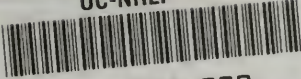


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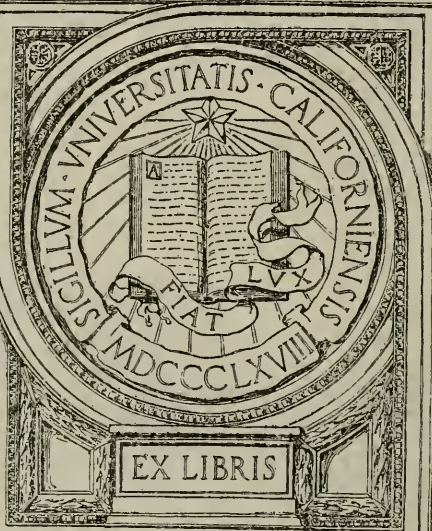


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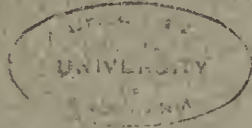
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Studies In Archaism

IN

Aulus Gellius

WALTER EUGENE FOSTER



STUDIES IN ARCHAISM
IN
AULUS GELLIUS

By
WALTER EUGENE FOSTER
⁽¹⁾

Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
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STUDIES IN ARCHAISM IN AULUS GELLIUS

INTRODUCTION

The following pages, which have to do primarily with archaisms in the vocabulary and the syntax of the *Noctes Atticae* of Aulus Gellius, are intended to be, in general, supplementary to the work which has already been done in this field by Professor Charles Knapp, of Columbia University.¹ Not only has Professor Knapp aided the author of this paper with suggestions and encouragement, but he has, as well, most generously turned over no inconsiderable amount of material which he had gathered from time to time, with the intention, at some later date, of publishing it and thus completing his studies in the archaisms of Gellius.²

An entirely independent examination of the material has, however, been made. In some instances, the results have been merely corroborative, in some supplementary, and again in others corrective. In the course of the investigation, again, certain phases of the archaistic elements in Gellius which had been either entirely overlooked or merely hinted at by previous investigators receive due emphasis.

The Introduction to this paper (pages 1-28) deals with certain general questions relating to the archaistic movement in the second century A.D. and, in particular, with the varying relations of Fronto, Gellius, and Apuleius to that movement. In Part I (pages 29-47), which deals with archaisms of form and vocabulary, the lists given are intended to be supplementary to the lists published by Professor Knapp,³ or cor-

¹ See the Bibliography below, page 65, s. v. Knapp.

² It should be noted that it is impossible to study archaism in Gellius without at the same time examining carefully Fronto and Apuleius. For the relation of Gellius to Fronto see below, pages 16-20; for Gellius and Apuleius see below, 21-23.

³ *Drisler Studies*, 141-146. For the citations in this paper see the Bibliographical Appendix, pages 65-67 under the names of the authors of the books and articles cited or quoted (some few books or articles, cited or quoted but once or twice, have not been listed there; in all such cases the book or article will be sufficiently identified in text or

rective of those lists. Part II (pages 48-64) is devoted to an attempt to set forth in full the archaic qualities of Gellius's syntax, a task which no one else, so far as I am aware, has essayed.

It is not the writer's purpose to attempt, in any comprehensive way, an explanation of the intense archaizing fervor which characterized the literary spirit of the second Christian century.⁴ Nor, indeed, is such a comprehensive survey any longer necessary. Nevertheless, some special remarks will be offered a little later (pages 5-6). For the present a very rapid resumé of the history of Latin literature will be made, to pave the way to what is said below (page 5) about the reaction in the time of Gellius and Fronto in favor of the Latin of the archaic period. First, we have the early, crude efforts of the pioneers who are striking out for themselves new paths in untrodden fields. The qualities of freshness and vigor in part, at least, compensate for what may be lacking in perfection of form and in workmanlike finish. Next comes the classic, or the golden age. Now is the high tide of national life. In this period, poetry and prose reach a perfection beyond which, except in rare instances, the genius of the race is unable to go. Dignity of manner is combined with freshness and originality of theme. With the close of the period of expansion, there was a tendency towards the fixed and the conventional in all spheres of life. This tendency is marked in the realm of letters.

There is, therefore, in turn, ushered in now the age which, taking the great classical masterpieces as models,⁵ pays less and less attention to substance, and seeks more and more exquisite refinement of manner and uniformity of method. In the first Christian century, the opponents of antiquarianism (footnotes). The abbreviations employed in the citations will also be found listed in their alphabetical places in the Bibliographical Appendix.

⁴For discussions of this matter, see e.g. Vogel, 19-22; Mackail, 233 ff.; Teuffel, §345; Kretschmann, 2-4; Schmalz, 664-665; Stolz 1. § 36; Nettleship, Lectures and Essays (First Series), 279; Piechotta, 5 ff.; Brock, 25-35, 181-183; E. Norden, 344 ff., 361 ff.; and especially Drisler Studies, 126-141 (with literature there cited).

⁵Duff, 30.

were supreme.⁶ Here the goal is symmetry, harmony, elegance; but after this refining process has been carried to the extreme limit a reaction sets in.

In Rome the reaction against this super-refinement, under the leadership of such men as Fronto and Gellius, contributed no doubt to that reversion to the preclassical manner⁷ which is the marked characteristic of the Latin writings of the second Christian century. Cato, Ennius,⁸ and Plautus were studied with diligence, and the more vigorous but simpler style became, for a time, especially under Hadrian and his immediate successors, the vogue among the literary classes.

It would be instructive and interesting if we could discover in full the forces at work which produced men of the type of Fronto, Gellius, and Apuleius, men who differed so widely in their temperaments and literary gifts, and yet, in spite of their marked differences, have a general likeness, in this one particular: the archaic qualities of their style.

Some of these forces, probably—nay beyond doubt—the most important, in the case of Gellius, at least, have been set forth in the views of the writers named above, note 4, and in the authorities cited by them.⁹ These authorities, and others, lay stress, and rightly, on conscious and deliberate imitation of the earlier authors by the writers of the second Christian century.

There is, however, another factor which, though noted by some scholars,¹⁰ has not received, it seems to me, the attention which it deserves. I have in mind a kind of unconscious and wholly natural archaism, which, I think, was inevitable to a writer born and reared in Africa, as Apuleius surely was,¹¹

⁶ Nettleship, *Lectures and Essays* (Second Series), 74; Drisler *Studies*, 137-138; Bernhardt, 327 ff.

⁷ Stolz, § 36; Nettleship, *Essays in Latin Literature* (First Series), 279 ff.; Duff, 31.

⁸ Vahlen, lxxx ff.

⁹ I do not regard Gellius as specifically an African writer; see below, note 51; also pages 14-16 in general.

¹⁰ Compare e.g. Cooper, xxvii ff. In Piechotta, 1-10, a good discussion of the matter, the various authorities are cited and their views considered.

¹¹ See e.g. Flor. § 18 (page 35, Helm).

because of the conditions under which Latin became the speech of Africa and remained in use there.

A priori there seems, to me at least, to be no valid reason why the Latin language in Africa, in the second Christian century, should not already have developed along lines such as resulted in a speech, still Latin, to be sure, but yet distinct in a variety of important particulars from the Latin language as it had developed during the same period in Italy, and particularly at Rome.¹² Analogies and comparisons rarely prove anything, though they may shed a flood of light upon the question at issue.

Ireland, for example, has been under English domination for four centuries. Yet the language of Ireland to-day, though officially English, varies through countless gradations from pure English to Gaelic. Even in a country so small, so near England, and so easy of access, so often visited by residents of England, with so many of its own people visiting England, the native language still leaves its impress, not only on the oral speech, but on literature. For example, the numerous ballads of Ireland¹³ written even within the last century¹⁴ furnish a rich field for the student of the early Gaelic language and literature.

The Scotchman usually betrays his nationality in his speech. Furthermore, the Gaelic has left its impress on the later literary products; for example, not only many of the poems of Robert Burns, but comparatively recent works of literature show the influence of the ballad.¹⁵

In Canada there is a rich store of ballad literature in a patois which is neither French nor English but a curious commingling of both.¹⁶ To one who has travelled in Brittany, and

¹² Duff, 27, says: "If we pass to the fourth century A.D., it is not for a moment to be thought that African Latin was identical with that spoken on the Rhine or the Danube".

¹³ See Hayes, *The Ballads of Ireland*, Introduction, 13-14.

¹⁴ See *The International Cyclopaedia*, under Irish (Gaelic) Language and Literature.

¹⁵ Child's *English and Scottish Popular Ballads* is a great work on the subject. See also Eyre-Todd, *Scottish Ballad Poetry*, 29-34.

¹⁶ See Henry Drummond, *The Habitant* (New York, 1897).

noted the dialect spoken there, which differs so markedly from Parisian French, surely the claim that there was a marked difference between African Latin and Roman Latin would cause no surprise.

We need not go, however, far afield to find examples of archaic words and usages in language. In out-of-the-way parts of our own country, which lie outside the sweep of the great currents of our modern life, survivals from earlier times have for centuries maintained themselves almost unchanged.¹⁷ Thus in the less frequented parts of Virginia are heard, to this day, words which have been obsolete for two centuries or more, but were current when the cavaliers of the Elizabethan period settled in the New World. Many archaic words and phrases may still be heard among the New England hills.

If, in spite of the railroad, the telegraph, the daily, weekly, and monthly publications, such differences of language, differences which, in some instances, amount practically to different dialects, can maintain themselves or develop in our own country, there seems to be no a priori ground for asserting that the Latin of the African province did not have marked qualities of its own which differentiated it from Latin in other parts of the empire, and, more particularly, from the Latin at the capital. On the contrary the probabilities all point to such a variation.¹⁸

Africa became a Roman province in 146 B.C. From that time on, the official language was Latin.¹⁹ The Roman soldiers who brought Latin into Africa did not bring with them the polished speech of the Scipionic circle. The rugged speech of Plautus would more nearly correspond to the vernacular of the Roman conquerors.²⁰ The Latin which was first carried to Carthage was thus still highly archaic.²¹

In this province, separated from Rome by a sea voyage, if

¹⁷ See Lodge (entire article); Cooper, xxviii, and note 3; Brock, 26, note 3.

¹⁸ Cooper, xxi-xxx; Olcott, xv-xxi.

¹⁹ Kübler, 161.

²⁰ Cooper, xxvi f., and authorities cited there.

²¹ Ott, *Neue Jahr.*, 109. 767; Cooper xxxv.

we may disregard the Roman governors and their staffs, whose influence upon the Latin language as spoken and written in Africa must have been so slight as to be practically negligible, in addition to the legionaries, the peasants and the traders constituted the principal Latin and Roman elements of the population. It is evident, therefore, that, while the literary language and the *sermo cotidianus* of the cultivated classes at Rome were relatively unimportant factors in the development of the *sermo Africus*, the influence of the *sermo plebeius* was very great. That the *sermo Africus* abounds in plebeian elements is, then, to be expected. To the cultivated classes at Rome the *sermo Africus* would seem at once plebeian and archaic.²²

At Rome, apparently, it was a recognized fact that the people from different provinces of the empire had peculiarities or tricks of speech which betrayed the place of their nativity.²³ Asinius Pollio's criticism of Livy's *Patavinitas*²⁴ is well known. It is important to note in this connection that, in the opinion of some scholars at least, this criticism was aimed, not at the poetical coloring of Livy's style, but at his use of foreign words.²⁵ Lucilius in a similar manner had charged Vectius with "Praenestinity".²⁶

²² For the intimate relationship existing between the plebeian and the archaic see below, pages 9-10. It is interesting in this connection to recall the extent to which the language of Cicero's letters reproduces the language of Plautus (see e.g. Tyrrell, Cicero in his Letters, lxxii-lxxviii). If in Italy itself the *sermo cotidianus* of the cultured could still in Cicero's time so strongly resemble the Latin of Plautus's day, surely, keeping in mind Roman conservatism, we need find no difficulty in believing that the Latin language as spoken in Africa for long centuries retained evidences of its origin, as the plebeian speech of soldiers, traders, and the like, of the second century B.C.

²³ Cicero, Pro Arch. 26, charges the poets from Cordova with a foreign brogue; see also Spartianus (Vit. Sept. Sev. 19): sed Afrum quiddam usque ad senectutem sonans. Jerome (Ep. 1.30.5) mentions the *stridor Punicus*; Cyprian (Ep. 25) remarks: Latinitas et regionibus mutatur et tempore.

²⁴ See Quint., Inst. Or. 1.5.56; 8.1.2-3.

²⁵ See e.g. Duff, 639, note 1. For this view Quint. 8.1.2-3 makes strongly.

²⁶ Quint., Inst. Or. 1.5.56. See here Olcott, xvii-xviii.

On the foregoing pages (6-9) we have been dealing with a priori considerations. That African Latin does in fact display marked peculiarities has been shown at length by competent scholars, after careful investigation, and full consideration of the opposing view, long warmly urged in certain quarters. References may be made here to the discussions of Cooper, xxi-xlvi, *passim*; Olcott, xv-xxi; and Kübler, 161 ff. Cooper, xlvi, sums up his elaborate discussion with a brief summary of peculiarities in word-formation "which are now generally recognized as characteristic of the African writers". With his results Olcott, page xxi, and Kübler, 161 ff., are in substantial accord. Cooper, xlv-xlvi, and Kübler, 202, emphasize the plebeian and the archaic elements.²⁷

The intimate relationship, which often approximates identity, that exists between the plebeian and the archaic Latin requires no demonstration here.²⁸ It is precisely this identity that makes any study of archaism so difficult. Some have been so impressed with the Plautine qualities in Apuleius that they have not hesitated to assert and to attempt to prove that Apuleius borrowed wholesale from Plautus words²⁹ and syn-

²⁷ In his edition of the Cupid and Psyche episode of the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius (1910), Mr. L. C. Purser discusses elaborately the style and language of Apuleius (lxx-c). On page lxxxiv he describes, in vigorous terms, as wholly discredited the doctrine that there was a special Latin style which might properly be labelled Africanism; he thinks this "phantom . . . may be considered as finally laid to rest by the crushing chapter of E. Norden, *Kunstprosa*, pp. 588-598". As a matter of fact, Norden does not deny (see 588) that there was an African Latin in the sphere of *language* (in phonetics, use of words, and syntax); he does, indeed, add that, for the most part, the views current on these subjects seem to him "vorläufig mehr oder weniger problematisch", but he concludes with the words: "Doch das geht mich hier nicht an: ich habe es mit denen zu thun, die von einem *a f r i k a n i s c h e n S t i l* sprechen". Norden's discussion, therefore, does not cross the lines of the present paper at all. Brock, 164 ff., also is not pertinent to our discussion.

²⁸ For an admirable discussion of this important problem see Cooper, xxi-xxx, with footnotes. See also Knapp, 151 (*s.v. lac*), 155-156 (*s.v. aspernabilis*), 157 (*s.v. complusculus*), 162, etc.

²⁹ Desertine, 3.

tactical usages.³⁰ But while Desertine confines himself to illustrating by examples the many striking echoes, resemblances, and identities between Plautine and Apuleian vocabulary and syntax, he is well aware that Plautus is only one of many of the older writers³¹ of whose works Apuleius contains so many reminiscences.

It is important to note that the *Metamorphoses* are most strikingly plebeian (and archaic) in quality. The fact that certain of Apuleius's writings, the *Apologia* and philosophical works, for example, are written in a style which much more nearly approximates the classic norm,³² has been used as an argument to support the theory that Apuleius's archaisms in the *Metamorphoses* are entirely the results of intentional imitation of the ancients, by the use of which he aims to give to this work an atmosphere of strangeness, and perhaps of mystery. If we could be sure of the chronological order of the composition of the different works, we could discuss the matter more satisfactorily.³³ Admitting the difficulties in the way of definite knowledge as to the time of composition, we may still hold that both the subject matter and the style of the *Metamorphoses* seem more likely to be from the hand of an author in the early flush of youth. The philosophical works appear to belong rather to his maturer years. Whether the *Metamorphoses* were written before his other extant works or not (they may well have come from his brain when it was riotous with the vivid imaginings of youth), one is on conservative ground who maintains that in writing these tales, a work not intended for small coteries of scholars, Apuleius allowed himself greater freedom, giving full rein to his fancy, using the words and phrases with which his fertile mind teemed, and not circumscribing himself by classic canons. A popular book, for general circulation among all classes,

³⁰ Leky, 5 ff. For a more detailed consideration of Leky's views, see below, pages 23-26.

³¹ See Desertine, 5 f.; Helm's *Praefatio* to *Flor.*, xxii ff.

³² Brock, 185, note 1.

³³ Helm, in *Praefatio* to the *Florida*, x f., discusses the matter; see also Teuffel, § 367.1; Purser, xv-xxi, evidently regards the *Metamorphoses* as an early work.

recounting the supposedly contemporaneous adventures of the hero, who often is strangely confused with the author himself, would hardly have been written in a style which, because of hundreds of words really rare and obsolete, would make every page seem not only unfamiliar but often almost unintelligible. To me, at least, the more natural view of the matter is that in the *Metamorphoses* we have, on the whole, the language and style natural to Apuleius, the resultant of birth, training, and his own natural literary gifts.³⁴ Of course, we must not forget that his training included a wide reading in the Latin classics. His quotations from the old masters of Latin and his allusions to them prove how intimate was his knowledge of their works.³⁵

Miss Brock,³⁶ however, takes a position almost diametrically opposed to the views outlined above. Many of her assertions seem to lack verification and consistency. She sometimes brushes aside as trivial and hardly worthy of her serious consideration the opinions of scholars who have devoted years of study and research to this field. In general, it may fairly be said that she gives insufficient evidence in support of her conclusions; sometimes she fails to give any evidence at all.³⁷ A few quotations will disclose her point of view. On page 178, we read: "As far as direct evidence as to specific Africanisms goes, there is nothing to suggest that the Latin of Africa was in any way peculiar". This conclusion is reached in spite of the evidence cited by the author herself, 174-178! Note the

³⁴ But see Brock, 32. Purser, lxxiii, makes "Apuleius . . . —at least in the *Metamorphoses* and the *Florida*—the most signal representative of the Asianic manner".

³⁵ See below, pages 22-23.

³⁶ *Studies in Fronto and His Age*, 163 ff. I give so much space to Miss Brock's work, not so much because of the importance of her book, as because it is the latest discussion of the subject. The very elaborateness of her treatment might well, in itself, give to her book, in the opinion of the casual observer, a weight which it does not deserve.

³⁷ See e.g. 174, the discussion of the language of Vitruvius. Miss Brock shows here no knowledge whatever of Professor Morris Hickey Morgan's important studies in the language of Vitruvius.

following from 178-179: "It is possible to collect, from the extant writings of African authors, a number of usages, stylistic and linguistic, which occur first or chiefly in writers of African birth, and some which occur solely in such writers". Statements such as the following on page 182 do not require comment: "In other words, we are to suppose that the Africans who spoke and wrote Latin spoke and wrote it after the manner of Plautus and Cato right on till the second century A.D., and that, therefore, when they began to have a literature, that literature was naturally archaic. The theory is so improbable that it would seem almost unnecessary to refute it, were it not soberly put forth by such eminent scholars as Wöflflin and Monceaux, who urge as modern parallels the history of French in Canada or of English in the United States".³⁸ Again, on pages 183-184, we read: "One scholar has actually claimed to determine the condition of vulgar Latin at the moment of each provincial conquest by the specific traits of the language spoken in the various countries to-day. . . . The whole theory arose from an erroneous and far-fetched attempt to explain the archaistic movement". Such a theory is, however, still held by competent scholars,³⁹ and I fail to discover any adequate refutation of it in Miss Brock's book. A final quotation from 184-185 must suffice: "But the greater proportion of archaisms in the conscious archaists, such as Fronto, Apuleius, Aulus Gellius, and Arnobius, found acceptance not because they were still living words on African lips, but because they were sacred by reason of their appearance in the old Latin literature, while on the other hand such archaisms as were likewise living vulgarisms were not peculiar to Africa, but formed part of the popular speech wherever Latin was spoken".⁴⁰

Such sweeping statements as the above demand careful verification. No adequate verification, however, appears; the incomplete lists of words on pages 186-254 present no convincing evidence. Without attempting to prove the contrary, I

³⁸ See above, pages 6-9, especially 6-7.

³⁹ For recent utterances, see e.g. Grandgent, 2 f.; Duff, 5; for earlier support of this view see Cooper xxviii, and note 1.

⁴⁰ Here Miss Brock errs through failure to note the important differences between the first three of the four writers named by her; on these see below, especially 16-17, 21-23.

shall examine the two statements made in the last citation in the light of other statements made by Miss Brock in other parts of her book.

If I correctly understand what is meant in the clause "But the greater proportion of the archaisms . . . in the old Latin literature", it means, in part, that the greater proportion of the archaisms in the authors named by her were not survival archaisms, as I should myself incline to believe in the case of Apuleius, but, if I may use the phrase, revival archaisms culled from the ancients. She has not established the truth of this affirmation. How does she know that these words were not really current? In view of the scanty literary remains from Africa before Fronto's time, how can we be sure, in the absence of further evidence, that an archaic word found in Apuleius,⁴¹ a writer born and reared in Africa, was taken directly from Plautus or Ennius or other ancient writer, rather than employed in accordance with the usage of the day and country? In other words, how does she know that these archaic words were not in general use in Africa at the time when Apuleius, for example, wrote? How can she be sure that they were used in the period subsequent to Apuleius, because of their "sacred" character and not rather because they were the natural words to use, and had been long current even before his time? Since we have practically no data to argue from, the truth of neither side of the argument can be firmly established. With the scanty data now at hand, it is often impossible to decide whether an archaic word was borrowed directly from the old writers or had long formed a part of the plebeian vocabulary.⁴² If more of the writings of Plautus,

⁴¹Gellius's case is rather different from Apuleius's, in view of his own repeated declarations that he memorized words from the earlier authors for later use; see below, note 106. It will appear below (page 27), also, that it is in vocabulary rather than in syntax that his archaizing tendencies show themselves. See also note 9.

⁴²Miss Brock, 26, writes: "Indeed, vulgarism and archaism could not but overlap, in view of the large proportion of vulgarisms in the archaic vocabulary, in the days when the gulf between the written and the spoken language was not so firmly fixed". Reference may be made to note 22 above, to prove, if need be, that there were different kinds even of written language, and that the gulf between one of these kinds and early Latin was not so wide or deep.

of Ennius, of Cato, and other old writers were extant, it is probable that we should have to revise our views of what is archaic and what is plebeian. An examination of the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius has disclosed more than fifty words which appear nowhere else in extant literature.⁴³ Some of them, doubtless, Apuleius himself coined, some probably were words in common use, and others, without doubt, he borrowed from ancient works which are not extant.

The most surprising statement in the citations given above from Miss Brock's book, however, is in the last clause ("While . . . was spoken": see above, page 12). The process of deduction does not appear, at least to the present writer, by which she arrives at the broad generalization that all archaisms which were also living vulgarisms were found in the "popular speech *wherever* Latin was spoken". In view of her statement (163), that "it is not the Latin of Africa but the contemporary Latin of other countries which is unknown ground, and it is our ignorance of the latter which obscures our judgment of the former",⁴⁴ her sweeping generalization given above is all the more astonishing. At any rate, she supplies no evidence to offset the results of the careful investigations of Cooper, Olcott, and Kübler, referred to above (page 9).

We are ready now to revert to the remark made above (page 5), that it would be instructive and interesting if we could discover in full the forces at work which produced men of the type of Fronto, Gellius, and Apuleius, etc. It would appear, from pages 5-14, that one force to be reckoned with in the case of at least two of them, is African Latin, or, to put the matter better, the effects of the African environment into which they were born. Apuleius and Fronto, though probably Romans by blood, were of African birth. Apuleius, particularly, gives striking evidence of his southern origin.⁴⁵ Fronto aimed at the archaic simplicity of Cato and Ennius,⁴⁶

⁴³ For the new words in the Cupid and Psyche story see Purser, xciii.

⁴⁴ Brock, 163 f.

⁴⁵ Kretschmann, 4; Cooper, xli.

⁴⁶ Kretschmann, 16-17; Purser, lxxv-lxxvi.

but he could not free himself entirely from the forces of heredity and environment.⁴⁷

A repeated reading of the works of Apuleius, and more especially of the *Metamorphoses*, has convinced me that the archaic qualities in Apuleius are not, as they seem to be in the case of Gellius, primarily labored imitations of the pre-classical writers,⁴⁸ but, on the contrary, are more often the natural and spontaneous result of heredity and environment⁴⁹ on an emotional and impressionable temperament.⁵⁰ Though Gellius's African extraction is only conjectural at best,⁵¹ yet in his case too the African element has to be reckoned with to some extent, indirectly, because he was so deeply influenced by Fronto (see below, pages 16-17).

The other important factor to be reckoned with in the case of all three, though in varying degrees, is deliberate study of the earlier Latin writers and, as a consequence, conscious or unconscious reproduction of the vocabulary, and, far less often,

⁴⁷ Mackail, 235 f.

⁴⁸ Cf. Kretschmann, 17: "Longe aliter Apuleius versatus est, qui quamvis multa et fortasse plura quam primo aspectu videatur antiqua prorsusque obsoleta verba receperit, tamen aliquantum ab orationis prisca quadam specie remotus est. Neque enim illa antiquitatis reverentia eiusque castitatis admiratione commotus, qua Fronto fuit, priscae consuetudinis verba revocavit; sed ut eorum illecebris orationem docte exornaret, rhetorum praecepta secutus, non aliter atque eam omnibus rhetoricae artis exquisitissimis munditiis distinxit. . . . Sed si totum dictionis tenorem priscum aut ad vetustatis imitationem adaptatum esse negamus, eo non infitiamur, totos refertos esse libros veteris consuetudinis vocibus proprietatibusque". Cf. also Piechotta, 20-21; Purser, xv, note 2, and, more especially, xciii-xciv.

⁴⁹ See Cooper, xviii, xxi-xxvi, with citations; Grandgent, *Vulgar Latin*, 3. Piechotta, 5 ff., has a suggestive discussion of this problem.

⁵⁰ See Kretschmann, 4-5; 8(fin)-9; Kübler, *Archiv*, 8.162,201. In this view the author finds himself in sharp disagreement with the opinions of most scholars who have written on Apuleius (compare, for the current view, e.g. Teuffel § 367.1; Brock, 32; Knapp, 135, with the authorities there cited). For another particular in which Apuleius's style reflects the influence of environment, see below, pages 19-20, on his attitude toward the Greeks.

⁵¹ See Teuffel, § 365.1; Cooper, xl, and note 3; Knapp, *Stories from Aulus Gellius*, 5-6.

of the syntax of those writers (compare above, page 5). Fronto⁵² and Gellius⁵³ freely avow their devotion to the early Latin writers. Apuleius, not only by certain elements of his own style, but by numerous quotations⁵⁴ from earlier Latin works attests his intimate acquaintance with the classical and the preclassical writers. One other special detail may be noted here. Gellius was a student of the old writers on law;⁵⁵ we may be pretty certain he memorized matters in the course of such reading, as he did, he tells us, in other connections.⁵⁶ Legal writings⁵⁷ tend toward the use of archaic words and phrases. Their style is inclined to be stereotyped. Gellius's legal training must have given him an additional bias towards the archaic in language. See also below, page 38, on *censio*.

These three writers, Fronto, Gellius, and Apuleius, are commonly placed in the same class as the most conspicuous examples of the second century archaisers.⁵⁸ In this paper, too, heretofore their general likeness to one another has been emphasized. Yet, on closer examination, we find considerable difference between them. Striking as is the agreement, in some respects, in the views of Fronto and Gellius, there are equally striking differences. Some of these differences will be noted; then the striking contrast between Gellius and Apuleius in their attitudes toward the earlier Latin writers will be discussed.

In the Drisler Studies, 140, we find the following with reference to the mutual relations of Fronto and Gellius: "These passages, few as they are, are sufficient of themselves to make it clear that Fronto exercised a considerable influence

⁵² See Knapp, Drisler Studies, 135; Kretschmann, 4; Priebe, 6 ff.

⁵³ See below, page 17.

⁵⁴ See below, page 22; Vahlen, lxxx-lxxxi.

⁵⁵ Cf. 14.2.1. For Apuleius's legal vocabulary see Helm's Praefatio to Florida, xii-xiii.

⁵⁶ Cf. 10.25.1; 11.3.1; 17.2.1; 20.10.4.

⁵⁷ Cf. Purser's remark, page lxxv, that "the jurists, such as Gaius, wrote in a rational way, with a natural leaning towards archaic style, yet not pedantically affecting it".

⁵⁸ Kretschmann, 2; Drisler Studies, 127, 135, 138-140; Cooper, xl; Priebe, 2.

upon Gellius; yet they afford no ground whatever for the statement sometimes made that he was a pupil of Fronto. Indeed, our author's words at xix. 8.1 are enough to disprove this assertion". J. Kretschmer, *De A. Gellii Fontibus*, 103, writes: "Non tam magister <Fronto> fuit Gellii quam amicus honoratissimus, cuius sermonibus non sine magna utilitate adfuisse se fateatur xix.8.1. Scripti libri Frontonis Gellius nullius meminit, neque ego vestigium ullum satis certum deprehendi".

Professor Knapp states:⁵⁹ "Among poets Plautus and Ennius, among orators Cato Censor, stand highest in his (=Gellius's) estimation. Plautus is mentioned or cited by him in at least thirty-five places, and the quotations cover the whole range of the extant plays".⁶⁰ The number of references to Plautus or citations from his plays is even larger than this estimate. About forty-five such references and citations are found in the *Noctes Atticae*. Ennius also is referred to or cited about the same number of times; Cato's name appears approximately seventy times; in many instances there are extended quotations. H. Kretschmann⁶¹ does not seem warranted in his assertion, at least so far as it refers to our author, that, while Fronto took Ennius as a model, Gellius imitated Plautus, for the weight of the evidence is certainly in favor of Cato (see *Drisler Studies*, 133-134).

If, however, we were to judge of Gellius's preferences solely by frequency of citation and reference, we should have to extend our list of favorites.

Vergil would be high up in any such list. The actual number of references and citations is even greater than in the case of Cato.⁶² Not one of the twelve books of the *Aeneid* or of the four books of the *Georgics* is neglected, and, on the aver-

⁵⁹ *Drisler Studies*, 132.

⁶⁰ Cf. Stolz, 1.30: "Sicherlich mehr auf Rechnung archaistischer Liebhaberei ist es zu setzen, wenn Gellius vi. 17.4 Plautus also 'homo linguae atque elegantiae in verbis latinae princeps' und xix.8.6 als 'linguae latinae decus' bezeichnet". Cf. also Cooper, xxxviii.

⁶¹ Kretschmann, 16-17.

⁶² *Drisler Studies*, 140. See the references in the *Index Auctorum*, pages 325-326, of Hosius's edition of Gellius.

age, there are four or five citations from each book. There are also three citations (eight lines in all) from the *Eclogues*.⁶³

Varro is another favorite, and M. Tullius Cicero,⁶⁴ by sheer frequency and range of citation, must be placed near the head of the list. The following are the works of Cicero which are referred to or quoted: Brutus, Orator, De Oratore, Orationes in Antonium, Pro Caecina, Pro Caelio, Pro Cluentio, Pro Milone, In L. Pisonem, Pro Cn. Plancio, De Imperio Cn. Pompei, De Provinciis Consularibus, Pro Quinctio, Pro C. Raberio, Pro S. Roscio, Contra Rullum, Pro Sestio, Pro Sulla, In Verrem, Oratio de Accusatore Constituendo, Epistulae⁶⁵ ad Atticum, ad L. Plancum, ad Ser. Sulpicium, De Amicitia, De Divinatione, De Fato, De Finibus, De Officiis, De Republica, De Gloria, De Iure Civili, Tusculanae Disputationes.

In view of the incomplete and fragmentary character of the extant works of Fronto, it would not be safe to attempt to draw too definite conclusions concerning his favorite Latin authors. The Index Scriptorum in Naber's edition (268-270) includes references to citations from these Latin authors, beside others: Accius (four citations), Caecilius (two), C. Caesar (three), Cato (twenty-four), Cicero (twenty-two), Ennius (fifteen), Lucretius (five), Naevius (three), Plautus (seven), Sallust (fourteen). Doubtless, if more of Fronto's literary works had survived, they would only emphasize the facts just stated. Cato and Ennius are in high favor. Plautus is in fifth place. We do not find Vergil and Varro in Naber's list.

⁶³ On Vergil's influence upon the literature of the centuries since his time see e.g. Knapp, *Originality of Latin Literature*, *The Classical Journal* 3.252; Sellar, *Virgil*, 60 ff.

⁶⁴ *Drisler Studies*, 130. It is to be noted that Cicero was rated by Gellius, as by others before him, among the *antiqui* and the *veteres*; see below, page 30; *Drisler Studies*, 129-132. Hence Gellius's frequent citation of Cicero is after all but one more proof of his archaizing. Varro's antiquarian tendencies in scholarship and research need no illustration beyond a reference to Teuffel, 164. 2. In language, too, Varro was an archaist; see e.g. Schmalz, 665. For the reading of Varro in Gellius's time see the Prologomena to A. Riese's edition of Varro, *Saturae Menippeae*, pages 51-52.

⁶⁵ For Fronto's opinion of Cicero's letters see below, page 19.

In this connection it is worth while to note the difference in attitude of Fronto and Gellius toward Cicero's letters. Antoninus writes (*Epistulae* 2.4: Naber, page 107) to Fronto as follows: *Ciceronis epistulas, si forte electas, totas vel dimidiatas habes, imperitas, vel mone quas potissimum legendas mihi censeas ad facultatem sermonis fovendam.* Fronto replies (2.5): *Memini me excerpisse ex Ciceronis epistulis ea dumtaxat quibus inesset aliqua de eloquentia vel philosophia vel de republica disputatio: praeterea si quid eleganti aut verbo notabili dictum videretur, excerpsi. Quae in usu meo ad manum erant, misi tibi. . . Omnes autem Ciceronis epistulas legendas censeo mea sententia vel magis quam omnes eius orationes. Epistulis Ciceronis nihil est perfectius.*

Gellius mentions Cicero's letters only three times (1.22.19; 4.9.6; 12.13.21). In the first instance, merely to illustrate a certain use of *superesse*, he quotes from *Ad Fam.* 10.35.5: *Nam neque deesse rei publicae volo neque superesse.* This is quite in accord with the Gellian manner. With a like purpose in mind, that is, to define the phrase *dies religiosus*, he makes his second quotation, from *Ad Att.* 9.5.2. It is to comment on the phrase *intra modum* that the third quotation (*Ad Fam.* 4.4.4) is given. In none of the three passages does he utter one word of formal or special commendation of Cicero's letters, prone as he was to eulogize in set terms those from whom he cites. From all this, however, we may hardly be justified in the inference that Gellius did not regard the letters highly, but it is at least safe to conclude that he did not find in them the material suited to his needs.

In the Drisler Studies, 140, attention is called to Fronto's attitude toward the Greeks as contrasted with that of Gellius.⁶⁶ Apuleius shared with Gellius his admiration for the

⁶⁶ See Gellius, 1.8.6; 10.22.3; 11.16.1.9; 12.1.24; 14.1.32; 15.11.3; 17.20.7,8; 18.13.5. Two of these passages may be cited in full: 10.22.3 *Verba . . . Platonis . . . scripsi, quoniam vertere ea consilium non fuit, cum ad proprietates eorum nequaquam possit Latina oratio aspirare ac multo minus etiam mea; 12.1.24 Haec Favorinum dicentem audiui Graeca oratione. Cuius sententias communis utilitatis gratia, quantum meminisse potui, rettuli, amoenitates vero et copias ubertatesque verborum Latina omnis facundia vix quadam indipisci potuerit,*

Greeks. A glance at the Index Auctorum in Helm's edition will be sufficient to prove this interest. Almost every page of the *Florida* reveals the name of some Greek poet or philosopher. Apparently one of the accusations against Apuleius was the charge that he was equally a master both of Latin and of Greek (*Apol.* 5.5).⁶⁷ Fronto, on the other hand, despised, or affected to despise, the Greeks: see e.g. *Drisler Studies*, 140; Brock, 38, 41.⁶⁸

Although Gellius's chief interests lie mainly with the early classical and the preclassical writers, he was by no means ignorant of the literature of the first century. However, when one remembers the great number of Latin authors mentioned by him (I have noted well over seventy), his silence in regard to Propertius and Tibullus, Livy and Tacitus, Quintilian and Juvenal, is surprising.⁶⁹ The nearer he approaches his own time, the less he has to say about literary men and their works.⁷⁰ Still, references to the writers named below attest some knowledge on his part of the literature from the opening of the Christian era to his own day: Augustus Caesar (10.11.5; 15.7.3); L. Annaeus Seneca (12.2.3 ff.);⁷¹ C. Ateius Capito (1.12.8); Valerius Maximus (12.7.8); Valerius Probus (1.15.18); Q. Asconius Pedianus (15.28.4); Suetonius Tranquillus (9.7.3; 15.4.4).

Of Gellius's contemporaries many are named; some of these, with others unnamed, share Gellius's love for the early Latin writers. Fronto⁷² especially is looked upon as an authority in

mea tenuitas nequaquam. For references to Gellius's visit to Greece see 1.2.1; 2.2.1,2; 7.13.1,2; 7.16.1; 8.10; 9.4.1; 10.1.1; 12.5.1; 15.2.3; 15.20.5; 16.6.1; 17.8.1; 18.2.1; 18.9.5; 18.10.3; 18.13.1; 19.1.1,4; 19.6.2; 18.8.1; 19.12.1.

⁶⁷ Yet, as Kretschmann, 67 ff., and Purser, xcv, note, Apuleius uses few Greek words. For the wide use of Greek in Africa in Apuleius's time see e.g. Purser, xvi, note.

⁶⁸ Purser, lxxi, disregards this attitude of Fronto.

⁶⁹ *Drisler Studies*, 134.

⁷⁰ Teuffel, § 365.5.

⁷¹ But Gellius names Seneca chiefly to criticize him severely. Fronto, too, shows a decided antipathy to Seneca; see Teuffel, § 298.1.

⁷² See above, 5; *Drisler Studies*, 139-140.

matters linguistic (2.26; 13.29; 19.8.10-13). Apuleius is not mentioned, although it is possible that his student days at Athens⁷³ fell at about the time when Gellius was in that city.⁷⁴ The standards and aims of Gellius and Apuleius were so different that the former's silence with respect to his more gifted contemporary should cause no surprise (cf. page 20, above).

It is interesting now to compare Apuleius and Gellius in respect to their citations from Latin authors. Gellius is particularly interested in the subject-matter of his citations. The *ipse dixit* of an Ennius, a Cato, or a Varro settles beyond further argument any point relating to customs or language (see, for example, 16.14 or 18.9). Gellius seems to have mainly two objects in view: first, to display his erudition, and, secondly, to instruct.⁷⁵ His quotations have a practical purpose, not an aesthetic.⁷⁶ Not the beauty of a passage, the imaginative, the literary qualities, appeal to our author. He quotes a passage because it has an unusual word or form in it, or an allusion to some old law, to some quite- or half-forgotten custom, or for some other similar reason which appeals to his prosaic grammarian's taste (see, for example, 1.7.11; 1.11.16; 1.16.1-5; 1.18.2; 1.21; 1.25.17; 2.14; 19.8).

Apuleius has quite a different purpose in view. He is the popular lecturer, the elegant raconteur, the eloquent and gifted orator, the learned expounder of a mystic philosophy. He is interested in making his point, in entertaining his readers, in dazzling his auditors.⁷⁷ His citations are mere literary orna-

⁷³ Apuleius refers to his sojourn at Athens in *Met.* (Helm's edition: references are to page and line) 4.2; 22.12; *Ap.* 80.16; *Flor.* 35.15; 39.6. See Purser, xii-xiii.

⁷⁴ For Gellius's references to his stay at Athens see above, note 66. Purser, xiii, holds that Apuleius remained at Athens "probably . . . till 150 A.D.; possibly he remained later". Knapp, *Stories from Aulus Gellius*, 7, showed that Gellius's sojourn in Athens antedated 166 A.D., though by how many years he did not venture to say.

⁷⁵ *Praefatio*, 2, 10, 12-13.

⁷⁶ See, however, 19.11; 1.24.

⁷⁷ If Purser, lxix-lxxxiv, is right in regarding Apuleius as an "Asiatic" in style, his remarks are in point here, especially lxxvii.

ments, employed for their rhetorical effects. Apuleius is no grammarian, absorbed in the consideration of the minutiae of language. He is a literary artist, profoundly affected, to be sure, by his predecessors who wrote two and three centuries before his day, but still mingling, with certain archaic elements, those qualities of vocabulary and style which were, doubtless, peculiar to his own native Africa.⁷⁸ The same richness of vocabulary, the same ornate and florid style are found in Tertullian,⁷⁹ and, to a less degree, in Cyprian.⁸⁰ A few examples will illustrate what was stated above (page 21) with reference to his citations, that they are literary ornaments: see Apol.⁸¹ 14.16-15.1 *eleganter Afranius hoc scriptum relinquat: amabit sapiens, cupient ceteri*; 6.23-7.1 *sane quidem, si uerum est quod Statium Caecilium in suis poematibus scripsisse dicunt, innocentiam eloquentiam esse, ego uero profiteor ista ratione ac praefero me nemini omnium de eloquentia concessurum*; Flor. 3.15-17 *prorsus igitur ante Hyagni(n) nihil aliud plerique callebant quam Vergilianus upilio seu busequa, 'stridenti miserum stipula disperdere carmen'*; 42.7-9 *equum deligunt diutinae fortitudinis, uiuacis pernicitatis, id est et ferre ualidum et ire rapidum, 'qui campos collesque gradu perlabitur uno', ut ait Lucilius*. These illustrations could be multiplied almost indefinitely.

The actual range of authors cited by Apuleius and by Gellius, while by no means identical, is the same to a remarkable degree. Both cite Accius, Aedituus, Afranius, Caecilium, Calvus, Cato, Catullus, Caesar, Cicero, Ennius, Hortensius, Lucilius, Lucretius, Plautus, Sallust, Varro, Vergil. The number of Latin authors, however, cited by Gellius (I have noted approximately seventy) is much greater than that cited by Apuleius (approximately twenty). It is not so much, then, in the range of authors cited as in the motives that inspire citations that Gellius and Apuleius differ.

⁷⁸ Stolz, 49. But see E. Norden, 588-598 (his views are stated and discussed above, note 27); Purser, lxxxiv; Brock, 163 ff. Compare Teuffel § 366.6. See above, pages 6 ff.

⁷⁹ Mackail, 252.

⁸⁰ Mackail, 255.

⁸¹ Helm's edition (page and line are cited).

They differ again in the frequency of citations. Apuleius cited Ennius four times, Plautus four times, and Cato only three. It is interesting to note that both Gellius and Apuleius have one reference to Cato in common.⁸² Varro is cited by Apuleius twice, Vergil ten times. Apuleius rarely praises these authors whom he cites.⁸³ This is in sharp contrast to Gellius's frequent laudations of the old writers.⁸⁴

It was argued above (pages 9-11) that the archaic element in Apuleius is in large part the inevitable outcome of his African birth. It was remarked, however, that this view has not been accepted by all scholars. Some attention will now be given to the more commonly accepted theory.

We may do this most conveniently by considering briefly some points discussed in Leky's *De Syntaxi Apuleiana* (1908). Leky regards it as an established truth that Apuleius is, primarily, an intentional archaist⁸⁵ and so throughout his dissertation charges all the archaic elements of Apuleius's syntax to direct and conscious imitation. Desertine⁸⁶ takes the same ground with reference to both vocabulary and syntax.⁸⁷ Kretschmann (pages 34 ff. and 87 ff.) holds the same view. Leky's work consists in comparing certain syntactical usages found in Apuleius with similar uses in the preclassical period, particularly in Plautus. His examples do show striking resemblances. It is suggestive to note, however, that while Apuleius and Gellius often exhibit similar archaic qualities of syntax, as will be shown farther on, these qualities are more conspicuous in Apuleius; still, in him, they seem quite natural and unaffected.⁸⁸ If we may consider *Met.* 1.1 to refer to

⁸² Gellius, 2.2.28; *Apul. De Mundo*, page 150.7.

⁸³ But see *De Deo Soc.* (Thomas's edition), page 18.12, and *Apol.*, page 14.17.

⁸⁴ See above, note 41; below, note 106.

⁸⁵ Leky, 5-6.

⁸⁶ Cf. Desertine, 1; Duff, 30; and the authorities cited in *Drisler Studies*, 135.

⁸⁷ Pages 81 ff.

⁸⁸ Desertine, 81. Reference may be made again to the argument on pages 10-11 above, and to note 41. For the comparatively small amount of archaism in syntax in Gellius see below, page 27.

Apuleius himself, we shall conclude that he even exerted himself to avoid the very things in which Gellius delighted.

Leky,⁸⁹ commenting upon the omission of the finite verb in Apuleius, after giving examples of such omission in Plautus, remarks: "Huiusmodi igitur apud Apuleium dicendi rationem, quamvis etiam aliunde orta esse possit, tamen pro summo Apulei veterum studio et ostentatione non sine bono iure ex priscorum imitatione repetemus". He cites Haupt, *Op.* 3.377, for examples from Petronius and Phaedrus, as well as Madvig's discussion of this usage in *Cic. De Fin.* 1.9. On page 8 again, Leky, with reference to the same usage, writes: "Haec exempla . . . quamvis ne ab aliis quidem scriptoribus prorsus sint aliena. . ." This admission materially weakens his claim that such usages were mere imitations of the ancients. They are evidently plebeianisms.

An adverb modifying a substantive is found in Apuleius. The same usage is found in Plautus. Leky notes⁹⁰ that Cicero rarely employs it. Livy, Tacitus and the Augustan poets employ it more frequently. Yet Leky concludes (page 11): "ex Apuleianis tamen, quae mihi certe videntur ad comicorum sermonem addecere, sunt". On page 36, we find another illustration of Leky's method, or rather of his inability to see the implication of his own citations: "Indicativi⁹¹ usus apud Apuleium multo liberior est quam apud optimae latinitatis scriptores. Atque hanc dicendi libertatem ab Apuleio plerumque ex priscorum sermone sumptam esse ex exemplis sequentibus elucebit". He mentions the indicative in dubitative questions as an example of this imitation of the ancients, and then directly says: "Quae dicendi ratio . . . vulgi sermoni propria est". He notes (page 36) its use in letters of Cicero ad Atticum, in Catullus, in Vergil. On page 37, in regard to certain uses of the subjunctive, he says: "Exemplo certe comicorum Apuleius facit, ut alteram coniunctivi personam numeri singularis ponat pro imperativo, quem priscorum usum poetae, ut Catullus, iam receperant,

⁸⁹ Leky, 6.

⁹⁰ Leky, 11.

⁹¹ See Brock, 195.

quemque interdum invenimus in Cic. epp". The above quotations are intended to show that Leky takes it for granted that, when Apuleius's language differs from the classic norm so as to show an archaic quality, it is because he deliberately imitates the ancients.⁹² He gives very little weight even to his own citations of works in which the plebeian elements are generally acknowledged, and which, being of a later date than Plautus, tend to show that such usages in the Latin language had maintained themselves side by side with the literary speech, during the classic period, even at Rome. We should expect to find that, in the Latin language as it was spoken and written in Africa,⁹³ the archaic-plebeian elements would be striking. A more illuminating study of the language and style of Apuleius might be made by comparing him, not only with Plautus and other early writers, but with writers who were of, or near, his own time, especially with others of the African school, such as Tertullian and Cyprian. If these same archaistic qualities should be found in these writers, who could hardly be charged with intentional archaizing,⁹⁴ it would be a fair inference that Apuleius, also, did not borrow so much directly from Plautus as he is generally believed to have borrowed.

Although he appears to give little importance to it, Leky, by his own investigations, proves that many of the very qualities of Apuleius's syntax which he has ascribed to conscious imitation of Plautus are found in the later writers, among whom are many who are not generally regarded as archaisers but whose works are recognized as being tinged with a distinctly plebeian color;⁹⁵ we may name here *Auctores Belli Africani*

⁹² But cf. Flor., page 10.20 ff.; Piechotta, 3; Kretschmann, 4.

⁹³ Cooper xviii, xxvii; Piechotta, 1 ff.; above, pages 5-14.

⁹⁴ Compare Ott, in *Neue Jahrbücher*, 109, 762: "Fachschriftsteller wie die arzt Caelius Aurelianus und der theologe Tertullianus, denen es doch wohl nicht um rhetorische effecthashcerei zu thun ist, zeigen in beiden stuecken die ganz gleichen erscheinungen. Und wie oft gemahnen die alten uebersetzungen der Bibel und des Irenaeus an Plautus und die archaische literatur ueberhaupt". But see Brock, 182-184.

⁹⁵ Leky, 15-29.

et Hispaniensis, Vitruvius, Phaedrus, Petronius, and Tertullian. On page 21, he attributes to imitation of Plautus Apuleius's use of the infinitive depending upon a verb of motion to express purpose. Even though parallels of the so-called archaisms of Apuleius are found in Cicero's letters, in Quintilian,⁹⁶ and may be produced from the poets and the writers of plebeian Latin, Leky still maintains his thesis that Apuleius borrowed directly from the *veteres*, and particularly from Plautus. From page 31 I take the following, which epitomizes Leky's mental attitude: "facile commovemur, ut a prisca sumptum esse usum suspicemur".

To the present writer, Leky's dissertation proves that the syntax of Apuleius has certain qualities which are found not only in Plautus, but also in the sermo plebeius of later periods. Cooper⁹⁷ and Piechotta⁹⁸ prove conclusively that, so far as word formation and vocabulary are concerned, the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius, particularly, furnishes a notable example of plebeian Latinity (see above, pages 10-11).

That Apuleius abounds in archaic and rare words no one who has examined the *Metamorphoses* will be inclined to deny. But the same may be said of Tertullian and of Cyprian.⁹⁹ The African inscriptions also show a similar vocabulary.¹⁰⁰ Leky has failed to prove that the archaic tinge to Apuleius's syntax is due to intentional imitation. He has, on the contrary, shown that, in a very large number of instances wherein Apuleius's syntax differs from the classic norm, it is plebeian. A more detailed comparison with the syntax of

⁹⁶ Leky, 30.

⁹⁷ xl ff., and lists.

⁹⁸ 25-52.

⁹⁹ Cf. examples in Piechotta, 28 f., and Cooper xxvii. The latter says: "especially notable is the strongly archaic element in the sermo Africanus, which, as seen in Fronto, Apuleius, Tertullian, etc., presents so many striking analogies with the language of Plautus. This phenomenon is easily accounted for, when we remember that the first germs of Latin were carried to Africa by the Roman soldiers and colonists who flocked there after the fall of Carthage, in 146 B. C.". See also Cooper's footnotes; above, page 9.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Kübler, *Archiv*, 8. 201 f.

Tertullian and Cyprian would probably have shown that Apuleius's syntax did not especially differ from the usages of other African writers of about his own time.

The archaic element is not so obvious and striking in Gellius's syntax as in his vocabulary.¹⁰¹ It is not difficult to find an explanation for this fact. To intersperse one's writings with obsolete and archaic words may indicate profound admiration for the writers of the older days and a wide acquaintance with their works (an acquaintance which may, however, be after all somewhat superficial), yet does not necessarily involve that instinctive feeling which enters into the very spirit of the ancients, which a successful imitation of their syntax would imply. In general, then, Gellius uses his moods, tenses, cases, and arranges the order of his phrases and sentences, not after the fashion of Cato, but according to the canons of his own time. However, here and there we discover a case construction, a use of a preposition, an employment of a mood, or the turn of a phrase, which smacks of a period three centuries before Gellius's day.

As in the case of his vocabulary, so even more in the matter of syntax, one cannot always be sure whether these peculiar usages are the results of conscious imitation, or are unconscious reminiscences of the old authors whose works Gellius conned so assiduously, and from which he habitually memorized passages, or are merely plebeianisms which had gained currency among the cultivated classes of his day.

Gellius comments freely upon the uses of words, sometimes defending the archaic as against the popular. In more than one instance he employs words which elsewhere he has declared to be obsolete.¹⁰² Purist he claims to be, but a purist in language, from his point of view, looked for authority not to the usages of his own day but to an Ennius or a Cato. He

¹⁰¹ From this point on, the argument on pages 5-11 above, that in Apuleius we have a large element of 'survival' archaisms, whereas in Gellius we have rather, in the main, conscious 'revival' archaisms (aside from those cases where the plebian and the archaic coincide) should be kept steadily in mind. See again above, note 41.

¹⁰² *Drisler Studies*, 146.

seldom comments upon syntactical matters.¹⁰³ He may slip into some sentence an apparently obsolete construction, but he usually does so unostentatiously, perhaps unconsciously, with no comment, and with no citation of ancient authorities.¹⁰⁴

In his paper entitled *Archaism in Aulus Gellius*,¹⁰⁵ Professor Knapp undertook to determine the exact extent of Gellius's indebtedness to anteclassical writers. In the first part of the paper (126-141), by means of citations from the *Noctes Atticae*, Gellius's devotion to the *veteres, antiquiores, maiores* was set forth. From the testimony of other authors, and from evidence furnished by Gellius himself, the meaning to be given to these terms is made evident. Finally, the author traces the rise and growth of antiquarianism in Latin Literature to its culmination in the second century of our era.

In the second part (141-171), some archaisms of form were noted, and then were given alphabetical lists of nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, prepositions and conjunctions, which Gellius was believed to have derived from older Latin writers.

We shall now proceed to give additional references and authorities in connection with the words already treated in the *Drisler Studies*. A few archaisms of form and vocabulary which were not noted there will be added.

¹⁰³ See, however, 1.7.13; 17.2.11.

¹⁰⁴ Contrast his utterances about archaic words: see below, page 29.

¹⁰⁵ Printed in *Classical Studies in Honour of Henry Drisler*, 126-171.

PART I

ARCHAISMS OF FORM AND VOCABULARY

A. Forms.

To the passages cited on page 128 to show Gellius's love for the older writers may be added 17.2.1: Cum librum veteris scriptoris legebamus, conabamur postea memoriae vegetandae gratia indipisci animo ac recensere, quae in eo libro scripta essent in utrasque existimationes laudis aut culpae adnotamentis digna, eratque hoc sane quam utile exercitium ad conciliandas nobis, ubi venisset usus, verborum sententiarumque elegantium recordationes. In addition to the statement that he habitually committed to memory words and phrases of older writers,¹⁰⁶ we have the avowal that in the *veteres scriptores* perfection was¹⁰⁷ to be found. It is worth while to note that, of the expressions which, according to 17.2.2, he had memorized from Claudius Quadrigarius, there occur elsewhere in the *Noctes Atticae*, employed by Gellius without reference to their source, *cumprimis* (1.13.7; 1.15.8; 11.3.1; 13.17.2; 13.21.25; 18.4.8; 19.5.3);¹⁰⁸ *ne . . . quoque* (1.2.5; 11.5.4; 20.1.15); *in medium relinquo* (7.14.9).¹⁰⁹ According to Gellius himself, *cumprimis* and *ne . . . quoque* were obsolete or nearly so (17.2.14,18).¹¹⁰ It is interesting to note that the regular form, *ne . . . quidem*, is used by Gellius at least twenty-three times and that three of these occurrences (11.5.8; 20.1.14; 20.1.33) are removed by only a few paraphrased from the three instances of the archaic *ne . . . quoque*.

In referring to the older writers,¹¹¹ Gellius usually characterizes them as *antiqui*, *antiquiores*, or *maiores*, or states that a word or construction was used *antiquitus*. In like manner, in 247 out of 278 passages in the two versions of Servius's

¹⁰⁶ Cf. 10.25.1; 11.3.1; 20.10.4.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. 17.2.6; 17.2.10.

¹⁰⁸ See below, page 36. In 13.17.2 he is talking of the *veteres*.

¹⁰⁹ See below, page 55.

¹¹⁰ Drisler Studies, 170.

¹¹¹ Cf. Drisler Studies, 128-129.

Commentary on Vergil in which reference is made to the archaic character of the words used by Vergil, the author employs the words *antiqui*, *veteres*, *maiores*, or some form of these words.¹¹²

On pages 130-132 of the Drisler Studies, the meaning of the terms *veteres*, *antiqui*, and the like is discussed. Compare with the citation from Quintilian 9.3.1, which clearly refers to Cicero and his predecessors, the following from Gellius himself: 13.17.2 Sic igitur eo verbo veteres esse usos et cumprimis M. Varronem¹¹³ Marcumque Tullium omnes ferme libri declarant; 9.12.4 Sed et veteres plerique ita dixerunt, et M. Tullius.

To the list of writers (132) by whom the plural of *arena* is employed add Vergil, Horace and Columella.¹¹⁴ To the notes (141-146)¹¹⁵ on archaisms of form may be added *accum*: 16.4. in lemm. For *prorsus* and *prorsum* are found the archaic syncopated forms *prosus* and *prosum*.¹¹⁶ For the former see 2.8.7; 2.22.25; 4.13.4; 10.3.10; 14.6.5; 20.5.8; 20.5.10. See also below, pages 45-46. Both forms are used by Fronto in his correspondence.¹¹⁷

Temperi,¹¹⁸ used in 2.29.11, Quin potius imus et cognatos adfinesque nostros oramus, ut assint cras temperi ad metendum, is probably an archaism;¹¹⁹ this chapter bristles with archaisms.¹²⁰ Hosius reads *temere* in praef. 18, where Hertz reads *tempere*.¹²¹

Aliqui is used as a substantive: cf. 11.13.5 inspicite penitus quid efficiant verba haec, dicatque mihi, quaeso, aliqui vestrum

¹¹² See Steele, Archaisms in Vergil, A.J.P., 15.166.

¹¹³ Compare above, note 64.

¹¹⁴ See Lewis and Short, s.v.

¹¹⁵ Drisler Studies.

¹¹⁶ See Georges, s.v.; Neue-Wagener, 2.747.

¹¹⁷ See Neue-Wagener, 2.747.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Knapp's paper on Vahlen's Ennius, A.J.P., 32.29, note.

¹¹⁹ See Georges, s.v.; Neue-Wagener, 2.649; and Lorenz on Plautus Pseud. 375.

¹²⁰ Knapp, A.J.P., 32.29, note 1.

¹²¹ See Hertz, Vindiciae Gellianae Alterae, 26. Hertz took *tempere* as a by-form of *temperi*: see Neue, Lexicon der lateinischen Wort-

an sit ulla huiusce sententiae gravitas aut gratia. According to the references given in Neue-Wagener, 2.476, the usage is rare, beginning with Caesar and Cicero. For the first century and a half of the empire but four citations are given, two from Seneca's Epistles, one from Livy, 4.35.9, one from Quint., Decl. 294. It would seem that the use never gained ground, and was in part obsolete by Gellius's time.¹²² Gellius derived it then, from his reading of the *veteres*.¹²³

It may be noted here that Hertz in his editio altera minor (1886) reads *quo* in 15.10.2 instead of the *qui* of his critical edition (1885). Hosius reads *quo*. In addition to the comments on *qui* in the Drisler Studies (145), there should be noted the use of both *qui* and *quo* side by side in 1.13.11. The frequency with which *quo* occurs elsewhere in Gellius makes these isolated examples of *qui* all the more striking.

It should be noted that there are some traces in the MSS of Gellius of an archaic form of the dative of the third declension in *-e*.¹²⁴ The forms are *parte*, 2.12.1, and *corpore*, 3.1.13. Hosius and Hertz both read *parti* and *corpori*, but Hertz holds that the *-e* forms are not impossible.¹²⁵

Viderier occurs also in 15.2.1 Ex insula Creta quispiam . . . sese philosophum dicebat et *viderier gestibat*. Note the two archaisms together here, *viderier*, and *gestibat*. For the latter form, add to the references on page 146 Munro on Lucr. 5.934,

formen, s.v. *tempore*; Bücheler, Rhein. Mus., 15.444; Neue-Wagener, 2.649.

¹²² See the note in Hildebrand's edition of Apuleius on Met. 6.29 (Vol. 1.504); Neue-Wagener, 2.476; Thesaurus, s.v.

¹²³ I use the term here in Gellius's understanding of it (see above, pages 29-30).

¹²⁴ Lindsay, The Latin Language, vi. § 28, page 387.

¹²⁵ See Vind. Gell. Alt., 8; Gorges, 18; Bücheler, Grundriss, §§ 276-278. J. Gronovius ad loc. declared that a collation of a certain MS which he possessed gave *iure dicundo* in 13.12.9; this reading, he added, "est vere Romanum". But there Hertz had *iuri dicundo* (so too Hosius, with no comment whatever in his apparatus criticus). In his Vind. Gell. Alt., 8, Hertz declined to put this passage beside 2.12.1, 3.1.13, as evidence for a dative in *-e*, because Gronovius's reading "auf den cod. reginae in Vat. 597 zurückzugehen scheint, bei dem ein falsches in iuri dicundo nachträglich in in iure dicundo verbessert ist".

and Steele on *lenibat*, A. J. P., 15.188. *Fervit*¹²⁶ appears also in 17.8.8.

To the forms of *queo* cited on page 146 add the following: *queunt* 14.1.30, 16.8.14, 16.13.9; *quire* 11.9.1; *queat* 2.6.9, 12.12.1; *queant* 14.1.26 (bis) in affirmative clause; *quiret* 14.1.12; *quiverit* (subj.) 14.1.17 in affirmative clause; *quivi* 14.2.25. Note also *nequivit* 6.3.3; *nequirit* 2.23.22.

An archaic form not noted in the Drisler Studies is *par-sisset*,¹²⁷ 5.14.15. In 15.31.5, however, Gellius writes *pepercit*.

Worthy of a place here, perhaps, is *defio*, a by-form of *deficio*, which appears twice: 1.14.1 quod viderent multa ad splendorem domus atque victus defieri; 20.8.5 deficiente contra (luna) defiunt. In the latter passage note *deficio* and *defio* side by side. *Defio* is found in Plaut., Ter., Enn., Acc., Lucr., Verg., and later poets, but in prose apparently only in Livy,¹²⁸ Vitruv., Gell., and later. Gellius shows no knowledge, it may be noted, of either Livy or Vitruvius (see above, page 20); it is likely, therefore, that he derived the forms under discussion from his beloved *veteres*.

B. Vocabulary.

We shall proceed now to add such comments and references as seem profitable to the words Gellius is believed to have borrowed from the older writers. This list of words begins in the Drisler Studies with page 147. Since the words are arranged alphabetically, it will be unnecessary to cite the page on which the word is treated in Drisler Studies.

acritudo: for the archaic character of the ending *-tudo* see Cooper, 44, and Schmalz, 604 (§ 2a): "Die Neigung zur Abstraktion in den Zeiten des Verfalls zeigt sich . . . in Wiederaufnahme der . . . von den Klassikern vernachlässigten, . . . aber bereits von den archaisierenden Schriftstellern der cic.

¹²⁶ See Georges, s.v. *ferveo*; cf. Vergil Aen. 4.409.

¹²⁷ See Georges, s.v. *parco*; Steele, A.J.P., 15.188.

¹²⁸ See Weissenborn-Mueller on 9.11.6; Weissenborn on *confieret*, 5.50.7.

und der folgenden Zeit gerne aufgegriffenen Bildung mit *tudo*, z. B. *claritudo*".

canalicula, 17.11.2: the statement that this word is found only in Lucilius and Gellius requires correction. It occurs also in Varro.¹²⁹

finis, in 4.1.6 signifies 'meaning' rather than 'termination' (correct, then, Drisler Studies, 150). Postgate, Select Elegies of Propertius, xci, remarks: "His genders are sometimes archaic: e. g. *pulus* and *finis* are common..." *Finis* is masculine in 1.3.8 and 3.16.1, but feminine again in 3.16.20.

lac: *lacte* is read as the nominative of this word in 19.8.13 *cur mel et vinum atque id genus cetera numerum multitudinis capiunt, lacte non capiat?* With what is said under this word in Drisler Studies concerning the identity often of archaisms and vulgarisms compare Wölfflin, *Philologus*, 34. 149.¹³⁰

partio: add 12.1.20, and Macrob. 5.11.15 (borrowed, as is so much in Macrobius, from Gellius).

specus is feminine in 5.14.18; the word does not occur at all in 5.14.8 (correct Drisler Studies, 153). Add 5.14.24 *in eadem specu*. The word occurs in still another place, but there the gender is not clear; see 2.28.1 *specus hiatusque terrae*.

arbitrarius:¹³¹ correct the reference from 19.1.5 to 19.1.15.

complusculus: for the formation, see Edmund Hauler in *Archiv*, 5. 294, and Cooper, 191-192. The latter holds that the form is plebeian, not archaic. For the prevalence of diminutives, especially without diminutive force, in the archaizing period, see Schmalz, 674 (§ 68), and Cooper, 185-186. In

¹²⁹ R.R. 3.5.14. For Varro's archaizing tendencies see above, note 64.

¹³⁰ "So blieb das vulgärlatein vielfach hinter den fortschritten der gebildeten zurück, aber es bewahrte sich auch einen grösseren reichthum an formen und worten. . . Darum ist das vulgäre oft mit dem archaischen identisch, obschon weder alles archaische vulgär ist . . . noch alles vulgäre archaisch zu sein braucht". G. Landgraf, *Phil. Anz.*, 15.608, says: "Archaismen aber sind in der regel identisch mit vulgärismen". See also Cooper, xxi; above, pages 9-10.

¹³¹ For the archaic character of adjectives in *-arius* see Cooper, 151-155.

this connection, we may note the following combinations: *avicula . . . parva*, 2.29.3; *porculus . . . minusculis*, 4.11.6; *funiculo brevi*, 5.3.4; *tenuissimis minutisque ossiculis*, 7.1.10; *surculi . . . oblonguli*, 17.9.7; *herediolum tenue*, 19.7.1. A wholly illogical combination is *largiores lactioresque in convivis invitatiunculas vini*,¹³² 15.2. in lemm. Compare in general Gellius's handling of frequentatives: see on *adiutare*, below, page 35.

cuus, a, um: this word is characterized as an archaism by Servius on Verg. B. 3.1.¹³³

lepidus: the citations given under this word may be greatly supplemented. Add, for the positive, 10.19.2, 12.6.1, 17.14.3, 18.1.12; for the superlative, 7.9. in lemm., 13.11.1, 19.4.1, 19.9. in lemm., 19.9.5, 19.11.1; for *lepide* add 7.8.3, 9.3.2, 11.11.4, 13.5.10, 13.10.3, 18.2.6. The statement that the comparative *lepidior* occurs but once in Gellius and once in Plautus is not correct. See Gell. 17.14. in lemm. The forms of this adjective and adverb occur at least twenty-five times in Gellius. It should be noted also that *illepidus* occurs in 11.7.1, 18.4.10, 19.9.7; and *illepide* in 11.16.5, 16.12. in lemm., and 18.13.5. These two words are doubtless to be regarded as archaisms. Both are used by Plautus. The former is cited from no author later than Cicero until we come to Gellius, the latter but once between Cicero and Gellius, and then from the elder Pliny.

necessum: as a help toward understanding the composite character of Gellius's style,¹³⁴ it might have been noted here that *necesse* is common in Gellius.¹³⁵

plerique omnes:¹³⁶ add 14.3.1 *pleraque omnia*; 15.7.1 *plerisque omnibus*; 17.5.4 *plerique omnes*. *Plerique omnes* occurs also in Fronto, 183 (Naber), in a short but, from our present point of view, very interesting sentence, since within seven

¹³² Cooper, 186-187. On double diminutives see e.g. Abbott, *Repetition*, 80-82.

¹³³ See Steele, A.J.P., 15.183.

¹³⁴ T.A.P.A., 25.6, note 1.

¹³⁵ Cf. 5.1.3, 5.8.10, 5.11.7, 5.13.1, 5.18.5, 7.2.5, 16.8.8.

¹³⁶ Wölfflin, *Lat. u. rom. Comparison*, 41.

words we have two archaisms: *Plerique omnes qui eam curaverant frustra fuerunt.*¹³⁷

sterilus, a, um is found again in 17.21.44. In 6.1.2, however, we have *matrem eius diu sterilem existimatam tradunt.*

adiutare: on frequentative verbs in general see Cooper, 210 ff., and Schmalz, 633 (§ 35). It is remarked in Drisler Studies, 161, that in 1.3.13 Gellius, in paraphrasing a passage from Cicero, substitutes *adiutare* for Cicero's *adiuvare*. So Quadrigarius, a favorite of Gellius, uses the phrase *linguam exercitare* (19.13.12) in describing Manlius's fight with the Gaul, whereas Livy 7.5.10, in his account of the same duel, writes *exercere linguam*. Additional light on the completeness of Gellius's failure to preserve in practice the true force of frequentatives may be gained from a study of the following passages: 3.13.1 *ventitare . . . solitum*; 17.19.2 *solitum dicitare*; 18.2. in lemm. *agitare soliti simus*; 6.1.6 *solitavisse . . . ventitare*; 1.26.7 *saepe . . . dissertavisse*; 19.5.4 *adsidue dicitabat*; 20.8.1 *agitare erat solitus*; 10.8.3 *idem factitatum esse credo per consuetudinem*. Compare in general Gellius's handling of diminutives: see above, page 33, on *complusculus*.

commoliri: for verbs compounded with *con-* see Cooper, 262 ff., especially 265. Gellius borrowed from early writers *condignus, condigne, commoliri, complacere, consiliscere. Commurmuratio, condecere, confabricari, conflaccescere, congerminare, and contemporaneus* are found only in Gellius, and there but once. Several compounds with *con-* (*comparescere, congelascere, consarcinari, convallare, convellare, convexare, convexio*) appear for the first time in his pages.¹³⁸

indipisci: add 12.1.24 and Brix-Niemeyer⁵ and Wagner on Plaut. Trin. 224.

odi, odissc: add a reference to Georges, s.v., and Steele, A.J.P., 15.188.

ad amussim: see Neue-Wagener, 2.670.

adprime: see Wöfflin, Lat.u.rom. Comp., 17-18.

¹³⁷ See below, page 43.

¹³⁸ For other unusual prepositional compounds in Gellius, see T.A.P.A., 25.13.

ampliter: refer to Brix-Niemeyer⁵ and Wagner on Plaut. Trin. 1060; Sonnenschein on Plaut. Rud. 265; Cooper, 200.

ast: see Schmalz, 500 (§ 252).

clam (as prep. with accus.): see Holtze, 1.213; Lindsay, The Syntax of Plautus, 85; Wölfflin in Archiv, 7.278; Steele, A.J.P., 15.187.

compluriens: note that this form appears in Gellius 17.2.21, as well as in 6.3.5, the single passage cited in Drisler Studies. Hence correct the statement made here and in A.J.P., 14.218, that 6.3.5 "is the only passage in Latin in which the word has been preserved naturally, so to speak".

cumprimis: see Wölfflin, Archiv, 1.97; Lat.u.rom. Comp., 18,25; above, page 29.

fortassean: correct reference from 5.14.13 to 5.14.3; and see Neue-Wagener, 2.606, for full list of citations.

impendio: add 6.1.5 and 18.12.2. In 19.7.10 it is said of the poet Laevius, item *fiere . . . impendio infit, id est 'feri impense incipit'*. Compare Wölfflin, Lat.u.rom. Comp., 20. It may be noted, too, that Gellius uses *impense* three times with an adjective, in the phrase *impense doctus*: 10.24.10; 13.10.4; 19.7.1. The only other example of this use seems to be in Plaut. Epid. 566 *impense improbus* (neither Naudet nor Gray makes any comment on the word). Gellius uses *impense* with a verb in 9.9.15, 10.3.13, 11.18.18, and 17.10.7. But this is common, being found frequently in the first century of the empire.

inibi: the list of references is incomplete. For the phrase *atque inibi*, add the lemmata of 13.25, 14.6, 15.7, 15.27, 16.13, 17.16, and 18.2. This phrase does not occur in 14.7.9 or in 13.23.15 (cited on page 169). In the latter we have *inibi autem*, and in the former *deinde inibi*. *Deinde inibi*, however, is practically equivalent to *atque inibi*.¹³⁹

nimis quam: add Fronto 75 (Naber), and see Wölfflin, Lat.u.rom. Comp., 27.

numero: see Neue-Wagener, 2.601, where Hertz's reading in 20.1.54 is accepted as genuine. Hosius also reads *numero*

¹³⁹ See Neue-Wagener, 2.658.

against Knapp's conjecture *saepenumero*.¹⁴⁰ In support of the accepted reading may be noted that several undoubted archaisms occur in this chapter: *ne . . . quoque*, 15,¹⁴¹ *quitast*, 52.

pone: it is interesting to compare Gellius's words in 1.11.11 *qui pone cum loquentem staret*, with Cicero's in 1.11.16 *servum . . . qui staret occulte post ipsum cum contionaretur*.¹⁴²

C. Archaisms of Vocabulary Not Previously Noted.

We now proceed to the consideration of some archaisms of vocabulary not included in the lists of the Drisler Studies (147-171).

adfnitas meaning 'relationship by marriage' is classical. With the figurative meaning, however, it is rare and possibly archaic: see 1.18.5, 4.13.4, 7.1.13. Georges and Lewis and Short, in addition to the references just given, cite only Varro, R.R. 1.16 and Quintilian, 1.6.24. Add, from the Thesaurus, Phaedrus, 4.14.2.

aeditumus, 6.1.6 *aeditumosque eius templi*. In 12.10.1 Gellius himself tells us that in his time the word was obsolete or obsolescent: *Aeditumus verbum Latinum est et vetus. . . Sed pro eo a plerisque nunc aedituus dicitur nova et commenticia usurpatione, quasi a tuendis aedibus appellatus*. Evidently Gellius had seen or heard the Latinity of *aeditumus* questioned. Varro has the word: R.R. 1.2; 1.6.9. Cicero uses it once, in *Topica* 8.36.

caldor, 17.8.10 *respondi . . . vinum idcirco minus cito congelascere, quod semina quaedam caldoris in sese haberet; 19.4.4 caldoremque omnem de summa corporis cute cogat; 19.4.5*. The word is cited three times from Varro and once from Arnobius. It may be noted that in 17.8, one of the two chapters in which *caldor* is found, two archaisms occur together in a single sentence: 17.8.8 *Verbero*,¹⁴³ *inquit ridens*

¹⁴⁰ To what Professor Knapp wrote on *numero* here in *Drisler Studies*, 170, may be added his treatment of this word in his discussion of Plautus, *Amphitruo* 180, in *The Classical Review*, 7.21-22.

¹⁴¹ See above, page 29.

¹⁴² Cf. the note on *adiutare* (ad init.) in *Drisler Studies*, 161.

¹⁴³ See below, page 39.

Taurus, nonne is *curriculo*¹⁴⁴ atque oleum petis? In the same paragraph we have *fervit*=*fervet* (see above, page 32). The language of the entire chapter is unusual. *Calorificus*, *frigoricus*, *incongelabilis* are found only here and *congelascere* is of Gellius's own coinage (see on *commoliri*, above, page 35).

censio, 10.28.2 ex ista censione Servi Tulli; 16.10.13 cum iuventutis inopia esset, in militiam tumultuariam legebantur . . . et non capitibus censione, sed . . . a munere officioque prolis edendae appellati sunt. Evidently, here we have to do with an old technical phrase.¹⁴⁵ For Gellius's legal studies and their relation to his archaizing tendencies see above, page 16. The word occurs twice in Plautus, both times in a jest, but once with force entirely parallel to that seen in Gellius.

fretus, as a masculine, fourth declension by-form, is found in 10.26.6 brevitatis tam angusti fretus, qui terram Africam Hispaniamque interfluit. In 13.21, Gellius seeks to show (see the lemma) that the better writers paid more regard to euphony than they did to grammatical rules. He cites various passages to prove his point, and then says in § 15: Sicuti, Marco etiam Ciceroni mollius teretiusque visum, in quinta in Verrem *fretu* scribere quam *freto*; *perangusto*, inquit, *fretu* *divisa*. Erat enim crassius iam vetustiusque, *perangusto* *freto* dicere. Though Gellius makes *fretu* the later form, and characterizes *freto* as obsolete already in Cicero's day, the lexicons cite only two other examples of *fretu* from Cicero. They give numerous others, however, from earlier writers, Ennius, Naevius, Pacuvius, Lucilius, Varro, Lucretius, Porcius Licinius. On the whole, then, *fretu* in Gellius may be counted an archaism (especially if we remember that to him Cicero too was *vetus scriptor*: see above, note 64).

flagitator, 17.6.10 eam pecuniam cum viro forte irata reperere instituit, adponit ei flagitatorem. For this sense of the word cf. Plaut. *Most.* 768; Cic. *Brut.* 5.18. With two passages from Livy, the citations for the word cease. Apparently it was obsolete in Gellius's time.

gaulus, 10.25.5, is one of a list¹⁴⁶ of names of vessels which

¹⁴⁴ See below, page 43.

¹⁴⁵ See Festus (Müll.), 65.

¹⁴⁶ See Drisler *Studies on lorea*, 152.

Gellius on a certain occasion remembered as occurring in the *veterum libri*. The word seems to be found elsewhere only in Plaut. Rud. 1319. It is defined by Festus, 96.

halophanta, 8.10. lemm., is a Greek word. However, Plaut. Curc. 4.1.2 is the only citation given before Gellius. Cf. Non. 120.8 (Lindsay), and Fest. (Müller), 101.

halucinatio, 8.3. lemm. Non. 121.20 states that the word was used by the *veteres*. See Sen. Vit. Beat. 26.6; Arn. 4.36, 6.8; Nettleship, Contributions to Latin Lexicography, 144.

hariolatio, 15.18.3. Lewis and Short do not cite this occurrence but mark the word as found only in Cic. Div. 1.31.66, in a quotation from Enn. (Frag. Trag. 42 Rib.). Georges gives only the two instances here recorded.

libentia, 15.2.7 cui libentiae gratiaequae omnes . . . incognitae sint. The word occurs elsewhere only in Plautus.¹⁴⁷

praefica, 18.7.3 vos philosophi mera estis, ut M. Cato (fr. inc. 19 J.) ait, mortualia; glosaria namque colligitis et lexdia, res taetras et inanes et frivolas tamquam mulierum voces praeficarum.¹⁴⁸

sibonis, 10.25.2. Lewis and Short give this as the only occurrence. But see Ennius Ann. 504 (Vahlen).

vasum, as a by-form of *vas*, occurs in 3.14.5 *pars, quae deest ei vaso*, though in the same paragraph *vas* stands as an accusative in a passage quoted from Ennius.¹⁴⁹ For a full list of examples, see Georges, s.v. *vas*.

vitor, 12.3.4; Plaut. Rud. 4.3.51; Donatus ad Ter. Eun. 4.4.21; Arn. 2.38; Dig. 9.2.27 fin.

verbero, a term of abuse quoted by Lewis and Short only from Plautus and Terence, is found twice in Gellius, 1.26.8 Quid autem, verbero, nunc ego tibi irasci videor? and 17.8.8 Verbero . . . nonne is curriculo atque oleum petis? For other archaisms in the latter chapter, see on *caldor* above (page 37).

¹⁴⁷ Cf. Stich. 276; Asin. 268 (name of goddess). It is read also by Lorenz in Pseud. 381 (= 396 Goetz-Schoell): see his note.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Varro, L.L. 7.70; Varro, Lucilius and Plaut. ap. Non. 66; Plaut. Truc. 495.

¹⁴⁹ Vahlen, Ann. 536.

illepidus: see above on *lepidus* (page 34).

medicinus seems to stand twice as an adjective, 17.16.2 *Mitridatem illum Ponti regem medicinae rei . . . sollertem fuisse*; 18.10.8 *quantum habui temporis subsicivi, medicinae quoque disciplinae libros attingi*. *Medicina ars* is cited from Varro L.L. 5.93, and the adjective is said to occur also in Hyginus and in Augustinus.¹⁵⁰ With the combination *medicinae rei* cf. *res uxoria = matrimonium* 1.6.3; 4.3. in lemm. *res ethica* 1.2.4, and *res cibaria* 6.1.8. The word early, through ellipsis of *ars, officina*, or the like, became a noun, and as noun is common and classical.

nihili, as an indeclinable adjective, is found in 2.14.2 *tamquam stitisses vanum et nihili verbum esset*; 10.19.2 *Homo stulte et nihili*; 15.2.2 *erat autem nihili homo et nugator*. In paragraph one of the latter chapter, we have the double archaism *viderier gestibat* (see above, pages 31-32). For *nihili* as a virtual adjective, cf. Plaut. Cas. 245 *Unde is, nihili?*; Mil. 180; Asin. 472, 859; Bacch. 904; Pseud. 1086 (Lorenz: see his note); Rud. 920; Varro L.L. 10.81; Paul. ex Fest. 175. The editors of Plautus (e. g. Gray on As. 472, Brix-Niemeyer³ on Mil. 180, Sonnenschein on Rud. 920) do not adequately give the range of the word even in Plautus; they afford no hint of its recurrence in Gellius. In fact no editor, save Lorenz, has given any serious attention to the resemblances between Plautine Latin and the Latin of the archaists (and, one may add, Arnobius).

percitus, as an adjective, occurs in 2.12.4 *populum percitum et amentem*; as participle it appears in 15.31.3 *ira percitus*. In its finite form the verb is cited only from Plautus (once), and Lucretius (three times at least), Terence, Sallust, Cicero, Livy, and then not again until Gellius. Compounds with *per-* belong especially to the older periods of the language.¹⁵¹

pensus, the participle of *pendo*, occurs as an adjective, = *carus*, or the like, apparently only in Gellius, 12.5.7 *carius pensiusque*, and Plautus Stich. 118 *utra sit condicio pensior, virginemne an viduam habere*.

¹⁵⁰ See Lewis and Short.

¹⁵¹ Cooper, 284.

quercerus, 20.1.26 an tu forte morbum appellari hic putas aegrotationem gravem cum febris rapida et quercera . . . ? *Quercera tussis* occurs in a fragment of Plautus, cited by Festus (Priscian gives in the same fragment *quercera febris*).¹⁵² *Quercera febris* is quoted by Festus 256, from Lucilius. In Apuleius, Apologia 35, Hildebrand and Helm read *quercerum* as a noun. See Hildebrand's note. Arnobius, 1.28, uses *quercera* as a noun.

adbibo, 2.22.25 (not in Cic.). Cf. Plaut. Stich. 2.2.58; Ter. Heaut. 2.1.8. In figurative sense it occurs in Plaut. Mil. 3.3.10; As. 3.3.49; Ovid Tr. 3.5.14; Horace Ep. 1.2.67.

claudere, 'to halt', 'to limp', appears in 1.7.20 At si *explicituit* diceret, imperfecto et debili numero verborum sonus *clauderet*; 4.7.4 numerus clausurus est; 13.21.10 sentias suavitatem sonitus claudere. In no place, it will be noted, can the conjugation be determined.¹⁵³ The verb occurs also in Caecilius, Cicero (who also has *claudico*), Livy (see Weissenborn on 22.39.3), and Apuleius (see Hildebrand on Flor. iv: Vol. 2.84).

deiuurare: compare *deiuuraret* 1.3.20; *deiuurasset* 4.20.9; *deiuurans*, 11.6.1 (note simple *iuraverint* in lemm.); *deiuurare*, 11.6.5. In 6.18.10 *deicraverant* occurs. According to references given both in Lewis and Short and in Georges the word is archaic, found only in ante- and post-classical writers. But neither Georges nor Lewis and Short treat this word satisfactorily. The former omits some of the passages cited above, and the latter states, quite erroneously, that the form *deiuuro* is now retained only in Gellius 1.3.20; 11.6.1. For the forms of *peiuuro*, *obiuro* and *adiuro* in Plautus, with -u-, as well as a discussion of the etymology, see Minton Warren, T.A.P.A., 32. 110-114.

exanclare, 12.5.10. This is Hosius's conjecture. Hertz

¹⁵² See Goetz-Schoell, Fragmenta, vs. 80.

¹⁵³ Cf. Vogel, 23: "Verisimile est, Gellium, si quidem e Terentii (Eun. vs. 164), Sallustii (hist. III. 82. p. 191; 98. p. 300 Kr.); Frontonis (p. 122 Nieb.), Ausonii denique et Symmachi exemplis conjecturam facere licet, ea verbi forma usum esse, quae est claudo, de qua vid. Priscian x. 22. p. 514. Antiquior nimirum erat et minus pervolgata, quam claudéo, claudico".

read *eluctari*. *Exanclare* is an archaic word. For citations, see Lewis and Short.

gestito, 9.6.3. The following are the only citations in Lewis and Short: Plaut. Cist. 4.2.83 f.; Curc. 5.2.4; Mil. 1.1.7; Poen. 1.2.186; Enn. ap. Gell. 1.17.10 (=Scenica 302, Vahlen). Georges ascribes the word also to Arnob., Treb. Poll., and Solin.

muginari, 5.16.5 Sed hic aequae non diutius muginandum (for the archaic syntax, see above, page 27; below, 52). For the verb, cf. Lucil. and Att. ap. Non. 139; Cic. ad Att., 16.12.1; Paul. ex Fest., 147.

pudeo, 5.1.3, is fully personal.¹⁵⁴

ruminari, with the meaning 'to think', 'to ponder', occurs in 19.7.2 *figuras habitusque verborum nove aut insigniter dictorum in Laeviano illo carmine ruminabamur*. It seems to have this meaning only in Liv. Andron. ap. Non. 166; Varro ap. Non. *ibid.*; and in Varro again ap. Non. 480.

vieo, 12.3.4 a viendo 'vitor' <dictus est>. Gellius is here giving examples to illustrate the fact that the root vowel of a derivative does not always retain its original quantity. As a verb (i.e. in forms distinct from the participle-adjective *vietus*) the word is cited elsewhere only from the ante-classical period. Cf. Lewis and Short, and Georges, s.v.; Vahlen, *Varia*, 25, and the citations there given; Lucr. 2.1171.

admodum quam seems to be used only by Gellius 19.9.10 *voce admodum quam suavi versus cecinit*, and Plaut. Amph. 541 *Ex amore hic a.q. saevos est* (see Ussing and Palmer ad loc. Naudet made no comment). The latter passage is not cited by Wölfflin, *Lat.u.rom. Comp.*, 28.

casce, in 1.10. in lemm., *casce nimis et priscae loquentem*, is ἀπαξ εἰρημένον, but it is worth while to note that its adjective *casceus* belongs chiefly to early Latin. Cf. Ennius Ann. 24, in Vahlen's edition, with Vahlen's note. An interesting sidelight is thrown on Gellius's vocabulary by his use of an archaic stem in the very chapter in which he tells how Favorinus rebukes a young man for using old-fashioned words. This is an illustration of the difference between Gellius's theory and his

¹⁵⁴ See Knapp in A. J. P., 16.63.

practice.¹⁵⁵ In the same chapter, Gellius uses *abhinc* with the ablative.¹⁵⁶

commodum appears as an adverb of time in 2.2.2 Taurus sectatoribus commodum dimissis sedebat pro cubiculi sui foribus. This usage is almost entirely confined to Plautus, Terence, and Cicero's letters.¹⁵⁷

curriculo is a mere adverb, = *cito*, in 17.8.8 Verbero, nonne is curriculo atque oleum petis?¹⁵⁸ Note the other archaism (*verbero*: see above, page 39) in this short sentence.

eodem, sc. *opera*, is found in 10.1.3 as an adverb of time = *eodem tempore*, or even as equivalent to a simple 'likewise': Is ad me rescripsit petivitque, ut rationem dicerem, cur 'tertium' ac non 'tertio' scripsissem. Id etiam adscripsit, ut eadem quid super illo quoque mihi videretur facerem se certio-rem. This use seems confined elsewhere to Plautus and Terence: Capt. 293; Merc. 802; Mil. 303; Poen. 617; Pseud. 333; Trin. 581; Heaut. 368; Bacch. 49 eadem biberis, eadem dedero tibi ubi biberis savium. In the same sense *eodem opera* is found in Bacch. 60; Capt. 450; Most. 1039.¹⁵⁹ Lindsay, in his note on Capt. 459 (editio maior), remarks that Plautus uses *eodem* and *eodem opera* of future actions only; to one instance, Pers. 444-445, abi . . . ad forum: eadem istaec facito mulier ad me transeat per hortum, our Gellius passage comes close, in logical implication, if not in form (since the clause preceding that in which *eodem* occurs contains a virtual imperative).

¹⁵⁵ Drisler Studies, 146; above, page 27.

¹⁵⁶ See Hertz, *Vindiciae Gellianae Alterae*, 31, for explanation of this usage; below, page 49.

¹⁵⁷ See Neue-Wagener, 2.580. For *commodum*, or *commodo* in Apuleius, see Hildebrand on De Dogm. Plat. chap. 1, vol. 2.174. For the resemblances between the language of Cicero's letters and that of Plautus see above, note 22.

¹⁵⁸ See Lorenz on Plaut. Most. 362; Brix-Niemeyer³ on Mil. 523; Holtze, 1.172; Neue-Wagener, 2.599.

¹⁵⁹ The list of references given in Neue-Wagener, 2.634, is not very serviceable in this connection, since no distinction is made between passages in which *eodem* is to be rendered as above, and those passages in which the meaning is purely physical, and the ellipsis is of *via* or *parte*. No reference is made to the passage in Gellius.

*frustra esse*¹⁶⁰ is said of persons in 5.1.1 'Cum philosophus', inquit, 'hortatur, . . . tum, qui audiunt, si . . . obvias vulgarasque laudes effutiunt . . . tum scias et qui dicit et qui audiunt frustra esse'. The usage is found several times in Plautus, especially in the phrase *ne frustra sis*. See Lorenz on Mil. 1422 and on Most. 567; Ennius Sat. 62 (Vahlen) Qui frustratur is frustra est, si non ille est frustra. The phrase occurs in this use, be it noted, in Sallust (Iug. 85), whose archaizing tendencies are well known. Cf. also Apul. De Mag. 19 *frustra es*, and Fronto 183.9 (Naber) *Plerique omnes . . . frustra fuerunt* (here two archaisms occur together: see above, page 34, on *plerique omnes*). Lorenz on Mil. l.c. wrongly refers to Fronto 189.3. Note, finally, that in 5.1.1 we have another archaism, *illi = illic*.¹⁶¹

multum, as a strengthening adverb with an adjective, appears in 13.20.8 *ipse quoque iam multum senex*. The usage is archaic and plebeian.¹⁶²

nimio, as a strengthening adverb with adjectives, occurs in 1.3.25 *cum vero amici utilitas nimio est amplior*; 10.26.9 *nimio confidentius*; 19.5.3 *aquam nivalem . . . hominibus potu nimio insalubrem* (twice, it may be noted, with a comparative, once with a positive). As examples of *nimio* with a positive Wölfflin¹⁶³ cites Plaut. Bacch. 396, 770; Truc. 4.1.6; Stich. 704; Naev. (vs. 13 in Ribbeck's Com. Rom. Frag). But Ribbeck³ writes *nimum*, and Langen, Beit. z. Krit. u. Erklär. des Plautus, 333-335, maintains that *nimio* occurs in Plautus only with a comparative; with the positive he would read *nimum*, though to do this he must emend in at least one place. Lorenz, in his note on *nimio celerius*, Most. 72, does not discuss this point. In Bacch. 770 Lindsay still reads

¹⁶⁰ See Wölfflin, Archiv, 2.1; Nägelsbach, Lateinische Stilistik⁸, 577.

¹⁶¹ Drisler Studies, 169.

¹⁶² See Lindsay (editio maior) on Capt. 272 *non multum fuit molesta servitus*; Schmalz, 613 (§ 9, Anm. 1); Wölfflin, Lat. u. rom. Comp., 8-9; Neue-Wagener, 2.581. According to Wölfflin, this usage is found at least ten times in Plautus, never in Terence, four times in Horace's Satires and Epistles, and then chiefly in "archaisirende oder vulgäre Auctoren".

¹⁶³ Lat. u. rom. Comp., 24.

Nimio illaec res et magnae (MSS mane) dividiae mihi though Langen would emend *nimio* to *nimis* and *mane* to *sane* (Leo reads *nimum*). So in Truc. 704 Lindsay reads tum illuc nimio magnae mellinae mihi; Langen emends to *nimiom* (*nimum*), and Leo accepts this reading. In Bacch. 396 nimio impendiosum praestat te quam ingratum dicier (which equals, in sense, *nimio melius est*, etc., or *nimio satius est*, etc.), and Stich. 699-700 (not cited by Wölflin) Utrum Fontine an Libero imperium te inhibere mavis? SA. Nimio liquido Libero, a comparative is clearly present in sense. On the basis, then, of Lindsay's¹⁶⁴ excellent text of Plautus we have to say that Plautus used *nimio* with both positives and comparatives, though more frequently with the latter; Gellius's use of the word, then, is in exact agreement with Plautus's. For *nimio* with a comparative, see Most. 72, 442; Bacch. 151. *nimio plus*, found e.g. Bacch. 122, Most. 1103, is not uncommon: see Lucr. 5.988; Horace C. 1.18.15; 1.33.1; Epp. 1.10.30; Livy (see Weissenborn on 1.2.3). Hor. Epp. 2.1.198 has *nimio plura*. Cf. also Antonius ap. Cic. ad Att. 10.8A.1. See Schmalz, Lat. Synt., § 97. Gellius also uses *nimum* in this way. See 17.21.47 non nimum longe; 19.7.13 nimum poetica; 20.1.27 morbus . . . non febriculosus neque nimum gravis. This is especially characteristic of Plautus.¹⁶⁵

*oppido*¹⁶⁶ is forcibly characterized by Quint. 8.3.25 as obsolete, yet it occurs in Gellius 13.5.9 oppido bonum (sc. vinum). *oppido quam* is found in 2.23.3 oppido quam iacere atque sordere incipiunt; 15.30.1 oppido quam . . . inepti et frivoli; 16.7.1 oppido quam verba finxit praelicenter; 17.12.1 oppido quam libens.

prorsus retains its original physical meaning in 2.30.4 venti a septentrionibus ex altiore caeli parte in mare incidentes

¹⁶⁴ Lindsay, Syntax of Plautus, 80 (§ 3), discusses *nimio* very inadequately; he remarks merely "normally with Comparative, but cf. Bacch. 770, Truc. 704, Naevius com. 13".

¹⁶⁵ Langen, l. c., gives over thirty examples. See Gildersleeve-Lodge, 439, N.3.

¹⁶⁶ See Schmalz, 613 (§ 9, Anm. 1), page 665 (§ 57, ad fin.: the section is labelled "Archaismen"); Neue-Wagener, 2.602. Schmalz notes that *oppido* occurs in Apuleius, but makes no reference to Gellius.

deorsum in aquarum profunda quasi praecipites deferuntur undasque faciunt non prorsus impulsas, sed imitus commotas. The meaning is fixed by § 5 Austri vero . . . inferiores et humiles per suprema aequoris euntes protrudunt magis fluctus quam eruunt. Cf. 16.19.17 Tum Arionem prorsus ex eo loco Corinthum petivisse. See Hertz, *Vindiciae Gellianae Alterae*, 60. In 9.4.6 Hertz reads, though doubtfully, *vestigia pedum habentes retro porrecta, non ut ceterorum hominum, prosum spectantia*; so Hosius. Both Hertz and Hosius follow the conjecture of H. Hagen, in *Bursian's Jahresber.*, 1873, 1415; the MSS are corrupt. For other examples, see Cato ap. *Fest.* 234; and *Neue-Wagener*, 2.746. In *Plaut. Pseud.* 955 the Palatine text gives *non prorsus verum ex transverso cedit*. The Ambrosian palimpsest, according to Studemund's *Apographon*, clearly shows NONPROSUSUE. But editors (e.g. Lindsay, Morris, Lorenz, Leo) give the verse as it is cited in *Varro L.L.* 7.81 *Ut transversus, non provorsus cedit, quasi cancer solet.*¹⁶⁷ *provorsus*, if read, is, of course, the original form of *prorsus*, *prosus*, *prorsum*, *prosum*.

rarenter,¹⁶⁸ 3.16.1; 17.8.9. In 10.15.4 the word is probably to be ascribed to *Fabius Pictor*.

tractim,¹⁶⁹ 4.6.6 *littera <i> scilicet tractim pronuntiata*; 6.10.1; 6.20.3 *vocalis . . . tractim sonat*.

Without doubt Professor Knapp is correct in his statement¹⁷⁰ that Gellius's favorite authors were *Plautus*, *Ennius*, and *Cato*. We should, then, expect Gellius to borrow many words from his favorites. Even a casual examination of the word lists in the *Drisler Studies* and in this paper will prove that such is the case.

The following words or uses of words seem to be taken from *Plautus*:¹⁷¹ *ambulacrum*, *fictura*, *fidicina*, *ingratis*, *porcu-*

¹⁶⁷ One wonders why the editors forget that the ancients do not always cite accurately; see e. g. *Jebb* on *Sophocles, Antigone*, 223, 909 ff.

¹⁶⁸ See *Neue-Wagener*, 2.735.

¹⁶⁹ See *Neue-Wagener*, 2.567, where it is cited from *Plautus, Ennius, Lucretius, Vergil, Sempronius Asellio*.

¹⁷⁰ *Drisler Studies*, 132-134.

¹⁷¹ See *T. A. P. A.*, 28 (1897). vi.

lus, saviatio, scitamenta, symbola, amasius, condignus, cruciabilis, cuias, exoticus, lepidus, manifestarius, ridicularius, summas, inceptare, esitare, indipisci, percupio, protolli, perservire, discussed in the Drisler Studies. From the present paper may be added curriculo, flagitator, libentia, verbero, nihili, pensus, quercerus, commodum, eadem, multum, nimio.

Citations from Ennius, Cato, and Varro are extremely frequent in the notes in both papers. Thus we find Gellius's love of the older writers and his deliberate imitation of them proven from two independent lines of research: first, a collection of the passages in which he refers to them, always in the highest terms of commendation; and, secondly, a careful study of his vocabulary.

PART II

ARCHAISMS OF SYNTAX

Turning now to archaisms of syntax, we shall dwell first on some points in Gellius's use of the cases.

In 16.19.10 *parco* is constructed with the accusative: *Tum illum . . . vitam modo sibi ut parcerent oravisse*. Cf. *Plaut. Most.* 104 (a corrupt line); *Curc.* 381; *Cato, R.R.* 155. See *Sonnenschein*² and *Fay* on *Most.* 104 and *Lorenz's* critical note on that verse (pages 206-207); *Nettleship* on *Aen.* 10.532; *Schmalz*, 372 (§ 84). In *Apul. Met.* 1.2, 1.8, we find in the editions *parco in* and acc.,¹⁷² two manuscripts, however (R, f) show *parco* with the accusative. See *Hildebrand ad loc.* *Servius* on *Aen.* 10.532 says *parco* with accusative was used by *Plautus*, *Lucilius* and *Ennius*; see *Conington ad loc.*, *Steele*, *A. J. P.* 15.179.

curo takes the dative in 17.9.1 *Libri sunt epistularum C. Caesaris ad C. Oppium et Balbum Cornelium, qui rebus eius absentis curabant*. *Gronovius ad loc.* remarks on the reading that it is "doctius quam ut potuerit ab librario venire". Cf. *Plaut. Rud.* 182 *si tu de illarum cenaturus vesperi's, illis curandum censeo, Sceparnio*; *Rud.* 146 *Amori haec curat, tritico curat Ceres* (here *Professor Sonnenschein* remarks, "curo with dat. 'care for' is ante- and post-classical"); *Trin.* 1057 *Sed ego sum insipientior qui rebus curem publicis* (see *Brix-Niemeyer*⁵ *ad loc.*); *Truc.* 137; *Att.* 143 *Ribbeck*. In later Latin the dative is to be found also in *Apuleius*: *Hildebrand*, 2.117, on *De Deo Socr.* 2, cites *De Deo Socr.* again, cap. 16; *De Mag.* 36; *De Mundo*, 30. Cf. also *Macrob.* 1.14.6 *sacerdotes, qui curabant mensibus ac diebus*; *Tert. Apol.* 46; *Fronto* 228. 19 (*Naber*) *Tum Iovem ferunt . . . cum suo corde agitasse de suis germanis fratribus unum praeficere, qui nocti atque otio hominum curaret*. See *Schmalz*, 372 (§ 84), and, more particularly, *C. F.W. Müller*, *Syntax des Nominativs und Akkusativs in Lateinischen* (*Sup-*

¹⁷² The construction here is akin to that seen in *Lucr.* 6.399 *cur ipse sinit neque parcit in hostis*. See *Professor W. A. Merrill*, *ad loc.*

plement to Stolz, *Historische Grammatik*), 123-124. Müller notes that *procurare* also is construed with the dative, e.g. in Plautus, Apuleius, and the law writers (so in a *senatus consultum* ap. Gell. 4.6.2). We may, then, refer here again to Gellius's legal studies as a factor in the development of his style: see above, page 38, on *consio*; below, note 175.

capitis is used with *perdere* in 1.3.4 *Ita lex fuit, uti eum hominem condemnari necessum esset. Aut amicus igitur capitis perdendus aut adhibenda fraus legi fuit.* For the phrase, which is evidently modelled on *capitis damnare*, cf. Plaut. *Asin*: 132 *capitis te perdam ego et filiam*; *Bacch.* 489 *Egone ut illam mulierem capitis non perdam?* *Mil.* 371 *quem pol ego capitis perdam.* In the Brix-Niemeyer⁴ edition of the *Miles Gloriosus* (1901), there is no hint that the phrase recurs after Plautus. Gray, too, on *As.* 132 is silent on this point.

interficere is used with acc. and abl. in 12.7.2 *Eadem mulier virum et filium . . . venenis clam datis vita interfecerat.* Cf. Plaut. *Truc.* 518 *Salve, qui me interfecisti paene vita et lumine.* Naudet (see his note on *Truc.* 2.6.37) was aware that the construction under discussion occurred in Gellius.

abhinc is twice coupled with the ablative, instead of with the accusative; see 1.10.2 *sermone abhinc multis annis iam desito uteris*, and 14.1.20 *centesimo usque abhinc saeculo.* Hertz, *Vind. Gell. Alt.*, 31, defends this construction against Madvig's criticism (expressed in his *Adversaria Critica*, 2). Part of Hertz's answer deserves to be quoted here. Madvig had said that there was no reason to suppose that Gellius had departed in 1.10.2 from the "perpetua lex" according to which *abhinc* was coupled with the acc. Hertz rejoins, inter alia, thus: "Aber G. kehrt sich eben nicht an solche perpetua lex, d.h. an den Sprachgebrauch der sogenannten mustergültigen Classiker *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, wenn er bei den von ihm bevorzugten archaischen Schriftstellern einen abweichenden seltenen Gebrauch findet . . . Und so schloss G. sich auch hier an Plautus . . .". Hertz has in mind *Most.* 494; see Lorenz's note.

For an archaism of vocabulary in this chapter see above, page 42, on *casce*.

penetrare is used with a reflexive pronoun in 5.14.18 *specum . . . nactus remotam latebrosamque, in eam me penetro et recondo*, and 13.10.1 *Labeo Antistius . . . in grammaticam sese atque dialecticam litterasque antiquiores altioresque penetraverat*. The construction seems to be found elsewhere only in Plautus. Brix-Niemeyer⁵ on Trin. 146 cite *penetrare se* from Amph. 250, Truc. 44, and Trin. 276; *penetrare me* from Trin. 291, 314; *penetrare pedem* from Men. 400, 816. They state also that in Bacch. 66 the verb is intransitive, but Goetz-Schoell read there *penetrem me* (after Bothe). Lindsay, with extraordinarily bad punctuation, reads: *Quid ego metuam, rogitas, adulescens homo? penetrare [me] huius modi in palaestram, ubi damnis desudascitur?* The question-mark after *homo* should be changed to a comma. Professor Bennett's treatment of this construction in his *Syntax of Early Latin*, Vol. I—The Verb (page 5, under § 3) is inadequate.

Gellius several times has the genitive of a noun in dependence on the genitive of a gerund:¹⁷³ cf. 3.16.1 *Multa opinio est . . . gigni hominem septimo rarenter, numquam octavo, saepe nono, saepius numero decimo mense, eumque esse hominum gignendi summum finem*; 4.15.1 *Elegantia orationis Sallustii verborumque fingendi et novandi studium cum multa prorsus invidia fuit*; 5.10.5 *Euathlus . . . eloquentiae discendae causarumque orandi cupiens fuit*; 16.8.3 *fecisse videtur eum librum Aelius sui magis admonendi quam aliorum docendi gratia*; 7.14.4 *non sane dignum esse imponendi poenae studio visum est*.¹⁷⁴ The construction is found in Plautus, Terence, Varro, and Cicero: see Brix-Niemeyer⁶ on Plaut. Capt. 852; Draeger 2.831, 832; Gildersleeve-Lodge, § 428, N. 1; Holtze 2.54; Roby, 2.lxviii. One example is cited from Fronto, 188

¹⁷³ For another view of the construction, see below, pages 51-52. However the construction is to be explained, we have to do here with a usage obsolete by Gellius's time.

¹⁷⁴ Hertz defends his readings in the passages cited above in *Vind. Gell. Alt.*, 58,59 in a full discussion. Hosius, be it noted, reproduced all these readings.

(Naber): Neque enim cum alio ullo . . . mihi . . . est . . . tantus usus *studiorum bonarumque artium communicandi*.

Three things may be noted in this connection.

(1) In 5.10.5 *eloquentiae discendae causarumque orandi cupiens fuit*, the normal and the abnormal construction appear together. On such inconsistencies compare the remarks made above, page 27, and Hertz, *Vindiciae Gellianae Alterae*, 59: "wenn aber G. diese Construction sonst öfter in normaler Weise anwendet, so ist es bei ihm nicht nur ohne Anstoss, sondern recht im Charakter, wenn er auch einmal eine anomale und seltene Form gebraucht, sei es nach dem Vorbilde des Ennius und des Cicero, sei es nach dem des Ennius allein oder schliesslich . . . ohne einen, wenigstens ohne einen uns bekannten Vorgänger".

(2) In 7.14.4 the dependent genitive is in the singular.

(3) If we accept the theory that in the examples quoted above the genitive of the noun depends on the gerund, we may find a simple explanation of such a familiar idiom as that seen e.g. in Cicero in *Cat.* 1.7 *multi principes civitatis Roma non tam sui conservandi quam tuorum consiliorum reprimendorum causa profugerunt*. *Sui* may here well be a pronoun, depending upon the gerund as objective genitive. This view has occasionally been upheld, e.g. by Allen and Greenough in their note on this passage, and in their *Latin Grammar* (504, c). But other Latin Grammars in common use—e.g. Bennett, 339.5, Gildersleeve-Lodge, 428 R.1.—see a gerundial construction. *Sui* is in that case, of course, neuter, not masculine, meaning 'their own being' or the like.

Yet another view of the construction is held by competent scholars. According to Schmalz, 444, in all the expressions cited above, the two genitives are equally dependent on the one governing noun; so Bennett, *Syntax of Early Latin*, Vol. I.—*The Verb*, 449 (under 4). So, too, in effect Roby, in his *Latin Grammar* (1874), 2.lxviii. This view appears needlessly complex, and seems to disregard the plain implications of language, in order to find a way of escape from the admission of a nonclassical construction into Plautus. Surely, in this instance, one need not resort to extreme measures in the

attempt to bring this construction into harmony with classic usage, for, to remain entirely within the limits of the present paper, we should still have to explain *curo* and *parco* with the accusative, *penetro* with a reflexive pronoun, etc. (see above, pages 48-50). The editors of Plautus, however, have not infrequently accepted the explanation adopted in the present paper: see e. g. Elmer and Hallidie on Capt. 852. Professor Morris, however, in his note on the passage harks back to Roby's view (so, too, Brix-Niemeyer⁶); Lindsay ad loc. (editio maior) quotes with approval part of Professor Morris's note, but not enough to show to one who did not have Professor Morris's whole note before him what view he took of the construction as a whole. See also Kühner², 2.744-745.

Gellius, at times, joins an accusative to a neuter gerundive coupled with *est* in an impersonal construction: 4.9.9 *templa quidem ac delubra . . . quae non volgo ac temere, sed cum castitate caerimoniaque adeundum . . .*; 5.16.5 *Sed hic ea quae non diutius muginandum* (so Hertz. Hosius, however, after Petschenig, reads: *Sed hic aeque non diutius muginandum*). Hertz discusses the readings in *Vind. Gell. Alt.*, 50-51. See also Kühner², 2.734; Draeger, 2.821; Schmalz, 441. According to Schmalz, the construction occurs once in Plautus (Trin. 869), "öfters bei Lucr. . . . Varro und Catul. . . . bei Verg. und seinen Nachahmern, nirgends bei Caes., Sall., Liv., Tac. . . . Später lesen wir bei Juristen,¹⁷⁵ . . . bei Tert., Pall. 4 . . ." Gellius, it will be noted, is not mentioned. Kühner, too, fails to note that the construction occurs in Gellius.

The construction was briefly discussed long ago (1874) by Roby, *Latin Grammar*, 2.lxxii ff. He gives a list of examples meant to be exhaustive (except for Varro), but cites no instance from Gellius. See also various editors, e.g. Brix-Niemeyer⁵ on Plaut. Trin. 869; Munro and Merrill on Lucr. I.III (especially the authorities referred to by Merrill); Ellis on Catullus, 39.9.

A most interesting passage in this connection is Cicero, *Cato Maior* 6 *quam (viam) nobis quoque ingrediendum sit*. See Reid ad loc. (page 75; also pages 27-28); Reisig-Haase, *Vorle-*

¹⁷⁵ See above on *censio*, page 38; page 48, s.v. *curo*, ad fin.

sungen, 3.776. Reising-Haase see here a deliberate archaism; Professor Reid, however, holds that Cicero is not imitating Cato the Censor, since in the extant writings of Cato the construction does not occur. Schmalz, 441, after citing Cicero, C.M.6, and Scaur. 13, as giving examples of the accusative in dependence on the gerundive, says: "(Cicero) mag sich geschaut haben, vom Deponens, dessen transitive Bedeutung sich nicht fest ins Bewusstsein eingelebt hatte, die persönliche Konstruktion zu verwenden".

According to Schmalz, 465, the supine in *-um* is very common in Plautus, Terence, and old Latin generally, less common in Cicero and Caesar, more frequent again in Sallust, Varro, in the Bell. Afr. and Livy. "In der nachliv. Prosa", he continues, "gehört das Supin fast nur den Archaisten und den von Sall. u. Liv. abhängigen Schriftstellern an".¹⁷⁶ While the accusative of the supine is common in Gellius, it is much more frequent with an object than without. For the supine without an object see 6.14.8 quos . . . legaverant impetratum; 12.13.3 issem . . . sciscitatum. The following are examples of the supine with an accusative: 2.29.6 Dum . . . iret cibum pullis quaesitum; 3.13.2 cognoscit currere eos auditum Callistratum; 6.3.7 socios . . . defensum conservatumque pergit; 6.3.44 servatum ire socios niteretur; 9.15.3 It auditum (sc. eum) Iulianus; 10.6.2 Utinam . . . frater . . . istam multitudinem perditum eat; 10.19.3 qui . . . peccatum suum . . . exemptum purgatumque ibat; 12.1.2 Eamus et puerum visum et patri gratulatum; 12.1.9 Quod sit . . . odio dignum . . . hominem . . . interfectum ire; 14.6.1 adiutum ornatumque volo ire Noctes tuas; 14.6.5 Nam meae Noctes, quas instructum ornatumque isti; 16.11.6 Psyllos . . . decretumque fecisse uti . . . iure belli res petatum proficisceretur; 18.5.3 Eamus . . . auditum. . . istum Ennianistam; 16.5.9 qui dominum. . . salu-

¹⁷⁶ See the statistics in Draeger, 2.857-865, especially § 608; American Journal of Philology, 32.29, note 1, in a review of Vahlen's Ennius; Grandgent, § 103; Bennett, Syntax of Early Latin, I, § 453 ff.; Lindsay, Syntax of Plautus, pages 76 ff.; Gildersleeve-Lodge, 434, note 3; Frobenius, Die Syntax des Ennius § 137 (=page 67). While the accusative of the supine is frequent in Apuleius, it is significant that no instance of the supine with an accusative is cited.

tatum venerant. It is to be noted that the construction occurs chiefly in dependence on forms of *ire*: see again Schmalz, 465; Draeger § 609.

Twice Gellius uses *opus est* with the ablative of a perfect passive participle: 14.2.16 *Atque illud amplius ambigi ac dubitari scio, debeatne iudex inter cognoscendum ea, quae dicto quaesitoque opus est, dicere et quaerere*; 15.22.8 *ait in quiete cervam . . . quod opus esset facto, praedicere*. The presence of *quae* and *quod* in these examples makes them but the more noteworthy. See Lorenz on Plaut. *Most.* 48; Dziatsko-Hauler³ on Ter. *Phorm.* 584; Holtze, 1.139-141; Kühner¹, 2. § 128; Draeger 2.780; Reisig-Haase, *Vorlesungen*, 392; Bennett, *Syntax of Early Latin*, 1.439-440.

I have made an entirely independent examination of the prepositions in Gellius. On comparing my results with what had already been done in this field, I found that (with possibly three exceptions which are discussed below) my own investigations failed to reveal any clear examples of archaistic usage that had not already been considered by Professor Knapp.¹⁷⁷

It will be sufficient, then, in the case of the prepositions which have already been considered (consult note 177, below), merely to give a list of the phrases in which they occur and refer to the page on which they are discussed. It is not intended that the citations under each example shall be exhaustive.

a: 16.6.8 *a te rogavi*; 17.10.7 *oravitque a suis amicissimis*; 13.31.10 *cum valebo ab oculis* (1.c.14).

absque: ¹⁷⁸2.26.20 *absque te . . . uno forsitan lingua profecto Graeca longe anteisset*; 2.2.7 *absque praeiudicio*.

ad: 6.17.11 *revises ad me*; 18.8.2 *quod ad se . . . non viseret*; 13.31.10 *revise ad me*; 19.10.1 *ad Frontonem . . . ire et visere* (1.c.6).

clam:¹⁷⁹ 2.23.16 *ea res clam patrem fuit* (1.c.6).

cum (a use of *cum* not included in Notes on Prepositions): 18.10.7 *cum dis bene volentibus opera tua sistas hunc nobis sanum atque validum quam citissime*. Schmalz, § 139, says

¹⁷⁷ Notes on Prepositions in Gellius, T. A. P. A., 25 (1894). 1-33.

¹⁷⁸ See Drisler Studies, 167.

¹⁷⁹ See Drisler Studies, 168; above, page 36.

that this phrase occurs only in Ennius, Cato, and Gellius. The passages are Ann. 201 (Vahlen); R. R. 141.

in: 3.1.4 in eo ipse quaerendo fui; 3. 7. 12 in exspectando sunt; 11.5.3 in quaerendo semper considerandoque sunt; 11. 16.6 in cogitando fuissem; 13.31.9 in legendo; 18.10.7 in medendo quam in dicendo (l.c.14).

in medium relinquere (a use of *in* not included in Notes on Prepositions): 7.14.9 anne autem quasi omnino parvam et contemptu dignam praeterierit poenae sumendae causam propter tuendam laesi hominis auctoritatem, an magis quasi ei, quam dicebat, rei non necessariam praetermiserit . . . in medium relinquo. In 17.2.11 Gellius quotes from Quadrigarius the words nos in medium relinquemus, with the following comment: Vulgus in medio dicit; nam vitium esse istuc putat. In the same chapter Gellius calls *ne . . . quoque* and *cum primis* obsolete, but he uses them both (see above, pages 29 and 36).¹⁸⁰

prae: 5.13.3 Unum hoc . . . quod prae manibus est, ponemus (local sense); 19.8.6 si . . . liber prae manibus est (l.c. 29).

subter: 10.15.15 subter arborem felicem (l.c.31).

Passing now to the conjunctions, we note *quando* in temporal meaning.¹⁸¹ Some fourteen passages occur in Gellius in which

¹⁸⁰ Similar is the phrase *in potestatem esse*, which an unnamed friend of Gellius defends in 1. 7. 17 (cf. § 4), quoting Cicero, De Imp. Cn. Pompeii 33; he argues that this is no solecism, but that the Greeks use this idiom, et Plautus verborum Latinorum elegantissimus in Amphitruone <180> dixit: num vero mihi in mentem fuit, non, ut dici solitum est, in mente. In § 18 he adds: multam . . . apud veteres scriptores locutionum talium copiam offendimus atque his vulgo adnotamentis in-spersimus (a very significant passage, lighting up what was said above, page 27, note 101, about Gellius's 'revival' archaisms). He explains the use of the accusative in the phrase on the score of euphony (§ 19). For the idiom *in mentem est* see Amph. 710; Bacch. 160; Ter. Ad. 528 (with Ashmore's note ad loc.). Palmer (Amph. 710) says: "Sallust has several instances of this idiom". Clearly these phrases were obsolete in Gellius's day; hence his discussion of them throws some light on *in medium relinquo*.

¹⁸¹ See Draeger, 2,582: "Als relative Temporalpartikel kommt es besonders im archaischen Latein vor und wird von da ab weniger gebraucht. Es bezeichnet sehr selten eine einmalige, in der Regel und

quando seems clearly to have temporal force. Compare, for examples involving the indicative, usually with iterative force, 1.20.3 *Solidum est, quando non longitudines modo et latitudines planas numeri linearum efficiunt, sed etiam . . . altitudines* ('We have a solid body, whenever', etc.); 6.17.4 *remotiora . . . si discere et scire debuero, quando usus mihi venerit, tum quaeram ex te*; 7.14.4 *Quando igitur spes . . . magna est* (note just above, in same paragraph, *Tertia ratio vindicandi est, . . . cum poenitio . . . necessaria est*. Iterative clauses with *cum* and the indicative are common in Gellius. Here the long *quando* clause is resumed by *quicquid ita delictum est*); 9.9.1 *Quando ex poematis Graecis vertendae . . . sunt insignes sententiae, non semper aiunt enitendum*; 11.1.4 *Quando igitur nunc quoque . . . multa dicitur vel minima vel suprema, observari solet*; 11.3.1 *Quando . . . otium est . . . aut spatiamur aut vectamur, quaerere nonnumquam aput memet ipsum soleo*; 17.6.6 *quando mulier dotem marito dabat, tum, quae ex suis bonis retinebat neque ad virum tramittebat, ea recipere dicebatur*; 17.7.6 *quando* (*est* and *erit*) *per sese ponuntur, habent atque retinent tempus suum*; 17.9.9 *Quando usus venerat . . . complicabant*; 19.8.1 *quando erat a magistris . . . otium, ad Frontonem . . . pergebam sermonibusque eius . . . fruebar*; 19.8.15 *quando forte erit otium, quaerite* (not necessarily iterative).

For instances involving the subjunctive see Praef. 1 *iucundiora alia reperiri queunt, ad hoc ut liberis quoque meis partae . . . remissiones essent, quando animus . . . indulgeri potuisset*; Praef. 2 *annotabam . . . ut quando usus venisset aut . . . oblivio tenuisset, et libri, . . . non adessent . . . foret* (in the latter instance, the subjunctive is clearly accounted for by *oratio obliqua*; in the former, the subjunctive is due to attraction); 7.13.5 *Quaesitum est, quando inoriens moreretur . . . et quando surgens surgeret . . . et qui artem disceret, quando artifex fieret?* In the case just cited there is, of course, no iterative force and the question is dependent (we have *oratio obliqua*, then, once

in der alten Zeit immer eine wiederholte oder zu unbestimmter Zeit geschehende Handlung. Der Modus ist überall der Indivativ". Cf. also Schmalz, *Lat. Synt.* § 266; Gildersleeve-Lodge, § 580, Note 3; Grandgent, *Vulgar Latin*, § 82; Lindsay, *Syntax of Plautus*, 135.

more). Gellius is not fond of the iterative subjunctive. He uses it but once with *ubi* (17.2.1 *ubi venisset usus*), and seldom with *dum* or *cum*. The causal *quando* is not common. Gellius prefers *quia*, *quod*, and especially *quoniam*.

Schmalz, 566 (§326), recognizes no example of *quoniam* with temporal force outside of Plautus and Terence.¹⁸² But it certainly seems to have temporal force in Gellius 6.5.4¹⁸³ *Polus unice amatum filium morte amisit. Eum luctum quoniam satis visus est eluxisse, rediit ad quaestum artis.*¹⁸⁴ *Quoniam* seems to be temporal, with iterative force, in 15.27.5 *Propterea centuriata in campo Martio haberi exercitumque imperari praesidii causa solitum, quoniam populus esset in suffragiis ferendis occupatus.*¹⁸⁵

With reference to causal *cum*,¹⁸⁶ in Draeger 2.680 we find the following: "Seit der klassischen Zeit ist der Konjunktiv der allein gebräuchliche Modus." Similarly Schmalz, page 565: "Das kausale, adversative und konzessive *quom* wird seit der klassischen Zeit ausschliesslich mit dem Konjunktiv konstruiert".

The causal force, however, seems clear in certain passages from Gellius, although the nuance may be such that in some of the instances the temporal force might be admitted. See 2.29.1 *Aesopus ille e Phrygia fabulator haut inmerito sapiens existimatus est, cum, quae utilia monitu suasuque erant non severe neque imperiose praecepit et censuit, ut philosophis mos est, sed festivos delectabilesque apologos commentus, res salubriter ac*

¹⁸² Compare Sonnenschein on Rud. 67; Gray on Asin. 350; Lorenz and Brix-Niemeyer³ on Mil. 129; Brix-Niemeyer⁵ on Trin. 14.

¹⁸³ But see Apul. Ap. § 17: *ipse . . . scriptum reliquit, . . . tris servos solos ex urbe duxisse, quoniam ad villam publicam venerat.*

¹⁸⁴ Cf. Gildersleeve-Lodge, 580, N. 3. In earlier editions Schmalz too saw temporal force here.

¹⁸⁵ Compare Weiss's translation: "Deshalb pflegten die Centuriat-Comitien auf Marsfelde abgehalten und das (waffenfähige) Volk zur Besetzung des Wahlplatzes aufgefordert zu werden des Schutzes und der Sicherheit halber, so lange als das Volk beim Stimm abgeben beschäftigt war."

¹⁸⁶ See Lindsay, *Syntax of Plautus*, 120; Bennett, *Syntax of Early Latin*, 1. 133; Holtze, 2.125.

prospicienter animadversas in mentes animosque hominum cum audiendi quadam inlecebra *induit*; 5.10.12 Sed maius mihi in ista victoria prolubium est, *cum* te non in causa tantum, sed in argumento quoque isto *vinco*; 6.3.25 non culpa tantum vacat, sed dignus quoque laude admirationeque est, *cum* et ingenue ac religiose dicere *visus est* contra Rodienses, quod sentiebat et . . . ; 6.2.7 ecquale putat cor habere me et quam stultum esse me credit, *cum* id mihi persuadere *vult*? 11.8.4 Ea cum legisset M. Cato "Ne tu" inquit "Aule, nimium nugator es, *cum maluisti* culpam deprecari quam culpa vacare"; 12.12.4 "ἀκουονόητοι" inquit "homines estis *cum ignoratis* prudentis et cauti patrisfamilias esse, quod emere velit, empturum sese negare propter competitores emptionis. In all these cases, save 2.29.1, the tense used by Gellius in the main clause makes it very difficult to explain the *cum*-clauses as other than causal.

In Gellius there are several instances of the indicative in dependent questions. The indicative in such questions preceded the subjunctive.¹⁸⁷ In general, the principle of parataxis¹⁸⁸ accounts for the use of the indicative mood in such questions, especially in conjunction with the imperative. In Plautus the indicative in this type of question is as common as the subjunctive.¹⁸⁹ Already in Gellius's time the subjunctive was fast losing ground, so that when the Latin language finally broke up into the Romance tongues the use of the subjunctive was greatly restricted.¹⁹⁰ We see this tendency in Apuleius:¹⁹¹ compare e. g. Ap. Met. 2.22 nec satis quisquam definire poterit quantas latebras . . . comminiscuntur; Tertullian, Ux.

¹⁸⁷ See e. g. Bennett, *Syntax of Early Latin*, 1.120.

¹⁸⁸ See e. g. Knapp's *Vergil*, Index, under Moods 1.4, with notes on the passages there cited; Frobenius, § 186; Draeger, 2.460 ff.; Gildersleeve-Lodge, 467, N. 1; Schmalz, 516.

¹⁸⁹ See Lindsay, *Syntax of Plautus*, 66.

¹⁹⁰ See Grandgent, *Vulgar Latin*, § 117 (p. 53): "In conditions not contrary to fact, in indirect discourse and indirect questions, in dependent clauses that are not adversative nor dubitative, the indicative was often substituted for the subjunctive" (see the references given by Grandgent); Schmalz, 517. Here again the plebeian and the archaic are at one: see above, pages 9-10.

¹⁹¹ Hoppe, 72.

1.8 vide, quam ex aequo habetur qui . . . benefecerit; Car. Chr.3 quid tanti fuit edoce.¹⁹²

Coming now to Gellius himself, let us compare 19.8.6 propterea peto ut, si Gai Caesaris liber prae manibus est, promi iubeas, ut *quam confidenter* hoc *indicat* aestimari a te possit; 2.21.4 Quin . . . vos opici dicitis mihi, quare, quod *ἄμαξαν* Graeci vocant, nos septentriones *vocamus*,¹⁹³ 9.2.5 Quaeso autem te . . . quibus nos uti posse argumentis existimas,¹⁹⁴ 18.7.2 Quaeso te, magister, dicas mihi, *num erravi*, quod, cum vellem *δημηγορίας* Latine dicere, contiones dixi? Here, apparently, Gellius regards *num erravi* as independent, but in 20.1.8 we have Dic enim, quaeso, dic. . .an. . .existumes. In 19.8.6 quae ratio est quamobrem C. Caesar vel dictam esse a veteribus vel dicendam a nobis non putat, it may be said that *quamobrem* is treated as a relative. Since the indicative in indirect questions is common in late Latin, it would not be safe to attribute its use by Gellius to intentional archaism. We have seen that it is frequent in Plautus and the early writers in general. We have also seen that it grows more and more frequent from Gellius's time to the beginnings of the Romance languages.¹⁹⁵ In any case, however, we have either a reversion to type or a persistence of type, so that the matter properly finds place in this paper.

A matter more or less akin to that just discussed, though not involving the use of moods, may be noted here. *utrum . . . ne . . . an*, found in 2.2.7 and 7.8.3, is clearly an archaism.¹⁹⁶ The passages run as follows: "Absque praeiudicio"

¹⁹² It may be noted that the indicative in these two instances from Tertullian occurs in connection with the imperative; it is precisely in connection with the imperative that the question could most easily remain more or less independent (paratactic); precisely in connection with the imperative, too, occur most of the examples of the (apparent) dependent question in the indicative in early Latin. See Knapp, A. J. P., 32.33, in a review of Bennett's *Syntax of Early Latin*, Volume 1; Gildersleeve-Lodge, 467, N. 3.

¹⁹³ Since the main clauses are logically imperative in force, see above, note 192.

¹⁹⁴ See above, note 192.

¹⁹⁵ On the subject in general see Schmalz, 516-517.

¹⁹⁶ See Lindsay, *Syntax of Plautus*, 119; Bennett, *Syntax of Early*

inquit Taurus, "tu interea sede, dum inspicimus quaerimusque, utrum conveniat tene potius sedere, qui pater es, an filium, qui magistratus est; Lepide igitur agitari potest, utrum videri continentiorem par sit Publiumne Africanum Superiorem . . . an regem Alexandrum . . ." In the former passage we have another archaism in *absque*: see Drisler Studies, 167. Cf. Plautus Most. 681; Stich. 703; Bacch. 500-501, Trin. 306; Pseud. 709; Mil. 345; Rud. 104; Terence Eun. 721; Adel. 382.

So far as I have noticed, Professor Bennett does not, in his Syntax of Early Latin: Volume 1, discuss the occurrences of the indicative in subordinate clauses in the oratio obliqua in early Latin.¹⁹⁷ As will be seen from the references given in note 197 below, the usage does occur in early Latin, and is characteristic of late and plebeian Latin. In the examples cited below, one would expect the subjunctive. But even in the Latin of the best period instances of the indicative occur¹⁹⁸ which are almost as difficult to account for. Whether the subjunctive or the indicative shall be used seems to depend upon some subtle feeling which the writer may have at the moment, which in his own mind seems to separate the clause from the oratio obliqua, by way of parenthetical remark, or for special emphasis. As in the case of dependent questions, the occurrences of the indicative in Gellius may be due either to the (less exact) usage of his times or to intentional archaism.¹⁹⁹

Latin, 1.333 (§§ 9, 11; Bennett's citations are not exhaustive); Madvig, Latin Grammar, § 452.1; Brix-Niemeyer⁶, Hallidie, and Lindsay on Capt. 268; Wagner on Aul. 427; Lorenz on Pseud. 688. The matter discussed above must not be confused with quite different expressions in Cicero, in which after a clause beginning with *utrum* (the neuter pronoun) there is a pause, and a fresh start is made with *-ne . . . an* clauses: see Reid on Cic. Acad. 2.71.

¹⁹⁷ For this use see Holtze, 2. 116-117 (§ 4d); Draeger, 2.444; Lindsay, Syntax of Plautus, pages 65 f.; Elmer on Terence Phormio, 9, 17; Grandgent, § 117; Gorges, 43-45.

¹⁹⁸ Draeger, 2.442-443.

¹⁹⁹ Apuleius has similar constructions: for example, see Met. 2.21 ignoras Thessaliae te consistere, ubi sagae mulieres . . . demorsitant; Met. 3. 6 non tantum impunem me, verum etiam laudabilem publice credebam fore qui . . . apud meos semper innocentiam commodis cunctis antetuleram.

A few examples from Gellius will suffice by way of illustration. Compare 1.12.10-11 De more autem rituque capiundae virginis litterae quidem antiquiores non extant, nisi quae capta prima *est* a Numa rege esse captam. Sed Papiam legem invenimus, qua cavetur, ut pontificis maximi arbitrato virgines e populo viginti legantur sortitioque in contione ex eo numero fiat et, cuius virginis ducta *crit*, ut eam pontifex maximus capiat . . . ; 5.18.6 historias quidem esse aiunt rerum gestarum vel expositionem . . . annales vero esse, cum res gestae . . . *componuntur*; 6.1.2-4 Nam et C. Oppius et Iulius Hyginus aliique. . . tradunt . . . neque multis diebus, postquam ille anguis in lecto visus *est*, mulierem coepisse . . . ; 6.3.19 Quippe recte et utiliter . . . praecipitur iudices de capite alieno deque causa ad sese non pertinenti cognituros, ex qua praeter officium . . . nihil . . . redundaturum *est*, conciliandos esse . . . existimationi salutique eius, qui apud eos accusatus *est* (possibly the indicative here and in the following example is an echo from Cato: the whole chapter deals with a speech of Cato); 6.3.22 Sed quod ait confessum Catonem noluisse Rodiensis ita depugnari ut depugnatum *est*; 5.11.1 Existimant quidam etiam illud Biantis, . . . responsum consimile esse atque *est* Protagorion illud; 6.17.3 Quis adeo tam linguae Latinae ignarus est, quin sciat eum dici obnoxium, cui quid ab eo, cui esse obnoxius *dicitur*, incommodari . . . ; 10.2.2 Sed et divo Augusto imperante, qui temporum eius historiam scripserunt, ancillam . . . in agro Laurente peperisse . . . dicunt . . . matrem . . . non multo, postquam *peperit*, mortuam . . . ; 14.1.2 eaque fuerunt ad hanc ferme sententiam: disciplinam istam Chaldaeorum tantae vetustatis non esse, quantae videri *volunt*, neque eos principes eius auctoresque esse, quos ipsi ferant (note the shift in moods, *volunt* . . . *ferant*); 14.1.20 declarari . . . oportere dicebat . . . quales . . . homines gignerentur . . . quinam olim futuri essent . . . ut . . . stellae istae praemonstrare debuerint, qualis qualique fato futurus sit, quisquis hodie *natus est*.

Gellius is fond of repeating *atque*, a trick of style apparently borrowed from Cato.²⁰⁰ For examples see 1.23.1 cum multa

²⁰⁰ See Draeger, 2.54; Schmalz, 496 (§ 242); Minton Warren, P. A.

quidem venustate atque luce atque munditia verborum; 2.2.9 in publicis locis atque muneribus atque actionibus; 2.8.1 imperfecte atque praepostere atque inscite; 6.3.52 distincte nimis atque compta atque modulate; 6.19.1 Pulcrum atque liberale atque magnanimum factum; 10.3.13 impense atque acriter atque inflammanter; 12.1.9 filium proprii atque consueti atque cogniti sanguinis alimonia privare; 17.1.1 parum integre atque inproprie atque inconsiderate locutum.²⁰¹

sed enim occurs e. g. in Praef. 18; 1.7.18 *sed enim praeter Plautum . . . multam . . . copiam offendimus . . .*; 2.6.10; 17.1.3 (see Apul. Met. 1.24). This may be an archaism. Draeger 333.2c, says: "Zuerst Cato Orat. p. Rhod. Dann Cic. p. Cael. 24,60 . . . Mehr wird aus Cicero nicht angeführt, nichts aus Caesar, Sallust und Livius; mehr schon aus den Augusteischen Dichtern . . . Im silbernen Zeitalter scheint es zu fehlen, sicher bei Tacitus, dann kommt es wieder zum Vorschein". P. Langen (Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung des Plautus, page 263): "ob Plautus auch *sed enim* gesagt habe, ist zweifelhaft, überliefert ist kein Beispiel der Art". Lindsay (Syntax of Plautus, page 97) writes: "but *sed enim* seems not to occur (in Bacch. 1080 the MSS offer *et enim* . . .)". Leo, it should be noted, reads there *sed enim*, Goetz-Schoell *at enim*. Schmalz, 508, declares that *sed enim* "schon vor Cato . . . gerne . . . von den aug. Dichtern und den Archaisten, z. B. Fronto, Gellius gebraucht wird".

Twice after a temporal clause Gellius introduces what is logically the main clause with a copulative conjunction (*atque, et*).²⁰² According to Schmalz this illogical form of parataxis is

P. A., 25. xlv (1894). Elmer, in his dissertation on *Que, et, atque* in the Inscriptions of the Republic, in Terence and in Cato (see A. J. P., 8), did not notice Cato's fondness for repeated *atque*.

²⁰¹ Compare Fronto 36 (Naber): *Uni M. Porcio me dedicavi atque despondi atque delegavi. Hoc etiam ipsum atque unde putas? ex ipso furore.* Lodge, *Lexicon Plautinum*, s. v. *Atque*, 17, gives examples of varying combinations into which *atque* enters twice, such as *atque . . . atque; atque . . . atque . . . -que; atque . . . -que et . . . atque; et . . . atque atque.*

²⁰² For this use in Plautus see Lodge, *Lexicon Plautinum*, s. v. *Atque*, 16 (page 179).

confined to two authors only, Plautus and Gellius; see 497 (§ 244). Compare 2.29.8 *Haec ubi ille dixit et discessit*; 17.20.4 *Haec verba ubi lecta sunt atque ibi Taurus mihi . . . inquit*. It should be noted that 2.29 is a perfect mine of archaisms, such as *cum* causal with indicative, *fervit*, *crastini*, *luci*, etc., etc.²⁰³ The Plautine examples of the special phenomenon under discussion are *Epid.* 217 (Schmalz wrongly cites as 209) *Quom ad portam venio atque ego illam illi video praestolarier*; *Bacch.* 278 *forte ut adsedi in stega, dum circumspecto, atque ego lembum conspicio*; *Most.* 1050 *Quoniam convocavi, atque illi me ex senatu segregant*; *Poen.* 649 *Nescimus nos quidem istum qui siet*; *Nisi* *dudum mane ut ad portum processimus, Atque istum e navi exeuntem oneraria Videmus*; *Merc.* 256 *Postquam id quod volui transegi, atque ego conspicio Navem ex Rhodo quast heri advectus filius*.

Finally, in 2.29, we have convincing evidence of Gellius's conscious imitation of the ancients, whom he so profoundly revered. In his rendering of Aesop's fable, we have numerous examples of archaisms of form and of syntax,²⁰⁴ which, without doubt, are taken from the Latin version which Gellius was following. But unmistakable evidence that Gellius's work is, in part, a loose paraphrase of one of the *Satires* of Ennius,²⁰⁵ and, in part, a more or less faithful rendering of parts of verses, or even of whole verses, of his Latin original, is found in the bits of trochaic lines which characterize this fable²⁰⁶ as given us by Gellius.

Trochaic rhythm is natural enough to Latin, but here we have no accidental measures due to the nature of the language. By way of contrast it is suggestive to compare the story of the lark, 2.29, with the story of Arion, 16.19. So far as I have been able to discover, the striking archaic and metrical elements which are so remarkable in the former are lacking in the

²⁰³ See Knapp, *Drisler Studies*, 143-144 (for archaisms of form), and, for archaisms of syntax, above, page 57. The next paragraph of this page may also be compared here.

²⁰⁴ See above, note 203.

²⁰⁵ Cf. § 20.

²⁰⁶ See Vahlen's *Ennius*² (1903), ccxxii-ccxxiii, and Knapp, *A. J. P.*, 32.28.

latter. Apparently, Gellius is here translating from Herodotus, and so is himself responsible for the Latin. There was no intermediary archaic Latin version from which to borrow. There seem to be no reminiscences of Ovid's rendering (*Fasti*, 2.79-118). Ovid, it may be noted, is never mentioned in the *Noctes Atticae* (compare above, page 20).

To the trochaic rhythms which have already been noted by Vahlen²⁰⁷ and by Knapp,²⁰⁸ in 2.29, the following, not in all cases, to be sure, very musical, should be added: *appetat messis pullis iam iam plumantibus; flavescuntibus pullis; ipsa iret cibum pullis; postea segetum illarum; amici isti magnam partem inquit; temperi ad metendum; afferes primo luci.*

²⁰⁷ Ennius, ccxxii.

²⁰⁸ A. J. P., 32.30-31.

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¹See note 3.

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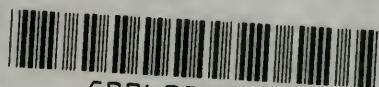
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