

GERUNDS, GERUNDIVES AND THEIR GREEK EQUIVALENTS IN LATIN BIBLE TRANSLATIONS

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It is well known that gerund and gerundive constructions are a feature of Latin syntax which has no direct equivalent in Greek. Although not a feature of colloquial Latin (except for the use of the ablative gerund as an equivalent of a present participle) they are relatively frequent in the language of the Church Fathers. In a previous study¹ it was found that in the writings of Isidore of Seville gerundive uses of all kinds were more common in his Christian writings, specifically in the *Sententiae*, than in more formal secular works such as the *De Natura rerum*. One reason proposed for the frequency of such constructions in Christian Latin was the possible influence of Bible translations from Greek in which they would be of use in translating certain Greek idioms for which there were no exact Latin equivalents such as aorist active participles and prepositional phrases involving the articular infinitive. In order to test this hypothesis the present paper investigates gerunds, gerundives and their Greek equivalents in the Vulgate and Old Latin translations of the Gospels. The field of translation will be shown to provide a useful tool for the investigation of syntactical equivalents in Latin and Greek and in different registers of the same (Latin) language as represented in the different translation traditions.

The examples discussed are set out in the appendix at the end of the paper. In each example I give first the Greek New Testament reading, which may not in all cases be the Greek our Latin bible translators had in front of them. Next comes Jerome's Vulgate reworking of the Gospels carried out between AD 383 and 405, not a completely new translation, but as Jerome himself states, a close revision of existing Old Latin versions. Finally I give, following Jülicher, the main readings of the European and the African versions of the pre-Jerome Old Latin Gospels, formally and misleadingly known as the *Itala*. An explanation of the *sigla* used is set out at the end of the appendix, p.441-2. The African tradition is represented in codices *k* and *e*, which echo a text close in language to the bible citations of Cyprian and in use in

¹ MALTBY, R., "Gerund and gerundive usage in Isidore of Seville", BOLKENSTEIN, A.M.; KROON, C.H.M.; PINKSTER, H.; REMMELINK, H.W.; RISSELADA, R. (edd), *Theory and description in Latin linguistics: Selected Papers from the XIth International Colloquium on Latin Linguistics (Amsterdam, June 24-29, 2001)*, Amsterdam 2002, 219-234.

North Africa from the mid C3 on. The slightly later European class is represented by the core codices *b ff2 l* and *j*, as well as by *a r l* and related texts and the bilingual Greek Latin codex *d*. Finally a sub-group of the European type consists of the so-called mixed texts *aur: gl l f c ff l*, which are between them characterised by a greater or lesser admixture of Vulgate readings. The Vulgate and OLG versions are not completely separate entities. As we have already seen the Vulgate itself was based in OLG versions and later OLG versions, which continued to be copied after the appearance of the Vulgate, were influenced to some degree by Vulgate readings. The African pair *k* and *e* are fairly closely related whereas the European group of old Latin Gospels is less homogenous². One of the main results of our survey of gerund and gerundive usage will be the marked differentiation in the use of this syntactical feature between the African versions of the OLG and the European versions, which on the whole stand closer to Jerome's Vulgate as can be seen in the overall totals in the chart at the end of the appendix. 17 African as against 33 and 39 respectively for European and Vulgate versions

I start my study with the ablative gerund, which in Isidore's *Sententiae* was one of the most common types. A possible influence here could have been the Vulgar Latin use of the ablative gerund as an equivalent of a present participle.³ In our bible translations it is a good deal less frequent than *ad* + acc. and genitive gerund uses. In examples 1-5 in the appendix we see ablative gerunds used in the Vulgate and in the OLG (European) tradition in places where the Greek has an aorist (example 1) or present (examples 2-5) participle. In all five examples, however, the Latin gerunds occur in contexts where the instrumental use of the ablative is required "by doing what" 1, "by saying this" 2, "by thinking" 3, "by living luxuriously" 4, "with her coming" 5. In other words these cases reflect classical Latin usage and not the late-Latin tendency for ablative gerunds to be used with greatly eroded instrumental sense as equivalent to participles. What is notable here is the complete avoidance of gerund construction in the African tradition, which has present participles in all five examples *faciens*, *dicens*, *sollicitudinem agens*, *uiuens*, *ueniens*. Perhaps an indication, that at least in these contexts, the African versions are less literary and closer to everyday colloquial usage. The Vulgate and European versions, although showing a marked preference for ablative gerunds in these contexts, do not avoid the present participle altogether. In 1 we see that the Vulgate translates the same Greek phrase with

² On the textual tradition see BURTON, P., *The old Latin gospels*, Oxford 2000, 14-28.

³ See KOOREMANN, M., "The historical development of the ablative gerund", LAVENCY, M., LONGRÉE, D. (edd.), *Actes du Ve colloque de linguistique latine*, Louvain 1989, 219-30.

quid faciendo in Luke 20.25 and with *quid faciens* in Luke 18.18 (where it is followed significantly by two of the mixed codices *aur.* and *f*) and in ex. 2 both the Vulgate and all the European texts except for *rl* have the present participle *dicens*.

Next gerunds and gerundives with *esse* expressing obligation appendix B or futurity appendix C. The expression of obligation through the use of a gerund or gerundive with *esse* is again literary rather than colloquial, as is clearly shown by Löfstedt⁴ The nearest Greek parallel to this construction would be the verbal adjective in -τεος, as in 8 from Luke 5.38 βλητέον. This is again a rare and literary construction in Greek also and Luke 5.38 is the only example in the Greek New Testament. One may contrast Mark 2.22 where the Greek has the simple statement οὐδεὶς βόλλει. In 6 the gerundive in the European tradition results from a misunderstanding (if their Greek version was the same as ours) of the indirect command καὶ τὸ ὀγαπᾶν αὐτὸν, represented more closely in the Vulgate and in the mixed codices *c* and *l* by the phrase *et ut diligatur*. In 7 only the Vulgate and the mixed texts *aur gl f* and *l* use *cauendum* with *esse* understood in the indirect command, expressed in Greek by the future infinitive προσέξειν. Again we have a literary expression, which occurs rarely in the Vulgate and the European OLG and is completely absent from the African OLG.

In later Latin the meaning of gerund + *esse* extends from the expression of obligation to cover also the expression of futurity. This is clearly the case with the Vulgate's *tradendus est* in 9, as an equivalent of the Greek μέλλει...παραδίδοσθαι. Except for the mixed texts *aur* and *l*, which follow the Vulgate in this, the OLG versions either have *futurum est* with an *ut* clause or, in the African version, *incipiet* with passive infinitive, modelled more closely on the Greek construction. In 10 the Vulgate and the mixed texts have the gerundive *scribendi sunt* "which are to be written" whereas the OLG versions have the subjunctive with conditional force *qui scriberentur* "which would be written", both attempts at finding an idiomatic equivalent to the Greek passive participle γραφόμενα.

Appendix D 11-13 illustrate the use of the regular Classical Latin *in* + ablative gerund as a useful and idiomatic equivalent to the Greek ἐν + articular infinitive or, in case 13 ἐν + abstract noun. This is the first class of gerund to be found in the African versions; example 12 *in seminando* codex *e* and example 13 codex *k* *in docendo*. In 11 *in remigando* in the Vulgate and mixed texts is replaced in the European version by the participle *remigantes*, which also uses the participle *docens* in place of the more literal translation *in doc-*

⁴ LÖFSTEDT, E., *Philologischer Kommentar zur Peregrinatio Aetheriae*, Uppsala 1910, 157.

trina of the Vulgate, some mixed texts and the African *e* version in example 13. In 12 the Vulgate and European OLG version replace the Greek by a *dum* clause. Of the various Latin equivalents illustrated in this section the gerund expressions and *dum* or *cum* clauses are more Classical whereas the present participles and *in* + abstract noun reflect late and colloquial usage. In this case there is no marked distinction between the Vulgate and the two OLG traditions, all of which use all of four types.

Sections E to K illustrate the use of *ad* + gerund or gerundive expressing various degrees of purpose and used as the equivalent of various Greek constructions; E εἰς or πρὸς with the articular infinitive (the most common type); F genitive articular infinitive; G plain infinitive of purpose; H purpose clause with ἵνα and the subjunctive; and then various ad hoc Greek expressions in I J and K. *ad* + gerund or gerundive expressing purpose is common at all periods of Latin and is the most frequent gerund type found in the Latin Gospel translations as the overall totals in the appendix chart (p.441) show: 15 (Vulgate), 13 (OLG European) and 8 (OLG African). What is very rare is the common classical use of this construction after adjectives expressing aptness or promptness e.g. *aptus*, *promptus*, *idoneus*. The nearest we get in the Gospel translations in 24 *tarde corde ad credendum*. In New Testament translations outside the gospels the Vulgate has only one such example *cum aptus portus esset ad hiemandum* at *Acts* 27.12; but elsewhere as at 2 *Timothy* 2.2 the infinitive is used for the classical gerund construction *idonei erunt et alios docere*. Quite often in late and colloquial texts *pro* and *propter* are used in this construction in place of *ad*, as for example in Isidore's *Sententiae* and the *Peregrinatio*. But the Gospel translations have no example of this. In section E the Vulgate and European traditions consistently use gerunds to translate the Greek πρὸς or εἰς + articular infinitive. The only exceptions to this come from the OLG African codex *e* which replaces it with a iussive subjunctive in 15 *et igni cremantur* and with *ut* + subjunctive purpose clause in 19 *uirius erat Domini ut curaret eos*. One late Latin peculiarity is the preference for gerund + acc. object in place of *ad* + acc. gerundive construction so in 14 *ad concupiscendum eam* in all versions except for the Classical gerundive *ad concupiscendam eam* in the mixed texts *aur* and *gl*. in 15 codex *k* *ad exurendum ea* (in the other versions no object is expressed) and in 19 *ad sanandum eos*; by contrast in 18 the Vulgate and codices *aur*, *b d* and *l* do have the gerundive *ad seducendos electos* as opposed to *ad seducendum eos* in the core OLG European tradition

In section F examples 20-24 *ad* + gerund (or as in 22 and 23 gerundive) is the construction of choice as a Latin equivalent for the genitive of the Greek articular infinitive expressing purpose. As less frequent alternat-

ives we find the infinitives of purpose in 20 OLG European *quaerat puerum istum perdere*, in 21 in both African and European OLG versions *exit seminator seminare* –the construction being more common in colloquial Latin after verbs of motion– in two cases codex *d* uses the more classical alternative of an *ut* + subjunctive; clause this is in 20 *puerum istum ut perdat* and in 23 *ut prospere faciat pedes*.

Under G are collected various uses of *ad* + gerund or gerundive replacing Greek infinitives. In 25 the Greek infinitive καθελεῖν expresses purpose after the verb of motion ἔρχεται. The use of the infinitive in such contexts in Latin had been a possibility in the more colloquial registers from Plautus on and is illustrated here in the African *k* version, which is word for word the same as the Greek. The Vulgate with its gerund *ad deponendum eum* and the subjunctive *ueniat* is the most literary version, whereas the European OLG versions which replace the purpose infinitive by a second main verb in the indicative *si uenit et deponit* stands mid-way between the two. Again in 26 the *k* version uses the purpose infinitive, exactly parallel with the Greek, whereas both the Vulgate and the European version prefer the gerund *ad faciendum misericordiam*. In 27 the Greek infinitive construction after δοῦναι would have been translated in Classical Latin by an accusative gerundive expressing destination after *dare* on the parallel of *dare pueros educandos*, so here *dare carnem manducandam*. The closest to this is the African *e* version *carnem dare manducandum*, which, however, replaces the classical gerundive construction *carnem manducandam* with the late Latin gerund. The OLG European version follows the Greek infinitive construction *dare manducare*, whereas the Vulgate and the mixed texts *c* and *f* replace the straight accusative *manducandum* by *ad* + accusative *ad manducandum*, again a Late Latin feature, illustrated later in example 30 where at *Mark* 15.20 codex *k* has *abduxerunt eum ad figendum*, contrasting with *Mark* 15.15 where *k* has the more classical *Iesum tradidit figendum*.

Section H presents examples of ἵνα + subjunctive expressing purpose in Greek. In all four examples under this heading the Vulgate reproduces faithfully the Greek construction with the perfectly classical Latin *ut* + subjunctive, and in this it is close to the OLG European tradition which has *ut* + subjunctive in all cases except 28 where *ad* + gerund takes over this function. This more literary *ut* + subjunctive is avoided entirely by the African versions. In examples 29 and 30 they use *ad* + gerund, or in the case of *Mark* 15.15 under 30, as we have seen above, the simple gerund after *tradidit*. In example 28 the African *e* version uses the more colloquial purpose infinitive after the verb of motion: *eamus ... praedicare*.

Sections I, J and K lump together various Greek phrases which have been replaced by *ad* + gerund in some of our translations. So in I 31 the Vulgate and main European tradition of the OLG replace the participle *προσευξόμενοι* by *ad orandum*. The mixed texts use the noun *orationem* while codices *a* and *b* preserve the present participle *orantes* as in the Greek. Again the African version has the more colloquial infinitive of purpose *orare*. In J the Vulgate and European versions replace the Greek abstract noun by a more idiomatic *ad* + gerund, whereas African *k* keeps closer to the Greek with the noun *ad consummationem*. In K it is the African version which moves away from the Greek and replaces the main verb *ἐμπαιξουσιν* (faithfully reproduced in the Vulgate and European versions with *inludent*) with *ad* + gerund, perhaps influenced in this case by the Latin introductory verb *tradent* which regularly introduces a gerund construction as in 30 *Mark* 15.15.

Under L I list examples where Greek infinitives, mostly dependent on the abstract noun *ἐξουσία*, are replaced in most Latin translations by genitive gerunds. Typically, as in example 34, the genitive gerund has an accusative object *dimittendi peccata*. Occasionally, as a more colloquial alternative, closer to the Greek, the Latin versions have an infinitive in place of the gerund. This is more common in the African versions so in 34 *Mark* 2.10, 35 *Luke* 9.1, 39, 40, 41, 45, and in codex *d* of the European tradition, which is often close to the African tradition, so in 34, 35, 36, 37, 44. In fact in only four of the thirteen passages quoted here does the African tradition have a gerund. Although the Vulgate and main European versions prefer the gerund construction (and use it in 7 and 8 of the 13 cases respectively), they too occasionally use the infinitive so in examples 39 and 45. In example 35 the *ὥστε* clause in Greek influences the use of an *ut* + subjunctive clause in the Vulgate and European OLG versions and this is found as an alternative in the African versions of examples 37 and 38. On the whole then, though there are no hard and fast rules, the Vulgate and European OLG version prefer the classical gerund construction while the African versions of the OLG prefer a more colloquial Latin construction, the infinitive, which is closer to the Greek.

As a final oddity and bit of a conundrum I give in example 46 the Latin translations for the well known phrase “he that hath ears to hear” *ὁ ἔχων ὦτα ἀκούειν*. In Latin the most common translation in the Vulgate, European OLG and *e* versions of the African tradition is *ures audiendi*, where *audiendi* must be a genitive gerund expressing purpose. This does occur in Classical Latin but is very rare e.g. Sallust *or. Phil fr.* 1.77.3 *M. Aemilius exercitum opprimendae libertatis habet* and could here perhaps be influenced by the Greek genitive infinitive, expressing purpose. That this is intended to be the meaning can be seen from the alternatives in I at *Mark* 4.9, 4.23, and 7.16

ures ad audiendum “ears for hearing”. In all the African *k* versions the gerund is simply omitted *qui habet aures, audiat*.

Conclusion

This investigation aimed to answer two questions:

1. Could the greater frequency of gerund constructions in Isidore’s Christian, as opposed to his secular, works be put down to the influence of Latin bible translations?
2. Was there any marked difference between Jerome’s Vulgate and the earlier Old Latin Gospel translations in their use of this construction?

First it is clear that gerund constructions are not a compulsory part of bible translation. There is no Greek construction for which this is the only possible Latin equivalent. On the other hand, it is certainly true that for a number of problems posed specifically by the translation of certain Greek constructions in the Gospels gerunds do provide a good idiomatic Latin equivalent, as for example with participles expressing a sense of instrumentality section A, and with various infinitive uses, such as articular infinitive after prepositions, sections D and E, genitive and plain infinitives of purpose, sections F and G and infinitives dependent on abstract nouns, section L. These account for the majority of gerund uses found in our translations. None of these gerund uses is characteristic of late or Vulgar Latin; in fact specifically late and colloquial types such as ablative of gerund for a pure present participle are completely absent.

The only traces of late features are in the gerunds with *esse* expressing futurity and in the preference for gerund + accusative object in place of gerundive expressions.

This is clearly a literary feature of the bible translation style and this may well have had an influence on the literary style of the Church fathers such as Isidore.

Secondly, as far as differences between the different traditions of bible translation are concerned, one point to emerge clearly from this study, as can be seen from the totals in the chart in the appendix, is that the main distinction is not between Jerome’s Vulgate and the pre-Vulgate tradition as a whole, but specifically between Jerome together with the European pre-Vulgate tradition on the one hand, both of which are willing to make wide use of these constructions, and the African pre-Vulgate tradition on the other

hand, as represented in codices *k* and *e*, in which the idiomatic use of Latin gerunds is often avoided in favour of participial and infinitival uses which are much closer to the syntax of the Greek original. The African versions have Greek-style participles instead of gerunds in section A, they have no gerunds expressing obligation or futurity in sections B and C, and are much more likely to use Greek style infinitives of purpose in sections E to G and L. The conclusion from this one specific area, then, differs from that of others such as Philip Burton who have looked at a wider range of phenomena and concluded that it was Jerome in his reworking of the translations who aimed at a more literal representation of Greek syntactical features. Of course it could be argued that in the case of gerunds it is not that the African versions were trying to be closer to the Greek in their preference for infinitives and participles but simply that infinitive and participial uses were closer to the everyday Latin of their time and that they were aiming at a more natural and less literary rendering of the Greek.

Appendix of Examples

Gerunds and Gerundives in Latin Bible Translations

A. Ablative Gerund for Greek Aorist or Present Participle

(1) *Luke* 10.25 διδάσκαλε, τί ποιήσας ζωὴν αἰώνιον κληρονομήσω;

Vulg. magister, quid faciendo uitam aeternam possidebo?

OLG (European) quid faciendo (*variants*: quid faciens *a c d*, quid faciam ut...possideam *f*)

OLG (African e) quid faciens ... hereditabo

Cf. Luke 18.18 τί ποιήσας ... κληρονομήσω, *Vulg.* quid faciens ... possidebo, *OLG (European)* quid faciendo ... possidebo (*variants*: quid faciens *a aur.d f*), *OLG (African e)* quid faciam ... ut consequar.

(2) *Luke* 11.45 διδάσκαλε, ταῦτα λέγων καὶ ἡμᾶς ὑβρίζεις.

Vulg. magister, haec dicens etiam nobis contumeliam facis

=*OLG (European)* except for *r'* haec dicendo

= *OLG (African e)*

(3) *Luke* 12.25 τίς δὲ ἐξ ὑμῶν μεριμνῶν δύναται προσθεῖναι ἐπὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτοῦ πῆχυν

Vulg. quis autem uestrum cogitando potest adicere ad staturam suam cubitum unum

OLG (European) cogitando

OLG (African e) sollicitudinem agens

Cf. Matthew 6.27 μεριμνῶν, *Vulg.* cogitans, *OLG (European)* cogitans
aur. c f ff' g' l, cogitando *q OLG (African k)* quis autem uestrum potest adicere

(4) *Luke* 15.13 διεσκόρπισε τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ ζῶν ἀσώτως

Vulg. dissipauit substantiam suam uiuendo luxuriose

OLG (European) uiuendo (*variants*: uiuens *a d*)

OLG (African e) uiuens

(5) *Luke* 18.5 ἐκδικήσω αὐτήν, ἵνα μὴ εἰς τέλος ἐρχομένη ὑπωπιόζη με

Vulg. uindicabo illam ne in nouissimo ueniens suggillet me

OLG (European) uindicabo illam ne in nouissimo ueniendo constringat me (*variants*: conueniendo *q*, ueniat et *ff'*, ueniens *r'*)

OLG (African e) ne usque ad finem ueniens molestior sit mihi.

B. Gerund/Gerundive Expressing Obligation

(6) *Mark* 12.33 καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος πλὴν αὐτοῦ· καὶ τὸ ἀγαπᾶν αὐτὸν

Vulg. et non est alius praeter eum. et ut diligatur

OLG (European) nec est alius praeter illum ita diligendus (*variants*: et diligere eum *c ff'*, et ut diligatur *l*)

OLG (African k) omitted.

(7) *Matthew* 16.12 οὐκ εἶπε προσέξειν ὅπῃ τῆς ζύμης τῶν ἄρτων

Vulg. non dixerit cauendum a fermento panum

OLG (European) non dixit a fermento (*variants*: dixit ut abstinerent *a*, dixit adtendere *q*, dixit cauendum *aur, g' f l*)

OLG (African e) non dixit ut cauerent

(8) *Luke* 5.38 ἀλλὰ οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς καινοὺς βλητέον

Vulg. sed uinum nouum in utres nouos mittendum est

OLG (European) sed uinum nouum in utres nouos mittunt (*variants*: mittent *d*)

OLG (African e) sed mittunt uinum nouum in utres nouos

Cf. *Mark 2.22* uinum nouum in utres nouos mittendum est (*European q*, mitti debet *aur. c l Vulg.*, mittunt *African e*)

C. Gerundive Expressing Futurity

- (9) *Matthew 17.22* μέλλει ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀθρώπου παραδίδοσθαι εἰς χεῖρας ἀθρώπων
Vulg. filius hominis tradendus est in manus hominum
OLG (European) futurum est ut filius hominis tradatur (*variants*: incipiet filius hominis tradi *d ff'*, filius hominis tradendus est *aur l*)
OLG (African e) incipiet filius hominis tradi

- (10) *John 21.25* οὐδ' αὐτὸν οἶμαι τὸν κόσμον χωρῆσαι τὰ γραφόμενα βιβλία
Vulg. nec ipsum arbitror mundum capere eos qui scribendi sunt libros
OLG (European) nec ipsum arbitror mundum capere eos libros qui scriberentur (*variants*: qui scribuntur libri *d q*, qui scribendi sunt libros *aur. c f*)
OLG (African e) qui scriberentur libri

D. in + Gerund for Greek Preposition + Articular Infinitive or Noun

- (11) *Mark 6.48* καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτοὺς βασανιζομένους ἐν τῷ ἐλαύνειν
Vulg. et uidens eos laborantes in remigando
OLG (European) et uidens illos remigantes et laborantes (*variants*: laborantes in remigando *aur.fl.*, tribulari in tempestate remigantes *c*)
OLG (African) missing.
- (12) *Mark 4.4* ἐν τῷ σπείρειν
Vulg. dum seminat = *OLG (European)*
OLG (African e) in seminando

Cf. *Matthew 13.4* ἐν τῷ σπείρειν, *Vulg.* dum seminat, *OLG (European)* cum seminat (*variants*: dum seminat *aur. d f ff' g' h l*), *OLG (African)* in seminando *k*, cum seminat *e*.

- (13) *Mark 12.38* καὶ ἐν τῇ διδασκίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἔλεγεν
Vulg. et dicebat eis in doctrina sua
OLG (European) at ille docens dicebat (*variants*: docebat dicens *ff' aur. c*, dicebat in doctrina *q l*)
OLG (African k) et in docendo dicebat
OLG (African e) et in doctrina dicebat

E. ad + Gerund/Gerundive for Greek Preposition + Articular Infinitive

- (14) *Matthew 5.28* πᾶς ὁ βλέπων γυναῖκα πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτῆς
Vulg. omnis qui uiderit mulierem ad concupiscendum eam
OLG (European) ad concupiscendum eam (*variants*: ad concupiscendam eam [*aur. g'*])
OLG (African k) ad concupiscendum eam
- (15) *Matthew 13.30* καὶ δῆσατε αὐτὰ (sc. ζιζάνια) εἰς δέσμας πρὸς τὸ κατακαῦσαι αὐτά
Vulg. et alligate ea (sc. zizania) fasciculos ad comburendum
OLG (European) et alligate ea fasciculos ad comburendum (*variants*: ad comburendum ea *f*)
OLG (African k) alligate fasciculos ad exurendum ea
OLG (African e) facite manipulos et igni crementur
- (16) *Matthew 20.19* καὶ παραδώσουσιν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν εἰς τὸ ἐμπαῖξαι καὶ μαστιγῶσαι καὶ σταυρῶσαι
Vulg. et tradent eum gentibus ad deludendum et flagellandum et crucifigendum
OLG (European) et tradunt eum gentibus ad deludendum et flagellandum et crucifigendum (*variants*: ad deludendum et flagellabunt et crucifigent eum *n*)
OLG (African e) ad inludendum et crucifigent eum
- (17) *Matthew 26.12* πρὸς τὸ ἐνταφιάσαι με ἐποίησεν
Vulg. ad sepeliendum me fecit = *OLG (European)*, *OLG (African)* missing

- (18) *Mark* 13.22 καὶ δώσουσι σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα πρὸς τὸ ὀποπλανᾶν... τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς
Vulg. et dabunt signa et portenta ad seducendos ... electos
OLG (European) ad seducendum (*variants:* ad seducendos *aur b d l*)
OLG (African k) ad errorem faciendum ... electis
- (19) *Luke* 5.17 καὶ δύναμις Κυρίου ἦν εἰς τὸ ἰᾶσθαι αὐτούς
Vulg. et uirtus erat Domini ad sanandum eos
OLG (European) et uirtus erat Domini ad sanandum eos (*variants:* ut curaret eos *c*, ut salbaret eos *d*)
OLG (African e) et uirtus erat Domini ut curaret eos

F. ad + Gerund/Gerundive for Greek Genitive of Articular Infinitive

- (20) *Matthew* 2.13 μέλλει γὰρ Ἡρώδης ζητεῖν τὸ παιδίον, τοῦ ὀπολέσσαι αὐτό
Vulg. futurum est enim ut Herodes quaerat puerum ad perdendum eum
OLG (European) futurum est enim ut Herodes quaerat puerum istum perdere (*variants:* incipit enim Herodes quaerere puerum istum ut perdat *d*, ut Herodes quaerat puerum ad perdendum eum *aur. ff'*)
OLG (African k) quaesiturus est enim Erodes puerum ut eum perdat
- (21) *Mark* 4.3 ἰδοὺ, ἐξῆλθεν ὁ σπεῖρων τοῦ σπεῖραι
Vulg. ecce exit seminans ad seminandum
OLG (European) ecce exiit seminator seminare (*variants:* ad seminandum *aur. fl q r'*)
OLG (African e) ecce exiit seminans seminare
- (22) *Luke* 1.77 ἐτοιμάσαι ὁδοὺς αὐτοῦ, τοῦ δοῦναι γνῶσιν σωτηρίας
Vulg. parare uias eius ad dandam scientiam salutis
OLG (European) parare uias eius ad dandam scientiam salutis (*variants:* dare intellectum salutis *d*)
OLG (African e) praeparare uias eius ad mandandam agnitionem salutis

- (23) *Luke* 1.79 τοῦ κατευθῦναι τοὺς πόδας ἡμῶν εἰς ὁδὸν εἰρήνης
Vulg. ad dirigendos pedes nostros in viam pacis = *OLG European and African e* (*variants:* ut prospere faciat pedes *d*)
- (24) *Luke* 24.25 ὦ ἄωόητοι καὶ βραδεῖς τῇ καρδίᾳ τοῦ πιστεύειν
Vulg. o stulti et tarde corde ad credendum = *OLG European and African e* (*variants:* graves corde in credendo *a*)

G. ad + Gerund/Gerundive for Greek Infinitive

- (25) *Mark* 15.36 ἴδωμεν εἰ ἔρχεται Ἡλίας καθελεῖν αὐτόν
Vulg. sinite uideamus si ueniat Helias ad deponendum eum
OLG (European) sine uideamus si uenit Helias et deponit eum (*variants:* deponere (illum) *c n q*).
OLG (African k) sine uideamus si uenit Helias deponere eum
- (26) *Luke* 1.72 ποιῆσαι ἔλεος μετὰ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν
Vulg. ad faciendum misericordiam cum patribus nostris = *OLG (European)* (*variants:* facere misericordiam *d*)
OLG (African k) facere misericordiam
- (27) *John* 6.52 πῶς δύναται οὗτος ἡμῖν δοῦναι τὴν σάρκα φαγεῖν;
Vulg. quomodo potest hic nobis carnem suam dare ad manducandum?
OLG (European) quomodo potest hic nobis carnem dare manducare (*variants:* carnem dare ad manducandum *c f*)
OLG (African e) carnem suam dare manducandum

H. ad + Gerund for Greek Purpose Clause

- (28) *Mark* 1.38 ὄγωμεν ἄλλαχοῦ εἰς τὰς ἐχωμένας κωμπόλεις ἵνα καὶ ἐκεῖ κηρύξω
Vulg. eamus in proximos uicos et ciuitates ut et ibi praedicem
OLG (European) eamus in proximos uicos et ciuitates ad praedicandum (*variants:* ut et ibi praedicem *a aur. d fl*, eamus ... praedicare *b c*)
OLG (African e) eamus ad proxima castella et ciuitates praedicare.

(29) *Mark 9.22* ἵνα ἀπολέσῃ αὐτόν

Vulg. ut perderet eum

OLG (European) ut eum perdat (*variants*: *perderet aur. c l q*)

OLG (African k) ad perdendum eum

(30) *Mark 15.20* καὶ ἐξάγουσιν αὐτὸν ἵνα σταυρώσωσιν αὐτόν

Vulg. et educunt illum ut crucifigerunt eum

OLG (European) et duxerunt eum, ut crucifigerent

OLG (African k) et abduxerunt eum ad figendum

Cf. Mark 15.15 παρέδωκε τὸν Ἰησοῦν φραγελλώσας ἵνα σταυρωθῆ *Vulg* ut crucifigeretur (= *OLG European*), *OLG (African k)* Iesum ... tradidit figendum cruci.

I. ad + Gerund for Greek Present Participle

(31) *Mark 11.25* καὶ ὅταν στήκητε προσευχόμενοι

Vulg. et cum stabitis ad orandum

OLG (European) et cum statis ad orandum (*variants*: *stabis ad orationem aur. c q f, stabitis orantes a b*)

OLG (African k) et cum steteris adorare

J. ad + Gerund for Greek Noun

(32) *Luke 14.28* ψηφίζει τὴν δαπάνην, εἰ ἔχει εἰς ἀπαρτισμὸν

Vulg. computat sumptus si habet ad perficiendum

OLG (European) computat sumptussi habet ad consummandum (*variants*: *ad perficiendum aur. f*)

OLG (African e) computat sumptum ... si habet ad consummationem

K. ad + Gerund for Greek Main Verb

(33) *Mark 10.34* παραδώσουσιν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν καὶ ἐμπαίξουσιν αὐτῷ

Vulg. tradent eum gentibus et inludent ei = *OLG (European)*

OLG (African k) tradent eum nationibus ad inridendum

L. Genitive Gerund/Gerundive for Greek Infinitive

(34) *Matthew 9.6* ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ... ἀφιέναι ὁμαρτίας

Vulg. habet potestatem ...dimittendi peccata

OLG (European) habet potestatem ... dimittendi peccata (*variants*: *demittendi aur. g^l, remittendi q, remittere a, dimittere d*)

OLG (African k) potestatem habet ..., dimitte peccata

Cf. Mark 2.10 *Vulg.* dimittendi peccata, *OLG (European)* remittendi (*variants*: *dimittendi aur. c. ff^l l, demittere d*), *OLG (African e)* dimittendi. *Luke 5.24* *Vulg.* dimittere peccata, *OLG (European)* dimittere (*variants*: *dimittendi f ff^l, remittendi q, peccata dimittere c*), *OLG (African e)* dismittere peccata.

(35) *Matthew 10.1* ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν πνευμάτων ὀκαθάρτων ὥστε ἐκβάλλειν αὐτὰ καὶ θεραπεύειν πάσαν νόσον

Vulg. dedit illis potestatem spirituum immundorum ut eicerent eos et curarent omnem languorem et omnem infirmitatem

OLG (European) ut eicerent eos et ut curarent omnem languorem (*variants*: *et curandi omnem g, et curare omnem d*)

OLG (African k) expellendi spiritus immundus et curandi omnem ualetudinem.

Cf. Mark 3.15 ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν ἐκβάλλειν τὰ δαιμόνια,

Vulg. potestatem curandi infirmitates et eiciendi daemonia,

OLG (European) potestatem curandi ualetudines et eicere daemonia (*variants*: *eiciendi r^l*), *OLG (African e)* curandi ... et expellendi.

Cf. Luke 9.1 *Vulg.* dedit potestatem super omnia daemonia et ut languores curarent = *OLG (European)* (*variants*: *ut ... sanarent f, curandi a, curare c d*)

OLG (African e) in omni daemonio et langores curare.

(36) *Mark 6.31* καὶ οὐδὲ φαγεῖν εὐκαιροῦν

Vulg. nec manducandi spatium habebant

OLG (European) nec manducandi spatium habebant (*variants*: *nec cibum poterant capere a*)

OLG (African) missing.

- (37) *Luke* 1.57 ἐπλήσθη ὁ χρόνος τοῦ τεκεῖν
Vulg. impletum est tempus pariendi
OLG (European) impletum est tempus pariendi (*variants:* ut pariret *d*)
OLG (African e) tempus impletum est ut pariret.
- (38) *Luke* 10.19 δέδωκα ὑμῖν τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πατεῖν ἐπόων ὄφρων
Vulg dedi uobis potestatem calcandi supra serpentes = *OLG (European)* (*variants:* ut calcetis *d*)
OLG (African e) potestatem ut calcetis super serpentes.
- (39) *Luke* 12.5 φοβήθητε τὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι ἔχοντα ἐξουσίαν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν γέενναν
Vulg. habet potestatem mittere in gehennam = *OLG (European)* (*variants:* habet potestatem mittendi in gehennam *a*, habentem potestatem in gehennam mittere *d*), = *OLG (African e)*
- (40) *John* 5.27 καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ κρίσιν ποιεῖν
Vulg. potestatem dedit ei et iudicium facere = *OLG (European)* (*variants:* iudicium faciendi *f q*), = *OLG (African e)*
- (41) *John* 7.1 οὐ γὰρ ἠθέληεν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ περιπατεῖν
Vulg. non enim volebat in Iudaeam ambulare
OLG (European) non enim habebat potestatem in Iudaea ambulare (*variants:* uolebat ... ambulare *aur. c d f q*, habebat potestatem ambulandi *a ff² l r^l*)
OLG (African e) habebat uoluntatem ... ambulare
- (43) *John* 8.6 ἵνα ἔχωσιν κατηγορεῖν αὐτοῦ
Vulg ut possent accusare eum
OLG (European) ut haberent causam accusandi eum *c ff²*, ut possent accusare eum *aur. r^l*
OLG (African e) ut haberent quomodo eum accusarent
- (44) *John* 10.18 ἐξουσίαν ἔχω θεῖναι αὐτήν, καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχω πάλιν λαβεῖν αὐτήν
Vulg. potestatem habeo ponendi eam et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam = *OLG European)* (*variants:* ponendi ... accipiendi *l*, ponendi ... tollendi *c*, ponere... tollere *d*), = *OLG (African e)*.

- (45) *John* 19.10 ἐξουσίαν ἔχω ἀπολύσαι σε καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχω σταυρώσαι σε
Vulg. potestatem habeo crucifigere te et potestatem habeo dimittere te = *OLG (European)* (*variants:* crucifigendi ... dimittendi *aur ff²*)
OLG (African e) potestatem habeo dimittere te et potestatem figere

M. Genitive Gerund Expressing Purpose?

- (46) *Matthew* 11.15 ὁ ἔχων ὦτα ἀκούειν ἀκούετω.
Vulg. qui habet aures audiendi audiat = *OLG (European)* (*variants:* qui habet aures, audiat *d*)
OLG (African k) qui habet aures, audiat
Cf. Matth. 13.9, *Mark* 4.9 (ad audiendum *i*), *Mark* 4.23 (ad audiendum *i r^l*), *Mark* 7.16 (ad audiendum *i*), *Luke* 8.8, 14.35. *Vulgate and European version all have audiendi, African e versions have audiendi, omitted in k versions.*

Numerical Summary

Type of Gerund	Vulgate	OLG (European)	OLG (African)
A (ablative)	4	4	0
B (obligation)	3	1	0
C (futurity)	2	0	0
D (in + abl.)	1	0	2
E (ad + acc. for prep. + inf.)	6	6	0
F (ad + acc. for gen. of inf.)	4	3	3
G (ad + acc. for inf.)	3	1	1
H (ad + acc. for purpose clause)	0	1	3
I (ad + acc. for present participle)	1	1	0
J (ad + acc. for substantive)	1	1	0
K (ad + acc. for main verb)	0	0	1
(Total ad + acc.)	15	13	8
L (genitive for inf.)	7	8	4
M aures audiendi	7	7	3
Overall Total	39	33	17

OLG Sigla (See Burton (2000) 14-28)

African tradition represented by *k* C4 codex and *e* C5 codex both echoing a text close in language to Cyprian and in use by mid C3 in Africa.

Core European tradition represented by *b* late C5 Verona, *ff*^c C5 Italian, *i* fragmentary C5 Italian and *j* fragmentary C6 Italian.

Other main European texts are *a* late C4 Vercelli, linguistically purer than core type in Gospels other than Matthew and related to fragmentary *a*² *n* and *o*. *d* around AD 400 Beirut, bilingual Greek Latin codex. *r*¹ around AD 600 Ireland and closely related to “Gallo-Irish” group *β h p ρ. q* around AD 600 N. Italy or Illyria.

Mixed OLG and Vulgate texts are *aur.* late C8, *g*¹ mid C9, *l* first half of C8 Aquileia, *f* C6 N. Italian, *c* C12 S. France, *ff*¹ C8 or C10 Corbie.