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Adulter Vs. Moechus: Jerome's Use of Terms for Adultery in Vulgate

Adulter Vs. Moechus: Hieronimova raba pojmov za prešuštvo v Vulgati

Abstract: Traditional marriage morality of the modern Western civilization has been greatly influenced by the Christian teaching on marriage, which sees adultery as a significant threat to a marriage bond. Christian marriage morality was shaped primarily during the 4th century when the Church allied with imperial institutions, rose to power, and Christianity spread at an extraordinary pace. Jerome revised the existing Latin translation of the gospels and translated the Old Testament from Hebrew to Latin. The Vulgate soon became the referential and most frequently used version of the Bible. It has for centuries influenced the content, style, and vocabulary of European literature and Romance languages. Due to its importance and the social, historical, and cultural circumstances under which it was formed, the Vulgate text is of the most significant relevance for exploring the terminology of adultery. The author investigates the terms for adultery used by Jerome in translating Old Testament (members of lexical families derived from the words adulter and moechus as a translation of Hebrew forms derived from the root na'aph) and endeavours to explain his motivation for choosing different Latin terms. The author also compares the vocabulary of adultery in the New Testament books of the Vulgate and explores Jerome's intervention in the Latin text of the New Testament.

Keywords: Jerome, Vulgate, adulterium, moechus, Latin language, adultery

Povzetek: Krščansko učenje o zakonu, ki razume prešuštvo kot glavno grožnjo zakonski zvezi, je v veliki meri vplivalo na tradicionalno razumevanje zakonske morale sodobne zahodne civilizacije. Krščanski moralni nauk o zakonu je bil oblikovan predvsem v 4. stoletju, ko je Cerkev skupaj s cesarskimi institucijami prišla do moči in se je krščanstvo neustavljivo širilo. V tem času je Hieronim posodobil obstoječi latinski prevod evangelijev in prevedel Staro zavezo iz hebrejščine v latinščino. Vulgata je kmalu postala osrednja in najpogosteje uporabljena različica Svetega pisma. Kot takšna je skozi stoletja vplivala na vsebino, slog in besedišče evropske književnosti in romanskih jezikov. Zaradi njenega pomena in tudi zaradi družbenih, zgodovinskih in kulturnih okoliščin, znotraj katerih je nastala, je besedilo *Vulga*-

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te izjemno relevantno za raziskovanje besedišča prešuštva. Avtorica se posveča preučevanju izrazov za prešuštvo, ki jih je uporabil Hieronim pri prevajanju Stare zaveze (leksikalna družina okrog izrazov adulter in moechus kot prevedkov različnih oblik hebrejskega korena na'aph) in skuša razložiti njegove motive za različno rabo latinskih izrazov. Prispevek tudi primerja besedišče prešuštva v Novi zavezi Vulgate in pojasnjuje obseg Hieronimovih posegov v latinsko besedilo Nove zaveze.

Ključne besede: Hieronim, Vulgata, adulterium, moechus, latinščina, prešuštvo

1. Introduction and Methodology

In Western society, adultery is considered a serious threat to the stability of marriage and, consequently, family and society as a whole. In all ancient societies, a patriarchal view of adultery prevailed, based on the fact that only female sexuality was restrained. Adultery was considered extramarital sexual intercourse of a married woman; a married woman and her lover could only commit adultery. A husband who engaged in out-of-wedlock relationships was not considered an adulterer, and his actions were not subject to social or legal sanctions. A man's sexuality was restricted only when, as in intercourse with a married woman, his actions threatened another man's integrity. (Evans-Grubbs 1999, 94–102, 203–205; 2002, 83–87)

Christianity brought a great novelty in sexual morality: equal standards for both sexes. A man was expected to confine his sexual activities to marriage, and his unfaithfulness was condemned. This paper shows how these cultural changes reflected on the Latin language, explore Jerome's method of translating the Old Testament and examines the range of his interventions in the New Testament.

At the instigation of Pope Damasus I (366–384), Jerome revised the existing Latin translation of certain New Testament books and, later, translated the Old Testament from Hebrew (or Aramaic). This Bible version, known as Vulgate, soon became the authoritative version of the Scripture in the Latin West. It has shaped the content, style, and vocabulary of Romance languages and European literature for centuries. Its text was formed at a crucial moment to develop Christian marital and sexual morality when the Church, allied with imperial institutions, rose to power, and Christianity was spreading at an extraordinary pace.

The traditional marriage morality of the Western world, which has its roots in Christian teaching on marriage, has been facing several challenges lately. Sexua-

The idea that both genders are equal was sporadically present among pagan thinkers of the 1st century, but Christian ethics systematically adopts this idea (Joksimović 2016, 23–47). In Ep. 77.3 Jerome speaks of Fabiola, who left her adulterous husband, so corrupt with a neither a whore nor a slave would put up with its (Inon scortum quidem et vile mancipium ea sustinere posset). In Jerome's opinion, she acted in accordance with Jesus' teaching that divorce is justified in the case of adultery, for what is true of a man is true of a woman. In this, Roman laws differ from divine laws: »Aliae sunt leges Caesarum, aliae Christi: aliud Papianus, aliud Paulus noster praecipit. Apud illos viris impudicitae frena laxantur: et solo stupro atque adulterio condemnato, passim per lupanaria et ancillulas libido permittitur /.../ Apud nos, quod non licet feminis, aeque non licet viris /.../«

lity is no longer confined to marriage, and the need for marital sexual exclusivity is questioned regularly. By examining the terminology of adultery at the roots of Western marital morality, we hope to understand marriage better as we still know it today and identify its place in this rapidly changing world.²

This paper presents part of the results from the author's doctoral dissertation *Terminology of Adultery in the Vulgate and its Social, Historical and Cultural Context*³ (Joksimović 2016) in which Latin terms for adultery, namely, lexical families based on the words *adulter* and *moechus*, have been diachronically examined in several textual corpora: Pre-Christian Latin⁴, Christian Latin⁵, the Vulgate (Stuttgart edition), the Vetus Latina corpus, that is, Latin biblical translations other than Vulgate⁶, and Jerome's other works.

The first part of the paper presents Jerome's translation of the terms for adultery in the Vulgate Old Testament books. In the second part, the Old Testament vocabulary is compared with the vocabulary of the corpora as mentioned earlier in those aspects in which Pre-Christian and Christian Latin differ most.

This analysis comprises the works from the beginnings of Latin literature until Pope Gregory the Great (590–604). When the Lombard invasion of Italy (568) swept away Justinian's reconquest achievements, and Latin began to be vulgarized rapidly, the time of this Roman bishop is considered to be the actual end of late antiquity by many scholars (Löfstedt 1959, 9).⁷

2. Pre-Christian Latin

A specific Latin feature is two lexical groups for adultery: one based on the word *adulter,* and the other gathered around the word *moechus*. They are partial synonyms and differ in tone and connotations.

*Adulter is originally a Latin word and vox propria for adultery. These are neutral technical terms, typical for high style, prose, and legal texts (Joksimović 2016, 146–147; 148–151).

Moechus is the Latinized form of the Greek μοιχός, seducer of a married woman'. The noun μοιχός was first adapted in spoken Latin and then passed over into the language of

The views on this fundamental global social, cultural and religious changes have been summarised recently (Bahovec 2020).

In dissertation the author explores terminology of prostitution, fornication, mistresses and concubinage, as well.

⁴ Based on the *Packard Humanities Institute* database, containing Latin texts prior to 200 AD. Texts of unclear dating and commentaries on ancient works were not analyzed. *Digests* have been examined, as they contain older legal texts. Works of later pagan authors such as Ausonius were also explored.

⁵ Based on the Patrologia Latina Database containing works of Christian authors from Tertullian to 1216.

⁶ Based on the Vetus Latina Database containing Latin quotations of biblical verses other than Vulgate and references to them.

For the sake of brevity, an asterisk by a word marks entire lexical group, gathered around it (*adulter, *moechus ...), and Old and New Testament are abbreviated to OT and NT, respectively.

comedy. Such history determined its further destiny; thus *moechus became a mocking and offensive term, appropriate for lower style and poetry (103–108; 108–117).

The differences in tone reflected in the frequency of the mentioned terms. In Pre-Christian Latin *adulter occurs 11 times more frequently than *moechus. Late Latin *adulter prevailed in the language of the educated, while *moechus disappeared from literary use but was preserved in spoken Latin (Adams 1983, 351–353).

The patriarchal view of adultery influenced the semantic content of the terms for adultery. Pre-Christian Latin has words to describe extramarital affairs of married women, that is, with them, but there is no term for an unfaithful husband and his actions. The term *adultera* (rarely *moecha*) denotes an unfaithful wife, verbs *adulterare* and *moechari*, and the noun *adulterium* refers to the adulterous wife and her lover (there is no corresponding noun from the *moechus group). *Adulter* and *moechus* do not refer to an unfaithful husband but a seducer of a married woman. Such linguistic disproportion reflects the dual standard of sexual ethics.

3. Vulgate - Old Testament

In the OT, adultery is relatively often mentioned in the primary and figurative sense. In the basic sense, the patriarchal concept of adultery is described – the extramarital relations of a married woman and the seduction of married women. In this way, adultery is mentioned primarily in the Pentateuch as a rule within the verses which legally sanction sexual relations. A marital bond is a general symbol for a relationship between the Jewish people and God (Krašovec 2019, 880). In the prophetic books, however, adultery usually appears as a stylistic figure (allegory, metaphor, comparison) which describes the betrayal of an unfaithful wife (the Jewish people) and her falling away from her husband (God).

In the OT *adulter and *moechus are predominantly translations of the basic Hebrew terms for adultery, derived from the root na'aph (נָאף). Jerome consistently translates *na'aph by the nominals from the *adulter group (adulter, adultera, adulterium) and by the verb moechari. As will be shown, he departs from this practice for the sake of clarity, for stylistic motives, and, less frequently, to preserve the vocabulary of older Latin translations.

3.1 Nouns ni'uph and na'aphuwph

Two nouns meaning 'adultery': *ni'uphim* (נָאֵפִים) (Strong 1890, 5004) and *na'aphuwph* (נַאַפוּף) (Strong 1890, 5005) are translated by the word *adulterium* in the plural. There is no correlation with the *Septuagint*, where we find μοιχεία (singular, 2) and the participle of μοιχεύω (Table 1).

Only once adulter (Cic., Scaur. 8.2) and adulterium (Sen., Ep. 94.26) denote unfaithful husband and his actions; in Late Latin adultera can denote a mistress of a married man (Joksimović 2016, 162–163). For semantic content of *moechus and *adulter see Joksimović 2016, 111–132, 154–170.

⁹ ,To commit adultery'; figuratively, ,to apostatize'. (Strong 1890, 5003).

	Vulgate	Greek	Hebrew
Os 2:2	adulteria	μοιχείαν	na'aphuwph
Jer 13:27	adulteria	μοιχεία	
Eze 23:43	in adulteriis	έν τούτοις μοιχεύουσιν	ni'uph

Table 1: ni'uph and na'aphuwph.

3.2 Non-finite Verbs

Jerome translates participles (functioning as nouns) and infinitives of *na'aph mainly by nouns adulter, adultera and adulterium, or the adjective adulter. Verb adulterare occurs only twice, in infinitive and participle form.

3.2.1 Feminine Participles

The form *adultera* always translates feminine participles: *qal* participles (7) by the noun, and *piel* participles, always combined with the noun *'ishah* (אָשָׁה), woman' (3), by the adjective (*mulier adultera*). The *Septuagint* has noun μοιχαλίς (5) and passive participles of the verbs μοιχεύω and μοιχάομαι (Table 2).

	Vulgate	Greek	Hebrew	
Prov 30:20	mulieris adulterae	γυναικὸς μοιχαλίδος		
Os 3:1	mulierem adulteram	γυναῖκα μοιχαλίν	piel	
Eze 16:32	mulier adultera	ἡ γυνὴ ἡ μοιχωμένη		
Le 20:10	adultera	ἡ μοιχευομένη		
Eze 16:38	adulterarum	μοιχαλίδος		
Eze 23:45	adulterarum	μοιχαλίδος	qal	
EZE 23:45	adulterae sunt	μοιχαλίδες		

Table 2: Feminine participles of na'aph.

3.2.2 Masculine Participles

Masculine participles are mostly (7/9) translated by the form *adulter*. In Os 7:4 we find participle *adulterantes*, and in Le 20:10 the noun *moechus* (Table 3).

	Vulgate	Greek
Le 20:10	moechus	μοιχεύων
Job 24:15	adulteri	μοιχοῦ
Prov 6:32	adulter	μοιχὸς
Is 57:3	adulteri	μοιχῶν
Ps 49:18	adulteris	μοιχῶν
Jer 9:2	adulteri sunt	μοιχῶνται
Jer 23:10	adulteris	-
Os 7:4	adulterantes	μοιχεύοντες
Mal 3:5	adulteris	μοιχαλίδας

Table 3: Masculine participles of *na'aph.

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Os 7:4 belongs to an obscure section on idolatry. ¹⁰ It is quoted in the translations of Origen's works ¹¹ and referred to in the verse *omnes adulterantes, quasi clibanus corda eorum*, which is a compound of Os 7:4 and 7:6 in the form found in older Latin translations. ¹² This compiled verse became widely known in the 4th century with the struggle against numerous heresies and Origenism and often occurred in the works of Jerome ¹³ and his contemporaries, ¹⁴ containing almost exclusively participle *adulterantes* (cf. μοιχεύοντες in the *Septuagint*). Jerome presumably preserves the vocabulary of existing Latin translations, established by frequent references to the mentioned verse.

Le 20:10 prescribes the death sentence for adulterers: »Si moechatus quis fuerit cum uxore alterius, et adulterium perpetraverit cum conjuge proximi sui, morte moriantur et moechus et adultera.«

In the original, *na'aph occurs four times. ¹⁵ Jerome translates the same finite verb form ($yin'a\bar{p}$) by moechari (moechatus fuerit) and by the construction adulterium perpetrare (adulterium perpetraverit), while masculine and feminine participles are translated by the nouns moechus and adultera. This is the only occurrence of the noun moechus in Vulgate. The use of the terms from different lexical families is a peculiarity of Jerome's translation. In the Septuagint we find forms of the verb μ otxe $\dot{\nu}$ $\dot{\nu}$

3.2.3 Infinitives

Jerome translates the infinitive of na'aph by infinitive adulterare (1) and noun adulterium (2). In Septuagint we find the noun μοιχεία and infinitive and participle of verbs μοιχεύω and μοιχάομαι (Table 4).

¹⁰ Hier., In Os. 2.7.5 sqq.: »Obscurus locus et attento lectoris sensu indigens ut historiam cognoscamus.«

Adulterantes: Orig., In Matth. 13.4 (PG 13,1103–1104); Iulian. (Ps.-Rufin.), In Os. 2.7; cf. Hier., Jer. 5.67. Moechantes: Rufin., Orig. in Lv. 5.5.

Hier., In Os. 2.7.4—7: LXX 7.4: »Omnes adulterantes quasi clibanus ardens ad coquendum /.../«; 7.6 »Quia succensa sunt quasi clibanus corda eorum /.../«

Hier., Ep. 22.17; In Eph. 3.6; In Eccl. 1071a; In Soph. 2.3-4; In Matth. 3.6.16 adulterantium corda; In Ezech.
 9.28; 11.38; In Mich. 2 adulterantes a Deo..., 3 adulterantium corda; In Nah. 2.3; In Ioel. 1.19–20; In Is.
 8.27.5; 16.58.13; 17.64.8sqq.; Ep. 130.10.4; In Ier. 1.24; 3.81; cf. Ps.-Hier., In Iob 26.28.

¹⁴ Caes. Arel., Serm. 43.2 (=Ps.-Aug. 289); 189.4; 43.5; Eucher., Form. 7; Hesych., In Lev. 5.18; Ps.-Hier., Brev. 104; 107. Gaudent., Serm. 13.29: fornicantes.

יַאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁכַּב אֱת־זָכַר מִשְׁכָּבִי אָשַּׁה תּוֹעֲבָה עֲשׂוּ שָׁנֵיהֶם מוֹת יוּמַתוּ דְּמֵיהֶם בַּם

^{16 &}quot;Άνθρωπος ὂς ἂν μοιχεύσηται γυναῖκα ἀνδρὸς ἢ ὂς ἂν μοιχεύσηται γυναῖκα τοῦ πλησίον θανάτω θανατούσθωσαν ὁ μοιχεύων καὶ ἡ μοιχευομένη."

On foundational literary forms in the Bible, and particularly on the parallelism see Avsenik Nabergoj 2019; on parallelism and synonyms and their translation in the Septuagint and the Vulgate, see Krašovec 2018, 490–495.

	Vulgate	Greek	Hebrew
Jer 7:9	adulterare ¹⁸	μοιχᾶσθε	
Jer 23:14	adulterium ¹⁹	μοιχωμένους	qal
Os 4:2	adulterium	μοιχεία	

Table 4: Infinitives of *na'aph.

3.3 Finite Verbs

3.3.1 Masculine Subject

Jerome translates finite verbs, whose subject is a man, by the verb *moechari*. The exception is Le 20:10, where he uses the syntagm *adulterium perpetrare* for stylistic motives (*supra*). Jerome avoids the verb *adulterare* (in Le 20:10 he uses *adulterium perpetrare*, not *adulterare*). In Septuagint, we find finite forms of μοιχεύω and μοιχάομαι (Table 5).

	Vulgate	Greek
Ex 20:14	non moechaberis	- 2
De 5:18	neque moechaberis	οὐ μοιχεύσεις
L = 20:10	si moechatus quis fuerit cum	2
Le 20:10	adulterium perpetraverit cum	ἂν μοιχεύσηται γυναῖκα
Jer 5:7	moechati sunt	έμοιχῶντο
Jer 29:23	moechati sunt in	36:23 έμοιχῶντο τὰς γυναῖκας

Table 5: *Na'aph: finite verbs with masculine subject.

3.3.2 Feminine Subject

The finite verbs of na'aph, whose subject is a woman, appear only in the prophetic books and are inconsistently translated with terms from three lexical families: *adulter, *moechus, and *fornicatio. Jerome's translation is not correlated with the Septuagint, where we always find μοιχεύω or μοιχάομαι, or with the use of particular conjugations in the Hebrew original (Table 6).

	Vulgate	Greek	Hebrew	
Jer 3:8	moechata esset	έμοιχᾶτο	piel	
Jer 3:9	moechata est cum ἐμοίχευσεν		qal	
F 22-27	adulterae sunt			
Eze 23:37	fornicatae sunt cum	ἐμοιχῶντο	:-I	
Os 4:13	Os 4:13 adulterae erunt		- piel	
Os 4:14	cum adulteraverint	ὄταν μοιχεύωσιν		

Table 6: *Na'aph: finite verbs with feminine subject.

¹⁸ Clementina: »adulterari«.

¹⁹ Clementina: »adulterantium«.

When translating Jer 3:8-9, Jerome preserves the vocabulary of older translations while altering the construction of the verse: »quia pro eo quod moechata esset aversatrix Israël, dimisissem eam /.../ et /.../ praevaricatrix Juda /.../ abiit /.../« (Jer 3:8); »/.../ et moechata est cum lapide et ligno« (Jer 3:9).

In the Septuagint and Origen's translation, Jer 3:8 has the imperfect ἐν οἷς ἑμοιχᾶτο, corresponding to *in quibus moechabatur* in Jerome's and Rufin's translation of Origen. In the Vulgate, Jerome uses the pluperfect conjunctive *moechata esset*. In Jer 3:9, aorist ἐμοίχευσεν²¹ was translated in old Latin translations and Jerome's other works by perfect or imperfect, followed by the preposition *in* (*moechata est*²²/*moechabatur*²³ *in*+acc./abl.). In the Vulgate, we find the perfect *moechata est*, but with the preposition *cum* (*moechata est cum*). Jerome, thus, innovates with syntax and morphology but not with vocabulary.

In Os 4:13-14 adulterae erunt and adulteraverint are a translation of the same verb form (3 pl. $tan\bar{a}'a\bar{p}n\bar{a}h$): »Ideo /.../ sponsae vestrae adulterae erunt« 4:14: »non visitabo /.../ super sponsas vestras cum adulteraverint« (Os 4:13). There are two relevant older Latin translations of these verses: »Propterea /.../ sponsae vestrae moechabuntur, et non visitabo /.../ super sponsas vestras cum adulteraverint/.../« (Hier., In Os. 1.4.14 LXX); 25 »Moechabuntur/.../« (Cod. Wirc. Os 4:13) and »Et non respiciam /.../ super nurus vestras cum moecat« (Cod. Wirc. Os 4:14).

In Os 4:13, we find the future *moechabuntur* in both translations, corresponding to the future μ οιχεύσουσιν in the *Septuagint*. In Os 4:14 in *Cod. Wirc.* we find the present *moecat* (active!) and in *In. Os. adulteraverint* as in the Vulgate (in Septuagint present conjunctive μ οιχεύωσιν). The translation in Jerome's commentary on Hosea is almost identical to the one in the *Vulgate*, but *Cod. Wirc.* differs in: *respiciam* (Vulg. *visitabo*) and *nurus* (Vulg. *sponsam*). There are no other references to Os 4:13. When citing Os 4:14 (before and after the translation of the Book of Hosea *c.* 393), Jerome always uses *adulteraverint*, but alternates *nurus* and *sponsa*, which indicates that he was familiar with translations like *Cod. Wirc.*, containing *moechari* in both verses.²⁶ Nevertheless, Jerome uses terms from the group **adulter* in both verses.²⁷

²⁰ Hier., Hom. Orig. in Ier. 14.1.5; Rufin., Orig. in Rom. 7.18.

²¹ LXX: »/.../καὶ ἐμοίχευσεν τὸ ξύλον καὶ τὸν λίθον.«

²² Cypr., Ep. 63.18; cf. Ps.-Aug., Alterc. 237 (44); Ps-Hier., Pachom. Reg. 159 (61.9) moechatus est in; Rufin., Orig. in los. 7.5: meretricabamur; Euseb. Emes., Serm. 26.3 fornicabatur ad. Faust. Rei., Grat. 2.10 gives up the metaphor: lignum adorat et lapidem.

²³ Gaudent., Serm. 8.37; Hier., Hom. Orig. in Ier. 14.1; 14.6; moechabantur in: Hier., In Os. 1.4.10 sqq.; In Is. 16.3 sqq.

²⁴ Ita Hier., In Ier. 1.3.6 sqq.

²⁵ Latin version of Origen's recension of Septuagint.

²⁶ Sponsas: Hier., Quaest. Hebr. in Gen. 9.4; In Is. 17.63.18-19; nurus: In Is. 1.1.5; 6.13.11; 7.19.20sqq.; Ep. 140.15.3; Hom. Orig. in Ier. 2.5.

²⁷ Cf. Hier., Hom. Orig. in Ier. 2.5: »non uisitabo /.../ super nurus vestras, quando adulterant (al. adulterantur).«

In Eze 23:37, the same verb form $ni'\hat{e}\bar{p}\bar{u}$ is translated first by the construction adulterae sunt and then by fornicatae sunt: »Quia adulterae sunt²8 /.../et cum idolis suis fornicatae sunt /.../.« It is unclear why Jerome chooses words from different lexical families or opts for the verb fornicari. In both places we find $\dot{\epsilon}\mu$ oix $\tilde{\omega}$ vto in the Septuagint and moechabantur in Fragm. Sang.²9 In the commentary on Ezekiel, Jerome quotes translation as in the Vulgate but uses moechari instead of fornicari in the paraphrase.³0

Maybe the Hebrew text Jerome translated differed from the one known to us, which was the basis for the Septuagint. As we have seen before, the reason may be stylistic: Jerome opts for different terms to avoid the redundancy of Latin words caused by Hebrew parallelism.

3.4 Jerome's Self-initiated Use of *adulter

In the OT *moechus appears exclusively as a translation of *na'aph. Jerome, however, uses *adulter to translate *na'aph, but also Hebrew words of more general meaning (7 occurrences, Table 7). Such use of *adulter prevails in the Pentateuch (5/7); it is not conditioned by the vocabulary of older Latin translations or the Septuagint.

Ancient Bible translators generally tended to choose words with the most general meanings for translating terms with a wide semantic range unless the context required specificity (Krašovec 2018, 489); this indicates that Jerome felt the strong need to use the terms with more specific meaning.

Jerome only uses nouns *adulter* (2), *adultera* (2) and *adulterium* (3) in such a manner. He never uses the verb *adulterare*, although half of the translated Hebrew forms are verbs (Num 5:13; 5:27; Is 57:8) and predicate constructions (De 22:22).

3.4.1 Adulter, adultera = ,man', ,woman'

In De 22:22, the death penalty for adulterers is again prescribed: »Si dormierit vir cum uxore alterius, uterque morietur, id est, adulter et adultera /.../.« The nouns adulter and adultera are a translation of 'iysh ,man' (אַישׁ), that is, the syntagm meaning ,the one lying down with a woman' and 'ishshah ,woman' (אִשָּׁיִה), referring to an adulteress and her lover. The text of the Septuagint and older Latin translations corresponds to the Hebrew original; therefore, Jerome's translation is excluded.³¹

3.4.2 3.4.2 Adulterium = ,defiled', ,sin', ,betray'

Section Num 5:12-31 describes the procedure for proving a wife's adultery; in it adulterium appears three times, indicating wife's infidelity as a translation of the

²⁸ Clementing: »adulteratae sunt.«

[»]Maechabantur /.../ cogitationibus suis moechabantur.«

Hier., In Ezech. 7.23.36 sqq: »Adulterae sunt /.../ sunt enim moechatae in idolis.«

ΔΧΧ: »τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν κοιμώμενον μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς /.../ τὴν γυναῖκα«; Cod. Lugd. »qui dormierit cum mulierem.«; Cod. Monac. »/.../ et illum qui cum muliere /.../ abit, et mulierem.«

words tame', 'avon and ma'al.

In Num 5:13³² adulterium is a translation of $nitm\bar{a}'\bar{a}h$, defiled' from tame' (ψακ) (ψακ) (Jatet adulterium, literally ,there is no evidence that she is defiled'). In the Septuagint and older Latin translations, we find the perfect passive participle \tilde{h} μεμιαμμένη (μιαίνω) and coinquinata, both meaning ,defiled'. Elsewhere in the Vulgate $nitm\bar{a}'\bar{a}h$ is translated by the perfect passive participle polluta est. 35

In Num 5:15³⁶ adulterium is a translation of the noun 'avon (|i|i|) (Strong 1890, 5771) ,sin', corresponding to $\dot{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\dot{\alpha}$ in the Septuagint and peccatum in older Latin translations.³⁷ Elsewhere in the Vulgate, Jerome translates ' $\ddot{a}w\bar{o}n$ (68) mainly by iniquitas (60)³⁸ and, less frequently, peccatum, ³⁹ peccare (los 22:17), malum (1Rg 28:10), scelus (3Rg 7:9) and in the paraphrase quod argueres (2Rg 3:8).

In Num 5:27⁴⁰ clause (*sc. si uxor est*) *contempto viro adulterii rea* translates two Hebrew forms: a) finite verb *wattim'ōl* from ma'al (מְעֵל) 41 , to betray' and b) noun ma'al (מְעֵל) 42 , betrayal'. Jerome's translation differs from the Septuagint and other Latin translations. 43 The noun ma'al, usually combined with the verb ma'al, indicates apostasy in the OT (except Num 5:12). Jerome translates it by *contemnere* (*maritum*, *Deum*, *Dominum*), 44 *praevaricari*, *transgressio*, and related terms. 45

3.4.3 Suscepisti adulterum = 'alah

In Is 57:8⁴⁶ suscepisti adulterum is a translation of the finite verb watta'ălî from 'alah (עַלָּה), to ascend', ,mount'.⁴⁷ Jerome's motivation for such a translation is not

^{32 »(}Sc. vir cuius uxor) dormierit cum altero viro, et hoc maritus deprehendere non quiverit, sed latet adulterium, et testibus argui non potest, quia non est inventa in stupro /.../«

^{33 »}To be foul, especially in a ceremial or moral sense (contaminated).« (Strong 1890, 2930)

³⁴ »κρύψη αὐτὴ δὲ ἦ μεμιαμμένη.«; *Cod. Lugd.*: »et sabsconderit hoc ipsa aut fuerit coinquinata.«

Eze 23.7; 23.13; cf. Nova Vulgata Num 5:14: »sed latet quod impuram se reddiderit.«

^{36 »/.../}adducet eam ad sacerdotem, et offeret oblationem /.../ sacrificium zelotypiae est, et oblatio investigans adulterium.«

³⁷ »ἔστιν γὰρ θυσία ζηλοτυπίας θυσία μνημοσύνου ἀναμιμνήσκουσα ἀμαρτίαν.«; *cf. Cod. Lugd* »est enim sacrificium zelationis, sacrificium memoria, commemorans peccatum.«

³⁸ E.g. Gen 15:16; Le 10:17; Num 14:18; 18:1; De 5:9; 1Rg 3:14; Job 31:11; Ps 49.5; Is 53:6; Jer 14:20.

³⁹ Num 14:18: 18:1: De 19:15: Ps 78:38.

⁴⁰ »Quas cum biberit, si polluta est, et contempto viro adulterii rea /.../«

⁴¹ »To cover up /.../ to act covertly, i.e. treacherously.« (Strong 1890, 4603)

⁴³ Num 5:27 Cod. Lugd: »siquidem fuerit coinquinata et latuerit uirum suum«; LXX: »ἐὰν ἦ μεμιαμμένη καὶ λήθη λάθη τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς.«

⁴⁴ Le 6:2 »contempto Deo«; Num 5:12 »maritumque contemnens«; 2Par 28:19 »contempui /.../ Dominum.« Cf. Jos 22:20 »praeteriit mandatum Domini.«

^{*}Praevaricari et sim.«: e.g. Num 31:16; Le 5:15; Jos 7:1; Eze 14:13; *Transgressio et sim.«: Esdr 9:4; 10:6; Num 5:6; Job 21:34 **repugnare /.../ veritati.«

⁴⁶ »Quia juxta me discooperuisti, et suscepisti adulterum, dilatasti cubile tuum; et pepigisti cum eis foedus; dilexisti stratum eorum manu aperta.«

^{47 »}Used in a great variety of senses, primary and secondary, literal and figurative.« (Strong 1890, 5927)

clear.⁴⁸ The possibility of impact of the Septuagint text, significantly different from Latin, is excluded.⁴⁹ The commentary on Isaiah provides no answers since it contains a formulation similar to the one in the Vulgate.⁵⁰ Maybe Jerome interprets 'alah in Is 57:8, 'to abandon' (husband, God); in certain verses, he translates 'alah by recedere', to leave' (3Rg 15:19; 4Rg 12:18; 2Par 16:3; Jer. 37:4.).

3.4.4 Adultera = μοιχαλίς

In Prov 18:22a, adultera is a translation of μοιχαλίς. We find this verse in the Septuagint and Clementine, but not in the Hebrew text or the Stuttgart edition of the Vulgate. 51

	Vulgate	Greek	Vetus Latina	Hebrew
Num 5:13	latet adulterium	ἦ μεμιαμμένη	fuerit coinquinata	tame
Num 5:15	adulterium	άμαρτίαν	peccatum	'avon
Num 5:27	si est et contempto λήθη λάθη τὸν άνδρα fuerit coinquinata et i viro adulterii rea αὐτῆς uirum suum		fuerit coinquinata et latuerit uirum suum	ma'al
De 22:22	adulter	τὸν άνδρα τὸν κοιμώμενον μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς	qui dormierit cum mulierem/ qui cum muliere abit	'iysh
	adultera	γυναῖκα	mulierem	'ishshah
Prov 18:22 a	adulteram	μοιχαλίδα		
Is 57:8	suscepisti adulterum	ὤου ὅτι ἐὰν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἀποστῆς πλεῖόν τι ἕξεις		ʻalah

Table 7: Jerome's self-initiated use of *adulter.

3.5 Distribution by the Books

The distribution of the terms for adultery by OT books shows certain not overly significant regularities. *Moechus (almost exclusively moechari) occurs only in the Pentateuch and the Book of Jeremiah. Finite verb forms of moechari always translate the finite verb forms of *na'aph. The exception is Le 20:10 (adulterium perpetrare) for stylistic reasons; it is also the only place in the Pentateuch where *adulter appears as a translation of *na'aph; everywhere else in the Pentateuch *na'aph is translated by *moechus, while *adulter as a translation of more general terms (Table 8).

Jerome translated the Torah at the very end of his translation endeavour, after most other OT books, after the much-translating experience.⁵² However, all the

⁴⁸ Nova Vulgata: »et ascendisti«.

 $^{^{49}}$ » /.../ $\ddot{\omega}$ ου ὅτι ἐὰν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἀποστῆς πλεῖόν τι ἕξεις ἡγάπησας τοὺς κοιμωμένους μετὰ σοῦ.«

Hier., In. Is. 57.7sqq.: »eamdem nunc quasi uxorem adulteram arguit et confutat, quod dormiens cum viro, clam adulterum susceperit, et discooperuit pallium, immo, dilataverit stratum suum, et fecerit pactum, quasi dotis instrumenta conficiens cum adulteris. Hoc autem dicit, ut ostendat quod non solum in agris et domibus idola coluerint, sed in Templo quoque posuerint simulacrum Baal /.../«

⁵¹ Reflections of Prov 18:22a are found in: Hier., In Matth. 19.9 (146); Aug. Retract. 1.19.6; 94; Cod. Valv. p. 206.

⁵² Between 398 and 406 (Denzin-Weber and Thompson).

prophetic books were translated in the same year, 389–392 AD (Williams 2006, 281–283); still, *moechus only appears in the Book of Jeremiah. The chronological criterion, therefore, only partly explains Jerome's lexical choice.

	*moechus	*adulter	*fornicatio
Ex	1		
Num		3	
De	1	2	
Le	2	2	
Job		1	
Prov		3	
Is		2	
Ps		1	
Jer	4	5	
Eze		6	1
Os		6	
Mal		1	
Sum	8	32	1

Table 8: Distribution by the books.

3.6 Impact of Greek Vocabulary

The impact of the Greek vocabulary in choosing *moechus or *adulter is negligible. In the Septuagint *na'aph is always translated by * μ o χ o χ 0 (Joksimović 2016, 213–225). The expected influence would be reflected in the more frequent use of *moechus, especially in the books, which Jerome first translated from Greek into Latin (Ps, Prov, Eccl, Job, Par). In these, however, only *adulter appears.

4. Vulgate - New Testament

The translation of the Vulgate NT books shows a great deal of consistency and uniformity. The leading Greek lexical group for adultery is based on the term μοιχός. In NT, the nouns μοιχός, μοιχαλίς, and μοιχεία are always translated by the nouns adulter, adultera and adulterium. ⁵³ The verbs μοιχεύω and μοιχάομαι are mainly translated by the verb moechari (14), and less frequently by the verb adulterare (4) and constructions with the noun adulterium (2). ⁵⁴

5. Other Jerome's Works

In quotations and references to relevant Bible verses in his other works, Jerome predominantly uses the same forms as in the Vulgate, particularly in the OT ver-

⁵³ Exeptions: 2Pt 2:14, lac 4:4.

⁵⁴ For group *μοιχός and its translation in the NT, see Joksimović 2016, 83–102, 215–258.

ses. Discrepancies are rare and usually conditioned by stylistic needs, the desire for precision, or under the influence of older Latin translations. As in the Vulgate, he only uses the verb *moechari* and the noun *moechus*, and never *moecha* or neologisms *moechia*, *moechatio*, *adulterator*, *adulteratio*. (Joksimović 2016, 219; 221; 224; 246; 256–258).

6. Vetus Latina

Vetus Latina shows the most remarkable similarities to the vocabulary of the Vulgate NT books. The impact of the Greek language and Vulgar Latin is noticeable. The quotations of the relevant Bible verses and references in the corpus Vetus Latina mostly contain the same forms as in the Vulgate. Discrepancies from the Vulgate mainly consist in alternate use of the terms *moechus* and *adulter. The terms for prostitution, fornication and sin in general (*fornicatio, *meretrix, *peccatum, *stuprum) occur less frequently. In Vetus Latina we find words absent from the Vulgate: moecha, moechatio, moechia, adulterator, adulteratio. *Adulter* is typical for the language of the educated, above all the constructions with the noun adulterium and the corresponding verb (facere, committere, admittere, concipere, perpetrare). (Joksimović 2016, 217–224)

7. Christian Latin

7.1 New Meanings – Husband's Adultery

Christian sexual ethics brings a great novelty – the view that adultery violates the marriage bond, regardless of who violates it. All extramarital sexual relations are condemned, including a husband's infidelity. A man is expected to limit his sexuality to marriage. This cultural change is reflected in the language; the semantic content of the terms for adultery changes, and *adulter and *moechus begin to denote the unfaithful husband and his actions.

Such use begins with the New Testament. The Synoptic Gospels testify that Jesus forbade divorce and characterized the second marriage, concluded during a former spouse's life, as adultery.

Lk 16:18 »Omnis qui dimittit uxorem suam et alteram ducit, moechatur.«

Mt 19:9 »/.../ quicumque dimiserit uxorem suam /.../ et aliam duxerit moechatur /.../.«

Mk 10:11 »/.../ quicumque dimiserit uxorem suam et aliam duxerit adulterium committit super eam.«

Moechari and adulterium committere in the verses mentioned denotes the husband's adultery, thus imposing a new meaning on Latin terms. Such use is marked and aims at changing the language content to adapt it to Christian teaching. The

verses mentioned were of great importance for the development of Christian sexual ethics, and such use of the terms for adultery in them paved the way for their further use with a new meaning.

In the OT *adulter and *moechus denote the patriarchal concept of adultery, that is, only a wife's infidelity, or, respectively, the seduction of married women. In the Hebrew world, as in other ancient societies, only female adultery was sanctioned; thus, it is the only form of infidelity mentioned.

7.2 Revival of *moechus

Another change with Christian Latin is a higher frequency of the group *moechus. *Moechus occurs five times more frequently in the Christian texts than in Pre-Christian Latin (556:99). This is only partly due to the larger volume of preserved texts; *adulter, by comparison, occurs only twice as often (2610:1078). *Adulter remains more frequent than *moechus (2610:556), but the proportion decreases from 11:1 to 5:1, and the share of *moechus increases from 8% to 18% (Table 9).

The difference in tone and connotations between *adulter and *moechus, characteristic of Pre-Christian Latin, disappears with Christianity and is used interchangeably (Joksimović 2016, 174–175).

	*adulter	*moechus	Sum	*adulter:*moechus
Pre-Christian	1078	99	1177	11:1
%	92	8	100	
Christian	2610	556	3166	5:1
%	82	18	100	

Table 9: *adulter and *moechus in Pre-Christian and Christian Latin.

In the *Vulgate*, this ratio is even more favourable of *moechus, with 4:1 (32:8 occurrences) in the OT and 1,6:1 (22:14 occurrences) in the NT. Moreover, in the NT *moechus occurs almost twice as often (14) as in the OT (8). This does not apply to *adulter, which remains more common in the OT (32) than in the NT (22) (Table 10).

	*adulter	*moechus
Pre-Christian	11	1
Christian	5	1
ОТ	4 (32)	1 (8)
NT	1.6 (22)	1 (14)

Table 10: Ratio of *adulter and *moechus in Pre-Christian Latin, Christian Latin, OT and NT.

Terms for adultery occur almost as often in the OT (40) as in the NT (36), but in the OT *adulter (32:8) predominates, and in the NT *moechus (22:14); this difference indicates that Jerome's interventions on the text of the NT were not extensive.

Numbers in brackets are explained and compared in relevant accompanying tables, in this case, Table 9.

The high proportion of *moechus in the NT indicates that Christianity gave a key impetus for the revival of this lexical group due to Greek and spoken Latin on Christian Latin. In Late Latin *moechus, we have said, disappeared from the literary language of pagan writers; it was revived in spoken Latin under the influence of the Greek and established itself in the Christian written tradition.

7.3 Higher Proportion of Verbs adulterare and moechari

In Christian Latin, *adulterare* and *moechari* are more frequently used, while the proportion of the nominals from groups *moechus and *adulter diminishes.

Within its lexical group, the proportion of *moechari* increases drastically (5: 67%). The share of the noun *moecha* is, on the other hand, drastically reduced (32: 2%). *Moecha* disappears after the age of Augustine. Vulgate follows these tendencies; *moecha* occurs neither in the OT nor in the NT (nor in Jerome's other works). *Moecha* probably retained offensive connotations, causing its gradual disappearance (Table 11).

	moechus	moecha	moechari	ἄπαξ λεγομένα	moechia	moechatio	Sum
Pre- Christian	58	32	5	4	/	/	99
%	59	32	5	4	/	/	100
Christian	91	13	365	/	67	11	547
%	17	2	67	/	12	2	100

Table 11: *moechus in Pre-Christian and Christian Latin (Joksimović 2016, 142).

*Adulter is not subject to such drastic changes. Despite the more significant proportion of adulterare (1:8%), the nominals prevail in Christian Latin, as well (Table 12). (Joksimović 2016, 171–172)

	adulter	adultera	adulteri- um	adulter (adi.)	adulteri- nus	adulter- are	other	Sum
Pre-Chri- stian	405	114	525	15	1	16	2	1078
%	38	11	49	1	0	1	0	100
70			98			1	U	100
Christian	740	339	1149	99	65	217	1	2610
%	28	13	44	4	3	0	0	100
76			92			8	0	100

Table 12: *adulter in Pre-Christian and Christian Latin.

In Vulgate, these tendencies are even more emphasized. The ratio of the nominals and the verb *adulterare* is reduced from 66:1 in Pre-Christian to 11:1 in Christian Latin and 3:1 in the OT. Moreover, in the NT, *adulterare* appears twice more often than the nominals from the same group. The high frequency of *adulterare* in the OT is striking, given that Jerome, as we have said, avoids using the verb *adulterare*.

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In the Pre-Christian corpus, the nominals from the group *moechus appear more often than the verb moechari (16:1). In Christian Latin, moechari becomes more common (2:1). Even more striking is this ratio (in favour of moechari) in the OT (7:1) and NT (14:1). In Vulgate alone, moechari occurs more frequently (OT 7; NT 14) than in the entire Pre-Christian corpus (6). In Vulgate, we have said that the verb moechari occurs; the noun moechus appears only once in the OT. (Table 13).

Moreover, in Christian Latin *moechari* is more common than *adulterare* (365:217 = 1,7:1); this proportion increases with the OT (7:3 = 2,3:1) and especially the NT (14:4 = 3,5:1). (Table 13)

	*adulter		*moechus	
	Nominals	Verb	Nominals	Verb
Pre-Christian	66 (1062)	1 (16)	16 (93)	1 (6)
Christian	11 (2393)	1 (217)	1 (182)	2 (365)
ОТ	3 (8)	1 (3)	1 (1)	7 (7)
NT	1 (2)	2 (4)	0 -	14 (14)

Table 13: Ratio of the nominals and verbs from the groups *adulter and *moechus in Pre-Christian and Christian Latin, OT and NT.

There are several possible explanations for the high proportion of *moechari* in the *Vulgate*. First, *adulterare* has been used predominantly in non-sexual meaning in Pre-Christian Latin; maybe that is why Jerome avoids it. Jerome's time, the revival of *moechus was already finished, and *moechari* was already established in the existing Latin translations. Thus, *moechari* might have been an acceptable choice to Jerome. *Moechari* occurs in many verses of great importance for the development of Christian sexual ethics. We find it in Jesus' words about the unbreakability of marriage, but also God's commandment forbidding adultery (Ex 20:14: *Non moechaberis*). These verses were often repeated at gatherings of believers and in Christian literature, so their vocabulary became widely known. His interventions would encounter opposition if Jerome departed from the established vocabulary, replacing the moechari with adulterare.

7.4 Neologisms – Abstract Nouns moechia and moechatio

There is no abstract noun from the *moechus group with the meaning of adultery in Pre-Christian Latin. With Christianity, the nouns moechia and moechatio appear as a translation of μ olyxia. Their use is sporadic compared to adulterium (moechia 67, moechatio 11, adulterium 1149, Table 11). Adulterium remains the primary abstract term with the meaning adultery' in both eras. The only neologism in the *adulter group is adulteratio.

Moechia survives in medieval literature. Moechatio is rare, found mainly in translations of Greek Christian scriptures, and disappears from the 6th century (Joksimović 2016, 132–142).

No neologisms appear in the Vulgate, in the OT, or the NT. In this aspect, the Vulgate vocabulary is conservative. Maybe Jerome purified the NT Vulgate text from neologisms. Their absence is the main difference between the vocabulary of the Vulgate and older Latin translations.

8. Conclusion

Jerome translates Hebrew terms for adultery formed from the root na'aph by the nouns adulter, adultera and adulterium and the verb moechari. Similarly, in the NT Greek terms for adultery, gathered around the word μ o χ o ζ , are translated predominantly by nominals from the group *adulter and the verb moechari. As Krašovec points out, »we may assume that relative uniformity of ancient translations of the Bible reflects a living tradition« (2018, 488).

With the NT, terms for adultery start denoting the husband's adultery and paving the way for new use in Christian Latin. In the OT, due to the content of the Hebrew sacred texts, terms for adultery denote only a patriarchal concept of adultery.

A specific feature of Christian Latin is a higher frequency of a) terms from the *moechus group, especially the verb moechari, and b) verbs adulterare and moechari in general. Their frequency increases with the OT and, particularly, the NT, indicating that Christianity has instigated said lexical changes. The fact that the vocabulary of the OT is more similar to the language of the Christian Fathers in general than to the vocabulary of the NT indicates that Jerome adopted the current language tendencies only to some extent and that he rarely intervened in the text of the NT.

The vocabulary of the NT and Vetus Latina shows the most significant similarities. The striking difference between them is the absence of neologisms such as *moechia, moechatio, adulteratio* from the NT. Jerome may have cleaned the NT of them. Neologisms are absent from other Jerome's works as well. The term *moecha* gradually disappears with Christian Latin; it does not appear in Vulgate or Jerome's other works. Such consistency of vocabulary and phrasing may be the product of Jerome's editorial interventions (Krašovec 2018, 489).

Jerome's lexical interventions in the NT are scarce. He instead innovates with syntax and morphology than with vocabulary. The biblical text is considered sacred, which reflects in the conservative approach to its translation. Once formed, the vocabulary of biblical translations is preserved and not changed without valid reasons. Any change contradicts the established tradition and leads to a possible misinterpretation of biblical truth.

This research clearly distinguished three separate lexical units. The first is Pre-Christian Latin, which shows no resemblance to other corpora. The second is the vocabulary of Christian fathers, including Jerome (in the OT translation and his other works); they show the most remarkable similarities. The third is the vocabulary of

the NT, which represents the radical lexical pole of Christian Latin, formed under the strong influence of spoken Latin on the one hand, and Greek on the other. New Testament translations have become the reference pivot for Christian Latin.

The language of biblical texts, especially of their most significant and quoted verses, became the basis for further developing Christian vocabulary. Such are the verses forbidding divorce and characterizing second marriage as adultery. In these verses, *adulter and *moechus are used in a manner inconsistent with Pre-Christian Latin, denoting the husband's adultery. Such use was the basis for the future development of the semantic field of lexical groups gathered around the terms mentioned.

		Vulgate	Greek	
Ex	20:14	non moechaberis	,	
De	5:18	neque moechaberis	οὐ μοιχεύσεις	
Le	20:10	si moechatus quis fuerit	ἂν μοιχεύσηται γυναῖκα	
		adulterium perpetraverit	ἂν μοιχεύσηται	
		moechus	μοιχεύων	
		adultera	ἡ μοιχευομένη	
Job	24:15	adulteri	μοιχοῦ	
Prov	30:20	mulieris adulterae	γυναικὸς μοιχαλίδος	
	6:32	adulter	μοιχὸς	
ls	57:3	semen adulteri	μοιχῶν	
Ps	49:18	adulteris	μοιχῶν	
	3:8	moechata esset	έμοιχᾶτο	
	3:9	moechata est	ἐμοίχευσεν	
	5:7	moechati sunt	έμοιχῶντο	
	7:9	adulterare/ adulterari	μοιχᾶσθε	
Jer	9:2	adulteri sunt	μοιχῶνται	
	13:27	adulteria	μοιχεία	
	23.10	adulteris	-	
	23.14	similitudinem adulterium	μοιχωμένους	
	29:23	moechati sunt	36:23 ἐμοιχῶντο	
	16:32	mulier adultera	ἡ γυνὴ ἡ μοιχωμένη	
	16:38	adulterarum	μοιχαλίδος	
Eze	23:37	fornicatae sunt	έμοιχῶντο	
Eze	23:43	in adulteriis	μοιχεύουσιν	
	23:45	adulterarum	μοιχαλίδος	
		adulterae sunt	μοιχαλίδες	
	2:2	adulteria	μοιχείαν	
	3:1	mulierem adulteram	γυναῖκα μοιχαλίν	
Os	4:2	adulterium	μοιχεία	
US	4:13	adulterae erunt	μοιχεύσουσιν	
	4:14	adulteraverint	μοιχεύωσιν	
	7:4	adulterantes	μοιχεύοντες	
Mal	3:5	adulteris	έπὶ τὰς μοιχαλίδας	

Appendix - Table 14:

Translation of *na'aph - cumulative table.

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