

## xii LIST OF MAIN ABBREVIATIONS IN BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Meyer, Rythmik. = Meyer, W., *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Mittellateinischen Rythmik.*  
M.G.H. Auct. Antiq. = Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi.  
M.G.H. Epist. = Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae.  
M.G.H. Poet. Kar. = Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Poetae latini aevi Carolini.  
M.G.H. SS. = Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores.  
Migne = Migne, J. P., *Patrologia Latina.*  
Monceaux = Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne.  
Neues Archiv = Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde.  
Neue Jahrb. f. d. klass. Alt. = Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum.  
Notices et extraits des mss. = Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale (Impériale).  
Revue critique = Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature.  
Revue de philologie = Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes.  
Rhein. Mus. = Rheinisches Museum für Philologie.  
Roger = Roger, M., *L'enseignement des lettres classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin.*  
Rolls Series = Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi Scriptores (Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages).  
Schanz = Schanz, M., *Geschichte der römischen Literatur bis zum Gesetzgebungswerk des Kaisers Justinian.*  
Teuffel-Schwabe = Teuffel-Schwabe, *History of Latin Literature.*  
Wiener Sitzungsber. = Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Phil.-hist. Klasse.  
Wiener Studien = Wiener Studien; Zeitschrift für classische Philologie.  
Zeitschr. f. deutsch. Alt. = Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur.  
Zeitschr. f. deutsch. Philol. = Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie.  
Zeitschr. f. kath. Theol. = Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie.  
Zeitschr. f. d. österreich. Gymnas. = Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien.  
Zeitschr. f. roman. Philol. = Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie.

## I

### THE BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIAN-LATIN POETRY

#### § 1. Christianity and Hellenistic-Roman Civilization.

THE earliest Christian community began as a Jewish sect. The Apostles at Jerusalem after the death of Jesus continued to worship in the Temple and to observe the ordinances of the Jewish religion. For the Christians at Jerusalem, Jesus was still, above everything, the Jewish Messiah; they still acknowledged the Law, and the Old Testament was their only sacred book. Christianity became in the true sense a universal religion only when it had spread beyond the Palestinian communities into the wider world of Hellenism. There it underwent the transformation necessary to its survival; it assumed the external appearance of a mystery-cult and drew upon the common fund of religious conceptions and practices which the Hellenistic world had acquired as a result of the mingling of east and west in the Empire of Alexander and in the kingdoms of his successors. This transformation of the new religion must have begun very soon in the original Hellenistic-Christian communities which lie between the Jewish-Palestinian Church and the advent of Paul. For Paul cannot be regarded as the inventor of this new type of Christianity, however greatly he may have influenced it in the direction of a higher spirituality and in the restraint of unhealthy and too obviously pagan practices. Yet he accepted it broadly as it stood, with its cult, not of the Palestinian Messiah, but of the Kyrios Christos,<sup>1</sup> Son of God and Saviour. Christianity was now launched into world-history, and became one of the many forces which issued from the 'Oriental fringe' of the

<sup>1</sup> This is Bousset's view (that the Kyrios cult sprang up in Syria) in his *Kyrios Christos*; but Ed. Meyer (*Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, iii. 218, Berlin 1923) would find its roots in Judaism, and Deissmann (*Paulus*, Tübingen 1925, p. 100) agrees. In any case, the full development must surely be Hellenistic.

Roman Empire and were the main agents of those vast changes which produced the Catholic civilization of the Middle Ages.<sup>1</sup>

Yet the Church still showed unmistakable signs of its Jewish parentage. Paul might substitute grace for the law, but for him always the Old Testament was the inspired and sacred book of the Church, possessing a weight and authority which could never be set aside. The Church learned at once to see in all its pages no other figure than that of Jesus, who was foretold by all the prophets, and was typified by king and priest and patriarch of the old dispensation. The Psalms of David became the hymn-book of the Church. Allegorically and symbolically interpreted, they were made to adapt themselves to Christian uses. Thus the Hebrew Scriptures (in the Greek translation of the Seventy) were the most potent literary influence which made itself felt among the Christians of the first century. The worship of Christian communities was modelled on the service of the Jewish Synagogue, which consisted of lessons, psalms, prayers, and homily. The only new institution was the order of the Lord's Supper, but even there the service was composed of similar elements, and was closely related to the Jewish Passover. Judaic influences, therefore, determined the form of the early Christian service. The spiritual influence of the Psalter remained throughout the whole development of the new religion, and the Jewish psalm was the model of the earliest Christian hymns.

But another influence was making itself felt by the side of the tradition which Christianity inherited from its Jewish origin. This influence was the Hellenistic culture which had become the common heritage of all the different races gathered together under the Empire of Rome. In the course of a century, and especially after the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, Greece, and Italy had become the main seats of the Christian religion. Christianity there underwent a thorough process of Hellenization, a process which, as we have seen, was reflected in the new conception of Jesus as Saviour, Lord, and

<sup>1</sup> An important observation by Kornemann (*Die römische Kaiserzeit, Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft*, Leipzig 1912, iii. 296) is worth quoting in this connexion: 'Wer die schwierigste aller Probleme, dasjenige vom "Untergang der antiken Welt", wirklich in der Tiefe fassen will, darf nicht im Westen, sondern

muss im Osten des Mittelmeergebietes seinen Standort wählen und muss die frühislamische Welt mit in den Bereich seiner Betrachtung ziehen. Der Weg zum Verständnis des Mittelalters geht über den Orient.' See also Ed. Meyer, *Blüte und Niedergang des Hellenismus in Asien*, Berlin 1925, pp. 75 sqq.

Son of God, and was continued by Justin, and later by Clement of Alexandria and Origen, who were deeply influenced by the tendencies of later Greek philosophy.

The first Christian literature in the West was written wholly in Greek. For a long time the majority of the Church at Rome was composed of Greek-speaking Christians, many of them Jewish in origin, and in Africa too (or at any rate in Carthage) the Greek element was important.<sup>1</sup> Greek was indeed the first language of the Church in Italy, in Gaul, and in Africa, and as late as the third century it was the language of the Christian liturgy at Rome; but worship must have been conducted in Latin as well, and the first Latin versions of the Bible had begun to be made before the time of Tertullian. After the middle of the third century, and especially after the division of the Empire, Greek speech began to die out in the West. During the first two centuries, the cultured world of the Empire had been bi-lingual, the educated Roman spoke Greek as well as Latin, and men of letters like Suetonius, Fronto, Apuleius, and even Tertullian, wrote with equal ease in either language.<sup>2</sup> But the fourth century saw the decay of the knowledge of Greek in Italy, Gaul, Spain, and Africa. In the course of that century, Rome became once more a Latin-speaking city, but the process was naturally slower in the South of Gaul and the South of Italy.<sup>3</sup> Augustine did not read Plato in the original, and in Gaul Ausonius could make his knowledge of Greek an occasion for boasting. Late in the second century, Latin Christian literature began in Africa with Tertullian, whose 'burning tracts burst upon the world with the suddenness of a tropical sunrise'.<sup>4</sup> Africa is thus the 'Motherland of Latin Christian literature';<sup>5</sup> but it was not long before Italy, Gaul, and Spain had followed the example. Latin, therefore, became in the West the sole liturgical and literary language of the Church.

Before the middle of the third century, there is no definite

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Harnack, *Die Chronologie der altchristlichen Litteratur*, ii. 297 (Leipzig 1904).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. E. Norden, *Die lateinische Literatur im Übergang vom Altertum zum Mittelalter*, in *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, i. viii, p. 485 sq.; also Norden, *Antike Kunstprosa*, ii. 574, 608.

<sup>3</sup> Harnack, *Mission*, i. 19; ii. 241-2, on the growth of the Latin element in the

Church at Rome; but in the fourth century Photinus of Sirmium wrote in both languages. See Vincent of Lérins, *Commonitorium*, xi, p. 42, Cambridge 1915.

<sup>4</sup> Garfield, *Africa and Christian Latin Literature* (*American Journal of Theology*, Jan. 1907), p. 101; cf. the striking estimate of Tertullian by Vincent of Lérins, *Commonitorium*, xviii, p. 75.

<sup>5</sup> Harnack, *Mission*, ii. 279-80.

trace of Latin Christian poetry, and the earliest extant Latin hymns belong to the fourth century. What Latin hymns existed in earlier days were doubtless modelled on those which are known to have been used in the Eastern Churches and went back to Hebrew rather than to classical originals. Such was the *Gloria in Excelsis*, and there were many hymns or 'private psalms' which have not survived. As in the Eastern Greek-speaking communities, so in the West, the Psalms were the hymn-book of the Church; but when Latin Christian poetry really began in the West, the main literary influence could hardly fail to be that of the Latin classical poets, the only possible models for men who had received their education in the public schools.

The public schools were the last stronghold of pagan culture. They were supported by endowments and immunities at the expense both of the central government and of the municipalities. The instruction given was inherited from the scholastic system of the older Greek world, and the main constituents were grammar and rhetoric. The education thus afforded, if judged by modern standards, was doubtless very incomplete. It possessed all the defects of an education which was purely literary in character, emphasizing form at the expense of solid intellectual content, and it tended to produce a lettered class able to write or declaim trivialities in an artificial language which only those who knew the rules could easily understand. This education, in its better days, had a meaning and an object. While political life still existed, in the age of Greek democracy or in the days of the Gracchi, the mastery of rhetoric was a means to political power, and the style and manner of the orator were adapted carefully to the particular end in view.<sup>1</sup> But this special education, in the end, overshadowed all others; so that grammar and rhetoric became the recognized constituents of a general education. With the decline of political life and the establishment of the Empire, the training in rhetoric ceased to have the same relevance to the world of political affairs. It became a means to the mastery of an art which did not cease to be admired for all its apparent uselessness. Private declamations on trivial subjects drew large and enthusiastic audiences, and it was possible to win fame and honours by a public *panegyric* on a phantom emperor. The *panegyric* remained

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, iv. 169.

the only real exercise of the rhetorician's art, though he might sometimes practise at the bar; and apart from an occasional show of public importance, the learned classes were confined to the practice of an elaborate *dilettantism* concentrated in private circles.<sup>1</sup> The acquisition of style was the one thing to be aimed at, and to that end the schools of grammar and rhetoric put forth all their efforts. The professors of rhetoric often made large fortunes and could boast of a crowd of rich and noble pupils.

The study of grammar included the study of literature as a whole. After reading and writing had been mastered, the grammarian, whose position was comparatively humble, taught his pupil the elements of grammar, pronunciation and accent, and the correct use of words. Along with these purely grammatical studies, the poets were read and explained, and enough isolated facts of history, geometry, astronomy, music, &c., were added to make the author's allusions intelligible to the student. There was no systematic study of natural science or of mathematics; the grammarian's business was simply to impart the minimum of the subsidiary knowledge requisite for the understanding of the author's text. The poets were the first and the main object of study. The student was taught to understand the text, to explain the various mythological and historical allusions, and to detect unusual grammatical uses. At the same time, he committed passages to memory.

The school of grammar provided therefore a basis for the study of literature and especially of the poets. In the school of rhetoric, the pupil read the historians and orators, and the reading was accompanied by the study of the technicalities of style as exhibited in the works of the masters of oratory and written prose. The whole aim of the rhetorician was to teach his pupil the art of composition and declamation according to the accepted models. Artificiality and a servile imitation which did not altogether exclude new fashions, tended therefore to flourish. That scholar was near perfection who could compose in verse or prose according to the recognized rules; provided that the form was acceptable, the content was more or less indifferent.

At the time when Christianity came into decisive contact with the Roman civilization, the public schools still provided the only

<sup>1</sup> We shall see how later on, especially in Gaul, serious men with rhetorical gifts found a career in the episcopate.

available approach to a liberal education, and the Church soon realized that it was impossible to stand aloof. With admixtures indeed of other influences and cultures, she adopted the language and style of Graeco-Roman culture as her own. By the end of the fourth century, as we have seen, the Western part of the Roman Empire had been completely latinized. Greek influences had declined, both in Rome, and, if we except the southern parts of Gaul and of Italy, throughout the entire West. Latin was the language of law, administration, and commerce, at the time when the Church had reached its full territorial expansion within the boundaries of the Empire.

In accepting the Latin language, the Church had also to accept the system of education by which it was conveyed. But that education was rooted and grounded in paganism, with its associations of polytheism and immorality, its dangerous philosophy and its sensual love of beauty. At the same time, if Christianity were to meet paganism on a common intellectual level, the Christians must avail themselves of the schools. This was the dilemma, and the answer of the Church was of a practical kind. In theory, the Latin fathers sternly reprobated paganism and all its works. Tertullian formally condemned secular letters as 'foolishness in the eyes of God',<sup>1</sup> but, although he took the view that a Christian master might not teach in a heathen school, he saw that it was folly to deprive a Christian of all possibility of general culture. Hence he agreed that it was lawful for a Christian scholar to attend the schools, admitting the force of the argument: 'Quomodo repudiamus saecularia studia, sine quibus divina non possunt?'<sup>2</sup> Jerome knew and loved the classical writers and had been a pupil of the great grammarian Donatus. But, as a Christian, he was constrained to condemn 'poetry, the wisdom of the world, the pompous eloquence of the orators, this food of devils'.<sup>3</sup> Too much stress need not be laid on his famous dream in which, he says, he was brought before the seat of judgement, and when, to the question put concerning his faith, he replied, 'I am a Christian', he received the terrible answer, 'Thou art a Ciceronian, not a Christian; where thy treasure is, there is thy heart also'.<sup>4</sup> Jerome's formal conclusion is this: Liberal studies are a necessary preliminary to a Christian education;

<sup>1</sup> *De Spect.* xviii.

<sup>2</sup> *De Idol.* x, but he adds, 'Diversa est enim ratio discendi et docendi'.

<sup>3</sup> *Epist.* xxi. 13.

<sup>4</sup> *ib.* xxii. 30.

but, once mastered, they can be laid aside, for their use is over. But in practice, for Jerome himself, the old charm could never be laid aside, and it was only in his moods of self-accusation that he began to doubt whether he were a Ciceronian or truly a Christian.

A similar contradiction appears even in the firmer spirit of Augustine. Virgil remained always for him the prince of poets, and in his *Confessions* he relates how as a boy he had shed tears for Dido, and how deeply the *Hortensius* of Cicero had moved him in his early manhood. But the devices of the rhetorician appeared to him, in his severer moments, as merely meretricious ornaments and the business of rhetoric as akin to falsehood. So in the *Confessions*,<sup>1</sup> he cries, 'Truly over the door of the grammar school there hangs a curtain, yet is that curtain the shroud of falsehood, not the veil of mysteries'. But in his sermons Augustine used every device of rhetoric, and he recognized the value of a good style in the defence of the Christian faith, where a too simple and vulgar presentation would hinder its acceptance.<sup>2</sup> He was led to justify the establishment of a Christian culture on the basis of secular letters by an appeal to the example of the Hebrews, who, with the divine permission, 'spoiled the Egyptians'.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, Jerome appeals to the ordinance in Deut. xxii. 12, which allows a Jew to take to wife a gentile woman, if 'she shall shave her head and pare her nails'.<sup>4</sup>

So the Christians had come to terms with the public schools, and in the brief revival of paganism under Julian, they bitterly resented the contemptuous edict by which the Emperor forbade them to do violence to their conscience by teaching pagan letters in the schools.<sup>5</sup> The influence of the schools of grammar and rhetoric is apparent in every page of Tertullian, of Jerome, and of Augustine, and until we arrive at the sixth and seventh centuries, we shall hardly find a Christian poet who does not owe his training entirely to the grammarians and rhetoricians.

The age which saw the beginnings of Christian literature saw also the beginnings of Christian art.<sup>6</sup> That art in its first developments shows the same mixture of Judaic and Hellenistic

<sup>1</sup> i. 13; cf. Prudentius, Prologue to the *Cathemerinon*.

<sup>2</sup> *De Doct. Christ.* iv. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *ib.* ii. 40.

<sup>4</sup> *Epist.* lxx. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Duchesne, *Hist. de l'Eglise*, ii. 330.

<sup>6</sup> The reader may conveniently consult Kaufmann, *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie*, Paderborn 1905; Kraus, *Geschichte der christlichen Kunst*, i, Freiburg-im-Breisgau 1896; Bréhier, *L'Art chrétien*, Paris 1918.

influences which was manifested in the theology and the ceremonial of the Church. It began, not with the sanction, but rather with the disapproval, of the Church, among the 'burial societies', which the Christians formed on the model of similar societies existing among the pagan population. The motives of many of the inscriptions and monuments resemble those of their heathen models. Thus, in the cemetery of Domitilla, Orpheus appears as a type of Christ, and Amor and Psyche are represented with a reference to the Christian redemption. But the symbolical character of this early art is best seen in the representation of more purely Christian figures, such as those borrowed from the Old Testament or from the life of Christ. For the most part, and naturally, they bear reference to the destiny of the dead, for whose sake they were created; setting forth symbolically, under the figures of Noah, of Moses, of Isaac, of Jonah, or of Daniel, the deliverance of the soul by Jesus, who appears himself as an ideal Shepherd, the good Shepherd who gave his life for the sheep. Such symbolical figures, drawn largely from the Old Testament, the only considerable storehouse from which a Christian 'mythology' could be collected, show that Christian art, like Christian poetry, was bound to go for much of its content to Jewish sources. But, as with Christian poetry, it was compelled to seek its form in Hellenistic-Roman models. Thus the figure of the Christ, once it began to be more freely represented, is based on the conventional classical figure of the ideal orator or philosopher.<sup>1</sup> Christian art, says M. Bréhier,<sup>2</sup> is in its last analysis, only the final flowering of Hellenistic art, but in adopting the style of a decadent culture, it gave it a new charm and freshness, and, finally, breaking free from its earlier trammels and receiving the sanction and encouragement of the Church, became the Catholic art of the Middle Ages. Similarly, from the dying literary culture of the ancient world proceeded the vigorous shoot of Christian literature, which was to issue in the Latin of the Vulgate, and, at a later date, in the poetry of the *Stabat Mater* and the *Dies Irae*.

The death of the ancient world was hastened by the enormous

<sup>1</sup> Bréhier, *L'Art chrétien*, p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> *ib.*, p. 55. I do not, however, wish to minimize or exclude, by using the word 'Hellenistic', those influences vaguely called 'Eastern' which showed themselves

conspicuously in the Oriental fringe of the Graeco-Roman world, and, as Prof. Strzygowski has proved, are, at the lowest estimate, of very great importance.

changes produced by the inroads and settlements of the northern barbarians within the boundaries of the Roman Empire. Out of the social and political wreck in which the western part of that Empire was involved, there emerged slowly and painfully a new order, strangely different from the old, but even more clearly a Christian order, dominated by a Church which had survived all shocks and changes, and was intellectually and morally superior to the new society which it was called upon to educate, admonish, and, if possible, to control. The unity of Rome lived on in the Catholic Church, which became the religious and political schoolmaster of the young kingdoms. The Franks, whose rise to supremacy in Gaul was all the more important as they became converts to Catholicism instead of to Arianism, lent their support to the Papacy, and helped it to make good its assertion of supremacy over the Western world. Thus side by side with the growing importance of the new kingdoms went the increasing power and more solid organization of the Church. Paganism was now almost extinct. The barbarian rulers, though Christian, were unlettered, ignorant, and uncivilized. Almost the only spark of intellectual life which remained was nourished by the Church. War and religion shared the whole life of the most important part of the population—the ruling classes and the clergy. The new nobility had little interest in letters; they were too much occupied with continual wars and the problems of governing a society which had to be organized primarily for defence. It was inevitable therefore that an almost complete monopoly of learning and literature should fall to the only part of the population which possessed the leisure necessary even for a mediocre culture. The cause of civilization was thus entrusted to the Catholic Church. The language of this civilization continued to be Latin, but it was no longer the Latin of Cicero, of Quintilian, or even of Prudentius. It was a Latin transformed to meet the needs of a new civilization. The literary language of Rome was already in the time of Ennius becoming distinct from the spoken language alike of the upper classes (*sermo cotidianus*) and of the masses (the *sermo plebeius* or *lingua rustica*). Caesar and Cicero put the finishing touches to a process of polish and refinement, which aimed at making the language of letters and of oratory a reflection of the great achievement of Greece. This literary language was within the compass only of the educated few, while the vulgar Latin

remained the property of the lower classes, and served the practical ends of trade and of ordinary intercourse. But the great social changes which struck a fatal blow at the old aristocracy and the old middle class, produced a new arrangement of society which was favourable to the revival of the vulgar speech. The new rich, the new official class, the swarms of provincials who invaded Rome, had more use for the practical speech of every day than for a literary language which had to be painfully learned in the school of the grammarian. Shut up in the schools, and a prey to a dwindling class of *littérateurs*, the learned language in the age of Marcus Aurelius dragged on an artificial life. Burdened with self-conscious archaisms and preciousities, and spiced with vulgarisms which were introduced to give piquancy and effect, it lost its vitality, while the vulgar Latin gained ground at the bar, in technical works, and in the romantic novels which were now being produced. In poetry, however, it held out with more success, since imitation was of the very essence of composition in verse. When Christianity had won a number of gentile converts in the West, it was compelled to use the vulgar tongue, not indeed in its polemical and theological literature, but in its sermons and in its versions of the Bible. If the great Latin fathers maintained the learned tradition, and Prudentius and Paulinus of Nola took Horace and Virgil as their models, the vulgar Latin yet made a permanent contribution to the language of the Church. The first translations of the Bible, and the liturgy itself, bear witness to this fact. The language of the Vulgate gathers up the various influences which had been at work in creating the appropriate medium for the expression of Christian thought in the West. Jerome indeed owed much to his unknown predecessors who had based their versions on the Septuagint and had introduced along with Hellenic elements the flavour of the vulgar tongue.<sup>1</sup> He combined with these elements others derived from the Hebrew; so a part of the Hebraic spirit passed into his version. New rhythms appeared, a new and more romantic imagery. The mystical fervour of the prophets, the melancholy of the penitential psalms or of the *Lamentations* could not be rendered in Latin without giving that severe and logical language a strange flexibility, an emotional and

<sup>1</sup> On the first Latin versions and the Vulgate see Labriolle, pp. 63 sqq.; Schanz, iv. i. 451 sqq.; Harnack, *Mission*, ii. 242.

symbolical quality which had been foreign to its nature.<sup>1</sup> The whole literary imagination of the West was to be fed on the sonorous sentences of the Latin Bible, and Christian poetry, though true so long to its learned traditions, could not escape the spell or fail to learn the new language, when it spoke in the poetical prose of lines like these:

iuxta est dies domini magnus,  
iuxta est et velox nimis:  
vox diei domini amara,  
tribulabitur ibi fortis.  
dies irae, dies illa,  
dies tribulationis et angustiae,  
dies calamitatis et miseriae,  
dies tenebrarum et caliginis,  
dies nebulae et turbinis,  
dies tubae et clangoris  
super civitates munitas, et super angulos excelsos.<sup>2</sup>

Out of this music was to issue the poetry of the future, the poetry in which the Catholic emotion was to discover its final expression. It is the music of a new world, for out of it appeared at last, when its religious mission had been fulfilled, the romantic poetry of the modern world.

## § 2. *The Earliest Christian-Latin Poetry; from Commodian to Damasus.*

Although the earliest Christian writers in the West, who made use of the Latin language, owed their education to the pagan schools and used well the art of rhetoric which they had learned by continuous imitation of classical models, yet the first extant Latin verses composed by a Christian poet are mainly of interest because they show a departure from the methods of classical Latin poetry. The *Instructiones* and *Carmen Apologeticum* of Commodian,<sup>3</sup> who lived about the middle of the third century,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ozanam, *La Civilisation au V<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ii. 135.

<sup>2</sup> Zephaniah i. 14-16; Tischendorf's text.

<sup>3</sup> *Commodiani Carmina*, ed. Dombart, C. S. E. L. xv.

<sup>4</sup> The date of Commodian has been hotly debated (for literature see *Bibliography*). F. X. Kraus puts him at the beginning of the fourth century.

Ramundo argues for the time of Julian the Apostate, when the conditions suggested by the poems (hesitation between description of imminent persecution and a persecution already begun) may be regarded as fulfilled. He also makes Commodian a native of Gaza and a Palestinian bishop. Brewer made an elaborate attempt to prove that Commodian wrote under Christian emperors, e.g. (1) the poet refers to a