

MEDIAEVAL LATIN

K. P. Harrington

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FORTUNE AND HER WHEEL

From the thirteenth-century manuscript of the *Carmina Burana* in Munich
(see p. 379).

PREFACE

THIS book is designed to introduce the reader to Mediaeval Latin, for more than a thousand years the universal language of church, state, school, society, and belles-lettres.

From the overwhelming mass of material that has lain hidden in musty tomes and quaint manuscripts the editor has selected examples in the various fields of mediaeval literature, except the didactic and homiletic works of the church fathers. This gives a conspectus of the whole subject by typical samples from different periods.

The selections represent history, anecdote, argument, the epistle, the drama, the essay, the dialogue, the novel, and epic, lyric, pastoral, didactic, and satiric verse. Teachers or students wishing to specialize in any of these forms will find the selections topically outlined at the end of the Table of Contents.

For the student of history, comparative literature, or civilization in general, these pages have a profound significance. To the student of the Latin language and literature, they show that Latin from Ennius to Erasmus, during a period of nearly a millennium and three quarters, is more homogeneous than is English from Chaucer to Tennyson, a matter of only five hundred years. The student of the Romance and other modern languages can here see important processes actually going on in the development of these languages. The selections are useful for schools, for colleges, or for the general reader, and have been chosen with a view to intrinsic interest.

Many of the passages are so simple in vocabulary,

sentence construction, and word-order, that they are admirably adapted for sight reading in secondary schools, even in the second year, as well as in colleges. Teachers preferring to begin at once with a group of such simple, narrative selections can turn to pages 417-538, where the annotation has been made fuller for the purpose of facilitating reading at sight or by relatively immature students. As a rule the notes translate all words not found in Lewis's *Elementary Latin Dictionary* except such as are obvious after a little thought or intelligent conjecture.

The form and spelling, but not the punctuation of the various texts, have been followed; but *J* is not used and *U* and *V* are differentiated.

The many illustrations are particularly interesting. Some of them have been taken from standard and familiar non-copyright works, under circumstances which seem to call for no special acknowledgments. The editor wishes to acknowledge in particular the courtesy of the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press in permitting the use of the portrait of Lipsius taken from Sandys's *History of Classical Scholarship*, that of Messrs. Foster and Kent and their publishers, Charles Scribner's Sons, in granting the privilege of reproducing from their *History of the Hebrew Commonwealth* the picture of Mt. Sinai and the monastery, and that of Dodd, Mead and Company in allowing the reproduction of the picture of Petrarch from *The New International Encyclopædia*.

Finally the editor desires to express his grateful appreciation of the help afforded him by various librarians and friends, and especially the innumerable valuable suggestions given by Professor Rolfe, the supervising editor of this series of Latin textbooks.

KARL POMEROY HARRINGTON

INTRODUCTION

WHEN the Western Roman Empire came to an end in the latter part of the fifth century, Latin was already the official language of church and state throughout Europe and northwestern Africa. In the state it maintained for many centuries its position as the formal and international medium of expression, being displaced in time by the vernacular tongues of the several nations. In the Roman Catholic church it has continued even up to the present day as the official vehicle of ecclesiastical expression.

The church was the greatest cohesive force in Europe for a millennium after Romulus Augustulus was dethroned in 476; and in the babel of barbarian tongues that broke on every side it was the language of the church that persevered. The evangelization of paganism called forth a huge mass of ecclesiastical literature in prose and poetry, which kept Latin as a living language before the masses of the people, as well as in the institutions of the church itself. Education was for a long time chiefly religious. The monastic establishments had libraries of secular, as well as religious, writings. Charlemagne, the head of the Holy Roman Empire, made the beginning of founding the great European schools.

In the course of the centuries histories were written to describe the victorious progress of the faith, as for example in France, in England, and in the great movement of the Crusades. Great poems were produced describing the

story of creation and of redemption. Hymns were written for use in the highly developed ritual of the church. Religious drama came into vogue.

But churchmen did not confine themselves always to religious writing, nor to that connected with the story of the progress and triumph of Christianity; and as the centuries passed, literature was not restricted to the church, nor even to the school. Popular tales, folk songs, fables, partly European and partly Oriental in their origin, appeared in many forms from all sorts of sources. The primitive and universal tastes and appetites of mankind found expression in prose and verse, and the follies and weaknesses of humanity, whether in church or society, were often the object of keen satire.

The great movement commonly called the Revival of Learning, and the rediscovery, it might almost be said, of the ancient classics, produced a new and brilliant Latin literature of every kind, closely imitative of classical Latin models. This continued in active growth until the new vernacular literatures in the various European nations, — literature inspired by the Latin writings of the Renaissance, — displaced it, hardly more than three hundred years ago.

It is a remarkable proof of the vitality of the Latin language that thus for more than a thousand years after it ceased to be the current speech of any people it continued to be the literary language of civilization. More than that, during those many centuries the form of the language changed less than the forms of its vernacular contemporary tongues. There is far greater uniformity in the Latin of the whole period than between old French and modern French, or between early English and the English of the present. Yet it is not strange that, considering the multiplicity of elements involved, the Roman,

the Greek, the Hebrew, the Arabic, the Persian, the German, and Scandinavian sources of the literature itself, and considering also the constant contact of the Latin with the popular speech of various nations, there should be wide divergence not only between the literature professedly imitative of classical models and that less careful of its form, but also between that which is more serious, and that which is more popular in tone.

Furthermore, it must not be forgotten that even in the days of Cicero and Vergil there were two distinct kinds of Latin in everyday use, the highly artistic product of the literary aristocracy, and the so-called Vulgar Latin, or speech of the masses. These two streams of Latin, like two branches of a mountain torrent, sometimes uniting, sometimes rushing apart, continued to flow down the ages, each having an influence on the other varying with the time. When the speech of the common people strayed far enough from the literary language to lose its identity, it merged with the barbarian tongues and became the Romance languages of Italy, France, and Spain. When these popular tongues again came in contact with the more formal Latin of the church or the school, a more popular form of Latin was the result.

In making any attempt, therefore, to characterize or describe Mediaeval Latin more minutely, it must be remembered that we are speaking not of a Muretus, a Petrarch, a Balde, or a Milton, who wrote Ciceronian, Vergilian, or Horatian Latin, but of the mass of authors whose style was more or less affected by the corrupting influences of time. Even here a further caution is necessary. In many cases the texts which we have are clearly the work of copyists much more illiterate than the original writers, and the apparent variations from more orthodox Latin standards are thus often due to the ignorance of

those who prepared the copy which has come down to us. In other cases scholars have attempted, not always accurately, to restore the form which they, perhaps erroneously, suppose to have been the original one. And, it must be added, sometimes wilful changes have been made, to better the meaning, to avoid coarseness, or to incorporate glosses previously inscribed upon the margin.

The following paragraphs give a clue to the most common and obvious variations from classical Latin standards. Examples could be greatly multiplied. Frequent reference to these paragraphs is made in the notes.

1. Vocabulary

A. New words and new uses of words came from various sources, e.g. :

- (1) Greek : *pyxis*, *gynaeceum*, *logotheta*, *theristratus*, *hypodoricus*.
- (2) Hebrew : *Moyse*s, *Syon*, *Hierusalem*.
- (3) Other nations (e.g. Gallic) : *caracalla*, *cambota*, *scilpor*.
- (4) Ecclesiastical terms (new either in form or in connotation) : *ecclesia*, *praesul*, *antistes*, *presbyter*, *abbas*, *salus*, *mysterium*, *refectorarius*, *coenobita*.
- (5) New Latin formations : *mansionarii*, *asso*, *regyro*, *corio*, *lustrivagus*, *semotim*, *dorsiloquor*, *fossatum* (= *fossa*).

B. New meanings arose, or variations in meaning were accepted as standard forms, some from pedantry, others from the substitution of Vulgar Latin equivalents, e.g. :

- (1) Abstracts for concretes : *hostilitas* = *bellum*, *nativitas* = *dies natalis*.
- (2) Adjectives for nouns : *hibernum* (sc. *tempus*) = *hiems*.
- (3) Vagaries in compounds : *apparuisse*, *comparuisse*, and *paruisse* (e.g. *in somnis*) used alike.
- (4) Technical terms : *comes*, 'count' ; *dux*, 'duke.'
- (5) Vulgar Latin uses were substituted for the classical terms : *serum* = *vesper*, *civitas* = *urbs*, *caballus* = *equus*.

(6) Many new or Vulgar Latin uses of particles; and new particle formations: *si* for *an*, *ne*, or *utrum*; *qualiter*, *quatenus*, or *quomodo*, for *ut* in purpose clauses; *circa* or *circiter* for *de*; *secus*, 'beside'; *quod* for *quando*; *namque*, 'namely', 'certainly'; *nam*, 'at all'; *verumtamen*, *nullatenus*: *tamen*, 'at least'; *siquidem*, 'accordingly'; *amodo* (or *ammodo*), 'henceforth'; *econtra*, 'on the contrary.'

C. Popular confusions, e.g.:

suus for *eius*;
sui for *is*;
ipse for *is* or *ille*;
quid for *aliquid*;
qualis for *quis*.

2. Forms

Changes in form are due to the ordinary processes of phonetic change and decay, to illiteracy (e.g. in confusion of declensions, particularly the 2d and 4th), or to arbitrary substitution (sometimes reverting to archaisms, which survive long in vulgar speech), e.g.:

(1) Vowels: *hec* for *haec*, *cepi* for *coepi*, *mee* for *meae*, *feretas* for *feritas*, *missurium* for *missorium*, *effatu* for *affatu*, *clericus* for *clericos*, *mittemus* for *mittimus*, *accensu* for *accenso*, *consecrator* for *consecratur*, *victuria* for *victoria*, *dyabolus* for *diabolus*.

(2) Consonants:

karissimus for *carissimus*;
reddered for *redderet*;
Favius for *Fabius*;
faretram for *pharetram*;
fugo for *fuco*;
scribturus for *scripturus*;
conius for *coniux*;
c for *qu*, or *qu* for *c*.

(3) Palatalization caused endless confusion: *nunciavit*, *temptacio*, *abieccio*, *satisfaccio*, *eciam*; *michi* for *mihi*.

(4) Incorrect use of aspirates: *heremila*; *omines* for *homines*, *habiit* for *abiit*, *hostium* for *ostium*.

- (5) Syncope: *domnus*.
- (6) Parasitic consonant or its omission: *columpna*, *contemtor*.
- (7) Apocope: *addebat confidentia* (for *confidentiam*).
- (8) Assimilation and dissimilation: *ammirabantur*, *obpraessus*, *pelegrinis*, *russus*.
- (9) Confusions in declension, conjugation, or gender, and between active and deponent verbs: *quae* (Plur.) *fuit*; *murus* for *muros*, *grave* for *gravi*, *exempli* for *exempla*.
- (10) Archaisms: *tis* for *tui*, *hiis* for *his*.
- (11) Confusions in the use of single or double consonants: *intolerabilis*, but *imo* (for *immo*).
- (12) *x* for *xs*: *exurgens*.

3. Syntax

Some common peculiarities are the following:

A. Nouns:

- (1) Carelessness in case construction appears in many forms:
in eo loco renitur;
milia passos;
in fastigia nidificant;
clamabat populus viro ac mulierum;
idus Maias accepit (time when).
- (2) Nominative Absolute; Accusative Absolute:
omnia genera tormentorum adhibita;
quem peremptum.
- (3) Ablative of Extent of Time is vastly more common than in classical Latin:
tribus diebus equum sibi commodaret.
- (4) Dative of Place-to-which is common: *ripae relati sunt*.

B. Pronouns:

Vague lack of agreement: *his diebus quod*.

C. Adjectives and Adverbs:

- (1) Carelessness in agreement: *quam dixi ingens*.
- (2) Adverbs used as adjectives: *de foris parvitati*.
- (3) Vagaries in comparison: *quam citius* for *quam citissime*.

D. Prepositions :

Increasing freedom in their use, e.g. :

de or *ex* with Abl. : instead of a modifying Gen. : *vultum de Luca*;

ex for *de* : *ex his omnibus percontatus*;

super : much wider use : *misericordia super eum*;

penes : *poenes laquear* = *ad laquear*;

foris : *foris criptam*;

circiter with Acc. becomes common : *circiter illud tempus*;

contra for *ad* : *contra eum perrexit* (= *dixit*) ;

double prepositions, or preposition and adverb or conjunction : *de contra* ; *extunc*.

E. Verbs :

(1) Impersonal use extended : *venitur* ; *effoditur*.

(2) Frequent use of *fore* for *esse*.

(3) Infinitive :

(a) with new verbs :

traversare habebamus (for *nobis traversandum erat*) ;

fecit poni (result) ;

(b) with *quia* : *ferebatur quia Honoria Attilam invitasse* ;

(c) of purpose : *vade igitur probare omnes* ;

(d) with the relative pronoun : *digna persona est quae tenere regnum*.

(4) Participles :

(a) present participle for indicative : *inquiens* for *inquit* ;

(b) substantive use : *praepositus loci* ;

(c) used for finite forms in the past with *habere* and in the present with *esse* : *causas pauperum exosas habebat* ; *est pollens* ;

(d) gerund in Ablative for present participle : *ita dicendo perrexit* ;

(e) used with various forms of *esse* to make compound tense-forms : *praeceptum fuerat*.

(5) Subjunctive :

(a) with *dum* : *dum hortaretur* ;

(b) with *postquam*, *quamquam*, etc. : *postquam bibit ac poculum redderet* ;

(c) in *quod*-clauses : *accidit quod ante eum staret* ;

- (d) frequent violation of the sequence of tenses: *habebamus, ut possimus*;
- (e) with *iubeo*: *opperiar iubes*.
- (6) Indicative :
 - (a) common in indirect questions: *quid de eo viderat retulit*;
 - (b) result: *tam ausus fuisti quod nominasti*;
nimis pulchra ita quod eius pulchritudo omnes excellebat;
 - (c) restrictive: *numquam illum nequam vidimus, quod scimus*.
 - (d) causal with *dum*: *dum non intellegebat*;
 - (e) frequent use of the pluperfect tense instead of the perfect: *quantum . . . noscent extenderant*.
- (7) Indirect Discourse is introduced commonly by *quod*, *quia* or *quoniam*, and either indicative or subjunctive may be used :
 - scio quod non moriar*;
 - videns Darius quia multi cecidere*;
 - audivimus quia pugnare vis*;
 - ferunt quidam quod ista flumina evacuentur*;
 - confido quoniam hoc fieri permisit Deus*;
- also by *ut*:
clamor factus est communis, ut filiam vestram in uxorem habebit.

F. Sentence Form :

The periodic form often entirely disappears, and a most simple arrangement frequently appears, in the English order of words; and short sentences are much in favor, especially in narrative.

4. Metric

The great poetry of the classical Roman period was quantitative, modeled on the versification of Greece. Throughout the centuries scholars imitated, often with consummate skill, this highly artistic product.

But before quantitative verse developed at Rome there was the native accentual poetry, and traces of it can be noted from time to time, from early Republican days down to late Imperial times. Carefully studied rhyme is a feature of the best Augustan elegiacs.

With the breakdown of the classical literature came also a relapse into accentual forms of verse, and before many centuries had passed, the hymns of the church, as well as less studied poetry, had regularly become accentual, with a remarkable development of all sorts of rhymes, culminating in the wonderful product of Bernard of Cluny. Iambic and Trochaic forms prevail, with a constant sprinkling of other varieties, and new combinations were constantly being tried, often with striking success. The mediaeval sequences especially brought out a strange new sort of verse, a kind of rhythmic prose, which may perhaps be considered a forerunner of the "free verse" of the present age. Thus an astounding variety of types, classical and non-classical, runs side by side throughout the whole period of mediaeval Latin.

Mediaeval Latin

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