GREEK LOAN-WORDS IN THE VULGATE NEW TESTAMENT AND THE LATIN APOSTOLIC FATHERS

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Early Latin Christian documents translated from Greek (e.g., Latin translations of the Greek New Testament) contain a large number of Greek loan-words. This article attempts to collect and catalogue the Greek loan-words found in the Vulgate New Testament and the early Latin versions of the Apostolic Fathers. In this literature I have identified some 420 loan-words. The purpose of this article is to systematically categorize, analyze, and comment on these loan-words. In the main section of the article the loan-words are divided into discrete content groups based on their origin and/or meaning. These groups include: (1.) words that originated in Hebrew or Aramaic Vorlagen and that were then transliterated into Greek and then Latin; (2.) words with biblical or ecclesiological orientation that are found exclusively or predominantly in early Christian Latin writings; (3.) words that fall into distinct categories of items, persons or places (e.g., "animals," "items of clothing," "gems and minerals," "human occupations"); and (4.) words of a general character that do not fit in any of the above categories. In this section of the article are listed, for each loan-word: first, the Latin word; second, the Greek Vorlage; third, the meaning(s) of the Latin word; and fourth, one example of a passage in the Vulgate New Testament or the Latin Apostolic Fathers in which the Latin word may be found. Loan-words with special characteristics (e.g., Latin hapax legomena) are commented on individually.

Anyone who reads in early Latin Christian translation literature (e.g., Latin translations of the Greek New Testament) soon becomes aware that this literature contains a large number of Greek loan-words.[1] The main difficulty in undertaking

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[1] For discussion of Greek loan-words in Latin texts, see: F. O. Weise, *Die griechischen Wörter im Latein* (Leipzig, 1882); L. Deroy, *L'emprunt linguistique* 2nd ed. (Paris, 1980), esp. 31–35; J. Marouzeau, *Quelques aspects de la formation du latin littéraire* (Paris, 1949), esp. 125–41; C. Mohrmann, "Les emprunts grecs dans la latinité chrétienne," *Vigiliae Christianae* 4 (1950): 193–211; eadem, *Études sur le latin des chrétiens*, 4 vols., Storia e letteratura 65, 87, 103, 143 (Rome, 1961–77); L. R. Palmer, *The Latin Language* (London, 1954) (esp. 184–86); P. Burton, *The Old Latin Gospels: A Study of their Texts and Language* (Oxford, 2000), 137–48; F. Biville, "Grec et Latin: Contacts linguistiques et création lexicale; Pour un typologie des hellenismes lexicaux du latin," in M. Lavency and D. Longrée, eds., *Actes du Ve Colloque de Linguistique latine* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1989), 29–40; J. Schrijnen, *Charakteristik des altchristlichen Latein* (Nijmegen, 1932); and H. Gäbel and C. Weise, "Zur Latinisierung griechischer Wörter," *Archiv für lateinische Lexicographie und Grammatik* 8 (1893): 339–68.

systematic study of these loan-words is that they are scattered throughout the literature and are sometimes difficult to recognize.

There are, however, two important reference works that facilitate study in this area. Both are concordances of bodies of early Christian Greek literature. Alfred Schmoller's *Handkonkordanz zum griechischen Neuen Testament* documents the Greek New Testament, while Heinrich Kraft's *Clavis Patrum Apostolicorum* is a Greek concordance of the so-called "Apostolic Fathers" (*1/2 Clement*, Ignatius, *Barnabas, Didache, Shepherd* of Hermas, and Polycarp).[2] Both concordances feature, after each Greek word, a listing of all of the Latin words that are used to translate that Greek word in Latin translations of the relevant writings (Schmoller's concordance lists Latin words found in the Vulgate translation). These data facilitate the identification of the Greek loan-words in these bodies of Latin literature (viz., in the Vulgate New Testament and the early Latin translations of the Apostolic Fathers).

In order to make this study as comprehensive as possible, I have also included a number of loan-words found in "Old Latin" ("Vetus Latina") versions of the New Testament gospels. These are drawn from Philip Burton's landmark study of the Old Latin gospels, *The Old Latin Gospels: A Study of Their Texts and Language*.[3] In chapter 12, Burton presents a study of the Greek loan-words in this corpus, which he reckons to number about two hundred. Although Burton does not list all of the Greek loan-words in the corpus, he surveys enough to augment our own listing, compiled from the two concordances listed above, by about 25 words.

Together, these collected Greek corpora represent an extremely large body of literature: the Greek New Testament and the Greek Apostolic Fathers together comprise some 204,000 total words. Thus a survey of the Latin translations of these works, together with the aforementioned material from the Old Latin gospels, yields a large sample of the Greek loan-words that may be found in early Latin Christian translation literature.

I have identified some 420 different Greek loan-words in these Latin corpora. For the most part I have attempted to avoid Greek and Latin words that are similar because they (presumably) go back to common proto-Indo-European roots (e.g., φέρω / fero; τρεῖς / tres; ἀστήρ / astrum). Thus I have focused on Latin words that truly are borrowed from Greek prototypes.[4]

The present article represents an attempt to systematically categorize, analyze, and comment on these 420 loan-words. In the main section of the article the

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[2]   Alfred Schmoller and Beate von Tschischwitz, eds., *Handkonkordanz zum griechischen Neuen Testament* (Stuttgart, 2014); Heinrich Kraft, ed., *Clavis Patrum Apostolicorum* (Darmstadt, 1963, 1998).

[3]   See note 1.

[4]   For the sake of completeness, I have included some Latin words that could be considered "borderline" cases in this regard, e.g., hiems < χειμών (Matt. 24:20 et al.).

loan-words are divided into discrete content groups based on their origin and/or meaning. These groups include: (1.) words that originated in Hebrew or Aramaic *Vorlagen* and that were then transliterated into Greek and then Latin; (2.) words with biblical or ecclesiological orientation that are found exclusively or predominantly in early Christian Latin writings; (3.) words that fall into distinct categories of items, persons or places (e.g., "animals," "items of clothing," "gems and minerals," "human occupations"); and (4.) words of a general character that do not fit in any of the above categories. In this main section of the article are listed, for each loan-word: first, the Latin word; second, the Greek *Vorlage*; third, the meaning(s) of the Latin word; and fourth, one example of a passage in early Latin Christian translation literature in which the Latin word may be found (in general, the passage cited is the first in the Vulgate New Testament canonical order that has the word). Loan-words with special characteristics (e.g., Latin hapax legomena) are commented on individually. "VL" indicates a reading in the "Vetus Latina," or "Old Latin" (pre-Vulgate) Bible translations. "Vulg. hapax" indicates a Latin lexeme that occurs only once in the text of the Vulgate (these are normally attested also in other, non-Vulgate contexts).

Several methodological issues arise concerning the choice of words to be included in this survey. First, the Greek New Testament and the Greek Apostolic Fathers contain a number of words that are actually *Latin* loan-words (e.g., denarius < δηνάριον [Matt. 18:28 et al.]). The original Latin word then normally reappears in Latin translations. Although these "retranslated" Latin words are technically not "Greek loan-words," I have included them for the sake of completeness.[5]

Second, in several cases, Latin translation documents contain Greek loan-words whose direct Greek translational antecedent, or "Vorlage," is actually a *different* Greek word from the Greek word reflected in the Latin lexeme (e.g., amphora < κεράμιον [Vulg. Luke 22:10]). Again, for the sake of completeness, these words are included.

Third, in some cases, Latin translation texts contain Greek-oriented lexemes (usually adjectives or verbs) that could technically be considered *derivatives* of more "genuine" Greek loan-words (usually nouns) (e.g., "diabolicus" from "diabolus"). Once again, for the sake of completeness, these are included.

The final section of the article surveys orthographic issues posed by the loanwords.

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[5] Latin loan-words found in the Greek New Testament and the Greek Apostolic Fathers include: δεπόσιτα (Ign. *Poly.* 6:2); δηνάριον (Matt. 18:28 et al.); ἐξεμπλάριον (Ign. *Eph.* 2:1 et al.); κῆνσος (Matt. 22:19 et al.); κοδράντης (Mark 12:42 et al.); κολωνία (Acts 16:12); λεγιών (Matt. 26:53 et al.); μάκελλον (1 Cor. 10:25); πραιτώριον (Matt. 27:27 et al.); σικάριος (Acts 21:38); σουδάριον (Luke 19:20 et al.); σπεκουλάτωρ (Mark 6:27); στατίων (Herm. 54:1–2); τίτλος (John 19:19–20); φραγέλλιον (John 2:15); and φραγελλόω (Matt. 27:26 et al.).

It is not the main intent of this article to discuss the motivations behind the introduction of Greek loan-words in this literature or the various procedural issues that underlie the borrowing of words between Greek and Latin in early Latin Christianity.[6] There are, however, several main points that may be made.

A first issue is the distribution of *types* of loan-words. In the literature that we have surveyed, a clear distinction may be drawn between loan-words that are biblical or theological in orientation (our sections 1. and 2.) and loan-words of a more general, "secular" nature (sections 3. and 4.). The biblical/theological words comprise about 25% of our total (109 words); the "secular" words about 75% (308 words).

Of the "secular" words, most are technical terms, i.e., nouns that designate various types of animals, plants, cloth/clothing, minerals, human professions, etc. (our section 3.; 218 words). The "secular" words include only a small number of verbs, adjectives, and interjections (cf. section 4.). Notably, of our overall total of 420 loan-words, only 34 are verbs.

A second issue concerns the *origins* of the loan-words. Virtually all of the biblical/theological loan-words in our survey are transliterations of words found in the Greek New Testament. Most of the "secular" loan-words, on the other hand, are well known in the Latin secular vocabulary, and most are attested long before the first translations of the New Testament into Latin. This sufficiently explains their appearance in early Latin Christian translation literature.

Third, it seems likely that many of the biblical/theological loan-words in our survey entered the Christian vocabulary at an early stage, in an oral context, before they appeared in Latin translations of the New Testament.

Finally, we should address briefly the main motivations behind the adoption of biblical/theological Greek loan-words in our literature. The most cogent explanation for this phenomenon is that of religious conservatism. For early Latin-speaking Christians, many of whom were bilingual, the Greek New Testament was itself considered a sacrosanct document, and it was probably deemed important to preserve as much of that sanctity as possible in the new, Latin linguistic context. The adoption of Greek loan-words to express important religious concepts and practices seemed a logical means to preserve some of this sanctity, if

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[6] The acknowledged master in this field is the renowned Dutch Latinist Christine Mohrmann. Her article, "Les emprunts grecs dans la latinité chrétienne" (see n. 1 above) is seminal in this field. Likewise, vol. 3 of her collected essays (*Études sur le latin des chrétiens*, Storia e letteratura 103 [Rome, 1965]) contains a wealth of relevant information (consult the subject index). Another important source is Matti A. Sainio's *Semasiologische Untersuchungen: Über die Entstehung der christlichen Latinität* (Helsinki, 1940), which features extended analyses of many of the lexemes featured in this article (see the following notes). Other relevant reference works include Walter Matzkow, *De vocabulis quibusdam Italae et Vulgatae Christianis: Quaestiones lexicographae* (Berlin, 1933); and Hermann Rönsch, *Itala und Vulgata: Das Sprachidiom der urchristlichen Itala und der catholischen Vulgata* (Marburg, 1875).

only on a linguistic level. This was normally the case even if the Latin language already possessed a perfectly adequate native word for expressing the concept or practice (e.g., "intinctio" or "lavacrum" for "baptisma").[7] Thus, as Christine Mohrmann has noted, "One sees how, under the inspiration of Greek examples, an entire Latin technical vocabulary has been formed."[8]

1. LOAN-WORDS ORIGINATING IN SEMITIC LANGUAGE CONTEXTS

A number of the Greek loan-words found in early Latin Christian translation literature, especially in Latin translations of the New Testament, originated as Hebrew or Aramaic words that were then transliterated into Greek and then Latin. On the whole these words are attested only in Christian writers. They include the following:

abba < ἀββά ("father" [Aramaic]; Mark 14:36)

alleluia < ἀλληλουϊά ("halleluia" [Hebrew]; Rev. 19:1)

amen < ἀμήν ("amen; truly" [Hebrew]; Matt. 5:18)[9]

corban < κορβᾶν ("dedicated" [Hebrew]; Mark 7:11). Vulg. hapax. Attested elsewhere only in Cyprian, *Eleem.* 15 and Cassiodorus, *Ios. C. Ap.* 1,167.

corbanan < κορβανᾶς ("temple treasury" [Hebrew]; Matt. 27:6). Vulg. hapax. Attested elsewhere only in Jerome, *In Eph.* 6,4; idem, *Tract. Ps.* 1; Rufinus, *Hist.* 2,6,6; Eucherius, *Instr.* 2; and Hilary, *In Math.* 32,6.

corbona < κορβανᾶς ("temple treasury" [Hebrew]; Matt. 27:6 [VL]) (See under "corbanan")

eli < ἠλί ("my god" [Hebrew]; Matt. 27:46)

eloi < ἐλωΐ ("my god" [Aramaic]; Mark 15:34). Latin hapax.

ephphetha < ἐφφαθά ("be opened" [Aramaic]; Mark 7:34)

gehenna < γέεννα ("gehenna" [Hebrew]; Matt. 5:22)[10]

hosanna < ὡσαννά ("hosanna!" [Aramaic]; Matt. 21:9)[11]

lamma < λαμά / λεμά ("why?" [Aramaic]; Matt. 27:46)

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[7] Interestingly, as Philip Burton notes (*Gospels*, 147), the earliest Latin translations of the New Testament do sometimes translate Greek technical terms with native Latin equivalents, only to have these supplanted by Greek loan-words in later translations. See also R. G. G. Coleman, "The Formation of Specialized Vocabularies in Philosophy, Grammar, and Rhetoric: Winners and Losers," in *Actes du V* Colloque de Linguistique latine*, ed. and trans. M. Lavency and D. Longrée, (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1989), 77–89, here 78–79.

[8] See Mohrmann, *Études*, 3.141.

[9] See Rönsch, *Itala*, 257.

[10] See Mohrmann, *Études* 1.47, 156; 3.60, 144, 201; 4.22; Rönsch, *Itala*, 256.

[11] See Rönsch, *Itala*, 257.

levita < λευίτης ("Levite" [Hebrew]; Luke 10:32)[12]

mammona < μαμωνᾶς ("money"; "property" [Hebrew]; Matt. 6:24)

manna < μάννα ("manna" [Hebrew]; Rev. 2:17)

maran atha / marana tha < μαράνα θά ("Lord, come!" [Aramaic]); 1 Cor. 16:22). Vulg. hapax.

rabbi < ῥαββί ("rabbi," "teacher" [Aramaic]; Matt. 23;7)

rabboni < ῥαββουνί ("rabbi, teacher" [Aramaic]; Mark 10:51). Attested elsewhere only in Vulg. John 20:16.

sabacthani < σαβαχθάνι ("you have forsaken me" [Aramaic]; Matt. 27:46). Also in Vulg. Mark 15:34.

sabbaoth < Σαβαώθ ("[Lord] almighty" [Hebrew]; James 5:4). Attested elsewhere only in Vulg. Jer. 11:20; Rom. 9:29; Tertullian, *Adv. Iud.* 13; and Augustine, *Cons. evang.* 1.29.45.

sabbatismus < σαββατισμός ("a sabbath's day rest"; Heb 4:9). Vulg. hapax. Attested elsewhere only in Augustine, De *civ. D.* 20.7; 22.30.5; Jerome, *In Isa.* 16.58.13; and idem, *In Gal.* 2.4.10.[13]

sabbatizare < σαββατίζω ("to observe the sabbath"; Ign. *Magn.* 9:1)[14]

sabbatum < σάββατον ("the sabbath" [Hebrew]; Matt. 12:1)[15]

2. Loan-words with Biblical or Ecclesiological Orientation that Are Found Exclusively or Predominantly in Early Christian Latin Writings

A second category of loan-words comprises Latin words derived from Greek words with biblical or ecclesiological orientation. Most of these Latin words appear for the first time in Latin translations of the New Testament, and all are found exclusively or predominantly in early Christian writers. These include the following:

anastasis < ἀνάστασις ("resurrection"; Mark 12:23 [VL MS k only]) (Other VL MSS and Vulg.: resurrectio). Lacking in Vulg.[16]

anathema < ἀνάθεμα ("cursed"; Rom. 9:3)[17]

anathematizare < ἀναθεματίζω ("to curse," "bind by a vow"; Mark 14:71)[18]

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[12] See Mohrmann, *Études* 1.47; 3.104; 4.23.

[13] See Rönsch, *Itala*, 245.

[14] See Rönsch, *Itala*, 249.

[15] See Mohrmann, *Études* 2.238; 3.16.

[16] See Burton, *Gospels*, 145; Mohrmann, *Études* 3.52.

[17] See Mohrmann, *Études* 2.238; 3.130; Sainio, *Untersuchungen*, 54–55.

[18] See Mohrmann, *Études* 1.42, 43, 62; 3.130; Sainio, *Untersuchungen*, 54–55; Rönsch, *Itala*, 248; Burton, *Gospels*, appendix 1.

angelicus < ἀγγελικός ("angelic"; Ign. *Trall*. 5:2). Vulg. hapax (Judg. 13:6).[19]

angelus < ἄγγελος ("angel"; Matt. 25:41)[20]

antichristus < ἀντίχριστος ("antichrist"; 1 John 2:18)

apocalypsis < ἀποκάλυψις ("revelation"; 1 Cor. 14:26)[21]

apostolatus < ἀποστολή ("apostolate"; Acts 1:25)[22]

apostolicus < ἀποστολικός ("apostolic"; Ign. *Trall*. Pref.). Lacking in Vulg.[23]

apostolus < ἀπόστολος ("apostle"; Matt. 10:2)[24]

archangelus < ἀρχάγγελος ("archangel"; 1 Thess. 4:15)

archisynagogus < ἀρχισυνάγωγος ("president of a synagogue"; Mark 5:22)

azymus < ἄζυμος ("unleavened"; Luke 22:1)

baptidiator < βαπτιστής ("baptist"; Matt. 3:1 [VL MS k only])

baptisma < βάπτισμα ("baptism"; Mark 7:4)[25]

baptismus < βαπτισμός ("baptism"; Matt. 3:7)[26]

baptista < βαπτιστής ("baptist"; Matt. 3:1)[27]

baptizare < βαπτίζω ("to baptize"; Matt. 3:6)[28]

baptiziatio < βαπτισμός ("baptism"; Mark 10:38 [VL MS k only])

blasphemare < βλασφημέω ("to slander, insult"; Matt. 9:3)[29]

blasphemia < βλασφημία ("blasphemy"; Matt. 26:65)[30]

blasphemus < βλάσφημος ("blasphemer"; 1 Tim. 1:13)[31]

catechizare < κατηχέω ("to instruct"; Gal. 6:6bis)[32]

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[19] See Mohrmann, *Études* 3.49, 60–61; 4.18.

[20] See Mohrmann, *Études*, passim; Sainio, *Untersuchungen*, 55–56.

[21] See Mohrmann, *Études* 1.11; 3.52, 60; 4.20; Matzkow, *Vocabulis*, 12–18.

[22] See Mohrmann, *Études* 1.43, 62; 2.238; 4.20.

[23] See Mohrmann, *Études* 1.44; 2.238; 3.60, 64; 4.20.

[24] See Mohrmann, *Études*, passim; Sainio, *Untersuchungen*, 56.

[25] See Mohrmann, *Études*, passim; Sainio, *Untersuchungen*, 25–32; Matzkow, *Vocabulis*, 33–35.

[26] See Mohrmann, *Études* 4.334; Sainio, *Untersuchungen*, 25–32; Rönsch, *Itala*, 270; Matzkow, *Vocabulis*, 33–35.

[27] See Mohrmann, *Études* 1.44; 2.27, 238; 3.113; 4.20; Sainio, *Untersuchungen*, 57–58; Matzkow, *Vocabulis*, 33–35.

[28] See Mohrmann, *Études*, passim; Sainio, *Untersuchungen*, 25–32; Matzkow, *Vocabulis*, 33–35.

[29] See Mohrmann, *Études* 1.42, 44, 62; 3.60, 113.

[30] See Mohrmann, *Études* 3.60, 101, 113.

[31] See Mohrmann, *Études* 3.113.

[32] See Rönsch, *Itala*, 248; Sainio, *Untersuchungen*, 32–35.

Christianus < Χριστιανός ("Christian"; Acts 11:26)

Christianismus < Χριστιανισμός ("Christianity"; Ign. *Magn.* 10:1). Lacking in Vulg.

christifer < χριστοφόρος ("Christ-bearing"; Ign. *Eph.* 9:2). Lacking in Vulg. Attested elsewhere only in Augustine, *Serm.* 150.2.

daemon < δαίμων ("demon, evil spirit"; Matt. 8:31)

daemonium < δαιμόνιον ("demon," "a god"; Matt. 4:24)[33]

daemoniacus < δαιμονικός ("demoniac"; Ign. *Smyrn.* 2:1). Lacking in Vulg.

diabolicus < διαβολή ("demonic"; James 3:15)[34]

diabolus < διάβολος ("the devil"; Matt. 4:1)[35]

diaconus < διάκονος ("servant," "minister," "deacon"; Phil. 1:1)[36]

ecclesia < ἐκκλησία ("assembly," "church"; Matt. 18:17)[37]

eleemosyna < ἐλεημοσύνη ("alms"; Matt. 6:2)[38]

encaenia < ἐγκαίνια ("Jewish feast of dedication/Hannukah"; John 10:22). Vulg. hapax.

episcopatus < ἐπισκοπή ("episcopate"; Acts 1:20)[39]

episcopus < ἐπίσκοπος ("overseer," "bishop"; Phil. 1:1)[40]

ethnicus < ἐθνικός ("pagan," "gentile"; Matt. 5:47)[41]

evangelista < εὐαγγελιστής ("evangelist"; Acts 21:8)[42]

evangelium < εὐαγγέλιον ("good news," "gospel"; Matt. 4:23)[43]

evangelizare < εὐαγγελίζω ("to evangelize"; Luke 2:10)[44]

gazophylacium < γαζοφυλακεῖον ("temple treasury"; Mark 12:41)

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[33] See Mohrmann, *Études* 4.336.

[34] See Mohrmann, *Études* 3.60–61.

[35] See Mohrmann, *Études* 1.47; 2.238; 3.51, 60–61, 132, 205–6; 4.20, 23; Rönsch, *Itala*, 465.

[36] See Mohrmann, *Études*, passim; Sainio, *Untersuchungen*, 38–45; Rönsch, *Itala*, 262.

[37] See Mohrmann, *Études*, passim; Sainio, *Untersuchungen*, 40–42; Rönsch, *Itala*, 329.

[38] See Mohrmann, *Études* 1.117; 3.61, 130, 140; 4.337; Sainio, *Untersuchungen*, 58; Burton, *Gospels*, 146.

[39] See Mohrmann, *Études* 1.43, 62; 2.17; 3.104, 121, 205; 4.20, 334.

[40] See Mohrmann, *Études*, passim; Sainio, *Untersuchungen*, 58–59.

[41] See Mohrmann, *Études* 1.26; 2.238, 335; 3.113; 4.20; Sainio, *Untersuchungen*, 42–46.

[42] See Mohrmann, *Études* 2.17, 238; 3.60–61; Matzkow, *Vocabulis*, 26–29.

[43] See Mohrmann, *Études*, passim; Sainio, *Untersuchungen*, 46–49; Matzkow, *Vocabulis*, 26–29.

[44] See Mohrmann, *Études* 2.17; 3.60–61, 104, 131; Sainio, *Untersuchungen*, 46–49; Rönsch, *Itala*, 248; Matzkow, *Vocabulis*, 26–29.

haereticus < αἱρετικός ("heretical"; Titus 3:10). Vulg. hapax.[45]

holocaustoma < ὁλοκαύτωμα ("whole burnt offering"; Mark 12:33 [VL])[46]

holocautoma < ὁλοκαύτωμα ("whole burnt offering"; Mark 12:33)[47]

hymnus < ὕμνος ("hymn"; Matt. 26:30)[48]

hypocrisis < ὑπόκρισις ("hypocrisy"; Matt. 23:28)[49]

hypocrita < ὑποκριτής ("hypocrite"; Matt. 6:2)

idolium < εἰδωλεῖον ("idol's temple"; 1 Cor. 8:10). Vulg. hapax.

idololatres < εἰδωλολάτρης ("idolator"; 1 Cor. 10:7 [VL]). Lacking in Vulg.

idololatria < εἰδωλολατρεία ("idolatry"; *Barn.* 16:7)[50]

idolothytum < εἰδωλόθυτον ("offering to idols"; 1 Cor. 8:10)

idolum < εἴδωλον ("idol," "image"; Acts 21:25)

iudaizare < ἰουδαΐζω ("to 'Judaize'"; Gal. 2:14). Vulg. hapax.

laicus < λαϊκός ("of the laity"; *1 Clem.* 40:5). Vulg. hapax (1 Sam. 21:3).[51]

martyr < μάρτυς ("witness," "martyr"; Rev. 17:6). Vulg. hapax.[52]

martyrium < μαρτύριον ("testimony," "proof"; *1 Clem.* 43:2). Lacking in Vulg.[53]

martyrizare < μαρτυρέω ("to witness," "be martyred"; *1 Clem.* 5:4). Lacking in Vulg.

neomenia < νεομηνία ("new moon festival"; Col. 2:16)

neophytus < νεόφυτος ("recently converted"; 1 Tim. 3:6). Vulg. hapax.[54]

paracletus < παράκλητος ("helper," "comforter"; John 14:16)[55]

parasceve < παρασκευή ("day of preparation"; Matt. 27:62)[56]

pascha < πάσχα ("Passover" [Hebrew]; 1 Cor. 5:7)[57]

patriarcha < πατριάρχης ("patriarch"; Acts 7:8)

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[45] See Mohrmann, *Études* 2.238; 3.50–51, 60, 113, 121; 4.19; Sainio, *Untersuchungen*, 49–50.

[46] See Rönsch, *Itala*, 243.

[47] See Rönsch, *Itala*, 243.

[48] See Mohrmann, *Études* 1.160; Sainio, *Untersuchungen*, 60.

[49] See Burton, *Gospels*, 146 and table 3.11; Sainio, *Untersuchungen*, 108.

[50] See Mohrmann, *Études* 2.238.

[51] See Mohrmann, *Études* 1.117; 2.238; 3.102, 104, 131; Sainio, *Untersuchungen*, 50–51.

[52] See Mohrmann, *Études*, passim; Sainio, *Untersuchungen*, 60–61.

[53] See Mohrmann, *Études* 3.60, 99, 113, 338–39; 4.224–25.

[54] See Mohrmann, *Études* 1.117; 2.238; 3.131; 4.334; Sainio, *Untersuchungen*, 61–63.

[55] See Mohrmann, *Études* 2.238; 3.113; Sainio, *Untersuchungen*, 108.

[56] See Mohrmann, *Études* 2.238; Burton, *Gospels*, 144.

[57] See Mohrmann, *Études* 1.47, 205–7; 2.22, 117, 238; 3.51, 60, 201; 4.23.

pentecoste < πεντηκοστή ("Pentecost"; 1 Cor. 16:8)[58]

phylacterium < φυλακτήριον ("phylactery"; Matt. 23:5)

presbyter < πρεσβύτερος ("elder"; Acts 14:22)[59]

presbyterium < πρεσβυτέριον ("body of elders"; 1 Tim. 4:14). Vulg. hapax.[60]

prophetare < προφητεύω ("to prophesy"; Matt. 15:7)[61]

prophetatio < προφητεία ("inspired message"; 1 Cor. 12:10). Vulg. hapax.[62]

prophetia < προφητεία ("inspired message"; 1 Tim. 1:18)[63]

propheticus < προφητικός ("prophetic"; 2 Pet. 1:19). Vulg. hapax.[64]

prophetissa < προφῆτις ("female prophet"; Luke 2:36)[65]

prophetizare < προφητεύω ("to prophesy"; Matt. 26:68)

proselytus < προσήλυτος ("proselyte"; Matt. 23:15)[66]

psallere < ψάλλω ("to sing [praise]"; James 5:13)[67]

psalmus < ψαλμός ("psalm," "hymn"; Luke 20:42)[68]

pseudoapostolus < ψευδαπόστολοι ("false apostle"; 2 Cor. 11:13). Vulg.
    hapax.

pseudochristus < ψευδόχριστοι ("false Christ"; Matt. 24:24)

pseudopropheta < ψευδοπροφήτης ("false prophet"; Matt. 24:11)[69]

scandalizare < σκανδαλίζω ("to cause to sin"; Matt. 5:30)[70]

scandalum < σκάνδαλον ("stumbling block," "obstacle"; 1 John 2:10)[71]

scenopegia < σκηνοπηγία ("feast of tabernacles/Sukkot"; John 7:2)

schisma < σχίσμα ("division," "split"; John 9:16)[72]

synagoga < συναγωγή ("synagogue"; Matt. 12:9)[73]

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[58] See Sainio, *Untersuchungen*, 63.
[59] See Mohrmann, *Études*, passim; Sainio, *Untersuchungen*, 63–64.
[60] See Mohrmann, *Études* 3.122.
[61] See Mohrmann, *Études*, passim.
[62] See Mohrmann, *Études* 3.60–61.
[63] See Mohrmann, *Études* 2.238; 3.60–61, 104, 113.
[64] See Mohrmann, *Études* 3.52, 60–61, 113, 119.
[65] See Mohrmann, *Études* 3.60; Rönsch, *Itala*, 251.
[66] See Mohrmann, *Études* 3.131; 4.337, 351.
[67] See Sainio, *Untersuchungen*, 64.
[68] See Mohrmann, *Études* 3.131; Sainio, *Untersuchungen*, 64.
[69] See Mohrmann, *Études* 3.60.
[70] See Mohrmann, *Études* 1.42, 62; 2.17; 3.113.
[71] See Mohrmann, *Études* 2.17; 3.113.
[72] See Mohrmann, *Études* 3.121; Sainio, *Untersuchungen*, 51–52.
[73] See Mohrmann, *Études* 1.43; 3.205; 4.216.

3. Loan-words that Fall into Distinct Categories of Items, Persons, or Places

A majority of the Greek loan-words found in early Latin Christian translation literature are specific terms, usually nouns, that fall into distinct categories of items, persons, or places. These include the following:

A. *Animals, Names of*
  aspis < ἀσπίς ("asp," "viper"; Rev. 21:19)
  camelus < κάμηλος ("camel"; Matt. 3:4)
  cetus < κῆτος ("large sea creature"; Matt. 12:40)
  draco < δράκων ("dragon"; Rev. 12:7)
  leo < λέων ("lion"; 2 Tim. 4:17)
  leopardus < λεόπαρδος ("leopard"; Ign. *Rom.* 5:1). Lacking in Vulg.
  muraena < σμύραινα ("murena [a fish]"; *Barn.* 10:5). Lacking in Vulg.
  pardus < πάρδαλις ("panther"; Rev. 13:2)
  polypus < πολύπους ("polypus [aquatic animal]"; *Barn.* 10:5). Lacking in Vulg.
  pullus < πῶλος ("colt," "young donkey"; Matt. 21:2)
  scorpio < σκορπίος ("scorpion"; Luke 10:19)
  scorpius < σκορπίος ("scorpion"; Rev. 9:5)
  sepia < σηπία ("cuttle-fish"; *Barn.* 10:5). Lacking in Vulg.
  taurus < ταῦρος ("bull," "ox"; Matt. 22:4)

B. *Body Parts*
  basis < βάσις ("foot"; Acts 3:7)
  brachium < βραχίων ("arm"; John 12:38)
  coma < κομάω ("[to wear long] hair"; 1 Cor. 11:14)
  stomachus < στόμαχος ("stomach"; 1 Tim. 5:23)

C. *Cloth and Clothing*
  byssinus < βύσσινος ("made of fine linen"; Rev. 19:8)
  byssus < βύσσος ("fine linen"; Luke 16:19)
  carbasinus < καρπάσινος ("made of fine flax"; Herm. 9:4). Lacking in Vulg.
  chlamys < χλαμύς ("soldier's cloak"; Matt. 27:28)
  cilicium < σάκκος ("sackcloth"; Matt. 11:21)
  lineus < λινοῦς ("flaxen," "linen"; Herm. 9:4)

linteus < λινοῦς ("linen"; Herm. 9:4)

linum < λίνον ("linen," "wick"; Matt. 12:20)

mitra < μίτρα ("headband," "turban"; Herm. 23:1)

poderes < ποδήρης ("long robe"; Rev. 1:13)

sandalium < σανδάλιον ("sandal"; Mark 6:9)

semicinctium < σιμικίνθιον ("apron"; Acts 19:12). Vulg. hapax.

sericum < σηρικόν / σιρικόν ("silk cloth"; Rev. 18:12)

sindon < σινδών ("linen cloth"; Matt. 27:59)

stola < στολή ("robe"; Luke 20:46)

sudarium < σουδάριον ("handkerchief," "face cloth"; Luke 19:20). σουδάριον
    is a Latin loan-word.

zona < ζώνη ("belt," "money belt"; Matt. 3:4)

D. *Colors*

coccineus < κόκκινος ("scarlet," "red"; Matt. 27:28)

coccinus < κόκκινος ("scarlet," "red"; Rev. 17:4)

coccus < κόκκινος ("scarlet," "red"; Rev. 18:12)

phoenicium < φοινικοῦς ("purple"; *1 Clem.* 8:4). Lacking in Vulg.

purpureus < πορφυροῦς ("purple," "purple garment"; John 19:2)

E. *Containers for Solids and Liquids*

alabaster < ἀλάβαστρος ("ointment box"; Matt. 26:7)

amphora < κεράμιον ("vessel for liquids"; Luke 22:10)

ampulla < ἀλάβαστρον ("vessel for liquids"; Mark 14:3 [VL MSS c, d]) (Vulg.:
    alabastrum). Lacking in Vulg.

caccabus < χαλκίον ("copper bowl"; Mark 7:4 [VL MS a only]) (Other VL MSS
    and Vulg.: aeramentum). Lacking in Vulg.

cadus < κάδος ("large vessel for liquids"; Luke 16:6)

cophinus < κόφινος ("basket"; Matt. 14:20)

hydria < ὑδρία ("water jar"; John 2:7)

lagoena < κεράμιον ("vessel for liquids"; Mark 14:13)

modius < μόδιος ("basket," "bucket [8-quart]"; Mark 4:21)

phiala < φιάλη ("bowl," "saucer"; Rev. 5:8)

sporta < σπυρίς ("plaited basket"; Matt. 15:37)

F. Gems and Minerals

amethystus < ἀμέθυστος ("amethyst [gem]"; Rev. 21:20)

beryllus < βήρυλλος ("beryl [gem]"; Rev. 21:20)

calcedonius < χαλκηδών ("chalcedony," "agate"; Rev. 21:19)

chrysolithus < χρυσόλιθος ("chrysolite," "yellow topaz"; Rev. 21:20)

chrysoprasus < χρυσόπρασος ("chrysoprase," "green quartz"; Rev. 21:20)

hyacinthinus < ὑακίνθινος ("hyacinth-colored"; Rev. 9:17)

hyacinthus < ὑάκινθος ("hyacinth [gem]"; Rev. 21:20)

iaspis < ἴασπις ("jasper [gem]"; Rev. 4:3)

margarita < μαργαρίτης ("pearl"; Matt. 7:6)

marmor < μάρμαρος ("marble"; Rev. 18:12)

orichalcum < χαλκολίβανον ("burnished brass"; Rev. 1:15)

sapphirus < σάπφιρος ("sapphire"; Rev. 21:19)

sardinus < σάρδιον ("carnelian [gem]"; Rev. 4:3 [VL])

sardius < σάρδιον ("carnelian [gem]"; Rev. 21:20)

sardo < σάρδιον ("carnelian [gem]"; Rev. 4:3)

sardonyx < σαρδόνυξ ("sardonyx [gem]"; Rev. 21:20)

smaragdinus < σμαράγδινος ("made of emerald"; Rev. 4:3)

smaragdus < σμάραγδος ("emerald"; Rev. 21:19)

topazius < τοπάζιον ("topaz"; Rev. 21:20)

G. Implements/Instruments/Everyday Items

aratrum < ἄροτρον ("plow"; Luke 9:62)

caminus < κάμινος ("furnace"; Matt. 13:42)

cathedra < καθέδρα ("seat," "chair"; Matt. 21:12)

cervical < κερβικάριον ("cushion," "pillow"; Herm. 9:4)[74]

charta < χάρτης ("paper"; 2 John 1:12)[75]

chirographum < χειρόγραφον ("[written] record"; Col. 2:14)

chorda < χορδή ("rope," "cord"; Ign. *Eph.* 4:1)

clibanus < κλίβανος ("oven," furnace"; Matt. 6:30)

diadema < διάδημα ("diadem," "crown"; Rev. 12:3)[76]

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[74] See Mohrmann, *Études* 3.75.

[75] See Rönsch, *Itala*, 267.

[76] See Rönsch, *Itala*, 254.

discus < πίναξ ("plate," "platter"; Matt. 14:8)

epistola < ἐπιστολή ("letter," "epistle"; Acts 9:2)

grabatus < κράβαττος ("bed," "cot," "stretcher"; Mark 2:4)

lampas < λαμπάς ("lamp," "lantern," "torch"; Matt. 25:1)

linteum < λέντιον ("towel"; John 13:4)

machina < μηχανή ("machine"; Ign. *Eph.* 9:1)

mel < μέλι ("honey"; Rev. 10:9)

melota < μηλωτή ("sheepskin"; Heb. 11:37). Vulg. hapax.[77]

membrana < μεμβράνα ("parchment"; 2 Tim. 4:13)[78]

monolithus < μονόλιθος ("monolith"; Herm. [Pal.] Sim. 9.9.7 [86:7]). Lacking in Vulg.

organum < ὄργανον ("implement," instrument"; *2 Clem.* 18:2)

paropsis < παροψίς ("plate," "dish"; Matt. 23:25)[79]

pera < πήρα ("bag," "wallet"; Luke 10:4)

peripsema < περίψημα ("scum," "dirt"; 1 Cor. 4:13). Vulg. hapax.[80]

phantasma < φάντασμα ("ghost," "apparition"; Matt. 14:26)[81]

pharmacum < φάρμακον ("magic," "magic potion"; Ign. *Eph.* 20:2). Lacking in Vulg.

potus < ποτόν ("drinking," "a drink"; *Did.* 10:3)

rheda < ῥέδη ("four-wheeled carriage"; Rev. 18:13). Vulg. hapax.

rhomphaea < ῥομφαία ("sword"; Rev. 2:12)[82]

saccus < σάκκος ("sack," "sackcloth"; Rev. 6:12)

sceptrum < σκῆπτρον ("scepter"; *1 Clem.* 16:2)

spongia < σπόγγος ("sponge"; Matt. 27:48)

stigma < στίγμα ("mark," "scar," "brand"; Gal. 6:17)[83]

thesaurus < θησαυρός ("treasure," "store"; Matt. 2:11)[84]

thronus < θρόνος ("throne"; Col. 1:16)

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[77] See Rönsch, *Itala*, 243.
[78] See Rönsch, *Itala*, 272.
[79] See Rönsch, *Itala*, 244.
[80] See Rönsch, *Itala*, 462.
[81] See Rönsch, *Itala*, 244.
[82] See Rönsch, *Itala*, 215.
[83] See Rönsch, *Itala*, 259.
[84] See Rönsch, *Itala*, 271.

titulus < τίτλος ("notice," "inscription"; John 19:19–20). τίτλος is a Latin loan-word.[85]

H. *Measures, Units of*

batus < βάτος ("bath [a liquid measure]" [Hebrew]; Luke 16:6 [VL]) (Vulg.: cadus). Attested only in Christian writers.

corus < κόρος ("cor [a dry measure]" [Hebrew]; Luke 16:7). Attested only in Christian writers.

metreta < μετρητής ("a liquid measure"; John 2:6)

satum < σάτον ("saton [a dry measure]" [Aramaic]; Matt. 13:33). Attested elsewhere only in Vulg. Gen. 18:6; Luke 13:21; and Augustine, *Serm.* 111.1.

I. *Medical Terms*

antidotum < ἀντίδοτος ("antidote"; Ign. *Eph.* 20:2). Lacking in Vulg.

collyrium < κολλούριον or κολλύριον ("eye salve"; Rev. 3:18). Vulg. hapax.

dysenteria < δυσεντέριον ("dysentery"; Acts 28:8). Vulg. hapax.

emplastrum < ἔμπλαστρος ("a plaster [medical]"; Ign. *Poly.* 2:2). Lacking in Vulg.

hydropicus < ὑδρωπικός ("suffering from dropsy"; Luke 14:2). Vulg. hapax.

lepra < λέπρα ("leprosy," "skin disease"; Matt. 8:3)

leprosus < λεπρός ("leper"; Matt. 8:2). Late Latin. Attested almost entirely in Christian writers.

nardus < νάρδος ("oil of nard [aromatic plant]"; Mark 14:3)

paralyticus < παραλυτικός ("paralytic," "cripple"; Matt. 4:24)

J. *Monetary Units, Coins*

denarius < δηνάριον ("denarius [coin]"; Matt. 18:28). δηνάριον is a Latin loan-word.

didrachma < δίδραχμα ("two-drachma coin"; Matt. 17:23). Attested only in Christian writers.

drachma < δραχμή ("drachma [coin]"; Luke 15:8)

mna < μνᾶ ("mina [Greek coin]"; Luke 19:16)

numisma < νόμισμα ("coin," "money"; Matt. 22:19)[86]

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[85] See Mohrmann, *Études* 4.225, 230; Rönsch, *Itala*, 326.
[86] See Mohrmann, *Études* 3.190.

quadrans < κοδράντης ("quadrans [Roman coin]"); Mark 12:42). Attested elsewhere only in Vulg. Matt. 5:26; *Didache* 1:5; and Tertullian, *Orat.* 7. κοδράντης is a Latin loan-word.

stater < στατήρ ("four-drachma coin"; Matt. 17:26). Burton (*Gospels*, 142) terms this a "completely new secular loan-word."

talentum < τάλαντον (talent [coin]"; Matt. 25:24)

K. *Musical Terms*

cithara < κιθάρα ("harp"; 1 Cor. 14:7)

citharizare < κιθαρίζω ("to play the harp"; Rev. 14:2)

citharoedus < κιθαρῳδός ("harpist"; Rev. 18:22)

cymbalum < κύμβαλον ("cymbal"; 1 Cor. 13:1)

musicus < μουσικός ("musician"; Rev. 18:22)

symphonia < συμφωνία ("music"; Luke 15:25)

L. *Natural Phenomena*

chasma < χάσμα ("chasm," "pit"; Luke 16:26). Vulg. hapax.

crystallus < κρύσταλλος ("crystal," "ice"; Rev. 4:6)

dithalassus < διθάλασσος ("reef"; Acts 27:41). Vulg. hapax. Attested elsewhere only in Rufinus, *Epist. Clement.* 14 and *Corpus gloss. lat.* V 549,53; IV 489,5.

eremia < ἐρημία ("desert"; Mark 8:4 [VL MS a only). Lacking in Vulg. Attested elsewhere only in two other VL citations (Num. 20:4; Sap. 5:7) and in Athanasius, *Lucif. Epist.* 6. p. 324, 10.[87]

eremus < ἔρημος ("desert"; Matt. 3:3 [VL]) (Vulg.: desertum). Late Latin. Attested almost entirely in Christian writers.[88]

euroaquilo < εὐρακύλων ("the northeast wind"; Acts 27:14). Vulg. hapax. Attested elsewhere only in Cassiodorus, *Compl. in act.* 27,13 and *CIL* VIII 26652.

hiems < χειμών ("winter," "storm"; Matt. 24:20)[89]

iris < ἶρις ("rainbow," "vari-hued halo"; Rev. 4:3)

oceanus < ὠκεανός ("ocean"; *1 Clem.* 20:8). Lacking in Vulg.

pelagus < πέλαγος ("depths," "sea," "open sea"; Acts 27:5)[90]

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[87] See Burton, *Gospels*, 145.
[88] See Mohrmann, *Études* 2.238; 3.61; 4.337; Burton, *Gospels*, 145.
[89] See Rönsch, *Itala*, 107.
[90] See Mohrmann, *Études* 2.106; 3.129.

petra < πέτρα ("rock"; Matt. 7;24)[91]

petrosus < πετρώδης ("rocky ground"; Matt. 13:5)

pyra < πυρά ("fire"; Acts 28:2)

M. Nautical Terms

anc(h)ora < ἄγκυρα ("anchor"; Heb. 6:10)

artemon < ἀρτέμων ("foresail"; Acts 27:40). Vulg. hapax.

bolis < βολίζω ("leaden sounding device"; Acts 27:28 [VL]). Lacking in Vulg.

malacia < γαλήνη ("calm [of the sea]"; Matt. 8:26[VL MSS k, e]) (Other VL MSS and Vulg.: tranquillitas). Lacking in Vulg.

nauclerius < ναύκληρος ("ship-owner," "captain"; Acts 27:11). Vulg. hapax.

naufragare < ναυαγέω ("to be shipwrecked"; 1 Tim. 1:19). Vulg. hapax.[92]

naufragium < ναυαγέω ("shipwreck"; 2 Cor. 11:25). Vulg. hapax.

nauta < ναύτης ("sailor"; Rev. 18:17)

navis < ναῦς ("ship," "boat"; Acts 27:41)

prora < πρῴρα ("bow of a ship"; Acts 27:30)

sagena < σαγήνη ("fishing dragnet"; Matt. 13:47)

scapha < σκάφη ("light boat," "skiff"; Acts 27:16)

N. Persons, Types of

architectus < ἀρχιτέκτων ("master builder"; 1 Cor. 3:10)

architriclinus < ἀρχιτρίκλινος ("head steward"; John 2:8–9). Attested elsewhere only in Jerome, *In Isaiam* 11.22; Faustus Rhegiensis, *Serm.* 7; and Gaudentius, *Serm.* 9.

athleta < ἀθλητής ("athlete"; *1 Clem.* 5:1). Lacking in Vulg.

barbarus < βάρβαρος ("a non-Greek"; Acts 28:1)

basilicus < βασιλικός ("royal [official]"; John 4:46 [VL MSS a, c]) (Other VL MSS and Vulg.: regulus)

centurio < κεντυρίων ("centurion"; Mark 15:39)

chiliarcha < χιλίαρχος ("tribune"; *1 Clem.* 37:3). Lacking in Vulg. Attested elsewhere only in Augustine, *Quaest. Hept.* 4,1; Cornelius Nepos, *Con.* 3,2; a VL MS of Num. 31:54; Aldhelmus, *Laud. virg.* 51; and Ps-Rufinus, *Ios. Bell. Iud.* 5,19; 7,7.

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[91] See Mohrmann, *Études* 2.114.
[92] See Rönsch, *Itala*, 167.

clerus < κλῆρος ("underling"; 1 Pet. 5:3)[93]

custodia < κουστωδία ("a guard [of soldiers]"; Matt. 27:65)

eunuchus < εὐνοῦχος ("eunuch"; Matt. 19:12)

exorcista < ἐξορκιστής ("exorcist"; Acts 19:13). Vulg. hapax.

gubernator < κυβερνήτης ("captain," "navigator"; Acts 27:11)

idiota < ἰδιώτης ("unskilled person"; Acts 4:13)

magus < μάγος ("magician," "astrologer"; Matt. 2:1)

orphanus < ὀρφανός ("orphan"; John 14:18)

paedagogus < παιδαγωγός ("instructor," "teacher"; Gal. 3:24)

philosophus < φιλόσοφοι ("philosopher"; Acts 17:18). Vulg. hapax.

potator < οἰνοπότης ("drinker," "drunkard"; Matt. 11:19)

proditor < προδότης ("traitor," "betrayer"; Luke 6:16)

propheta < προφήτης ("prophet"; Luke 1:70)[94]

prophetes < προφῆτις ("female prophet"; Rev. 2:20)[95]

raca < ῥακά ("a fool" [Aramaic]; Matt. 5:22). Vulg. hapax.[96]

scenofactoria < σκηνοποιός ("tent-maker"; Acts 18:3). This seems to be a Latin hapax legomenon.[97]

sicarius < σικάριος ("terrorist," "assassin"; Acts 21:38). Vulg. hapax. σικάριος is a Latin

loan-word.

speculator < σπεκουλάτωρ ("specialist soldier"; Mark 6:27) σπεκουλάτωρ is a Latin loan-word.

tetrarcha < τετραάρχης ("tetrarch"; Matt. 14:1)

zelotes < ζηλωτής ("zealot"; Luke 6:15). Attested only in Christian writers.

O. *Place/Location Names*

apotheca < ἀποθήκη ("barn," "granary"; Herm. 43:15)

aula < αὐλή ("courtyard"; *Barn.* 2:5)[98]

gaza < γάζα ("treasury"; Acts 8:27). Attested elsewhere only in Prudentius, *Psych.* pr. 24 and Victor, *Aleth.* 3,451.

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[93] See Mohrmann, *Études* 1.62; 3.121, 130, 133; Sainio, *Untersuchungen*, 38.

[94] See Mohrmann, *Études*, passim.

[95] See Mohrmann, *Études* 3.113.

[96] See Rönsch, *Itala*, 257.

[97] See Rönsch, *Itala*, 133.

[98] See Mohrmann, *Études* 4.230.

lithostrotos < Λιθόστρωτον ("pavement"; John 19:13). Vulg. hapax.

macellum < μάκελλον ("meat market"; 1 Cor. 10:25). Vulg. hapax. μάκελλον is a Latin loan-word.

platea < πλατεῖα ("wide street"; Matt. 6:5)

praetorium < πραιτώριον ("official headquarters"; Matt. 27:27) πραιτώριον is a Latin loan-word.

schola < σχολή ("lecture hall"; Acts 19:9). Vulg. hapax.

stadium < στάδιον ("arena," "stadium"; Luke 24:13)

tartarus: detrahere in tartarum < ταρταρόω ("[to put in] hell"; 2 Pet. 2:4). Vulg. hapax.[99]

telonium < τελώνιον ("tax/revenue office"; Matt. 9:9) Attested only in Christian writers.

theatrum < θέατρον ("theater"; Acts 19:29)

P. *Plants, Plant Products, Herbs, Spices*

absinthium < ἀψίνθιον ("wormwood"; Rev. 8:11)

aloe < ἀλόη ("aloe/aromatic tree sap"; John 19:39)

amomum < ἄμωμον ("an aromatic shrub/balsam"; Rev. 18:13). Vulg. hapax.

anethum < ἄνηθον ("dill," "anise"; Matt. 23:23). Vulg. hapax.

aroma < ἄρωμα ("an aromatic spice"; Mark 16:1)

botrus < βότρυς ("cluster [of grapes]"; Rev. 14:18)

calamus < κάλαμος ("reed"; Mark 15:36)[100]

cedrus < κέδρος ("cedar," "juniper"; *1 Clem.* 14:5)

cinnamomum < κιννάμωμον ("cinnamon"; Rev. 18:13)

crocinus < κροκώδης ("saffron"; Herm. 61:5). Lacking in Vulg.

cyminum < κύμινον ("cumin"; Matt. 23:23)

hyssopus < ὕσσωπος ("hyssop [small bush]"; John 19:29)

malagma < μίγμα ("mixture [of herbs]"; John 19:39 [VL MS e only]) (Other VL MSS and Vulg.: mixtura). Vulg. hapax [Sap. 16:12].

morus < συκάμινος ("mulberry tree"; Luke 17:6). Vulg. hapax.

murra < σμύρνα ("myrrh [resinous gum]"; Matt. 2:11)

murratus < σμυρνίζω ("flavored with myrrh"; Mark 15:23). Vulg. hapax.

phoenix < φοίνιξ ("palm branch"; Herm. 68:1). Lacking in Vulg.

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[99] See Mohrmann, *Études* 1.156.
[100] See Mohrmann, *Études* 1.334.

sinapis < σίναπι ("mustard plant"; Matt. 13:31)

sycomorus < συκομορέα ("sycamore tree"; Luke 19:4)

thyinus < θύϊνος ("citron," "scented wood"; Rev. 18:12). Attested only in Vulg. (five times).

tribulus < τρίβολος ("briar," "thistle"; Matt. 7:16)

zizania < ζιζάνια ("weed"; Matt. 13:25). Burton (*Gospels*, 142) terms this a "completely new secular loan-word."[101]

4. Loan-words of a General Character that Do Not Fit in Any of the Above Categories

A fourth category of Greek loan-words found in early Latin Christian translation literature comprises words of a general character that do not fit in any of the above categories. I have divided these words into three groups: (A) adjectives, adverbs, and interjections; (B) nouns; and (C) verbs.

A. Adjectives, Adverbs, and Interjections

anthropomorphus < ἀνθρωπόμορφος ("human-formed"; Ign. *Smyrn.* 4:1). Lacking in Vulg. Attested elsewhere only in Cassian, *Conl.* 10,3,4; Augustine, *Ep.* 148, 13.14; and Gennadius, *Eccl. dogm.* 4.

austerus < αὐστηρός ("severe"; Luke 19:21)[102]

authenticus < αὐθεντικός ("authentic"; *2 Clem.* 14:3). Lacking in Vulg.

castus: digne castus < ἀξιάγαστος ("morally pure"; Ign. *Rom.* inscr.)[103]

catholicus < καθολικός ("universal"; Ign. *Smyrn.* 8:2). Lacking in Vulg.[104]

dolose < δολιόω ("deceitfully"; Rom. 3:13)

dolosus < δόλιος ("deceitful"; *1 Clem.* 15:5)

dyscolus < σκολιός ("dishonest," "irritable"; 1 Pet. 2:18)

electus < ἐκλεκτός ("chosen," "elect"; Matt. 20:16)

euge < εὖ ("well!," "well done!"; Matt. 25:21)

hilaris < ἱλαρός ("cheerful"; 2 Cor. 9:7)

perperam < περπερεύομαι ("incorrectly," "falsely"; 1 Cor. 13:4). Vulg. hapax.[105]

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101 See Mohrmann, *Études* 3.62.
102 See Rönsch, *Itala*, 224.
103 See Rönsch, *Itala*, 91.
104 See Mohrmann, *Études* 3.50–51, 60, 121; 4.20; Sainio, *Untersuchungen*, 35–36.
105 See Rönsch, *Itala*, 247.

pisticus < πιστικός ("pure," "genuine"; John 12:3). Vulg. hapax.[106]

sterilis < στεῖρα ("sterile"; Luke 1:7)[107]

ua < οὐά ("aha," "ha"; Matt. 27:40 [VL])

vae < οὐαί ("woe"; Matt. 11:21)

vah < οὐά ("aha," "ha"; Matt. 27:40)

B. *Nouns*

abyssus < ἄβυσσος ("abyss"; Luke 8:31)[108]

aenigma < αἴνιγμα ("obscure image"; 1 Cor. 13:12)

agonia < ἀγωνία ("agony," "distress"; Luke 22:43). Attested only in Christian writers.. Vulg. hapax.[109]

allegoria < ἀλληγορέω ("[to speak in] allegory"; Gal. 4:24). Vulg. hapax.

aporia < ἀπορία ("doubt," "confusion"; Luke 21:25 [VL MS d only]) (Other VL MSS and Vulg.: confusio). Vulg. hapax (Sir. 27:5).[110]

bravium < βραβεῖον ("prize"; 1 Cor. 9:24)[111]

canon < κανών ("rule"; *1 Clem.* 1:3). Lacking in Vulg.

census < κῆνσος ("census," "tax"; Matt. 22:19). κῆνσος is a Latin loan-word.

cera < κηρίον ("wax," "honeycomb"; *Barn.* 6:6)

character < χαρακτήρ ("exact likeness"; Rev. 13:16)

charisma < χάρισμα ("gift"; 1 Cor. 12:31). Vulg. hapax. Late Latin. Attested almost entirely in Christian writers.[112]

chirographum < χειρόγραφον ("record of debts"; Col. 2:14)

chorus < χορός ("a dance"; Luke 15:25)

colaphus: colaphis caedere < κολαφίζω ("a blow"; Matt. 26:67)

colonia < κολωνία ("colony"; Acts 16:12). κολωνία is a Latin loan-word.

comessatio < κῶμος ("orgy," "revelry"; Rom. 13:13)

crapula < κραιπάλη ("inebriation"; Luke 21:34)[113]

depositum < δεπόσιτα ("entrusted to one's care"; Ign. *Poly.* 6:2). δεπόσιτα is a Latin loan-word.

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[106] See Rönsch, *Itala*, 247.
[107] See Rönsch, *Itala*, 274.
[108] See Mohrmann, *Études* 1.45; 2.121; 3.61, 105, 144, 205–6, 208.
[109] See Rönsch, *Itala*, 235.
[110] See Mohrmann, *Études* 1.117; 3.132, 190.
[111] See Mohrmann, *Études* 3.105; Sainio, *Untersuchungen*, 108; Rönsch, *Itala*, 239.
[112] See Mohrmann, *Études* 1.117; 3.115–16, 130, 141; Sainio, *Untersuchungen*, 36–37.
[113] See Mohrmann, *Études* 3.410.

depositio < ἀπόθεσις ("a depositing"; 1 Pet. 3:21)[114]

dipsychia < διψυχία ("double-mindedness"; *2 Clem.* 19:2). Lacking in Vulg. Attested elsewhere only in Hermas *[Pal.] Mandate* 9, 10–11.

dogma < δόγμα ("rule," "regulation"; Acts 16:4)

dolus < δόλος ("deceit"; Mark 7:22)[115]

exemplar < τύπος ("exemplar," "model"; Heb. 8:5)

exemplarium < ἐξεμπλάριον ("exemplar," "model"; Ign. *Eph.* 2:1). ἐξεμπλάρ-ιον is a Latin loan-word.[116]

extasis < ἔκστασις ("amazement," "trance," "vision"; Acts 3:10). Vulg. hapax.

flagellum < φραγέλλιον ("a beating"; John 2:15). φραγέλλιον is a Latin loan-word.

genealogia < γενεαλογία ("genealogy"; Titus 3:9)

genimen < γένημα ("product," "harvest," "offspring"; Matt. 26:29)[117]

genitus < γεννητός ("a begetting"; *1 Clem.* 30:5)

gubernatio < κυβέρνησις ("management"; 1 Cor. 12:28). Vulg. hapax.

haeresis < αἵρεσις ("sect," "heresy"; Acts 5:17)[118]

hilaritas < ἱλαρότης ("cheerfulness"; Rom. 12:8)

homelia < ὁμιλία ("association," "sermon"; Ign. *Poly.* 5:1). Lacking in Vulg.[119]

iota < ἰῶτα ("iota" [Hebrew yod]; Matt. 5:18)

legio < λεγιών ("legion"; Matt. 26:53). λεγιών is a Latin loanword.

magia < μαγεία ("magic"; Acts 8:11 [VL])

magicus < μαγεία ("magic"; Acts 8:11)

moechatio < μοιχεία ("adultery"; John 8:3 [VL]) (Vulg.: adulterium). Lacking in Vulg.

mysterium < μυστήριον ("secret," "mystery"; Matt. 13:11)[120]

mythus < μῦθος ("myth," "story"; *2 Clem.* 13:3). Lacking in Vulg.

parabola < παραβολή ("parable," "proverb"; Matt. 13:3)[121]

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[114] See Rönsch, *Itala*, 312.

[115] See Rönsch, *Itala*, 312.

[116] See Rönsch, *Itala*, 36.

[117] See Rönsch, *Itala*, 215.

[118] See Mohrmann, *Études* 3.60, 121; Sainio, *Untersuchungen*, 48–49.

[119] See Sainio, *Untersuchungen*, 67–68.

[120] See Mohrmann, *Études* 1.62, 99, 243–45; 2.32, 102; 3.131, 189.

[121] See Mohrmann, *Études* 3.64; Burton, *Gospels*, 146 and table 3.13.

paradisus < παράδεισος ("paradise"; Luke 23:43). Attested only in Christian writers.[122]

philosophia < φιλοσοφία ("philosophy"; Col. 2:8). Vulg. hapax.[123]

plaga < πληγή ("blow," "beating"; Luke 10:30)[124]

potatio < πότος ("drinking party"; 1 Pet. 4:3). Vulg. hapax.

python < πύθων ("python/a spirit of divination"; Acts 16:16)

scopus < σκοπός ("goal"; *1 Clem.* 19:2)

sicera < σίκερα ("strong drink" [Hebrew]; Luke 1:15)[125]

statio < στατίων ("standing," "station"; Herm. 54:1–2). στατίων is a Latin loan-word.

strangulum < στράγγαλον ("a choking"; *Barn.* 3:3). Lacking in Vulg. This seems to be a Latin hapax legomenon.

syllaba < συλλαβή ("syllable"; Herm. 5:4). Lacking in Vulg.

terminus < τέρμα ("boundary"; *1 Clem.* 5:7)

thema < θέμα ("theme"; Ign. *Poly.* 2:3)

typus < τύπος ("pattern," "example," "model"; *Barn.* 6:11). Lacking in Vulg.

zelus < ζῆλος ("zeal," "jealousy"; John 2:17). Attested only in Christian writers.[126]

C. *Verbs*

acediari < ἀδημονέω ("to be distressed"; Mark 14:33 [VL MS a only]) (Vulg.: taedere) Vulg. bis [Sir. 6:26; 22:16]. Attested elsewhere only in *Corpus gloss. lat.* V 162,3; V 591,7 and *Psalterium Germ. 1* ps. 101,1.[127]

angariare < ἀγγαρεύω ("to force"; Matt. 5:41)[128]

cauteriare < καυστηριάζω ("to burn," "brand"; 1 Tim. 4:2). Vulg. hapax.[129]

colaphizare < κολαφίζω ("to beat," "harass"; 2 Cor. 12:7)

diffamare < διαφημίζω ("to spread around"; Matt. 9:31)[130]

domare < δαμάζω ("to subdue," "control"; James 3:8)

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122 See Mohrmann, *Études* 1.45, 117; 3.60, 113, 132, 190.
123 See Mohrmann, *Études* 2.206–7.
124 See Burton, *Gospels*, chap. 10.
125 See Rönsch, *Itala*, 257.
126 See Mohrmann, *Études* 3.105; Sainio, *Untersuchungen*, 108.
127 See Mohrmann, *Études* 1.117; 3.132.
128 See Mohrmann, *Études* 3.132; Rönsch, *Itala*, 248.
129 See Rönsch, *Itala*, 255.
130 See Rönsch, *Itala*, 190.

flagellare < φραγελλόω ("to flog"; Matt. 27:26). φραγελλόω is a Latin loan-word.

gubernare < διακυβερνάω ("to steer," "govern"; Herm. 69:3)

hiemare < παραχειμάζω ("to spend the winter"; Acts 27:12)

moechari < μοιχάομαι / μοιχεύω ("to commit adultery"; Matt. 5:32)

praemeletare < προμεριμνάω ("to worry in advance"; Mark 13:11 [VL MSS a, n]) (Vulg.: praecogitare). A Latin hapax legomenon.

prophetare < προφητεύω ("to prophesy"; Matt. 7:22)[131]

stipare < στιβάζω ("to compress," "to pack"; Herm. 43:15)

strangulare < στραγγαλόω ("to choke"; Ign. *Trall.* 5:1). Lacking in Vulg.

subsannare < ὀνειδίζω ("to deride," mock"; Mark 15:32 [VL MS k only]) (Other VL MSS and Vulg.: conviciari). Attested only in Christian writers.[132]

thesaurizare < θησαυρίζω ("to store up," "save"; James 5:3)

ululare < ὀλολύζω ("to wail," "mourn"; Matt. 2:18)

zelare < ζηλεύω / ζηλόω ("to be zealous," "jealous"; Acts 17:5)[133]

ORTHOGRAPHIC ISSUES IN THE LOAN-WORDS

In general the orthographic practices employed in forming the loan-words are fairly straightforward, usually following standard conventions. Greek η transposes to Latin e, κ to c, ξ to x, υ to y, φ to ph, χ to ch, and ψ to ps. Greek αι transposes to Latin ae; ει to i; and ου to u. Greek final –ον transposes to –um; final –ος to –us; final –η to a; and final –ης also to –a.

There are, however, a number of exceptions and unusual transliterations. Greek alpha sometimes transposes to Latin i (e.g., μηχανή > machina); beta to v (e.g., κερβικάριον > cervical); αι to a (e.g., κραιπάλη > crapula); epsilon to i (e.g., λέντιον > linteum); iota to e (e.g., ὁμιλία > homelia); kappa to g (e.g., κράβαττος > grabatus); οι to oe (e.g., φοίνιξ > phoenix); ου to o (e.g., βοῦς > bos); omicron to a (e.g., ἄροτρον > aratrum); omicron to u (e.g., νόμισμα > numisma); upsilon to o (e.g., ἄγκυρα > ancora); upsilon to v (e.g., λευίτης > levita); pi to b (e.g., καρπά-σινος > carbasinus); psi to bs (e.g., ἀψίνθιον > absinthium); chi to c (e.g., χαλκηδών > calcedonius); and certain double consonants shorten to single (e.g., γεννητός > genitus).

In some cases variant Latin transliterations are attested for the same Greek word. Many of these instances arise in the context of differences between

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[131] See Mohrmann, *Études* 1.42, 62.
[132] See Mohrmann, *Études* 3.38.
[133] See Rönsch, *Itala*, 249.

"Vulgate" and "Old Latin," or "Vetus Latina," transliterations of Greek words. Some examples, drawn from Schmoller's *Handkonkordanz*, are the following:

Transliteration of:

Greek chi > Latin ch or c (e.g., χλαμύς > chlamys (Vulg.) / clamys (VL)

Greek chi > Latin ch or g (e.g., δραχμή > drachma (Vulg.) / dragma (VL)

Greek phi > Latin ph or f (e.g., φιάλη > phiala (Vulg.) / fiala (VL)

Greek eta > Latin e or i (e.g., παράκλητος > paraclitus (Vulg.) / paracletus (VL)

Greek epsilon > Latin e or i (e.g., σπεκουλάτωρ > spiculator (Vulg.) / speculator (VL)

Greek double consonant > Latin double or single consonant (e.g., ὕσσωπος > hyssopus (Vulg.) / hysopus (VL)

Greek double vowel > Latin double or single vowel (e.g., ἐλεημοσύνη > eleemosyna (Vulg) / elemosyna (VL)

Greek αι > Latin ae or a or e (e.g., ἐγκαίνια > encaenia (Vulg.) / encenia (VL)

Greek omicron > Latin o or u (e.g., νόμισμα > numisma (Vulg.) / nomisma (VL)

Greek omicron > Latin a or o (e.g., παροψίς > paropsis (Vulg.) / parapsis (VL)

Greek iota > Latin i or e (e.g., τελώνιον > telonium (Vulg.) / teloneum (VL)

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