*;
- 6) the use of *de* in place of *per* and the acc. of the personal agent;
- 7) a general preference for *de* and *ab* in place of *ex* (by far the most numerous category in this group).

In general it may be said of St. Augustine's use of the prepositions in the Confessions that he follows the practise of the more careful contemporary writers. He extends rather than violates Classical usage, and where he avails himself of distinctly Late constructions, he does so chiefly under the influence of Scripture. A number of colloquial expressions are found, but very few, if any at all, which may be termed "vulgar" in the strict sense of the term.

#### A. PREPOSITIONS WITH THE ACCUSATIVE

The following prepositions with the accusative\* are found in the Confessions: *ad*, *apud*, *iuxta*, *propter*, *ob*, *ante*, *post*, *secundum*, *aduersus* (-um), *contra*, *erga*, *ultra*, *intra*, *inter*, *supra*, *per*, and *prae*; the prepositions *penes* (13, 13, 14), *prope* (12, 7, 7), *circa* (8, 3, 8; 12, 28, 38), *extra* (1, 2, 2; 2, 6, 14; 4, 10, 15 bis);

\*It is interesting to note that the following prepositions governing the accusative do not occur in the Confessions: *pone*, *retro*, *secus*, *uersus*, *exaduersus*, *circum*, *circiter*, *cis*, *citra*, *trans*, *foras* (foris), and *subtus*.

5, 10, 18; 7, 1, 1 and 2; 8, 6, 15; 10, 8, 15; 10, 24, 35; 10, 31, 47; 12, 15, 18; 12, 27, 37 bis; 13, 8, 9), and *infra* (7, 7, 11; 7, 11, 17; 11, 6, 8; 12, 27, 37; 13, 9, 10 bis) agree in each instance with Classical usage and therefore need not be discussed. The rest will be treated in full.

#### 1. AD

St. Augustine is very liberal in his use of *ad*, employing it 457 times in all. Several interesting deviations from Classical usage occur, among which the following are most in evidence: a number of verbs which are usually construed with the dative are followed in the Confessions by *ad*; verbs which ordinarily take the simple accusative are also found with *ad*; *ad* for *apud* or *coram* occurs frequently; the final use of *ad*, especially after verbs and adjectives, is quite common. In addition to these, many less frequent peculiarities have been noted and will be discussed below.

#### (A) Local use of AD

##### i. The use of AD to denote motion or direction.

##### (a) AD for IN after certain verbs.

The verbs *figere*, *intrare*, *intromittere*, and *uenire* are usually followed in Class. Latin by *in* and the acc. (cf. *lexica s. v.*; for *figere*, also K.-Steg. II 1, 590; T.L.L. VI 711-712; 714-715; 718, 57-81; for *intrare*, K.-Steg. II 1, 268). In the following instances in the Confessions they are construed with *ad*: 4, 10, 15, *ad dolores figitur* (anima) *alibi praeterquam in te*; 10, 8, 13, *intrans ad eam* (memoriam); 10, 10, 17, *quae unde ad me intrauerint dicant*; 10, 25, 36, *intraui ad ipsius animi mei sedem*; 10, 9, 16, *istae quippe res non intromittuntur ad eam* (memoriam); 1, 5, 6, *angusta est domus animae meae, quo uenias ad eam*.

##### (b) AD and the acc. instead of the acc. alone.

Four verbs, *ambire*, *appellare*, *expectare*, and *attendere* are followed in the Confessions by *ad* and the acc. in place of the acc. alone.

*ambire*: 10, 42, 67, *ambiendum mihi fuit ad angelos*? *Ambire* = "to solicit," "to have recourse to" with *ad* and the acc. of

the person is cited in the T. L. L. I 1850, 23-25, only for Tert., Aug., and Ps. Leo.

*appellare*: 1, 16, 26, *appellare ad . . . iudicem*. *Appellare* — "to appeal" with *ad* is cited in the T. L. L. II 274, 1-7, for Paul., Ulp., Ambr., Vulg., *et al.*

*attendere*: 3, 5, 9, *cum adtendi ad illam scripturam* (Optat., Filastr., Vulg., *et al.*; cf. T. L. L. II 1122, 48-62).

*expectare*: 6, 10, 17, *erant ora trium egentium . . . ad* (some Mss. have *a*) *te expectantium*, *ut dares eis escam in tempore opportuno*.

(c) *AD* and the acc. instead of the dat.

Colloquial Latin frequently employs *ad* and the acc. in place of the dat. This usage naturally began with verbs of motion and direction but gradually attained a wider scope until in Late Latin *ad* and the acc. was employed for almost every function of the dat. (cf. Linderbauer 119; St.-Schm. 410). The Confessions offer the following instances of this construction: 4, 11, 16, *fluxa tua . . . constringentur ad te*; 8, 2, 3, *subiecto collo ad humilitatis iugum*; cf. also other examples cited in the sections below, e. g. 1, 9, 14, *famulari ad*; 4, 10, 15 and 13, 8, 9, *sufficere ad*; 8, 7, 17, *uacare ad*.

(d) *AD* with verbs of saying, etc.

In the Late period we frequently find verbs of saying followed by *ad* instead of the dat. or *cum* with the abl. This usage already occurs in the poets, but becomes common only in Scripture (and Eccl. writers), chiefly through the influence of the Greek *πρός*, which in turn is a transliteration of the Hebrew idiom (cf. Bonnet 583; T. L. L. I 512-513). Only the following three examples occur in the Confessions: 2, 6, 12, *ut loquar ad te*; 2, 3, 5, *cogitemus, de quam profundo clamandum sit ad te*; 9, 4, 9, *cum clamarem ad te*. In the Class. period *loqui ad* always meant "to address," the preposition *ad* conveying the idea of both direction and position, e. g. Cic. Verr. 1, 27, *ad populum loqui*.

There are also other expressions in the Confessions that are formed on the analogy of verbs of saying with *ad*, e. g. 3, 11, 19, *cum pro me fletet ad te mea mater*; 9, 12, 33, *pro peccatis meis flet ipse ad te*; 3, 11, 20, *horis omnibus orationum suarum de me*

*plangere ad te*; 10, 37, 60, *tu nosti de hac re ad te gemitum cordis mei*; 7, 7, 11, *magnae uoces erant ad misericordiam tuam*.

(e) *AD* denoting distance.

It may be of interest to note the idea of distance expressed in 11, 31, 41, *quid et quantum eius (cantici) abierit ab exordio, quid et quantum restet ad finem*. This use of *restare* with *ad* is comparatively rare (cf. T. L. L. I 514, 71-77).

(f) *VSQVE AD*.

In order to emphasize the idea of direction, either literal or figurative, St. Augustine frequently (38 times) reinforces *ad* by the adverb *usque*. Most of the instances of *usque ad* in the Confessions need no comment; in the following, however, *usque* appears to be used pleonastically: 2, 2, 2, *non tenebatur modus ab animo usque ad animum* (cf. Thielmann, Archiv 7 [1890], 102-106; Goelzer [II] 146).

Note the rare use of *usque ad* — "no further than to" in 3, 7, 12, *quod unde uiderem, cuius uidere usque ad corpus erat et animo usque ad phantasma?* (cf. Thielmann, Archiv 6 [1889], 505).

(g) *AD* with miscellaneous verbs of motion or action.

*cogere*: 7, 4, 6, *nec cogeris inuitus ad aliquid*. This verb is most frequently construed in Class. Latin with the infinitive (with or without the acc.) or with an *ut*-clause. With *ad* it is cited for Plaut., Sall., Verg., Ov., Liv., and Silver and Late writers (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 687; T. L. L. III 1528-1532).

*conari*: 4, 15, 26, *conabar ad te* (Tert.; cf. T. L. L. IV 349, 70).

*posse*: in the following instance we have an elliptical use of *posse ad*: 11, 19, 25, *nimis longe est modus iste ab acie mea; inualuit; ex me non potero* (i. e. erigere me) *ad illum*.

*redigere*: 7, 5, 7, *ad nihilum redacta materie* (Vulg., e. g. Judith 13, 22, *dominus . . . ad nihilum redegit inimicos nostros*).

*transferre*: 3, 6, 11, *uersum et carmen etiam ad uera pulmenta transfero* (cf. Quint. Inst. 6, 2, 30, *hoc animi uitium ad utilitatem non transferremus*).

An extension of the local use of *ad*, with a shade of the final meaning, is seen in the following: 8, 2, 3, *edomita fronte ad crucis opprobrium*; 13, 18, 23, *donec roboretur* (homo) *ad solidum cibum*

et aciem firmet ad solis aspectum. This usage is rare in the Class. period (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 518).

Note the pregnant use of *esse ad* (= *niti-ad*, *tendere ad*) in the following: 13, 9, 10, pondus non *ad ima tantum est*, sed *ad locum suum*.

(i) *AD* after nouns of motion.

Two instances have been found of the use of *ad* after a noun of motion: 12, 12, 15, qui omnimodam speciei priuationem nec tamen *ad nihil peruentionem* cogitare non possunt; 13, 21, 30, talis enim est *introitus ad fidem* filiis Adam. The former construction is apparently formed on the analogy of *peruenire ad*; for the latter, cf. Cic. Mil. 49, nocturnus *ad urbem aduentus*.

ii. The use of *AD* to denote rest or position.

*Ad* in the sense of *apud* or *coram*, to denote proximity, occurs already in Plautus and Terence, but is used much more extensively in the Eccl. Latinity (cf. Rönsch 390; Bonnett 582; Grandgent 39; Salonius 155). The following examples occur in the Confessions: 3, 11, 19, *erant aures tuae ad cor eius*; 10, 3, 4, *auris eorum non est ad cor meum*; 4, 11, 16, *permanebunt ad semper stantem ac permanentem deum*; 5, 9, 17, *ubi essent tantae preces . . . ? nusquam nisi ad te*; 10, 43, 69, *qui sedet ad dexteram tuam*; 13, 7, 8, *flectentem genua pro nobis ad te*.

*Ad*, conveying the idea of position toward a place, occurs twice in the Confessions: 4, 16, 30, *dorsum . . . habebam ad lumen et ad ea*, quae inluminantur, *faciem*; 13, 7, 8, *ut sursum cor habeamus ad te*. The second expression especially deserves notice, since it is evidently a combination of the two phrases, *sursum corda* and *habemus ad dominum*, from the Introduction to the Preface of the Mass. Brightman<sup>3</sup> states that the *sursum corda* of the Mass dates from Apostolic times, and mentions as its source Itala Thren. 3, 41, *leuemus corda nostra cum manibus ad dominum* in caelos. St. Cyprian cites this formula, together with its answer, *habemus ad dominum*, in his Domin. Orat. 31. In the Apost. Const. *sursum corda* is ἀνω τὸν νοῦν.<sup>4</sup> The construction of *habemus ad dominum*

<sup>3</sup> *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, vol. I, *Eastern Liturgies* (Oxford, 1896), p. 556.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

is Greek: ἔχοντες πρὸς τὸν κύριον.<sup>5</sup> Elsewhere also St. Augustine mentions and dwells upon this formula, e. g. Serm. 25, 2; 86, 1; 311, 15; Vera Relig. 3.

The phrase *ponere ad*, although Classical, deserves mention here because of the frequency of its occurrence. Note the following: 2, 3, 6, *ponunt ad te tergum*; 9, 3, 6, non *ponit aurem ad os meum*, sed *spiritalis os ad fontem tuum*; 10, 11, 18 *bis*, *ad manum posita*; 11, 6, 8, *cuius auris interior posita est ad aeternum uerbum tuum*.

(B) *The employment of AD in various relations derived from the local use*

i. Final use of *AD*.

(a) With verbs.

The final use of *ad* with verbs occurs to some extent already in the Early period, and with greater frequency in Class. writers; but it becomes a marked feature of Late Latin (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 522; St.-Schm. 497). St. Augustine makes a liberal use of this construction. Note the following examples: 1, 1, 1, *fecisti nos ad te*; 2, 2, 3, *inponere lenem manum ad temperamentum spinarum*; 2, 4, 9, *abstulimus inde onera ingentia, non ad nostras epulas, sed uel procienda porcis*; 3, 11, 20, *ad consolationem tunc praesentis sollicitudinis . . . praedictum est*; 5, 5, 9, *ad fidem meam illius auctoritatem . . . praeponereim*; 5, 10, 20, *saluatorem nostrum . . . porrectum ad nostram salutem . . . putabam*; 6, 9, 14, *hoc ad medicinam futuram in eius memoria reponeretur*; 11, 22, 28, *haec est spes mea; ad hanc uiuo*; 13, 36, 51, *sanctificasti eum (diem septimum) ad permansionem sempiternam*. Cf. also 4, 10, 15; 5, 5, 9; 5, 9, 17; 5, 10, 18; 6, 6, 9; 8, 10, 24; 9, 8, 18 *bis*; 10, 35, 55 *bis*; 10, 36, 59; 10, 38, 63; 10, 41, 66; 13, 20, 26; 13, 21, 30; 13, 24, 37.

The use of *formare* with *ad* is cited for Verg., Hor., Liv., and Silver and Late writers (T. L. L. VI 1103-1108). Two instances occur in the Confessions: 9, 8, 17, *puellarum sitim formabat ad honestum modum*; 13, 24, 37, *in affectionibus formatis ad temperantiam*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. A. Fortescue, *The Mass* (2nd ed., London, 1914), p. 319.

Note the pleonastic use of *usque* with final *ad* in the following: 12, 25, 35, qui legitime utuntur lege *usque ad finem caritatis* (cf. Thielmann, Archiv 7 [1890], 102-106).

*Sufficere*, ordinarily construed with the dat., is used with *ad* for the first time in Liv. 4, 30, terra ingenito humore egens uix *ad perennes sufficit amnes*. The following examples have been found in the Confessions: 4, 10, 15, (sensus carnis) *sufficit ad aliud*, ad quod factus est; *ad illud* autem non *sufficit*, ut . . . ; 13, 8, 9, rationalem creaturam feceris, cui nullo modo *sufficit ad beatam requiem* quidquid te minus est.

Note the phrase *ad melius* after the Poet. and Silver verb *exhortari* (construed with *ad* on the analogy of the Class. *hortari*): 8, 1, 2, quamvis *exhortaretur ad melius*.

The phrase *ad exemplum* is used absolutely in Class. Latin; in Quint. Decl. 329, p. 293, we find it used with the genitive: *ad exemplum posteritatis*. St. Augustine employs it twice in the latter fashion: 1, 16, 26, (proponere) sibi Iouem *ad exemplum stupri*; 7, 19, 25, (Christus) natus ex uirgine *ad exemplum contemnendorum temporalium*.

The final phrases *ad hoc*, *ad hoc . . . ut*, *ad id . . . ut*, etc., occur from Hor. and Liv. on (cf. Goelzer [II] 149; Bonnet 585). Note the following examples from the Confessions: 3, 11, 20, ego (ipsum uisum) *ad id* detrahare conarer, *ut* illa se potius non desperaret futuram esse quod eram; 5, 5, 8, *ad hoc* ista multum locutus est, *ut . . . quis* esset eius sensus . . . cognosceretur; 8, 5, 10, *ad hoc* enim et ille narrauerat; 10, 16, 25, an dicturus sum *ad hoc* inesse obliuionem in memoria mea, *ut* non obliuiscar? 12, 31, 42, *ut* unam ueram sententiam *ad hoc* apertius ponerem, *ut* excluderem ceteras; 13, 22, 32, *ad hoc* enim ille dispensator . . . generans per euangelium filios, ne semper paruulos haberet, quos lacte nutriret.

An example of *famulari* with *ad* occurs in 1, 8, 14, *ut . . . excellerem* linguosis artibus *ad honorem* hominum et falsas diuitias *famulantibus*; this usage is cited in the T. L. L. VI 263, 34 and 70, 264, 3 and 53-57 only for Aug. (the present passage), Rufin., Ps. Prosp., Greg. M., and Ven. Fort.

St. Augustine frequently employs *ad* with the gerund or gerundive, though rarely deviating from the Class. norm. In a

few instances, however, he extends this construction to verbs and phrases that are not so used in Class. Latin. Note especially: 3, 3, 5, deus meus, refugium meum a terribilibus nocentibus, in quibus *uagatus sum* praefidenti collo *ad* longe *recedendum* a te; 3, 9, 17, *fiunt . . . omnia* a seruientibus tibi, uel *ad exhibendum*, quod ad praesens opus est, uel *ad futura praenuntianda*; 6, 5, 8, omnibus *ad legendum* esset in promptu; 8, 7, 17, differebam . . . *ad eam* (sapientiam) *inuestigandam uacare*.

(b) After substantives.

*adiumentum*: 2, 3, 8, nonnullo *adiumento ad te adipiscendum* futura existimabat . . . illa studia doctrinae (Ter., Cic. bis, Brut., Symm.; cf. T. L. L. I 704, 23-29).

*auctoritas*: 1, 16, 25, actum est, ut haberet *auctoritatem ad* (De Labriolle; omitted by Knöll and Vega) *imitandum* uerum *adulterium*; 8, 4, 9, multis sunt *auctoritati ad salutem*; 13, 34, 49, mentem . . . nullius *auctoritatis* humanae *ad imitandum* indigentem (Tac.; cf. T. L. L. II 1217, 76).

*exhortatio*: 3, 4, 7, liber ille . . . *exhortationem* continet *ad philosophiam* (cf. Suet. Aug. 85, Hortationes ad Philosophiam [the title of a book by Augustus]).

In the following we should expect *ubi requiescerem* instead of *ad requiescendum*: 7, 7, 11, non ibi inueniebam locum *ad requiescendum*.

(c) After adjectives.

Class. Latin furnishes many instances of final *ad* (with a substantive, the gerund or gerundive) after adjectives, but Silver and Late writers greatly extended this usage (cf. Bonnet 585; Lindnerbauer 262; St. Schm. 497). St. Ambrose particularly is fond of this construction (cf. McGuire 133). Note the following non-Classical examples from the Confessions: 10, 8, 15, animus *ad habendum se ipsum angustus* est; 13, 21, 31, serpentes . . . *astuti ad cauendum*; 13, 17, 21, lignum . . . *beneficum* (De Labr. and Vega; beneficium Knöll) *ad eripiendum eum* . . . de manu potentis; 12, 7, 7, *bonus* es *ad facienda omnia bona*; 12, 18, 27, *ad aedificationem* . . . *bona* est lex; 10, 3, 3, genus . . . *desidiosum ad corrigendam suam (uitam)*; 8, 6, 13, quem (animum) uolebat habere . . . *feriatum ad quaerendum aliquid*; 13, 34, 49, *ad usus*

temporales *fructuosa* in futurum opera; 6, 3, 3, *ad quaerendum intentus et ad disserendum inquietus* erat animus meus; 10, 35, 56, *me intentum fieri ad spectandum*; 9, 3, 6, *prae amore libertatis otiosae ad cantandum*; 7, 1, 2, *cropus . . . penetrabile ad capiendam praesentiam tuam*; 13, 21, 31, *serpentes boni non perniciosi ad nocendum*.

#### ii. Consecutive use of *AD*.

This use of *ad* occurs first in Cic. Fin. 3, 66, *inter nos natura ad civilem communitatem coniuncti sumus*, and is rare in all periods of the literature. Three examples have been noted in the Confessions: \* 11, 14, 17, *quis hoc ad uerbum de illo proferendum . . . comprehenderit?* 11, 31, 41, *nimum mirabilis est animus iste atque ad horrorem stupendus*; 12, 31, 42, *si ad culmen auctoritatis aliquid scriberem*; 13, 17, 21, *ex nostra infirmitate conpatimur ad subueniendum indigentibus*.

#### iii. Causal use of *AD*.

*Ad* in a causal sense is not found at all in the Early period, and rarely in the Class. Latinity, but is of frequent occurrence in the poets and in prose from Livy on (cf. T. L. L. I 552-553; K.-Steg. II 1, 522). Note the following from the Confessions: 2, 4, 9, *ad quod defciebam*; 6, 2, 2, (*mares et feminae*), *qui ad canticum sobrietatis sicut ad potionem aquatam madidi nausiant*; 10, 31, 44, *ad hoc incertum hilarescit infelix anima*; 10, 33, 50, *quas (lacrimas) fudi ad cantus ecclesiae tuae*; 13, 12, 13, *conturbata erat ad nos ipsos anima nostra*.

#### iv. The use of *AD* to express comparison.

This signification of *ad* (= as compared to or with, in comparison with) occurs a few times in Cicero, and is rare in all periods of Latin literature (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 522-523). A number of examples occur in the Confessions, though most of them are variations of the idea contained in 11, 21, 27, as will be noted below: 3, 3, 5, *me uerberasti grauibis poenis, sed nil ad culpam meam*; 11, 21, 27 *praetereuntia tempora metimur, ut possimus dicere*

\* In the last two examples *ad* appears to partake both of the final and the consecutive significations, with the latter predominating. Cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 522.

*duplum esse hoc temporis ad illud simplex* (for similar expressions, cf. 11, 22, 28; 11, 24, 31 *bis*; 11, 26, 33 *bis*; 11, 27, 34; 11, 27, 35 *bis*); 11, 27, 36, *quantum illud ad illud sit*; 12, 2, 2, *ad illud caelum caeli etiam terrae caelum terra est*; *ibid.*, *hoc utrumque magnum corpus non absurde terra est ad illud nescio quale caelum*.

#### v. The use of *AD* to express general ideas of relationship.

Although this use of *ad*, especially with adjectives, occurs with fair frequency in all periods of the Latin language (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 523), it seems proper to mention all the examples found in the Confessions, because they exemplify for the most part an extension of the Class. usage.

*Ad* with the meaning of "with a view to," "with reference to" occurs as follows: 3, 8, 15, *quanto magis deo . . . ad ea quae iusserit . . . seruiendum est*! 5, 7, 12, *iste uero cor habebat, etsi non rectum ad te, nec tamen nimis incautum ad se ipsum*; 6, 11, 18, *nihil ad agendam uitam certi comprehendi potest*; 11, 1, 1, *ad tempus uides quod fit in tempore?*

The phrase *ad litteram*, in the sense of "literally," "word for word," occurs for the first time in Sen. Suas. 7, 14, *totum locum ad litteram . . . diceret* (cf. Quint. Inst. 9, 1, 25, *ad litteras*). St. Augustine employs this phrase in the following two instances, but in the signification of "according to the letter": 5, 14, 24, *cum ad litteram acciperem (scripta uetera)*; 6, 4, 6, *ea, quae ad litteram peruersitatem docere uidebantur*.

The frequent Scriptural phrase *ad imaginem* (cf. Vulg. 1, 26) occurs four times in the Confessions: 6, 3, 4, *fecisti hominem ad imaginem tuam*; also 13, 24, 35; 13, 32, 47. In 7, 7, 11, *ad imaginem* means "conformable to": *ut manerem ad imaginem tuam et tibi seruiens dominarer corpori*.

The expression *quantum attinet ad*, a variation of the Class. idiom *quod attinet ad*, is first cited for Livy and is evidently a favorite phrase of St. Augustine, being cited 22 times for the De Ciuitate Dei (cf. T. L. L. II 1141, 59-65; K.-Schm. II 445). Two examples occur in the Confessions: 1, 7, 12, *quantum . . . attinet ad obliuionis meae tenebras*; *ibid.*, *quantum ad me attinet*.

The phrase *quantum est ad illum*, in 4, 12, 18, appears to be a

blending of *quantum ad illum pertinet* and *quantum in illo est* (cf. Goelzer [II], 147).

Note also the use of *ad* in the sense of "in conformity with," "in keeping with" in 5, 3, 6, *ibi autem credere iubebar, et ad illas rationes . . . non occurrebat et longe diuersum erat*; and 12, 32, 43, *quae nostrae uires, quae tempora omnibus libris tuis ad istum modum sufficient?*

### (C) Temporal use of AD

Instances of the temporal use of *ad* are so few that all of them may readily be mentioned here.

The phrase *ad tempus* (= for a time) is Classical, though rare, e. g. Cic. Lael. 53, *coluntur (tyranni) . . . ad tempus*. The following instances occur in the Confessions: 11, 6, 8, *ad tempus facta uerba*; 13, 37, 52, *tu . . . domine, semper operaris et semper requiescis, nec uides ad tempus nec moueris ad tempus nec quiescis ad tempus* (*Ad tempus* in 11, 1, 1 does not belong here; cf. above, "The use of *ad* to express general ideas of relationship.")

The expression *ad praesens* (= for the present) is cited for Cicero (*semel*), Pliny the Elder, Tacitus and Suetonius (T. L. L. I 557, 24-25). Only the following instance occurs in the Confessions: 3, 9, 17, *quod ad praesens opus est*.

Classical writers employ the phrase *uentum est ad* only of space; St. Augustine uses it in a temporal sense in 8, 2, 5, *ut uentum est ad horam profitendae fidei*.

In the following instance *ad* is used in the sense of "at": 7, 6, 8, *obseruarent momenta nascentium atque ad ea caeli positionem notarent*.

### 2. APUD

The preposition *apud* primarily denotes rest (= at, by, near, with) and is chiefly used with persons; hence it is to be distinguished from *ad*, which essentially denotes motion, direction, etc. (= to, toward), and is for the most part employed with places or things. In popular speech, i. e. in Early Latin and in later writers who affected colloquial diction, *apud* was employed to a greater extent than in the literature of the learned. It is especially frequent, however, in the Vulgate and Eccl. literature in general

(cf. T. L. L. II 336, 35-40; K.-Steg. II 1, 523-526; St.-Schm. 499).

In the Confessions *apud* occurs less frequently than one might expect—only 37 times; in 7 instances it is employed with names of towns and in 30 with persons, personal pronouns (chiefly), and personal attributes (used by antonomasia for persons). For the latter, cf. 1, 6, 7, *sine me loqui apud misericordiam tuam*; also 9, 10, 23; 13, 4, 5.

#### i. The use of APUD with names of towns.

*Apud* is used with the name of a town for the first time in Plaut. Epid. 53, *apud Thebas*, and then not until Tacitus, who also extended this usage to names of countries and islands. In the later Latinity this construction is found especially in colloquial language (cf. K.-Schm. I 190; K.-Steg. II 1, 524; St.-Schm. 499). The following instances occur in the Confessions: 2, 3, 5, *apud Carthaginem* (also 5, 8, 14; 5, 11, 21; 6, 9, 14); 9, 8, 17 and 9, 10, 23, *apud Ostia Tiberina*; 8, 6, 15, *apud Treueros*.

#### ii. The use of APUD = IN or CUM.

Occasionally in the Class. period, and much more extensively in Silver and Late Latin, *apud* is employed with pronouns in place of the usual *in* or *cum*. Thus, verbs like *uoluere* and others meaning "to ponder," "to meditate," are usually construed with the preposition *cum*, e. g. Sall. Catil. 32, 1, *multa ipse secum uoluens*; but in Silver and Late writers we frequently see them used with *apud* (cf. T. L. L. II 339, 10; K.-Steg. II 1, 525; St.-Schm. 499). Note the following from the Confessions: 3, 6, 11, *talía (ruminans) apud me, qualia per illum (oculum) uorassem*; 4, 15, 27, *uoluens apud me corporalia figmenta*; 4, 16, 28, *ego solus apud me ipsum legens cognoueram*.

On the analogy of the above, St. Augustine expresses the idea of soliloquizing as follows: 8, 11, 25, *dicebam enim apud me intus*: "Ecce modo fiat . . ."; 10, 8, 14, "Faciam hoc et illud," *dico apud me; ibid., dico apud me ista*.

On the analogy of *loqui ad* (Late for *loqui cum*) St. Augustine forms the following: 4, 4, 8, *temptaui apud illum inridere, tamquam et illo inrisuro mecum baptismum; quem acceperat*.

iii. The use of *APUD* — *INTER*.

The employment of *apud* in the sense of *inter* is cited for Cicero (*semel*), and then for Livy and Silver and Late writers (cf. T. L. L. II 339, 50-57). The Confessions contain only one example: 13, 12, 13, *apud nos* in Christo suo fecit deus caelum et terram.

iv. The use of *APUD* with words denoting the Deity.

The frequency of *apud* with words denoting the Deity, a common Scriptural usage (though strictly not un-Classical) may be noted here: 1, 6, 9, *apud te* rerum omnium instabilium stant causae; 2, 6, 13, ubi nisi *apud te* firma securitas? 2, 10, 18, quies est *apud te* ualde et uita inperturbabilis; cf. also 4, 4, 8; 4, 16, 31 bis; 8, 1, 2; 9, 13, 34; 10, 43, 68; 11, 7, 9; 13, 4, 5.

3. *IUSTA*

In Early Latin before Caelius Antipater (ca. 120 B. C.) and in Cicero *iusta* occurs only as an adverb. As a preposition it is rare in the Class. period; in poetry it occurs first in Vergil. Pliny the Elder and Tacitus were the first to employ it with any degree of frequency (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 526; St.-Schm. 502).

In the Confessions *iusta* is used as a preposition only in the following four instances, each time in its Classical signification of "close to," "by": 3, 11, 19, uidit me *iusta se* . . . stantem; 9, 11, 28, quod (sepulchrum) sibi . . . praeparauerat *iusta corpus* uiri sui; 9, 12, 32, iam *iusta sepulchrum* posito cadauere; 13, 20, 26, uoces nuntiorum tuorum uolitantes super terram *iusta firmentum* libri tui.

*Iusta* with adverbial force occurs in 3, 7, 13 and 9, 4, 8.

4. *PROPTER*(A) Causal use of *PROPTER*

*Propter* in its causal signification (=on account of, by reason of)<sup>1</sup> was much more common in colloquial speech than its synonym *ob*, which belongs rather to the literary language. For example,

<sup>1</sup> It is only in its causal and final uses that *propter* occurs in the Confessions.

Tacitus in his historical works uses *propter* only once, but *ob* 166 times. On the other hand, in the Peregrinatio Aetheriae and in Filastrius *ob* does not occur at all, while *propter* is found about 20 times in each work. In the New Testament *ob* occurs only twice (II Tim. 1, 12, and Tit. 1, 13),<sup>2</sup> while *propter* is used about 200 times (cf. Wölflin, Archiv 1 [1884], 161-169; Juret [Filastr.] 215; Löfstedt [Peregr.] 219; Linderbauer 139; St.-Schm. 504).

There is evidence for this displacement also in the Confessions, where *propter* occurs 63 times, *ob* only 12 times (with causal or final force). It appears quite probable that St. Augustine was influenced in this respect not only by the general trend of his time, but most of all by the usage of the Bible—especially if we take into consideration two common Scriptural phrases, *propter te* and *propter nomen tuum*, the former of which occurs 8 times in the Confessions (4, 9, 14; 5, 4, 7; 5, 12, 22; 10, 22, 32; 10, 29, 40; 10, 36, 59 bis; 13, 31, 46) and the latter twice (9, 2, 3; 10, 4, 5).

*Propter quod* (= *propterea quod*) is Late Latin usage, occurring for the first time in the Collectio Avellana (367-553 A. D.) (cf. St.-Schm. 504). Only one instance is found in the Confessions: 3, 12, 21, multa praetereo, *propter quod* propero ad ea, quae me magis urgent confiteri tibi.

Apart from the Scriptural phrases and the one example of *propter quod*, there are about 35 instances of *propter* in a strictly causal sense, of which the following may be cited as typical: 2, 5, 10, uita, quam hic uiuimus, habet inlecebram suam *propter* quendam modum decoris sui et *conuenientiam* cum his omnibus infimis pulchris; *ibid.*, amicitia quoque hominum caro nodo dulcis est *propter unitatem* de multis animis; *ibid.*, *propter uniuersa* haec . . . peccatum admittitur; 4, 4, 7, a fide uera . . . deflexeram eum in superstitiosas fabellas . . ., *propter quas* me plangebatur mater; 5, 4, 7, qui uero et te et illa nouit, non *propter illa* beatior; 6, 2, 2, eam . . . ille (diligebat) *propter* eius religiosissimam *conuersationem*; 9, 8, 17, *propter senectam* . . . honorabatur; 10, 23, 34, *propter eam rem* oderunt ueritatem, quam pro ueritate amant; 12, 15, 22, *propter nullam formam* nullus ordo erat; 13,

<sup>2</sup> St.-Schm. 504 and other authors state that *ob* occurs only once in the New Testament.

26, 41, *fructu pascitur Helias a uidua sciēte, quod hominem dei pasceret et propter hoc pasceret.*

(B) *Final use of PROPTER*

Along with the causal force of *propter* there is present at times a secondary final signification. This usage is rare in Cicero, but becomes more frequent in Silver and Late Latin (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 530; St.-Schm. 504). The Confessions present the following examples: 3, 10, 18, *credidi . . . magis esse misericordiam praestandam fructibus terrae quam hominibus, propter quos nascerentur*; 6, 2, 2, *quem propter salutem meam maxime diligebat*; 10, 36, 59, *timeri et amari uelle ab hominibus non propter aliud, sed ut inde sit gaudium*; 10, 37, 62, *uideo non me laudibus meis propter me, sed propter proximi utilitatem moueri oportere*; 13, 17, 20, *idem namque illis finis est temporalis . . . felicitatis, propter quam faciunt omnia*; cf. also 3, 6, 11; 5, 12, 32 *ter*; 6, 7, 12; 8, 7, 18; 9, 2, 4; 9, 4, 8; 9, 10, 26; 12, 25, 35; 13, 12, 13; 13, 18, 23.

5. OB

(A) *Local use of OB*

In the local signification of "before," "in front of" *ob* is rare (cf. St.-Schm. 505). The Confessions yield but one example of this usage: 4, 14, 23, *pulchrum illud atque aptum . . . animo uersabam ob os contemplationis meae*; this is apparently "an elaborate variation, in the manner of the late rhetoric, on the phrase 'ob oculos mentis'" (cf. Gibb and Montgomery 100).

(B) *Causal use of OB*

As noted above in the section on *propter*, the preposition *ob* (= on account of, by reason of) belongs chiefly to the domain of the literary language, and was supplanted to a great extent in colloquial speech and Late Latin by its synonym *propter*. In the Confessions, this causal use of *ob* is chiefly confined to the formal phrases *ob hoc*, *ob aliud*, and *ob causam*.

*Ob hoc* occurs first in Cic. Att. 16, 11, 6, *ob hoc ego citius Romam (ueniam)*, but becomes frequent only from Livy on (cf. K.-Schm. II, 183; K.-Steg. II 1, 532; Souter, *Miscellanea Latina*, in *Rac-*

*colta Ramorino*, p. 282; St.-Schm. 762). The following examples have been noted in the Confessions: 1, 16, 26, *libenter haec didici . . . et ob hoc bonae spei puer appellabar*; 6, 5, 8, *cum essemus infirmi ad inueniendam liquida ratione ueritatem et ob hoc nobis opus esset auctoritate sanctorum litterarum*; 4, 3, 5, *non ob aliam causam se postea illis (litteris) relictis medicinam adsecutum, nisi quod eas falsissimas conperisset*.

The phrase *ob aliud* (in a causal sense) apparently occurs for the first time in the Confessions, 2, 6, 14, *potuitne libere quod non licebat, non ob aliud, nisi quia non licebat?* This expression is already found in Curtius, but in a final sense, as noted below under "Final use of *ob*."

In addition to the above, there are two further instances of causal *ob*: 8, 2, 3, *qui . . . ob insigne praeclari magisterii, . . . statuam Romano foro meruerat*; 8, 4, 9, *ipse quoque ex priore Saulo Paulus uocari amauit ob tam magnae insigne uictoriae*.

(C) *Final use of OB*

Like *propter*, causal *ob* also developed a secondary meaning. This usage is rare in Class. Latin, being confined chiefly to the phrases *ob eam (hanc) causam*, *quam ob causam*, etc., but becomes more frequent in the Silver and Late periods. Such expressions as *ob id*, *ob hoc*, etc., become especially common from Livy on. The phrase *ob aliud* (final) occurs first in Curtius, 6, 9, 35, *non ob aliud, quam ut oratio tua intellegi posset a pluribus* (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 532; St.-Schm. 506, 762). Note the following from the Confessions: 4, 3, 4, *nullae preces ad aliquem spiritum ob diuinationem dirigerentur*; 6, 9, 14, *non arbitror aliam ob causam te permisisse, deus noster, nisi ut ille uir tantus futurus iam inciperet discere*; 6, 10, 17, *nullam ob aliam causam Mediolanium uenerat, nisi ut mecum uiueret*; 10, 21, 31, *nec ob aliud uelit ille militare, nec ob aliud iste nolit, nisi ut beati sint*; 10, 37, 60, *quae (diuitiae) ob hoc expetuntur, ut alicui trium istarum cupiditatum . . . seruiant*.

6. ANTE

*Ante* is one of those prepositions which, because of the very nature of their meaning, show little development in usage through-

out the history of the Latin language; hence little need be said about its use in the Confessions, where it occurs 51 times. There are, however, several instances which deserve notice, either as being extensions of Class. usage or as having a Scriptural source.

#### (A) Local use of ANTE

In its local meaning of "before," "in front of" *ante* is often employed in Late Latin for *coram* (cf. Kaulen 237; T. L. L. II 131-132). This usage is especially frequent in the Bible, as the perusal of a Scriptural concordance *s. v.* will show. The Confessions furnish the following examples: 1, 5, 5, *ecce aures cordis mei ante te, domine*; 4, 14, 23, *et ecce (ueritas) est ante nos*; 5, 2, 2, *tu eras ante me*; 11, 3, 5, *transiit (Moyses) hinc a te ad te neque nunc ante me est*; 12, 14, 17, *mira profunditas eloquiorum tuorum, quorum ecce ante nos superficies blandiens paruulis*; 11, 2, 4, *inuenire me gratiam ante te*.

The phrase *ante conspectum* is cited for Festus and Late Latin, and is a favorite expression in Scripture (cf. T. L. L. IV 490, 63-73). Only one instance occurs in the Confessions: 10, 35, 57, *ante conspectum tuum*.

A very common Scriptural phrase, occurring in the Vulgate about 68 times, is *ante faciem*; the Confessions furnish the following example: 8, 7, 16, *constituebas me ante faciem meam*.

#### (B) Temporal use of ANTE

In its temporal sense of "before," *ante* presents several features of interest, chiefly from the standpoint of Eccl. usage.

The use of *ante* with the acc. to express the extent of time before which an event takes place occurs once in Cicero and becomes frequent only with Livy; the usual Class. construction is the abl. with *ante* as an adverb, e. g. Cic. Nat. Deor. 2, 61, *multis ante annis* (cf. T. L. L. II 133, 30-67; K.-Schm. *s. v.* ante; K.-Steg. II 1, 404-406). The following phrases occur in the Confessions: 3, 4, 7, *ante biennium*; 5, 3, 4, *ante multos annos*; 8, 12, 30, *ante tot annos*; 11, 15, 18, *ante centum annos*; *ibid.*, *ante decem dies*.

Note also the following phrases, naturally not used by Class. writers: 11, 13, 16, *ante omnia tempora tu es* (also in 7, 9, 14; 11, 30, 40; 13, 34, 49); 12, 12, 15, *fecisti ante omnem diem* . . .

*caelum et terram* (also in 12, 8, 8 bis); 1, 6, 9, *ante primordia saeculorum*.

In Silver and Late Latin *ante* is at times used elliptically with substantives possessing no temporal signification, in place of a participle or a subordinate clause introduced by *antequam* (cf. Landgraf-Weyman, Archiv 11 [1898], 246; St.-Schm. 500). The following examples have been gathered from the Confessions: 11, 6, 8, *erat iam creatura corporalis ante caelum et terram*; *ibid.*, *nullum autem corpus (erat) ante caelum et terram*; 11, 13, 15, *si . . . ante caelum et terram nullum erat tempus*; 12, 17, 25, *ut terra inuisibilis et inconposita intellegatur materies corporalis ante qualitatem formae*.

#### 7. POST

*Post*, like its antonym *ante*, shows little development in meaning through all the periods of the literature. In the Confessions, where it occurs 46 times, it presents even fewer deviations from Class. usage than *ante*.

#### (A) Local use of POST

As for the local signification of *post*, it need only be remarked that its use with verbs of motion like *ire*, *uenire*, *currere*, etc., is a Hebraism which found its way into Eccl. Latin through the early versions of the Bible (cf. Bonnet 591; Gibb and Montgomery 221; Saloni 160; St.-Schm. 501). *Post* in such phrases is the equivalent of the Greek *ὀπίσω*, e. g. Vulg. Luc. 21, 8, *nolite . . . ire post eos* (= *ὀπίσω αὐτῶν*). St. Augustine has the following: 1, 5, 5, *curram post uocem hanc*; 8, 7, 18, *post te ire*; 10, 35, 57, *canem currentem post leporem iam non specto*; 13, 19, 25 bis, *ite post eum*.

#### (B) Temporal use of POST

In order to express the extent of time after which an event takes place, Class. writers employ *post* adverbially with the abl. of degree of difference, e. g. Cic. De Orat. 2, 276, *paucis post diebus*. The use of *post* as a preposition in this regard, although occurring more frequently in the Class. period than *ante* in the same construction, nevertheless becomes common only with Livy (cf. K.-Schm. *s. v.*; K.-Steg. II 1, 403-406; Georges *s. v.*). This usage is exemplified in the Confessions as follows: 3, 7, 13, *post horam*; 4, 4, 8, *post*

*paucos dies*; 6, 15, 25, *post biennium*; 7, 15, 21, *post innumerabilia spatia temporum*; 8, 8, 19, *post paululum*; 11, 15, 18, *post centum annos*; *ibid.*, *post decem dies*.

The elliptical use of *post*, in place of a participle or a subordinate clause introduced by *postquam*, though found to some extent in the Class. Latinity, becomes common only in Silver and Late writers (cf. Landgraf-Weyman, Archiv 11 [1898], 246; K.-Steg. II 1, 534; St.-Schm. 501). The Confessions have the following: 1, 11, 17, *post lauacrum*; 5, 2, 2, (plorare) *post uias difficiles*; 6, 15, 25, (uulnus) *post feruorem doloremque acerrimum putrescebat*; 8, 6, 13, *mecum erat Alypius otiosus ab opere post assessionem tertiam*; 9, 10, 23, *post longi itineris laborem*; 9, 13, 35, *si qua (debita) . . . contraxit . . . post aquam salutis*; 12, 29, 40, *post uniuersitatem*; 13, 20, 28, *nisi spiritaliter uiuisceret anima gradu alio et post initii uerbum in consummationem respiceret*; 13, 36, 51, *tu post opera tua . . . requieuiisti septimo die*; 13, 38, 53, *post illa (opera) nos requieturos . . . speramus*.

The Confessions reveal only one example of the Late usage of *post* with a substantive and a perf. pass. ppl. in place of an ablative absolute: 13, 6, 7, *dic mihi, quae causa fuerat, ut post nominatum caelum et terram . . . tum demum scriptura tua nominaret spiritum tuum?* (cf. Bonnet 592; Goelzer [II] 159; St.-Schm. 501).

#### 8. SECUNDUM

*Secundum* is used in the Confessions (26 times) exclusively in its transferred meaning of "according to," "in accordance with." In this sense it is confined in the Class. period chiefly to the phrase *secundum naturam*; in Silver and Late Latin we meet with a wider variety of combinations (cf. K.-Schm. s. v.; K.-Steg. II 1, 536; St.-Schm. 517). The Confessions show great freedom in this respect; note the following: 1, 6, 7, *tu mihi per eas dabas alimentum infantiae secundum institutionem tuam*; 1, 8, 13, *prensabam memoria, cum ipsi appellabant rem aliquam et cum secundum eam uocem corpus ad aliquid mouebant*; 1, 13, 22, *secundum id pactum et placitum*; 3, 6, 11, *cum te non secundum intellectum mentia, . . . sed secundum sensum quaererem*; 3, 7, 12, *quid in nobis esset, secundum quod essemus, . . . ignorabam*; 3, 7, 13, *secundum quam (legem) iusti essent Abraham et Isaac et Iacob*;

5, 5, 9, *secundum eius uerba*; 6, 3, 3, *Ambrosium felicem quandam hominem secundum saeculum opinabar*; 11, 23, 30, *quoniam dies dicitur non tantum mora solis super terram, secundum quod aliud est dies, aliud nox*; 13, 24, 37, *in operibus misericordiae secundum praesentem uitam*; cf. also 6, 10, 16; 6, 16, 26; 7, 6, 8; 7, 9, 15; 9, 7, 15; 10, 14, 22; 11, 23, 30; 11, 29, 39; 12, 15, 22; 13, 2, 3; 13, 5, 6; 13, 22, 32 bis; 13, 23, 33; 13, 34, 49.

#### 9. ADVERSVS (-VM)

The preposition *aduersus* occurs seldom in Early Latin, more frequently in the Class. period, but becomes relatively common only in the Silver and Late Latinity, taking upon itself the functions of its synonym *contra*. It is generally used in a hostile sense, although Cicero usually employs it either to designate friendly feeling or to express the general relation of a person or thing to another (cf. T. L. L. I 851, 34-47; K.-Steg. II 1, 537; St.-Schm. 518). Its literal use in a local sense (= before, over against, facing, in the presence of, etc.) steadily loses ground throughout the history of the language (cf. T. L. L. II 851; there are no instances of this use in the Confessions).

St. Augustine employs *aduersus* 36 times (*aduersus* 33, *aduersum* 3) in the Confessions, chiefly in a hostile sense, and evidently prefers it to *contra*, which he uses only 17 times.

#### (A) ADVERSVS with verbs and phrases of saying, speaking, etc.

With these verbs and expressions, *aduersus* is found chiefly in Silver and Late Latin; *contra* is far more common in the Class. period (cf. T. L. L. I 857, 3-66, and IV 749, 49-50). St. Augustine uses only *aduersus* in this connection, except in one instance with *latrare*, after which he employs both *aduersus* and *contra* in the same sentence, Conf. 6, 3, 4. Note the following: 1, 5, 6, *tibi prolocutus sum aduersum me delicta mea*; 1, 13, 22, *non clament aduersus me quos iam non timeo*; *ibid.*, *non clament aduersus me uenditores grammaticae*; 4, 16, 31, *latrare aduersum te*; 6, 3, 4, *mihi confirmabatur omnes uersutarum calumniarum nodos, quos illi deceptores nostri aduersus diuinos libros innectebant, posse dissolui*; *ibid.*, *non . . . aduersus catholicam fidem, sed contra carnalium cogitationum figmenta latrasse*; 7, 1, 1,

*clamabat . . . cor meum aduersus omnia phantasmata mea*; 10, 31, 46, *aduversus dominum murmuravit*; cf. also 5, 11, 21; 5, 14, 24; 7, 2, 3 bis; 9, 4, 8; 9, 4, 11; 10, 13, 20.

(B) ADVERSVS with verbs and expressions of fighting, struggling, opposition, etc.

To express the idea of hostility after such phrases, Class. writers prefer the preposition *contra*; *aduversus* becomes more common with Silver writers (cf. T. L. L. I 853-855 and IV 745-750). St. Augustine uses *aduversus* 17 times but *contra* only once in expressing hostility of this kind. Note the following: 2, 6, 14, *extollunt se aduersum te*; 3, 8, 16, *saeuientes aduersus te*; *ibid.*, *aduversus stimulum calcitrantes* (cf. Ter. Phorm. 78, *aduorsus stimulum calces*; Vulg. Act. 9, 5, *contra stimulum calcitrare*); *ibid.*, *si iam non erigamus aduersus te cornua falsae libertatis*; 5, 10, 18, *totum ego eram et aduersus me inpietas mea me diuiserat* (cf. Vulg. Matth. 12, 26, *satanas . . . aduersus se diuisus est*); 8, 5, 11, *consuetudo aduersus me pugnacior ex me facta erat*; 9, 4, 8, *insani essent aduersus antidotum, quo sani esse potuerunt*; 9, 9, 19, *superbire aduersus dominos*; 13, 30, 45, *aduversus te . . . rebellare*; cf. also 6, 3, 3; 7, 7, 11; 8, 11, 27 bis; 9, 8, 18; 9, 9, 20; 9, 12, 32; 10, 31, 43 bis.

(C) ADVERSVS denoting opposition to law, custom, wish, etc.

St. Augustine's usage here is closer to the Class. norm, as he employs *contra* 13 times, but *aduversus* only twice, namely, 3, 8, 16, *quae aduersus te facinora, cui noceri non potest? ibid.*, *uiuatur male aduersus . . . decalogum tuum* (cf. T. L. L. I 859-860).

# 10. CONTRA

The use of *contra* in the Confessions calls for little comment beyond the fact that it is employed less frequently than its synonym *aduversus* (cf. Section 9, *Aduersus*). It occurs 17 times, and is always used to denote hostility, opposition, etc. Twice it is found in the same sentence with *aduversus*: 6, 3, 4, *gaudens erubui non me tot annos aduersus catholicam fidem, sed contra carnalium cogitationum figmenta latrasse*; 7, 7, 11, *cumi superbe contra te surge-*

*rem et currerem aduersus dominum*. In the following instance *ascendere* (in place of *surgere*) is oddly used with *contra* for the sake of word-play: 4, 12, 19, *descendite, ut ascendatis, et ascendatis ad deum. cecidistis enim ascendendo contra deum*. The remaining instances of *contra* in the Confessions are the following: 1, 10, 16; 1, 18, 29 bis; 2, 6, 14; 3, 8, 15 *quinquies*; 3, 9, 17; 4, 2, 2 bis; 7, 5, 7; 9, 13, 34.

# 11. ERGA

In the Class. period *erga* was used to express feelings and relations (esp. in a friendly sense) towards persons and things personified, but from Tacitus on we find it employed in general of every kind of mental relation to a person or thing (= to, towards, with respect to). Cf. Tac. Ann. 4, 20, *erga pecuniam alienam diligentia*. This usage becomes more extended among Eccl. writers and in later legal diction (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 541; St.-Schm. 520).

There are only four instances of *erga* in the Confessions, three of which conform to Class. usage (5, 9, 16; 9, 3, 5; 9, 4, 7); the remaining one is very similar to the example above cited from Tacitus: 9, 8, 17, *nec tantam erga suam disciplinam diligentiam matris praedicabat quantam famulae cuiusdam decrepitae*.

# 12. ULTRA

The figurative use of the preposition *ultra* (= beyond, above, more than), though found to some extent in Class. writers, occurs with greater frequency in the poets and in Silver and Late prose (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 547; St.-Schm. 507).

In the Confessions, *ultra* as a preposition occurs only twice, both times in a figurative sense: 2, 3, 5, *quod (pater) ultra vires rei familiaris suae impenderet filio, quidquid . . . studiorum causa opus esset* (the phrase *ultra vires* apparently occurs first in Verg. Aen. 6, 114, *uires ultra sortemque senectae*); 2, 3, 8, *relaxabantur . . . mihi ad ludendum habenae ultra temperamentum seueritatis*.

# 13. INTRA

The preposition *intra* occurs only six times in the Confessions. The four instances of its local use (1, 6, 9; 3, 3, 5; 7, 5, 7; 9, 10, 23) conform to Class. standards and hence need no comment.

*Intra* was rarely used in a temporal sense in the Class. period, and only in connection with the words *annus* or *dies*; but from Livy on we find it employed also with other expressions of time (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 549; St.-Schm. 512). There are two instances of temporal *intra* in the Confessions: 9, 11, 27, *intra quinque dies*; 10, 30, 41, *intra momentum*, quo hinc ad soporem retransseo uel huc inde retransseo.

## 14. INTER

Very few of the 76 instances of *inter* in the Confessions show any deviation from Class. usage; such departures as do occur, especially in its local use, are chiefly due to Eccl. influence.

## (A) Local use of INTER

The preposition *inter* is employed in the Confessions with the following verbs with which it is not used in Class. Latin:

*agglutinare*: 4, 4, 7, non est uera (amicitia), nisi cum eam tu agglutinas *inter haerentes* tibi.

*deputare*: 8, 2, 4, nec deputabo te *inter christianos*; 10, 36, 58, numquid etiam hoc *inter contemnenda deputabimus* . . . ? (Itala, Tert., Zeno, Inscr.; cf. T. L. L. V 622, 47-77).

*discernere*: 10, 8, 13, *discerno inter album et nigrum et inter quos alios* (colores) uolo; 10, 13, 20, (memini) *discreuisse me inter illa uera et haec falsa* (Quint., Vulg., et al.; cf. T. L. L. V 1302, 15-21).

*distare*: 4, 2, 2, quid *distaret inter* coniugalis placiti modum . . . et pactum libidinosi amoris; 6, 6, 10, tunc *distabat inter nos* (Nigid., Lucr., Vitruv., Sen. phil., Late; cf. T. L. L. V 1538, 15-36).

*diuidere*: 13, 19, 25, *diuidentes inter lucem* perfectorum . . . et tenebras paruulorum. The use of *diuidere* (in the sense of *separare*) with *inter* is cited for the Itala, Vulgate, et al. (cf. T. L. L. V 1595, 67-72; 1596, 24-26; 1601, 39-50).

—: 13, 14, 15, *inter quos et nos* in isto adhuc incerto humanae notitiae tu solus *diuidis*; 13, 18, 22, ut *diuidamus inter intellegibilia et sensibilia* tamquam *inter diem et noctem* uel *inter animas alias intellegibilibus, alias sensibilibus* datas; *ibid.*, tu solus . . . *diuidas inter lucem et tenebras*. *Diuidere* in its transferred sense of "to distinguish" is rarely used with *inter*; the T. L. L.

V 1607, 66 cites only Sen. Benef. 6, 13, 1 and Sacr. Leon. p. 342 for this construction.

*fluctuare*: 5, 14, 25, dubitans de omnibus atque *inter omnia fluctuans*; 10, 33, 50, *fluctuo inter periculum uoluptatis et experimentum salubritatis* (Liv., Silver, Late; cf. T. L. L. VI 941-943).

## (B) Temporal use of INTER

The temporal use of *inter*, either with substantives properly denoting time (*annus, dies, tempus*, etc.) or with various other substantives in order to designate the time of the performance of an act (*inter cenam, epulas, negotium*, etc.), is found to some extent in Early and Class. Latin, but becomes relatively frequent only from Livy on (cf. K. Steg. II 1, 551; St.-Schm. 511). The following examples occur in the Confessions: 3, 12, 21 and 9, 9, 19, *inter colloquia*; 8, 7, 16; 9, 4, 8 and 9, 10, 26, *inter uerba*; 9, 7, 16, *inter cantica*.

The phrase *inter haec* in the sense of *interea* occurs first in Livy (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 552; St.-Schm. 511); the following example is from the Confessions: 13, 20, 26, *inter haec facta sunt magnalia mirabilia*.

The use of *inter* with the gerund occurs for the first time in Caecilius and then in Vergil, but becomes relatively frequent only from Livy on (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 750; St.-Schm. 511). There is one instance of this usage in the Confessions: 8, 6, 15, *inter legendum*.\*

## 15. SUPRA

The preposition *supra* occurs in the Confessions 17 times. In one instance only does St. Augustine deviate from Class. usage, namely 1, 16, 26, in conspectu legum *supra* mercedem salaria decernentium, where *supra* has the meaning of "besides," "in addition to." This use is cited in the lexica only for Liv. 2, 18, 3, *supra belli Latini metum* id quoque accesserat, and Plin. Nat. 21, 39, de floribus *supra dictos* scripsit Theophrastus.

\* Mention should also be made of the following instance of *inter* with the ablative: 1, 18, 29, ne per linguae errorem dicat "*inter hominibus*." *Hominibus* is the reading of some Mss. accepted by Knöll in his *ed. mai.* but rejected in his *ed. min.* in favor of the conjecture *ominibus*. Gibb and Montgomery, as well as De Labriolle, have *ominibus*, while Vega accepts *hominibus*.

## 16. PER

Of all the prepositions construed with the accusative, *per* is second only to *ad* in relative frequency of occurrence in Late Latin in general. This is due chiefly to its use in expressing duration of time in place of the simple acc., in designating the principal agent instead of *ab* and the abl., in denoting means or instrument in place of the simple abl., and in expressing cause instead of *propter* (cf. Bonnet 590; K.-Steg. II 1, 554-558; Salonijs 98, 105, 122; St.-Schm. 520-522). Hence it is natural that St. Augustine should find occasion for an extensive use (325 times) of this preposition in the Confessions. This frequency, however, is by no means an indication that the number of deviations from Classical usage is relatively as great as in the case of *ad*. Proportionately only a few peculiarities occur in the local, temporal, and modal uses of this preposition; examples of the causal use are somewhat more copious; and although in the instrumental use, especially with things, we do notice a higher percentage of departures from the standards of more conservative writers, very few of the examples appear to be particularly striking. On the whole, it will be quite apparent from the evidence submitted below that the Confessions offer comparatively few instances of the typical Late uses of *per*.

## (A) Local use of PER

Although the local use of *per* is relatively frequent (occurring 86 times), there is very little divergence from Class. standards. Only the following instances deserve notice: 3, 7, 12, non noueram deum esse spiritum, non cui membra essent *per longum et latum* (cf. Alc. Avit. Carm. 4, 241, ter centum cubitos *per longum* ducta tenebit [machina]); 4, 16, 31, quid . . . mihi proderat ingenium *per illas doctrinas agile*? (cf. Sil. 13, 240, quanta est uis *agili per caerula* Liburnae); 6, 8, 13, cum forte de prandio redeuntibus *per uiam* (De Labr.; peruium Knöll) esset.<sup>10</sup>

The use of *per* in a local distributive sense is rare, occurring only in Liv. Andr., Sall., Ov., Sen. phil., Colum., Plin. min., and

<sup>10</sup> *Per uiam* suggests the adverb *peruiam*, cited in the lexica only for Plaut. Aul. 438, angulos . . . aedium . . . mihi *peruiam* (Goetz and Lindsay accept *peruium*) facitis. Cf. Blase, Archiv 4 (1887), 322.

Flor., according to K.-Steg. II 1, 554. I have noted two examples in the Confessions: 6, 2, 2, (uinum) *per sorbitiones* exiguas cum suis praesentibus *partiretur*; 10, 14, 22, *diuidendo singula per species* sui cuiusque generis.

Note further the peculiar forms of expression in the following: 1, 6, 10, quam multi iam dies . . . *per hodiernum tuum* transierunt? 11, 21, 27, qua nisi *per praesens* (praeterit tempus)?

## (B) Temporal use of PER

There are but 12 instances of the temporal use of *per* in the Confessions, and of these few need be discussed.

The use of *per* to denote duration of time in place of the simple acc. is found to some extent in Early and Class. Latin, but becomes more frequent only in Livy, in the writers of Silver Latin (esp. Suetonius and Tacitus), and in Late Latin in general (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 555; Salonijs 121-132; Svennung 22-26; St.-Schm. 521). St. Augustine employs *per* to express duration in the following Class. combinations: 9, 7, 16 and 9, 13, 35, *per tot annos*; 5, 6, 10, *per annos* . . . *nouem*. In two instances, however, we meet with extensions of the Class. usage: 7, 5, 7, *per infinita retro spatia temporum*; 11, 13, 15, *per innumerabilia saecula*.<sup>11</sup>

*Per* in a temporal distributive sense in the phrase *per singulos dies* occurs about 30 times in the Bible, where it renders the Greek καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν, e. g. Vulg. Psalm. 41, 11, dum dicitur mihi *per singulos dies*: ubi est Deus tuus? There is but one instance in the Confessions: 13, 29, 44, scriptura tua mihi dicit *per singulos dies* ea quae fecisti te uidisse, quia bona sunt.

## (C) Instrumental use of PER with persons

Class. writers regularly used *ab* before the principal agent of an action, *per* before the secondary agent. But even such writers as Cicero occasionally substituted *per* for *ab* before a principal agent, e. g. De Orat. 1, 38, detrimenta publicis rebus *per homines* eloquentissimos importata. In the Silver and Late periods this nice

<sup>11</sup> It will be of interest to note that St. Augustine employs the simple acc. of duration six times, namely 6, 3, 4 and 8, 2, 3, *tot annos*; 9, 7, 16, *plures annos*; 9, 12, 33, *multos annos*; 9, 9, 19, *unum diem*; 6, 6, 10, *quot dies*. The simple abl. occurs only twice: 9, 2, 4, *una hora*; 9, 12, 32, *toto die*.

distinction between the two prepositions was disregarded to a much greater extent, especially with the passive voice (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 378, 555-556; St.-Schm. 437-438, 521). In the Confessions we find 68 instances of instrumental *per* with persons, of which the following exemplify its use to designate a principal agent: 2, 7, 15, *per quem* me uidet tantis peccatorum meorum languoribus exui, *per eum* se uidet tantis peccatorum languoribus non implicari; 4, 1, 1, fabricarent angelos et deos, *per quos* liberaremur; *ibid.*, ista . . . faciebam cum amicis meis *per me* ac mecum deceptis; 5, 13, 23, ut *per eum* ad te . . . ducerer; 6, 1, 1, *per illum* (uirum) cognouerat me . . . ad illam fluctuationem esse perduc-tum; 12, 16, 23, illam *per sanctum Moysen editam* sanctam scrip-turam; 12, 32, 43, ille *per quem dicta sunt*; 13, 24, 37, *per quos* (auctores) *lex ministrata est*.

#### (D) Instrumental use of *PER* with things

In the Class. Latinity the means or instrument of an action is usually expressed by the simple abl.; at times, however, we find the preposition *per* with the acc. so used, e. g. Caes. Gall. 1, 9, 6, *per colloquia componere*. In the course of time the latter usage gradually gained ground, until in Late Latin *per* and the acc. was used synonymously for the simple abl. (cf. K.-Schm. II 274; K.-Steg. II 1, 554; St.-Schm. 437-438, 521). In the Confessions there are approximately 120 examples of *per* with the acc. of the thing to express means, probably half of which reflect St. Augustine's tendency to follow the usage of his age. Note especially the following: 4, 11, 17, nam et quod loquimur, *per eundem sensum* carnis audis; 5, 3, 5, uerbum tuum, *per quod* fecisti ea, quae numerant (cf. also 4, 10, 15; 8, 1, 2; 11, 2, 4); 7, 1, 1, cogitare aliquid substantiae nisi tale non poteram, quale *per* hos oculos uideri solet; 7, 18, 24, sapientia tua, *per quam* creasti omnia; 7, 19, 25, *proferre per signa* sapientes sententias; 8, 2, 4, ut *per baptismum* regeneraretur (cf. also 9, 3, 6; 9, 4, 12; 9, 13, 34); 10, 14, 22, inde *per recordationem* potuere depromi; 10, 21, 30, *per corporis sensus* alios eloquentes animaduertunt; 10, 29, 40, *per continentiam* . . . redigimur in unum; 10, 35, 55, si quid . . . *per artes* magicas quaeritur; 12, 11, 14, *per quam* (informitatem) de specie in speciem res mutabatur; 12, 15, 18, nequaquam eius substantia

*per tempora uarietur*; 13, 2, 2, nisi *per idem uerbum* reuocarentur ad unitatem tuam.

#### (E) Modal use of *PER*

The use of *per* in adverbial expressions of manner is found to some extent in Early and Class. Latin, but becomes extended only in Silver and Late writers (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 557; St.-Schm. 521). Only the following instances occur in the Confessions; 3, 2, 3, cum sese (amantes) fruebantur *per flagitia*; 9, 9, 19, uelut *per iocum* grauius admonens; 12, 28, 38, fierent omnia bona ualde, siue maneant circa te, siue gradatim remotiori distantia *per tempora et locos* pulchras uariationes faciant aut patiantur.

#### (F) Causal use of *PER*

The causal use of *per* (= *propter*) is found in all periods of the literature, but becomes relatively frequent only in Silver and Late Latin (chiefly) (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 557; St.-Schm. 521). Note the following instances from the Confessions: 1, 6, 7, *dare* . . . mihi *per ordinatum affectum* uolebant quo abundabant ex te; 1, 18, 29, cauet, ne *per* linguae errorem dicat "inter orationes" et ne *per mentis furorem* hominem auferat ex hominibus non cauet; 3, 4, 7, in qua (eloquentia) *eminere* cupiebam . . . *per gaudia* uanitatis humanae; 5, 3, 4, *per inpiam superbiam* recedentes . . . a lumine tuo; 6, 14, 24, *per amicitiae sinceritatem*; 10, 41, 66, *per auaritiam* meam non amittere te uolui; 10, 43, 68, ut . . . ipsi *per fidem* futurae passionis eius, sicut nos *per fidem* praeteritae, salui fierent; 12, 29, 40, prior materies sonandi quam forma cantandi: non *per faciendi potentiam* prior; cf. also 1, 16, 26 bis; 2, 2, 4 bis; 5, 8, 14; 6, 5, 8; 6, 10, 16; 7, 20, 26; 10, 42, 67.

Causal *per* with neuter demonstrative and relative pronouns occurs first in Silver Latin, e. g. Liv. 8, 6, 16, *per haec* ne quo errore milites caperentur. In the Late period such phrases are much more common. The combination *ac per hoc* (= and because of this), however, is apparently confined to Late writers (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 557; St.-Schm. 521). The Confessions furnish the following examples of this construction: 5, 3, 5, dicunt se esse sapientes sibi tribuendo quae tua sunt, *ac per hoc* student . . . etiam tibi tribuere quae sua sunt; 12, 7, 7, fecisti . . . caelum et terram non

de te: nam esset aequale unigenito tuo *ac per hoc* et tibi; 12, 29, 40, post universitatem non inueniet *ac per hoc* audiet inuitus: "Quomodo illud primo, si postea nihil?" 13, 8, 9, cui (rationali creaturae) nullo modo sufficit ad beatam requiem quidquid te minus est, *ac per hoc* nec ipsa sibi; cf. also 12, 17, 25; 12, 29, 40; 12, 30, 41; 13, 21, 29.

## 17. PRAETER

*Praeter* occurs 23 times in the Confessions, chiefly in its figurative (Class.) meaning of "besides," "except."

## (A) Local use of PRAETER

In its strictly local signification *praeter* is used to designate motion by or past a thing, e. g. Caes. Gall. 1, 48, 2, *praeter castra* Caesaris suas copias *traduxit*. This usage occurs with fair frequency in the Early and Classical periods, but becomes very rare in Late Latin (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 558; St.-Schm. 516). It is not found at all in the Confessions. There are several instances, however, in which *praeter* denotes rest outside a person or thing, a use not recognized by Georges or Benoist-Goelzer. Note the following from the Confessions: 2, 6, 13, quae uero quies *praeter dominum*? 10, 10, 17, res . . . ipsas . . . neque uspiam uidi *praeter animum* meum; 10, 17, 26, si *praeter memoriam* meam te inuenio, inmemor tui sum; 10, 35, 55, quae (natura) *praeter nos* (= beyond our ken) est; 13, 8, 9, hoc tantum scio, quia male mihi est *praeter te*.

## (B) Figurative uses of PRAETER

To express the idea "contrary to," "against" Class. Latin usually employs the preposition *contra*, although *praeter* is occasionally so used (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 541 and 558; St. Schm. 507 and 516). In this use of *praeter* St. Augustine conforms very closely to the Class. norm, as the only two instances noted in the Confessions indicate: 8, 3, 7, eas . . . uoluptates . . . *praeter uoluntatem* inruentibus . . . molestiis homines adquirunt. The phrase *contra uoluntatem* occurs in 7, 5, 7; for a number of other expressions with *contra* (= contrary to, in violation of) cf. the section dealing with this preposition.

In Late Latin *praeter* is occasionally used as the equivalent of *sine*, e. g. Vit. S. Pachom. 39 (Migne 73, 257), cadauer efferri iussit *ac praeter* aliquam *psalmodiam* sepeliri (cf. Schlutter, Archiv 11 [1900], 427; St.-Schm. 516). An example of this usage apparently occurs in 10, 16, 25, memoriae meae uis non comprehenditur a me, cum ipsum me non dicam *praeter illam*.

## B. PREPOSITIONS WITH THE ABLATIVE

The following<sup>12</sup> prepositions governing the abl. occur in the Confessions: *ab*, *de*, *ex*, *cum*, *sine*, *coram*, *prae*, *pro*, and *tenuis*. All show deviations from Class. usage and will therefore be treated in full:

Although brief summaries of the employment of the individual prepositions appear at appropriate places in the following pages, it appears advisable to make at this point a few general remarks on the following three closely related prepositions: *ab*, *de*, and *ex*. The fundamental local uses of these three prepositions, as exemplified in Class. authors, may be distinguished as follows: *ab* signifies a mere external departure from a fixed point, while *ex* denotes departure from the interior of a thing; *de* holds a middle place between *ab* and *ex*, indicating the separation of an object from something essentially united to it. Though there is evidence to prove that in Early Latin *de* was often used synonymously with *ab* (cf. St.-Schm. 525), in the Class. period it was closest in meaning to *ex*. Hence we find that many verbs are construed with both *de* and *ex* without any appreciable distinction of meaning, e. g. *eripere de* and *ex manibus*, *decedere de* and *e uita*. There are also a few verbs which are construed with all three prepositions with apparently no difference in meaning, e. g. *audire*, *quaerere*, etc. Furthermore, verbs compounded with *de* have the point of departure indicated not only by this preposition, but also by *ab* and *ex*, while verbs compounded with *ab* and *ex* are not infrequently construed with *de*. This tendency toward promiscuity of usage became more and more pronounced in the Silver and Late (chiefly) periods of the language; but it is especially to be noted that *de* gradually

<sup>12</sup> It is worth noting that the following prepositions with the abl. are not found in the Confessions: *absque*, *palam*, *clam*, *simul*, *procul*, and *fini*.

gained the upper hand, until in the Late Latinity it almost completely displaced its two rivals. This was no doubt due principally to its medial position between *ab* and *ex*; furthermore, it had always been the favorite preposition in colloquial Latin. It is also noteworthy that *de* is the only one of these prepositions that found its way into the Romance languages (cf. Grandgent 39; K.-Steg. II 1, 497 and 501; Linderbauer 113; St.-Schm. 525 and 528). St. Augustine follows the trend of his time by showing in the Confessions a marked predilection for the preposition *de*, especially in preferring it to *ex*; *ab*, however, still plays an important role, likewise replacing its synonym *ex*. In other words, the following pages will reveal a decided preference in the Confessions for *de* and *ab* in place of *ex*.

### 1. AB

The fundamental signification of this preposition is "from," "away from," denoting external separation or departure from a person or thing. From this meaning are derived its other connotations of source or origin, agency or instrument, cause, etc., as well as its use in expressions of time. *Ab* was always one of the favorite prepositions of colloquial Latin, and played a considerable part in the tendency to replace pure case distinctions by prepositional phrases. Silver writers adopted some of the colloquial peculiarities of *ab*, while authors of the Late period developed its uses to a much greater extent (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 492-496; St.-Schm. 523-525). St. Augustine employs this preposition 553 times,<sup>12</sup> and finds occasion to appropriate a large number of its

<sup>12</sup> The forms *a*, *ab*, and *abs* occur 328, 189, and 36 times respectively. *A* is used before consonants generally, which is entirely in keeping with Late usage. In Class. Latin the form *a* was used before a few consonants only, chiefly *b*, *p*, *f*, and consonantal *u*, while in the Late period it was employed before all consonants. The form *ab* occurs in the Confessions before vowels, *h*, consonantal *i* (once only, 7, 9, 15, *ab Iacob*), and before *s* followed by the mutes *c*, *p*, or *t* (*ab studio* in 1, 10, 16; 2, 10, 18; 4, 10, 30; 6, 3, 3; *ab scientibus* in 6, 6, 9; *ab spiritalibus* in 6, 3, 4); the form *a* is never used before *s* followed by any of the above-mentioned mutes (the so-called *s impurum*). Here, too, St. Augustine follows Late usage; in Class. authors *ab* is found before vowels and *l*, *n*, *r*, *s*, and consonantal *i*, while in Late Latin it is generally used only before vowels and *s impurum*. The form *abs* occurs only in the phrase *abs te*; but instances of *te* preceded by

Late uses. Thus, for example, he employs it with a number of verbs of motion and separation with which it is not so construed in Class. authors. With several verbs, chiefly compounds of *ex*, it is used to replace the preposition *ex*. In a few instances verbs are construed with *ab* because of a change of meaning they had undergone in the Silver or Late period; thus when *dirumpere* acquired the meaning of *abrumpere* (= to break away) in the Late period, it was only natural that *ab* should be used with it. Furthermore, *ab* is often combined with adverbs (chiefly a Late usage), especially with *longe*, and at times with *foras*, *foris*, and *usque*. A few adjectives and nouns are construed with *ab* contrary to Class. usage. In several instances this preposition is employed to denote source and origin, especially with the verb *esse*; with *audire* and *quaerere* St. Augustine shows a decided preference for *ab* in place of *de* and *ex* (all three prepositions are used with *audire* and *quaerere* in Class. writers). Many instances occur of the use of *ab* with the abl. of inanimate things to express agency and instrumentality, and with the abl. of persons with *feri* and *factum est ut*. Examples of causal *ab* are rare; the same is true of the use of *ab* to denote reference. No striking irregularities occur in the temporal use of *ab*.

### (A) Local use of AB

- i. The use of AB with verbs denoting removal, separation, departure, etc.

The most numerous deviations of *ab* from Class. norms naturally occur in the verb. In my classification of these various irregularities I have conformed for the most part to the order of presentation followed in the T. L. L. I 4-41.

#### (a) Transitive verbs.

##### 1. Compound verbs.

The transitive compound verbs which St. Augustine construes

*a* are more numerous (*abs te* occurs 36 times, *a te* 60 times). In this instance our author again follows the trend of his time; Cicero used *abs te* in his earlier writings, but later discarded this phrase for *a te*; *abs te* was likewise used very rarely by subsequent writers, but reappeared once more in the Late Latinity, chiefly under the influence of the Archaists. For a fuller discussion of the forms *a*, *ab*, and *abs*, cf. J. Hausleiter, Archiv 3 (1886), 148, and J. C. Rolfe, Archiv 10 (1898), 471-479.

with *ab* contrary to Class. usage may be classified as follows: 1) compounds of *ex* and other verbs which in Class. authors are construed with *ex*; 2) verbs which in the Silver or Late period have acquired a meaning entitling them to the preposition *ab*; 3) a group of five verbs denoting hindrance from action (*comprimere*, *continere*, *iubere*, *reprimere*, *restringere*); 4) miscellaneous verbs. A detailed account of these peculiarities follows.

*abripere*: 8, 11, 26, (nugae) retardabant . . . cunctantem me *abripere* . . . *ab eis*.

*abrumperere*: 8, 8, 19, *abrupit me ab illo* (Alypio) *aestus meus*; 8, 6, 15, *abrupi me ab illa spe*. *Abrumperere* in the sense of *separare* is rare and is used chiefly when armies or other groups of people are referred to; it occurs first in Livy. When there is question of individuals, it is cited only for Curtius and Val. Max. (cf. T. L. L. I 140-141).

*abscondere*: 1, 5, 5, *noli abscondere a me faciem tuam*; 13, 21, 30, *se abscondunt a facie tua* (Script.; cf. T. L. L. I 40, 80).

*auferre*: 7, 9, 15, *aurum, quod ab (=ex) Aegypto uoluisti ut auferret populus tuus*.

*circumcidere*: 11, 2, 3, *circumcide ab omni temeritate . . . labia mea* (Hilar., Ambr., Prosp.; cf. T. L. L. III 1123, 50-54).

*colligere*: 2, 1, 1, *colligens me a dispersione*, in qua frustatim discissus sum; 11, 29, 39, ut . . . a ueteribus diebus colligar sequens unum (deum); 12, 16, 23, donec in eius pacem, matris carissimae, . . . colligas totum quod sum a dispersione et deformitate hac. Class. writers construe *colligere* with *ex*; the use of *ab* occurs in Ovid and in Silver and Late writers (cf. T. L. L. III 1620-1621).

*deponere*: 10, 36, 59, a ueritate tua gaudium nostrum *deponamus* (Scrib. Larg. and Late; cf. T. L. L. V 581, 65-68).

*deprimere*: 7, 18, 24, subdendos *deprimeret a se ipsis et ad se traiceret*. This verb, even in its literal signification, is found with *ab* only in Colum., Plin. mai., and Ps. Prisc. Gramm.; in its present meaning of "to detach" it seems to occur nowhere else (cf. T. L. L. V 613, 58 and 614, 10).

*dirimere*: 7, 19, 25, catholica ueritas a Fotini falsitate *dirimatur* (Anm., Rufin.; cf. T. L. L. V 1259, 76).

*dirumpere*: 9, 13, 36, nemo a protectione tua *dirumpat eam*

(Iust., Itala, Hier., Facund., Greg. Tur.; cf. T. L. L. V 1265, 8, 57 and 1266, 12, 16-17).

*discernere*: 13, 21, 29, *ab aquarum amaritudine terra discreta*; 13, 21, 30, *arida discreta a gurgitibus abyssi* (Silver; cf. T. L. L. V 1296-1299).

*dispellere*: 10, 35, 56, multa . . . a (=ex) meo corde *dispulerim* (Sil.; cf. T. L. L. V 1395, 16).

*distinguere*: 13, 17, 21, *animas . . . distinctas a societate maris*; 13, 21, 29, *cum distincta sit terra . . . ab aquis maris*; 13, 27, 42, *terra ab amaritudine marinorum fluctuum distincta*; 13, 34, 49, *distinxisti eos ab iniquis*. This verb, in its Silver and Late meaning of "to separate," is used with *ab* from Plin. mai. on; cf. T. L. L. V 1527, 70-80.

*eicere*: 9, 1, 1, *eiciebas . . . eas (suauitates nugarum) a (=ex) me* (Script., e. g. I Macc. 13, 48; Dan. 4, 22; 5, 21).

*eripere*: 10, 31, 46, *eripe me ab (=ex) omni temptatione* (Script., e. g. Psalm. 17, 30).

*eruere*: 1, 15, 24, *eruisti me ab (=ex) omnibus uis meis pessimis*; *ibid.*, *eruas me ab omni temptatione* (Script., e. g. Psalm. 32, 19).

*exaltare*: 7, 9, 14, *deus exaltauit eum a mortuis* (formed on the analogy of the Scriptural *suscitare a mortuis*, e. g. Vulg. Eph. 1, 20, *suscitans illum a mortuis*).

*excutere*: 8, 11, 26, (nugae) retardabant . . . cunctantem me . . . *excutere ab eis*.

*praecidere*: 6, 11, 19, non facile ab eis (iucundis rebus) *praecidenda est intentio* (Cels.; cf. T. L. L. I 6, 79).

*resoluere*: 9, 13, 34 (Monnica), nondum a carne *resoluta*; 12, 15, 19, ut (creatura) . . . *ab illo (deo) se resoluat* (Cels.; cf. T. L. L. I 7, 48).

For the sake of convenience the following five verbs, all denoting hindrance, prevention, etc., are presented in a group:

*comprimere*: 9, 7, 16, a persequendi . . . *furore compressus est* (Hier.; cf. T. L. L. III 2160, 4).

*continere*: 10, 30; 41, *iubes certe, ut contineam a concupiscentia carnis*. The employment of *ab* with *continere* used reflexively, but with ellipsis of the pronoun—a usage confined chiefly to Eccl.

Latin—is cited only for Iren. and Aug. (cf. T. L. L. IV 709, 51-55).

*iubere*: 10, 30, 41, *iussisti a concubitu*. This is apparently a brachylogy for *iussisti ut contineam (me) a concubitu*, the phrase *ut contineam* being supplied from the preceding sentence.

*reprimere*: 5, 10, 19, *hostem . . . reprimere a nimia fiducia* (Cic. Sest. 117; Plin. Paneg. 83, 1).

*restringere*: 8, 7, 18, *restringi a fluxu consuetudinis*.

## 2. Simple verbs.

Verbs denoting freeing, cleansing, and healing (*liberare*, *mundare*, *purgare*, *sanare*), and a few other verbs of a miscellaneous character (*mutare*, *seruare*, *trahere*), are listed in this category.

*liberare*: 6, 16, 26, (nos) *liberas a miserabilibus erroribus*. In Class. Latin *liberare* is construed more frequently with the simple abl. than with the preposition *ab* (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 372). There are no instances in the Confessions of *liberare* with the simple abl.

*mundare*: 4, 6, 11, *me mundas a talium affectionum immunditia*; 8, 1, 1, *mundandum erat cor a fermento ueteri*; 10, 37, 60, *ab ista peste mundator* (Script., e. g. Psalm. 50, 4).

*purgare*: 3, 8, 16, *purgas nos a consuetudine mala*; 4, 1, 1, *purgari ab istis sordibus* (Cato, Varro, Tert.; cf. T. L. L. I 8, 79; St.-Schm. 423).

*sanare*: 6, 7, 12, *de Alypio ab illa peste sanando non cogitauerim*; 8, 1, 17, *sanares a morbo*; 9, 13, 34, *sanato corde ab illo uulnere*; 10, 36, 58, *me . . . sanas a libidine uindicandi me* (Script., e. g. Luc. 6, 18).

*mutare*: 8, 6, 15, *isti autem nihil mutati a pristinis* (Verg., Ov., Silver and Late; cf. T. L. L. I 8, 68).

*seruare*: 5, 8, 15, *seruans me ab aquis maris* (Verg., Hor., Silver and Late).

*trahere*: 7, 14, 20, *uisus iste non a (=ex) carne trahebatur* (cf. Ov. Met. 2, 606, *tracto . . . a corpore ferro*).

### (a) Intransitive verbs.

#### 1. Compound verbs.

The intransitive compound verbs which St. Augustine employs with *ab* contrary to Class. norms may be classified as follows:

1) verbs which in Class. Latin are construed with *ex*; 2) verbs which, through a change in meaning, would ordinarily be employed with *ab*; 3) miscellaneous verbs.

*defluere*: 2, 10, 18, *defluxi abs te ego et erravi*; 10, 29, 40, *redigimur in unum, a quo in multa defluximus*; 12, 15, 19, *ut (creatura) . . . ab illo (deo) se resoluat et defluat*. The use of *defluere* in the sense of *deficere*, *abalienari*, *secedere* is found only once in Cicero, Sest. 69, *unus (tribunus) me absente defluxit*, and is rare in all succeeding periods of the literature. Its use with *ab* is cited only for Quint., Ps. Apul., and Aug. (cf. T. L. L. V 363, 66-74).

*deuiare*: 2, 5, 10, *neque deuiandum a lege tua*; 9, 9, 22, *abs te deuiare* (Late, freq. in Aug.; cf. T. L. L. V 863-865).

*dissilire*: 2, 4, 9, *anima . . . dissiliens a firmamento tuo in exterminium* (Aug., Greg. M.; cf. T. L. L. V 1471, 9-24).

*exire*: 9, 13, 34, *nullum uerbum exisse ab (=ex) ore eius* (Verg., Silver). *Ex* is used with this verb in 9, 10, 23, *quo (die) ex hac uita erat exitura*.

*exurgere*: 5, 1, 1, *exsurgat . . . a (=ex) lassitudine anima nostra* (cf. Vulg. Eph. 3, 14, *exsurge a mortuis*).

*exulare*: 2, 2, 2, *longe exulabam a deliciis domus tuae* (Mart.; cf. T. L. L. I 10, 30).

*perire*: 10, 18, 27, *si forte aliquid ab oculis perit, non a memoria* (Script., e. g. Joel 1, 5; Psalm. 9, 4).

*procedere*: 4, 8, 13, *signis a (=ex) corde amantium . . . procedentibus*. In the following instance, however, *ex* is used with this verb: 11, 17, 32, *ex aliquo procedit occulto, cum ex futuro fit praesens*. In two instances *procedere* is employed with the simple abl., namely 6, 10, 16, *quod tuae ueritatis ore processit*, and 10, 38, 63, *sermo . . . ore procedens*. Class. authors use *ex* with this verb (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 363).

*resurgere*: 9, 4, 9, *resurgens a mortuis* (Script., e. g. Ioh. 21, 14).

## 2. Simple verbs.

The following six simple intransitive verbs are construed in the Confessions with *ab*, chiefly under the influence of Scripture:

*cessare*: 10, 36, 59, *tertium temptationis genus cessauit a me* (the passage in 11, 10, 12 and two in 11, 13, 15 are merely references

to the phrase in Vulg. Exod. 31, 17 cited below). *Cessare* is employed with *ab* for the first time in poetry in Ovid and in prose in Livy; Silver and Late writers occasionally employ this construction, but it is especially a peculiarity of the Latin versions of the Scriptures and of Eccl. Latin in general, e. g. Tert. Nat. 1, 7 (fama) ne tum quidem cum uera defert, a libidine mendacii cessat; Vulg. Exod. 31, 17, dominus . . . ab opere cessauit (cf. T. L. L. III 962, 54-84).

*errare*: 4, 12, 13, intimus cordi est (deus), sed cor errauit ab eo. The use of *errare* with *ab* is cited by the lexica only for Lucr. 1, 711, a uero . . . errasse uidentur.<sup>14</sup> Scripture, however, offers several examples of this usage, e. g. Vulg. Ezech. 44, 10; Sap. 5, 6; Bar. 4, 23.

*labi*: 13, 20, 28, a quo (deo) si non esset lapsus Adam.

*mori*: 1, 13, 20, cum . . . me ipsum . . . a te morientem, deus, . . . siccis oculis ferrem miserrimus (Script., e. g. Col. 2, 20).

*peregrinari*: 3, 6, 11, longe peregrinabar abs te; 10, 5, 7, peregrinor abs te (Ambr. Isaac 5, 47; id. Epist. 29, 13; Vulg. II Cor. 5, 6 and 8).

*uacare*: 8, 6, 13, frequentabam ecclesiam tuam, quantum uacabat ab eis negotiis, sub quorum pondere premebam. In the Class. Latinity *uacare* is regularly construed with the simple abl. and only rarely with *ab* (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 373).

## ii. The use of *ab* with adverbs.

St. Augustine combines *ab* with the following adverbs: *longe* (very frequently), *foras*, *foris*, and *usque*.

*longe*: Although the phrase *longe ab* is well known to Classical writers, it is mentioned here because it occurs more frequently in the Confessions than one might expect. It is very likely that St. Augustine was influenced in this regard by Scripture, where the phrase is very common, e. g. Vulg. Iudith 7, 7; Iob 21, 16; Psalm. 21, 2; Prov. 15, 29. The following is a complete list of the instances of *longe ab* in the Confessions: 1, 18, 28, longe (est anima mea) a uultu tuo; 2, 2, 3, non enim longe est a nobis omnipotentia tua; ibid., longe sumus a te (for other instances with *esse*,

<sup>14</sup> It should be noted that the citation from Lucretius is open to question, as the Codex Vat. reads *derrasse*.

cf. 3, 6, 10; 7, 10, 16; 10, 16, 25; 10, 31, 45; 10, 35, 56; 10, 42, 67; 11, 19, 25; 12, 7, 7); 6, 12, 21, a quorum ego granditate . . . animi longe aberam; 4, 5, 10, longe abiicisti a te miseriam nostram; 8, 12, 30, quibus (suis moribus) a me in melius iam olim ualde longeque (Alypius) distabat; 2, 2, 2, ibam longius a te; ibid., ibam porro longe a te; 2, 2, 4, longe exulabam a deliciis domus tuae; 4, 16, 31, cum a te longe non recederent; 8, 10, 22, longius a te recesserunt; 9, 11, 28, longe a sua ciuitate corpus relinquere; 10, 27, 38, ea (formosa) me tenebant longe a te.

Separate mention deserves to be made of the Scriptural expression *longe facere aliquem ab aliquo*, a rendering of the Greek μακρῆναι τινα ἀπὸ τινος; cf. Vulg. Psalm. 87, 9, longe fecisti notos meos a me; Iob. 5, 4; Prov. 5, 8; Bar. 3, 21. The Confessions furnish the following instances: 2, 6, 14, longe se a te faciunt; 5, 2, 2, longe fiunt a te; 10, 31, 45, ut longe fiat (crapula) a me; 10, 35, 54, longe se faciunt a te; 10, 37, 62, insaniam istam . . . longe fac a me.

*foras*: 1, 18, 29, a te, deus meus, ibam foras (Vulg., Paul. Nol., Chiron, Mart. Cap., Aug.; cf. T. L. L. VI 1040, 19).

*foris*: 6, 1, 1, quaerebam te foris a me; 9, 4, 10, si afferent ad me cor in oculis suis foris a te (Arnob., Optat., Rufin., Aug., et al.; cf. T. L. L. VI 1046, 58-75).

*usque*: 1, 9, 14, ridebantur a maioribus hominibus usque ab ipsis parentibus . . . plagae meae. This use of *usque* with *ab* and the abl. of personal agency is unexampled and strange; apparently *usque* has the meaning of *etiam* (cf. Thielmann, Archiv 6 [1889], 79).

Thus far I have treated the preposition *ab* as preceded by certain adverbs; there are, however, also two adverbs which follow this preposition, namely *longe* and *usque*.

*a longe*: 3, 3, 5, circumuolabat super me fidelis a longe misericordia tua. This phrase is originally Scriptural, a rendering of the Greek ἀπὸ μακρόθεν or μακρόθεν alone; cf. Itala and Vulg. Matth. 26, 58; Luc. 18, 13; Itala Gen. 22, 4; Exod. 2, 4; Vulg. Sirach 21, 8; Hebr. 11, 13 (cf. T. L. L. I 40, 43-48; St.-Schm. 524).

*ab usque* (usually written as one word, *abusque*): 7, 2, 3, illud, quod iam diu ab usque Carthagine a Nebridio proponi solebat; 11, 2, 3, ab usque principio . . . usque ad regnum tecum per-

petuum. *Abusque* in a local sense occurs from Vergil on, and in a temporal sense from Statius on (cf. T. L. L. I 239, 47-79).

### iii. The use of *ab* with adjectives.

St. Augustine employs the adjectives *alius*, *deuius*, *mundus*, *otiosus*, and *sanus* with *ab*, chiefly in keeping with Eccl. usage.

*alius*: 7, 10, 16, non hoc illa erat, sed aliud, aliud ualde *ab* istis omnibus (from Tert. on; cf. T. L. L. I 1636, 67-79).

*deuius*: 2, 10, 18, *deuius ab stabilitate tua* (Ov., Apul., Ambr., Aug., et al.; cf. T. L. L. V 867, 43-53).

*mundus*: 1, 7, 11, *mundus a peccato* (Tert. Idol. 17, *mundi ab idololatria*; Vulg. II Reg. 3, 28; Dan. 13, 46; Act. 20, 26; et al.).

*otiosus*: 8, 6, 13, *otiosus ab opere*. This is a rare construction cited only for Caes. Civ. 3, 3, 1 and Cassian. Conl. 8, 7, 2 (cf. T. L. L. I 12, 32).

*sanus*: 3, 2, 2, *a talibus affectibus sanus est* (Hor. Sat. 1, 4, 129; Vulg. Ioh. 5, 4; Marc. 5, 34).

### iv. The use of *ab* with nouns.

Two nouns, *refugium* and *requies*, are construed with *ab* in the Confessions, chiefly in keeping with Scriptural usage.

*refugium*: 3, 3, 5, *refugium meum a terribilibus nocentibus* (Script., e. g. Psalm. 31, 7).

*requies*: 10, 34, 51, *nec requies ab eis* (temptationibus) datur mihi, sicut datur *a uocibus* canoris, aliquando *ab omnibus*, in silentio (Colum., Lact., Vulg., et al.; cf. T. L. L. I 13, 32).

### v. The use of *ab* with names of towns.

To denote "the place from which," Class. writers regularly employ the simple abl. with names of towns; the preposition *ab* is used when departure from the vicinity of a town is meant. Occasionally, especially for the sake of clearness, *ab* is used even when there is question of departure from the interior of a city. Silver and Late writers show still greater freedom in this respect and often employ the simple abl. and the preposition *ab* almost indiscriminately (cf. T. L. L. I 14, 42-51 and 15, 31-39; K.-Steg. II 1, 475, 477-479). In the Confessions *ab* is found in the following two instances: 2, 3, 5, *mihi reducto a Madauris* . . . longinquioris apud Carthaginem sumptus praeeparabantur; 5, 13, 23, *missum est a Mediolanio* Romam.

### (B) *ab* in other relations developed from the local use

#### i. The use of *ab* to express agency.

##### (a) With the abl. of inanimate things after passive verbs.

Class. authors express agency by means of the preposition *ab* with the abl. of the person or collective noun (*ciuitas*, *classis*, *res publica*, etc.). This usage is occasionally extended to inanimate things, especially when the idea of personification is present, or with verbs whose meaning suggests agency rather than instrumentality, or merely for rhetorical purposes (parallelism, symmetry of clauses, etc.) (cf. T. L. L. I 28-29; K.-Steg. II 1, 100 and 495; St.-Schm. 435). Late writers show much greater freedom in the use of this construction (cf. Bonnet 599; Goelzre [I] 337 and [II] 177). The Confessions offer the following instances of this usage, most of which conform to the Class. norm because of the pronounced idea of personification present or because of the peculiar meaning of the verb employed: 4, 15, 26, *neque mihi creabantur a ueritate tua*; *ibid.*, *a mea uanitate fangebantur ex corpore*; 5, 5, 9, *talis infirmitas in fidei cunabulis a caritate matre sustinetur*; 7, 2, 3, *ut quaedam portio tua . . . misceretur aduersis potestatibus . . . atque . . . ab eis corrumperetur*; 9, 13, 34, *dictum est a ueritate, filio tuo*; 10, 23, 34, *se ab ea (ueritate) manifestari nolunt*; 10, 34, 52, *non assumuntur ab ea (luce) in somno suo*; 11, 2, 2, *quousque deuoretur a fortitudine infirmitas*; 13, 4, 5, *spiritus . . . tuus superferebatur super aquas, non ferebatur ab eis*; 13, 21, 30, *(anima) suscipitur a praetereunte saeculo*.

##### (b) With the abl. of persons after *fieri* and *factum est ut*.

Before Late Latin, *fieri* is rarely used with *ab*. The T. L. L. I 29, 68-70 cites this usage only for Plaut., Ov., and Sen. rhet. Cicero employs *factum est* with *ab* in two instances, each time with the adverb *benigne*: Deiot. 36, *Antiochus . . . dicere est solitus . . . benigne sibi a populo Romano esse factum*, and Planc. 52. The Bible, however, offers more numerous examples of this construction, which is a rendering of the Greek *γίγνεσθαι ἀπὸ τινος*; cf. Vulg. 9, 7, *audiuit . . . Herodes . . . omnia, quae fiebant ab eo* (*τὰ γινόμενα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ*); Eph. 5, 12; Ier. 40, 1; I Esdr. 6, 8; Tob. 4, 16; et al. Note the following instances from the Confessions: 1, 12, 19, *bene mihi fiebat abs te, deus meus*; 2, 4, 9, *dum tamen fieret a nobis*

quod eo liberet, quo non liceret; 2, 9, 17, fallebamus eos, qui haec a nobis fieri non putabant; 3, 9, 17, fiunt . . . omnia a serviens tibi uel ad exhibendum, quod ad praesens opus est, uel ad futura praenuntianda; 5, 12, 22, illas eversions a perditis adulescentibus ibi non fieri; 6, 2, 2, ista non fieri nec ab eis qui sobrie facerent; 6, 9, 15, ut quasi . . . ille cogosceret, a quibus haec fierent; 7, 3, 5, cum totus fierem a dulcissimo deo meo; 11, 4, 6, ideo sumus, quia facta sumus; non ergo eramus, antequam essemus, ut fieri possemus a nobis.

In the Class. Latinity the phrase *factum est ut* is construed with the abl. of means and the gen. of the person, e. g. Cic. Cluent. 136, si qui sunt, quorum opera factum sit, ut iudicium publicum corrumperetur; S. Rosc. 27, eius . . . fide . . . factum est ut hic . . . referretur; Leg. Agr. 9; Planc. 84. In the following citation from the Confessions this phrase is used with *ab* and the abl. of the person: 10, 31, 45, ebriosus numquam fui, sed ebriosos a te factos sobrios ego noui. ergo a te factum est, ut hoc non essent qui numquam fuerunt, a quo factum est, ut hoc non semper essent qui fuerunt, a quo etiam factum est, ut scirent utrique a quo factum est.

(c) Miscellaneous instances of the use of *AB* that seem to fall under the heading of Agency.

The verb *pati* is construed with *ab* and the abl. of the person only in Eccl. Latin and is a rendering of the Greek *πάσχειν ὑπό*. Cf. Vulg. I Thess. 2, 14; Matth. 17, 12; Tert. Apol. 12 and 21. Only the following instance occurs in the Confessions: 5, 12, 22, quod enim ab eis passurus eram.

The use of *ab* after verbal substantives (and other substantives conveying the same force) is Classical (cf. T. L. L. I 29, 76-81); the following instance from the Confessions, however, is listed here because of its epigrammatic character: 13, 21, 31, aemulatio uiri ab amico est.

(d) Instrumental use of *AB*.

The employment of *ab* with the instrumental abl. is cited for Naev., Cic. Epist. 4, 11, 1 (*dub. lect.*), Sil., and for Late Latin (cf. T. L. L. I 34-35; K.-Steg. II 1, 496; St.-Schm. 524). The

following examples occur in the Confessions: 7, 2, 3, sat erat ergo istuc aduersus eos omni modo euomendos a pressura pectoris; 10, 8, 13, a sensu . . . totius corporis (*ingeritur*), quid durum, quid molle; 10, 14, 22, imagines inpressas a sensibus; 10, 36, 58, compressisti a timore tuo superbiam meam.

ii. The use of *AB* to denote source and origin.

The peculiarities of St. Augustine's use of *ab* to denote source and origin may be summed up as follows: 1) *audire* and *quaerere*, which in Class. Latin are construed with *ab*, *de*, or *ex*, are most frequently used in the Confessions with *ab*; 2) several miscellaneous verbs, *aedificare*, *esse*, *procurare*, *scire*, and *uolle*, are construed with *ab* contrary to Class. usage.

*aedificare*: 7, 20, 26, ubi . . . erat illa aedificans caritas a fundamento humilitatis? (cf. Vulg. II Reg. 5, 9, Dauid . . . aedificauit per gyrum a Mello).

*audire*: 1, 6, 7, audiui a parentibus; 2, 3, 8, a uiro . . . audierat; cf. also 4, 5, 10; 7, 6, 8 bis; 9, 9, 21; 10, 2, 2 bis; 10, 26, 37 bis; 11, 23, 29; 13, 19, 24. In Class. Latin *ex* is used more frequently than *ab* or *de* with this verb (cf. T. L. L. II 1275-1276). In the Confessions, *ex* is found in 7, 6, 10; 8, 1, 2; 9, 20, 30; 10, 3, 4; there are no instances of *de* with *audire*.

*esse*: 1, 6, 10, unde hoc tale animal nisi abs te, domine? 1, 7, 12, tu, . . . a quo est omnis modus; 4, 10, 15, quae tamen nulla essent, nisi essent abs te; 4, 12, 18, bonum . . . ab illo est; *ibid.*, quidquid ab illo est; 4, 11, 16, ueritati commenda quidquid tibi est a ueritate; cf. also 4, 12, 24; 5, 10, 20; 7, 11, 17; 8, 1, 1; 12, 7, 7 bis; 12, 11, 11 bis; 12, 15, 19; 12, 15, 21; 12, 15, 22 bis; 13, 1, 1; 13, 2, 2; 13, 5, 6; 13, 31, 46. In the Class. Latinity the phrase *esse ab* is employed in various significations of source and origin, the most frequent being "to be the servant (disciple, adherent) of." In the sense of "to come from," "to originate from," "to be created by" it is frequent only in Eccl. Latin (cf. T. L. L. I 22, 69-78 and 28, 14-25; St.-Schm. 523).

*procurare*: 4, 3, 6, hoc . . . ab illo uel per illum procurasti mihi.

*quaerere*: 3, 7, 12, cum a me quaererent; 3, 11, 19, qui cum causas ab ea quaesisset maestitiae suae; cf. also 4, 3, 5; 6, 3, 3; 6, 9, 15; 8, 10, 24; 10, 2, 2; 10, 21, 31 bis; 10, 23, 33; 12, 29,

40; 13, 19, 24. Class. writers employ *quaerere* with either *ab* or *ex* (*de* seldom occurs) and the abl. of the person questioned (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 302). In the Confessions *ex* is found in 11, 14, 17 and 12, 30, 41, while *de* does not occur at all.

*scire*: 11, 3, 5, num *ab illo* (Moyse) *scirem*? *Scire* is construed with *de* or *ex* by Cicero, e. g. Att. 12, 22, 2, id *de Marcello* aut certe *de Postumia* sciri potest; Vatin. 30, illud *scire ex te* cupio.

*uolle*: 8, 6, 14, nescio quid *a nobis uolebat* (Ponticianus). I have found only one other instance of the use of *ab* with this verb, namely Cic. 3, 156, quae *uolebat a Verre*.

### iii. Causal use of AB.

The employment of *ab* with the abl. to express cause begins in the poets with Lucretius and in prose with Livy, but is especially common in Eccl. Latin (cf. T. L. L. I 33-34; St.-Schm. 524). Note the following examples from the Confessions: 1, 13, 20, (Dido) *se occidit ab amore*; 10, 28, 39, uae prosperitatibus saeculi . . . *a timore aduersitatis et a corruptione laetitiae* . . . I 10, 38, 63, habent temptationem periculosissimam *ab amore* laudis.

### iv. The use of AB to denote reference.

The use of *ab* in the sense of "with reference to," "in respect of" is a characteristic of colloquial Latin, and occurs in Plautus and Terence, Cicero's letters, Varro, Horace, Livy, the Archaists, and Eccl. Latin in general (cf. T. L. L. I 35-36; K.-Steg. II 1, 496; St.-Schm. 524). The following examples are from the Confessions: 2, 3, 5, dummodo essem disertus uel *desertus* potius *a cultura* tua, deus; 3, 1, 1, famis mihi erat *ab interiore cibo*; 9, 7, 15, nos adhuc *frigidi a calore* spiritus tui; 13, 26, 39, isti (Philippenses) . . . *exaruerant ab isto fructu* boni operis.

### (C) Temporal use of AB

There are no striking deviations from Class. usage in St. Augustine's employment of *ab* in a temporal sense. In the following instances *ab* (=from, since [with reference to a subsequent period]), is used with nouns that are not found with this preposition in Class. Latin: 1, 11, 17, iam inde *ab utero* matris meae (cf. Vulg. Is. 44, 2); 7, 17, 23, *a constitutione mundi* (cf. Vulg.

Matth. 13, 35; Mar. Victorin. Adv. Arrium 1, 14); 8, 1, 1, *a iuuentute* sua (cf. Plaut. Poen. 1183; Vulg. Psalm. 70, 5); 8, 11, 26 bis, *a momento isto*; 9, 13, 37, *ab exitu* usque ad reditum.

### 2. DE

Fundamentally, the preposition *de* denotes the separation, departure or removal of an object from something essentially united with it. It is less clearly defined in meaning than either *ab* or *ex*, and occupies, as it were, a middle place between the two; in consequence, it took over many of the local uses of both *ab* and *ex*, especially in colloquial speech, where it was always the favorite preposition. Hence we find that, even in Class. writers, a number of verbs compounded with *ab* and *ex* have the "terminus a quo" designated not only by these same prepositions, but at times also by *de*. But as *de* was closer in meaning to *ex* than to *ab*, it naturally encroached more persistently upon the former preposition than upon the latter. Furthermore, *de* likewise played a prominent part in the tendency of colloquial speech to replace the simple ablative by prepositional phrases in conveying such ideas as origin, cause, manner, instrument, etc.; it was also used in a partitive sense and in various mental relations, to denote the subject-matter of a mental act. Class. writers preferred pure cases distinctions to prepositional phrases, although in such less formal productions as letters they occasionally inclined to the use of prepositions. Writers of the Silver period, however, were more liberal in adopting the colloquial (and poetic) uses of the preposition *de*. But it was in the Late Latinity that the province of *de* was most widely expanded, with the result that this preposition was employed far more extensively than either *ab* or *ex*. The final stage in this tendency of *de* to replace *ab* and *ex* is seen in the fact that this preposition alone found its way into the Romance languages; *ab* and *ex* have only survived as prefixes (cf. Grandgent 45; K.-Steg. II 1, 497; Linderbauer 113; St.-Schm. 525).

The following pages will reveal that St. Augustine did not hesitate to appropriate from the current usage of the preposition *de* (which he employs 438 times) whatever appealed to him. Although he may be regarded as relatively conservative in his employment of this preposition as compared with many Late writers,

it nevertheless remains true that, in the Confessions at least, he deviates more frequently and strikingly from Class. standards than in the case of either *ab* or *ex*. In the strictly local sense *de* is used to replace *ex* with a number of verbs, especially those compounded with the preposition *ex*. As to its various significations developed from the local use, we find it frequently employed to denote source and origin, means and agency; in several instances it is used in a partitive sense. Examples of the employment of *de* with the abl. to denote the material from which anything is made, as well as to designate transition from one state to another, are relatively frequent. Examples of the temporal use of *de* are not numerous. Causal *de* occurs only in a few though comparatively striking instances. A lavish use is made of *de* to designate the subject-matter of a mental act, especially with verbs and nouns not so employed in Class. Latin. A few examples occur in which *de* has the meaning of "with reference to," "according to." Adverbial phrases, whether of place, time, or manner, are few in number.

(A) Local use of *DE*, to denote motion or separation from a place

i. With compound verbs.

(a) Verbs compounded with *EX*.

It is only natural that *de* should be employed with verbs that are compounded with this preposition. Not infrequently, however, we find Class. authors using *de* with compounds of *ex*, e. g. Cic. Verr. 1, 142; *mihi praeda de manibus eripitur*; *id. ibid.*, *cur hunc . . . de carcere emitti iusserit* (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 497). In the Confessions I have noted the following instances of local *de* with compounds of *ex* that are not so employed in Class. prose.<sup>15</sup>

*educere*: 7, 3, 5, *aciem mentis de (=ex) profundo educere conatus* (Bell. Afr., Vulg.; cf. T. L. L. V 48, 17).

*emigrare*: 6, 1, 1, *priusquam de (=ex) hac uita emigraret* (Dirae 101, Vulg. Psalm. 51, 7).

*eruere*: 1, 18, 38, *eruis de (=ex) . . . profundo . . . animam*; 3, 11, 19, *de hac profunda caligine eruisti animam meam*; 10, 8,

<sup>15</sup> The insertion of *ex* in parentheses in the case of certain verbs indicates that they are used with this preposition in Class. Latin.

12, *quaedam . . . de abstrusioribus quibusdam receptaculis eruuntur*; 12, 25, 35, *quae (sententiae) de illis uerbis erui possunt* (Silver, Late, and esp. Script.; cf. Draeger I 512).

*euocare*: 9, 1, 1, *de (=ex) quo . . . secreto euocatum est in momento liberum arbitrium meum*.

*exhalare*: 2, 2, 2, *exhalabantur nebulae de limosa concupiscentia carnis* (Ov., Tert.; cf. T. L. L. V 48, 40).

*ersudare*: 9, 12, 32, *neque enim exsudauit de corde meo maeroris amaritudo*.

*exuere*: 6, 6, 9, *anima mea, quam de (=ex) uisco tam tenaci mortis exuisti* (Ov. Medic. 54).

(b) Other compound verbs.

Four verbs compounded with prepositions other than *ex* are construed with *de* contrary to the best Class. usage:

*anhelare*: 3, 10, 18, *quam . . . ficum si comedisset aliquis sanctus . . . et anhelaret de illa angelos* (Cic. Arat. 58, Late; cf. T. L. L. II 67, 18-51).

*ascendere*: 10, 4, 5, *hymnus et fletus ascendant . . . de fraternis cordibus* (Tert., Vulg.; cf. T. L. L. II 755, 32-34).

*perire*: 6, 9, 15, *quae (ablatae res) perissent de foro* (Pers., Stat., Vulg. [Exod. 9, 15; Psalm. Hebr. 10, 16; Joel. 1, 9; Num. 16, 33; Zach. 9, 5; Luc. 21, 18; *et al.*]; cf. T. L. L. V 48, 62; Guillemin 21).

*recedere*: 3, 6, 10, *haec nomina non recedebant de (=ex or ab) ore eorum* (rare Class., Silver and Late; cf. Draeger I 627; K.-Steg. II 1, 365).

ii. With simple verbs.

In the Confessions the preposition *de* is used with the following six simple verbs which in Class. Latin are either employed with *ab* or *ex* or take no preposition whatever denoting motion from a place:

*cessare*: 6, 2, 2, *uidetur mihi . . . non facile . . . de hac amputanda consuetudine matrem meam fuisse cessuram* (from Tert. on; cf. T. L. L. III 962-963).

*clamare*: 2, 3, 5, *cogitemus, de quam profundo clamandum sit ad te*; 11, 2, 3, *audi (animam) clamantem de profundo* (Tert., Vulg.; cf. T. L. L. V 46, 48).

*crescere*: 7, 7, 11, haec *de* (= *ex*) *vulnere* meo *creuerant* (Lucr., Ov., Petron.; cf. T. L. L. IV 1176-1184).

*fugere*: 4, 7, 12, *fugi de* (= *ex* or *a*) *patria* (Poet., Silver, Late; cf. T. L. L. VI 1478-1480; K.-Steg. II 1, 259; Guillemin 17).

*manare*: 9, 13, 34, longe aliud lacrimarum genus, quod *manat de* (= *ex*) *concusso spiritu* (Rhet. Her., Hor.; cf. T. L. L. V 46, 77).

*sonare*: 3, 12, 21, ac si *de caelo sonuisset* (Sil. 13, 346).

(B) *DE* in various significations developed from the local use

i. The use of *DE* to designate the source from which anything is received, taken, asked, etc.

*accipere*: 5, 1, 1, *accipe sacrificium confessionum mearum de manu linguae meae*. In Class. Latin this verb is construed with *ab* and the abl. of the person; with things both *ex* and *de* are used, although the former is more common.<sup>16</sup> The phrase *accipere de manu* probably occurs first in Petron. 37, but is especially frequent in the Bible, e. g. Vulg. Gen. 21, 30; Ier. 25, 17; Apoc. 10, 10.

*flagitare*: 5, 9, 16, (baptismum) *de* (= *a*) *materna pietate flagitavi* (Tert. Anim. 56).

*leuare*: 13, 23, 34, quem (piscem) *leuatum de profundo terra* pia comedit; also in 13, 21, 29 *bis* (Ov., Stat., Vopisc.; cf. T. L. L. V 50, 79; Guillemin 26).

*liberare*: 8, 3, 6, ut plus gaudeat de salute desperatae animae et *de* (= *a*) *maiore periculo liberatae* (Apul., Jurists; cf. T. L. L. V 50, 83).

*porrigere*: 5, 10, 20, saluatorem nostrum . . . tamquam *de massa* . . . *molis tuae porrectum* ad nostram salutem . . . *putabam*.

*rapere*: 6, 16, 26, dextera tua *raptura* me *de* (= *ex*) *caeno* (Cic. Verr. 6, 138; Poet.; cf. T. L. L. V 51, 30).

*uindicare*: 1, 6, 8, me *de illis* flendo *uindicabam* (Plin. min., Florus, Late; cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 498; Guillemin 47).

Note also the following instances of the use of *de* with the noun *furtum* and the phrase *furtum facere*: 8, 10, 24, an ad *furtum de*

<sup>16</sup> This statement is based on a study of the citations in Merguet I 1, 39-43 and II 1, 26-29; Meusel I 77-81; T. L. L. I 304-322.

*domo aliena* (pergat); 1, 19, 30, *furta* . . . *faciebam de cellario* parentum et *de mensa*. Cf. Ulp. Dig. 47, 2, 7, 1, cum tibi *furtum facerem de domo* tua.

ii. The use of *DE* to denote origin.

In the Class. Latinity immediate origin, parentage, etc., is usually expressed by the simple abl.; at times, however, prepositions are used, especially *ex*, rarely *ab* or *de*. The use of *de* is chiefly Poetic and Late, although even in the Bible *ex* occurs more frequently (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 375-377; T. L. L. V 54, 49; Guillemin 32). Note the following examples from the Confessions: 5, 10, 20, *nasci* . . . *de* . . . *uirgine*; 9, 6, 14, adiunximus . . . nobis . . . Adeodatum *ex me natus* carnaliter *de peccato* meo (note the use of *ex* with *natus* in the same sentence; another instance of *ex* occurs in 7, 19, 25; for other examples of *de* with *nasci*, cf. 10, 20, 29; 10, 43, 69; 12, 7, 7; 13, 5, 6); 6, 3, 4, quos *de matre* catholica per gratiam *regenerasti*; 6, 5, 7, *de quibus parentibus ortus essem*; 7, 2, 3, *proles de ipsa substantia* tua; 8, 11, 27, *fecunda mater* filiorum gaudiorum *de marito* te, domine; 13, 21, 29, anima uiua *de terra* sumit exordium; 13, 24, 37, omnia, quae *de seminibus* gignuntur; 13, 32, 47, ad *concipiendam de ratione* mentis recte agendi sollertiam; 13, 38, 53, posteaquam *concepit de spiritu* tuo cor nostrum.

When origin is expressed by *esse*, Class. writers usually employ the preposition *ex*; the use of *de*, though occurring occasionally in Class. Latin, is mainly Poetic (cf. Merguet I 2, 12 and II 1, 608-609; T. L. L. V 54, 38-42). St. Augustine employs this construction in the following instances (note the frequent ellipsis of *esse*): 1, 13, 20, unde tamen *hoc nisi de peccato et de uanitate* uitae? 8, 10, 22, habitabat in me *peccatum de supplicio* liberioris peccati, quia eram filius Adam; 8, 10, 24, non dicant, cum duas voluntates in homine uno aduersari sibi sentiunt, duas contrarias *mentes de duabus contrariis substantiis et de duobus contrariis principis* contendere, unam bonam, alteram malam; 11, 2, 4, non sit (desiderium meum) *de terra*; 12, 7, 7, tu, domine, . . . in principio, quod *est de te*, . . . fecisti aliquid; *ibid.*, nullo modo iustum esset, ut aequale tibi esset, quod non *de te* esset; 12, 29, 40, ut (materia) *esset de nihilo*, unde aliquid fieret; 13, 2, 2, ut *bonum*,

quod tibi nihil prodesset nec *de te* aequale tibi esset, . . . non deesset.

Note also the following expressions of source and origin: 5, 14, 24, *aenigmate soluto de scriptis ueteribus*; 11, 19, 25, uel potius *de futuris doces praesentia*?

### iii. The use of *DE* in a partitive sense.

The use of *de* in a partitive sense occurs to some extent in Class. Latin (rarely in Caesar, more frequently in Cicero), but it never encroaches to any marked degree upon the partitive genitive; this latter tendency is characteristic of Early and colloquial Latin, and makes itself felt with especial force in Eccl. writers, so much so that it almost entirely displaces the partitive genitive (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 425 and 499; Salonius 89-94; St.-Schm. 392). Although St. Augustine is rather conservative in this respect as compared with many Late and Eccl. writers, he nevertheless employs partitive *de* in several instances not in accord with Class. norms. Note the following: 4, 5, 10, nisi ad aures tuas ploraremus, nihil residui *de nostra spe* fieret; 4, 16, 31, ego frustum (essem) *de illo corpore*; 6, 3, 3, quam sapida gaudia *de pane* tuo ruminaret; 6, 5, 7, tam multa *de locis* atque *urbibus*, quae non uideram; 6, 10, 16, ut *de iure*, quod didicerat, aliquid ageret; 12, 6, 6, quidquid *de illa quaestione* enodasti mihi.

Special mention deserves to be made of the following three instances: 3, 7, 12, qui . . . *sacrificarent de animalibus*; 5, 7, 13, *de* (dub. lect., omitted by some Mss.) *sanguine cordis matris meae* . . . pro me *sacrificabatur* tibi; 7, 9, 15, quibus (idolis) *de auro* tuo ministrabant. In these instances *de* may be regarded as used in a partitive sense, or as expressing instrumentality instead of the simple ablative (cf. Wölflin, Archiv 7 [1892], 477; Gibb and Montgomery 67; St.-Schm. 392).

### iv. The use of *DE* with the abl. of material.

In order to indicate the material from which a thing is formed, Class. writers usually employ the preposition *ex*, although at times, and especially in poetry, the simple abl. is used. *De* occurs in poetry, and in Silver and Late Latin with increasing frequency (cf. Löfstedt [Peregr.] 103; K.-Steg. II 1, 393, 499, 505; T. L. L.

V 59-61; Guillemin 55-57; St.-Schm. 525, 529). St. Augustine uses *de* with the ablative of material in the following instances: 2, 5, 10, *amicitia . . . hominum caro nodo dulcis est propter unitatem de multis animis*; 4, 1, 1, afferemus escas, *de quibus* nobis . . . *fabricarent angelos et deos*; 7, 18, 24, *aedificauit sibi humilem domum de limo nostro*; 10, 31, 45, *de puluere fecisti hominem*; 12, 7, 7, *fecisti aliquid et de nihilo* (for the use of *de* with *facere*, cf. two other instances in 12, 7, 7 and also 12, 8, 8 *Sies*; 12, 17, 25; 12, 21, 30; 12, 22, 31; 12, 28, 38 *bis*; 13, 38, 48 *Gies*); 12, 28, 39, *de qua* (materia) *formaretur caelum et terra*.

### v. The use of *DE* to denote a change or transition.

To designate the state or situation from which a transition takes place, Class. writers usually employ *ex*, less frequently *de* (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 18 and 505; Guillemin 54; St.-Schm. 525 and 529). The following examples with *de* are from the Confessions: 9, 2, 3, quos *de nigris* lucidos et *de mortuis* uiuos feceras; 10, 43, 69, sacerdos . . . *faciens tibi nos de seruis filios*; 13, 30, 45, cum *de hostibus* uictis mundana moenia molireris.

In his fondness for *de* in expressions of this type, St. Augustine also employs it with the following verbs denoting change or transition:

*detorquere*: 3, 2, 3, (uena amicitiae) *de* (= a) *caelesti serenitate detorta* atque deiecta (Cato; cf. T. L. L. V 820, 23).

*flectere*: 7, 6, 8, *de* (= ab) *hac re* in Nebridii sententiam *flecti* coeperam (cf. Cic. Verr. 6, 77, *de foro* in Capitolium currus *flectere*).

*mutare*: 12, 11, 14, per quam (informitatem) *de specie* in speciem res *mutabatur* (cf. Aug. Civ. 17, 7, intentio . . . *mutatur de uetere ad nouum*).

Note also the following instance in which *de* is used to indicate transition with the noun *transitus*: 12, 6, 6, eundem . . . *transitum de formâ* in formam . . . fieri suspicatus sum.

### vi. Instrumental use of *DE*.

Well defined examples of the use of *de* to express means or instrument apparently occur for the first time in the poets of the Augustan Age; in Silver writers this practise is somewhat more common, but from Apuleius on it is quite general (cf. K.-Steg. II

1, 501; T. L. L. V 62-64; Saloniū 105; Svennung 32; St.-Schm. 437 and 526). The following examples<sup>17</sup> of the use of *de* in place of the simple abl. of means have been found in the Confessions: 2, 3, 6, *iste mundus . . . creaturam tuam pro te amavit, de uino inuisibili peruersae atque inclinatae in ima uoluntatis suae* (ellipsis of a term like *ebrius* before *de uino* is to be understood); 3, 1, 1, *candorem (amicitiae) . . . obnubilabam de tartaro libidinis*; 3, 6, 11, *quos (porcos) de siliquis pascebam* (this *de* may also be regarded as partitive); 4, 12, 19, *descendit huc ipsa uita nostra et tulit mortem nostram et occidit eam de abundantia uitae suae*; 5, 3, 5, *uerbum tuum, per quod fecisti . . . mentem, de qua numerant*; 5, 8, 15, *nesciebat, quid tu illi gaudiorum facturum esses de absentia mea*; 6, 10, 16, *templata est quoque eius indoles, non solum de inlecebra cupiditatis sed etiam stimulo amoris*; 9, 8, 18, *de alterius animae insania sanasti alteram*; 10, 31, 46, *scio . . . regem nostrum non de carne, sed de pane templatum*; 10, 35, 54, *uidendi officium . . . etiam ceteri sensus sibi de similitudine usurpant, cum aliquid cognitionis explorant*; 12, 14, 17, *o si occidas eos de gladio bis acuto. . .*<sup>18</sup>

vii. The use of *DE* in place of *PER* and the acc. of the personal agent.

Cicero has only the following instance of the use of *de* and the abl. instead of *per* and the acc. of the personal agent: Verr. 6, 173, *si uideor hic . . . de uno isto uoluisse crescere, isto absoluto . . . de multis mihi crescere licebit*. This usage is somewhat more frequent in the poets and especially in Late Latin (cf. T. L. L. V 62-64; Guillemin 58). Note the following examples from the Confessions: 1, 12, 19, *ita non de bene facientibus tu bene faciebas mihi, et de peccante me ipso iuste retribuebas mihi*; 4, 12, 19, *de spiritu eius haec dicis eis*; 8, 4, 9, *plus enim hostis uincitur in eo, quem plus tenet, et de quo plures tenet. plus autem superbos tenet nomine nobilitatis et de his plures nomine auctoritatis*; 9, 4, 10, *non alia natura gentis tenebrarum de me peccabat*; 10, 2, 2,

<sup>17</sup> For other possible instances, cf. Section iii above.

<sup>18</sup> The following citation from St. Augustine testifies to the frequency of the instrumental use of *de* during his time: Loc. Hept. 2, 91, 'in qua percussisti' dixit pro eo quod dicimus 'de qua percussisti.'

ut . . . nec tibi nec mihi placeam nisi de te; 10, 4, 6, *si uolo tecum uiuere de te*; 10, 20, 29, *uiuit . . . corpus de anima et uiuit anima mea de te*; 10, 40, 65, *adlendi uitam corporis mei de me*; 13, 1, 1, *ut seruiam tibi et colam te, ut de te mihi bene sit*; 13, 16, 19, *sicut (anima mea) se inluminare de se non potest, ita se satiare de se non potest*.

### (C) Temporal use of DE

Temporal *de* is employed by Class. writers only in a relatively limited number of situations. In the sense of "after," "directly after" (= *inde ab, post, statim post*), it is cited in the T. L. L. V 65, 11-42 only for Plaut., Lucr., Catull., Cic. *semel*, Liv., Sen. phil., and then chiefly for Eccl. writers. To designate the time at which an act begins, extent of time, etc. (= *ex, inter, per*), it is used chiefly in such phrases as *de die, de nocte, de media nocte, de . . . uigilia*, etc. In Silver and Late Latin this usage was extended to a greater variety of phrases (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 498; T. L. L. V 64-65); St.-Schm. 526). St. Augustine employs temporal *de* in the following phrases:

*de die in diem*: 4, 8, 13, *ueniebant et praeteribant de die in diem*; also in 7, 7, 12 and 13, 21, 29. Although in Liv. 5, 48, 6 and 25, 25, 4 and in Sen. Benef. 2, 5, 4 we meet with the phrase *diem de die*, the phrase *de die in diem* is Eccl., e. g. Tert. Adv. Marc. 5, 11; Vulg. Psalm. 60, 9; Sirach 5, 8; Is. 58, 2; II Cor. 4, 16; II Petr. 2, 8.

*de cetero*: 9, 4, 10, *ut de cetero non peccarem* (Silver and Late; cf. T. L. L. III 975, 11-45).

*de mane*: 11, 23, 30, *quanto peragere sol totum ambitum de mane* in mane adsolet (Script., e. g. Exod. 18, 4; Ruth 2, 7; II Reg. 24, 15; III Reg. 18, 26; II Esdr. 8, 3).

### (D) Causal use of DE

In Class. Latin *de* is often employed to express cause (= *ob* or *propter*), but almost exclusively with the word *causa*; in colloquial Latin and in poetry, however, and above all in the Late Latinity, we meet with a greater variety of combinations (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 499; T. L. L. V 65-67; St.-Schm. 526). The Confessions contain only the following instances, which, moreover, are not clearly de-

finē: 10, 39, 64, qui sibi placent *de se* (this phrase may also be regarded as equivalent to *per se*); *ibid.*, sibi placentes multum tibi displicent non tantum *de bonis* quasi bonis uerum etiam *de bonis* tuis quasi suis, aut sicut etiam *de tuis*, sed tamquam ex meritis suis (in these instances *de* may also mean "as regards," "concerning").

(E) *The use of DE in mental relations, to designate the subject-matter on which a mental act is founded.*

i. In the sense of "concerning," "about" (= *circa*, *super*, *περί*, *ἐν*).

Class. writers often employ *de* in various mental operations, to designate the subject-matter of a mental act, e. g. with verbs and nouns of thinking, discoursing, disputing, doubting, etc., as well as with a number of adjectives, e. g. *conscious*, *dubius*, *sollicitus*, etc. Since this use of *de* admits of a wide range of application, it is not surprising that Silver and Late writers extended it to many verbs, nouns, and adjectives with which it was not so employed in the Class. period (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 500; T. L. L. V 65-77; St.-Schm. 525-526).

(a) With verbs.

St. Augustine uses *de* with the following verbs with which it is not (or very rarely) used in Class. authors:

*delectari*: 10, 37, 61, *de prouectu aut spe proximi delectari* (Cic. Off. 1, 135).

*dissertare*: 6, 3, 3, *de aliquibus difficilioribus dissertare* quaestionibus (Silver and Late; cf. T. L. L. V 1465, 62-66).

*erubescere*: 8, 2, 4, *erubescendo de sacramentis*; *ibid.*, non *erubescendo de sacris sacrilegis superbiorum daemoniorum*; 10, 2, 2, ut *erubescam de me* (Spart. Sept. Sev. 15, 7).

*facere*: 7, 21, 27, *quid faciat de alia lege* in membris suis repugnante legi mentis suae . . . ? 9, 4, 8, *quid de me fecerit ille* psalmus. The use of the passive (*feri*) with *de* occurs in all periods, although relatively seldom in the Class., but the active is cited only for Ovid and Lactantius (cf. T. L. L. VI 104, 4-15; St.-Schm. 434-435).

*gaudere*: 8, 3, 6, *quid agitur in homine, ut plus gaudeat de*

*salute desperatae animae* . . . ? 8, 4, 9, minus *de illis gaudeant* etiam qui nouerunt eos; 10, 23, 34, *de ipsa* . . . *sola ueritate gaudebit*; cf. also 10, 4, 5; 10, 21, 30; 10, 22, 32; 10, 23, 33 *quater*. In Class. Latin *gaudere* is usually construed with the simple abl.; *de* is found in Cic. Epist. 7; 2, 2 and in Silver and Late Latin (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 396-397; T. L. L. VI 1706, 71-83; St.-Schm. 433). St. Augustine employs the simple abl. with *gaudere* in the following instances: 1, 4, 4; 6, 6, 10; 10, 23, 34 bis.

*laudare*: 1, 6, 9, *te* . . . *de hoc* . . . *laudari a me iubet* . . . ? 4, 14, 23, *de quibus* (rebus) *laudabatur*; 1, 13, 19, etiam *de solis istis laudare te deberem*; 10, 34, 52, *de ipsa* (luce) *laudare te norunt*. Class. writers employ *laudare* with *in* and the abl., e. g. Cic. Sulla 63, *in qua re est uterque laudandus*.

*litigare*: 2, 6, 13, *inuidia de excellentia litigat* (Early, Silver, Late; cf. Georges s. v.).

*parturire* (metaph.): 9, 8, 17, non praeteribo quidquid mihi anima *parturit de illa famula tua*.

*plangere*: 3, 11, 20, *de me plangere ad te*.

*praesumere*: 6, 8, 13, eo infirmior (animus), quo *de se praesumserat*, qui debuit *de te* (Tac. Hist. 3, 9; Script., e. g. Iudith 9, 17).

*prodere*: 9, 9, 21, nihil . . . alteri (amicae) *de altera proderet* (Val. Ant. Hist. 3 [ca. 100 B. C.]).

*satagere*: 6, 13, 23, quo cogebat inpetus *de hac re satagentis* spiritus humani; 10, 20, 29, *de qua* (notitia) *satago*, utrum in memoria sit; 10, 32, 48, *de inlecebra odororum non satago* nimis.

*sonare*: 1, 11, 18, etiam nunc *de aliis atque aliis sonat* undique in auribus nostris.

(b) In phrases dependent upon nouns.

The use of *de* in the following phrases depending upon nouns is confined to Poetic, Silver, and Late Latin: 1, 6, 10, *laudem dicens tibi de primordiis et infantia mea* (cf. Ov. Pont. 4, 13, 23, *laudes de Caesare dixi*; 6, 2, 2, est in conspectu tuo *de hac re cor meum*; 5, 10, 19, nimia *fiducia*, quam sensi eum habere *de rebus* fabulosis (cf. Sen. Epist. 25, 2, ne *de ultero* quidem satis *fiduciae* habeo); 7, 9, 13, quamuis *testimonium perhibeat de lumine* (cf. Vulg. Ioh. 5, 31; 7, 7; 8, 14; 15, 26; et al.); 7, 19, 25, quae *de illo memo-*

*riae mandata sunt*; 9, 3, 5, *macerabatur anxietudine Verecundus de isto nostro bono*; 9, 8, 17, *accipe . . . gratiarum actiones . . . de rebus innumerabilibus*; 9, 9, 21, *quando praesenti amicae de absente inimica per acida conloquia cruditas exhalatur odiorum*; 9, 9, 19, *ut nullam de hac re cum marito haberet . . . similitatem*; 10, 21, 30, *de turpibus gaudio . . . perfusus sum, . . . aliquando de bonis et honestis*; 10, 23, 34, *gaudium de ueritate* (also in 10, 23, 33 *quater*) (cf. Ov. Epist. 12, 22; Flor. Epit. 2, 8, 16; Apul. Plat. 2, 16; Vulg. II Par. 20, 27); 10, 31, 44, *consilium mihi de hac re non stat*; 10, 37, 60, *tu nosti de hac re ad te gemitum cordis mei*; 12, 6, 6, *dare . . . canticum laudis de his, quae dictare non sufficit*; 12, 29, 40, *neque enim sonus est cantandi artifex, sed cantanti animae subiacet ex corpore, de quo cantum faciat*.

(c) With adjectives.

In the Class. Latinity a number of adjectives were employed with the preposition *de*, e. g. *certus* (esp. in the phrase *certiorem facere*), *consciis*, *dubius*, *expertus*, *falsus*, *gratus*, *iratus*, *odiosus*, *solicitus*, and others. The usage became considerably extended in Silver and Late writers (cf. T. L. L. V 77, 21-74). In the Confessions only the following adjectives need comment:

*certus*: 8, 1, 1, *de uita tua aeterna certus eram*; *ibid.*, *nec certior de te . . . esse cupiebam*. The phrase *certus sum* occurs first in Suet. Vesp. 25 and then chiefly in Eccl. writers (cf. T. L. L. III 920, 45-56).

*incertus*: 10, 37, 61, *ergone de hoc incertus sum mei?* (Ter. Hec. 614).

*securus*: 9, 4, 12, *ea fides me securum esse non sinebat de praeteritis peccatis meis* (Cic. Att. 12, 52, 3; Sulpicia Tib.; Liv.; cf. T. L. L. V 77, 63).

*tristis*: 9, 3, 6, *sic ergo eramus, Verecundum consolantes tristem salua amicitia de tali conuersione nostra*.

ii. In the sense of "with reference to" (occasionally — *quod attinet ad*).

This use of *de* is confined for the most part to Early Latin, Varro, Cicero's letters, and Eccl. writers (cf. T. L. L. V 76-77). The following instances are from the Confessions: 8, 1, 1, *de mea*

*. . . uita temporali nutabant omnia*; 10, 31, 47, *non enim est quod semel praecidere et ulterius non attingere decernam, sicut de concubitu potui*; 11, 20, 26, *tempora sunt tria, praesens de praeteritis, praesens de praesentibus, praesens de futuris*; *ibid.*, *sunt enim in anima tria quaedam et alibi ea non uideo, praesens de praeteritis memoria, praesens de praesentibus contuitus, praesens de futuris expectatio*.

iii. In the sense of "according to" (= *secundum*, *ex*, *κατά*).

*De* is employed in all periods of Latin literature to designate the thing in conformity with which an act is performed; in the Class. Latinity, however, this usage is confined chiefly to such phrases as *de consilio*, *de sententia*, etc. (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 501; T. L. L. V 77-78; St.-Schm. 526). The expression *de more* is for the most part Vergilian, e. g. Aen. 3, 65. The following examples of *de more* occur in the Confessions: 2, 4, 9, *ludum de pestilentiae more in areis produxeramus*; 9, 8, 18, *cum de more tanquam puella sobria iuberetur a parentibus . . . uinum depromere*; 9, 12, 31, *de more illis . . . funus curantibus*.

Note also the following instance of *de* = *secundum*: 6, 10, 17, *in omni amaritudine, quae nostros saeculares actus de misericordia tua sequebatur*.

The following example of *de* in the sense of "after the model of" is rather striking: 11, 5, 7, *homo artifex formans corpus de corpore*.

(F) The use of *DE* in adverbial phrases

The preposition *de* is also employed in the Confessions to form adverbial expressions of place, cause, manner, and time.<sup>19</sup> In Class. Latin this usage was confined almost exclusively to such phrases as *de industria*, *de improviso*, *de reliquo*, etc. A greater variety of expressions occurs in Late Latin, especially in Apuleius and Tertullian (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 501; T. L. L. V 78-79; St.-Schm. 526). The following adverbial phrases from the Confessions deserve mention:

i. Local.

*de longinquo*: 4, 2, 2, *uidisti de longinquo*; 7, 10, 16, *clamasti*

<sup>19</sup> For temporal phrases with *de*, cf. Section (C), "Temporal use of *de*."

*de longinquo*; 7, 21, 27, *de longinquo* uidere; 13, 1, 1, *ut audirem de longinquo* (Eccl.; cf. T. L. L. V 79, 72).

*de proximo*: 8, 11, 25, *de proximo* stabam et respirabam; 9, 3, 6, *de tam proximo* poterat (sequi) (Apul., Paul., Tert., et al.; cf. T. L. L. V 79, 67-70).

## ii. Modal.

Modal *de* (cf. T. L. L. V 79, 1-43) occurs in the Confessions as follows: 9, 3, 6, *ad cantandum de medullis omnibus* (cf. Tert. Ieun. 2, *de totis praecordiis*); 9, 4, 8, *nec, si dicerem (haec uerba), sic acciperent, quomodo mecum et mihi coram te de familiari affectu animi mei*; 12, 31, 42, *quod intrepidus de corde meo pronuntio* (cf. Tert. Orat. 28, *de toto corde*; Iuven. 4, 369, *socians de corde dolorem*).

## 3. Ex

The preposition *ex* fundamentally signifies "out from the interior of a thing." From this meaning developed its other local uses, e. g. to denote the place from which anything is done, seen, heard, etc.; to designate motion in an upward or in a downward direction; to indicate the place or person from whom anything is received, taken, derived, etc. In a temporal sense, in which it began to be used with relative frequency only from the Class. period on, it denotes either a point of time from and after which an action takes place (= from . . . onward, from, since) or a point of time immediately after which anything occurs (= *post*). Furthermore, the underlying notion of "departure from the interior of a thing" gave rise in Early and Class. Latin to various figurative uses, e. g. with verbs denoting birth, parentage, origin, etc.; with verbs of hearing, learning, inquiring, perceiving, hoping, etc.; to designate causes, especially those of an external nature; to specify the material from which anything is made; to denote transition from one state or condition to another; to indicate the rule or standard in conformity with which anything is done (= *secundum*); in a partitive sense, to designate the whole from which anything is taken or of which it is a part; finally, with nouns and adjectives to form adverbial phrases of place and manner.

In Silver and Late Latin, however, *ex* lost much ground because

of the more extended use of *ab* and *de*. But despite the restrictions thus forced upon it by its rivals, *ex* nevertheless developed its own peculiarities of usage, chiefly in its figurative significations. Greater freedom was shown by Silver and Late writers, for example, in their use of *ex* to denote material, part of the whole, cause, and conformity (= *secundum*); they were also rather liberal in forming new adverbial phrases. Silver authors introduced the instrumental use of *ex* (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 501-507; St.-Schm. 528-530).

St. Augustine, who employs this preposition 270 times in the Confessions,<sup>20</sup> appropriates a number of its non-Classical peculiarities. Only a few and comparatively unimportant extensions of Class. usage appear in his employment of *ex* in the strictly local significations. A number of more or less striking divergences from Class. norms are found in his use of *ex* to denote source, part of the whole, material, time, and cause. Occasionally he makes use of *ex* in the sense of *secundum* in situations not found in Class. Latin. A few non-Classical phrases of place and time also occur. A relatively free use, however, is made of *ex* to designate means and instrument. Furthermore, the Confessions contain a few examples of the employment of *ex* in place of *ab* and the abl. of the principal agent, and in place of *per* and the acc. of the secondary agent.

### (A) Local use of *ex*

The Confessions furnish no striking deviations from the Class. norm in the strictly local use of *ex*. A few phrases, however, deserve mention.

The Class. Latinity usually expresses such phrases as "at a distance," "at an equal distance," etc., by the simple abl. of

<sup>20</sup> Almost always in the form *ex*; *e* occurs only twice: 5, 10, 18, *e numero*, and 10, 14, 21, *e contrario*. In his preference for the form *ex* St. Augustine conforms to the general usage of his time. In Class. Latin *ex* is always used before vowels and *h*; before consonants, both *ex* and *e* occur, the former much more frequently, although no precise rule can be formulated with reference to individual consonants. The form *e*, however, is found chiefly in the literary language, whereas *ex* is a favorite of colloquial speech. Late writers in general seldom use the form *e*. For more detailed information on these points, cf. Neue-Wagener II 874-902; K.-Steg. I 928; St.-Schm. 528.

*interuallum*, e. g. Caes. Gall. 1, 43, 2, equites . . . *pari interuallum* constiterunt; *ibid.*, 7, 23, 1, trabes . . . *paribus interuallis* distantes. *Ex* is found in Cic. Div. 2, 92, quae potest igitur contagio *ex infinito* paene *interuallum* pertinere ad lunam uel potius ad terram? Cf. also Liv. 48, 44, 8, *ex interuallum*, "from a distance." Only the following example of *ex* occurs in the Confessions: 7, 6, 8, *ex paribus* domorum *interuallis* sibi obuiam factos esse dicebat.

Class. writers frequently employ such phrases as *ex parte*, *magna ex parte*, *ex omni parte*, *ex altera parte*, *aliqua ex parte*, *nulla ex parte*, etc. (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 502). St. Augustine not only makes a frequent use of these formal phrases (cf. 3, 7, 14; 5, 10, 20 *bis*; 6, 1, 1; 6, 12, 22; 7, 3, 4; 7, 5, 7 *bis*; 7, 20, 26; 8, 5, 11) but also employs other combinations which rarely or never occur in Class. authors. Note especially the following: 2, 3, 5, apud te narro haec generi meo, generi humano, *quantulacumque ex particula* incidere potest in istas meas litteras; 5, 3, 4, *quanta ex parte* futuri essent (defectus solis et lunae); 5, 10, 20, quamuis *ex una (parte)*, qua tibi moles mali opponebatur, cogeret finitum fateri; 6, 1, 1, cum audisset *ex tanta parte* iam factum, quod . . . ; 7, 1, 2, terrae corpus . . . *ex omnibus* maximis minimisque *particulis* penetrabile ad capiendam praesentiam tuam; 9, 12, 32, non *parua ex parte* mitigatum inueni dolorem meum; 10, 36, 58, tu scis, *quanta ex parte* (me) mutaueris. Note the use of *ex nullo* — *ex nulla parte* in the following: 6, 4, 6, ut . . . acies mentis meae dirigeretur . . . in ueritatem tuam semper manentem et *ex nullo* deficientem (cf. Cic. Tim. 34, *ex ea parte* deficiebat ad propositum exemplar imaginis similitudo; Aug. Civ. 12, 8, scio naturam dei . . . *nulla ex parte* posse deficere).

(B) *Ex* in various figurative significations developed from the local use

i. The use of *EX* to denote source.

The preposition *ex*, conveying the idea of source, is employed with the following verbs that are not so used in Class. Latin:

*accendere*: 4, 14, 21, *ex amante* alio *accenditur* alius (Cic. Fin. 5, 43; Tibull., Val. Max.; cf. T. L. L. I 275, 2-5).

*confiteri*: 5, 10, 20, deus meus, cui *confitentur ex me* miserationes tuae (cf. also 6, 7, 12 and 7, 6, 8).

*exhibere*: 13, 25, 38, quae (opera misericordiae) huius uitae necessitatibus *exhibentur* (= are provided) *ex terra* fructifera.

*feruere*: 12, 15, 21, nisi (sapientia) . . . tamquam . . . meridies luceret et *ferueret ex te*.

*inflammare*: 8, 4, 9, *inflammantur ex alterutro*; 9, 4, 8, quomodo in te *inflammabar ex eis* (psalmis).

*subiacere*: 12, 29, 40, neque . . . sonus est cantandi artifex, sed cantanti animae *subiacet* (= is furnished) *ex corpore*, de quo cantum faciat.

ii. The use of *EX* in a partitive sense.

Class. writers employ partitive *ex* for the most part only with such pronouns as *aliquis*, *nullus*, *quidam*, etc., and with cardinal numerals; Silver and Late writers show greater freedom in this respect (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 426 and 506; St.-Schm. 391 and 528). The Confessions show that St. Augustine was likewise influenced by the usage of his time with regard to partitive *ex*. Note the following examples: 1, 3, 3, quo refundis quidquid impleto caelo et terra restat *ex te*? 8, 6, 15, erant autem *ex eis*, quos dicunt agentes in rebus; 9, 4, 11, nec inueniebam, quid facerem surdis mortuis, *ex quibus* fueram; 10, 8, 14, similitudines rerum uel expertarum uel *ex eis*, quas expertus sum, creditarum; 10, 40, 65, nec a te quicquam recedat *ex me*; 12, 29, 40, quod . . . primo utcumque sonuerit, praeterit, nec *ex eo* quicquam reperies; 13, 25, 38, quod *ex eis uerbis* uoluisti ut dicerem.

iii. The use of *EX* with the abl. of material.

St. Augustine uses *ex* with the abl. of material after the following three verbs which are thus employed chiefly in Eccl. Latin: *condere*: 12, 17, 25, *ex ea* (informitate materiae) mundus iste . . . *conditus* . . . *est* (Ps. Hil. Libell. 5).

*conflare*: 6, 14, 24, si quid habere possemus, conferremus in medium unamque rem familiarem *conflarem ex omnibus* (Vulg. Exod. 38, 26).

*contexere*: 10, 8, 14, *ex his* (similitudinibus rerum) etiam futuras actiones et euenta et spes (*contexo*) (Sen. phil. and Late; cf. T. L. L. IV 691-692).

iv. Instrumental use of *EX*.

Examples of the instrumental use of *ex* are very rare before the Late period, occurring probably only in Prop., Vitr., and Plin. mai.; in Late writers the usage is more common (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 505; Svennung 34; St.-Schm. 529). St. Augustine makes a liberal use of this construction. Note the following instances, many of which, however, likewise contain other ideas, especially those of source, conformity (= in accordance with); etc.: 1, 8, 13, hoc autem eos uelle *ex motu* corporis aperiebatur; 3, 11, 19, uidebat . . . illa mortem meam *ex fide et spiritu*; 4, 3, 5, *ex ea* (rhetorica) sola uiuere uolui; 5, 3, 4, *ex eis* (regulis) praenuntiatur, quo anno et quo mense anni . . . defectura sit luna; 5, 10, 20, metuebam . . . credere incarnatum, ne credere cogerer *ex carne* inquinatum; 7, 20, 26, quomodo *ex eis* (scripturis) affectus essem; 7, 8, 12, residebat tumor meus *ex occulta manu* medicinae tuae; 8, 12, 29, *ex euangelica lectione* . . . admonitus fuerit; 9, 3, 6, inebriari *ex ea* (sapientia); 9, 9, 22, *ex munere* tuo sinis loqui seruis tuis; 10, 31, 45, audiui et illam (uocem tuam) *ex munere* tuo; 13, 38, 53, sunt quaedam bona opera nostra *ex munere* . . . tuo; 10, 31, 43, quae (medicina) . . . praesto est *ex consolatione* munerum tuorum; 12, 24, 33, ut *ex misericordia* tua reddam tibi uota mea; 12, 27, 37, si quid forte aliud hoc modo *ex familiaritate* carnis opinantur; 13, 2, 2, *ex plenitudine* . . . bonitatis tuae creatura tua substitit;<sup>21</sup> 10, 8, 15, noui, quid *ex quo sensu* corporis inpresum sit mihi; 10, 16, 24, memoria, *ex qua* meminerim; 10, 19, 28, an non totum exciderat, sed *ex parte*, qua tenebatur, pars alia quaerebatur . . . ? 10, 21, 30, quamquam nisi *ex interiore notitia* (animaduertent) non delectarentur; 11, 2, 3, sint castae deliciae meae scripturae tuae, nec fallar in eis nec fallam *ex eis*; 11, 11, 13, uideat longum tempus nisi *ex multis praetereuntibus motibus* . . . longum non fieri; 13, 24, 35, nihilne nobis *ex hoc* innuis, ut intellegamus aliquid, cur non ita benedixeris lumen?

Note also the use of *ex* with the verb *saturare* and with the adjective *plenus*: 10, 43, 70, pauper cupio *saturari ex eo* inter

<sup>21</sup> *Ex* in the phrases *ex munere*, *ex consolatione*, *ex misericordia*, *ex familiaritate*, and *ex plenitudine* may likewise be regarded as meaning "in accordance with," "in consequence of."

illos, qui edunt et saturantur; 7, 5, 7, *plena* esset utique spongia illa . . . *ex immenso mari* (this phrase appears to be elliptical, meaning "filled [with water] from that unmeasurable sea").

v. The use of *EX* to denote personal agency.

(a) *EX* used in place of *AB* and the abl. of the principal agent.

Occasionally in Late Latin *ex* is used with passive verbs in place of *ab* to denote the principal agent, e. g. Oros. Hist. 4, 1, 6, Tarentum, . . . *ex Lacedaemoniis* conditam . . . ciuitatem (cf. Svennung 34; St.-Schm. 530). This usage occurs twice in the Confessions: 8, 1, 2, tenaciter conligabar *ex femina*; 13, 4, 5, perfecto enim tibi displicet eorum imperfectio, ut *ex te* perficiantur et tibi placeant.

(b) *EX* used in place of *PER* and the acc. of the person.

The following five instances of this employment of *ex*, apparently not recognized by any of the standard works of reference that have come to my notice, are found in the Confessions: 8, 5, 11, consuetudo aduersus me pugnacior *ex me* facta erat; 11, 19, 25, nimis longe est modus iste ab acie mea; inualuit; *ex me* non potero ad illum, potero autem *ex te*, cum tu dederis; 12, 10, 10, male uixi *ex me*, mors mihi fui: in te reuiuiesco; 13, 2, 2, quid te promeruerant, ut essent saltem informia, quae neque hoc essent nisi *ex te*?

(C) Temporal use of *EX*

Class. writers frequently employ *ex* in a temporal sense, to denote the point of time from and after which an action proceeds (= from, since), especially in such phrases as *ex eo die*, *ex quo die*, *ex eo tempore*, *ex quo tempore*, etc. The phrase *ex quo* (i. e. *tempore*) occurs first in Livy (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 503; St.-Schm. 529). St. Augustine makes a free use of this latter phrase, as the following instances indicate: 7, 1, 1, *ex quo* audire aliquid de sapientia coepi; 9, 9, 19, *ex quo* illas tabulas . . . recitari audissent; 9, 13, 34, non . . . audeo dicere, *ex quo* eam per baptismum regenerasti, nullum uerbum exisse ab ore eius contra praeceptum tuum; cf. also 8, 7, 17; 11, 15, 18; 12, 9, 9; 10, 24, 35 *quater*; 10, 25, 36 *bis*; 11, 24, 31 *ter*.

The phrase *ex illo* (i. e. *tempore*) is Poetic; cf. Ov. Fast. 5, 670,

*ex illo* est haec tibi festa dies; Stat. Silv. 1, 2, 81. Two instances occur in the Confessions: 9, 7, 15, *ex illo* in hodiernum retentum; 13, 21, 29, non . . . intratur aliter in regnum caelorum *ex illo*, quo instituisti, ut sic intretur.

Class. writers also employ *ex* to indicate the point of time directly after which an act takes place, especially with nouns denoting an office, occupation, or some other action, e. g. Cic. Brut. 318, *ex consulatu* est profectus in Galliam (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 503-504; St.-Schm. 529). It is apparently this use of *ex* that occurs in the following passage from the Confessions: 13, 37, 52, facis et uisiones temporales et ipsa tempora et quietem *ex tempore* (= the rest that comes after time).<sup>22</sup>

#### (D) Causal use of *EX*

Class. writers occasionally employ *ex* in a causal sense, especially to indicate the external cause of anything, e. g. Cic. Inv. 2, 14, *ex lassitudine* artius dormire; less common, however, is the use of *ex* to denote internal causes or motives, e. g. Cic. Fam. 16, 11, 1, *ex desiderio* laborare (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 504-505; St.-Schm. 529). In the Confessions, examples of the causal use of *ex* are plentiful, especially those of the first type; but inasmuch as many of them appear somewhat strained as compared with those usually found in Class. Latin, I have thought it advisable to include them all in the following list: 2, 3, 6, *ex necessitate* domestica feriatu ab omni schola; *ibid.*, ubi me ille pater . . . uidit pubescentem, . . . quasi *ex hoc* in nepotes gestiret, gaudens matri indicauit; 3, 2, 2, pati uult *ex eis* (rebus) dolorem spectator; 4, 2, 3, hoc . . . malum non *ex tua castitate* repudiaui; 4, 10, 15, laudet te *ex illis* anima mea; 4, 12, 18, si placent corpora, deum *ex illis* lauda; 4, 14, 21, amaueram hominem *ex doctrinae fama*, quae illi clara erat; 7, 18, 24, uidentes ante pedes suos infirmam diuinitatem *ex participatione* tunicae pelliciae nostrae; 9, 12, 30, *ex consuetudine* simul uiuendi . . . *dirupta* uulnus recens; 10, 14, 21, laetus . . . est animus *ex eo*, quod inest ei laetitia, memoria uero *ex eo*, quod inest ei tristitia, tristis non est? 10, 35, 55, *ex hoc morbo* cupidi-

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Gibb and Montgomery 448, where *ex tempore* is incorrectly regarded as the equivalent of the adjective "temporal."

tatis in spectaculis exhibentur quaeque miracula; 10, 39, 64, sed sibi placentes multum tibi displicent non tantum de bonis quasi bonis uerum etiam de bonis tuis quasi suis, aut etiam sicut de tuis, sed tamquam *ex meritis* suis, aut etiam sicut *ex tua gratia*; 13, 1, 1, inuoco te in animam meam, quam praeparas ad capiendum te *ex desiderio*, quod inspiras ei; *ibid.*, sum *ex bonitate* tua praeueniente totum hoc, quod me fecisti et unde me fecisti; 13, 4, 5, ista, . . . quae non *ex indigentia* fecisti, sed *ex plenitudine* bonitatis tuae cohibens atque conuertens ad formam; 13, 17, 21, *ex nostra infirmitate* conpatimur ad subueniendum indigentibus.

#### (E) The use of *EX* in mental relations, to designate the subject-matter on which a mental act is founded

Class. authors make a copious use of *ex* in the sense of "according to," "in accordance with" (= *secundum*), although chiefly in such legal phrases as *ex decreto*, *ex imperio*, *ex iussu*, *ex senatus consulto* or *sententia*, and in a few other expressions, e. g. *ex natura*, *ex more*, *ex consuetudine*, etc. (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 505-506; St.-Schm. 529). St. Augustine, while employing *ex* in this meaning in two Class. phrases (6, 10, 16, *ex more*; 13, 22, 32, *ex auctoritate*), also makes use of the following non-Classical expressions: 2, 2, 4, si . . . uita *ex fide* est; 4, 15, 26, ambulando ambulabam in ea, quae non sunt neque in te neque in me neque in corpore, neque mihi creabantur a ueritate tua, sed a mea uanitate fingebantur *ex corpore*; 4, 14, 22, amabam homines *ex hominum iudicio*; non enim *ex tuo*, deus meus; 11, 9, 11, *ex oraculo* tuo clamabo: quam magnificata sunt opera tua, domine; 11, 18, 24, praesentia sunt iam uidentibus, *ex quibus* futura praedicantur animo concepta; *ibid.*, (futura) praedici possunt *ex praesentibus*.

Verbs of measuring, judging, valuing, etc., are usually construed with the simple abl. of the thing in conformity with which the action takes place, less frequently with *ex* (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 392-393 and 506). The Confessions furnish the following instances with *ex*: 3, 6, 10, certius imaginamur ea quam *ex eis* suspicamur alia grandiora; 3, 7, 13, non noueram iustitiam ueram interiorem non *ex consuetudine* iudicantem, sed *ex lege* rectissima dei omnipotentis; *ibid.*, uniuersos mores humani generis *ex parte* moris sui

(metiri); 3, 9, 17, (peccata proficientium) *uituperantur ex regula perfectionis*.

(F) *The use of EX in adverbial phrases*

In Class. Latin *ex* is employed with nouns and adjectives to form adverbial expressions of place, manner, time, etc.; Silver and Late writers introduced a wider variety of phrases in keeping with this usage (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 502-507; St.-Schm. 520).

i. Local.

Only the following two phrases in the Confessions need comment:<sup>23</sup>

*ex aduerso*: 5, 10, 20, *constituebam ex aduerso sibi duas moles*. This phrase is first cited for Plautus, but becomes common only from Livy on (cf. T. L. L. I 868-869; K.-Steg. II 1, 502).

*ex intimo*: 6, 16, 26, *quam (pulchritudinem) non uidet oculus carnis, et uidetur ex intimo*.

ii. Modal.

St. Augustine employs modal *ex* in the following four expressions which do not occur in Class. prose:

*ex omni me*: 10, 28, 39, *cum inhaesero tibi ex omni me* (from Prop. on; cf. Wölfflin, Archiv 4 [1887], 145).

*ex toto*: 8, 9, 21, *non ex toto uult: non ergo ex toto imperat*; 12, 13, 16, *caelum intellectuale, ubi est intellectus nosse simul, . . . ex toto, . . . facio ad faciem*. The phrase *ex toto* (= *omnino*) occurs first in Ovid, and was introduced into prose by Seneca the Elder (cf. Wölfflin, Archiv 4 [1887], 144-145).

*ex corde*: 9, 13, 35, *scio . . . ex corde dimisisse debita debitoribus suis* (Commod., Tycon., Vulg., Aug., Alc. Avit.; cf. T. L. L. IV 940, 58-63).

*ex occasione*: 12, 32, 43, *sive nobis hoc quod etiam illi homini tuo sive aliud ex eorundem uerborum occasione patefacias* (Liv., Plin. min., Suet.; cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 506).

4. CVM

Of the 210 instances of the preposition *cum* in the Confessions, only a few show deviations from Class. usage. This is not surpris-

<sup>23</sup> For variations of the phrase *ex parte*, cf. (A), "Local use of *ex*."

ing, for *cum* is one of those prepositions that show comparatively little development in meaning and use throughout the history of the language. Although certain extensions of usage were introduced by Silver and Late writers in the local (lit. and fig.), temporal, and modal significations of *cum*, practically its only non-Classical use is the instrumental (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 507-511; St.-Schm. 531-532). The following is an account of the peculiarities in the use of *cum* that appear in the Confessions:

(A) *The use of CVM to denote general ideas of accompaniment, community, etc.*

i. With verbs.

*dissentire*: 4, 8, 13, *dissentire interdum sine odio tamquam ipse homo secum* (rare Classical, Silver, Late; cf. T. L. L. V 1456-1457).

*effluere*: 8, 7, 17, *multi anni mecum effluerant*.

*sentire*: 6, 7, 11, *putabam . . . eum de me cum patre sentire*.

*uidere*: 3, 6, 10, *cum pecudibus et uolatilibus uidemus haec* (Ter. Haut. 907).

Note also the following instance of *cum* with the phrase *bene est*: 9, 6, 14, *currebant lacrimae, et bene mihi erat cum eis*.

ii. With nouns.

*praesentia*: 5, 8, 15, *amabat . . . secum praesentiam meam* (= *me praesentem*) *more matrum* (cf. Cic. Epist. 2, 7, 4, *praesens tecum egi*).

iii. With adjectives, to denote equality.

*excelsus* and *lucidus*: 5, 3, 5, *putant se excelsos esse cum sideribus et lucidos*.

iv. Attributively.

Although attributive prepositional phrases, composed of *cum* and a noun, occur in Class. Latin, the usage appears to be chiefly Early, Silver, and Late (T. L. L. IV 1353-1354). Note especially the following examples from the Confessions: 6, 1, 1, *pollicens eis peruentionem cum salute* (= *saluam*); 10, 34, 53, *ego capior miserabiliter, et tu euelles misericorditer aliquando non sentientem*,

quia suspensius incideram, aliquando *cum dolore* (= dolentem), quia iam inhaeseram. In the following instance *cum* signifies "despite," "in spite of": 8, 8, 19, surgunt indocti et caelum rapiunt, et nos *cum doctrinis nostris* . . . ecce ubi uolutamur in carne et sanguine! (cf. Apul. Met. 4, 32, Psyche *cum sua* sibi perspicua *pulchritudine* nullum decoris sui fructum percipit).

#### (B) Temporal use of *cum*

The use of *cum* in a temporal signification, to denote the point of time with which an action concurs, is found to some extent in Class. Latin, but is chiefly Silver and Late (cf. T. L. L. IV 1361-1363; K.-Steg. II 1, 509). The following instances of this usage have been gathered from the Confessions: 6, 11, 19, quid, si mors ipsa omnem curam *cum sensu* amputabit et finiet? 8, 11, 25, dicebam . . . apud me intus: "Ecce modo fiat, modo fiat," et *cum uerbo* iam ibam in placitum; 8, 12, 29, *cum fine* huiusce sententiae . . . omnes dubitationis tenebrae diffugerunt; 10, 31, 41, numquid clauditur (ratio) *cum sensibus* corporis?

#### (C) Instrumental use of *cum*

Although a few examples of *cum* to denote means or instrument occur already in Early Latin, and more numerous ones in the Silver period, the usage becomes definitely established only in Late writers (cf. T. L. L. IV 1369-1370; K.-Steg. II 1, 510; St.-Schm. 531-532). Only one clear example occurs in the Confessions: 10, 18, 27, perdiderat . . . mulier dragmam et quaesivit eam *cum lucerna* (in the following instance *cum* probably denotes manner: 6, 7, 12, *cum mira uoluptate* caecabatur).

#### 5. SINE

Of the 79 instances of *sine* in the Confessions, few present any striking deviations from Class. usage; the peculiarities that do occur are rather of a rhetorical than a syntactical nature.

In colloquial language, in poetry (esp. since the Augustan period), and in Scripture, *sine* and the abl. of a noun are often used in place of an adjective (or adverb) compounded with the negative prefix *in-*. This phenomenon is particularly noticeable in

Late translations from the Greek, as in the Itala and the Vulgate, especially wherever the writer was confronted with the rendering of privative adjectives or adverbs having no equivalent in the Latin, e. g. Vulg. Iudas 24, qui potens est uos conseruare *sine peccato* (= ἀμαρτωλός); Psalm. 14, 2, qui ingreditur *sine macula* (ἀμωμος) (cf. St.-Schm. 530). St. Augustine avails himself of this usage in the following passages, many of which have a Scriptural source: 4, 3, 6, nullum certum . . . documentum . . . inueneram, quo mihi *sine ambiguitate* appareret, quae ab eis consultis uera dicerentur, forte uel sorte dici; 5, 9, 17, ubi essent tantae preces, tam crebrae *sine intermissione*? *ibid.*, ad ecclesiam tuam *sine intermissione* (uenire) (cf. Cic. Nat. Deor. 1, 114, *sine ulla intermissione*; Vulg. freq.); 7, 1, 2, per inmensa *sine termino* (cf. Vulg. Is. 5, 14, *absque ullo termino*); 8, 8, 19, nos *cum doctrinis nostris sine corde*; 9, 3, 6, *sine fine* felix (from Lucr. on; cf. T. L. L. VI 798, 3-22); 10, 28, 39, numquid non temtatio est uita humana super terram *sine ullo interstitio*? 10, 37, 60, *sine cessatione* tentamur (Itala Ier. 32, 30, malum *sine cessatione* fecerunt; Cypr. Epist. 51, 1; Hilar. Syn. 34; Aug. Civ. 12, 14); 10, 42, 67, immortalis et *sine peccato* (Script., e. g. Ioh. 8, 7); 12, 9, 9, (creatura intellectualis) . . . *sine ullo lapsu*, ex quo facta est, inhaerendo tibi excedit omnem uolubilem uicissitudinem temporum; 4, 16, 31, uiuit apud te *sine ullo defectu* bonum nostrum (also in 12, 11, 12 and 12, 12, 15; cf. Plin. Nat. 31, 46; Ambr. Iac. 2, 4, 15; Aug. In Psalm. 41, 7; 102, 7; 148, 3); 12, 15, 19, domus dei (est) . . . *sine labe* in aeternum; 13, 11, 12, nemo *sine pace* uidet uisionem istam (Vulg. II Tim. 3, 3).

*Sine* in the sense of "without the aid of" is a favorite Scriptural usage, e. g. Vulg. Ioh. 15, 5, *sine me* nihil potestis facere; Dan. 2, 34, abscissus est lapis . . . *sine manibus*. The Confessions furnish the following instances: 1, 2, 2, *sine te* non esset quidquid est; 4, 1, 1, quid enim sum ego mihi *sine te* nisi dux in praeceptis? 6, 6, 9, *sine quo* (i. e. deo) nulla essent omnia; 10, 40, 65, nihil eorum discernere potui *sine te*.

The combinations *haud sine* and *non sine* occur chiefly in Plautus and Terence and in the Archaists, although they are found to some extent even in Class. writers (cf. St.-Schm. 530). St. Augustine employs *non sine* in the following instances: 3, 2, 3, libet . . .

esse misericordem, quod quia *non sine dolore* est, hac una causa amantur dolores? 12, 12, 15, quidquid . . . in constitutione huius mundi *non sine diebus* factum commemoratur; 12, 15, 19, *non sine initio* (est domus dei).

## 6. CORAM

In Plautus and Terence *coram* occurs only as an adverb; its use as a preposition begins with the *Lex Repetund.* (C. I. L. I 198) 40, ut ei is ad sese ueniat aut adferatur *coram eo*. In Cicero it occurs 99 times as an adverb, but only 4 times as a preposition; in Lucretius, Caesar, and Vergil it occurs only as an adverb; Sallust uses it twice as a preposition, Horace 4 times, Ovid 3 times. Its use as a preposition increases somewhat with Livy (11 times), and especially with both Senecas, who employ it only as such. With Tacitus, however, the adverbial use of *coram* begins to reassert itself, and becomes even more strongly marked in Pliny the Younger, Suetonius, and Apuleius. But in Late Latin the prepositional use once more comes to the fore, chiefly under the influence of the Itala, where *coram* frequently renders the Greek *ἐναντίον*, or *ἐμπροσθεν*, for which the Vulgate at times employs *ante*, *contra*, or *in conspectu* (cf. T. L. L. IV 942-947; St.-Schm. 534-535). Yet even in the Vulgate version of the Bible *coram* is used as a preposition over 600 times, but only twice as an adverb (Exod. 40, 21 and Sirach 45, 6). The Biblical phrases in which it occurs most frequently are the following: *coram deo* (35), *coram domino* (30); *coram me* (45), and *coram te* (55).

St. Augustine, in spite of his frequent use of Scripture, seems to have had no special fondness for this preposition, employing it only 24 times, either before personal pronouns or words referring to persons.<sup>24</sup>

In the following instances St. Augustine uses this preposition in the phrase *coram te*: 1, 7, 11, nemo mundus a peccato *coram te*; 9, 2, 2, consilium . . . nostrum erat *coram te*; also in 2, 9, 17; 5, 6, 11; 9, 4, 7 and 8; 10, 1, 1; 10, 3, 4; 10, 4, 6; 10, 37, 62; 11, 25, 32; 12, 16, 23; 12, 25, 35; 13, 16, 19; 13, 27, 42.

<sup>24</sup> *Coram* is used as an adverb only once in the Confessions: 5, 11, 21, Elpidii cuiusdam aduersus eosdem manichaeos *coram* loquentis et disserentis sermones.

There are two instances of the phrase *coram me*: 6, 7, 12, cum . . . *coram me* adessent discipuli; 10, 37, 62, quae (contumelia) . . . in alium . . . *coram me* iacitur.

The phrase *coram se* occurs only in 13, 11, 12, certe *coram se* est (distinctio).

In the remaining instances *coram* is employed with other words referring to persons: 6, 4, 6, ita cetera cupiebam siue corporalia, quae *coram sensibus meis* non adessent, siue spiritalia; 13, 21, 30, sint (ministri tui) forma fidelibus uiuendo *coram eis*; 2, 1, 1, *coram oculis tuis*; 9, 2, 2, *coram hominibus*; 10, 1, 1, *coram . . . testibus*; 12, 25, 35, *coram fratribus*.

## 7. PRAE

*Prae* was used by Class. writers in a local signification (= before, in front of), in a causal sense (= because of, by reason of), or to denote comparison (= in comparison with, compared with). These writers observed certain limitations in their employment of this preposition which, however, were overstepped by authors of the Silver and Late periods. St. Augustine, who uses *prae* 23 times, adopts several of its non-Classical peculiarities, as the following account will show.

## (A) Local use of PRAE

*Prae* is rarely used in a local signification, occurring chiefly in such phrases as *prae manu*, *prae se ferre*, *prae se mittere*, etc. Its use with verbs of rest begins with Livy (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 512; St.-Schm. 533). St. Augustine employs *prae* in a local sense only in the following three instances: 6, 8, 13, qua (insania) stimuletur redire non tantum cum illis, a quibus prius abstractus est, sed etiam *prae illis* et alios *trahens*; 8, 6, 14, miratus est, quod eas . . . *prae oculis meis* litteras . . . *conperisset*; 10, 5, 7, quamuis *prae tuo conspectu* me *despiciam*.

## (B) Causal use of PRAE

In Class. Latin *prae* is occasionally used in the sense of *propter*, but only in negative expressions or with verbs of an expressed or implied negative character, to designate a preventing cause. Livy likewise conforms to this usage, but Early, Silver, and Late writers

use causal *prae* also in positive sentences (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 513; St.-Schm. 533). St. Augustine employs *prae* five times (8, 1, 2; 9, 3, 6; 9, 5, 13; 10, 34, 52; 12, 9, 9) to express a preventing cause, and three times in positive sentences, thus: 3, 6, 10, *etiam uera dicentes philosophos transgredi debui prae amore tuo*; 4, 5, 10, *an et fletus res amara est et prae fastidio rerum, quibus prius fruebamur, et tunc, dum ab eis abhorremus, delectat?* 5, 12, 22, *quibus prae pecuniae caritate iustitia uilis est.*

(C) *The use of PRAE to denote comparison*

The use of *prae* after a comparative in place of *quam* or the simple abl. belongs in general to Early, Silver, and Late Latin, but becomes frequent only from the Archaists on (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 513; St.-Schm. 427). Two examples of this construction occur in the Confessions: 9, 3, 5, *ea . . . ipsa artiore prae ceteris compede ab itinere retardabatur*; 9, 5, 13, *quod (Esaias) prae ceteris euangelii uocationisque gentium sit praenuntiator apertior.*

*Prae* in the sense of "above," "in preference to" occurs first in Rhet. Her. 4, 20, 28; *neminem prae se ducit hominem*; cf. also Cic. S. Rosc. 135, *ut hominem prae se neminem putet*. More copious instances of this usage occur in Late Latin, e. g. Vulg. I Par. 4, 9, *fuit . . . Iabes inclytus prae fratribus suis*; Iudith 13, 23; Psalm. 44, 3. Note the following examples from the Confessions: 1, 17, 27, *quid mihi recitanti adclamabatur prae multis coaetaneis et conlectoribus meis?* 2, 6, 13, *cum tu sis prae cunctis honorandus*; *ibid.*, *illa prae cunctis formosa et luminosa ueritas tua*; 5, 6, 11, *prae multis (illum hominem) laudabam ac ferebam*; 7, 21, 27, *audivissime arripui uenerabilem stilum spiritus tui et prae ceteris apostolum Paulum*; 8, 4, 9, *absit enim, ut in tabernaculo tuo prae pauperibus accipiantur personae diuitum aut prae ignobilibus nobiles.*

*Prae* is used with the abl. of the gerundive for the first time in Porphyry (cf. St.-Schm. 600). The Confessions contain only the following instance of this usage (note the admixture of a final meaning): 7, 19, 25, (Christus) *natus ex uirgine ad exemplum contemnendorum temporalium prae adipiscenda immortalitate.*

8. PRO

Class. writers employ *pro* in a local sense (= before, in front of) and in the following figurative significations: to designate protection and defense and related ideas (= for, in behalf of, for the benefit of); to denote replacement or substitution (= for, in the place of, in exchange for); to indicate the viewing or considering of a thing as something (= for, as, the same as); in stating the relation between two objects or actions (= in comparison with, according to, by virtue of). While many of these uses of *pro* are exemplified in the 76 instances in which it occurs in the Confessions, several non-Classical peculiarities likewise occur.<sup>25</sup>

(A) *The use of PRO in the sense of "for," "in behalf of," "for the benefit of"*

Closely related to the strictly local signification of *pro* is its figurative use to denote a standing before a person or thing for defence or protection, or to signify "for," "in behalf of," etc. (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 514-515; St.-Schm. 534). St. Augustine uses *pro* in this sense not only with such verbs as *deprecari*, *flere*, *mori*, *orare*, and *rogare*, which are used with this preposition in Class. Latin, but also with other verbs, nouns, and phrases. Note especially the following: 2, 2, 4, *multorum . . . ciuium longe opulentiorum nullum tale negotium pro liberis erat*; 4, 2, 2, *pro capite nocentis (agere)*; 4, 2, 3, *sacrificari pro me nollem daemonibus*; 5, 7, 13, *pro me sacrificabatur tibi*; 9, 12, 32, *cum offerretur pro ea sacrificium pretii nostri*; 4, 6, 11, *pro illo (uitam amittere)*; 5, 8, 15, *quibus (lacrimis) pro me cotidie tibi rigabat terram sub uultu suo*; 6, 11, 19, *numquam tanta et talia pro nobis diuinitus agerentur*; 7, 19, 25, (Christus) *diuina pro nobis cura tantam auctoritatem magisterii meruisse uidebatur*; 9, 13, 34, *fundo tibi, deus noster, pro illa famula tua longe aliud lacrimarum genus*; 10, 4, 5, *fraternus ille, . . . cum inprobat me, contristatur pro me, quia . . . diligit me*; 10, 36, 59, *libeat . . . nos amari et timeri non propter te, sed pro te*; 10, 43, 69, *quomodo nos amasti, pro quibus ille non rapinam arbitratus (est) esse aequalis tibi*; *ibid.*, *pro nobis tibi uictor et uictima*; *ibid.*, *pro nobis tibi sacerdos et sacrificium*;

<sup>25</sup> *Pro* is not used in the Confessions in a local sense.

13, 7, 8, sequatur qui potest intellectu apostolum tuum . . . *flectentem genua pro nobis ad te.*

(B) *The use of PRO to designate the relation between two objects or actions*

*Pro* is also employed to indicate the relation between one object or action and another, in such meanings as "according to," "in proportion," "by virtue of" (= *secundum*). In the Class. period this usage is chiefly confined to a few formal phrases, e. g. *pro re*, *pro parte*, *pro copia*, *pro uiribus*, etc. (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 516; St.-Schm. 534). St. Augustine employs *pro* in this sense with a number of words which, to my knowledge, are not so used in Class. authors. Note especially the following: 1, 9, 15, non enim deerat, domine, memoria uel ingenium, quae nos habere uoluisti *pro illa aetate* satis; 4, 11, 17, si ad totum comprehendendum esset idoneus sensus carnis tuae ac non et ipse in parte uniuersi accepisset *pro tua poena* iustum modum; 3, 7, 13, qua (lege) formarentur mores regionum et dierum *pro regionibus et diebus*; 3, 8, 15, quae . . . contra mores hominum sunt flagitia, *pro morum diuersitate* uitanda sunt; 10, 21, 30, ut id reminisci ualeam . . . cum desiderio *pro earum rerum diuersitate*, de quibus me gauisum esse memini; 10, 33, 49, omnes affectus spiritus nostri *pro sui diuersitate* habere proprios modos in uoce atque cantu (Tert., Aug.; cf. T. L. L. V 1572-1573); 6, 2, 2, plus etiam quam unum pocillum *pro suo palato* satis sobrio temperatum . . . non ponebat; 9, 3, 6, bibit, quantum potest, sapientiam *pro auditate* sua; 9, 10, 23, inde *pro captu* nostro aspersi; 12, 23, 32, his . . . auditis atque perspectis *pro captu* infirmitatis meae; 12, 28, 38, *pro captu* ordinato (Sen. phil., Vell., Gell., Apul., Tert. et al. Eccl.; cf. T. L. L. III 381, 51-67); 12, 4, 4, minus enim speciosa sunt (terra et abyssus) *pro suo gradu* infimo quam cetera superiora; 12, 6, 6, cessauit mens mea interrogare hinc spiritum meum plenum imaginibus formarum corporum et eas *pro arbitrio* suo mutantem atque uariantem (Apul., Tert., Veg., Modest., Aug., Macr., Sulp. Sev., Mart. Cap.; cf. T. L. L. II 414, 51-56); 13, 19, 25, luna et stellae nocti lucent, sed nox non obscurat eas, quoniam ipsae inluminant eam *pro modulo* suo.

(C) *Final use of PRO*

Although even such Class. expressions as *flere*, *mori*, *orare*, *pugnare pro aliquo* or *aliqua re* may be regarded as having a final signification, clearer instances of this usage do not appear until Late Latin. Final *pro* with the gerundive occurs in such writers as Optatus, Cassian, Victor de Vita, Orosius, etc. (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 516; Svennung 41-42; St.-Schm. 534). In the Confessions this usage is exemplified as follows:

(a) With the gerundive: 1, 9, 15, uaria tormenta, *pro quibus effugiendis* tibi per uniuersas terras . . . supplicatur.

(b) Without the gerundive: 1, 7, 12, corpus . . . instruxisti sensibus, conpegisti membris, figura decorasti *proque* eius *uniuersitate* atque *incolumitate* omnes conatus animantis insinuasti; 4, 2, 3, nec . . . muscam *pro uictoria* mea necari sinere; 5, 8, 14, ad mutandum terrarum locum *pro salute* animae meae; 6, 11, 18, deputentur tempora, distribuantur horae *pro salute* animae (Script., e. g. Gen. 45, 5; Esth. 13, 13; Prov. 7, 14; Ion. 2, 10; II Macc. 3, 32; Act. 27, 34).

9. TENUS

The preposition *tenus* is usually construed with the abl., less frequently with the gen., and very rarely with the acc. It is not found in Caesar, and only a few times in Cicero; in the poets and Silver prose writers it occurs with some frequency. On the whole, the preposition is rare (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 516-517; St.-Schm. 536). Until the Late period it is always postpositive; it is placed before its case in Lact. Mythogr. 14, 1; Avien. Arat. 486; Aug. C. Acad. 2, 12, 28; Oros. Hist. 1, 2, 47 (cf. Wölfflin, Archiv 1 [1884], 423; Neue-Wagener II 948). It occurs only once in the Confessions, where it likewise precedes its case: 3, 6, 10, haec nomina non recedebant de ore eorum; sed *tenus sono et strepitu* linguae.

### C. PREPOSITIONS WITH THE ACCUSATIVE AND ABLATIVE

The prepositions governing both the acc. and abl. that occur in the Confessions are *in*, *sub*, and *super*.<sup>26</sup> All of them show divergences from Class. usage and will therefore be treated in full.

#### 1. IN WITH THE ACCUSATIVE

The preposition *in* with the acc. is employed in Class. Latin in a strictly local sense to denote motion into or to a place, as well as to designate mere direction towards a place, person, or thing; it is also widely used in various figurative significations closely approaching the local, and in the phrases *uenire in conspectum*, *societatem*, *potestatem*; *incidere in insidias*, *latrones*, *morbum*; *redire in gratiam cum aliquo*; *dicere in aliquem (aliquam rem)*; *in aliquem impetum facere*. Its employment to denote feeling (friendly or hostile) toward a person or thing is likewise common in Class. writers. In a temporal sense it is used to indicate "into," "till," or "for" (extent of time). Its modal use was well established in the Class. period, but examples of its final and consecutive meanings are rare. Only a few instances occur of *in* with the acc. in a limitative sense (= with reference to). Silver and Late writers extended all of the above usages, especially the local figurative, temporal, final, consecutive, and modal (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 564-569; St.-Schm. 537-539).

St. Augustine, who employs *in* with the acc. about 380 times in the Confessions, avails himself to some extent of its Silver and Late uses. In its local sense, as well as in its various figurative significations bordering closely on the local, he shows the greatest number of non-Classical peculiarities. In the temporal sense he employs it in a few phrases that are foreign to Class. writers. A few instances of its final and consecutive uses, as well as a number of adverbial expressions of place, manner, purpose, and result, also occur. St. Augustine likewise shows a tendency to employ *in* for *ad*, a usage common from Tacitus on.

<sup>26</sup> There are two doubtful instances of *usque* as a preposition, both in 11, 23, 30: *ab oriente usque ad* (De Labr.; omitted by Knöll and Vega) *orientem*.

#### (A) Local use of IN

##### i. With verba.

St. Augustine extends the use of *in* with the acc. in a local sense (frequently used metaphorically) to 38 verbs and 3 nouns not so used in Class. Latin.

*absorbere*: 6, 7, 11, *gurgis . . . morum Carthaginiensium . . . absorbuere eum in insaniam circensium*.

*ambulare*: 4, 5, 26, *ambulando ambulabam in ea, quae non sunt neque in te neque in me neque in corpore* (Sen. Contr. 9, 6, 13).

*ascendere*: 9, 4, 12, *ascendit in cor meum admonere omnes meos* (Tert., Vulg.; cf. T. L. L. II 758, 43-61).

*assurgere*: 10, 33, 57, *ex ipsa uisione . . . in te adsurgere* (Verg., Quint., Flor., Late; cf. T. L. L. II 937-939).

*cantare*: 2, 3, 7, *quae (uerba) cantasti in aures meas* (cf. *dicere* below).

*colligere*: 12, 16, 23, *donec in eius pacem, matris carissimae, . . . colligas totum quod sum a dispersione . . . hac*.

*conuerti*: 9, 2, 3, *conuersa in (= ad) factum meum ora cunctorum intuentium* (Tac., Hilar.; cf. T. L. L. IV 858, 47-84).

*decidere*: 4, 15, 27, *pondere superbiae meae in ima decidebam* (Plin. Nat. 9, 80, 111).

*descendere*: 2, 3, 7, *nec inde (i. e. ex eis uerbis) descendit in cor, ut facerem illud*.

*dicere*: 12, 11, 11 bis, *dixisti mihi, domine, uoce forti in aurem interiorem*; also in 12, 11, 12; 12, 15, 18 bis; 13, 29, 44 (cf. *cantare* above and *digerere* below; for similar expressions formed with verbs of saying and the phrase *in aurem [aures]*, cf. T. L. L. II 1506, 5-64).

*digerere*: 7, 7, 11, *quod inde digerebatur per linguam meam in aures familiarissimorum meorum* (cf. *dicere* above).

*dilabi*: 10, 11, 18, *in remotiora penetralia dilabuntur* (Colum. and Late; cf. T. L. L. V 1158-1159).

*dirigere*: 6, 4, 6, *ut . . . acies mentis meae dirigeretur . . . in ueritatem tuam. Dirigere oculos, uisum, etc., in aliquem or aliquid* is Silver and Late (cf. T. L. L. V 1242, 71-84).

*dissilire*: 2; 4, 9, *dissiliens a firmamento tuo in exterminium*; 11, 29, 39, *tu . . . aeternus es; at ego in tempora dissilui* (Vulg. I Macc. 9, 48).

*eliquare*: 9, 6, 14, *eliquabatur ueritas in cor meum* (Colum., Tert.; cf. Georges s. v.).

*emicare*: 1, 10, 16, eadem curiositate . . . per oculos *emicante in spectacula* (Poet.; cf. Georges s. v.).

*erigere*: 9, 10, 25, *erexerunt aurem in eum*, qui fecit ea.

*euanescere*: 2, 1, 1, ab uno te auersus *in multa euanui*; 10, 9, 16, odor . . . *euanescit in uentos* (cf. Verg. Aen. 4, 278 and 9, 658).

*exsurgere*: 5, 1, 1, ut *exsurgat in te anima nostra* (cf. Tac. Hist. 2, 14).

*extendere*: 11, 29, 39, non *in ea* quae futura et transitura sunt . . . *extentus*; 12, 16, 23, recordans Hierusalem *extento in eam* sursum corde (Poet. and Silver; cf. Georges s. v.).

*ferri*: 1, 18, 28, *in* (= ad) *uanitates ferebar* (Sen. phil., Late; cf. T. L. L. VI 562, 54-72).

*impingere*: 8, 7, 16, tu me rursus *opponebas mihi et inpingebas me in oculos meos* (Early, Silver, Late; cf. Georges s. v.).

*intendere*: 4, 15, 27, *quas* (aures) *intendebam . . . in* interiorum melodiam tuam (cf. Vulg. Psalm. 129, 2, *fiant aures tuae intendentes in uocem deprecationis meae*).

*intromittere*: 10, 40, 65, *intromittis me in affectum* multum inusitatum.

*intumescere*: 7, 6, 8, *in quas* (res) saecularis spes eius *intumuerat*.

*ire*: 7, 7, 11, totum . . . *ibat in auditum* tuum, quod rugiebam a gemitu cordis mei (cf. Arnob. Nat. 7, 41, si ita ut sunt prompta humanum ueniant [ueniat] ad auditum).

*ministrare*: 12, 27, 37, fons . . . *in ampliora spatia fluxum ministrat*.

*offendere*: 5, 2, 2, *fugerunt, ut non uiderent te uidentem se atque excaecati in te offenderent*—quia non deseris aliquid eorum, quae fecisti—*in te offenderent iniusti . . . offendentes in rectitudinem tuam* (cf. Sol. 40; Vulg. Sirach 32, 25 and Rom. 9, 32).

*prosternere*: 7, 18, 24, uidentes ante pedes suos infirmam diuinitatem . . . et lassi *prosternerentur in eam*.

*radiare*: 7, 10, 16, reuerberasti infirmitatem aspectus mei *radians in me uehementer*.

*rapere*: 6, 7, 12, at ille *in se rapuit* meque illud non nisi propter se dixisse credidit.

*redire*: 3, 8, 16, pietate humili *reditur in* (= ad) *te*.

*reducere*: 9, 12, 33, *reducebam in pristinum sensum ancillam tuam*; 10, 36, 58, numquid . . . *aliquid nos reducet in spem nisi . . . misericordia tua . . . ?*

*reuertere* (used transit.): 6, 16, 26, uersa et reuersa (anima) *in tergum et in latera et in uentrem*.

*subleuare*: 7, 3, 5, *subleuabat . . . me in lucem tuam*.

*transuolare*: 11, 15, 20, tempus . . . a futuro *in praeteritum transuolat* (cf. Liv. 3, 63, 2).

*uocare*: 7, 9, 15, *uocasti gentes in hereditatem tuam*; 11, 2, 4, *uocasti in adoptionem populum credentium* (cf. Vulg. Psalm. 78, 1, *uenerunt gentes in hereditatem tuam*; Aug. Civ. 12, 23, *populum . . . piorum in adoptionem uocandum*).

*uoluere*: 1, 16, 25, quousque *uolues Euae filios in mare magnum . . . ?* (cf. Verg. Aen. 11, 888).

## ii. With nouns.

*dux*: 4, 1, 1, quid enim sum ego mihi sine te nisi *dux in praeceptis*?

*pondus*: 13, 7, 8, quomodo dicam de *pondere cupiditatis in abruptam abyssum*?

*transitus*: 12, 6, 6, eundem . . . *transitum de forma in formam per informe quiddam fieri suspicatus sum* (cf. Quint. Inst. 11, 3, 28).

## (B) The use of IN in various figurative significations closely allied to the local meaning

Class. writers showed great freedom in employing the preposition *in* with the acc. in various figurative meanings that border closely on the local. It is not surprising, therefore, that writers of all succeeding periods continued to add to the list of verbs, adjectives, and nouns that could be thus employed with this preposition (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 566; St.-Schm. 537-539). St. Augustine is no exception to this rule, and uses about 45 verbs, 6 nouns, and 2 adjectives not employed in this way with *in* and the acc. in Class. Latin.

## i. With verbs.

(a) With verbs denoting passing, advancing, entering, etc.

*ire*: 6, 12, 22, *ibat in* experiendi cupidinem; 7, 14, 20, *inderat* (anima mea) *in opinionem* duarum substantiarum; 8, 8, 19, *quod non irem in placitum et pactum tecum*, deus meus, *in quod eundum esse* omnia ossa mea clamabant; 8, 11, 25, *cum uerbo iam ibam in placitum*; 13, 2, 2, *inchoata et informia . . . euntia in immoderationem et in longinquam dissimilitudinem tuam*.

*nasci*: 9, 8, 17, (mater) me parturiuit carne, ut *in hanc temporalem, et corde, ut in aeternam lucem nasceretur*.

*procedere*: 6, 8, 13, *interdixit animo, ne in tanta mala procederet*.

*uenire*: 6, 12, 22, *uenturas in . . . experientiam*; 12, 26, 36, *in quamlibet ueram sententiam cogitando uenissent*; 13, 23, 33, *quis inde uenturus sit in dulcedinem gratiae tuae . . . ?*

(b) With verbs denoting falling, flowing into, etc.

*cadere*: 5, 2, 2, *cadentes in asperitatem tuam*; 10, 23, 33, *cadunt in id quod ualent*.

*defluere*: 10, 29, 40, *a quo in multa defluximus*; 12, 15, 19, *ut . . . (creatura) in nullam . . . temporum uarietatem et uicissitudinem ab illo . . . defluat* (rare till Late period; cf. T. L. L. V 363, 41-66).

*effundi*: 9, 4, 10, *facile uanescunt et effunduntur in ea, quae uidentur et temporalia sunt* (Silver and Late; cf. Georges s. v.).

*illabi*: 8, 5, 12, (animus) *in eam (consuetudinem) uolens inlabitur*.

*labi*: 6, 12, 22, *lapsurus in . . . seruitutem*; 9, 8, 18, *in eam consuetudinem lapsa erat* (Poet., Silver, Late; cf. Georges s. v.).

*relabi*: 8, 11, 25, *relabebat . . . in pristina*; 13, 2, 3, *relabatur in uitam tenebrosae abyssi similem* (cf. Hor. Epist. 1, 1, 18).

*resoluere*: 12, 15, 19, *ut . . . (creatura) in nullam . . . temporum uarietatem et uicissitudinem ab illo se resoluat* (Poet., Silver, Late; cf. Georges s. v.).

(c) With verbs denoting turning, bending, etc.

*deflectere*: 4, 4, 7, *deflexeram eum in (= ad) superstitiosas fabellas* (Poet., Silver, Late; cf. T. L. L. V 358-359).

*detorquere*: 7, 16, 22, *quaesiui, quid esset substantia, et non*

*inueni substantiam, sed a summa substantia, te deo, detortae in infima uoluntatis peruersitatem* (Silver and Late; cf. T. L. L. V 820, 1-64).

*flectere*: 7, 6, 8, *iam de hac re in (= ad) Nebridii sententiam flecti coeperam* (Hor., Amm.; cf. T. L. L. VI 893-894).

*retorquere*: 4, 12, 18, *si placent corpora, deum ex illis lauda et in artificem eorum retorque amorem* (Poet., Silver, Late; cf. Georges s. v.).

(d) With *mutare* and its compounds.

Although *uertere* in its figurative sense of "to turn," "to transform" takes *in* and the acc. in Class. Latin (e. g. Caes. Civ. 1, 8, *ne ea, quae rei publicae causa egerit, in suam contumeliam uertat*), *mutare* and its compounds are very rarely used with this preposition. Note the following instances from the Confessions:

*mutare*: 3, 2, 3, *aestus taetrarum libidinum, in quos (uena amicitiae) ipsa mutatur*; 7, 10, 16, *nec tu me in te mutabis sicut cibum carnis tuae, sed tu mutaberis in me*; 12, 6, 6, *in quas (formas) mutantur res mutabiles*; also in 12, 11, 14; 12, 12, 15; 13, 3, 4 (Ter., Ov., Silver, Late; cf. Georges s. v.).

*conmutare*: 7, 2, 3, *ut quaedam portio tua . . . conmutaretur in deterius* (Cic. Fat. 17; Varro; Late; cf. T. L. L. III 1990, 15-29).

*immutare*: 7, 9, 15, *legebam ibi inmutatam gloriam incorruptionis tuae in idola et uaria simulacra*.

(e) With verbs of eager desire, longing, etc.

*anhelare*: 5, 11, 21, *anhelans in auram tuae ueritatis liquidam*.

*deficere*: 3, 6, 10, *tu, amor meus, in quem deficio, ut fortis sim* (Script., e. g. Psalm. 83, 3).

*exardescere*: 10, 27, 38, *exarsi in (= ad) pacem tuam* (Liv., Tac., Iust.; cf. Georges s. v.).

*flagrare*: 3, 8, 16, *in non concessa flagrando*; 5, 7, 13, *ipse flagrabat in eas litteras*; 7, 6, 8, *qui . . . flagrabat in eas nugas igne cordis sui*.

*flammare*: 11, 22, 28, *studia mea flammantia . . . in scripturas tuas*.

*gestire*: 2, 3, 6, *quasi iam ex hoc in nepotes gestiret*.

(f) With verbs denoting urging, provoking, etc.

*stimulare*: 6, 2, 2, non . . . *eam* . . . *stimulabat in* (=ad) *odium ueri amor uini* (Liv., Iust.; cf. Georges s. v.).

*urgere*: 1, 12, 19, *me in eas* (litteras) *urgeti* oderam (cf. Verg. Aen. 1, 111).

(g) With verbs denoting wasting, squandering, etc.

*diffluere*: 11, 2, 2, nolo *in aliud* horae *diffuant* (Late; cf. T. L. L. V 1105, 1-42).

*dissipare*: 4, 16, 30, ut *eam* (substantiam meam) *dissiparem in meretrices cupiditates*.

*distabescere*: 3, 3, 5, *in quantas iniquitates distabui* . . . !

*spargere*: 10, 34, 53, nec *eam* (fortitudinem suam) *spargant in deliciosas lassitudines*.

(h) With verbs of fitting, shaping, forming, etc.

*aptare*: 8, 4, 9, *uidebant uasa eius* . . . *mundari et aptari in* (=ad) *honorem tuum* (Late; cf. T. L. L. II 325, 20 and 326, 44-50).

*coaptare*: 12, 29, 40, neque enim priore tempore *sonos* edimus informes sine cantu et eos posteriore tempore *in formam* cantici *coaptamus* aut *figimus* (cf. Hier. In Eph. 1, 22, *in hunc sensum* et illud *coaptatur*).

*ingere*: cf. above under *coaptare* (Ov., Firm.; cf. T. L. L. VI 771, 18 and 79).

*formare*: 12, 29, 40, (*sonus*) non prius informiter sonat et deinde *formatur in cantum* (Silver and Late; cf. T. L. L. VI 1102-1105).

(i) With verbs denoting attention, belief, hope, etc.

*attendere*: 7, 9, 15, non *adendi in idola* Aegyptiorum; 13, 11, 12, *adendat in se* (Eccl.; cf. T. L. L. II 1122, 41-48).

*credere*: 1, 1, 1, inuocem te *credens in te*; 1, 11, 17, quominus *in Christum credere*; 9, 9, 19, *in te credens* (Script.; cf. T. L. L. IV 1149, 28-69; K.-Schm. I 373).

*intendere*: 2, 10, 18, nolo *in eam* (nodositatem) *intendere*; 7, 7, 11, *intendebam in ea*, quae locis continentur; also in 7, 9, 15; 12, 6, 6; 12, 14, 17; 12, 28, 39. *Intendere mentem, animum*, etc. *in aliquid* is Class. usage, but *intendere* alone with *in* and the acc.

occurs first in Quintilian and is frequent in Scripture, e. g. Psalm. 37, 23; I Macc. 2, 68; Iac. 2, 3; II Cor. 3, 13; Act. 7, 55 (cf. Georges s. v.).

*sperare*: 1, 11, 17, (*mater mea*) *sperauit in te*; 4, 4, 9, *spera in deum*; *ibid.*, phantasma, *in quod sperare iubebatur*; 9, 4, 10, *sperans in te*. Although it cannot be determined whether in the above instances the phrase *sperare in* is used throughout with the acc. or also (in the first and last citations) with the abl., the matter is of little consequence, for both constructions are peculiar to Ecclesiastical Latin, although the abl. is more frequent in the Vulgate (cf. Goelzer [I] 345; Hoppe [Tert.] 40; K.-Schm. II 596).

*suspendi*: 4, 16, 28, *in nescio quid* magnum et diuinum *sensus*; 6, 1, 1, *in Ambrosi ora suspendi*.

(j) With verbs of hostile or sinful action.

*facere*: 3, 8, 16, etiam cum *in te* peccant (homines), *inpie faciunt in animas suas*.

*irritari*: 1, 18, 29, odium, quo *in eum* (hominem) *irritatur*.

*perpetrare*: 3, 8, 16, hoc uindicas, quod *in se* homines *perpetrant*.

(k) With miscellaneous verbs.

*damnare*: 10, 42, 67, unde *damnetur in mortem* (Silver and Late; cf. T. L. L. V 16, 30-55).

*patefacere*: 11, 1, 1, *affectum* . . . nostrum *patefacimus in te*. In this instance *in* with the acc. is used in place of the dat., the Class. construction; cf. Cic. Leg. Agr. 2, 49, dum *patefacio uobis* quas isti . . . *insidias se posuisse arbitrantur*.

Note also the following instance of *in* with ellipsis of a participle denoting passing, going over, etc.: 13, 18, 22, de ista inferiori fruge actionis *in deliciis* contemplationis uerbum uitae superius obtinentes appareamus sicut luminaria in mundo.

ii. With nouns.

*donum*: 9, 8, 17, non eius, sed tua dicam *dona in eam*.

*inclinatio*: 2, 5, 10, immoderata *in* (=ad) *ista inclinatione* (Tac. Ann. 4, 20 and Hist. 2, 92).

*meditatio*: 11, 2, 3, largire . . . spatium *meditationibus* nostris in *abditis* legis tuae.

*misericordia*: 4, 16, 31, confiteri tibi in *me* *misericordias* tuas; 5, 8, 14, praesentissima in *nos* *misericordia* tua.

*munus*: 10, 30, 42, augebis, domine, magis magisque in *me* *munera* tua.

*sceptrum*: 2, 2, 4, cum accepit in *me* *sceptrum* . . . *uesania* libidinis.

### iii. With adjectives.

*blandus*: 9, 12, 23, conuersationem . . . eius . . . sancte in *nos* *blandam*.

*benignus*: 5, 13, 23, eum amare coepi . . . tamquam hominem *benignum* in *me* (Aug. Lib. Arb. 2, 1, deus . . . in *nos* *benignissimus* in praestando).

### (C) Temporal use of IN

In Class. Latin *in* with the acc. in a temporal signification was used to denote "into," "till," or extent of time (= for); the poets and Silver writers introduced its meaning of "until," "up to" (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 565; St.-Schm. 537). Silver and Late authors were responsible for a number of other developments along these lines, of which St. Augustine adopts the following:

*in aeternum*: 2, 6, 13, honorandus et gloriosus in *aeternum*; also in 8, 11, 26 bis; 9, 10, 24; 12, 15, 19; 12, 16, 23. This phrase occurs first in Lucretius, and is found occasionally in Silver and Late writers, but is especially common in Eccl. Latin (cf. T. L. L. I 1147, 46-74).

*de die in diem*: for instances of this phrase in the Confessions, and for its sources, cf. "Temporal use of *de*."

*in futurum*: 13, 34, 49, fructuosa in *futurum* opera (Liv. 30, 17, 1).

*in hodiernum*: 9, 7, 15, ex illo in *hodiernum* retentum (morem) multis . . . gregibus tuis . . . imitantibus (Plin. Nat. 33, 1, 30; Min. Fel. 21, 7).

*in mane*: 11, 23, 30, peragere sol totum ambitum de mane in *mane* adsolet (Itin. Silv. 27, 7).

*in omnia saecula*: 3, 2, 3, deo . . . superexaltato in *omnia saecula* (Script., e. g. Tob. 13, 1).

*usque in*: 8, 3, 8, ab initio *usque in* finem saeculorum; 8, 6, 14, nos . . . *usque in* illam horam latebat (Antonii nomen); 10, 38, 63, *usque in* pacem, quam nescit arrogantis oculus; 11, 23, 30, ab ortu solis *usque in* ortum alterum; 13, 15, 18, *usque in* finem saeculi (from Livy on; cf. K.-Schm. II 699; K.-Steg. II 1, 565).

### (D) Final use of IN

*In* with the acc. is employed to denote the end or purpose of an action already in Early and Class. Latin, but the usage becomes frequent only with Livy (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 567; St.-Schm. 537). The following instances occur in the Confessions: 1, 9, 14, in *tuam* *inuocationem* rumpebam nodos linguae meae; 1, 11, 17, te, domine Iesu, confitens in *remissionem* peccatorum; 2, 5, 10, in *cuncta* haec *adipiscenda* non est egrediendum abs te; 3, 9, 17, cum conciliantur aliqua in *usum* uitae.

### (E) Consecutive use of IN

Class. writers occasionally employ *in* with the acc. to designate the result of an action; in Silver and Late Latin, however, this usage was greatly extended (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 567-568; St.-Schm. 537). The Confessions furnish the following examples of the consecutive use of *in*: 2, 3, 8, relaxabantur etiam mihi ad ludendum habena ultra temperamentum seueritatis in *dissolutionem* affectionum mearum; 5, 9, 16, in *dedecus* meum creueram; 6, 2, 2, ita ut saepe erumperet . . . in eius *praedicationem*; 5, 5, 9, donec assurgat nouus homo in *uirum perfectum*; 8, 7, 18, tabescebat in *mortem*; 9, 12, 29, transfluebat (maestitudo) in *lacrimas*; *ibid.*, puer Adeodatus exclamauit in *planctum* (De Labr.; planctu Knöll and Vega); *ibid.*, meum quiddam puerile, quod labeatur in *fletus*.

### (F) The use of IN in adverbial phrases

In Class. Latin *in* with the acc. was frequently employed with nouns and neuter adjectives to form adverbial expressions of place, time, manner, purpose, and result (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 568-569; St.-Schm. 537-538). Of the numerous non-Classical adverbial phrases introduced by Silver and Late authors, St. Augustine uses the following:

## i. Local.

*in ima*: 2, 3, 6, *inclinatae in ima uoluntatis*; 9, 2, 3, *ne in ima uergeremus* (Cels.; cf. Georges s. v.).

*in infima*: 7, 16, 22, *detortae in infima uoluntatis*.

*in longum*: 8, 5, 12, *sed 'modo et modo' non habebat modum et 'sine paululum' in longum ibat* (Poet., Silver, Late; cf. Georges s. v.).

*in obuuium*: 8, 11, 26, *eundo in obuuiam* (Vulg. I Macc. 16, 5).

*in praeceps*: 4, 1, 1, *quid enim sum ego mihi nisi dux in praeceps?* (from Livy on; cf. Georges s. v.).

*in profundum*: 4, 13, 20, *ibam in profundum* (Script., e. g. Is. 31, 6).

## ii. Modal.

*in tantum, in quantum*: 7, 2, 3, *in tantum ab eis corrumpetur, . . . ut a beatitudine . . . uerteretur*; 7, 15, 21, *omnia uera sunt, in quantum sunt*; 8, 9, 21, *in tantum imperat, in quantum uult, et in tantum non fit quod imperat, in quantum non uult*; also in 8, 6, 14; 9, 4, 12; 10, 43, 68; 11, 7, 9; 11, 9, 11; 12, 7, 7; 12, 15, 22. Such adverbial expressions as *in tantum* and *in quantum*, in place of the simple *tantum* and *quantum*, occur in the poets of the Augustan period and in Silver and Late prose (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 569; St.-Schm. 455 and 538).

## iii. Final.

*in commune*: 12, 25, 34, *si . . . ament illud, quia uerum est, iam et ipsorum est et meum est, quoniam in commune omnium est ueritatis amatorum* (Early, Silver, Late; cf. T. L. L. III 1976-1977).

## iv. Consecutive.

*in deterius*: 13, 3, 4, *in deterius mutari* (Sall., Silver, Late; cf. T. L. L. V 800, 37-53).

*in melius*: 6, 10, 16, *sed consulta iustitia deliberationem in melius uertit*; 8, 12, 30, *(Alypius moribus suis) a me in melius iam olim ualde longue distabat*; 13, 3, 4, *in melius . . . mutari* (Silver and Late; cf. T. L. L. II 2100, 6-16).

## 2. IN WITH THE ABLATIVE

The preposition *in* with the abl. was used very extensively already in Class. Latin, to express not only such strictly local ideas as "in," "on," "upon," "among," etc., but also many other notions more or less closely allied to the local signification. Thus, it was widely used in relations where a person or thing was regarded as being in a certain situation or condition, or to indicate a person or thing with reference to which an action took place. It was also employed to some extent in a temporal sense. Silver and Late writers, in addition to extending the above usages, on the one hand developed widely constructions that had been foreshadowed in the writings of the Class. period, and on the other hand introduced striking innovations, chiefly under the influence of Hebrew and Greek idiom.

The most extensive development of *in* with the abl. is seen in its use to express means or instrument, agency, manner, and cause. This is sometimes explained as due entirely to the influence of Scripture, which is not always the case. The modal use of *in* with the abl., for example, has its origin in such expressions as the following from Class. and Silver authors: Cic. Epist. 1, 9, 23, *scripsi tres libros in disputatione et dialogo*; id. Ad Q. Fr. 2, 15 (16), 3, *Drusus erat . . . absolutus in summa quattuor sententiis*; Vit. 10, 14, 2, *capreoli . . . in altitudine excitati pedes duodecim*; Quint. Inst. 4, 5, 13, *quod in parte uerum est*. Likewise the causal use of this preposition can already be detected in Caes. Gall. 2, 22, 2, *in tanta rerum iniquitate fortunae quoque euentus uarii sequebantur*, or Prop. 3, 9, 11, *in Veneris tabula summam sibi poscit Apelles*. Furthermore, writers of the Early and Silver periods occasionally express themselves in phrases like the following, which denote the condition or occasion of an action: Ter. Ad. 49, *in eo me oblecto*;<sup>27</sup> Cic. Epist. 6, 11, *in hac inani prudentiae laude delector*. Such expressions gradually gave rise to more sharply defined phrases implying manner, cause, etc. Clear instances of the use of *in* with the abl. to express means or instrument do not appear until the Late period, e. g. Apul. Met. 2, 2.

<sup>27</sup> The grammarian Donatus *ad loc.* writes: *noue dixit pro eo me oblecto.*

gravis *in annis*; Apic. 3, 15, 4, *in aqua contegere*; Chiron 480, *in uino diluere*.

Nevertheless it cannot be denied that Scriptural Latin, with its wealth of idioms based on Hebrew and Greek usage, played a considerable part in extending the modal, causal, and instrumental uses of *in* with the abl. The Hebrew preposition corresponding to the Latin *in* possessed many significations not attached to the latter in the Class. period. Furthermore, the Hebrew point of view in matters of syntax differed considerably from the Roman; for example, what Class. writers regarded as the means or manner in which a thing was accomplished, was considered by the authors of Holy Writ as a simple circumstance in which it was brought about. Cf. Vulg. Gen. 13, 2, diues *in possessione auri*; Ioh. 4, 23, adorabunt patrem *in spiritu*; Gal. 6, 12, quicumque uolunt placere *in carne*. The early translators of the Bible, in their anxiety to render the original as faithfully as possible, introduced into the Latin language many uses of *in* till then unknown, but which soon became firmly established in Eccl. literature (cf. Rönsch 396-397; Bonnet 616-620; Bayard 145-147; Kaulen 239-242; K.-Steg. II 1, 559-564; St.-Schm. 438 and 536-539).

St. Augustine, who employs *in* with the abl. about 1160 times, avails himself freely of its Silver and Late uses. He employs it frequently in various figurative significations closely allied to the local meaning, among which the most numerous and conspicuous are the expressions based on the phrase *in Christo Iesu* (Vulg. I Cor. 6, 11), which is probably original with St. Paul. Frequent also is the use of *in* to denote reference, respect or relation. A large number of instances of instrumental *in* also occur. Examples of modal and of causal *in* are less numerous. Instances of the final use of *in* with the abl., as well as of its employment in adverbial phrases, are very rare. On the whole, however, it may be safely said that, in the Confessions at least, St. Augustine's use of prepositions shows in no other instance the influence of Scripture so strongly as in the case of *in* with the abl.

#### (A) Local use of *IN*

In the local use of *in* with the abl. St. Augustine generally con-

forms to Class. standards. Only the following peculiarities need be discussed.

The use of the phrase *in aure* (*auribus*) with verbs of saying, speaking, etc., although occurring to some extent in Silver writers, is chiefly Eccl. (cf. T. L. L. II 1506, 4-62). The Confessions furnish the following instances of this usage: 1, 11, 18, sonat undique *in auribus nostris*: "sine illum . . ."; 13, 23, 34, instrepere *in auribus*; also in 1, 14, 23; 9, 12, 31; 10, 4, 6.

The expression *in conspectu* already appears before the Class. period and continues in use throughout all subsequent Latinity, but becomes especially frequent in Scripture, where it occurs about 350 times, being employed to render the Greek *ἐναντίον*, *ἐναντι*, *ἐνώπιον*, etc. (cf. T. L. L. IV 491-492). The following instances of this expression occur in the Confessions: 5, 3, 3, proloquar *in conspectu dei mei* annum illum; 12, 11, 13, hoc *in conspectu tuo* claret mihi; also in 1, 16, 26 *bis*; 8, 2, 5 *bis*.

The phrase *in oculis* occurs already in Class. Latin, but becomes frequent only in Scripture; although not to the same extent as its synonym *in conspectu*; it is used to render the Greek *ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς*, *ἐναντίον*, etc. Cf. Vulg. I Reg. 8, 6, displicuit sermo *in oculis* Samuelis; II Reg. 12, 11; Is. 49, 5; Ier. 7, 30; Psalm. 117, 23. Only the following instance occurs in the Confessions: 10, 33, 50, domine, . . . sana me, *in cuius oculis* mihi quaestio factus sum.

The use of *in* in such phrases as *bibere in poculo*, *uesci in mensa*, etc., in place of the simple abl. (or with *de*, *ex*) is Silver and Late (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 560; St.-Schm. 536). The Confessions contain only the following instances: 1, 16, 26, unum erroris, quod *in eis* (uasis) nobis propinabatur ab ebriis doctoribus; 13, 21, 29, quamuis piscem manducet . . . *in ea mensa*.

*In* with the abl. is used for *in* with the acc. (to denote the end of motion) to some extent in the Silver Latinity, and much more frequently in the Late, especially in Eccl. writers. In the Vulgate, this confusion of cases was largely due to the fact that in the later period of the Greek language the difference in meaning between *eis* and *ἐν* tended to disappear (cf. Kaulen 242). Only one instance of this usage appears in the Confessions: 4, 13, 20, ista consideratio scaturiit *in animo meo* ex intimo corde meo.

(B) *The use of IN in various figurative significations closely allied to the local meaning*

In Early and Class. Latin the preposition *in* with the abl. is often employed figuratively in many situations in which the idea of place is prominent, e. g. to designate the external or internal circumstances of an action, to indicate the state or condition in which a person or thing is found, etc. Since this use of *in* admits of a wide range of application, Silver and Late writers introduced numerous innovations not found in Class. Latin (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 560-562; St.-Schm. 536-537). The following is a list of the non-Classical extensions of this figurative use of *in* found in the Confessions:

i. With verbs.

*habere in notitia*: 10, 20, 29, *habent eam* (beatam uitam) *in nescio qua notitia*; 10, 21, 30, *hos enim qui habet in notitia*, non adhuc quaerit adipisci; *ibid.*, uitam . . . beatam *habemus in notitia*; cf. also *ibid.*, unde apparet eam *esse in eorum notitia* (Script., e. g. Vulg. Rom. 1, 28, *deum habere in notitia*).

*meditari*: 8, 5, 12, *cogitationes, quibus meditabar in te*; 11, 2, 2, *meditari in lege tua* (Script., e. g. Psalm. 1, 2; Deut. 6, 7).

*persistere*: 7, 20, 26, *si in affectu . . . perstitissem*; 12, 11, 11 bis and 12, 11, 13, *in ea manifestatione persistam* (Treb. Gall. 4, 2; Vulg. Tob. 3, 11; formed on the analogy of *perstare in*, e. g. Cic. Q. Rosc. 9, 26, *perstat in impudentia*).

*posse*: 9, 12, 31, *mihi . . . displicebat tantum in me posse haec humana* (Early, Silver, Late; cf. Georges s. v.).

*procedere*: 13, 12, 13, *procede in confessione, fides mea*.  
*remanere*: 13, 23, 33, *quis in perpetua inpietatis amaritudine remansurus* (formed on the analogy of *permanere in*, e. g. Cic. Off. 1, 31, 112, *in . . . consilio permansisset*).

*suspendere*: 12, 18, 27, *in quibus duobus praeceptis totam legem prophetasque suspenderit*.

*ualere*: 8, 11, 25, *plus . . . in me ualebat deterius inolitum*; 10, 30, 41, *tantum ualet imaginis inclusio in anima mea et in carne mea* (cf. Vulg. Sap. 19, 19, *ignis in aqua ualebat supra suam uirtutem*).

Note also the use of *in* with the abl. after the two phrases *potestatem habere* and *spes est*: 13, 23, 34, *de his enim iudicare nunc dicitur, in quibus et potestatem corrigendi habet* (Script., e. g. Eccles. 8, 8; Apoc. 20, 6); 10, 29, 40, *tota spes mea non nisi in magna ualde misericordia tua*; 10, 43, 69, *mihi spes ualida in illo est, quod sanabis omnes languores meos per eum* (Script., e. g. Psalm. 61, 8; I Petr. 1, 21).

ii. In place of the dative.

St. Augustine uses the following two verbs with *in* and the abl. in place of the dative:

*fidere*: 4, 2, 3, (*anima*) *fidit in falsis* (Script.; cf. T. L. L. VI 695-696).

*immorari*: 8, 6, 14, *inmoratus est in eo sermone* (Quint. Inst. 11, 2, 4).

iii. The phrase *in Christo Iesu* and allied expressions.

In Vulg. I Cor. 6, 11 occurs the phrase *in Christo Iesu* which appears to be the pattern of many similar expressions scattered throughout the New Testament and which Deissmann<sup>28</sup> considers an original creation of St. Paul. Underlying such expressions, essentially local in character, is the idea of the mystic indwelling of man in God. The Christian exists spiritually 'in' Christ, just as material creatures live 'in' the air, as plants 'in' the earth, etc. For similar expressions, cf. Vulg. Ioh. 16, 33, *haec locutus sum uobis, ut in me pacem habeatis*; I Petr. 3, 16, *qui calumniatur uestram bonam in Christo conuersationem*; Rom. 8, 1, *nihil ergo nunc damnationis est iis, qui sunt in Christo Iesu*; Rom. 6, 3, *in Christo Iesu, in morte eius baptizati sumus*; Gal. 2, 17, *quaerentes iustificari in Christo*; I Cor. 15, 22, *in Christo omnes uiuificabuntur*.<sup>29</sup> But in spite of the strong evidence adduced to support the theory that this expression is Pauline in origin, it

<sup>28</sup> *Die neutestamentliche Formel 'in Christo Iesu'* (Marburg, 1892). Cf. also Sanday and Headlam, *The Epistle to the Romans* (3rd ed., New York, 1897), on Rom. 6, 11; Moulton and Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, Part III (London and New York, 1919), p. 210.

<sup>29</sup> In these expressions the Greek version invariably has the preposition *ἐν*. Cf. Moulton and Milligan, *op. cit.* 210, and Blass-Debrunner 129.

nevertheless seems quite probable that it may be ultimately traced to Christ's own words. Cf. Ioh. 6, 57, qui manducat meam carnem, et bibit meum sanguinem, *in me* manet, et ego *in illo*; id. 17, 21, ut omnes unum sint, sicut tu pater *in me*, et ego *in te*, ut et ipsi *in nobis* unum sint; cf. also *id.* 14, 20 and 30; 15, 2-7 (the parable of the vine and the branches); 16, 33; 17, 21.<sup>50</sup>

St. Augustine, like almost all other Eccl. writers, avails himself freely of this usage. The examples collected from the Confessions have been divided into two main classes, with proper subdivisions: (a) those referring to the Deity; (b) those referring to man.

(a) Referring to the Deity.

1. With *Deus, Christus, Filius*.

1, 1, 1, inquietum est cor nostrum, donec *requiescat in te*. (St. Augustine has a special fondness for the phrase *requiescere in*; cf. also 4, 12; 18; 9, 3, 5; 13, 8, 9; 13, 9, 10; 13, 36, 51; 13, 38, 53. There is also one instance with *acquiescere*: 1, 5, 5, quis mihi dabit *acquiescere in te*, and another with the noun *requies*: 9, 4, 11, *in te requies* obliuiscens laborum omnium. Note also 13, 37, 52, *requiesces in nobis*, formed on the analogy of the above phrases); 1, 2, 2, an potius non essem, nisi essem *in te* . . . ? *ibid.*, quo te inuoco, cum *in te* sim? 1, 6, 9, nihil moritur *in te*; 1, 6, 10, neque peragitur *in te* hodiernus dies, et tamen *in te* peragitur, quia *in te* sunt et ista omnia; 2, 10, 18, qui intrat *in te*, non timebit et habebit se optime *in optimo*; 4, 9, 14, beatus qui amat te et amicum *in te* et inimicum propter te; *ibid.*, solus enim nullum carum amittit, cui omnes *in illo* cari sunt; 4, 12, 18, si placent animae, *in deo* amentur; 4, 14, 22, cuius etiam capillos tu, domine, numeratos habes et non minuuntur *in te*; 5, 9, 16, non enim quicquam eorum (peccatorum) donaueras mihi *in Christo*; 6, 1, 1, respondit mihi credere se, *in Christo*, quod . . . me uisura esset

<sup>50</sup> Another difficulty confronting the theory of the Pauline origin of the phrase *in Christo Iesu* is the fact that a few similar expressions occur in the Old Testament; cf. Vulg. Psalm. 17, 30, *in (= ἐν) deo* meo transgrediari murum; Os. 1, 7, saluabo eos *in (= ἐν) domino deo* suo. Furthermore, the Apostolic Fathers likewise employ the phrase *ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ* (cf. I Clem. 32, 4; Ign. Eph. I, 1; *id.* Trall. 4, 2; *id.* Rom. 1, 1; *id.* *ibid.* 2, 2); is their usage directly traceable to St. Paul?

fidelem catholicum; 7, 1, 2, ut . . . illa finirentur *in te*, tu autem nusquam; 7, 7, 11, credebam . . . *in Christo* . . . uiam te posuisse salutis humanae; 7, 9, 15, *in te* uiuimus et mouemur et sumus; 7, 11, 17, si non manebo *in illo* (deo), nec *in me* potero; 7, 14, 20, euigilaui *in te* et uidi te infinitum aliter; 8, 1, 1, *stabiliior in te esse cupiebam*; 9, 4, 10, ut, qui fuimus aliquando tenebrae, simus lux *in te*; 7, 20, 26, nisi *in Christo* . . . uiam tuam quaererem . . . periturus essem; 9, 6, 14, placuit et Alypio renasci *in te* mecum; 9, 9, 22, ante dormitionem eius *in te*; 9, 13, 34, illa *in Christo* uiuificata; 9, 13, 36, *in quo* uincimus; 10, 3, 4, ut beares me *in te*; 10, 37, 62, *in te*, ueritas, uideo non me laudibus meis propter me . . . moueri oportere; 10, 40, 65, neque . . . inuenio tutum locum animae meae nisi *in te*; 11, 9, 11, fecisti caelum et terram . . . *in filio* tuo; 11, 11, 13, quae per te atque *in te* fiunt; 11, 29, 39, me suscepit dextera tua *in domino deo* meo; 11, 30, 40, stabo atque solidabor *in te*; 12, 10, 10, *in te* reuiuiesco; 12, 23, 32, coniungar . . . illis, domine, *in te*; 13, 2, 3, donec simus iustitia *in unico* tuo; 13, 5, 6, *in filio* tuo fecisti caelum et terram; *ibid.*, *in quo* (filio) fecit haec; 13, 12, 13, apud nos *in Christo* suo fecit deus caelum et terram; 13, 14, 15, respiro *in te* paululum; 13, 26, 40, penuriam nouit pati *in te*; 13, 38, 53, *in te* quaeratur. Note also the use of *in* with *fons uitae* = *Christus* in 13, 21, 31, ut producat terra *in fonte* uitae animam uiuentem.

2. With *Verbum* = *Christus, Dei Filius*.

11, 9, 11, fecisti caelum et terram *in uerbo* tuo; 12, 20, 29, *in uerbo* suo sibi coaeterno fecit deus . . . ; 13, 21, 31, ut producat terra . . . *in uerbo* tuo per euangelistas tuos animam continentem; 13, 34, 49, uidimus, quia bona sunt singula et omnia bona ualde, *in uerbo* tuo, *in unico* tuo.

3. In the phrase *in spiritu* (dei, ueritatis).

The following instances of the expression *in spiritu* are echoes of such Scriptural passages as Vulg. I Cor. 12, 3, nemo *in spiritu dei* loquens dicit anathema Iesu: 12, 20, 29, Moysen . . . *in spiritu* ueritatis locutum esse . . . credunt; 13, 31, 46, qui *in spiritu* dei loquerentur; *ibid.*, qui *in spiritu* dei sciunt; *ibid.*, qui *in spiritu* dei uident.

4. With *principium* — *Christus*.

In the following instances the word *principium* apparently has the meaning of "the first Principle," "Christ"; cf. St. Augustine's own words in Conf. 11, 8, 10, *ipsum est uerbum tuum, quod et principium est, quia et loquitur nobis*, and 13, 5, 6, *tenebam . . . patrem in dei nomine, qui fecit haec, et filium in principii nomine, in quo fecit haec*:<sup>21</sup> 11, 9, 11, *in hoc principio*, deus, fecisti caelum et terram; *ibid.*, *in eo principio* fecisti caelum et terram; 12, 7, 7, *in principio*, quod est de te, . . . fecisti aliquid et de nihilo; 12, 15, 20, per quam (sapientiam) creata sunt omnia et *in quo principio* fecisti caelum et terram; 12, 17, 25, quam (creaturam) fecit in sapientia, id est *in principio*; 13, 5, 6, tu, pater, *in principio* sapientiae nostrae, quod est tua substantia de te nata, aequalis tibi et coaeterna, id est in filio tuo, fecisti caelum et terram.

5. With *sapientia*, *uirtus*, or *ueritas* — *Christus*.

In form, such phrases as *in sapientia*, *uirtute*, *ueritate*, occur in Scripture, e. g. Psalm. 103, 24, *omnia in sapientia* fecisti; *ibid.*, 73, 13, *tu confirmasti in uirtute tua mare*; *ibid.* 53, 7, *in ueritate tua disperde illos*. In the following passages, however, these phrases refer to Christ: 11, 9, 11, *in hoc principio*, deus, fecisti caelum et terram in uerbo tuo, in filio tuo, *in uirtute tua*, *in sapientia tua*, *in ueritate tua* miro modo dicens et miro modo faciens; 12, 7, 7, *in sapientia tua*, quae nata est de substantia tua, fecisti aliquid et de nihilo; 12, 17, 25, quam (creaturam) fecit *in sapientia*, id est *in principio*; 12, 19, 28, uerum est esse principium sapientiam tuam, *in qua* fecisti omnia; 12, 28, 39, *in sapientia* fecisti caelum et terram.

## (b) Referring to man.

The explanation set forth above for the phrase *in Christo Iesu* may be applied to corresponding phrases modelled on the type *Christus in aliquo*. Cf. Vulg. Ioh. 14, 20, *in illo die uos cognoscetis quia ego sum in Patre meo, et uos in me, et ego in uobis*. Returning to the analogy of 'the air,' we may say that just as a

<sup>21</sup> In form, the phrase *in principio* is of course borrowed from Itala Gen. 1, 1, *in principio* fecit (creauit Vulg.) deus caelum et terram.

creature lives and breathes 'in the air,' so is also the air 'in the man.'<sup>22</sup> This latter type of expression is applied not only to the idea of God existing 'in' man, but also to the notion of one man acting 'in' another or 'in' himself. Cf. Vulg. I Cor. 6, 2, *in uobis* iudicabitur mundus; *ibid.*, 15, 22, sicut *in Adam* omnes moriuntur, ita et *in Christo* omnes uiuificabuntur. Note the following examples from the Confessions:

1. Phrases on the type *Christus in aliquo*.

1, 2, 2, non essem, nisi esses *in me*; 5, 10, 18, execrabilis iniquitas, te, deus omnipotens, te *in me* ad perniciem meam, quam me a te ad salutem malle superari; 12, 25, 35, nec ego utique in te nec tu *in me* (id uides); 13, 21, 29, tu es, qui operaris *in eis*; 13, 31, 46, qui autem per spiritum tuum uident ea, tu uides *in eis*; *ibid.*, quaecumque propter te placent, tu *in eis* places, et quae per spiritum tuum placent nobis, tibi placent *in nobis*; *ibid.*, multis creatura tua placet, quia bona est, quibus tamen non tu places *in ea*; *ibid.*, ut, cum aliquid uidet homo quia bonum est, deus *in illo* uideat, quia bonum est; 13, 34, 39, haec omnia uidemus et bona sunt ualde, quoniam tu ea uides *in nobis*; 13, 37, 52, operaris *in nobis*.

2. Phrases on the type *in Adam* omnes moriuntur.

9, 13, 34, (anima), quae *in Adam* moritur; 10, 20; 29, iam beati fuimus aliquando, utrum singillatim omnes, an *in illo homine*, qui primus peccauit, *in quo* omnes mortui sumus.

3. The phrase *in se* (*in te*, *in nobis*, etc.).

In the following instances the phrase *in se* is correlative to phrases of the *in Christo Iesu* type: 8, 10, 22, dum uolunt esse lux non *in domino*, sed *in se ipsis*; 8, 11, 27, an uero . . . *in se ipsis* possunt ac non *in domino deo suo*? 10, 31, 45, nec ille *in se* potuit (correlative to the Scriptural omnia possum *in eo*, qui me confortat, previously quoted by St. Augustine); 11, 1, 1, ut desinamus esse miseri *in nobis* et beatificemur *in te*; 13, 8, 9, alioquin et ipsum caelum caeli tenebrosa abyssus esset *in se*; nunc autem lux est *in domino*.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Deissmann, *op. cit.* 92; Sanday and Headlam, *op. cit.* 160.

## iv. In miscellaneous expressions.

In the following list are included miscellaneous instances of the local figurative use of *in* with the abl. which do not fall into any of the above categories: 3, 4, 8, hoc nomen saluatoris mei . . . *in ipso adhuc lacte* matris cor meum pie biberat; 6, 2, 2, qua (religiosissima conuersatione) *in bonis operibus* . . . frequentabat ecclesiam; 6, 13, 23, uota sua ac promissa tua *in mea fide* compleri animaduertebat; 7, 1, 1, non te cogitabam, deus, *in figura corporis humani*; 9, 10, 24, *in quantalibet luce* corporea; 9, 13, 37, sit ergo *in pace* cum uiro; 10, 31, 44, ad hoc incertum hilarescit infelix anima et *in eo* praeparat excusationis patrocinium; 11, 8, 10, quando debuisse incipere uel desinere *in aeterna ratione* cognoscitur; 12, 2, 2, de quo (caelo) audiuius *in uoce* psalmi; 12, 23, 32, qui ueritate tua pascuntur *in latitudine* caritatis; 13, 17, 21, diligens proximum *in subsidii* necessitatum carnalium; 13, 23, 33, masculum enim et feminam fecisti hominem hoc modo *in gratia* tua spiritali.

(C) Temporal use of *IN*

In Class. Latin "time when" is expressed by the simple abl. When the preposition *in* is employed with the abl. of such words as *dies*, *tempus*, *tempestas*, or *aetas* (accompanied by a modifier), it denotes not so much the time at which an action takes place as rather the situation, circumstance, or crisis at which it occurs. However, even in such instances the preposition is more often omitted. Purely temporal *in* found its way into the literary language partly under the influence of popular speech, which naturally preferred prepositions to simple cases for the sake of clearness, and partly under the influence of the poets, who often inserted the preposition for metrical purposes. This tendency steadily gained ground until in Late writers it became a recognized usage (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 357-359; St.-Schm. 452). It is noteworthy that in the Confessions this construction is comparatively rare, as the following account will show.

*in illis diebus*: 9, 6, 14, nec satiabar *in* (Knöll; omitted by De Labr. and Vega) *illis diebus* dulcitudine mirabili. Against this one doubtful instance of temporal *in* with *dies*, there are about 20 examples of the simple temporal abl.

*in illis annis*: 4, 4, 7, *in illis annis* docere coeperam; also in 4, 2, 2 bis. The simple abl. of *annus* occurs six times.

*in . . . tempore*: 9, 4, 7, erga nos beneficia tua *in illo tempore*; 10, 3, 4, quis adhuc sim *in ipso tempore* confessionum mearum; 13, 34, 49, ad subueniendum nobis *in tempore opportuno* (Script., e. g. Psalm. 144, 15, tu das escam illorum *in tempore opportuno*). There are 24 instances of the simple abl. *tempore*.

*in nocte*: 13, 14, 15, quam (fidem) accendisti *in nocte* ante pedes meos (Script., e. g. Exod. 40, 36; I Reg. 25, 16; Psalm. 89, 4). The simple temporal abl. of *nox* occurs five times.

In the following instance *esse* with *in* and the abl. (to indicate age) is employed in place of *nasci* and the simple acc.: 9, 6, 14, cum (Adeodatus) esset *in annis sedecim* (= cum esset annos sedecim natus).

The following phrases, although conforming in principle to the Class. norm, are listed here because they are peculiar to the later periods of the literature: 6, 12, 21, *in ingressu* adulescentiae suae (Quint. Inst. 8 proem. 7, *in ingressu* [causae] ac fine; *ibid.* 9, 4, 72; *ibid.* 10, 1, 48); 7, 17, 23, *in ictu* trepidantis aspectus (Vulg. I Cor. 15, 52, *in ictu oculi*); 9, 1, 1, euocatum est *in momento* liberum arbitrium meum (Liv., *in occasionis momento* [cf. Georges s. v.]; Vulg. Thren. 4, 6; Dan. 14, 41; I Cor. 15, 52); 9, 11, 28, *in fine saeculi* (cf. Cypr. Fort. praef. 1; Tert. Adv. Prax. 27; Vulg. Dan. 11, 13); 9, 13, 37, *in hac luce* transitoria; 10, 33, 50, *in primordiis* recuperatae fidei meae (Curt. 9, 2, 11, *in operum suorum primordio* stare; Pallad. 4, 12, *in primordiis*); 12, 8, 8, *in principio* feceras caelum et terram (cf. also 11, 2, 3; 12, 9, 9 bis; 13, 18, 23 bis; these instances of *in principio* refer for the most part to Vulg. Gen. 1, 1, although the phrase itself occurs already in Cic. De Orat. 1, 48, 209, id faciam, quod *in principio* fieri in omnibus disputationibus oportere censeo); 11, 28, 37, quis negat praesens tempus carere spatio, quia *in puncto* praeterit? (cf. Arnob. Nat. 7, 45; Hier. Epist. 69, 9; Vulg. Iob 21, 13); 12, 12, 15, *in constitutione* huius mundi (cf. Ambr. Fid. 2, 5, 40, *in constitutione* angelorum); 13, 3, 4, quod . . . *in primis conditionibus* dixisti: fiat lux; 13, 14, 15, *in hac peregrinatione* pignus accepimus; 13, 18, 22, mittens (operarios) etiam in aliam sementem, cuius messis *in fine* est (Vulg. Sirach 14, 20, omne opus corruptibile *in fine* deficiet; *ibid.* 31, 4; Iob 20, 7).

(D) *The use of IN to denote reference, respect, relation, etc.*

*In* with the abl. is often employed in Class. Latin in various situations where a person, thing, or action is thought of as in a certain relation to another (= with reference to, in the case of, in the person of, etc.) (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 562-563; St.-Schm. 536-537). Since this signification of *in* may be employed in a wide variety of situations, St. Augustine naturally avails himself of it very freely, although only in a comparatively few instances does he overstep the bounds of Class. usage.

i. *IN* = "with reference to," "with relation to."

## (a) With verbs of emotion.

Class. writers frequently construe verbs of emotion with *in* and the abl. (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 563; St.-Schm. 536). The following verbs, however, are rarely or not at all so employed in the Class. period:

*accendere*: 4, 14, 23, non *accenderer in eo* (homine) et non *excitarer*.

*congemescere*: 6, 7, 11, *congemescēbamus in his*.

*flere*: 10, 1, 1, *cetera uero uitae huius . . . tanto magis flenda, quanto minus fletur in eis* (Priscill., Commod.; cf. T. L. L. VI 900, 12-17).

*gaudere*: 3, 2, 3, *miseror gaudentem in flagitio*; 4, 16, 30, *gaudebam in eis* (libris); 5, 2, 2, *gaudent in fletibus*; 8, 3, 6, *gaudes quippe in nobis et in angelis tuis*; 9, 4, 12, *gaudens in fide*; 10, 1, 1, *in ea spe gaudeo*; 12, 28, 38, *gaudent in luce ueritatis tuae* (Catull., Prop., Plin. mai., Late; cf. T. L. L. VI 1706, 46-71).

*lugere*: 10, 30, 42, *lugens in eo, quod inconsummatum sum*.

*oblectare*: 10, 35, 54, *quaedam . . . se oblectandi in carne . . . cupiditas* (Ter. Andr. 49).

## (b) With verbs denoting "to educate," "to bring up."

In Class. Latin *erudire* and *exercere* (*exercitatus*) take *in* with the abl. (as well as the simple abl.); with *educare*, however, *in* is apparently first used in Tacitus. For *enutrire in*, cf. Vulg. Iac. 5, 5, *in luxuriis enutristis corda . . . uestra* (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 381). The use of *in* with *educare* and *enutrire* occurs in the Confessions as follows: 9, 6, 14, *enutriebatur a nobis in disciplina tua*; *ibid.*, *educandum in disciplina tua*.

## (c) With miscellaneous verbs.

*arguere*: 5, 8, 15, *illis cruciatibus arguebatur in ea* (Monnica) *reliquarium Euae*; 10, 38, 63, *cum a me in me arguitur* (*temptatio*) (Liv., Silver, Late; cf. T. L. L. II 554, 28-63).

*edomere*: 1, 8, 13, *edomito in eis signis ore*.

*redarguere*: 9, 13, 34, *in quo* (uulnere) *poterat redargui carnalis affectus* (formed on the analogy of *arguere in*).

## (d) With nouns.

The use of *in* with the abl. after the nouns *scientia* and *imperia* occurs in 11, 2, 2, *inardesco meditari in lege tua et in ea tibi confiteri scientiam et imperitiam meam*. This usage is no doubt modelled on such constructions as *educare in*, as explained above under *educare*, or *peritus in*, as in Prop. 2, 34, 82, *in amore . . . peritus*, Spart. Hadr. 15, 10, *in omnibus artibus peritissimus*.

## (e) With adjectives.

*dignus*: 5, 9, 16, *tormenta digna factis meis in ueritate ordinis tui*.

*gravidus*: 8, 12; 28, *nescio quid enim, puto, dixeram, in quo apparebat sonus uocis meae iam fletu gravidus*.

ii. The phrase *in se*.

In the following instances the expression *in se* conveys the meaning of "with reference to itself," etc., with an admixture of an instrumental signification (= of itself, *per se*): 7, 13, 19, *eadem ipsa conueniunt aliis et bona sunt et in semet ipsis bona sunt*; 9, 1, 1, *intrabas pro eis* (suauitatibus) *omni uoluptate dulcior, . . . omni honore sublimior, sed non sublimibus in se*; 13, 4, 5, *uoluntas tua, ipsa in se sibi sufficiens*; 13, 11, 12, *utrum propter tria haec et ibi trinitas, an in singulis haec tria, et terna singulorum sint, an utrumque miris modi simpliciter et multipliciter in se sibi fine . . . ?*

iii. *IN* = "in the person of," "in the form of."

The employment of *in* with the abl. in this signification is chiefly colloquial; it occurs to some extent in Class. Latin, but becomes relatively frequent only in Silver and Late prose and in the poets

(cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 565-566; St.-Schm. 537). The following instances of this usage have been gathered from the Confessions: 1, 19, 30, humilitatis ergo signum *in statura pueritiae*, rex noster, probasti; 2, 3, 7, *in illa* (matre), contemnebaris a me; 4, 11, 17, si ad totum comprehendendum esset idoneus sensus carnis tuae ac non et ipse *in parte* uniuersi acceperat pro tua poena iustum modum; 9, 9, 22, quisquis eorum nouerat eam, multum *in ea* laudabat . . . te; 9, 10, 25, ipsum (deum), quem *in his* amamus, ipsum sine his audiamus; 10, 34, 52, Iacob . . . *in filiis* praesignata futuri populi genera luminoso corde radiauit; 13, 15, 16, fecisti nobis firmamentum auctoritatis super nos *in scriptura* tua diuina; 13, 31, 46, ut . . . ille ametur *in eo*, quod fecit; 13, 34, 49, spiritum, quo ea uideremus et *in eis* te amaremus, dedisti nobis.

(E) *Instrumental use of IN*

As said above in the introductory section to the preposition *in* with the abl., this preposition was not employed to express means or instrument until the Late period. Under the influence of popular speech and the language of the Bible,<sup>33</sup> this usage found favor with many Eccl. writers. Cf. Itala Exod. 21, 20, si quis percusserit seruum suum . . . *in uirga*; Vulg. II Esdr. 1, 10, quos redemisti *in fortitudine* tua magna, *in manu* tua ualida; Hier. In Ier. 4, 61, qui seducant populum eius *in mendaciis* et *in stuporibus* atque *miraculis* (cf. Rönisch 396; Kaulen 240; Bayard 146; K.-Steg. II 1, 564; St.-Schm. 438 and 537).

Although there are comparatively few instances in the Confessions in which the use of *in* may be regarded as purely instrumental, there is nevertheless a large number of examples of the local employment of this preposition in which the idea of instrumentality makes itself felt. I have therefore attempted to classify the examples listed below according to the idea most prominent in each.

<sup>33</sup> It is significant that St. Augustine himself recognized the frequency of instrumental *in* in the Scriptures; cf. Locut. Hept. 2, 91, '*in qua percussisti*' dixit pro eo quod dicimus 'de qua percussisti,' et est ista locutio creberrima in scripturis.

i. The use of local (fig.) *IN* bordering on the instrumental.

1, 17, 27, *in quibus a me deliramentis* atterebatur (ingenium meum); 5, 9, 16, nec solueret ille *in cruce* sua inimicitias, quas tecum contraxeram peccatis meis, quomodo enim eas solueret *in cruce* phantasmatis . . . ? 5, 9, 17, absit, ut tu falleres eam *in illis uisionibus* et *responsis* tuis; 5, 10, 20, si ex omnibus partibus *in corporis humani forma* te opinarer finire; 7, 20, 26, cum . . . *in libris* tuis mansuefactus essem; 8, 8, 20, ipsa sibi anima (obtemperabat) ad uoluntatem suam magnam *in sola uoluntate* perficiendam; 8, 11, 26, quae suggerebant *in eo*, quod dixi "hoc et illud," . . . ? 9, 2, 4, hoc peccatum . . . *in aqua sancta* ignouisti et remisisti mihi; 9, 13, 37, ut quod a me poposcit extremum uberius ei praestetur *in multorum orationibus* per confessiones quam per orationes meas; 10, 35, 57, *in* quam multis . . . *rebus* curiositas cotidie nostra temetur; 10, 37, 62, etiamne id restat, ut . . . uerum non faciam coram te *in corde* et *lingua* mea? 11, 26, 33, ita metimur spatia carminum spatiis uersuum, . . . non *in paginis* — nam eo modo loca metimur; 12, 26, 36, si alius aliam (sententiam) uidisset *in luce* ueritatis; 12, 32, 43, quidquid eras *in eis uerbis* . . . reuelaturus; 13, 1, 1, ne retribueres manibus meis, *in quibus a te* defeci; 13, 8, 9, *in ipsa misera inquietudine* defluentium spirituum . . . ostendis, quam magnam rationalem creaturam feceris; 13, 10, 11, nisi . . . attolleretur (creatura) . . . *in ea uocatione* qua dixisti: fiat lux; 13, 20, 26, ad imbuendas gentes nomine tuo *in baptismo* tuo; 13, 20, 27, multiplicantur *in benedictione* tua; 13, 24, 37, *in* hac enim *benedictione* concessam nobis a te facultatem ac potestatem accipio.

ii. Instances of *IN* with the instrumental idea predominating.

5, 3, 3, multi implicabantur *in eo* (laqueo) per inlecebram suauiloquentiae; 9, 12, 33, confiteor tibi *in litteris*; 10, 1, 1, uolo eam (ueritatem) facere . . . coram te *in confessione*, *in stilo* autem meo coram multis testibus; 10, 31, 43, cotidianum bellum gero *in ieiuniis*; *ibid.*, *in quibus* (muneribus tuis) nostrae infirmitati terra et aqua et caelum seruiunt; 11, 5, 7, *in uerbo* tuo fecisti ea (cf. also 12, 24, 33; 13, 21, 31; for a somewhat different use of *in uerbo* tuo, cf. 13, 20, 27, aquae produxerunt haec, sed *in uerbo* tuo; *ibid.*, ipsae aquae ista eiecerunt, quarum amarus languor fuit

causa, ut in uerbo tuo ista procederent; 13, 21, 29, ac per hoc in uerbo tuo . . . terra . . . eicit . . . animam uiuentem);<sup>46</sup> 13, 12, 13, in nomine tuo baptizamus (cf. also 11, 22, 28, per Christum obsecro, in nomine eius sancti sanctorum nemo mihi obstrepat);<sup>47</sup> 13, 23, 34, iudicat . . . de anima uiua mansuefactis affectionibus in castitate, in ieiuniis, in cogitationibus piis; 13, 13, 14, iam non in uoce sua; in tua enim (hoc dicit); *ibid.*, non in uoce sua inuocat alteram abyssum; 13, 20, 27, necessitates alienatorum ab aeternitate ueritatis tuae populorum produxerunt haec, sed in euangelio tuo.

(F) Causal use of IN

In the introductory section to the preposition *in* with the abl. it was mentioned that a causal use of this preposition could already be detected in a few isolated instances in Class. writers. This usage, however, became relatively frequent only in Eccl. writers, no doubt under the influence of Scripture. Cf. Vulg. Psalm. 5, 8, in multitudine misericordiae tuae introibo in domum tuam; Matth. 6, 7, putant enim, quod in multiloquio suo exaudiantur; I Cor. 1, 4, gratias ago deo meo semper pro uobis in gratia dei; Faust. Rei. Grat. 2, 1, non induratur in multa dei potentia, sed contemptor efficitur in multa dei patientia; Vict. Vit. 2, 2, in uno displicens; *id. ibid.*, 2, 82, in differentiae qualitate seiuncti. The following instances of *in* with the abl. gathered from the Confessions may be classed as causal: 1, 18, 28, uultum tuum, domine, requiram: nam longe a uultu tuo in affectu tenebroso; *ibid.*, (abiit) in affectu . . . libidinoso, id enim est tenebroso; 2, 3, 6, gaudens uiuulentia, in qua te iste mundus oblitus est creatorem suum; 4, 12, 23, unde scio . . . quod illum in amore laudantium magis amaueram quam in rebus ipsis, de quibus laudabatur? 9, 4, 9, insonui multa graui-ter ac fortiter in dolore recordationis meae; 9, 13, 34, ut laudetur

<sup>46</sup> In these latter instances in uerbo tuo means "at thy word," as in Vulg. Sirach 39, 22, in uerbo eius stetit aqua; Luc. 5, 5, in uerbo autem tuo laxabo rete.

<sup>47</sup> The phrase in nomine = "in the name of" (used of delegated power) is frequent in Scripture, and renders the Greek (ἐν) ὀνόματι; cf. Vulg. Matth. 7, 22, domine, nonne in nomine tuo prophetauimus . . . ? Act. 2, 38, baptizetur . . . in nomine Iesu Christi.

nomen tuum in fide moribusque eius; 13, 21, 30, ubi intenta sit ignorantia mater admirationis in timore occultorum signorum.

(G) Modal use of IN

*In* with the abl. was employed to express manner to some extent already in Class. Latin, and although this usage became somewhat more frequent in Silver writers, it became firmly established only in the Late, and especially the Eccl. Latinity. Cf. Vulg. Gen. 3, 17, in laboribus comedes ex ea; Psalm. 2, 11, seruite domino in timore (cf. Kaulen 239-240; K.-Steg. II 1, 564). The following instances of modal *in* occur in the Confessions: 4, 2, 2, deus, uidisti de longinquo . . . in multo fumo scintillantem fidem meam; 6, 3, 4, quomodo se haberet spiritalis substantia, ne quidem tenuiter atque in aenigmate suspicabar; 13, 5, 6, apparet mihi in aenigmate trinitas (Itala, Vulg., Hilar., Ambr., Hier., et al.; cf. T. L. L. I 986, 72-75); 6, 6, 10, dixi tunc multa in hac sententia; 8, 12, 28, in hac sententia multa dixi tibi (for the Class. in hanc sententiam); 8, 1, 1, recorder in gratiarum actione . . . misericordias tuas (cf. II Esdr. 12, 27); 12, 13, 16, caelum intellectuale, ubi est intellectus nosse simul, . . . in manifestatione; 13, 18, 23, haec nobiscum disputas sapientissime, deus noster, . . . quamuis adhuc in signis et in temporibus et in annis; 13, 21, 30, motus enim animae sunt isti in allegoria; 13, 25, 38, dicebamus . . . eis terrae fructibus significari et in allegoria figurari opera misericordiae (cf. Itala Gal. 4, 24, quae sunt in allegoria; the Vulgate reads: quae sunt per allegoriam dicta); *ibid.*, debentur . . . eis sicut animae uiuae praebentibus se ad imitandum in omni continentia (for the phrase in omni with a superlative signification, cf. Vulg. Eph. 5, 9, fructus enim lucis est in omni bonitate, et iustitia et ueritate); 13, 26, 39, in ueritate loquens (cf. Vulg. I Reg. 12, 24, seruite ei in ueritate).

The phrase in silentio occurs a number of times in the Bible; cf. Vulg. Iudith 13, 6, (Iudith) orans cum lacrimis, et labiorum motu in silentio; I Tim. 2, 12, docere autem mulieri non permitto, neque dominari in uirum: sed esse in silentio; Eccles. 9, 17; *ibid.*, 10, 11; I Macc. 9, 58; II Macc. 12, 2; I Tim. 2, 11. It occurs ten times in the Confessions: 1, 18, 29, quam tu secretus es, habitans in silentio; 6, 3, 3, sedentes . . . in diuturno silentio; 7, 19,

25, esse *in silentio*; also in 7, 7, 11; 8, 12, 29; 9, 8, 17; 10, 8, 13; 10, 34, 51; 11, 6, 8; 11, 27, 36.

#### (H) Final use of IN

The use of *in* with the abl. to express purpose occurs occasionally in Eccl. writers, e. g. Commod. Instr. 1, 39, 2, *quam* (Liam) Iacob *in signo* recepit; *id. ibid.*, 1, 40, 6, *mittere qui dixit lapidem in scandalo* uestro; *id. ibid.*, 2, 25, 11, *nutriri in occisione*; Hier. In Ier. 5, 10, *ut in exemplo* sint omnium; Faust. Rei. Grat. prol. p. 3, 8, *in condemnando praedestinationis errore* concilium . . . congregastis. St. Augustine employs *in* in this signification only in the following two instances: 4, 1, 1, *confitear tibi dedecora mea in laude tua*; 11, 23, 29, *sunt sidera et luminaria caeli in signis et in temporibus et in diebus et in annis*.

#### (I) The use of IN in adverbial phrases

Class. writers employ the preposition *in* with the abl. of neuter pronouns to form various adverbial phrases, as *in aperto*, *in dubio*, *in incerto*, *in integro*, etc. With Livy and later writers this usage becomes more common (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 562). The Confessions contain only the following phrases which do not occur in Class. Latin:

*in confuso*: 2, 2, 2, *utrumque in confuso* aestuabat (Aug., Novatian.; cf. T. L. L. IV 265, 83 and 266, 34).

*in primo*, *in imo*: 12, 11, 11, *nullius peccatum aut tibi nocet aut perturbat ordinem imperii tui uel in primo uel in imo*. In these two phrases there is no doubt a conscious effort on the part of St. Augustine to indulge in the figure of parechesis.

#### 3. SUB WITH THE ABLATIVE\*\*

In Class. Latin the use of *sub* with the abl. was chiefly confined to its local meaning of "under," "beneath," "below." Its other uses, temporal and modal, are for the most part Poetic, Silver, and

\*\* *Sub* with the acc. occurs only twice in the Confessions, each time in keeping with Class. usage: 8, 4, 9, *cum Paulus . . . sub lone iugum Christi tui missus esset*; 10, 36, 59, *praetende alas tuas, et fugiamus sub eas*.

Late (cf. K.-Schm. II 611-612; K.-Steg. II 1, 570-571; St.-Schm. 539). Only a few of these non-Classical peculiarities of *sub* with the abl. are found in the Confessions, where this preposition occurs 19 times.

#### Modal uses of SUB

##### i. To denote subordination.

This use of *sub* occurs occasionally in Class. Latin, but becomes much more frequent with the writers of the Augustan period (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 570; St.-Schm. 539). Three instances of this usage occur in the Confessions: 3, 2, 3, *caue inmunditiam, anima mea, sub tutore deo* meo; 8, 6, 15, *erat monasterium Mediolanii . . . sub Ambrosio nutritore*; 9, 13, 37, *meminerint . . . fratrum meorum sub te patre in matre catholica*.

##### ii. To denote an accompanying circumstance.

The use of *sub* to denote a circumstance accompanying an action is Poetic, Silver, and Late (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 571; St.-Schm. 539). The Confessions yield only two instances of this usage: 1, 15, 24, *ne deficiat anima mea sub disciplina tua*; 6, 6, 9, *sub stimulis cupiditatum trahens infelicitatis meae sarcinam*.

#### 4. SUPER WITH THE ACCUSATIVE\*\*

Class. prose writers employ *super* with the acc. exclusively in its local signification; its other meanings, the temporal (= during, at) and the figurative (to denote official superiority, to indicate that which is over and above a certain number or quantity, in the sense of *praeter*, for *plus quam* or *amplius quam*, etc.), were developed later. The Confessions, in which *super* is found 61 times, show several instances of these non-Classical uses.

#### (A) Local use of SUPER

The phrase *super terram*, as the equivalent of *in terra* (upon the earth), is very frequent in Scripture, and is a rendering of the

\*\* There are no clear instances of *super* with the abl. in the Confessions. In 9, 6, 14, De Labr. and Vega read *super salutem*; Knöll, *super salute*. In the following instances it is difficult to decide whether *super* is followed by the acc. or the abl.: 3, 3, 5, *circumuolabat super me . . . misericordia tua*; 10, 8, 15, *multa mihi super hoc oboritur admiratio*.

Greek ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς; cf. Vulg. Gen. 4, 12, uagus et profugus eris *super terram*; Exod. 10, 6; Deut. 7, 6; I Reg. 20, 31; Iudith 11, 19; Iob 7, 1; Matth. 16, 19; Luc. 21, 23. The following instances of this phrase occur in the Confessions: 1, 7, 11, infans, cuius est unius diei uita *super terram*; 3, 7, 13, homines, . . . quorum uita *super terram* brevis est; 9, 3, 3, dimisisti ei peccata *super terram*; also in 8, 11, 27; 13, 21, 29; 13, 23, 34; 13, 24, 35; 13, 25, 38.

Note also the use of *superferri* with *super* in place of the dative in the following: 13, 8, 9, (spiritus tuus) *superfertur* inconmutabiliter *super omne mutabile*; also in 13, 4, 5; 13, 7, 8; 13, 9, 10; 13, 10, 11; 13, 14, 15 (cf. Itala Gen. 1, 2, spiritus dei *superferebatur super aquas*).

Furthermore, *super* is used with the following verbs which take this preposition chiefly in Scriptural Latin, to render ἐπὶ with the acc.:

*dare*: 13, 18, 23, bona caelestia *das super terram*. *Super* is employed with *dare* already in Celsus, but the usage becomes frequent only in Scripture, e. g. Itala Deut. 30, 7, *dabit . . . maledicta super (ἐπὶ) inimicos tuos*; Vulg. Ezech. 3, 25, *data sunt super (ἐπὶ) te uincula*; id. 16, 14; id. 23, 49; Iob 5, 10; Ion. 1, 14 (cf. T. L. L. V 1671, 70-72).

*intonare*: 10, 36, 59, *intonas super ambitiones saeculi* (cf. Vulg. I Reg. 7, 10, *intonuit . . . dominus . . . super [ἐπὶ] Philisthiim*).

*inuallescere*: 2, 2, 2, *inualuerat super me ira tua et nesciebam* (cf. Vulg. IV Reg. 14, 10, *percutiens inualuisti super [ἐπὶ ἀράτας] Edom*; Mal. 3, 13, *inualuerunt super [ἐπὶ] me uerba uestra*).

*uigilare*: 9, 8, 18, nisi tua medicina, domine, *uigilaret super nos* (cf. Vulg. Ier. 5, 6, *pardus uigilans super [ἐπὶ] ciuitates eorum*; id. 31, 28; id. 44, 27).

Note also the Scriptural phrase in 13, 34, 49, *super nos erant peccata nostra* (Vulg. Ezech. 33, 10, *peccata nostra erant super nos*).

#### (B) Figurative uses of SVPER

i. SVPER = IN with the acc. to denote feeling or affection.

There are several instances in Scripture of the use of *super* after the noun *misericordia* in place of *in* with the acc., e. g. Vulg.

Psal. 85, 13, quia *misericordia tua magna est super (ἐπὶ) me*; Sirach 18, 12, *misericordia autem domini super (ἐπὶ) omnem carnem*. The Confessions contain two examples of this usage: 8, 1, 1, *confitear misericordias tuas super me*; 9, 9, 19, *expectabat . . . misericordiam tuam super eum*.

ii. SVPER in the sense of *plus quam, amplius quam*.

Pliny the Younger was the first to use *super* in the sense of "more than" (= *plus quam, amplius quam*) after adjectives; cf. Epist. 7, 13, 2, *super omnes beatus*. In Scripture, however, this usage is more frequent, e. g. Vulg. Exod. 18, 11, *magnus dominus super omnes deos*; Psalm. 18, 11. With verbs, this employment of *super* is Scriptural, e. g. Vulg. Matth. 10, 37, *qui amat filium aut filiam super me*. In most of the Scriptural instances *super* is a rendering of the Greek ἐπὶ (its later meaning) (cf. Kaulen 259; K.-Schm. II 626; K.-Steg. II 1, 573; Salonijs 118 and 188; St.-Schm. 427; on ἐπὶ, cf. Blass-Debrunner 108). The following examples of this usage occur in the Confessions:

*With adjectives*: 2, 6, 13, cum tu sis *super omnia deus excelsus*; 4, 4, 7, cum uix expleuisset annum in amicitia mea, *suaui mihi super omnes suauitates illius uitae meae*; 12, 11, 13, *quam longe super omnia tempora sis aeternus*.

*With ellipsis of the adjective*: 11, 2, 3, ecce uox tua gaudium meum, uox tua *super affluentiam uoluptatum*.

*With a verb*: 1, 15, 24, ut *dulcescas mihi super omnes seductiones*, quas sequebar.

*With a noun*: 13, 9, 10, inconmutabilis diuinitatis *eminentia super omne mutabile*.

iii. SVPER in the sense of *praeter* (= besides, in addition to).

This employment of *super* with the acc. occurs first in Vergil; in prose the usage begins with Livy (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 573; St.-Schm. 541).<sup>22</sup> Only one example is found in the Confessions: 5, 9, 16, ibam iam ad inferos, portans omnia mala, quae commiseram . . . , multa et grauia *super originalis peccati uinculum*.

<sup>22</sup> In Plautus and Lucretius this use of *super* still retains a slight local force; cf. St.-Schm. 541.

iv. *SVPER* denoting official superiority.

This use of *super* is apparently only Silver and Late (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 573; St.-Schm. 541). The Confessions yield three instances of this usage: 10, 41, 66, *tu es ueritas super omnia praesidens*; 12, 16, 23, *recordans . . . Hierusalem matrem meam, teque super eam regnatorem*; 13, 17, 20, *ita facis mare ordine imperii tui super omnia*.

v. *SVPER* denoting reference (= *de*, concerning, about).

*Super* is used with both the acc. and abl. to indicate respect or reference. The abl., however, is far more frequent, and occurs especially in colloquial speech; hence we find it occasionally in Plautus (not in Terence) and other Early writers, Cicero's letters (not in Caesar), Sallust, Nepos, and Livy; from Tacitus on it becomes more common. The acc. occurs for the first time in Tert. Cult. Fem. 1, 1, *sententia dei super sezum istum* (cf. Hoppe [Tert.] 41; Goelzer [II] 222; St.-Schm. 540). Two examples of this usage occur in the Confessions, although the identity of the case in either instance is uncertain: 9, 6, 14, *considerare altitudinem consilii tui super salutem* (De Labr. and Vega; salute Knöll) generis humani; 10, 8, 15, *multa mihi super hoc* (acc. or abl.?) *oboritur admiratio*.

## PART III

## DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

## INTRODUCTORY

In Silver and especially Late Latin the demonstrative pronouns *is*, *hic*, *iste*, *ipse*, *ille*, and *idem*<sup>1</sup> show important and interesting deviations from their original meanings. In fact, some of these changes began already in the Early period of the language. There were several forces that contributed to this movement. The inevitably frequent use of the demonstratives in everyday speech; the influence of foreign idioms, especially of Hebrew and Greek in the case of the first translators of the Bible; the exigencies of poetic diction, particularly that of metre—all had their share in aiding this development in the language (cf. Bayard 130; St.-Schm. 473-474). The details of this change, as exemplified in Silver and Late Latin and in the Confessions in particular, will be set forth in the following pages. It will suffice here to state that, in general, one group of pronouns, *is*, *hic*, and *idem*, tended to give way to another group, *ille*, *iste*, and *ipse*, with comparatively little substitution of meaning taking place within the groups themselves.

The Confessions contain examples of most of the Late peculiarities in the employment of the demonstratives, although they are not as numerous as one might expect. The following is a brief summary of St. Augustine's usage in this respect.

Although *is* is replaced to some extent by *hic*, *iste*, and *ille*, it nevertheless remains numerically preponderant. This in itself would indicate that in his use of the demonstrative pronouns St. Augustine did not go to the extremes that were indulged in by a number of other Late writers. At the same time, however, it must be kept in mind that the large proportion of the instances of *is* in the Confessions is due in part to St. Augustine's free use of the

<sup>1</sup> Although *ipse* and *idem* are not demonstratives in the strict sense of the term, they are nevertheless included in this section because they, too, at times partake of a demonstrative character.

paratactic style, which naturally obliges him to employ demonstrative instead of relative pronouns. Another striking feature of *is* in the Confessions is the rareness or even total lack of certain forms, particularly of the nominatives of both numbers. As for the use of *is* itself, no striking deviations from Class. norms have been noticed.

The pronoun *hic* displaces *is* in a number of instances, chiefly in the combination *hic qui*. Furthermore, its neuter forms predominate over the masculine and feminine, due especially to St. Augustine's habit of using this pronoun to refer in a general way to what has just been said—another result of his paratactic style, for in such a situation a Class. author would usually employ the relative *quod*. Another peculiarity of Late Latin, the use of *hic* = *idem* in the phrase *hoc quod*, occurs seven times. Lastly, it should be mentioned that *hic* itself is replaced to a great extent by *iste*.

Of all the demonstratives employed in the Confessions, *iste* suffers change of meaning to the greatest extent, for of its 256 instances only 4 refer to the second person; the remaining ones are used for the most part to replace *hic*, especially in the correlatives *ille-iste* and in combination with *meus*, *noster*, *mundus*, *vita*, etc. There are only a few examples of *iste* = *is* or *ille*.

*Ipse* deviates only in a few instances from its Classical connotation of intensity (emphasis or contrast). About sixteen examples of *ipse* = *is* or *ille*, and only four of unsupported *ipse* in the sense of *idem*, have been noted.

St. Augustine shows a strong tendency to substitute *ille* for *is*, particularly in the expression *ille qui*. The correlation *ille-ille* occurs about 20 times. The miscellaneous instances of the use of *ille* for *is* are confined for the most part to the forms *ille*, *illa* (nom. fem.), *illi* (nom. pl.), and *illae*.

*Idem* has lost considerable ground, occurring only 96 times in all (approximately 21½% of the total occurrences of the demonstratives in the Confessions). In about 15 of these examples *idem* has either lost its meaning of identity or retains it with a greatly attenuated force. In nine instances it is supported by *ipse*.

From the above summary as well as from the detailed account presented below it is quite evident that, while St. Augustine appropriated many of the Silver and Late peculiarities of the demonstra-

tive pronouns, he nevertheless avoided (at least in the Confessions) those extreme uses found in the less careful writers of his age. I have failed to find, for instance, any well-defined examples of the use of *idem* for *ipse* or *hic*, or of *ipse* and *ille* with the force of a mere article. The three instances from the Confessions that Prof. Balmus cites on pp. 57 and 58 of his work as illustrative of the use of *ille* as an article are decidedly not to the point; as a matter of fact, they are all quite Classical. Thus, 2, 3, 6, *ubi me ille pater . . . uidit*, means "when that father of mine saw . . ."; 2, 3, 7, *et cuius erant nisi tua uerba illa . . . ?* is to be translated "and whose but thine were those words . . . ?" Finally, *illa prohibitio* in 9, 8, 18, *ubi tunc sagax anus et uehemens illa prohibitio?* refers to what was said in section 17 concerning the severe discipline exacted by the maid-servant and is to be rendered "that (above-mentioned, former) prohibition."

At the end of the account of the demonstratives (p. 254) is a table showing the exact numerical occurrence of each pronoun in the Confessions by gender, number, and case.

### 1. Is

Throughout the history of the Latin language *is* appears as the weakest of all the demonstrative pronouns. Although originally possessing a stronger demonstrative meaning (perhaps equivalent in a general way to *hic*), it soon sank to the level of a mere determinative pronoun. It may be used either substantively or adjectively, although unlike any of the other demonstratives, it does not designate any special object, but serves merely to refer back to an object just mentioned or forward to one about to be mentioned. It supplies the missing pronoun of the third person.

The weakening of the signification of *is* and its gradual disappearance from the language is seen especially in poetry. Furthermore, the poets show a marked tendency to avoid certain cases of this pronoun as well as a strong preference for others. On the whole, they show a decided fondness for the forms *is*, *ea*, and *id*, but consistently avoid the other forms, as being generally unsuitable for metrical purposes.

Prose writers likewise (although to a lesser degree than the poets) evince a gradual tendency to avoid this pronoun and to

employ the other demonstratives, notably *hic*, *ille*, and *ipse*, in its place. The forms which lost ground more rapidly than the others were *is*, *ea*, *id* and the nominative plurals *ei* (*ii*) and *eae*. In some Late writers these forms disappear almost entirely or are employed with extreme rareness, as in Filastrius, Chiron, Victor de Vita, and others (cf. Meader [I] 3-32 and St.-Schm. 478-479).

St. Augustine also shows a tendency to avoid this pronoun, although not to the degree one might expect. What especially strikes one upon examining the table on p. 254 is the relatively large proportion of the occurrences of *is*. Judging from the fact that St. Augustine is a writer of the IV/V cent., one would expect *is* to hold numerically the second place; but, instead, it holds the first place, a fact which alone should go a long way toward proving that, in the Confessions at least, St. Augustine's use of the pronoun is not influenced to any exceptional degree by the practice of his time. One must not forget, however, that the numerical preponderance of *is* in the Confessions is largely due to St. Augustine's employment of the paratactic style; in those works of his where the periodic style is more in evidence the pronoun *is* is probably less prominent.

The table furthermore indicates that the displacement of *is* by other demonstratives took place more or less along the lines followed by other Late writers. The forms *is* and *ea* (nom. fem.) are replaced by *ipse*, *ille*, and to some extent by *iste*. The form *id* (nom. sing.), although occurring 65 times, is confined for the most part to such formal phrases as *id est* (32), *id ipsum* (12), *id quod* (14), etc.; its place apparently seems to be taken by the other pronouns, especially by *hoc*. *Id* (acc. sing.), although confined in a lesser degree to formal phrases (3 instances of *id ipsum*, 24 of *id quod*), nevertheless appears to lose ground to some extent in favor of *hoc* and *illud*. In the plural, *is* seems to hold its own in all forms with the exception of all the nominatives (of which *ei* and *eae* are totally lacking); here the displacement appears to proceed chiefly in favor of *ille* and the form *haec*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> In Filastrius the nom. sing. forms *is* and *ea* and the plurals *ei* and *eae* are totally lacking, while *id* and *ea* (neut.) are rare (*id* occurring chiefly in the formal phrase *id est*). In St. Ambrose's Nab. and Hel. all the nom. plur. forms are lacking, while the nom. sing. forms are rare (the fem. *eo* does not occur in Nab.). Cf. Juret (Filastr.) 28; McGuire 21; Buck 20.

As for the use of *is* itself, no striking deviations from Class. norms have been found. St. Augustine avoids the employment of this pronoun for *idem*, *suus*, or *se*, a practice occurring occasionally in Late writers.

## 2. HIC

*Hic*, the demonstrative of the first person, refers to that which is near the speaker in space, time, or thought (= this). Its use in place of *is* begins already in Early Latin, and is most clearly seen by comparing its frequency of occurrence with that of *is* in such related terms as *eo* and *hoc* (= *ideo*, *propterea*); *eo* with the comparative and *hoc* with the comparative; the explanatory *id est* and *hoc est*; *ad id* and *ad hoc* (= *praeterea* or with a final force); causal *ob id* and *ob hoc*. Furthermore, in the Silver and Late periods we find *is qui* at times replaced by *hic qui* (cf. Meader [I] 35; St.-Schm. 474-475).

The employment of *hic* in the Confessions exhibits two main characteristics: 1) it encroaches materially upon the province of *is* (esp. in the combination *hic qui*, and to some extent in the phrases *ad hoc* and *ob hoc*; a number of miscellaneous instances also occur); 2) it is itself replaced to a great extent by *iste* (chiefly in the correlatives *ille-iste* or *iste-ille*, and in such expressions as *iste meus*, *iste noster*, *iste mundus*, *ista uita*, *isti oculi*, *isto modo*). The form *huius* occurs in 36 instances, but of these 19 are confined to stereotyped formulae (*huius mundi*, *saeculi*, *modi*, *uitae*).<sup>3</sup> Another phenomenon noticeable in the use of *hic* in the Confessions is the preponderance of certain neuter forms over the masculine and feminine.<sup>4</sup>

### i. EO and HOC with the comparative.

Two uses of *eo* and *hoc* with the comparative are to be distinguished. On the one hand is the instrumental construction (= by this the more, less), as exemplified in Cic. Tusc. 2, 57, *sic plaga hoc grauior, quo est missa contentius*, or *id*. Phil. 14, 28, *unde eo plus*

<sup>3</sup> In Filastrius *huius* occurs only twice; in Ambr. Nab. once (*huius mundi*); in *id*. Hel. 5 times (*huiusmodi* 2, *huiuscemodi* 1, *huius saeculi* 1, *huius uitae* 1). Cf. Juret (Filastr.) 27; McGuire 22; Buck 20.

<sup>4</sup> This point will be discussed below in Section vii, "Miscellaneous instances of *hic* = *is*."

opis auferret, quo minus attulisset gratiae. On the other hand, we have the abl. of separation, as illustrated in Cic. Epist. 11, 29, 3, *hoc mihi gratius facere nihil potes* (= than this), or *id*. Fin. 1, 41, *quid eo miserius dici aut fingi potest?* Class. writers generally prefer to use *eo* with the former construction, *hoc* with the latter (cf. Meader [I] 48-53). Complete statistics for Silver and Late writers are not yet available. The Confessions furnish no instances of the usage developed from the abl. of separation; of the instrumental construction there are six instances with *eo* (2, 8, 16; 3, 2, 2; 4, 7, 12; 4, 10, 15; 6, 5, 8; 6, 8, 13) and three with *hoc*, showing that in this respect St. Augustine adheres closely to Class. usage. Examples of *hoc* with the comparative: 3, 3, 6, *hoc laudabilior, quo fraudulentior*; 4, 6, 11, *quo magis illum amabam, hoc magis mortem, quae mihi cum abstulerat, . . . oderam*; 5, 8, 14, *multa iniuriosa faciunt mira hebetudine et punienda legibus, nisi consuetudo patrona sit, hoc miseriore eos ostendens, quo iam quasi liceat faciunt, quod per tuam aeternam legem numquam licebit*.

#### ii. ID EST and HOC EST.

Of these two explanatory phrases, the former is the older and is found first in Cato Agr. 57 *ter*, while the latter occurs first in Lucilius 9, 32. With the Rhet. Her. the two formulae began a course of rivalry that was destined to last for more than five centuries. Cicero at first showed a preference for *hoc est*, but later employed *id est* almost exclusively. Silver writers on the whole again inclined to the use of *hoc est*, but in the Late period *id est* became once more the prevalent form (cf. Meader [I] 53-66; St.-Schm. 475). In the Confessions *id est* likewise predominates over its rival, occurring 32 times, while *hoc est* is found only in the following 8 instances: 10, 31, 46, *scio . . . Iohannem mirabili abstinentia praeditum animalibus, hoc est locustis in escam cedentibus, non fuisse pollutum*; 11, 31, 41, *ita tibi aliquid accidit incommutabiliter aeterno, hoc est vere aeterno creatori mentium*; also in 3, 3, 6; 4, 2, 3; 10, 14, 22; 10, 31, 45; 12, 25, 34; 13, 32, 47.

#### iii. AD ID and AD HOC.

Although both these final formulae occur in Cicero (Nepos has neither phrase, while Caesar and Varro each have one instance of

*ad id*, although the one in Caesar [Civ. 1, 81] is doubtful), the rivalry between them begins with Livy, who favors *ad id*. Pliny the Elder and Curtius show a preference for *ad hoc*, while Tacitus decidedly inclines to *ad id*. No examples of final *ad id* occur in Florus. While writers of the Late period employ both phrases, *ad hoc* seems to be the favorite in Eccl. literature (cf. Meader [I] 71-73). In the Confessions St. Augustine follows the usage of Patristic writers by employing *ad id* only once (3, 11, 20), but *ad hoc* five times. Examples of the latter phrase: 5, 5, 8, *unde ille . . . ad hoc ista multum locutus est, ut . . . quis esset eius sensus in ceteris . . . manifeste cognosceretur*; 8, 5, 10, *ubi mihi . . . Simplicianus . . . ista narrauit, exarsi ad imitandum: ad hoc enim et ille narrauerat*; also in 10, 16, 25; 12, 31, 42; 13, 22, 32.

#### iv. OB ID and OB HOC.

Although these two causal phrases occur to some extent in Cicero (only *ob hoc* in the orations, *ob id* in the philosophical writings), their frequent use begins with Livy. Succeeding writers employ the two formulae as follows: Seneca the rhetorician, Curtius, Pliny the Elder, and Suetonius use both phrases; Valerius Maximus, Velleius Paterculus, and Tacitus have only *ob id*; Pliny the Younger, Justinus, and the Scriptores Historiae Augustae have only *ob hoc* (cf. Meader [I] 73-79). *Ob id* does not occur in the Confessions, and of *ob hoc* there are only the following three instances: 1, 16, 26, *libenter haec didici . . . et ob hoc bonae spei puer appellabar*; 6, 5, 8, *cum essemus infirmi ad inueniendam liquida ratione ueritatem et ob hoc nobis opus esset sanctorum litterarum*; 10, 37, 60, *quae (diuitiae) ob hoc expetuntur, ut alicui trium istarum cupiditatum . . . seruiant* (note the presence of a secondary final meaning in this last instance).

#### v. HIC QUI = IS QUI.

In addition to the above formal phrases, the displacement of *is* by *hic* takes place to a great extent also in the combination *hic qui*. Cicero employs *hic qui* only when reference is made to something near the speaker; otherwise he uses *is qui*. With Silver writers this distinction begins to break down, until in the Late period we find *hic qui* used extensively for *is qui* (cf. St.-Schm. 475). St.

Augustine likewise avails himself of this usage to some extent, as the following examples from the Confessions indicate: 1, 7, 11, indignari acriter non subiectis hominibus liberis et maioribus hisque, a quibus genitus est; 3, 7, 13, (homines) sensu non valent causas contexere saeculorum priorum aliarumque gentium, quas experti non sunt, cum *his*, quas experti sunt; 4, 12, 18, si placent corpora, deum ex illis lauda et in artificem eorum retorque amorem, ne in *his*, quae tibi placent, tu displiceas; 5, 2, 2, solus es praesens etiam *his*, qui longe flunt a te; 7, 6, 10, tu enim, domine, . . . agis, ut, dum quisque consulit, *hoc* audiat, quod eum oportet audire; 10, 23, 34, sic amatur ueritas, ut, quicumque aliud amat, *hoc* quod amant uelint esse ueritatem; 10, 26, 37, optimus minister tuus est, qui non magis intuetur *hoc* a te audire quod ipse uoluerit, sed potius *hoc* uelle quod a te audierit; 12, 18, 27, nitimur *hoc* indagare atque comprehendere, quod uoluit ille quem legimus; 12, 25, 34, "non *hoc* sensit Moyses, quod tu dicis, sed *hoc* sensit, quod ego dico"; *ibid.*, "unde scis *hoc* sensisse Moysen, quod de his eius uerbis eloqueris?" *ibid.*, "non *hoc* ille sensit, quod tu dicis, sed quod ego dico"; *ibid.*, contendunt non *hoc* sensisse Moysen, quod ego dico, sed quod ipsi dicunt.

#### vi. HOC QVOD = IDEM QVOD.

In Late Latin *hic* is also occasionally employed as the equivalent of *idem*. This occurs only in the phrase *hoc quod*, e. g. Oros. Hist. 7, 1, 10, *hoc* est praescire quod uelle (cf. Svennung 68; St.-Schm. 476). This usage is represented in the Confessions by the following examples: 4, 15, 26, malebam tamen etiam te opinari mutabilem; quam me non *hoc* esse, quod tu es; 8, 8, 20, tam multa ergo feci, ubi non *hoc* erat uelle quod posse; 8, 10, 22, putando animae naturam *hoc* esse, quod deus est; 12, 18, 27, si *hoc* sentiat, quod tu; 12, 31, 42, *hoc* sensit, quod ego; 13, 2, 3, corpori non *hoc* est esse, quod pulchrum esse; 13, 4, 5, cui non *hoc* est uiuere, quod beate uiuere.

#### vii. Miscellaneous instances of HIC = IS.

*Hic* is used in place of *is* also in the following miscellaneous examples which do not come under any of the above categories: 1, 8, 13, ita uerba . . . quarum rerum signa essent paulatim collige-

bam measque uoluntates edomito in eis signis ore per *haec* enuntia-bam; 1, 9, 15, non enim aut minus ea metuebamus aut minus te de *his* euadendis deprecabamur; 3, 9, 17, cum uero aliquid tu repente . . . imperas, etiamsi *hoc* aliquando uetuisti; 5, 1, 1, ut exsurgat in te a lassitudine anima nostra innitens eis, quae fecisti, et transiens ad te, qui fecisti *haec* mirabiliter; 6, 6, 10, dixi tunc multa . . . caris meis et saepe aduertebam in *his*, quomodo mihi esset; 8, 4, 9, plus . . . superbos tenet nomine nobilitatis et de *his* plures nomine auctoritatis.

One further detail concerning the use of *hic* in the Confessions remains to be explained. The table on p. 254 reveals a decided numerical preponderance of the neuter forms over the masculine and feminine—especially of the nom. and acc. sing. and the acc. plur., and to a lesser degree of the nom. and abl. plur. This is due partly to the use of *hic* for *is* as noted above, and partly also to the fact that St. Augustine frequently employs *hic* at the beginning of a sentence or paragraph to refer in a general way to what has just been said. There is nothing un-Classical about this usage, except that it is found more frequently than in Class. authors. This is a natural result of St. Augustine's paratactic style, which leads him to employ demonstrative in preference to relative pronouns. Note the following examples:

1. With the nom. sing. neut.: 3, 2, 3, et *hoc* de illa uena amicitiae est; 3, 11, 19, unde *hoc* . . . ? 4, 9, 14, *hoc* est, quod dilitur in amicis; 4, 16, 29, quid mihi *hoc* proderat . . . ? 6, 9, 14, *hoc* ad medicinam futuram in eius memoria reponebatur; 8, 3, 8, *hoc* in turpi et exsecranda laetitia, *hoc* in ea, quae . . . licita est, *hoc* in ipsa sincerissima honestate amicitiae, *hoc* in eo, qui mortuus est et reuixit; 10, 6, 8, *hoc* est quod amo; 12, 11, 13, *hoc* in conspectu tuo claret mihi; 13, 24, 35, sed quid est *hoc* . . . ?

2. With the acc. sing. neut.: 4, 3, 6, et *hoc* quidem ab illo . . . procurasti mihi; 7, 21, 27, *hoc* illae litterae non habent; 8, 6, 15, dixit *hoc*; 8, 11, 27, sed iam tepidissime *hoc* dicebat; 10, 4, 5, animus ille *hoc* faciat fraternus; 10, 16, 24, et *hoc* quis tandem indagabit? 10, 36, 58, numquid etiam *hoc* inter contemnenda deputabimus . . . ? 11, 7, 9, *hoc* noui; 12, 13, 16, *hoc* interim sentio.

3. *With the nom. plur. neut.*: 3, 8, 16, *haec sunt capita iniquitatis*; 7, 21, 27, *haec mihi inuiscerabantur miris modis*; 10, 10, 17, *unde et qua haec intrauerunt in memoriam meam*? 11, 5, 7, *te laudant haec omnia creatorem omnium*.

4. *With the acc. plur. neut.*: 1, 18, 28, *uides haec*; 2, 3, 5, *cui narro haec*? 3, 7, 14, *haec ego tunc nesciebam*; 4, 13, 20, *haec tunc non noueram*; 5, 3, 5, *et mirantur haec homines*; 6, 5, 8, *cogitabam haec*; 8, 7, 16, *narrabat haec Ponticianus*; 9, 11, 27, *ad haec ei quid responderim*; 10, 8, 14, *intus haec ago*; 11, 4, 6, *scimus haec*; 12, 28, 38, *uident haec*; 13, 34, 49, *haec omnia uidemus*.

5. *With the abl. plur. neut.*: 4, 11, 17, *sed longe his melior qui fecit omnia*; 6, 7, 11, *congemescamus in his*; 7, 6, 9, *his itaque auditis et creditis*; 7, 7, 11, *his itaque saluis*; 10, 33, 49, *ita in his pecco non sentiens*; 12, 23, 32, *his ergo auditis*; 13, 24, 37, *in his omnibus nanciscimur multitudines*.

### 3. ISTE

*Iste* was employed by Class. writers as the demonstrative of the second person, i. e. to refer to something near the person addressed (= that . . . of yours). It was also frequently used to imply antagonism or contempt, always with some reference to the second person.

Its employment in place of *hic* was probably brought about by the following process. *Hic*, as noted above, had become weakened in meaning because of its frequent use as a substitute of *is*. Accordingly, there followed a natural though unconscious effort to seek another word to take its place. *Ille*, because of its use to denote something remote from the speaker and person addressed, was unsuitable; hence the choice had to fall on *iste*. The transition of the use of *iste* from a pronoun of the second person to that of the first was natural enough. In the first place, an object referred to by *iste* has a relation not only to the person addressed but usually to the speaker as well. Furthermore, *iste* is usually employed to direct the attention of the person addressed to some object in which the speaker himself has a lively interest. Hence this implied reference to the first person in *iste* gradually gained ground until on occasion it sprang forth as the primary meaning.

In literature the use of *iste* as a synonym of *hic* occurs first in the poet Catullus, e. g. 17, 21, *iste meus stupor*. The first prose writer to employ *iste* in this way is Valerius Maximus, e. g. 3, 2, 2, *hactenus istud*. Other Silver authors who use *iste* as the equivalent of *hic* are Celsus, Seneca the philosopher, Pliny the Elder, Martial, Quintilian, Tacitus, etc. Among Late writers this usage is confined for the most part to the Africans, although it would be incorrect to say that on this account *iste* = *hic* is peculiarly African Latinity, for we find this same phenomenon also in Rome and other parts of Italy, in Sardinia, Sicily, Spain, Southern France, Aquitania, etc. (cf. Meader [I] 111-161; St.-Schm. 476-477). In Eccl. literature this usage is particularly common, because of the additional influence of Scripture, where, especially in the New Testament, *iste* is employed almost exclusively as the counterpart of *οὗτος* (cf. Meader [I] 140). In some Eccl. writers, as in Filastrius and Pelag. Vitae Patr., *iste* is in almost every instance equivalent to *hic* (cf. Juret [Filastr.] 32; Salonijs 231; St.-Schm. 477).

In the Confessions the use of *iste* for *hic* is likewise very common. Of the 256 instances of this pronoun, only about 4 refer to the second person (3, 11, 20; 3, 12, 21; 4, 12, 19; 9, 4, 9); the rest are employed chiefly in place of *hic* or occasionally, *is* and *ille*. The substitution of *iste* for *hic* takes place especially in the correlative combinations *ille-iste* or *iste-ille*, and in the phrases *iste meus*, *iste noster*, *iste mundus*, *ista uita*, *isti oculi*, *isto modo*. As an outstanding instance of the interchangeability of *iste* and *hic*, note the following sentence: 1, 16, 26, *non omnino per hanc turpitudinem uerba ista commodius discuntur, sed per haec uerba turpitudine ista confidentius perpetratur*. Furthermore, the Confessions show only one instance of *istius* (12, 20, 29, *istius mundi*), and none of the dative *isti*.<sup>5</sup>

#### i. ISTE = HIC.

Just as the use of *hic* for *is* may be seen most clearly in the case of certain formulae, so also the employment of *iste* as a substitute of *hic* is most readily distinguishable in a number of combinations

<sup>5</sup> In Filastrius, and in St. Ambrose's *De Nabuthae* and *De Helia et Ieiunio istius* likewise occurs only in stereotyped phrases. Cf. Juret (Filastr.) 32; McGuire 22; Buck 20.

in which either the presence of another pronoun or the context renders the meaning of *iste* unmistakably clear. Such are the correlatives *ille-iste* or *iste-ille*, the combinations *iste meus* and *iste noster*, and the phrases *iste mundus*, *ista uita*, *isti oculi*, etc.

(a) ILLE-ISTE (ISTE-ILLE) — ILLE-HIC (HIC-ILLE).

Class. writers ordinarily express contrast by the familiar *hic-ille*, *hic* usually referring to the nearer word, *ille* to the more remote. In Silver and Late Latin we find this combination displaced by *iste-ille* or *ille-iste*, the latter being used somewhat more frequently (cf. Meader [I] 132-138). In the Confessions St. Augustine uses the combination *ille-iste* more than twice as often as *iste-ille*. Note the following examples:

*ille-iste*: 1, 3, 22, cum *illa* inania *istis* utilioribus . . . praeponebam; 3, 7, 13, cum audierint *illo* saeculo licuisse iustis aliquid, quod *isto* non licet iustis, et quia *illis* aliud praecepit deus, *istis* aliud, cum eidem iustitiae utrique seruirent, cum . . . uideant . . . quiddam in *illo* angulo permitti aut iuberi, quod in *isto* iuxta uetetur et uindicetur; also in 4, 15, 24 bis; 5, 13, 23; 8, 6, 15; 10, 12, 19 bis; 10, 21, 31; 10, 36, 59 bis; 11, 23, 39; 11, 23, 30 bis; 13, 26, 41; 13, 38, 52. Note the chiasmic arrangement in 13, 27, 42, nec *illi* *istos* pascunt nec *isti* ab *illis* pascuntur, quia nec *illi* haec sancta et recta uoluntate operantur nec *isti* eorum datis, ubi fructum non uident, laetantur.

*iste-ille*: 1, 13, 22, *ista* oderam, *illa* amabam; 5, 5, 8, *ista* uero quia non nouerat, impudentissime audens docere, prorsus *illam* nosse non posset; 7, 6, 8, cum *iste* coniugis, *ille* autem ancillae dies et horas . . . numerarent; *ibid.*, *iste* filio, *ille* seruulo; also in 10, 20, 29; 12, 15, 18; 13, 11, 12.

The Class. combinations *hic-ille* and *ille-hic* are also found, 21 and 15 times, respectively.

(b) ISTE MEVS — HIC MEVS; ISTE NOSTER — HIC NOSTER.

*Iste* is modified by a possessive pronoun of the first person as early as Catullus, e. g. 17, 21, talis *iste meus* stupor. Fronto and Apuleius are especially fond of this usage (cf. Meader [I] 120-121; St.-Schm. 477). The Confessions have the following instances:

*iste meus*: 1, 6, 8, *ista mea* non memini; 2, 3, 5, *istas meas*

*litteras*; 10, 7, 11, *transibo et istam uim meam*; 10, 17, 26, *transibo et istam uim meam*, quae memoria uocatur (cf. *ibid.*, *transibo et hanc uim meam*, quae memoria uocatur); 10, 37, 61, *ista miseria mea*.

*iste noster*: 8, 6, 15, omnibus *istis* laboribus *nostris* quo ambimus peruenire? 9, 3, 5, macerabatur anxitudine Verecundus de *isto nostro* bono; 11, 13, 16, *isti enim nostri* (anni) eunt et ueniunt, ut omnes ueniant. anni tui omnes simul stant . . . *isti* autem *nostri* omnes erunt.

(c) ISTE MVNDVS — HIC MVNDVS.

The phrase *iste mundus*, the equivalent of the frequent Scriptural expression οὗτος ὁ κόσμος, occurs for the first time in Cypr. Ad Demetr. 19, in *isto* adhuc *mundo* et hac carne constituti, although already in Manilius 1, 494 the neut. plur. *ista* is used as a synonym of the Class. *hic mundus*. Patristic writers in general are fond of this phrase (cf. Meader [I] 126-127). Note the following examples from the Confessions: 2, 3, 6, in qua (uinulentia) *iste mundus* oblitus est creatorem suum; 9, 10, 26, *mundus iste* nobis inter uerba uilesceret; also in 12, 8, 8; 12, 17, 24 and 25; 12, 19, 28; 12, 20, 29.

In the following instances the neut. plur. *ista* is equivalent to *hic mundus*: 6, 11, 19, iucunda sunt etiam *ista*; 7, 7, 11, etiam *ista* infima supra me facta sunt; 9, 10, 24, per quam (sapientiam) fiunt omnia *ista*; 11, 17, 24, cuncta *ista* uisibilia.

(d) ISTA VITA — HAEC VITA.

A phrase similar to *iste mundus* is *ista uita* when used of life on earth as distinguished from life after death. It occurs in the Confessions as follows: 1, 6, 7, nescio, unde uenerim huc, in *istam* dico *uitam* mortalem; 10, 32, 48, nemo securus esse debet in *ista uita*; 10, 40, 65, aliquando intromittis me in affectum multum inusitatum ad nescio quam dulcedinem, quae si perficiatur in me, nescio quid erit, quod *uita ista* non erit.

(e) ISTI OCULI — HI OCULI.

Another phrase in which *iste* is clearly synonymous with *hic* is *isti oculi* (= these eyes of mine, of ours). It occurs in the Con-

essions as follows: 3, 6, 10, melius erat amare istum solem saltem *istis oculis* uerum quam illa falsa animo decepto per oculos; 10, 6, 8, quid . . . amo, cum te amo? . . . non candorem lucis ecce *istis amicis oculis*; 10, 34, 51, uoluptas *oculorum istorum* carnis meae.

(f) ISTO MODO — HOC MODO.

Statistics on the use of *isto modo* and *istius modi* for the Class. *hoc modo* and *huius modi* are few; Meader [I] 129 cites only Aug. Epist. 7, 2, 3 for *isto modo* and Hilar. In Psalm, 2, 2 for *istius modi*, besides stating that Gellius employs *istius modi* more than 20 times. In the Confessions *istius modi* is not found, but *isto modo* = *hoc modo* occurs in the following three instances: 9, 10, 26, dicebam talia, etsi non *isto modo* et his uerbis (note that *isto* and *his* refer virtually to the same antecedent); 10, 36, 59, *isto modo* sui similes factos secum habeat; dicimus, uelut "tantum hoc, quantum illud" aut: "duplum hoc ad illud" et si quid aliud *isto modo*.

(g) ISTE and HIC referring to the same antecedent.

When both *iste* and *hic* stand in one and the same sentence, or in adjoining sentences, and refer to a common antecedent, it is clear that *iste* must have the force of *hic*. Such situations occur first in Silver Latin, e. g. Cels. 2, 2, ille sollicitari debet, cui *haec* noua sunt; aut qui *ista* numquam sine custodia tuta habuit, and continue in use throughout the Late period (cf. Meader [I] 131). The Confessions furnish the following instances of this correlation of *hic* and *iste*: 1, 7, 11, quis *hoc* ignorat? expiare se dicunt *ista* matres atque nutrices; 1, 20, 31, *ista* omnia dei mei dona sunt, non mihi ego dedi *haec*; 2, 5, 10, propter uniuersa *haec* atque *huius* modi peccatum admittitur, dum immoderata in *ista* inclinatione . . . meliora et summa deseruntur; 3, 7, 14, *haec* ego tunc nesciebam . . . , et feriebant undique *ista* oculos meos, et non uidebam; 4, 12, 19, dic eis *ista*, . . . quia de spiritu eius *haec* dicis eis; 7, 10, 16, non *hoc* illa (lux) erat, sed . . . aliud ualde ab *istis* omnibus; 10, 40, 65, *hoc* me delectat, et . . . ad *istam* uoluptatem refugio; 13, 11, 12, sed cum inuenerit in *his* aliquid et dixerit, non iam se putet inuenisse illud, quod supra *ista* est incommutabile;

13, 20, 27, aquae produxerunt *haec*, sed in uerbo tuo: necessitates alienatorum ab aeternitate ueritatis tuae populorum produxerunt *haec*, sed in euangelio tuo, quoniam ipsae aquae *ista* eiecerunt, quarum amarus languor fuit causa, ut in uerbo tuo *ista* procederent; 8, 9, 21 *ter*, unde *hoc* monstrum? et quare *istuc*?

(h) ISTE referring in a general way to what has just been said.

*Iste* (usually the neut. plur. *ista*) is frequently used in the Confessions to refer in a general way to what has just been mentioned in a previous sentence or paragraph, in place of the Class. *hic*. As instances of this usage are very numerous, only the following typical examples are herewith listed: 1, 6, 9, nam quis mihi dicat *ista*, non habeo; 1, 7, 12, iubes me laudare te in *istis*; 2, 10, 18, quis exaperit *istam* . . . nodositatem? 4, 1, 1, et sectabar *ista*; 4, 13, 20, et *ista* consideratio scaturiit in animo meo; 5, 3, 4, mente sua enim quaerunt *ista*; 5, 5, 8, quis quaerebat Manichaeum nescio quem etiam *ista* scribere . . . ? 7, 2, 3, sentiendo de te *ista*; 7, 17, 23, ruebam in *ista* cum gemitu; 8, 5, 10, ubi mihi . . . Simplicianus . . . *ista* narrauit; 8, 11, 27, *ista* controuersia; 9, 10, 25, et *istud* quando? 10, 3, 4, quo fructu *ista* faciam, eliqua mihi; 10, 8, 15, magna *ista* uis est memoriae; 10, 34, 52, *ista* corporalis (lux), de qua loquebar; 11, 3, 5, rogarem eum . . . , ut mihi *ista* panderet; 11, 25, 32, in tempore *ista* dicere; 12, 9, 9, *ista* . . . infirmitas; 12, 15, 19, an falsa sunt *ista*? 13, 34, 49, inspeximus etiam, propter quorum figurationem *ista* uel tali ordine scribi uoluisti.

ii. ISTE = IS.

Because of its frequent use in place of *hic*, *iste* declined in force until it, too, came to be used instead of the determinative *is*. Instances of this use are common from Celsus on, e. g. Cels. 8, 12, reposito osse, si cum dolore oculorum et ceruicis *iste* casus incidit, ex brachio sanguis mittendus est. This deterioration of *iste* may be distinguished most clearly in instances where this pronoun is the antecedent of *qui*, or when *is* and *iste* stand in one and the same sentence and refer to the same antecedent (cf. Meader [I] 161). Only a few examples of this usage occur in the Confessions, e. g. 3, 6, 10, at tu . . . nec *ista* corpora es, quae uidemus quamquam in

caelo, nec *ea*, quae non uidemus ibi, quia tu *ista* condidisti; 3, 7, 13, sic sunt *isti* qui indignantur, cum audierint illo saeculo licuisse iustis aliquid, quod isto non licet iustis; 7, 7, 11, ego intendebam in *ea*, quae locis continentur, et non ibi inueniebam locum ad requiescendum, nec recipiebant me *ista*; 12, 15, 20, quantum interest inter lumen, quod inluminat et quod inluminatur, tantum interest inter sapientiam, quae creat, et *istam*, quae creata est.

### iii. ISTE = ILLE.

Meador [I] 159 states that in Silver Latin *iste* is occasionally used as a substitute for *ille*, without, however, citing examples. In the Confessions there appear to be several instances where *iste* refers to objects remote from the speaker and the person addressed. Note the following: 5, 6, 10, uenturum expectabam *istum* Faustum; 5, 11, 21, et inbecilla mihi responsio uidebatur *istorum*; 8, 2, 3, quae (idola) *iste* senex Victorinus tot annos . . . defensitauerat; 10, 31, 45, *iste* se accepisse confitetur; 10, 34, 52, o lux, quam uidebat Tobis, cum clausus *istis* oculis filium docebat uitae uiam; 11, 19, 25, nimis longe est modus *iste* ab acie mea.

### 4. IPSE

The intensive pronoun *ipse* is employed to indicate that subject or object of which something is exclusively or at least eminently predicated (= self, in person, he himself, himself, etc.). In Class. writers it almost always implies a contrast, and distinguishes a person or thing from all others connected with it. In the Late Latinity its use was greatly extended, and we find it taking the place of *idem* and the demonstrative pronouns properly so called (esp. *is* and *ille*). In some Late writers it was so weakened in force as to be used as a definite article (cf. Meador [I] 165-190, and [II] 38-56; K.-Steg. II 1, 628-633; St.-Schm. 479-480). The Confessions contain only a few of these non-Classical peculiarities of this pronoun. Although there are 509 instances of *ipse*, I have noted only about 4 examples of unsupported *ipse* = *idem* and about 14 of *ipse* = *is* or *ille*.

#### i. IPSE = IDEM.

Already in Early Latin *ipse* and *idem* approach each other very

closely in meaning, especially if they are supported by a relative or a demonstrative pronoun. Compare, for example, the following passage from Ennius, Ann. 14, terraque corpus quae dedit ipsa capit, with Cic. Cato 72, sic hominem eadem optime, quae conglutinauit, natura dissoluit; *ipsa* in the former citation undoubtedly conveys the same force as *eadem* in the latter. Cf. also Ter. Phorm. 196, ipsest quem uolui obuam. In the Class. period, however, instances of *ipse* qui = *idem* qui are rare; but in the second century this usage becomes more frequent, and is quite common from Tertullian on (cf. Meador [I] 165-168, and [II] 38-41; St.-Schm. 479). It is remarkable that the Confessions contain no sharply defined instances of *ipse* qui = *idem* qui.

*Ipse* expresses the idea of identity also when combined with the demonstrative pronouns *is*, *hic*, *iste*, and *ille*. The resulting collocations (*is ipse*, *hic ipse*, etc.) are of more frequent occurrence than *ipse* qui, and occur in all periods of the literature. In the Late period, and especially in Eccl. authors, the neut. sing. *id ipsum* gained the greatest prominence, chiefly because of its use in the Bible to render the Greek τὸ αὐτό; cf. Itala and Vulg. I Cor. 1, 10, obsecro . . . uos . . . ut . . . *id ipsum* dicatis omnes (cf. Meador [I] 168-171; Saloniuss 236). Note the following examples from the Confessions: 1, 6, 10, summe esse atque summe uiuere *id ipsum* est; 6, 5, 7, *id ipsum* enim maxime credendum erat; 12, 15, 21, unde ita est abs te, deo nostro, ut aliud sit plane quam tu et non *id ipsum*; 12, 17, 25, uerum tamen quia non de ipsa substantia dei, sed ex nihilo cuncta facta sunt, quia non sunt *id ipsum* quod deus; cf. also 6, 8, 13; 6, 16, 26; 7, 2, 3; 7, 9, 14; 8, 11, 25; 11, 13, 15; 12, 7, 7; 13, 11, 12.

Information on the use of unsupported *ipse* in the sense of *idem* is as yet comparatively meager, but it appears that the earliest instance occurs in Varro Ling. 9, 84, sic as . . . et unum est et multitudinis habet sensum infinitum; dicimus enim asses, quos cum finimus, dicimus dupondius et tressis et sic porro. sic uidetur mihi, quoniam finitum et infinitum habeat dissimilitudinem, non debere utrumque item dici, eo magis quod in *ipsis* (= *eisdem*) uocabulis, ubi additur certus numerus in miliaris aliter atque in reliquis dicitur; nam sic loquuntur: hoc mille denarium, non hoc mille denariorum et haec duo millia denarium, non haec duo millia denariorum. Other authors to use *ipse* alone in the sense of *idem*

are Manilius, Suetonius, Gellius, Minucius Felix, Tertullian, Arnobius, Hilary, Ambrose, Augustine, Filastrius, Silvia (Peregr. Aeth.), Commodian, Avitus, Cassian, Jordanes, etc. Geographically, the usage is common in the Western Mediterranean basin (cf. Meader [I] 171-184; St.-Schm. 480). Only the following instances of unsupported *ipse* = *idem* are found in the Confessions: 3, 7, 13, cum (lex dei) *ipsa* ubique ac semper esset, non alibi alia nec alias aliter; 5, 6, 10, per annos ferme *ipsos* nouem (cf. 4, 1, 1, per *idem* tempus annorum nouem); 9, 2, 4, quin etiam quod *ipsa* aestate litterario labori nimio pulmo meus cedere coeperat; 10, 18, 27, cum enim esset inuenta (dragma), unde sciret (mulier), utrum *ipsa* esset, si memor eius non esset?

## ii. IPSE = IS OR ILLE.

As mentioned above, *ipse* in Class. Latin essentially connotes a contrast. In the following passage from Catullus, however, no strong contrast is apparently implied: 64, 66-67, omnia quae toto dilapsa e corpore passim *ipsius* ante pedes fluctus salis adluebant. Probably also the following instances from Cicero and Propertius are to be referred here: Cic. Inv. 2, 50; id. Acad. 2, 53; Prop. 2, 30, 8; id. 3, 21, 4. Clearer examples of *ipse* = *is* occur from Curtius on, e. g. Curt. 3, 1, 8, nisi intra eos (dies) auxilium Dareus *ipsis* misisset; Plin. Nat. 10, 89; Plin. Epist. 8, 20, 4; Tac. Hist. 4, 11, 11; Apul. Met. 2, 11; Flor. 1, 22, 58. But it is especially in Late writers that *ipse* was used with the force of *is*; probably *avros*, in the meaning conveyed by its oblique cases, exerted a strong influence in this employment of *ipse* (cf. Meader [I] 184-190; St.-Schm. 480). In a similar way *ipse* was used for *ille* in Late Latin, especially among authors who employed the latter pronoun in the function of the definite article (cf. St.-Schm. 480). The Confessions contain a number of instances of *ipse* = *is* or *ille*. At times it is difficult to distinguish whether *ipse* is used for *is* or for *ille*; in the following instances, however, it is apparently the equivalent of *is*: 1, 8, 13, prensabam memoria, cum *ipsi* appellabant rem aliquam; 3, 4, 7, liber *ille ipsius* exhortationem continet ad philosophiam; 4, 2, 3, quid est enim aliud uentos pascere quam *ipsos* pascere . . . ? 5, 7, 12, ille nec ausus est subire *ipsam* sarcinam; 5, 12, 22, ut pecuniae doctrinam *ipsam*, quam discunt, praeferant; 7, 6, 9, si me *ille* seruus ex eisdem constellationibus—

quia et illius *ipsae* essent—consuluisset; 7, 7, 11, etiam ista infima supra me facta sunt et premebant, et nusquam erat laxamentum et respiramentum. *ipsa* occurrebant undique acruatim et conglobatim cernenti; 10, 3, 4, euigilet (cor) in amore misericordiae tuae et dulcedine gratiae tuae, qua potens est omnis infirmus, qui sibi per *ipsam* fit conscius infirmitatis suae.

In the following instances *ipse* seems to be used for *ille*: 3, 11, 20, cum mihi narrasset *ipsum* uisum; 4, 12, 19, unde (Christus) processit ad nos in *ipsum* primum uirginalem uterum; 5, 14, 24, *ipsa* defendi posse mihi iam coeperunt uideri; 9, 10, 23, prouenerat . . . ut ego et *ipsa* soli staremus incumbentes ad quandam fenestram; 10, 8, 14, "faciam hoc et illud" dico apud me in *ipso* ingenti sinu animi mei; 10, 35, 57, ex *ipsa* uisione per aliquam considerationem in te adsurgere.

## iii. ET IPSE = ETIAM IPSE OR IPSE QVOQUE.

Well established instances of *et ipse*, for which Class. writers use either *ipse* alone, *etiam ipse* or *ipse quoque*, occur first in Varro, then in Livy, the poets, and Silver and Late authors (cf. K.-Steg. II 1, 629-630; St.-Schm. 661). In the Confessions there are 26 instances of *et ipse*, 11 of *etiam ipse*, and only 2 of *ipse quoque*. *Et ipse* occurs as follows: 1, 7, 11, gaudeat *et ipse* dicens: quid est hoc? 4, 14, 22, quamquam eos *et ipse* amarem; 6, 10, 16, *ipse* autem iudex, cui consiliarius erat, quamuis *et ipse* fieri nollet, non tamen aperte recusabat; 7, 3, 5, quod si *et ipse* peruersa uoluntate ex bono angelo diabolus factus est, unde *et in ipso* uoluntas mala . . . ? 9, 3, 6, quamuis enim *et ipse* nondum christianus in illam foueam . . . erroris inciderat; 12, 15, 20, dicitur enim *et ipsa*, quamuis creata, sapientia; also in 2, 8, 16; 4, 11, 17; 4, 12, 18; 5, 14, 24; 6, 12, 22; 7, 2, 3; 7, 16, 22; 8, 5, 12; 9, 8, 17 and 18; 10, 8, 13 bis; 10, 8, 14 bis; 10, 15, 23; 10, 23, 33; 10, 34, 52; 11, 15, 22; 13, 8, 9.

## 5. ILLE

*Ille* is used in Class. Latin of what is removed from the speaker and the person addressed in place, time, or thought, and hence is called the demonstrative of the third person. Its employment as a substitute of *is* began as early as Plautus, and was due to the

following causes. *Ille* is most closely related in meaning to *is*; both are employed to point to a remote object as well as to refer to a definite antecedent. As *is* gradually lost its strong demonstrative force and sank to the level of a mere determinative, it had to be replaced by another pronoun. The choice naturally fell on *ille*, as being the nearest in meaning. The weakening of the force of *ille* as a pronoun of the third person was due not only to its use in place of *is*, but also to the frequent employment which the orators made of it and to rhetorical influences coming from Greece. Already in the Silver period the numerical preponderance of *ille* over *is* is considerable, and in the case of some writers of Late Latin this tendency went to much greater lengths (cf. Meader [I] 193-195 and 30-31; St.-Schm. 477). The Confessions likewise show a strong tendency to substitute *ille* for *is*, as the following account will show.

i. ILLE QVI = IS QVI.

In the Confessions, as in Latin literature generally, *ille* encroached upon the province of *is* particularly in the form of *ille qui* (cf. Meader [I] 195). Note the following examples: 1, 17, 27, *ille* dicebat laudabilis, in *quo* pro dignitate adumbratae personae irae ac doloris similior affectus eminebat; 2, 4, 9, *amaui defectum meum, non illud, ad quod deficiebam, sed defectum meum ipsum amaui*; 3, 2, 3, *potest et ille, qui ueraciter sinceriterque miseretur, cupere esse miseros, ut misereatur*; 4, 15, 25, *si uitiosus est ille animi motus, in quo est impetus; ibid., illa animae affectio, quae carnales hauriuntur uoluptates*; 4, 16, 30, *erat ille excellentissimus in eis (artibus), qui me exponentem non tardius sequeretur*; 5, 4, 7, *ille, qui eam (arborem) metitur*; 5, 7, 12, *desperare coepi posse mihi eum illa, quae me mouebant, aperire atque dissoluere*; 5, 14, 24, *nec ideo iam damnandum illud, quod tenebam*; 6, 3, 3, *si qua obscurius posuisset ille quem legeret*; 6, 7, 12, *quo illud quod insinuabam et iucundius et planius fieret*; 7, 3, 4, *itaque securus eam (causam mali) quaerebam et certus non esse uerum quod illi dicerent, quos toto animo fugiebam*; 8, 7, 17, *ardentius amabam illos, de quibus audiebam salubres affectus*; 9, 12, 31, *illis, quorum officium erat, funus curantibus ego . . . quod erat temporis congruum disputabam*; 10, 8, 14, *ibi enim mihi caelum et terra praesto sunt cum omnibus, quae in eis sentire potui,*

*praeter illa, quae oblitus sum*; 10, 19, 28, *et ibi si aliud pro alio forte offeratur, respuimus, donec illud occurrat quod quaerimus*; 10, 43, 70, *pauper cupio saturari . . . inter illos, qui edunt et saturantur*; 11, 8, 10, *ille loquitur nobis, qui docet nos*; 11, 19, 25, *quisnam ille modus est, quo doces futura . . . ?* 11, 21, 27, *ex illo ergo, quod nondum est, per illud, quod spatio caret, in illud, quod iam non est (praeterit tempus)*; 12, 11, 12, *nec illa creatura tibi coaeterna est, cuius uoluptas tu solus es*; 12, 26, 36, *illi, qui nondum queunt intellegere quemadmodum creat deus . . . et illi, qui hoc iam possunt*; 13, 6, 7, *non posset hoc dici, nisi prius illud commemoraretur, cui superferri spiritus tuus posset intellegi*; 13, 20, 26, *uoces nuntiorum tuorum uolitantes super terram iuxta firmamentum libri tui, praeposito illo sibi ad auctoritatem, sub quo uolitarent*; 13, 26, 39, *pascuntur autem his escis qui laetantur eis, nec illi laetantur eis, quorum deus uenter.*

ii. Nom. masc. and fem. forms (sing. and plur.) of ILLE = IS.

The table on p. 254 discloses that there are in the Confessions only 3 instances of the form *is* and 10 of the form *ea* (nom. sing. fem.), while there are 167 and 94 instances of the corresponding forms *ille* and *illa* respectively. Furthermore, there are no instances of the nom. pl. *ei* (ii) or *eae*, while there are 40 and 19 examples of *illi* and *illae*, respectively. One would therefore be led to suspect that these forms of *is* are supplanted to some extent by *ille*. This is actually the case, as the following lists will show. At times the context cited may seem too brief to bring out the exact meaning of *ille*, but lack of space prevents quoting at great length. In a number of instances, however, the presence of *is* in the same sentence with *ille* renders the force of the latter pronoun unmistakable; cf., under (a), 4, 4, 8; 5, 7, 12; 5, 7, 13; 5, 8, 14; 6, 7, 11; 9, 3, 6; under (b), 3, 11, 19; 5, 9, 17; under (d), 11, 2, 3.

(a) *ille* = *is*. 4, 2, 3, *necaturus enim erat ille in sacrificiis suis animantia*; 4, 3, 5, *respondit ille . . . uim sortis hoc facere*; 4, 4, 8, *ut primo cum eo loqui potui—potui autem, ut ille potuit; ibid., ille abreptus dementiae meae, ut . . . seruaretur consolationi meae*; 5, 7, 12, *posteaquam ille mihi inperitus earum artium, quibus eum excellere putaueram, satis apparuit; ibid., ille nec ausus est subire ipsam sarcinam*; 5, 7, 13, *legere cum eo . . . quae*

*ille* . . . desideraret; 5, 8, 14, ne in eius scholam, quo magistro non utuntur, passim et proterue inruant, nec eos admitti omnino, nisi *ille* permiserit; 6, 3, 3, quid . . . *ille* spei gereret; *ibid.*, nec *ille* sciebat aestus meos; 6, 7, 11, putabam . . . eum de me cum patre sentire, *ille* uero non sic erat; 6, 7, 12, *ille* in se rapuit; 6, 9, 15, ut quasi tandem iam *ille* cognosceret, a quibus haec fierent; 6, 12, 22, cum . . . me *ille* miraretur; 7, 6, 8, *ille* mihi narrauit patrem suum fuisse librorum talium curiosissimum; 8, 2, 5, pronuntiauit *ille* fidem ueracem; 8, 5, 10, ad hoc enim et *ille* narrauerat; *ibid.*, quam legem et *ille* amplexus; 8, 6, 14, quod *ille* ubi conperit; 8, 8, 19, neque enim secretum meum non erat, ubi *ille* aderat; 8, 12, 28, sic tunc eram, et *ille* sensit; 8, 12, 30, *ille* quid in se ageretur . . . sic indicauit; *ibid.*, quod *ille* ad se rettulit; 9, 3, 6, et nunc *ille* uiuit in sinu Abraham; *ibid.*, nec eum sic arbitror inebriari ex ea, ut obliuiscatur mei, cum tu, domine, quem potat *ille*, nostri sis memor; 9, 5, 13, at *ille* iussit Esaiam prophetam; 10, 16, 24, quid *ille* ualeret sonus; 10, 31, 45, nec *ille* in se potuit; 11, 5, 7, tu (fecisti) sensum corporis, quo interprete traiciat ab animo ad materiam id quod facit, ut *ille* intus consulat praesidentem sibi ueritatem, an bene factum sit; 12, 24, 33, siue *ille* hoc senserit siue aliud.

(b) *illa* = *ea* (nom. fem.): 1, 11, 17, ita iam credebam et *illa* et omnis domus; 2, 3, 7, uolebat enim *illa*; 3, 11, 19, uidebat enim *illa* mortem meam ex fide et spiritu; *ibid.*, qui cum causas ab ea quaesisset maestitiae suae . . . atque *illa* respondisset perditionem meam se plangere; 3, 12, 21, quod *illa* ita se accepisse . . . saepe recordabatur, ac si de caelo sonuisset; 4, 8, 13, sed *illa* mihi fabula non moriebatur; 5, 8, 15, *illa* insaniebat dolore; 5, 9, 16, et hoc *illa* nesciebat; 5, 9, 17, absit, ut tu falleres eam in illis uisionibus et responsis tuis, . . . quae *illa* fideli pectore tenebat; 6, 2, 2, *illa* cum attulisset canistrum; 6, 15, 25, *illa* in Africam redierat; 7, 5, 7, ut *illa* non esset; 8, 7, 18, et *illa* (sarcina) te adhuc premit; 9, 8, 18, quo *illa* stimulo percussa; 9, 9, 20, ut *illa* ultro filio suo medias linguas famularum proderet; 9, 12, 29, *illa* nec misere moriebatur nec omnino moriebatur; 9, 13, 36, namque *illa* . . . non cogitauit suum corpus sumptuose contegi; *ibid.*, neque enim respondebit *illa* nihil se debere; 10, 16, 25, unde *illa* imago possit inprimi; 11, 6, 8, at *illa* comparauit haec uerba . . . cum . . . uerbo tuo; 11, 27, 34, et uox *illa* praeterita est; 12, 29, 40, *illa*

(materia) autem erat informis; 13, 29, 40, quod scriptura mea dicit, ego dico. et tamen *illa* temporaliter dicit.

(c) *illi* = *ei* (nom. plur. masc.): 1, 12, 19, *illi* enim non intuebantur, quo referrem quod me discere cogebant; 2, 3, 7, *illi* (monitus) . . . tui erant; 4, 3, 4, quam totam *illi* salubritatem interficere conantur; 5, 3, 3, nec inueniris a superbis, nec si *illi* curiosa peritia numerent stellas; 5, 10, 19, desperantem in ecclesia tua . . . posse inueniri uerum, unde me *illi* auerterant; 5, 11, 21, quae *illi* in scripturis reprehenderant; 8, 10, 22, *illi* enim dum uolunt esse lux non in domino, sed in se ipsis; 13, 26, 40, *illi* bene fecerunt.

(d) *illae* = *ae*: 3, 2, 2, et si calamitates *illae* hominum . . . sic agantur; 7, 21, 27, hoc *illae* litterae non habent. non habent *illae* paginae uultum pietatis huius; 10, 8, 13, imagines . . . *illae* colorum . . . non se interponunt; 11, 2, 3, non habent *illae* siluae ceruos suos recipientes se in eas; 11, 27, 36, affectionem, quam res praeterentes in te faciunt et, cum *illae* praeterierint, manet, ipsam metior praesentem.

### iii. The correlation ILLE-ILLE.

In place of the usual correlation *hic-ille* we occasionally find *ille-ille*, especially in Early Latin, e. g. Ter. Phorm. 332 in *illis* fructus est, in *illis* opera luditur, and in Silver and Late writers. Only a few isolated instances of this usage occur in Cicero (cf. Meader [I] 105-107; St.-Schm. 476). The following examples are from the Confessions: 3, 12, 21, quae cum *ille* dixisset atque *illa* nollet adquiescere; 8, 5, 10, duae uoluntates meae, una uetus, alia noua, *illa* carnalis, *illa* spiritalis, confligebant inter se; 10, 31, 45, nec *illa* res me copiosum faciet nec *illa* aerumnosum; 11, 27, 35, respondeo . . . *illam* (syllabam) simplam esse, *illam* duplam; 11, 27, 36, quantum *illud* ad *illud* sit; also in 1, 6, 8; 2, 3, 8; 8, 2, 4; 9, 9, 19 and 20; 10, 37, 61; 11, 16, 21; 11, 23, 30; 11, 24, 31; 12, 22, 31.

To be distinguished from the strict correlative *ille-ille* is the combination *ille et (aut, uel) ille* when employed in an indefinite sense (= this and that, this or that, such and such, any). This is chiefly a Late usage, although occasional examples occur already in Class. and Silver Latin, e. g. Cic. S. Rose. 59, num *ille aut ille* defensurus esset; Suet. Iul. 41 (quoting Caesar), commendo uobis

*illum et illum* (cf. St.-Schm. 476). The following instances have been gathered from the Confessions: 3, 4, 8, hoc . . . solo delectabar in illa exhortatione, quod non *illam aut illam* sectam, sed ipsam . . . sapientiam ut diligerem; 5, 5, 9, cum enim audio christianum aliquem fratrem *illum aut illum* ista nescientem; 8, 10, 24, cum quisque deliberat, utrum . . . fundum alienum *illum aut illum* inuadat; 12, 25, 34, ueritas tua nec mea nec *illius aut illius*, sed omnium nostrum; 13, 28, 43, in singulis generibus operum tuorum, cum dixisses, ut fierent, et facta essent, *illud atque illud* uidisti quia bonum est.

iv. Miscellaneous instances of ILLE — IS.

Although the substitution of *ille* for *is* takes place chiefly in the nom. masc. and fem. of both numbers, it also occurs to some extent in many of the other cases. Here, too, *is* is occasionally found in the same sentence with *ille* and refers to its antecedent; cf., below, 2, 5, 11; 3, 12, 21; 4, 4, 8; 4, 6, 11; 4, 10, 15; 5, 6, 11; 7, 3, 4; 7, 5, 7; 9, 3, 5; 9, 9, 19; 12, 15, 19; 13, 11, 12; 13, 15, 17. Note the following numerous examples of *ille* — *is*: 1, 5, 5, ut uenias in cor meum et inebries *illud* . . . ? 1, 6, 8, indignabar non subditis maioribus et liberis non seruientibus et me de *illis* fiendo uindicabam; 1, 6, 10, quam multi iam dies nostri . . . per hodiernum tuum transierunt et ex *illo* acceperunt modos; 1, 11, 18, "sine *illum*, faciat; nondum enim baptizatus est"; 1, 13, 22, uela pendent liminibus grammaticarum scholarum, sed non *illa* magis honorem secreti quam tegimentum erroris significant; 1, 20, 31, ipse (deus) est bonum meum et *illi* exulto bonis omnibus, quibus etiam puer eram; 2, 5, 11, adamuit eius coniugem aut praedium, . . . aut timuit ab *illo* tale aliquid amittere; 2, 8, 16, non ergo nihil aliud quam furtum amaui; immo uero nihil aliud, quia et *illud* nihil est; 3, 6, 11, quae me seduxit, quia inuenit foris habitantem in oculo carnis meae et talia ruminantem apud me, qualia per *illum* uorassem; 3, 8, 15, si enim regi licet . . . iubere aliquid, quod neque ante *illum* quisquam nec ipse umquam iusserat; 3, 12, 21, "sine *illum* ibi. tantum roga pro eo dominum . . ."; 4, 4, 8, ut primo cum eo loqui potui . . . temptaui apud *illum* inridere, tamquam et *illo* inrisuro mecum baptismum; 4, 6, 11, quo magis *illum* amabam, hoc magis mortem, quae mihi eum abstulerat . . .

oderam; 4, 10, 15, ipsa (anima) esse uult et requiescere amat in eis, quae amat. in *illis* autem non est ubi, quia non stant; 4, 11, 17, quidquid per *illam* (carnem) sentis in parte est; 4, 12, 18, si placent corpora, deum ex *illis* lauda; 5, 6, 11, moleste habebam, quod in coetu audientium non sinerer ingerere *illi* et partiri cum eo curas quaestionum mearum; 5, 9, 16, quomodo enim eas (inimicitias) solueret in cruce phantasmatis, quod de *illo* credideram? *ibid.*, neque enim desiderabam in illo tanto periculo baptismum tuum et melior eram puer, quo *illum* de materna pietate flagitaui; 6, 1, 1, ut diceret filio uiduae: inuenis tibi dico, surge, et reuiuisceret et inciperet loqui et traderes *illum* matri suae; 6, 3, 3, quamquam et causa seruandae uocis, quae *illi* facillime obtundebatur, poterat esse iustior tacite legendi; 6, 4, 6, qui medicamenta fidei confecisti et sparsisti super morbos orbis terrarum et tantam *illis* auctoritatem tribuisti; 6, 7, 12, de memoria mihi lapsus erat agere cum *illo*; 6, 11, 20, amans uitam beatam timebam *illam* in sede sua; 7, 3, 4, quaecumque tamen esset (causa mali), sic eam quaerendam uidebam, ut non per *illam* constringerer deum incommutabilem mutabilem credere; 7, 5, 7, an unde fecit ea, materies aliqua mala erat, et forinauit atque ordinauit eam, sed reliquit aliquid in *illa*, quod in bonum non conuerteret? 7, 19, 25, quae de *illo* (Christo) memoriae mandata sunt; 8, 1, 1, dubitatio tamen omnis de incorruptibili substantia, quod ab *illa* esset omnis substantia, ablata mihi erat; 8, 6, 15, coniecit oculos in amicum et ait *illi*: "dic, quaeso te, . . . ?" 8, 8, 19, abripuit me ab *illo* aestus meus; 9, 3, 5, retribuens *illi*, domine, in resurrectione iustorum, quia iam ipsam sortem retribuisti ei; 9, 9, 19, satagit eum lucrari tibi loquens te *illi* moribus suis; 9, 11, 28, *illisque* stupentibus uirtutem feminae; 10, 6, 9, dicite mihi de deo meo, . . . dicite mihi de *illo* aliquod; 10, 14, 21, cum mandamus aliquid, ut memoriter habeatur, dicimus: "uide, ut *illud* in animo habeas"; 10, 16, 25, memoriae meae uis non comprehenditur a me, cum ipsum me non dicam praeter *illam*; 10, 23, 33, cur ergo non de *illa* gaudent? 10, 25, 36, intraui ad ipsius animi mei sedem, quae *illi* est in memoria mea; 11, 2, 4, Moyses de *illo* scripsit; 11, 15, 19, atque ita mediorum quemlibet centenarii huius numeri annum praesentem posuerimus; ante *illum* praeteriti erunt, post *illum* futuri; 11, 28, 37, nisi quia in animo, qui *illud* agit, tria sunt; 12, 1, 1, tenemus promissum: quis corrumpet *illud*? 12, 15, 19,

ut, quamvis ei coaeterna (creatura) non sit, in nullam tamen temporum varietatem . . . ab *illo* se resoluat; 12, 15, 20, etsi non inuenimus tempus ante *illam* (sapientiam), quia et creaturam temporis antecedit, quae prior omnium creata est, ante *illam* tamen est ipsius creatoris aeternitas; 12, 15, 21, unde ita est abs te, deo nostro, ut aliud sit quam tu et non id ipsum, etsi non solum ante *illam*, sed nec in *illa* inuenimus tempus; 12, 22, 31, intellegamus a deo factam esse (materiam) de nihilo ideoque *illi* non esse coaeternam; 13, 11, 12, trinitatem omnipotentem quis intellegit? et quis non loquitur eam, si tamen eam? rara anima, quaecumque de *illa* loquitur, scit quod loquitur; 13, 15, 17, non clauditur codex eorum, nec plicatur liber eorum, quia tu ipse *illis* hoc es; 13, 17, 20, quis congregauit amaricantes in societatem unam? idem namque *illis* finis est temporalis et terrenae felicitatis; 13, 28, 43, longe multo pulchrius est corpus, quod ex membris pulchris omnibus constat, quam ipsa membra singula, . . . quamvis et *illa* etiam singillatim pulchra sunt; 13, 31, 46, cum aliquid uidet homo quia bonum est, deus in *illo* uideat, quia bonum est.

#### 6. IDEM

*Idem* is derived from the pronoun *is* plus a deictic particle, and originally meant "just that," "precisely that" (cf. Meader [II] 66; St.-Schm. 285 and 479). This force of the word, however, rarely asserts itself with any degree of intensity in Class. Latin, and continues to lose ground in succeeding periods. It is the concept of identity that usually attaches to *idem* in Class. writers. But it must not be supposed that this signification of the word is always present clearly and distinctly. In some instances it stands out with special prominence, as in Cic. Manil. 50, cur non . . . *eidem*, cui cetera summa cum salute rei publicae commissa sunt, hoc quoque bellum regium committamus? or *id.* Nat. Deor. 1, 121, cum enim optimam et praestantissimam naturam dei dicat (Epicurus) esse, negat *idem* esse in deo gratiam. Occasionally, however, the notion of identity appears greatly attenuated, as in Cic. Prov. 24, num est igitur dubium ex iis rebus, quas is egit agiturque cotidie, quin ego in illo oppugnando rei publicae plus quam otio meo, non nulli in *eodem* defendendo suo plus otio quam communi prospexerint, or

*id.* Tusc. Disp. 4, 7, ut enim in inferiorem ambulationem descendimus, quod feceramus *idem* superioribus diebus, acta res est sic. It will be seen that in sentences such as the latter two the meaning of *idem* approaches very nearly that of *is*. It should be noted, however, that this weakened force of *idem* appears chiefly in its oblique cases; the nominative of *idem* = *is* occurs rarely before the third century (cf. Meader [II] 67-74).

Among the pagan authors of the Late period *idem* = *is* occurs with the greatest frequency in Justinus, the Scriptores Historiae Augustae, and Ammianus. Full statistics on Eccl. writers on this point are not yet available, but from the indices to the Vienna Corpus as well as from various monographs it appears that they, too, made an extensive use of this meaning of *idem* (cf. Meader [II] 77-81; Svennung 68; St.-Schm. 479). The following citations are illustrative of this usage: Spart. Did. 8, 8, appellatusque statim Seuerus imperator, cum fingeretur quod ueneno se absumpsisset Iulianus. missi tamen a senatu, quorum cura per militem gregarium in Palatio *idem* Iulianus occisus est; Optat. 6, 3 p. 148, 17, denique cum ducenta et quinquaginta turibula, quae sacrilegorum et peccatorum manibus portabantur, cum *eisdem* peccatores absorberet terra, remanserunt de manibus eorum excussa turibula; Amm. 15, 8, 18, deinde diebus paucis Helena uirgine Constanti sorore *eidem* Caesari iugali foedere copulata; Filastr. 117, 1, est heresis quae, cum audit in Genesi quod Dominus pellicias tunicas post praeuaricationem nostros parentes uestiret, aestimant corpore tunc temporis fecisse eosque sic induisse, cum septimo die scriptura dixerit accepisse deum terram de limo et plasmasse *eorundem* corpora, atque ita mulieris carnem de costa Adae postea fecisse; Cassian. Inst. 4, 6, in *eodem* quo coepit feruore persistere; Eugipp. Sev. 30, 2, Valentem nomine monachum mittens ad sanctum Constantium *eiusdem* loci pontificem.

The Confessions, in which *idem* occurs 96 times,\* furnish a number of instances in which the word is employed in the place of *is* or at least with a much attenuated force. The following ex-

\*This figure represents approximately 2½% of the total occurrences of the demonstrative pronouns in the Confessions. Note how closely this agrees with the 3% estimated for St. Augustine by Meader (II) 64.

amples are illustrative: 5, 11, 21, Elpidii cuiusdam aduersus eosdem manichaeos . . . sermones; 4, 16, 30, non enim sentiebam illas artes etiam ab studiosis et ingeniosis difficillime intellegi, nisi cum eis eadem conabar exponere; 5, 10, 19, nec dissimulaui eundem hospitem meum reprimere a nimia fiducia; 8, 6, 14, inmoratus est in eo sermone insinuans tantum uirum ignorantibus et admirans eandem nostram ignorantiam; 10, 6, 9, interrogaui terram, et dixit: "non sum"; et quaecumque in eadem sunt, idem confessa sunt; 10, 43, 69, multi enim et magni sunt idem languores mei; 11, 22, 28, manifestissima et usitatissima sunt, et eadem rursus nimis latent et noua est inuentio eorum; 12, 6, 6, intendi in ipsa corpora eorumque mutabilitatem altius inspexi, qua desinunt esse quod fuerant et incipiunt esse quod non erant, eundemque transitum de forma in formam per informe quiddam fieri suspicatus sum, non per omnino nihil; cf. also 6, 11, 20; 7, 6, 8; 7, 6, 10; 9, 7, 16; 10, 16, 24; 12, 29, 40; 12, 30, 41.

While *idem* was gradually losing its character as a pronoun of identity and acquiring that of a personal pronoun, other expressions came forward to express the notion of identity, e. g. is *ipse*, *hic ipse*, and *idem ipse*. The first two combinations are found in all periods of the literature and therefore need not be discussed (*id ipsum* was treated above in the section on *ipse = idem*, p. 242). *Idem ipse* occurs first in Cicero, e. g. Verr. I, 71, haec eadem ipsa se ex Philodamo audisse dicat, and then not until Gellius (cf. Meader [I] 168-170 and [II] 41-44, 85-86; St.-Schm. 479-480). The following instances of *idem ipse* are found in the Confessions: 1, 7, 11, cum ferri aequo animò eadem ipsa non possunt, cum in aliquo annosiore deprehenduntur; 1, 9, 15, aut aliud faciebat *idem ipse*, a quo uapulabam . . . ? 4, 14, 23, si non laudatum uituperarent eum *idem ipsi*; 7, 13, 19, in partibus autem eius quaedam quibusdam quia non conueniunt, mala putantur; et eadem ipsa conueniunt aliis et bona sunt; 7, 20, 26, qui semper *idem ipse* esses, ex nulla parte nulloque motu alter aut aliter; 8, 4, 9, *idem ipse* minimus apostolorum tuorum; 8, 10, 22, ipsi uere mali sunt, cum ista mala sentiunt, et *idem ipsi* boni erunt, si uera senserint; 10, 4, 6, uiuit semper pater meus et idoneus est mihi tutor meus; *idem ipse* est enim, qui genuit me et tuetur me. Note also *idem ipsum unum* in 6, 2, 2, *idem ipsum unum* (pocillum), quod ubique poneret, circumferebat.

## THE DEMONSTRATIVES IN THE CONFESSIONS.

|                 | IS    |     |     | HIC   |     |     | ISTE |    |    | IPSE  |     |    | ILLE  |     |     | IDEM |    |    |
|-----------------|-------|-----|-----|-------|-----|-----|------|----|----|-------|-----|----|-------|-----|-----|------|----|----|
|                 | M.    | F.  | N.  | M.    | F.  | N.  | M.   | F. | N. | M.    | F.  | N. | M.    | F.  | N.  | M.   | F. | N. |
| <b>SINGULAR</b> |       |     |     |       |     |     |      |    |    |       |     |    |       |     |     |      |    |    |
| Nom.            | 3     | 10  | 65  | 4     | 20  | 114 | 24   | 25 | 9  | 116   | 74  | 21 | 167   | 94  | 49  | 12   | 6  | 1  |
| Gen.            | 100   | 78  | 19  | 15    | 13  | 8   | 1    | .. | .. | 6     | 6   | 2  | 12    | 14  | 1   | ..   | .. | .. |
| Dat.            | 33    | 32  | 3   | 7     | 3   | 2   | ..   | .. | .. | 2     | ..  | .. | 30    | 14  | 2   | 1    | 1  | .. |
| Acc.            | 127   | 151 | 63  | 4     | 29  | 194 | 6    | 20 | 5  | 38    | 44  | 20 | 47    | 46  | 69  | 9    | 7  | 8  |
| Abl.            | 37    | 65  | 53  | 11    | 36  | 34  | 6    | 9  | 11 | 30    | 32  | 16 | 65    | 41  | 25  | 9    | 9  | 5  |
|                 | 300   | 336 | 203 | 41    | 101 | 352 | 37   | 54 | 25 | 191   | 156 | 59 | 321   | 209 | 146 | 31   | 23 | 14 |
| <b>PLURAL</b>   |       |     |     |       |     |     |      |    |    |       |     |    |       |     |     |      |    |    |
| Nom.            | ..    | ..  | 6   | 4     | 4   | 35  | 13   | 7  | 26 | 23    | 10  | 15 | 40    | 19  | 29  | 3    | .. | 4  |
| Gen.            | 53    | 19  | 27  | 1     | 2   | 9   | 3    | 3  | .. | 4     | 2   | .. | 6     | 1   | 2   | 1    | 1  | 1  |
| Dat.            | 31    | 6   | 4   | 2     | 1   | 2   | 3    | 1  | 2  | ..    | ..  | .. | 7     | 2   | 2   | ..   | .. | .. |
| Acc.            | 75    | 44  | 108 | 4     | 4   | 114 | 2    | 4  | 03 | 15    | 9   | 11 | 13    | 11  | 43  | 2    | 3  | 9  |
| Abl.            | 50    | 30  | 43  | 7     | 10  | 49  | 2    | 3  | 8  | 7     | 3   | 4  | 25    | 7   | 16  | 2    | 1  | 1  |
|                 | 209   | 99  | 188 | 18    | 21  | 209 | 23   | 18 | 99 | 49    | 24  | 30 | 91    | 40  | 92  | 8    | 5  | 15 |
|                 | 1333  |     |     | 742   |     |     | 256  |    |    | 509   |     |    | 899   |     |     | 96   |    |    |
|                 | 34% % |     |     | 19½ % |     |     | 6½ % |    |    | 13¼ % |     |    | 23¼ % |     |     | 2½ % |    |    |

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