

The same principle is answerable for the substitution of compounds containing one or more prepositions for simple verbs; e.g., *sufflare* (Fr. *souffler*) for *flare*. The latter had come to be felt as too unexpressive and feeble; and the common people clamoured for a stronger speech than the educated classes. Words compounded with *con* and *ad* gained a wide popularity; e.g., *condignus*, *condensus*, *condormire*, *complacere*, *conflare* (Fr. *gonfler*), *concastigare* (found in Plautus), *assimilis*, *adaeque*, *accredere*, etc. Similarly monosyllabic prepositions were ousted by compound ones, as *abante* = Fr. *avant*, *desub* = Fr. *dessous*. This explains the fact that in Romance languages short substantive stems either disappear as in the case of *res*, *os*, *mus*, *ius*, *sus*, *ver*, or were lengthened by means of suffixes, as *spes* (It. *speme*), *vas* (It. *vasello*), *lex* (It. *legge*), *dux* (It. *doge*), *nox* (It. *notte*).

104. Further we must remark that the desire for clearness entailed the substitution of cases\* joined with prepositions for the simple cases; only this does not arise from any weakening of signification; its cause is to be sought in the gradual weathering off and disappearance of the terminations, and in the shedding of final consonants, such as *m*, *s*, *d*, *t*, etc. By this process the relations between the governing word and the mere inflexion fell into such confusion that finally in order to arrange relations of syntax and to promote definiteness in meaning, the usage of defining words to take the place of inflexions was

\* Cf. Grandgent, pp. 46 *sqq.*

deemed necessary. This is specially true of *de* = French *de*,\* which took the place of the genitive, and indeed, even in old Latin was often substituted for the partitive: of *ad* (Fr. *à*) to express the dative; of *in* to denote incidence of time, and of *per* and *cum* to denote the means whereby, in other words, the agent. Thus Müller, in the Pfalzburger Programm for 1888, shows that in Sidonius Apollinaris *ex* occurs much less frequently than *de*; cf. too Clairin, "Du génitif latin et de la préposition *de*," Paris, 1880.

We have thus approached the question of the syntax of vulgar Latin which we have still to consider briefly, as well as that of style. The language of the people is, like many of its ways, harsh and brusque, but is instinct with lively feeling, and is simple and easy to understand. It knows nothing of artistic combinations of periods; one thought connects itself to another with the greatest *naïveté*. The heart, and not the understanding, is the chief factor in the arrangement of the periods employed by the common man. His sentences are set paratactically, and in the simplest form. All complications of language are as far as possible avoided. Hence his style leaves the impression of brevity and abruptness; thoughts and sentences alike seem to be running away, and not unfrequently to proceed by a series of jumps, disregarding all logical continuity. And, what is more, even the semblance of connection is frequently enough very faint. The word *and* plays a great part in the paratactic arrangement of

\* Cf. Grandgent, p. 43.



the sentences of the uneducated, though not unfrequently even this word is omitted. *Oratio obliqua* is replaced by direct speech. If a peasant relates what another has confided in him, he brings his interlocutor before us as speaking the words in his own person, so that we have him as in actual life before our eyes, and can hear the words fall from his lips. This artificial form is precisely that used by the brothers Grimm in the composition of their Fairy Tales.\*

105. Abstract ideas and high-flown phrases are unpopular with the man in the street. Not that he is lacking in the power of expressing conceptions remote from reality, and lying beyond the domain of the senses, but rather that he fails to give what we may call objective expression to his inner life and ideas. His thoughts have so naturally come to be identified with himself that he never comes to reflect upon the nature of these thoughts at all. He lives through the various circumstances of life with his inner consciousness, without caring to appeal to any exterior agency as accountable for their existence. He looks on life as bounded and conditioned by his surroundings, and forms his views from those surroundings: and thus it comes to pass that he lends life and picturesqueness to his language by the formation of numerous metaphors taken from the various phenomena forced upon his attention by his surroundings. "The journalist or closet philosopher," says Schröder in his treatise on the journalese style

\* This artifice is characteristic of Defoe's works.

(no doubt with some exaggeration) "never suspects that the groom and the dairymaid employ in a single year more tropes and figures of speech than he will find in all the literary masterpieces of the world." And Biese actually asserts ("Das Naturgefühl bei Griechen und Römern," ii, 20) that in Roman comedy figures of speech and similes are rare! Certainly we do not find any long drawn-out similes such as characterize epic poetry, but we light on very many picturesque expressions and pointed parallels drawn from the sphere of daily life, as is the way of the people. In fact, the nearer the people stand to an object, and the better they feel that they know it, the more frequently and with the greater pleasure do they drag it into their language by the aid of metaphor. Things which they have loved or known force themselves on their attention, such as parts of the body, domestic animals, implements, trees, the heavens, the stars, and, again, common actions and processes, habits which have become second nature. Even Cicero was struck by the fact that the language of the people possesses a large store of metaphors; for he says, Or. 24, 81: "*tralatia* qua frequentissime sermo omnis utitur non modo urbanorum, sed etiam rusticorum, siquidem est eorum: 'gemmae vites, sitire agros, laetas esse segetes, luxuriosa frumenta'"; and again, De Or. iii, 38, 135, he expresses himself in the same way: "nam gemmae vites, luxuriam esse in herbis, laetas segetes etiam rustici dicunt" (cf. Quint. viii, 6, 6). The Roman people loved expressions quaint and forceful, such as *testa* (a potsherd), used for a *head*,



*tête*; *spatha*, a stirring spoon = *épée* for a broadsword (Tac. Ann. xii, 35); *bucca*, "puff cheek" for "mouth," (Fr. *bouche*); *iugulare* for *interficere*, properly "to cut the throat"; *calculare* (from *calculus*, a little stone which was used for reckoning) = *computare*, to reckon; or phrases like "*corium concidere alicui*," "to cut about any one's leather," that is to say, to *hide* any one (applied strictly to wild beasts), and "*sub manus succidere*," originally a technical term of joiners and potters, which even in Plautus occurs with the metaphorical meaning of "to leave the hands of the maker" (cf. too O. Ribbeck. "Gesch. der röm. Dichtung," 1<sup>2</sup>, 123). But the Roman loved above all things metaphors taken from military life and from the science of law. Each of these departments lay near to his heart, and appealed so strikingly at once to his taste and his powers that he lived for them and in them.

106. This whimsical trait of the people reveals itself, moreover, in their method of naming the objects of daily life. Thus we have numerous plants and beasts for which the Roman countryman possesses native names, or, it may be, names given them by himself in the course of time, while the classical language mostly took over the corresponding terms from the Greek. These expressions are pretty and picturesque, simple and easily intelligible. For example, the onion (*caepa*), from the fact of its possessing a single bulb, was called by the countrymen *unio* = Fr. *oignon*; the almond tree (*amygdala*) was called *nucicla* = *nucicula*, properly "little nut";

the sycamore (*sycaminos*), *celsa*; the centaur (*centaurea*), *fel terrae*. In the same way he bestows upon the *chamaepitys* the name of *abiga* (the repellent); he calls the sneeze-wort (*abrotonum*) by the name of *veratrum*, on account of its supposed power, if strewn upon the head, to sharpen men's wits.\* He calls the heliotrope *verrucaria*, wart-weed; the *rhamnus*, our Christ's thorn, he calls *sentis ursina*, or bear thorn; the *strychnos*, *uva lupina*, wolf's grape; the giraffe (*camelopardalis*) becomes the *ovis fera*; the elephant (*elephantus*) *bos Luca*; the hippopotamus, *bos Aegyptius*; the ostrich, *passer marinus* (Plaut. Pers. II, ii, 17), the leech (*hirudo*) *sanguisuga*, the blood-sucker, etc.

107. And there is a strong contrast between the vulgar dialect and polite diction in the use of reflexive verbs, tenses, and the *Figura etymologica*. All these peculiarities mark the language of the people, and are intended to promote clearness. How seldom does Caesar employ such expressions as *se flectere*, *se effundere*, *se movere*, instead of *flecti*, *effundi*, *moveri*, and how commonly do we meet with such expressions in the *lingua rustica*! Involuntarily we call up such German expressions as "der Rock nutzt sich bald ab," † or such French expressions as "Paris ne s'est pas fait en un jour; les spectacles se donnent," etc. Further, if we find that the infinitive present instead of the infinitive future (a usage em-

\* Connecting it with *verus*.

† Or such English phrases as "do move yourself off," "pull yourself up," etc.



ployed by Caesar only occasionally, Bell. Gall. ii, 32, 3; iv, 21, 5; 22, 1; vi, 9, 7; in order to express the immediate completion of any action) occurs far from unfrequently in vulgar Latin, this is surely a testimony to the lively and rapid thoughts of the people, who can with such facility transpose the future into the present. But the *Figura etymologica* has ever been a favourite in popular Latin from the time of Plautus down to Apuleius, Tertullian, and St. Augustine. Thus as early as Plautus we find quite commonly such expressions as "vitam vivere" (*e.g.* Merc. 473), "servitutum servire" (*e.g.* Capt. 391), "messem metere" (*e.g.* Epidic. 701), "obsonium obsonare" (*e.g.* Stich. 410), "statuam statuere" (*e.g.* Asin. 712); these and similar expressions are found equally in all later writers; indeed, new expressions are constantly being coined upon these models, *e.g.*, "laudes laudare" (Fronto), "questus queri" (Stadius), "vigiliam vigilare" (Gellius), "indumentum induere," "somnia somniare," "sortem sortiri" (all in Vulgate). (Cf. too Landgraf, "De Figuris etymologicis Linguae Latinae," Acta semin. philol. Erlang. ii, 1-70, and Fr. Leiffholdt, "Etymologische Figuren im Romanischen," Erlangen, 1884.)

108. We have still to touch on the third main characteristic of the vulgar tongue, namely, the greater rôle assigned to the emotions than to the intellect. The educated man speaks only after mature reflection. We remember that Tallyrand goes so far as to remark sarcastically, "La parole a été donnée à l'homme pour déguiser ses pensées!"

The people, however, wear their heart always upon their sleeve. They repudiate all disguises and reveal all their feelings, all their thoughts, all their emotions, not merely in their looks and gestures, but in their utterances and words as well. Hence it comes to pass that in these words, unconsciously and even against their wishes, they reveal their sympathies and their antipathies alike. One instance of this tendency is their strong predilection for diminutives in sign of cordiality, and of the share taken by their sympathies in the moulding of their speech. Such diminutives are more particularly employed to denote sympathy and affection, as *amiculus*, the dear, or, it may be, the poor friend; *lectulus*, the dear, or the comfortable, bed; or the use of the diminutive may be, though it is a rarer case, a sign of dislike, as in the case of *Asellus*, the stupid, stubborn ass; *specula*, the faint hope; *voculae*, disagreeable remarks. These diminutives have, however, become so completely identified with the thoughts of the people, and so little are they felt as real diminutives, that further diminutives were actually coined from these, as for instance from *asellus*, *asellulus*; from *auricula*, *auricilla*; from *cistula*, *cistella* and *cistellula*.\* There are certain diminutive forms, adjectival and verbal, which bear a specifically popular stamp, such as *pulchellus*, *formosulus*, *tacitulus*, *misellus*, *liquidiusculus*, *nitidiusculus*, *minusculus*, *maiusculus*. Parenthetical phrases such as the following imply ease and intimacy on the part of the speaker—*narro tibi*, "I only tell

\* *Os* (mouth) gives *osculum* (which also has the particular sense of "kiss") and *oscillum*.



you"; *mihi ausculta*, "hear what I say"; *amabo te = quaeso*, "tell me, love." \* Again the vulgar tongue is rich in ethical datives, which even with Plautus had become favourites, and it is likewise partial to formulae of assertion and to interjectional expressions which meet us in all stages of the Latin language. The Roman comedies are throughout marked by expressions of assurance such as *medius fidius*, *hercle*, *pol*, *edepol*, *ecastor*, *nae*, and again by particles betokening affection or encouragement as *attat*, *attatae*, *babae*, *bombax*; or of joy, as *io*, *euax*, *euoe*, *euan*, etc. Everywhere the feeling of the moment, or what we may call the subjective influence, forces itself upon our notice. For what are interjections but flashes of feeling shot straight and sudden from the heart?

109. But the deep sympathy of the people with the persons and objects of which it speaks displays itself equally in its very opposite trait: viz., in the reticence and painful anxiety which it manifests to avoid uttering certain words. The people recognize no words as tabooed; no words which the unwritten law of polite society forbids them to mention: they are unaware that they must avoid this or that unconventional expression. But, religiously or superstitiously disposed as they are, they feel apprehension and awe when called on to utter the name of the divinity which directs their destinies. The words spoken to the pious Israelites of old with such distinctness and emphasis, "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain,"

\* Only used by women.

were unconsciously in the mind of every Roman. Just as the Hebrews, from religious scruples, instead of pronouncing the name *Jehovah*, or *Jahweh*, used the word *Adonai*, *i.e.*, "the Lord"; and as the Greeks called the goddesses of vengeance, the terrible furies, the Eumenides, *i.e.*, "the kindly beings," and *Σεμναί* "the honourable goddesses": just as the Germans mutilate the names of God, of Jesus, and of the Devil in the most varied ways, *e.g.*, Jesses, Potz (-Gotts), Deiker, Deichsel = Teufel,\* so did the Romans mangle and disguise many expressions because their natural reverence prevented them from unnecessarily repeating with their lips what they deemed in their hearts to be holy. One might cite as a proof of this assertion the formulae of asseveration *hercle*, *pol*, *edepol*; but there are many other words of the same kind. The terrible goddesses of Fate who spared no one were called "Parcae," "the Sparing ones," to win their goodwill. †

The ancients were particularly unwilling to pronounce words which recall in any way the notion of death, because they were in terror of hastening its approach. For instance, the word *morbus*, which is etymologically connected with *mors*, was from the earliest times avoided, and was replaced by *infirmitas*, *languor*, *valetudo*, *vitium*, *passio*, etc. (cf. Wölfflin, "Sitzungsberichte der Bayr. Akad," 1880, pp. 387 *sqq.*).

\* And as in England we have such words as *deuce*, *marry*, and *zounds* in older English.

† This word is, however, connected with *parcere* by popular etymology only; it is more probably connected with *pario*.



For the word *mors* was substituted *fatum*, *quies*, *finis*, *abitio*, etc.: for the word "to die," *hinc migrare*, *discedere*, *transire*, *dormire*, *oppetere*, *desiderari*, *obire*, *vixisse*. In the same way for *funestus* and *fatalis* the ancients preferred to employ euphemistically *infaustus* and *infortunatus*,\* and the German expression, "geh zum Henker" ("go to the deuce") finds its equivalent in the Greek ἔρρ' εἰς κέρακας, and in the Latin "i ad Graecum Pi" on account of the shape of the Greek letter π, which resembled a gallows.

110. Another instance of the bent of the peasant mind is seen in the joy of the countryman exhibited at the time of harvest and on other festive occasions. This gaiety, coupled with the native Roman predilection for banter, led to the introduction of such popular amusements as the "Fescennines," the "Satura," the "Mimes," and the "Atellanae." Especially remarkable is the Roman fondness for verbal wit and puns.† This characteristic pervades the whole of Roman comedy; on this more than on any other factor depends the great effect which the plays of the genial Plautus aimed at producing. But the taste is everywhere manifest, for the *plebs* of the capital found its delight in such jests no less than the peasant. The wit of the soldiers presumed even to play upon the sacred person of the Emperor. They

\* Cf. Velleius, 2, cap. 93, "Si quid accidisset Caesari," *i.e.*, "si mortuus esset."

† Macrobius, Sat. ii, 4, gives many instances of Roman jokes.

twisted the name of Tiberius Claudius Nero maliciously into "Biberius Caldius Mero," with a play upon *bibere*, *calidum*, and *merum* (Suet. Tiber. 42). The Emperor Macrinus, who treated his servants to a flogging for the slightest offence, gained as his reward the nickname of "Macellinus" or "butcher's boy" (cf. Iul. Capitol. in vita Gordiani jun. c. 19). Not unlike the banter of the soldiers is the comic transformation of the word *disciplina* into *displicina*, as if from *displicere*, referred to by different grammarians (Priscian, ii, 114, 3; Donat. 392, 20; Consent. p. 16); in the same way the mutilation of *popina* into *propina* shows popular influence (cf. Isid. xv, 2, 42; Rossi, Inscr. i, 1055). *Transgulare* for *strangulare* (cf. Schuchardt, "Vokalismus des Vulgärlateins," iii, 12) testifies to the humour of the people, and it seems worth noticing that the saintly Cyprian was once styled "Coprianus," with a play upon the Greek word κόπρος, which naturally enough called down the righteous wrath of Lactantius (Inst. Div. v, i, 27): "Audivi ego quendam hominem sacrilegum, qui eum (Cyprianum) immutata una littera Coprianum vocaret, quasi elegans ingenium et melioribus rebus aptum ad aniles fabulas contulisset."\*

III. In conclusion, to review briefly the whole subject, we find the close connection between the spirit and the language of the people fully proved. Of the four phases of spiritual and intellectual life

\* *Levir*, a husband's brother, was conceived of as "*laevus vir*." See Walde, p. 333.



imagination and natural feeling are more strongly emphasized than understanding and will power.

The scanty endowment of the masses in respect of the last mentioned factors explains their tendency to seek ease of expression, which tendency manifests itself in the first place on the material side, as, for instance, in ease of pronunciation, and secondly, on the intellectual side, as revealed by their reduction to simplicity of inflexional forms of syntax and of word signification. On the other hand their power of imagination conduces to lucidity of speech, and their undisguised and lively feeling renders their language so homely, so winning, and so sane.

The vulgar tongue, then, contrasts with classical prose by its effacement of intelligence and will. In the large play allowed to popular fancy and popular genius it approaches poetic diction; both alike lay the greatest weight on liveliness of style, on picturesque lucidity in form, and on warmth of feeling. In both cases we find sentences loosely attached and loosely constructed, in both a predilection for figurative expressions, for alliteration, and for the use of frequentatives.

Even in vocabulary there are some singular resemblances. Just as in the German language the words "kosen, Maid, Born" are at once poetical and vulgar, in the same way such vulgar Latin expressions as *facundus*, *facundia*, and *focus* (= French *feu*, fire) are not found in Cicero and Caesar, though they appear in the Odes of Horace, and in the Elegies of Propertius. Of course, the linguistic methods by which the people attain their ends are widely dif-

ferent from those of the poet. Rough folk-lore has rough methods—the more refined style of the poet walks in tenderer ways. The former loves the real, the latter the ideal. In the vulgar tongue change in language sets in unconsciously, in that of the poet with full consciousness. In the former case it affects an entire class; but in the latter case the degree of its influence is proportionate to the genius of the author.



## THE CLASSICAL LANGUAGE OF CAESAR AND CICERO

112

WHILE the vulgar tongue resembles a meadow which flourishes and blossoms almost without man's aid, the artificial language resembles a garden fenced in by the hand of man, and demanding unremitting attention, if it is to produce good fruit. Now one of the most important tasks of the gardener is to rid his garden of weeds, and in the same way it is imperative for a classical language to banish all words and all verbal forms to which objection may be taken from any quarter. It follows that classic writers must in the first place be on their guard against the introduction of obsolete and foreign terms, and in the next place against the creation of new and startling figures; lastly, they must do their best to get quit of every element which in the eyes of the educated classes must appear vulgar or common. Caesar and Cicero have acted according to these maxims, and if we disregard the Letters, which strike a more familiar note, they have closely scrutinized their choice of words. That great statesman and general who brought Gaul under the Roman yoke, was renowned not merely as an orator and a historian, but also as an accomplished grammarian.

As to the latter quality, in the two books, "De Analogia," dedicated to Cicero, he has imposed the strict demand, "Habe semper in memoria atque pectore, ut tanquam scopulum sic fugias inauditum et insolens verbum" (Gellius, i, 10, 4), for which reason this document is described by Fronto as "*libri scrupulosissimi*," and the precepts therein laid down were followed by himself most conscientiously; indeed, he goes so far, that of several expressions connected in meaning he will employ one only, because he deems the use of several words superfluous when a single one would suffice. For, as Caesar tells us (Brutus, 72, 253), he regarded the "verborum delectus" as the "originem eloquentiae," and it is to this careful selection of words that he owes "mira sermonis elegantia cuius proprie studiosus fuit" (Quintilian, x, 1, 114).

It is for this reason that he is careful to avoid the words *fluvius* and *amnis*, while the word *flumen* occurs in his writings more than two hundred times. For the same reason he writes *non posse* for *nequire*, *haud scire* and *non scire* for *nescire*: he writes *timere* and *diligere*, not *metuere* and *amare*; *interest*, but not *refert*; *nudare* and *privare*, but not *orbare*. In the same spirit he discards *quamquam*, *licet*, *etiamsi*, and *quamvis* (the latter word only in the Bell. Gall. iv, 2, 5, and there connected with *pauci*) in favour of *etsi*; *quia* (only Bell. Civ. iii, 30, 4) for *quod donec*, and *quamdiu* (only Bell. Gall. i, 17, 6) for *dum*; *igitur* (only Bell. Gall. i, 85) for *itaque*. The word *quomodo* occurs nowhere in his writings, and *tanquam* once only, in a fragment quoted by Gellius



(Noct. Att. i, 10, 4); *porro* only Bell. Gall. v, 27, 4; *haud* only Bell. Gall. v, 54, 5; he renders our word "before" almost exclusively by *priusquam*, only twice by *antequam* (Bell. Civ. i, 2, 2, and iii, 11, 1); the word *causa*, "for the sake of," appears one hundred and fifty times; *gratia* in the same sense, twice only (Bell. Gall. vii, 43, 2, and Bell. Civ. ii, 7, 3); *frustra* occurs ten times; *nequiquam* twice only (Bell. Gall. ii, 27, 5, and Bell. Civ. i, 1, 4); *appellare*, "to name," occurs forty-six times, but *nominare* and *vocare* only once (Bell. Gall. vii, 73, 9, and v, 21, 3), whilst in Cicero's speeches *appellare* occurs some seventy-five times, and the other two verbs are used some thirty times in all.

113. We also miss in Caesar's "Commentaries" many expressions which are found in other historical writers of that time. Although he speaks so often of his enemies' defeat, still he never uses the word *clades*, and if we compare the speeches which Sallust, in his work on Catiline's conspiracy, puts into his mouth, with his own writings, we discover that expressions commonly recur in Sallust's version which are far removed from Caesar's usage. For instance, such words as *divitiae* (found forty times in Sallust's account), *lubido* or *libido* (thirty-five times), *memorare* (twenty times), *miseriae* (fifteen times), *strenuus* (fourteen times), *profecto* (fifteen times), etc., are nowhere found in "Bellum Gallicum" and the "Bellum civile" (cf., too, Schnorr v. Carolsfeld, "Über die Reden bei Sallust," Leipzig, 1888, bes. pp. 34 *sqq.*).

A large number of words not seldom met with in

Cicero's speeches are not employed by Caesar, it may be from their rhetorical character or from some other reason, such as *nedum*, *dummodo*, *nisi forte*, *quippe qui*, *utpote qui* (*praesertim qui* only in Bell. Gall. v, 47, 4), *dubito an* (*haud scio an* only in v, 54, 4), *tantum abest ut . . . ut*, *sequitur*, *restat*, *proximum est*, *reliquum est*, *extremum est*, *piget*, *miseret*, *taedet*. Further, a large quantity of grammatical peculiarities referred to at length in our school grammars, do not occur at all in Caesar, as, for instance, the use of *supplicare*; *maledicere*, *obtrectare*, *operam dare* followed by the dative, or *se praestare* and *se praebere*; the latter is only found in a letter in Cicero's collection, Ad Att. ix, 7, 1, followed by the accusative and *parum* followed by the genitive.

114. It must not, however, be assumed that the classical "stylist" sinks into monotony, nay, he rather displays, on fit occasions, such change in style and matter as suits his purpose, following the maxim *variatio delectat*. For certain transactions, especially in matters appertaining to war and the operations of war, he sometimes employs as many as three or four different expressions for the same idea. True it is that, in his method of producing variety, he by no means equals a Livy or a Tacitus, but he certainly escapes wrecking himself on the rock of monotony. For instance, as a variation of the word *castris* (*milites continere*), he writes also *in castris*, *intra vallum*, *intra munimenta*. And as a variant for *fortunam temptare* he writes also *experiri* and *periclitari*. For the phrase, to draw a sword, he uses



sometimes *gladios stringere*, sometimes *destringere* or *educere*; to finish the war is with him *bellum conficere* or *finire*. For "to surpass" he employs *superare*, *vincere*, or *praestare*. On the other hand, he hardly ever uses *antecellere*, *excellere*, *praecedere*, *antecedere*, *praecurrere*, etc.

Newly coined words are hardly to be found in his writings, and even Greek ones he employs very sparingly, although he was favourably disposed to Greek culture and Greek customs, and as Suetonius assures us (Julius Caesar, chap. 67) gave vent to the utterance, "what matters it if my soldiers use perfumes so long as they fight well." We must not set down to his account old expressions like *scopulus* and *epistula*, which had by his time admittedly assumed a genuine Latin stamp. However, such military technical terms as *catapulta*, *ballista*, *scorpio* for siege-work, *phalanga* to express a roller for the launching of ships, *harpago* for a bill-hook to bring down walls, and *phalanx* to denote a military parade, could hardly escape employment even by such a purist, as there was no Latin substitute at his disposal. The case was the same, and for the same reason, with *tetrarches*, *theatrum*, *ephippium*, *scapha*, *machinatio*; it is, however, noticeable that when he employs the word *malacia* to express a dead calm, he finds it necessary to add the explanatory substantive, *ac tranquillitas* (Bell. Gall. iii, 15, 3).

115. Finally, Caesar has kept his narration as free as possible from vulgarisms, and he has avoided many words which are common both in old Latin

and in later writers. Instances are: the intensive expressions *oppido* and *actutum*, and the preposition *absque* in the sense of *sine*, the substantives *prosapia*, *obsequela*, *edulium*, *ambulacrum*, the adjectives *discordiosus*, *extimus*, which Sallust, for instance, has extracted from some ancient source. Moreover, he has not employed many of the frequentatives so popular in the vulgar tongue, in contrast to the last mentioned writer and to Livy; and if he (Bell. Gall. v, 27, 1) says *ventitare consuerunt* or (v, 7, 8) *saepe clamitans*, these expressions are redundant only in appearance, as the meaning in the former case is, "they are wont to pass to and fro," and in the latter case, "often crying aloud." On the other hand there is a trace of vulgar Latin in the employment of *captivus* to qualify objects such as *naves* (Bellum Civile, ii, 5, 1; cf. Bell. Alex. 42, 4; 47, 2), and again in the use of *sexennis* and *semestris* for *sex annorum* and *sex mensium* (Bell. Civ. iii, 20, 5, and i, 9, 2), in the phrase *in fugam dare* (Bell. Gall. iv, 26, 5, and v, 51, 5; cf. Bell. Afr. 78, 8, and Ph. Thielmann "Das verbum *dare* im Lateinischen," Leipzig, 1882, p. 105), in *albente caelo* (Bell. Civ. i, 68, 1; cf. Sisenn. Fr. 103 P., also Bell. Afr. ii, 1, 80). Again the following usages seem characteristic of vulgar Latin: that of *consimilis* (Bell. Gall. ii, 11, 1; v, 12, 3; vi, 21, 1), *convallis* (Bell. Gall. iii, 20, 4; v, 32, 2; regularly used in Bell. Afr. and Hisp. for *vallis*), *confieri* (Bell. Gall. vii, 58, 2), *adaugere* (Bell. Civ. iii, 58, 14).

116. Precisely the same principles are illustrated



by Cicero, theoretically in his rhetorical writings, but practically in his speeches, and in his philosophical treatises. We are able to gather his own views about the admission of obsolete expressions from the passage *De Orat.* iii, 38, 153, where he says: "Prisca fere ac vetusta ab usu cotidiani sermonis jam diu intermissa poetarum licentiae liberiora quam nostrae (*i.e.* oratorum)," and similarly in another passage (*Or.* 24, 80) "Sed etiam inusitata ac prisca sunt in propriis, nisi quod raro utimur." Still Cicero the orator is not so strict as Caesar the historian, for Cicero maintains that a certain mystical charm attaches to his style ("grandior atque antiquior oratio saepe videri solet," cf. *De Orat. loc. citat.*) if he, as occasion requires, employs old-fashioned terms such as *tempestas* used in the sense of *tempus*, or *pone* in the place of *post*. This holds true especially if the archaic expression is drawn from a poetical work, for "raro habet etiam in oratione poeticum aliquod verbum dignitatem." The case is different in such philosophical writings as the "Cato Maior," in which the employment of old-fashioned tricks of speech is intended to invest the language with an antique appearance, just as Goethe's method is intended to do in Hans Sachs' "Poetische Sendung." Still Cicero with all his toleration confines himself within the narrowest possible limits: he writes *quasi* in the sense of *quemadmodum* (19, 71), and, to sum up here briefly his use of inflexional forms and syntactical peculiarities, he employs *meditatus* (20, 74), *dimensus* (17, 59) in a passive sense (2, 4; *adepti* is now taken as the true reading, not *adeptam*), *audaciter* for *audac-*

*ter* (20, 72), *quam viam ingrediendum sit*, for *quae via ingredienda sit* (2, 6).

117. In his admission of foreign words Cicero is equally moderate, especially in his speeches, in which, apart from the borrowed words which had already acquired rights of citizenship in the Latin language, very few Greek terms are to be found. Cicero expressly advises (Or. 49, 164): "Quare bonitate potius nostrorum verborum utamur quam splendore Graecorum." In accordance with this maxim, he introduces one, and only one, foreign word into the speech "Pro Quinctio," viz., *ephemeris* (18, 57); in "Pro Ligario" none at all, for *barbarus* can hardly be considered as such. Most of these Greek words, as we might naturally expect, are found in the Verrine Orations, where so many Greek objects of art are mentioned. In his philosophical works, however, Cicero could not absolutely dispense with foreign appellatives, the less so because the entire material for these proceeded from Hellenic sources, and technical expressions had to be employed for which no Latin words had been coined. So the orator is justified in saying (De Fin. iii, 2, 5): "Quamquam ea verba quibus instituto veterum utimur pro Latinis ut ipsa philosophia, ut rhetorica, didactica, grammatica, geometria, musica, quamquam Latine ea dici poterant, tamen, quoniam usu recepta sunt, nostra ducamus." In cases where the new terms which he employs are not fairly incorporated into the language, he adds some expression like "as they are called," as



in De Nat. Deor. 21, 53: "Qui theologi nominantur," or as in Paradoxa, 4: "Mira ista paradoxa quae appellant maxime videntur esse Socratica," and in the same place, "Ea, quae dicuntur in scholis thetica." But in general his aim is to create satisfactory Latin substitutes, sometimes by simply transposing them, sometimes again by new formations, in accordance with his purpose expressed in the Tusculan Orations (i, 8, 15): "Dicam, si potero, Latine; scis enim me Graece in Latino sermone non plus solere quam in Graeco Latine." Thus it happens that in many of his philosophical writings the number of foreign terms is very limited, as, for instance, in the Timaeus. Often he feels constrained to plead some excuse for his novel experiments, as De Nat. Deor. 8, 18: "Stoicorum πρόνοιαν, quam Latine licet providentiam dicere"; Acad. i, 40: "Quam illi φαντασίαν (appellant), nos visum appellemus licet"; De Fin. iii, 6, 21: "Quod cum positum sit in eo, quod ὁμολογίαν Stoici appellant, nos appellemus convenientiam, si placet." He expresses himself again differently (De Fin. iii, 16, 53): "Quod enim illi ἀδιάφορον dicunt, id mihi ita occurrit, ut indifferens dicerem," or Top. 8, 35: "Quam Graeci ἐτυμολογίαν vocant, id est verbum ex verbo veriloquium, nos autem novitatem verbi non satis apti fugientes hoc genus notationem appellemus." In other places he adds some qualification introduced by *quidam* or *quasi*, as, for instance, when he translates the Greek word ποιότης (De Nat. Deor. ii, 94; Acad. i, 24 ff.): "Id corpus et quasi qualitatem quandam nominabant." He seldom contents

himself with the simple conjunctive of demand as De Fin. iv, 27, 74: "Haec paradoxa illi (dicunt), nos admirabilia dicamus"; similarly we do not often find him setting the Latin expression before the Greek, as De Leg. ii, 13, 32: "Divinatio, quam Graeci *μαντικήν* appellant," or De Div. 60, 124: "Convenientia naturae, quam vocant *συμπάθειαν* Graeci." On the other hand, he sometimes prefers, in cases when he cannot translate quite literally, to use a circumlocution, as De Fin. iii, 4, 14: "Equidem soleo etiam quod uno Graeci, si aliter non possum, idem pluribus verbis exponere," and De optimo gen. dic. 14: "Ne converti ut interpres, sed ut orator, sentiis isdem et earum formis tamquam figuris, verbis ad nostram consuetudinem aptis; in quibus non verbum pro verbo necesse habui reddere, sed genus omne verborum vimque servavi." Hence he sometimes leaves us the choice between two forms, as in Timaeus 4: "Quae Graece *ἀναλογία*, Latine—audendum enim est, quoniam haec primum a nobis novantur—comparatio proportiove dici potest."

118. These examples may serve to show how careful Cicero was, alike in his new formations of words, and in his employment of expressions in novel and metaphorical tenses. This characteristic is rendered clearer by a comparison with other passages, in which no question arises of the mere transference of foreign names to express his ideas. In De Or. iii, 41, 165, he lays down the following precept for the orator: "Si vereare, ne paulo durior



translatio esse videatur, mollienda est proposito verbo (ut ita dicam)." Besides, in his *De Nat. Deor.* i, 34, 95, speaking of the words *beatitas* and *beatitudo*, he adds: "Utrumque omnino durum" (possibly thinking of the recurrence of *t* in the medial syllables) "sed non mollienda nobis sunt." Lastly, a passage in his correspondence with Tiro (*Ad Fam.* xvi, 17, 1) shows us how carefully he strove to maintain his principles in this respect. In that place he speaks of the adverb *fideliter* in the phrase "fideliter inservire valetudini" to observe the laws of health. He remarks that the strict application of this word is to matters of duty: at the same time there are many occasions for transference of meaning "verbo migrationes sunt in alienum multae," for the word "faithful" or "genuine" might be applied equally to education, to a house, to art, and even to agriculture, so that the metaphorical meaning of the word is hardly felt (*verecundus*).

119. The same principles which guided their choice of words were observed by Caesar and Cicero in their use of inflexional forms. In this case, too, they took care to avoid formations which were either antiquated or vulgar. In Sallust, genitives like *senati*, *tumulti*, and in the case of vowels, such forms as *lubido* and *optumus* are quite common; again, in Nepos, such forms as *lacrumo*, *ultumus*, *face = fac*, *parserat = pepercerat* and other similar formations occur, bearing an archaic stamp, and actually deemed worthy of an apology by the writer, on the

ground that the style of history was still *rude* and *incorruptum* when compared with the rhetorical and philosophical style ennobled by Cicero. But in Caesar's Commentaries, and in the speeches and treatises of Cicero, little can be found which bears the slightest trace of such archaisms. The perfect forms ending in *-re* instead of *-runt* are rarely found in either, and in Caesar especially the proofs of their existence are far from certain. In the "Bell. Gall." the form *-erunt* occurs some three hundred and ninety or four hundred times, while, according to one class of MSS., a formation in *-ere* occurs once only (*vertere*, iii, 21, 1); the rest show three cases of the same form (i, 32, 3; ii, 11, 6; vi, 8, 6), while in the "Bell. Civ.," two cases alone, viz., *sustinuere*, i, 51, 5, and *accessere*, iii, 63, 6, have been at all creditably attested. Further, *forem* is hardly ever substituted for *essem* in these two authors, and verbs joined with reflexive pronouns instead of the reflexive passive, as *se flectere* = *flecti*, seldom meet us in either: participles perfect of deponents are used only in the case of a few words in a passive sense (cf. *emeritus*, *pactus*, *partitus*, and the forms mentioned above, *dimensus*, *meditatus*, and *adeptus*). Such middle voice formations as *ratus* = *arbitratus*, *pertaesus*, "annoyed at," *perosus*, "hating" are carefully avoided. In the case of declensions it is remarkable that, according to Gellius, Caesar preferred the older genitive form *acie* to *aciei*, and that Cicero wrote on several occasions *senati* (Divin. in Caec. 5, 19; Phil. iii, 15, 38; De Har. Resp. 8, 14, and in some passages of his letters).



120. Greek terminations are but rarely admitted by either writer, and then only in the case of Greek names like *Salamis* (acc. *Salamina*, Tusc. i, 46), or in that of appellatives, as in Bell. Gall. i, 52, 5, *phalanges*, or *phalanga*. Whether Caesar, like Tacitus and other historians, formed the accusative plural of Gallic and other foreign tribes in *-as* (e.g., in Tacitus we find *Brigantas*, *Nemetas*, *Siluras*, *Vangionas*) cannot, in view of the uncertainty of MS. tradition, be definitely ascertained. As against thirty accusatives in *-es* occurring in Bell. Gall., the termination *-as* can claim to have been used in two places only in both classes of MSS. (i, 26, 6, *Lingonas*; and iii, 7, 4, *Curiosolitas*—besides this three times in  $\alpha$ , seven times in  $\beta$ : cf. further Bell. Civ. 35, 4, *Sallyas*): but even here it is possible that the termination may be due to the negligence of the scribe.

Pronominal forms, like the datives singular *alterae* (Bell. Gall. v, 27, 5), *nullo* (Bell. Gall. vi, 13, 1; Bell. Civ. ii, 7, 1), *altero* (Cic. De Nat. Deor. ii, 66 Schn., Baiter reads *alteri*), and the genitives *nulli* (Cic. Rosc. Com. 48), *aliae* (Cic. De Div. ii, 30), especially in the passages from Caesar, are quite uncertain readings: finally the adverbial ending *-iter*, connected with adjectives of the second declension, appears very seldom. In Cicero's speeches and philosophical writings we always read *dure* [not *duriter*], *large*, *humane*, etc., and *firme*, too, occurs more frequently than *firmiter*, which is found Rep. i, 69 and vi, 2: only in the Letters do we meet this suffix with any frequency (*humaniter* in Ad Fam. vii, 9; Ad Att. i, 2; Ad Quint. Fr. ii, 11:

cf. too Helmuth, "Acta Sem. Phil.," Erlang., i, 114); but in Caesar such formations are rarely found, e.g., *firmiter*, iv, 26, 1, and *largiter*, i, 18, 6; *duriter* and *humaniter* are not represented.

121. Nor was more licence permitted in the syntax than in the inflexions. Collocations, such as that of *eo* with the factitive genitive (*eo temeritatis progressus est = ad eam temeritatem progressus est*), which are common alike to old Latin, to the popular dialect, and to silver Latinity, are not found either in Cicero or in Caesar: the same observation holds good with respect to the distributive genitive after the neuter singular or neuter plural of an adjective. The genitive of definition, especially in the case of place-names, a construction avoided by Caesar, is not certainly proved to be used by Cicero (for *in oppido Antiochiae*, Ad Att. v, 18, 1, Heraeus reads *in oppido Antiochia*). The present participle followed by the genitive of a substantive occurs in Caesar in one passage only, Bell. Civ. i, 69, 3 (*fugiens laboris*), and Cicero employs this in his philosophical works only (see, however, De Imp. Cn. Pomp. 3, 7; Pro Planc. 5, 13). The genitive of the gerund and of the gerundive after relative adjectives, a construction which is not found in Plautus at all, occurs but rarely in the case of either of the authors mentioned (cf. Bell. Gall. i, 2, 4, *Cupidus bellandi*; v, 6, 3, *insuetus navigandi*); while, on the other hand, it frequently occurs in Livy and Tacitus.



122. The dative of the gerund employed after adjectives, a favourite construction with later writers, is only used by the historian after the word *par*, by the philosopher and orator only after *accommodatus*: but the modal usage of the ablative form of the gerund, which became more and more frequent after Livy's time, so that it has actually passed into the Romance languages, is unknown to both alike. The accusative, commonly called the accusative of respect, dependent on a perfect participle passive, in such phrases as *pulvere caput conspersus*, found in different authors since Plautus and Ennius, seems to have been unknown to both Caesar and Cicero. The so-called Greek accusative can only be attributed to Caesar if we count as such the expression *maximam partem*, Bell. Gall. iv, 1, 8, and it is scarcely found in Cicero. Caesar, in Bell. Civ. iii, 88, 2, and there only, connects a singular subject to which is attached an attribute with the preposition *cum* with the plural of the verb (*Ciciliensis legio coniuncta cum cohortibus Hispanis in dextro cornu positae erant*): Cicero, too, is chary of such use, e.g., Phil. 12, 27; Fam. xiv, 7, 2 (cf. too Lehmann on Cicero's Epistles, p. 222); but this construction is found often enough in Cato, Sallust, Livy, and others. The use of the plural of a verb after a collective substantive as subject seems foreign to Caesar, though the different editions of his works afford a few examples of such construction (cf. Meusel im Jahresberichte des philolog. Vereins zu Berlin, xx, 1894, p. 263): it is also to be remarked that we do not find many instances of the supine in *-um* fol-

lowed by an accusative, as in Bell. Gall. i, 11, 2, *auxilium rogatum*; 31, 9, *auxilium postulatum*; vii, 5, 2, *subsidiium rogatum*). A noun connected with a preposition governing another noun [as, for instance, "Every man in England"] is seldom found in classical prose without a participle to support it, as, for instance, "oratio pro Milone habita," "epistulae ad Atticum datae." [Exceptions: (1) Verbal substantives, as "Rogatio de bello," "adventus in Galliam." (2) Substantives expressing *mental emotion* or *service rendered*, e.g., "pietas erga parentes: beneficium in Siculos." Moreover, Caesar uses *fama de* and *nuntius de* without a supporting participle: and Livy has "pugna ad Trebiam."] And when such participle is not added, the noun and preposition are commonly inserted between the attribute and the substantive, as Bell. Gall. v, 13, 1, "omnes ex Gallia naves," and in the same section 4, "Certis ex aqua mensuris": Bell. Civ. ii, 37, 2 ("Caesaris in Hispania res secundae").

123. The following peculiarities in the use of prepositions seem worth mentioning. *Ante* is not used to indicate *preference*, *intra* is seldom used of *time* (Bell. Gall. vi, 21, 5); *ad* in a modal sense, excepting in Cicero's juvenile writings, only occurs in the standing formula *quemadmodum*. The negative particle *haud*, a favourite word of Livy and Tacitus, occurs in Caesar only in the phrase "haud scio an," Bell. Gall. v, 54, 4, and in Cicero only when set in connection with single adjectives and adverbs, as *haud facile*, *haud sane*.



Sometimes we find great discrepancies in the linguistic usages of the two great classic prose writers. For instance, the so-called Greek dative (as in "mihi consultum ac provisum est," Cic. Catil. 12, 26) occurs very frequently in Cicero, while in Caesar two examples only are to be found, viz. Bell. Gall. vii, 20, and Bell. Civ. i, 6 (cf., too, Tillmann, "Acta sem. phil.," Erlang. ii, 79 *sqq.*). Again, we meet with the temporal use of *sub* not unfrequently in the Commentaries, and also with the word *proprius* used in the sense of relation (nearer), which Cicero does not use. Again, in Caesar we meet with frequent cases in which the same substantive occurs connected with both a "subjective" and an "objective" genitive; for instance, Bell. Gall. i, 30, "veteres Helvetiorum iniuriae populi Romani" ["The ancient wrongs done by the Helvetii to the Roman people"]. This construction is more rarely found in Cicero, *e.g.*, De Off. i, 43 (cf. too Andresen on Cicero's Epistles, p. 186).

124. Syntactic combinations, resembling those found in the popular dialect, meet us in Caesar's Commentaries oftener than in Cicero's speeches and philosophical works. One of these is the employment of the reflexive pronoun—instead of the determinative—not referring to the subject of the same sentence, as Bell. Gall. vi, 9, 2, "quarum (causarum) erat altera, quod auxilia contra se miserant" [because they had sent forces against him]: so again Bell. Civ. iii, 53, 5: "quem Caesar, ut erat de se meritis, ad primipilum se transducere pronun-

tiavit" [in which case for *se* we should expect *illum*]. Cf. Cicero, Verr. 49, 128, and Pro Roscio Amerino, 2, 6, both, it should be remarked, productions of the author's youthful style. Conversely, Caesar uses the determinative instead of the reflexive (as in Bell. Civ. i, 2, 37, *ab eo = a se*: i, 35, 4; iii, 75, 2, and several times in the "Bellum Gallicum": cf. Cic. Verr. i, 86). Then he employs constructions of attraction as Bell. Gall. i, 39, 6: "se rem frumentariam ut satis commode supportari posset, timere dicebant" (and Cic. Ad Att. 14, 21, "nosti virum quam tectus"): the connection of *multus* with singular words like *dies* and *nox* (e.g., *multo die*, Bell. Gall. i, 22, 4: *ad multam noctem*, i, 26, 3): *persuasum mihi habeo*, Bell. Gall. iii, 2, 5: insertion of the word *credo* Bell. Civ. ii, 31: *quo maiorem, credo, licentiam habeant*: the construction of (*prae*) *optare* with the infinitive (Bell. Gall. i, 25, 4) found also in Hirtius (Bell. Gall. viii, 9, 2): the double accusative in the case of *velle aliquem aliquid* (Bell. Gall. i, 32, 2: cf. Terence And. 536, and Phorm. 151). The union of a sentence containing a condition with an imperative is exceptional in Caesar, as in Bell. Gall. iv, 25: "Desilite, nisi vultis aquilam prodere" (although such sentences are characteristic of popular language yet they are occasionally admitted into Cicero's speeches): as is also the employment of the conjunctive in iterative sentences as Bell. Gall. v, 35: "sin autem locum tenere vellent, nec virtuti locus relinquatur neque tela vitare poterant."

There are also other respects in which differences in the linguistic usages of these two authors are



noticeable. In Caesar, *si* is common after words of expecting and attempting: this construction is more commonly found in Cicero's letters [thus "conabor an possim" would be the regular construction]. *Nonne*, in indirect questions, is known to Cicero only, as is the use of the logical perfect in a gnomic sense [as "multi cum obesse vellent, profuerunt, et cum prodesse obfuerunt," De Nat. Deor. 3, 70], and the dependent conjunctive of unrealized conditions in the periphrastic conjugation in *-urus fuerim* (e.g., Pro Mil. 33; Verr. ii, 108; Phil. ix, 1), [as "quaero nonne tibi faciendum idem sit," De Fin. 3, 13]. Caesar says "confidere alicui," but "aliqua re," Cicero more frequently puts the *thing* in the dative. The *figura etymologica*, as it is called, is not found in the Commentaries (for expressions like "tridui viam progressi," Bell. Gall. 4, 5, contain simply an accusative of space). In Cicero, on the other hand, this figure is far from uncommon. In certain cases where the participle belonged to the construction with the accusative and infinitive, Caesar seems to have introduced a new construction by not placing this participle, where it would naturally fall, in the accusative, but by adopting it as the subject of the main sentence: and this construction is known to Sallust and Livy. An instance of this is found in Bell. Gall. v, 39, 4, "Hanc adepti victoriam in perpetuum se fore victores confidebant" (in which passage some editors read *adeptos*). Of the supines in *-u*, Caesar admits, besides *natu*, only *factu* (iv, 30, 2) and *aspectu* (v, 14, 2). Cicero, on the other hand, exhibits no less than twenty-four different formations

from the same supine, as *auditu, dictu, memoratu, visu, cognitu, intellectu, scitu*: at the same time he favours far less than Caesar the construction with the gerundive, which occurs no less than sixty-five times in the "Bellum Gallicum" (seventeen of these are in the eighth book) and thirty-nine times in the "Bellum Civile." Further, the use of the ablative absolute to express emphasis, in the place of the mere connecting participle, is relatively more frequent in the Commentaries than in the speeches and treatises of Cicero, *e.g.*, Bell. Gall. iii, 14, 4; iv, 12, 1; 21, 6; v, 4, 3.

125. The greatest contrast, however, between these two classic authors manifests itself in their respective styles and their individual peculiarities. In Caesar we are frequently called to notice the occurrence of the so-called present of narration, which meets us in nearly every section, and the frequent use of the historical infinitive. This latter occurs at least ten times (six in the Bell. Gall. i, 16, 1; 32, 3; ii, 30, 3; iii, 4, 2; v, 6, 4; 33, 1), though not nearly as often as in Sallust: for the latter writer, besides many instances of present tenses of narration, has employed four hundred and fifty-two such infinitives. Polysyndeton is in Caesar exceptional (as in Bell. Gall. iv, 24, *simul et . . . et . . . et*): but asyndeton quite usual; this figure expresses either haste (as Bell. Gall. i, 7, 20, 22, etc.), or serves to mark a contrast (as Bell. Gall. i, 1, 18; vii, 50, 76, and Bell. Civ. iii, 36, 8), or it may be to exaggerate such contrast (as Bell. Gall. i, 32, 39),



or to emphasize it (as Bell. Gall. i, 5, 20; vii, 59, 77), or to mark a sequence (as in Bell. Gall. viii, 25, 45), or a further explanation (as in Bell. Gall. iv, 27; v, 30; vi, 28). Anaphora, too, and chiasmus, are favourite figures of this writer; chiasmus occurs in Bell. Gall. ii, 10; vi, 12, 16; vii, 1, 42, 47, 63, 66, 80: anaphora in v, 6; vi, 21, 25, 26, 32, 34, 35, 36; vii, 20, 28, 32, 33, 38, 52, 59, 66; Bell. Civ. ii, 37, 6, etc. So often do these figures occur in Roman writers that they are called by Nägelsbach\* "the forces that regulate the organism of the Latin sentence."

126. It is to his effort for clearness that we must ascribe the marked pleonastic traits of Caesar's style. The redundancy of his expressions is sometimes visible in grammatical, sometimes in rhetorical, peculiarities. To the former we must set down such cases as "postridie eius diei" (Bell. Gall. i, 23, and six times besides), "pridie eius diei" (Bell. Gall. 47, 2, and Bell. Civ. i, 14, 3): also the repetition of the substantive in relative sentences, probably after the model of the ancient Curial style, especially in the case of *res, lex, pons, locus, dies, iter* (e.g., Bell. Gall. i, 6, 4; 16, 5; 49, 1; iii, 3, 1; iv, 7; v, 2; vii, 72, 1), *propterea quod* used in the sense of simple *quod* (Bell. Gall. ii, 4, 4; iii, 21, 3, etc.; fourteen times in the first book alone); "permittere, ut liceat," i.e., "alicuius voluntate" (Bell. Gall. i, 7, 3; 30, 4; 35, 3; 39, 3, etc.); *rursus* occurring in connection with compounds with *re*, as *se recipere* (Bell. Gall. v, 34, 4),

\* "Lateinische Stylistik."

*renovare* (Bell. Civ. ii, 93, 1), *reducere* (Bell. Gall. vii, 9, 6), *reverti* (Bell. Gall. iv, 4, 4): besides *animo* joined to verbs expressive of some mental conception as *providere* (Bell. Gall. vii, 30, 2), *circumspicere* (vi, 5, 3), *laborare* (vii, 3, 1), *perturbari* (ii, 21, 2): the supine *factu* in connection with the adjective derived from the etymologically related adjective *facile* (Bell. Gall. i, 3, 6; iv, 30, 2; vii, 64, 2); the double expression for diminutives (Bell. Civ. iii, 104, 3); "navicula parvula" (cf. Bell. Afr. 54, 1 "causula parvula" and 63, 1 "navigiolum parvulum"); "interea dum haec geruntur" (Bell. Gall. vii, 1, etc.). A rhetorical pleonasm occurs, Bell. Gall. vi, 28, 1 ("specie et colore et figura tueri"), Bell. Gall. vii, 18, 3, "carros impedimentaue" (species and genus); Bell. Civ. i, 21, 2, "portae muriue" (the parts and the whole), Bell. Gall. vi, 15, 2, "ambacti clientesue" (foreign word and Latin expression); Bell. Gall. 26, 3, "familiares necessariue" (synonymous ideas). One kind of rhetorical pleonasm is the so-called hendiadys, which is far from common in old Latin (cf. "per contemptum et superbiam," "in proud contempt" in Claud. Quadrigarius), and only developed gradually. For instance, Ennius has the phrase "otium otiosum": from the next stage, "summum otium," was developed the twofold expression "pax et otium" or "otium et tranquillitas."

Other instances from Caesar's writings exemplify the same peculiarities, as Bell. Gall. i, 2, 5, "Gloria belli atque fortitudinis"; 31, 12, "omnia exempla cruciatusque edere"; iv, 18, 3, "in solitudinem ac silvas"; v, 19, 3, "labore atque itinere"; Bell. Civ.



i, 13, "oppido moenibusque prohibere"; Bell. Gall. vii, 33, 1, "vis atque arma"; iv, 17, 5, "vis atque impetus"; vi, 14, 6, "vis ac potestas"; iii, 13, 3, "vis et contumelia," etc. The same holds good of verbal phrases like "cogere et conducere," Bell. Gall. ii, 2, 4; "conferre et comportare," i, 16, 4; "coactus contractusque," iv, 22; "interdicere atque imperare," v, 22, 5, etc.: on the other hand the well-known formula "fundere et fugare" is not found in Caesar. Similarly the epithet *immortales* added to *dî* is a species of pleonasm (Bell. Civ. ii, 5, 3, etc.).

127. With Cicero it is different. We cannot deny that he shares with Caesar some of the peculiarities just mentioned, as, for instance, the use of the hendiadys: but, in his quality of orator and philosopher he exhibits many characteristics of style which do not meet us in the Commentaries, or if they do, are clearly quite exceptional. In Cicero, we remark in the first place a large number of abstract substantives connected with transitive verbs as active subjects: such are *audacia*, *fortitudo*, *constantia*, *invidia*, *valetudo*, *improbilas*, etc., and very often we find an abstract noun in the plural to produce an impression of oratorical redundancy. Next, he is very partial to the figure called enthymeme (*argumentum ex contrario*: cf. e.g. Pro Milone, 13, 44, 90, 92, 101; Pro Archia, 10, 19, 25, 30): and, generally speaking, he attaches great weight to rhetorical artifices productive of effect. He offers us unbidden a peep into his workshop. He tells his friend Atticus (Ad Att. ii, 1) that on this occasion he has exhausted the whole

stock of Isocrates' ointment and all the samples of his disciples: and he writes to the same friend (i, 14): "If ever I had command of periods, of daring turns of oratory, of logic and of rhetorical figures, it was on that day. The applause was deafening." He is referring to the day on which he was anxious to plume himself on his consulate in the presence of Pompey. This is the language in which Cicero most aptly describes the most potent instruments of his eloquence; and it is not without significance that the German expression "verblümete Rede," "Flowers of speech," came into use just when the grand Ciceronian style had been introduced by the Humanists, and when every one made it his pride to show off "flores Latini," following Cicero's counsel, "Oratio sit ornata." Such was the main principle of Roman orators and of the writers of the Renaissance. Their object was to turn to practical advantage the different elements of learning which they were busily assimilating and then disseminating. They thus found it to their interest, as Schiller says, "to appeal to the senses and to call impressionism to their aid." Now the easiest way of attaining this end was by personifying the objects of which they treated, and by the employment of figurative or "improper" expressions. The first method served to enhance, the second to produce, the perceptive faculty. Those who would study Cicero's stylistic methods as interpreted by a modern imitator, will find this interpreter in Lessing, whose style is largely tinged with the colours of ancient rhetoric, and shows each and



every form of the Roman methods of argument. Those frequently recurring rhetorical figures, interjections, repetitions of single words and phrases, the lifelike personifications, the sudden precipitation of some general reflection into the matter of the debate, and, closely following thereon, and in sharp contrast thereto, the expression of doubt (cf. Kettner, "Herder's erstes kritisches Wäldchen," Naumburg, 1887, p. 9).

128. The Roman loves to fancy himself pitted against an adversary with whom he is engaged in debate, and this even in a philosophical treatise like Cicero's "De Senectute." With the adversary of his imagination he chops logic, refutes arguments, contradicts him, scathes him with irony. Hence the frequent intercalated sentences beginning with *at*: hence the recurrence of "dixerit quispiam," "dicet aliquis," etc. In Cicero's time rhythm and accent were more rigorously observed than ever before. The cadences of poetry and such reminiscences of hexameter verse as "esse videtur" were avoided either by changing the order of the words, or by other means: on the other hand it was held permissible and even recommendable to round off periods by words like *puto, arbitror, video*, etc., e.g., Verr. iv, 1, 1; Pro Rosc. Am. 53, 153;\* words which were superfluous for the expression of the sense in-

\* Besides the famous "esse videatur," a favourite ending in Cicero is that which scans -v---v---; cf. "gloriam comparandam." Two trochees are a common cadence in Livy; e.g., in Bk. i, 51, we find *advocātūr, mērgērētūr*.

tended to be conveyed by the orator, and were inserted merely with the idea of pleasantly rounding off a sentence, a method which can be traced in some cases even in Caius Gracchus. More ponderous and emphatic words, like *saepenumero* instead of the simple word *saepe*, found their way into suitable places: the periods became full and rounded, neatly and evenly constructed, and often became regular models of painstaking industry delicately conceived and carefully carried out. It must be remembered that the public had changed, and demanded the true oratorical style more than in Cato's time: it united an augmented interest with more delicacy of ear and a greater appreciation of rhetorical technique (cf. Cic. Parad. iii, 2, 26; Hor. Ars Poet. 112 *sqq.*): so that even slight faults in rhythm or prosody were criticized with an acuteness worthy of Athens.

129. One thing more remains for us to consider briefly—how far *character* finds its interpretation in the writings of the two authors under consideration. Boissier says of Cicero: "His oratory lacked those very elements which were wanting to his character. It manifests a universal want of decision and of preciseness. Cicero is too much preoccupied with his own personality, too little occupied with his subject in hand. He never attacks it directly and from the obvious point of view. He loses himself in pompous phraseology instead of employing the exact and luminous language of actual affairs. If we examine his speeches critically and proceed to analyze them, it will appear that they contain before all else



much rhetoric, and a smattering of philosophy. His rhetoric is the parent of all those admirable and startling arguments, of those delicate points of discussion, and also of all that grand exhibition of pathos which his oratory exhibits. To his philosophy he owes all those commonplaces which he uses with such consummate skill. In the place of all those lengthy philosophical tirades, he might with more advantage have presented us with a clear and intelligible exposition of his political principles, and of the general ideas which govern his methods of life."

In his speeches and in his scientific statements these "lumina orationis" play an important part; for it is his object to *dazzle*. His statements express broad and easily apprehended effects: he appeals much less to the intellect than Caesar or Tacitus. But his instinct for *form* is so strongly developed, that in his anxiety to attain equipoise in the construction of his periods and to round off his sentences, he does not hesitate to condescend to repetitions, and even to errors in language (cf. H. Peter, "Jahrb. für d. Klass. Altert." i, 641). Vainglorious as he is, he loves to harp on himself and his exploits: he possesses also the art of so deftly grouping his matter, and of so affecting his hearers by the glamour of his diction, that he not unfrequently succeeded in winning a bad case. Large and statesmanlike thoughts are indeed not often found in his speeches, and, what is more, these speeches are often deficient in convincing and accurate logic. Thus, as it was matter of common know-

ledge in Rome that Cicero was more fitted to awake emotions and to appeal to sympathy, than to arrange logical arguments, the favourite plan was, on occasions when several advocates were employed in the same case, to leave him to make the final speech.

130. Caesar was cast in a different mould. Cool calculation led him to leave unsaid much that we should like to have heard fall from his lips, but which in his own interest is better left unuttered. His life, like his deeds, was the slave of no emotion: his words are the dictates of his intellect alone: hence his *sang-froid*, unpleasant as the trait frequently appears to us; as for instance when he can find no words of sympathy for the death of his arch-enemy, Pompey, but is satisfied with the curt and bare sentence: "ibi ab Achilla et Septimio interficitur" (Bell. Civ. iii, 104, 3); or again, when he has no words of pity for the sad fate of the last hero of Gaul, Vercingetorix. The tact which he displayed, enabling him with a single word to attain results almost miraculous, is vouched for by the assurance given us by Suetonius that he on many occasions brought his soldiers to reason by merely addressing them: as once when he greeted them as "Quirites!" (Suet. Jul. Caes. c. 70), and again when he called them his "commilitones" (*ib.* c. 67). Reserved as he was, he was not partial to the flowers of oratory, in fact he strove to keep himself free from their influence. If there be any justification for Vauvenargues' assertion that great men speak simply and as nature dictates, this was true of Caesar: even among



the ancients his style was reckoned simple and concise. Cicero expressly remarks (Brutus, 75, 262): "Etiam commentarios scripsit rerum suarum: nihil est brevitare dulcius." Nothing in all these is artificial, nothing is ponderous: but in his efforts to attain clearness he sacrifices even elegance, and sometimes even terseness of expression. His style lies midway between jejuneness and redundancy. To vary the construction of his sentences is not his supreme aim: for instance, he gives us a string of ablatives absolute (there are no less than seven hundred and seventy of these in the "Bellum Gallicum"). Again, he is not so careful as Cicero to round off his periods and to bring them to an impressive close. On the other hand he avoids parentheses and anacolutha. Freshness and straightforwardness are the mark of all narrative which deals with events witnessed by the narrator: thus Caesar's diction is, as we might expect, characterized by great lucidity and acuteness. Besides this, his facts are so cleverly connected, and unimportant matters are so entirely thrown into the background, that in every chapter of his work we hear the accents of the trained diplomat. Ready for action and quick of movement as he was on the battlefield, he was none the less so in his Commentaries, which exhibit the *λόγος στρατιωτικοῦ ἀνδρός* (cf. Plutarch, Caes. c. 3). Quintilian also dwells on the fact ("Caesarem eodem animo dixisse quo bellavit"). We may recall the famous sentence "veni, vidi, vici."

We may gather from the foregoing that this pair of classic writers are models of style, each in his own

way. Thus the remark of a recent commentator holds good: \* "Whoever is anxious to obtain a mastery of good Latin style must be referred to Cicero and Caesar as models for his imitation. For simple historical style Caesar's Commentaries must be taken as the type for all time: for speeches, essays and letters, the writings of Cicero, because in them the most graceful harmony between form and contents prevails."

\* Schmalz, p. 400, Lat. Syntax in Ivan Müller's Handbuch.



## APPENDIX

### ROMAN CULTURE AS REFLECTED IN THE LATIN VOCABULARY

THE Latin vocabulary, no less than the style of the great Latin authors, gives us an insight into Roman culture. The latter, however, enables us rather to judge of the intellectual characteristics, the thoughts and feelings of the several epochs which it illustrates: the former acquaints us with their manners and customs, their plans and their performances. We discover that they possess much in common with the other Indo-Germanic peoples, but also that in many respects they have preferred to go on their own way. In this scrutiny we have the advantage of being able to examine not merely their circumstances as attested by history, but, aided by etymology, we are actually enabled to penetrate into periods antecedent to all historical records, and we are enabled to throw light upon events in the development of their culture and their history which have come to our cognizance by this way only. Lack of space, however, forbids us travelling over all this ground: we can therefore aim merely at touching on the most striking and significant cases, and even these we cannot pretend to treat exhaustively, but merely

attempt to bring into relief some few significant features, and thereby prompt our readers to further independent study of the question.

The *Praetor* takes his title from *praecire*, and hence the word is employed by Cicero and Nepos alike to translate the word *στρατηγός* and to denote a general in armies other than Roman. In ancient Rome the name of Praetors was assigned to the pair of highest officials chosen yearly, who represented the kings until the title of *consules* came in at the time of the Decemvirs. From them the *porta praetoria*, or main front entrance of the Roman camp, took its name "Gate of the General," in contradistinction to the *porta decumana*, or postern camp entrance where the tenth cohorts (*cohortes decumae*) had their quarters: the tent of the general, too, bears their name (*Praetorium*), as does also his body-guard (*cohors praetoria*). It was not till a later date that the title of praetor was transferred to judicial magistrates [388 Urb. Cond.]. The *quaestor* takes his name from *quaerere*, "to inquire into," because under the kings and during the early years of the Republic, he was the magistrate charged with the investigation of criminal offences, or President of the Court of penal judicature, and, only in a minor capacity, Chancellor of the public exchequer. In the classic period he was exclusively charged with the public purse. The *aedilis* was the officer in charge of buildings in general ("aedilis qui aedes sacras et privatas procuraret," Paul. *ap.* Fest. 13, 7). He took his title from *aedes*, which in the singular denotes a *hearth* [cf. Gk. *αἶθω*], afterwards the *cell* of a temple,



and finally the sacred building itself: but in the plural it signifies a house with reference to all its rooms [in English we say "to search the house" —in German, from the more frequent use of flats, "durch alle Zimmer suchen"]. The *tribuni* were originally headsmen of Tribes: afterwards they came to be the magistrates charged with protecting the Plebs: the raised seat which they occupied in virtue of their high office was called *tribunale* (i.e., *suggestum*): whence comes our "Tribunal." The tribes in question were the three original ones called Ramnes, Tities and Luceres, from which the free burgesses of Rome sprang. But after the new distribution ascribed to Servius Tullius, they came to mean the [local] divisions of the Roman people into four city and twenty-six (later thirty-one) rural tribes. The word *tribuere* means properly to tax these tribes: and the word *tributum* denoted the tax so imposed, as Varro expressly tells us (Ling. Lat. v, 8): "tributum dictum a tribubus tributim exigebatur."

The *augures*, whose business it was to mark the flight of birds, take their name from *avis*, a bird, and from the root *gar* found in *garrere*, to chatter. [The latter statement is uncertain, see Walde "Etym. Wbch." p. 55], just as the *auspices* take their names from *avis*, and *specere*, to look. The name *haruspices* is connected with *hariolus*, "a diviner," and with *hira*, *hilla*, "entrails." *Pontifices* are said to take their name from the building of the plank bridges which it was their duty to maintain in good order [but see Walde, p. 480, who derives the word

from a Sabine form *puntis* connected with *quinquare*, "to purify"].

The *fetiales* are said to take their name from the duty laid on them of uttering (*profiteri*) the solemn declarations of war or peace. [This word is more probably connected with *facio* and θέμις, see Walde, p. 220; the meaning being "the statute maker."] The *Salii*, or priests of Mars, were called "leapers" because the worship which they superintended was associated with processions of jesting leapers, just as we see in the Luxemburg town of Echternach at the present day. The *Quirites*, *i.e.*, the Romans in their quality of free citizens, take their title from the spear with which they were armed; *curis* being the Sabine word for spear: thus the name means the spear-men. [More probably inhabitants of the Sabine town of Cures: Walde assumes that even this explanation rests on popular etymology, though probably the same root is seen in *Cur-* and *Quir-* alike.]

The *advocatus*, or "person summoned to aid," was in the time of the Republic a friend conversant with law, on whose aid a suitor could rely, and who supported his case by his personal presence: it was not till Quintilian's time under the Empire that the word received the sense it bears to-day of counsel specially employed to conduct a cause. *Candidatus* was the epithet applied to an applicant for a magisterial post, from the bright white (*candida*) toga which he wore when he went round to solicit votes: *famulus* is the slave regarded as a member of the household (Oscan *fama*, a house), cf. οἰκέτης from οἶκος:



*persona*, connected with *personare*, denotes originally the player's mask through which the player spoke: then it comes to denote the actor, and, finally, "a person" generally. The same change of meaning is observable in the case of *πρόσωπον* [this is, however, doubtful, Walde connects *persona* with *zona*]. *Coquus* in old Latin denotes both cook and baker, because the same person performed both functions. Such at least is the testimony of Paulus *ap. Festum*, 58, 14: "Coquum et pistorem apud antiquos eundem fuisse accepimus": *pistor* (from *pinsere*, to crush) is, strictly speaking, the name given to a person who crushes or bruises corn in a mortar, and then applied to one who grinds it small in a handmill. But as the grinder served as baker also, the word received the common acceptance of baker. There were certainly special bakers in Rome as early as the year 171 B.C., for Pliny tells us, *Nat. Hist.* xviii, 107: "Pistores Romae non fuere ad Persicum usque bellum" (*i.e.*, till the war against Perseus or Perses of Macedonia) "annos . . . gentium." The staple kind of corn in ancient times was spelt (Lat. *far*): the meal ground from this was called *farina*: but since 300 B.C. wheat, which was probably newly imported from Egypt about that time, took its name *frumentum* from *frui*: the word originally signified what can be enjoyed generally, cf. Fr. *froment*, corn; Ital. *formento*: or again it was called *tritium*, properly what is thrashed out (*teritur*) [cf. Spanish *trogo*: *granum* has undergone the same change of meaning]. *Phrygio* even as early as Plautus' time has the signification of an embroiderer

from the skill which the Phrygians always showed in this art [cf. such names as Cadurci and in French *rouennerie*].

*Hastati* was the name originally given to the combatants in a legion armed with the *hasta*, the spear; *principes* to the first rank, *triarii* to the third. Now the *principes* originally fought in the front line of the Roman legion: at a later period, however, the arrangements were changed, and the *hastati* were set before them [and were armed with the *pilum* and *gladius*]. We can gather what kind of wood went to the making of the spear-shaft from the meaning attached to the words *fraxinus* and *cornus*, which, besides their ordinary significations of ash and cornel, denote the javelins, the shafts of which were made of these kinds of wood. We can confidently assert that besides the metal helmet which bore the name of *cassis*, a leathern one was in use, from the word *galea* = γαλῆ, weasel-skin [cf. κυνέη]. Marius introduced the custom of employing as signals in the battlefield representations of wild beasts, such as eagles, wolves, horses, etc., attached to poles, so that the word *signum* came to be used generally, as we should say, for the Roman Flag. [The *aquila* was the *signum* of the entire legion: each maniple in the legion had its own special standard: see Plin. Nat. Hist. x, 16: "Romanis eam legionibus dicavit, equi aprique singulos ordines anteibant."] The ruthlessness displayed in ancient warfare is well illustrated by the first meaning of *populari* and *depopulari*, which signify "to dispeople" from *populus*, people (cf. *köpfen*, to be-



head, from *kopf*, a head, and *schlemmen*, to wallow in luxury, gormandize, from *schlamm*, mud). [This is doubtful. Walde is inclined to connect these words with the root of *pello*, *pepuli*.] It is also to be remarked that *spoliare*, to rob or despoil, means properly to take the hide off an animal, and hence to strip a fallen foe of his armour. By *tela*, from *tendo* [in the sense of to aim at], we are to understand weapons of attack, by *arma*, weapons of defence (*arcere*: thus *arma* = *arcma*). [These two words probably come from different roots. *Arceo* = Gk. ἀρκέω: *arma* from the root *ar* found in ἀραρίσχω.]

*Praedium*, a landed property, is originally connected with *praes*, a surety: it is thus regarded as a possession of value which may be pledged as a caution: hence the expression of Cicero and Livy, "praedibus et praediis cavere populo," "to guarantee the safety of the State by sureties and by mortgaging property." [This derivation is also called in question by Walde, who suggests a possible etymology in *prae(s)dium*, i.e., a property situated (*sedeo*) near a town]. *Hortus*, like *cohors* (etymologically connected with Goth. *gards*, a house: Gk. χόρτος) is, strictly speaking, merely a court or a fenced-in enclosure. We may hence infer that in the earliest times the sites of the different houses were surrounded by an enclosed space which may have been planted with pot-herbs. If we compare *culmus* (German *Halm*, a stalk) with *culmen*, and ὄροφος, reed, with ὀροφή, a roof, we shall gather that in olden times the houses of the Romans were thatched with straw or rushes, as indeed, according to Ovid, *Fast.*

vi, 261, was the most ancient temple of Vesta: "Quae nunc aere vides, stipula tunc tecta videres" [*culmus* and *culmen* are, however, probably not connected: the latter is derived from a root *gel*, to project, seen in *celsus*, see Walde, p. 134].

Even in Plautus' time, and all through Latin literature, the upper rooms, or garrets, of a Roman house were called *cenacula* or dining-rooms. Varro gives the following explanation of this custom: "Since it became customary to dine upstairs all the upper rooms acquired the name of dining-rooms." We can see in Pompeii at the present day such dining-rooms, supported by columns: they were especially adapted for fine weather: *e.g.*, Insula v, 2, and vii, 3 (cf. Mau, Pompeii, p. 256). *Maeniana* was the name given to galleries, balconies, projecting windows, etc, after the time of C. Maenius (Consul 338 B.C.), who was the first to erect them over the shops (*tabernae*) in order to gain a view of the games in the Forum. We may compare the French word *mansarde* from the French architect Mansard, 1598-1666. [Cf. the English "attic."]

*Templum* is from the same root as *contemplari*, and it denotes in the first instance the position taken up by the augurs to watch the heavens, and only secondarily the spot chosen on earth for the worship of the gods. A consecrated building was called *fanum*, and hence all the unconsecrated ground which lay before the shrine was *pro fanum*, i.e., *pro fano situm*. The *compitalia*, or festival held in the crossways in honour of the Lares, takes its name from *compitum*, a cross road [*ubi viae competunt*].



The *Manes* are the spirits of the dead, properly "the Good Beings." The opposite meaning is found in *immanis*, not good, monstrous: and connected with it is *mane*, "in good early hours" [*de bonne heure*], and *Manius* = the person born in a good hour. *Immolare*, to sacrifice, denotes the sprinkling of the victim with "mola salsa," crushed spelt and salt. Two kinds of oracles were known in primitive times: the oracular lottery by *sortes*, slabs of wood which were thrown or laid on each other (*serere*) and then picked up (*surculos tollere* in Tacitus, ἀνασπείν, to lift up): then the word *sortes* comes to mean "prophecy" generally; and also the forecasting of the future by means of omens taken from birds, whence *omen* is derived (\**ovismen*, cf. οἰωνός, bird and omen: οἴσθασι, to wait for a sign, to hope: from οἴς, a bird) [omen is more probably derived from a word *ovis*, meaning a presage, cf. Walde, *s.v.*]. Incantations, which were very common, were carried out by means of formulae, and the term for employing them was thus *incantare* and *cantare*; and the formula itself was called *Carmen* [cf. the English charm] = ἐρωδή. *Venenum* (\**venesnum*, from Venus) signified originally a love-potion: then the poison from which it was prepared, and, finally, poison in general. The Romans in the act of worship turned to the south—in this, differing from the Greek custom: and thus they held the left to be the fortunate quarter, and the right to be the unlucky one: the Sun, Giver of Light and Life, rises to the left. So the word *sinister* came to mean "of good omen in general" (Cic. De Div. 2, 32, "ita nobis—meliora"). *Sinister* answers

to Sanskr. *sanīyas*, the winner [rather to the *vairya* of the Avesta, see Walde, *s.v.*] just as the O.H.G. *winistar* answers to *wini*, friend. The word *talio* is characteristic of the principles of law in olden times: it is thus defined by Isidore, v, 27, "similitudo vindictae ut taliter quis patiatur ut fecit sequatur" (cf. Rein, "Kriminalrecht," pp. 37 *sqq.*; Strafrecht, p. 802). Thus the principle of "eye for eye and tooth for tooth," or, in Greek, εἰάν τις ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκκόψῃ, αὐτεκκόψαι παρασχεῖν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ, was known to the ancient Romans.

Writing was originally a mere process of scratching marks on wooden tablets: hence *scribere* = σκαριφᾶσθαι, "to scratch in"\* (compare the English word "write" with German *ritzen*). [The late grammarian Virgilius Maro actually uses the word *caraxare* = χαράσσειν, for to write: cf. also the English use of "characters" in script.] *Liber*, "book," originally means "bark," and *codex* means properly a block or stump. *Satura (lanx)* was strictly speaking a *pot-pourri* of different ingredients [especially for the use of gladiators]: hence it was applied to a "medley" in literature, as may be seen in the Satires of Lucilius. *Eculeus* = *equuleus*, or "little horse," was an instrument of torture: a horse with a back full of sharp points, on which victims had to sit: *ficatum*, from *figus*, "fig," denotes the goose's liver artificially fattened with figs: hence Ital. *fegato*, and Fr. *foie*, "liver": *calculare*, our word "to calcu-

\* Cf. Geiger, "On the Development of the human race," chap. iv, on the origin of writing. The northern phrase was *rista runir*, to scratch Runes.



late," comes from *calculus*, a small stone, such as were used for reckoning: *caro*, flesh, is identical with the Umbrian word *karu* and the Oscan *carneis* = *partis* [allied to  $\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\omega$ ]: it signifies strictly a portion cut off, and must have applied to the portion assigned to each guest at meal time. *Supplicium*, punishment by death, is connected with *supplicare*, to ask on bended knees, because the convicted criminals received their death stroke in that posture [this derivation is disputed, the latter half of the word being referred to the same stem as *placare*]: *funus*, a funeral procession or ceremony, is connected with  $\theta\upsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\eta$ , a sacrificial banquet which was a part of the ceremony in question [this derivation, too, is disputed: Walde connects the word with a root which appears in Gothic as *gaunon*, to utter wailings, keening]; *nuere* is to nod the head in token of acquiescence: hence *numen*, the deity who vouchsafes assent: the reverse is *abnuere*, to toss the head back, a sign among the Romans of dissent, which we signify by shaking our heads. *Sublatus* is used in the sense of *natus*: for the newly born infant was laid before the feet of the father and not recognized as his child till he raised it from the ground: *cordatus* means not merely "heartened" but also "clever," as in the line of Ennius quoted by Cicero, *De Rep.* 1, 3: *pensum*, a task in general, is strictly speaking the quantity of wool "weighed out" to the female slaves to spin [and *pendo* itself is properly to hang on to a weight].

The three periods in the month from which the

Romans, reckoning backwards, dated, are the *Calendae*, *Nonae*, and *Idus*. *Calendae* takes its name from *calo*, to call out [cf. our word "to hail"], because according to Varro, Ling. Lat. vi, 27, "primi dies nominati Calendae quod his diebus calantur quintanae an septimanae sint futurae." From the same stem we have *calator* and *calebra*, the place for calling out public announcements on the Roman Capitol, where the Pontifex minor publicly announced the various days in the month on which festivals were celebrated or the law-courts opened: also *nomenclator*, the slave whose business it was to prompt his master by telling him the names of the acquaintances whom he met in the street. The name *Nonae*, or ninth, was applied to the fifth or to the seventh day of the month, because it was the ninth day before the Ides. The *Idus* signified the thirteenth or fifteenth day of the month, from a word meaning "to divide," which Macrobius, Saturn. i, 15, 17, assures us existed in Etruscan [Varro, Ling. Lat. vi, 28, makes the same assertion: but it is rejected by Walde, who connects it with *ésce* Ir. = \**eid*—*skiom* = *mensis lunaris*]. The Ides divided the month into two halves. *Nundinum* = *novem dies* is a space of eight days [reckoning inclusively], hence *trinundinum*, a space of twenty-four days, and *nundinae*, the closing day of the period which answered to our week, the market day, on which the peasants brought their produce to town. *Bimus*, two years old, and *trimus*, three years old, are contracted from *bitrimus* and *tritrimus*: the latter portion of these two words is connected with *hiems*, and points to a time when reckoning by winters was



common [cf. in some English dialects *twinter* = a beast two years old].

In Italy the Decemvirs, following no doubt the example of the Greeks, attached a definite value to copper, and thus created coin. The *as*, *assis*, very possibly comes from the same root as *asser*, a rod or stave (cf. *vomis* as against *vomer*), so that the Roman *as* may be paralleled by the Greek ἰβολός = ἰβελός, a spit [Walde takes the derivation to be from an Umbrian root, *ar-* = Lat. *ad-*, denoting to settle or arrange, so that *as*, *assis* = *ad-ti*, "statutory unity"]. The general name for a coin was *nummus*, a word borrowed from the Greek νόμος, with the signification of "a statute," or statutory uniform standard of coinage. In later times *nummus* was confined to the meaning of *sestertius*: and since Ovid's time the word *moneta* was employed from Juno Moneta [connected with *moneo*]: for it was in her temple that after the introduction of silver coinage (269-268 B.C.) a building was erected for a mint. The word *sestertius* = *semis*—*tertius as* [i.e., two are understood and the third is an *as* like the German expression *drittehalb* = two and a half]. *Denarius* is from *deni* = ten *as*: *solidus* (our "solid") denotes in the first instance a gold coin of the value of twenty-five *Denarii*, which at a later date decreased in value: in modern times it denotes a copper coin = Fr. *sou*, and Ital. *soldo*. As in ancient times unminted copper was in use (*aes rude*, *raudus*), which was converted into copper pieces or bars, the use of scales was needed: and hence we find in *pendo* the double meaning of "to weigh" and "to pay," and the old formula to express a legal pur-

chase, "per aes et libram." For the bar-form which we noticed when speaking of the *as* the expression *stipendium* (*stipipendium*) is a good parallel. It is derived from *stips*, *stipis*, a stem or trunk. [The original meaning of *stips* is uncertain: it may mean an ear of corn, and thus a payment in corn; cf. Walde, p. 596.] A *passus* (from *pandere*, to stretch out) is the span of the arms when stretched out horizontally, from the end of one set of fingers to the other: thus it is neither a foot nor a step, but a double step =  $4\frac{2}{3}$  of a German foot: for *quinque millia passuum* = 24,000 feet or a German mile. [*Passus* does really signify a man's step, *i.e.*, two and a half English feet; cf. Pliny, ii, 23: "Stadium centum viginti quinque nostros efficit passus, hoc est pedes sexcentos viginti quinque." There were two kinds of *passus*: the *passus minor*, and the *passus maior* which consisted of two of the *passus minores*.]



## NOTES

(1) § 1. Cf. "Archiv für Lexicographie," vii, 333 *sqq.*; and Isidore (Orig. ix, 2, 105): "Romanos graves, Graecos leves"; Livy, xxx, 7, 6: "Romana in adversis rebus constantia": *assiduus* is from *sedere*, and perhaps *sedulus* [this word is more probably derived from *se dolo* = *sine dolo*; cf. Walde, *s.v.*]. Livy, xxii, 14, 1, praises the "insita Romanis industria": and Varro's dictum (i, 2, 2) tallies with this view: "Romanus sedendo vincit" [cf. Cicero, "Pro Flacco," for the Roman view of the Greek character].

[Cf. Dr. Voigt in Iwan Müller's "Handbuch," iv, 2, pp. 288 *sqq.* "The Roman is distinguished by a deep sense of religion, and his religion afforded him the means of satisfying its claims, while the believer experienced the need of ensuring the aid of the gods in every circumstance of life, by offerings, prayers, and invocations. He manifests a certain lack of imagination which imparts to his religious observances an earnest and sober character. On the other hand, the Roman is distinguished by intellectual aptitude and a good understanding, by presence of mind, and by an inclination to indulge in ready wit and racy banter: by self-control, self-confidence, and courage, and likewise by an inflexible will: he possesses a strong and even exaggerated love and pride in his country which takes the form sometimes of undue self-esteem, sometimes of enlightened patriotism. Add to this strength, activity, and perseverance, straightforwardness and love of truth, pride in the honour of his name; add that he was conscientious in the discharge of his duties, and inexorable in his claim that his neighbour should requite him in kind. For the rest the Roman was industrious and a careful householder, simple, temperate,

and modest: he cultivated *gravitas*, or decorum, in his own outward appearance and actions, he respected authority and took care that his own authority should be respected: he was sensitive to the claims of friendship, and was himself steadfast in his friendships." Cf. A. Novent, "De Moribus Romanis," Leod, 1829; C. L. Roth, "Zur Theorie und inneren Geschichte der römischen Satire," Stuttgart, 1848, § 6-10; Bernhardt, Röm. Litt., § 1, 4; Teuffel, Röm. Litt., § 1; Voigt, xii; Taf., § 5.]

(2) § 2. The reading *argute loqui* is not certain; Polybius, ii, 17, 10, transcribing Cato, says: τὰ πολεμικὰ καὶ τὰ κατὰ γεωργίαν ἀσκεῖν. Cf. also W. Soltau, "Prolegomena zu einer römischen Chronologie," p. 70.

(3) § 3. The following works may be consulted on the relations between the language of a nation and its character: Wedewer, "Über die Wichtigkeit und Bedeutung der Sprache für das tiefere Verständniss des Volkscharacters," Frankfurt a/M., 1859; Fr. Stehlich, "Die Sprache in ihrer Beziehung zum National-character," Casseler Programm, 1881; J. Stöcklein, "Beobachtungen über den Zusammenhang zwischen Sprache und Volkscharacter," Blätter für das Bayr. Gymnasialschulwesen, xxx, 335-357; A. Lefèvre, "Les races et les langues," Paris, 1893; J. Leconte, "Du génie de la langue française comparé à celui de la langue latine," Neuchatel, 1894; Lindsay, "The Latin Language," Cambridge, 1895; and Weise's "Abhandlung über deutsche Sprache und deutsche Volksart in den Sammelwerke von Hans Meyer, Deutsches Volkstum," 2 Aufl. Leipzig, pp. 213-260. [Cf. also "General Principles of the Structure of Language," by James Byrne, M.A., London, Trübner, 1885.]

(4) § 3. Cicero's assertion, De Nat. Deorum, i, 4, 8, is mere self-complacency and exaggerated patriotism. "Quo in genere tantum profecisse videmur, ut a Graecis ne verborum quidem copia vinceremur"; and again where he (De Fin. i, 3, 10) says: "Saepe discerni Latinam linguam non modo non inopem, ut vulgo putarent, sed locupletiore etiam esse quam Graecam."



(5) § 3. See Weise's treatise on the Greek loan-words in Latin (Leipzig, 1882, and G. A. Saalfeld, "Thesaurus Italo-graecus," Vienna, 1884).

(6) § 3. Other such words are: γράμμα, a letter; τάλαντον, a talent; μύρον, a mulberry; πλάτανος, a plane tree; κεράτιον, fenugreek; Διὸς βάλανος, edible chestnut; μέγας στρούθος, ostrich; βούβαλος, an antelope; ῥινοκέρωσ, rhinoceros; πύγαργος, a Libyan antelope [or the great sea eagle]; κροκόδειλος, crocodile; κερσιπίθηκος, ape; κατωβλέπων, [African] buffalo; ἡρολόγιον, sundial; τριήρης, three-decker, etc.

(7) § 4. Cf. Leo Tob, "De grammaticis vocabulis apud Latinos," Paris, 1893; L. Jeep, "Zur Geschichte der Lehre von den Redeteilen bei den lateinischen Grammatikern," Leipzig, 1893; B. Linderbauer, "De Verborum mutuatorum et peregrinorum apud Ciceronem usu et compensatione." *Pars posterior*. Programm von Metten bei Straubing, 1893.

(8) § 5. It is admitted, even by Hehn, the great admirer of the Romance languages, that they are deficient in the power of forming compounds (Italien 3 Aufl., p. 201). For this question as applied to Latin, see P. Udolph, "De Latinae linguae vocabulis compositis," Breslauer Dissertation, 1865; G. v. Muyden, "De Vocabulorum in lingua Latina compositione," Halle, 1858; F. Seitz, "De adjectivis Latinorum poetarum compositis," Bonner Dissertation, 1878; F. Stolz, "Die lateinische Nominal-composition," 1877. [For compounds in French, see Darmesteter, *His. Fr. Gr.*, § 272 *sqq.*]

(9) § 7. "If any circumstance has made a particularly deep impression on the spirit of the people, this spirit is tempted to forge new expressions to meet the occasion: and to disclose ever new features in that spirit with a manifold redundancy of words. Every characteristic attribute which struck the fancy of a new observer yielded a new name" (O. Kares, "Jahrbücher für Phil.," 1884, ii, 595). [See H. Heine's witty application of this thought: "Reise von München nach Genua, kap. iv, ad init." (Hamburg, Hoffman, 1871), and Whitney, "Language and the Study of Language," p. 123, Trübner and Co., 1870.]

(9a) § 8. [So the name Palatium and Mons Palatinus seem to answer to the deities of the domestic hearth, Pales and Palatua.]

(10) § 9. W. Cosack, "Bild und Gleichniss in ihrer Bedeutung für Lessing's Stil," Danziger Progr., 1869, and Immisch, "Jahrbücher für Philol.," 1887, pp. 393 *sqq.*

(11) § 9. Reisig remarks in his "Vorlesungen über lateinische Sprachwissenschaft," § 173: "We can commonly learn certain characteristic traits of a nation by the Figures of speech which it employs, particularly in the case of certain special objects of its taste"; and Jak. Bauer remarks in the Ansbacher Programm of 1889, p. 33: "The peculiarities of a nation are in no way more clearly mirrored than in its metaphors." See Brinkmann, "Die Metaphern, Studien über den Geist der modernen Sprachen," Bonn, 1878; R. Thomas, "Zur historischen Entwicklung der Metapher im Griechischen," Erlanger Disputation, 1891; H. Blümmer, "Studien zur Geschichte der Metapher im Griechischen," Leipzig, 1891; Burmester, "Über den Einfluss der Metapher auf die Entwicklung der Sprache," Barmer Programm, 1863; A. Darmesteter, "La vie des mots," Paris, 1887, pp. 96 *sqq.*

(12) § 10. Cf. the Sabine word *curis*: Lange and Mommsen, Röm. Geschich. 7 Aufl. i, 69.

(13) § 10. The great influence exercised by the ideas of the Romans on their national proverbs is brought out by Wölfflin, "Sitzungsberichte der Münchener Akademie," 1888, pp. 197 *sqq.* It is also worth noticing that the phraseology connected with *bellum* has had a large development; e.g., *bellum indicere, movere, concitare, conflare, parare, ducere, trahere, componere, conficere, finire*, etc. Again, some old Roman names were taken immediately from words connected with war, as *Duilius* = *Duellius*, from *duellum* = *bellum*, *Metellus* = *mercenarius*, paid soldier (after Festus, p. 147) [from *metere*: *Duellius* and *Bellius* are referred by Walde rather to *bellus* = *bonus*. Pliny the Younger (vi, 12) refers to a law court as his *arena*].

(14) § 10. Cf. Ribbeck, "Geschichte der römischen Dich-



tung," 1<sup>2</sup>, 123, and Kampmann, "Res Militares Plauti," Breslau, 1839.

(15) § 11. References to Law and matters of Law are very common among the Romans. Cf. H. Demelius, "Plautinische Studien," Zeitschrift für Rechtsgeschichte, i (1862), 351-372; ii, 177-238; J. Mispoulet, "Revue de Philol." xii, 1 *sqq.* *Iubere* is properly "to hold as right" (*ius θεϊναι*) [the connection of *iubeo* and *ius* is doubtful, v. Walde *s.v.*], *arbitrari* "to appoint an umpire," etc.

(16) § 13. The Germans [and English] seem to speak more sympathetically than the Latins, as may be seen in such expressions as "our poet," "our author," "our volume," etc., as compared with the more colourless *hic poeta, hic scriptor, hic liber*.

(17) § 14. It is improbable that the word *ludus* = *Lydius*, implying an influence exercised by Lydia on Etruria [Walde connects it with a root from which comes Anglo-Saxon *gléo*, our "glee"].

(18) § 14. These two words are referred by others to *ajò*, I say, *agjo* [*agiō*].

(19) § 17. More details are given in Lohmeyer's "Zeitschr. des allgemein. deutsch. Sprachvereins," iv, 1, 5 *sqq.*, and in W. Wackernagel's "Schweizerisches Museum," i, 1, 69-119.

(20) § 17. Fick, "Die griechischen Personennamen," Göttingen, 1874, cites about 300 names of both classes.

(21) § 19. Cf. the excellent collection of pertinent proverbs by Otto, "Archiv für Lexicographie," iii, 355 *sqq.*, and W. v. Wyss, "Die Sprichwörter bei den römischen Komikern," Zürich, 1889 bes. pp. 12 and 47, and for the Greek proverbs, the Programme of Martin, Plauen, 1889.

(22) § 20. Also in the form "audentes fortuna iuvat" (Verg. Aen. x, 284), or the same sentiment abbreviated, "sed fortes fortuna" (Cic. De Fin. iii, 4, 16); or "fortibus est fortuna viris data" (Enn.); "Fortuna fortes metuit, ignavos premit" (Senec.); "audendum est, fortes adjuvat ipse deus" (Ovid); "dimidium facti qui coepit habet; sapere aude" (Hor.); "omnia deficiant, animus tamen

omnia vincit; ille etiam vires corpus habere facit" (Ovid); or in various other forms. Cf. Büchmann, "Geflügelte worte," 21 Aufl., pp. 383 *sqg.* [Cic. De Off. i, 23, "Fortis animi est non perturbari in adversis"].

(23) § 23. Cf. too Tac. Ann. iii, 12, "id solum Germanico super leges praestiterimus," besides the frequent use of *videro*. Also the Conjunctive Perfect, which occurs so often in sentences of commanding and willing, and in doubting questions and in the Potential seems always to imply that the speaker is under a strong emotion and full of decision, and especially that he lays stress on the speedy termination of the action spoken of (cf. H. C. Elmer, "Studies in Latin Moods and Tenses," Ithaca, N. York, 1898, and Weise's review of this treatise in the "Berliner Philol. Wochenschrift," 1898, No. 38, Sp. 1173 *sqg.*). We should mention in this place the rhetorical Pluperfect employed more especially by the historians, instead of the Perfect, when they are intent on calling attention to what is to follow, and pronounce their judgment from the point of view of the following action. (Cf. on this point H. Blase, "Gesch. des Plusquamperf. im Latein," Giessen, 1894, pp. 38 *sqg.*; also Schmalz' note on Catil. 18, 6; Madvig, § 338; Kühner, "Ausführliche Gramm.," § 35, 3.)

(24) § 24. *Cum* concessive or adversative is used by Plautus with the Indicative only: it is found in Terence sometimes with the Indicative, sometimes with the Subjunctive: *quippe* is, even in Sallust, always constructed with the Indicative. A. Dittmar is hardly right in attempting to prove, as he does in his "Studien zur lat. Moduslehre," that the Conjunctive, wherever occurring, has a polemic character, and is the expression of some mental excitement; and that its use is thus explicable as expressive of doubt, irritation at contradiction, or some other emotion (cf. Weise's review of this treatise in the "Literarisches Centralblatt," 1897, Sp. 1464 *sqg.*: and in the "Berliner Philol. Wochenschrift," 1897, Sp. 1591). W. G. Hale views the matter from another standpoint in his treatise, "The *Cum* constructions," Ithaca, N. York, 1887 and 1889; his



opinion is that the Conjunctive in *cum*-sentences is just as little conditioned by causal or adversative considerations as by the fact that the relation of subordination or the subjective nature of the speaker's point of view exerts its influence. He expresses himself thus: "The conjunctive *cum*-sentence expresses the situation actually in being at the time of the occurrence of the main action. The indicative *cum*-sentence expresses the time or date at which the main action occurs." The former, then, answers the question: "How stood matters when the main action occurred?" The latter answers the question: "What was the date of the main action?"

The following treatises on this question are also worthy of attention: E. Hoffmann, "Die Konstruktion der lateinischen Zeitpartikeln," Wien, 1873, and "Das Modusgesetz im lateinischen Zeitsatz," Wien, 1891, which assume that the use of the two moods respectively in Latin time-sentences depends on the difference between *absolute* and *relative* time: M. Wetzel, "Das Recht in dem Streite zwischen Hale und E. Hoffmann über die tempora und Modi in latein. Temporal sätzen," Paderborn, 1892; Stegmann, "Jahrb. f. Philol.," Bd. 142, pp. 454-474; Heynacher, "Wochenschrift f. klass. Philologie," 1890, pp. 739 *sqq.*, and Lübbert, "Die Syntax von *quom* und die Entdeckung der relativen Tempora im Latein," Breslau, 1870.

(25) § 29. The same holds good of other iterative clauses in Livy with *quantum*, *quod*, *utcumque*, etc. Cf. O. Riemann, "Etude sur la langue et la grammaire de Tite-Live," 2 Aufl., Paris, 1885, pp. 294 *sqq.*

(26) § 29. H. Ziemer says in his treatise, "Über das psychologische Moment in der Bildung syntactischer Sprachformen," Programm von Colberg, 1879, p. 8: "There can be no dispute that the Latin language during its course of eight hundred years, if we may judge from its documentary evidence, has undergone fewer changes than other tongues, such as the German [and the English], in a like space of time." We must also agree with G. Curtius,

who lays stress on the larger capacity of Greek for expression generally, and especially for the admirable subtlety displayed in the combination of its sentences. In Greek we find a more copious dialectic literature than in Latin; the quick and subtle mind of the Greek developed a vast redundancy of forms, and we find prevailing over the entire language undeniable traces of the activity of the "Psychological moment." The Latin language, on the other hand, manifests in its development, as disclosed to us, greater consistency, greater simplicity, and much less freedom; in its syntactic forms it follows more closely the Laws of Logic.

(27) § 30. Lubbock ("Origin of Civilization," p. 403) declares that in the Brazilian dialect Tupi, out of a thousand words sixty-six are reduplicated; among the Hottentots, seventy-five; in the Tonga dialect one hundred and sixty-six, in the Maori one hundred and sixty-nine. Cf. also Deecke, "De reduplicato Latinae linguae praeterito," p. 19, and C. Jacoby, "Die reduplication im Lateinischen," Danziger Programm, 1878. [On reduplication in the Polynesian dialects, see Whitney, "Language and the Study of Language," p. 338: the languages of the Australian aborigines are also largely characterized by reduplication. The repetition of the root, either complete, or by "reduplication," *i.e.*, the repetition of its initial part, was made to indicate symbolically the completion of the action signified by the root, and furnished another tense, a perfect: *e.g.*, from the root *da*=give, Sanskrit *dādāu*, Greek *δέδωκα*, Latin *dedi*, from *dha*, put, make, Greek *τίθεικα*, O.H.G. *tēta*, A.S. *dide*, our *did*. Whitney, p. 267; see also pp. 338 *sqq.* for reduplication in the Polynesian languages.]

(28) § 30. *E.g.*, "Super unus eram," Verg. Aen. ii, 567; "inque cruentatus," Ovid, Met. xii, 492; "Hac Troiana tenus," Aen. vi, 62; "quae me cumque vocant," Aen. i, 60. ["Inque salutatam linquo," Aen. v, 28, and Ennius, "Cere—comminuit—brum!"] Lucret. "inque pediri," "conque globata," "ordia prima"; Cicero, Sest. 68: "quod iudicium cumque subierat"; Ad Attic. v, 18: "faciam tamen satis."



Seyffert-Müller on Laelius, p. 49; Schmalz, "Jahrbücher f. klass. Philol.," 1892, ii, 364; M. Bonnet, "Le Latin de Grégoire de Tours," p. 480.

(29) § 32. The Greek is extremely sensitive as to the terminations of his words, in which he allows hardly any double letters, except such as those of which *ς*, *ρ* and *ν* are one factor [such words as *Tyrins* are now held to be pre-Hellenic]: in the beginnings of his words, however, he admits a comprehensive number of consonantal collocations: the Roman, on the other hand, shows a greater sensitiveness as to the beginnings of his words, in which he avoids such combinations as *cm, dm, tm, sm*: *cn, dn, pn, mn*: *ct, pt*: *bd, gd*: *ps, x, tl, scl (stl)*, all of which come naturally to the Greek. On the other hand, in the endings of his words the Roman admits of a series not merely of simple consonants, but also of consonantal combinations, *e.g., nt, rt, st, lt*: *rs, ms, ns*: *nc*. It seems as if the Roman were bent on verifying in his treatment of the vowels what Hanno says in Livy (Book xxi, 10, 7) about the national character of his enemies: "Quo lenius agunt, segnius incipiunt, eo, cum coeperint, vereor ne perseverantius saeviant." Cf. too Benary, "Kuhn's Zeitschrift f. vergleich. Sprachwissensch.," i, 51 *sqq.*, and R. Kretschmer, *loc. cit.*, xxxi, 412 *sqq.* Latin writers, again, seem not to feel the same objection to the hiatus which characterizes Greek writers.

(30) § 32. Alliteration played a great part in the technique of old Latin verse. Cf. S. Preuss, "De Bimembris Dissoluti apud Scriptores Romanos Usu Solemni," Edenkoben, 1881; and W. Ebrard, "Die Alliteration in der lat. Sprache," Bayreuth, 1882. This also holds true of the early stage of the German language: cf. Heine, "Die Alliteration im Munde des deutschen Volks," Anklam, 1882 [and was common in Early English, where it was an essential part of the rhythm. Cf. Morris and Skeat's "Specimens of Early English," pp. 151 *sqq.* The Deluge and the vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman.]

(31) § 34. Cf. W. Stehlich, "Die Sprache in ihrem Verhältnis zur Geschichte," Leipzig, 1892; and Weise's

treatise on the German mother tongue. 5 Aufl., Leipzig, 1904, pp. 87-104. J. Grimm, "Kleine Schriften," i, 290, says: "Our language is at the same time our history," and W. v. Humboldt, in his treatise on the Kawi language, says: "Language is intimately bound up with the development of mankind: it accompanies it at every step of its progress as if its retrogression, and the state of civilization of those who speak it, is recognizable by its aid" [cf. Whitney, pp. 383 *sqq.*].

(32) § 40. Cf. too O. Altenburg's essay "De sermone pedestri Itatorum vetustissimo," Leipzig, 1898: "In the records of old Italian popular language, such as ancient specimens of law, the writings of Cato, the municipal laws of Bantia, the Eugubine tables, we meet with the same absence of form and grace in style. The thought presses ever to the front: the expression is of secondary importance. This is the peculiar mark of the style of the old Latin prayers, so grand in their very simplicity, of the Laws, and of Cato's precepts with their somewhat pedantic tone and character."

(33) § 40. "M. Catonis quae exstant," ed. Jordan, p. 77: "Et hoc puta vatem dixisse, quandoque ista gens suas litteras dabit, omnia corrumpet."

(34) § 43. Old Latin words found in Ennius, but not in later Latin literature, have been collected by A. Reichardt, "Jahrbücher für Philol.," 1889, pp. 81 *sqq.*: the old Latin words in Plautus by H. A. Koch, Rhein. Mus. xxv, 617, and S. Bugge, "Neue Jahrb. f. Phil.," 1872, 91 *sqq.* For hybrid formations, see Tuchhändler, "De Vocabulis Graecis in Linguam Latinam translatis," Berliner Dissert., 1876, p. 64; and Weise's essays in Bezzenberger's "Beiträge zur Kunde der Indog. Sprachen," ix, 90 *sqq.*, and Philologus, N. F. i, 45-52.

(35). Cf. Schulze, "De Archaismis Sallustianis," Halle, 1871; Brünnert, "De Sallustio imitatore Catonis, Sisennae aliorumque veterum historicorum Romanorum," Berlin, 1864.

(36). Cf. more especially § 44. In Cato alone we find no



less than five similes drawn from the theatre: 2, 6; 10, 48; 18, 64; 19, 70; 23, 86.

(37) § 50. Cicero (De Fin. iii, 2, 5) pronounces this opinion as to the borrowing of Greek terminations: "Quodsi in lingua concessum est, ut doctissimi homines de rebus non pervagatis inusitatis verbis uterentur, quanto id nobis magis concedendum, quia ea nunc primum audemus attingere?"

(38) § 51. Cf. Herder, "Sämtliche Werke," ii, II, 258, der Cottaschen Ausgabe von 1862: "Such names were rejected by a general code of honour as improper: the objects denoted by such names, however, are not regarded as improper: nor indeed is there any diminution in the desire to find some way of indicating these objects, innocent as they are, and to do this gracefully. This is the origin of the polite words *à double entente* of modern society. Two or three expressions were ostracized from the standard language of respectability and consigned to the populace. But twenty periphrases, fifty "flowers of speech," and a hundred expressions *à double entente* were accepted in their place. These pass unperceived save by the subtlest minds. And this was called "the modest and simple language of the century" [cf. *ἐνώνυμος*: for *ἀριστερός*].

(39) § 53. He was reproached that it was his way, "a prisca consuetudine movere et ad formas Graecas verborum magis revocare." For the Greek inflexional terminations in Roman poets cf. L. Sniehotta, "De vocum graecarum apud Latinos poetas ab Ennio usque ad Ovidi tempora usu." Breslauer philolog. Abhandlungen ix, 2, Breslau, 1908; A. Thiel, "Juvenalis graecissans," Breslau, 1901, pp. 143 *sqq.*

(40) § 54. Even Livy borrows much from the Augustan poets, especially from Vergil, and not merely single words but entire phrases like "haec ubi dicta dedit," xxii, 50, 10; "nubes iaculorum," xxi, 55; cf. Aen. x, 808, "nubes belli." Cf. also Decolle, "Reste elegischer Poesie im Livius," Berliner philolog. Wochenschrift, 1892, Sp. 835, and Stacey, "Die Entwicklung des Livianischen Stils," Archiv f. lat. Lexicogr. x, 17 *sqq.* (1898). Of 319 words created by Vergil

no less than 57 are repeated by Tacitus. The articles by A. Czyczkiewicz, "De Taciti sermonis proprietatibus praeicipue quae ad poeticum dicendi genus pertineant." The articles by Brody, 1890 and 1891, and those by Dosson, "Etude sur Quinte Curce," Paris, 1887, 278 *sqq.*, are also worth consulting.

(41) § 55. He never employs them in letters addressed to Tiro and Atticus, and in those to Terentia he does so out of simple politeness: on the other hand he employs them regularly in official documents and in replies to people who had themselves employed them.

(42) § 57. The "Argonautica" of Valerius Flaccus contain 111 similes: on the numerous metaphors found in Tacitus cf. Dräger, "Einleitung zu Tac. Ann." pp. 30 *sqq.*; A. Stitz, "Die Metapher bei Tacitus," Krems, 1883, 1884; Joh. Kitt, "De Translationibus Taciteis," Konitz, 1884; on the Personifications of Tacitus see the work of F. Meyer, Gottingen, 1884.

(43) § 57. There are striking resemblances, too, in the writing, and in the architecture of both periods. The shapes of the letters are in both periods curved and spread out: in architecture during the empire under the Claudian dynasty vanity and luxury caused gigantic buildings to be raised, while in the time of the Antonines the buildings were overladen with ornamentation, just as in Germany during the prevalence of the Barocco style.

(44) § 58. Quintilian, too, recommends the employment of archaic words (i, 6), provided that they be only used occasionally, and not too ostentatiously paraded. Cf., too Gell. Noct. Att. i, 10.

(45) § 58. The style of Tacitus and its historical development is treated by E. Wölfflin, "Philologus," xxv, 92 *sqq.*; xxvi, 92 *sqq.*; xxvii, 113 *sqq.* Cf., too, E. Norden, "Die antike Kunstprosa," Leipzig, 1898; ii, pp. 321 *sqq.* (Tacitus): also Gontrelle, "Grammaire et style de Tac.," Paris, 1874; E. Wolff, "Die Sprache des Tacitus," Frankfurt a/M, 1879; Dräger, "Über Syntax und Stil des Tacitus," 3 Aufl. Leipzig, 1882; Constans, "Etude sur la langue de Tacite,"



Paris, 1893; E. Kučera, "Über die taciteische Inconcin-  
nität," Olmütz, 1882; C. Clemm, "de breviloquentiae Taciteae quibusdam generibus," Leipzig, 1881; R. Schmidt, "De ellipsi Tac.," Dramburg, 1871.

(46) § 60. H. Corvinus in the "Zeitschrift für gymnasialwesen" (1890), p. 319, says: "In poetry as contrasted with the dull sobriety of prose, ordinary subjects of apprehension, the creations of poetic fancy, seem actually transfigured: they bear the same relation to the conceptions of Prose as the image mirrored on the blue water-surface bears to the stiff object mirrored, standing out in bold relief under the sober light of day. Just as the mirrored image attracts our gaze with its supernal charm, so does the ever enchanting profundity of the poet's words attract and captivate the soul of his hearers." On the poetical Language of Rome cf. J. Golling, "Syntax der lateinischen Dichtersprache," Wien, 1892; Köne, "Über die Sprache der römischen Epiker," Münster, 1840; L. Müller, "Q. Ennius, eine Einleitung in das Studium der röm. Poesie," Petersburg, 1884; R. Stern, "Grundriss einer Grammatik für röm. Dichter," Arnsberg, 1851; C. G. Jacob, "Quaestiones epicae siva symbolae ad grammaticam latinam poeticam," Quedlinburg, 1839.

(47) § 62. Just so C. Humbert in a treatise on the laws of French verse has shown that the spirit of the French language, and also the French national character, exhibits itself in the poetry of the French nation: particularly in the stress accent, the dislike of the massing of consonants and of hiatus; and Herder says: "Poetry is the very Proteus of the nations: it changes its form according to their language, their customs, their habits, their temperament and their climate; yes, and even according to their accent." [Cf. *Tobler vers français*, Paris, 1885.]

(48) § 62. In Ennius, out of 519 verses, 31 end in words of four syllables, in which the first two syllables are short, so that this peculiarity is found in that poet on the average once in every 17 verses, in Lucretius once in every 36 verses, and henceforward it becomes rarer and

rarer. In Catullus the proportion is 1 to 134; in Horace's Epistles 1 to 197 (Satires, i, 83); in Vergil 1 to 261; in Ovid 1 to 1,500; cf. also W. Meyer, "Zur Gesch. d. Griech. und lat. Hexameters," München, 1884; C. F. Hultgren, "Die Technik der röm. Dichter im Epischen und eleg. Versmasse," Jahrbücher für Phil. 1873, 745 *sqq.*; Lorey, "Die Schwierigkeiten der Anwendung der Griech. Metrums auf die lat. Sprache," Hameln, 1874.

(49) § 64. Cf., too, Fisch, "Programm des Andreas-Realgymnasiums zu Berlin," 1888, p. 23.

(50) § 67. Cf. C. Freytag, "Technik des Dramas," p. 275. J. H. von Kirchmann is of the same opinion in his introduction to the study of philosophical works, p. 27: "The Sciences concern themselves merely with general conceptions of things: the Fine Arts on the other hand aim at the representation of a particular object; it may be a monument of architecture, of a statue, of a picture, or a piece of music. Poetry likewise creates some such special object or unity in the imagination of the poet: but since the latter, in order to impart an appreciation of his picture to others, can only employ conceptions of general application, it follows that he never perfectly achieves his end,<sup>1</sup> and the picture given by poetry hovers between the general concept and the individual unity. This explains the fact that the poets, in the construction of their language, aim at individualizing their subjects, and making them stand out in bold relief, while the thinkers are constant in their endeavours so to develop their language that it may serve to express general conceptions and lofty ideas."

(51) § 70. On the Figures of Speech in the Roman poets, and more particularly on Synecdoche and Metonymy, see E. Lindskog, "In tropis scriptorum Latinorum studia," Upsala, 1903.

(52) § 73. This tendency appears very strongly, Od. i, 36, where he speaks of "Erycina ridens, Quam Iocus circumvolat et Cupido," etc. Cf., too, Od. iii, 24, 4; i, 35, 17;

<sup>1</sup> For this view cf. Nietzsche, "Origin of Tragedy," § 6 *ad fin.*



ii, 17, 22; 17, 15; ii, 2, 7; iii, 2, 32; iv, 5, 24; iv, 14, 4; Tibull. i, 9, 4; Propertius, iv, 22, 20; and G. Dannehl, "De Tropis I: De translationis, metonymiae, synechdoches apud poetas Augustei aevi usu," Hallische Dissert., 1868.

(53) § 75. Cf. Catull. 61, 202; Prop. iii, 15, 31; 32, 49; i, 15, 29; ii, 3, 5; Verg. Ecl. i, 59; iii, 91; iv, 91; Hor. Ep. 16, 31; Ov. Ex Pont. ii, 6, 37; iv, 5, 41; Met. xiii, 324; xi, 315; Trist. i, 8, 1; iv, 1, 57; Ars Am. i, 748. On late Roman poets like Claudian and Nemesianus consult Biese, "Naturgefühl bei den Römern," p. 143: on the same subject in German see Weise's "Abhandlung in der Zeitschrift für hochdeutsche Mundarten," iii, 47 *sqq.*

(54) § 75. Even descriptions and sketches are affected by the influence of all powerful rhetoric, and Seneca has good grounds for jesting (Apocolocyntosis, 2, 3) at the poets, because, as he says: "acquiescunt oneri poetae, non contenti ortus et occasus describere, ut etiam medium diem inquietent." The places in which all the tricks and devices of rhetorical technique are most fully displayed, are the] speeches placed by the Epic poets in the mouths of their heroes, and the Dialogue of the Drama. The representation of the struggles which agitated Dido in the Aeneid, or Medea in Ovid, may well be paralleled with the regular *Suasoriae*. Aspiring orators modelled themselves on these and other masterpieces, indeed Vergil, during the Empire, was always regarded as the Classic aid to rhetorical studies, and employed as such. Cf., too, H. Peter, "Rhetorik und Poesie im klassisch. Altertum." Jahrbücher für das klass. Altertum, 1898, i, 637 *sqq.*

(55) § 76. The first figure is found in his works 102 times, in the second book of 1,362 verses 62 times, while Tibullus employs them in the first two books, *i.e.*, in 1,352 verses, only 24 times: the last occurs in Propertius more frequently than in all the rest of the Roman poets together, *e.g.*, i, 1, 19, 20, 39, etc.

(56) § 77. The historical development of this infinitival construction is traced by Dräger, and also by Schmalz in Iwan Müller's Handbuch, ii, pp. 319 *sqq.* (§ 217 *sqq.* of his

Latin Syntax). Special notice is taken of the works of Ennius, Lucretius, and the Augustan poems.

(57) § 78. Cf., too, Heerdegen, "Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Semasiologie," ii, p. 64.

(58) § 78. *E.g.* Aen. ix, 98-103; vi, 451; viii, 213, 407; xi, 309. In Propertius, too, we meet with long periods, *e.g.*, i, 11, 9-18; iii, 14, 1-10: Tibullus avoids them. On Lucretius and Catullus see above, § 24.

(59) § 80. On these and other characteristics of the language of poetry consult "Phil. Wegener, Neuwaldenslebener Programm," 1889, pp. 18 *sqq.*

(60) § 80. Cf. Hor. Ep. II, 2, 115:

Obscurata diu populo bonus eruet atque  
Proferet in lucem speciosa vocabula rerum,  
Quae priscis memorata Catonibus atque Cethegis  
Nunc situs informis premit et deserta vetustas.

Goethe, who in his "Iphigenie" and his "Tasso" uses the best literary German, employs in others of his poems striking archaisms: as, for instance, in his "Götz," in some parts of "Faust," in the legend of the horseshoe, and in Hans Sachs' "Poetische Sendung." He has completely succeeded in his design of reproducing the old-world colour, and in suiting the language of the personages he introduces to the old-fashioned times in which they live and speak. In this free intermixture of words and forms of words of different ages Poetry found a rich recompense for the retrenchment of vocabulary imposed upon it by the exigences of metre. For many words could not accommodate themselves to the rhythm, and these had accordingly to be excluded from the poet's use and replaced by others. Thus Homer could not employ words like *πολέμιος* (he uses *δήϊος*, *στρατόπεδον*, etc.): in the same way *vituperare* was useless for the purpose of the dactylic poets, and had to be replaced by *reprehendere*. Ennius could indeed use *ferocia* and *tenacia*, but not the words in *-tas* which correspond thereto, because they would not suit the verse. For *quattuordecim* Verg., Aen. i, 71, uses *bis septem*: for



*explicari* we have in the same poem *explicui*: for *capitibus* (Aen. ii, 219), in spite of the fact that the word is connected with *cervicibus*, we have the singular *capite*. *Celeriter* with its four short syllables was replaced by *celer*, *citius*, etc. In the case of forms like *dēerat*, *dēinde*, *arjete*, *parjetibus* (Aen. ii, 442), *semjanimis*, *alterius*, etc., recourse was had to synizesis, dissolution of semi-vowels or shortening of vowels.

(61) § 82. Herewith should be mentioned the essay of Reichardt, "Jahrbücher für Philologie," 1889, i, pp. 797 *sqq.*, on the archaisms in Vergil: cf., too, Wotke, "Wiener Studien," viii, 131-148.

(62) § 82. E. Appel, "De Genere Neutro intereunte in Lingua Latina," Münchener Dissert., Erlangen, 1883, remarks that the poets who employ hexameters prefer to write *gaudia*, *incendia*, *convivia*, etc., rather than *gaudium*, *incendium*, *convivium* with elision. In Ovid the Plural occurs more than 50 times, the Singular not once. Even syntactic innovations follow under the stress of metre. As "*cruribus tenus*" would not come into hexameter verse, Vergil writes (Georg. iii, 53): "*Et crurum tenus a mento palearia pendent*," and Catullus, for the same reason, writes for "*nutricibus tenus*," "*nutricum tenus*," 64, 18. This was remarked even by the ancients: and thus we read in the Corp. Gloss. v, 248, 19: "*tenus praepositionem Vergilius necessitate metri genetivo pluralis inuixit*." Cf., too, E. Wölfflin, "Hexameter und Silberne Prosa," Archiv f. lat. Lexicogr., xi, 503 *sqq.*

(63) § 82. Ribbeck, "History of Roman Poetry," ii, 339: "Certain beginnings and endings of verses, the choice and position of certain words, certain similes and figures of speech, were for definite purposes bequeathed by one poet to another, and their use became traditional." Cf., too, A. Zingerle, "Ovid und sein Verhältniss zu den Vorgängern und den gleichzeitigen römischen Dichtern," Innsbrück, 1869-1871; Schmalz, "Zeitschr. für Gymnasialwesen," 1890, 718 *sqq.*

(64) § 83. *E.g.* Vergil, Aen. iv, 451: "*it clamor caelo.*"

Ovid, *Met.* ii, 580: "tendebam brachia caelo." Vergil, *Georg.* iv, 562: "viamque affectat Olympo." Hor. *Od.* i, 28, 10: "Orco demissus." Prop. i, 15, 29: "nulla prius vasto labentur flumina ponto." Aen. vi, 126: "facilis descensus Averno."

(65) § 84. The new words formed by Ovid have been collected by Dräger in the *Auricher Programm*, 1888, p. 17. He calculates their number at 392, including 153 which occur in his writings alone, and 139 ἀπαξ εἰρημμένα like *repostor, novatrix, renovamen*. According to E. Linse, "De P. Ovidio Nasone Verborum inventore," *Leipziger Dissert.*, 1891, the number of these new words is 487. Besides these, the following works are worth consulting: H. Ploen, "De copiae verborum differentiis inter varia poesis Romanae antiquioris genera intercedentibus," *Strassburg*, 1883, with interesting collections of words in *-tudo, -tas, -ntia*; Deipser, "Über die Bildung und Bedeutung der lat. Adjectiva auf *-fer* und *-ger*," *Bromberg*, 1886; Seitz, "De Fixis Poetarum Latinorum epithetis," *Elberfeld*, 1890; Ladewig, "De Vergilio verborum Novatore," *Neustrelitz*, 1870; E. Stephani, "De Martiale verborum novatore," *Breslau*, 1889; A. Rothmaler, "De Horatio verborum inventore," *Berlin*, 1862; C. Zangemeister, "De Horatii vocibus singularibus," *Berlin*, 1862; F. Teuffel, "De Catulli, Tibulli, Propertii vocibus singularibus," *Freiburg im Breisgau*, 1872; W. Schneider, "De Propertio sermonis novatore et amplificatore," *Strassburg*, 1888; G. Bordellé, "De linguae Latinae nominibus *-men* et *-mento* ope formati," *Grossglogau*, 1879; W. Wilbertz, "De adjectivis poetarum Latinorum usque ad Catullum compositis," *Marburg*, 1884.

(66) § 86. Cic. *Orator*, 202: "Poetae transferunt verba cum crebrius tum audacius." *De Or.* iii, 43, 170: "Translatum verbum maxime tamquam stellis quibusdam notat et illuminat orationem." On the metaphorical use of *curvus, uncus*, etc., introduced by Horace, cf. A. Möller, "Archiv f. Lexicogr.," iii, 117 *sqq.*, and Preuss, "Die metaphorische Kunst Vergils in der Aeneide," *Graudenz*, 1894; R. Brau-



müller, "Über Tropen und Figuren in Vergils Äneide," Berlin, 1877 and 1882; P. Langen, "Die Metapher im Latein von Plautus bis Terenz," *Jahrbücher für Philol.*, 1882, pp. 673 *sqq.*, 753 *sqq.*; S. von Raumer, "Die Metapher bei Lukrez," Erlangen, 1893; L. Geuther, "Über den Gebrauch der Metapher bei Juvenal," Wittenberg, 1878.

(67) § 87. The latest critical inquiry into the whole question is from the pen of J. Schäfler, Amberg, 1884, p. 95. Other papers on the same subject appear in the "Zeitschrift für Gymnasialwesen," 1886, p. 23: see also M. Brenous, "Études sur les hellénismes dans la syntaxe Latine," Paris, 1895; Piger, "Die sogenannten Gräcismen im Gebrauche des lat. Accus.," Iglau, 1879; Engelhardt, "Passive Verba mit dem Accus. und der sogenannte Accusativus graecus bei den latein. Epikern," Bromberg, 1879; G. Landgraf, "Der Acc. der Beziehung nach Adj., Subst. und pass. Verben," *Archiv für Lexikogr.*, x, 209-224; H. Tillman, "De dativo verbis passivis linguae latinae, subjecto, qui vocatur Graecus," *Acta semin. philol.*, Erlang., ii (1881), 71-140; H. Dittel, "De infinitivi apud Horatium usu," Ried, 1881; G. Overholthaus, "Syntaxis Catullianae capita II Diss.," Göttingen, 1875; G. V. Bucht, "De Usu Infinitivi apud Ovidium," Upsala, 1875; E. Trillaas, "Der Infinitiv bei Ovid," Erlangen, 1877; v. Steltzer, "Über den Gebrauch des Infinitivs bei Vergil," Nordhausen, 1875; C. Wagener, "Der Infin. nach Adj. bei Horaz," *Neue philol. Rundschau*, 1902, pp. 1-9. In 65 places in Horace adjectives are found connected with an infinitive, and of these 32 are followed by a genitive case.

(68) § 88. The judgment pronounced by Cicero on the productions of Lucretius holds good in a greater or less degree of all the Roman poets (*Ad Quintum fratrem*, ii, 11): "Non multis luminibus ingenii, multae tamen artis." Their imaginative powers were by no means extensive: their greatest success lay in Elegiac poems and in Satire, which suited the particular bent of their genius. There were very few who could say with Ovid: "Quidquid tentabam dicere, versus erat" [or with Pope: "I lisped in num-

bers, for the numbers came." Quintilian's proud boast may be remembered here: "Satira tota nostra est"].

(69) § 89. Cf. K. Sittl, "Jahresbericht über das Vulgär- und Spätlatein," 1884-1890, im Jahresber. über die Fortschr. d. klass. Altertumswissensch., lxxviii, 226-286; P. Monceaux, "Le Latin d'après les dernières publications," *Revue des deux Mondes*, 1891, 15 Juli, 429-448; M. Bonnet, "Le Latin de Grégoire de Tours," Paris, 1890, 783 pp., numerous papers in Wölfflin's "Archiv f. Lexikogr.," Leipzig, 1844, *sqg.*; Wölfflin, "Über die Latinität des Africaners Cassius Felix," München, 1880; H. Rönsch, "Itala und Vulgata," 2 Aufl., Marburg, 1875; H. Hoppe, "Syntax und Stil des Tertullian," Leipzig, 1903; H. Gläser, "Grammatik des Laktanz," Musée Belge, 1900, pp. 26 *sqg.*, 223 *sqg.*, 1901, pp. 65 *sqg.*, 293 *sqg.*; W. Kalb, "Roms Juristen nach ihrer Sprache dargestellt," Leipzig, 1890; F. Polle, "Wie denkt das Volk über die Sprache?" 3 Aufl., Leipzig, 1904; O. Rebling, "Versuch einer Charakteristik der röm. Umgangssprache," 2 Abdruck, Kiel, 1883; P. Meyer, "De Ciceronis in Epistulis ad Atticum Sermones," Bayreuth, 1887; A. Skinner, "De eo, quo Cicero in epistulis usus sit sermone," Oppeln, 1879, *sqg.*; R. Klein, "Über Ciceros Briefstil," Chemnitz, 1895; Koffmane, "Geschichte des Kirchenlateins," 1879.

(70) § 89. Sittl assumes that there were three kinds of well-defined non-classical Latin: (1), the language of the peasantry (*rusticitas*), and (2) the language *spoken* (not written) by the educated classes (*sermo cotidianus, consuetudo*), (3) a dialect standing midway between the two spoken by the inhabitants of the small towns (*oppidanum dicendi genus*); see his lecture read before the Görlitzer Philologenversammlung, 1889, and cf. "Jahrbücher für Phil.," 1890, ii, p. 142. He will not allow either inscriptions or writers to be the authorities on Vulgar Latin, but he regards the Romance languages alone as such. The literature commonly quoted as authoritative on the subject is, according to him, composed neither in refined nor in popular Latin, but merely in bad Latin. He probably goes too far



in this assertion. No doubt it is true that no literary record can give us sufficient data on which to found a satisfactory theory of the pronunciation and accentuation of Vulgar Latin, but the form taken by the words, and the syntax, and the peculiarities in the formation and signification of the words, are shown by the traits of agreement in all the authorities mentioned, to mark a dialect contrasting with the language of the refined classes: we may therefore fairly call this dialect "the vulgar tongue."

(71) § 90. This holds good more particularly of the so-called *Svarabhakti*, i.e., the insertion of a vowel sound before or after *r, l, n*: this sound developed itself from the pitch accent of these liquids in cases where a consonant preceded or followed them, e.g., *Terebonius* = *Trebonius*: *Militiades* = *Miltiades*. Cf. J. Schmidt, "Zur Geschichte des indogermanischen Vokalismus," ii, 342-370; Corssen, "Vokalismus usf.," ii, 384 sqq.

(72) § 90. For this section reference may be made to H. Schuchardt, "Der Vokalismus des Vulgärlateins," Leipzig, 1866-1868; E. Seelmann, "Die Aussprache des Lateins nach physiologisch-historischen Grundsätzen," Heilbronn, 1885; K. Sittl, "Die lokalen Verschiedenheiten der latein. Sprache," Erlangen, 1882; Diez, "Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen," pp. 170 sqq.; G. Landgraf, "Historische Gramm. der lat. Sprache," Leipzig, 1903. [Cf. also Grandgent, "Vulgar Latin," Heath, Boston, 1907; Lindsay's Latin Grammar.]

(73) § 93. Cf. Schuchardt, "Vokalismus des Vulgärlateins," i, 34, 232; O. Sievers, "Quaestiones onomatologicae" in Ritschl's "Acta societatis philol. Lipsiensis," ii, 55-104; M. Bonnet, "Le Latin de Grégoire de Tours," pp. 349 sqq.; Bücheler-Windekilde, "Grundriss der lat. Deklination," Bonn, 1879; F. Neue, "Formenlehre der lat. Sprache," 2 Aufl., Berlin, 1875-1877.

(74) § 93. Cf., too, the treatise by E. Appel, "De Genere Neutro Intereunte in Lingua Latina," Erlangen, 1883; W. Meyer, "Das Schicksal des lat. Neutrums im Romanischen," Halle, 1883; and H. Suchier, "Der Untergang der

geschlechtlosen Substantivform," Archiv f. Lexicogr., iii, 161 *sqq.* Forms like *la réponse*, *la merveille*, are to be explained by the fact that plurals like *responsa* and *mirabilia* were treated as nouns singular of the first declension. [See the whole question well and fully treated by Darmesteter, "Historical French Grammar," 1899, pp. 225-231. See also Grandgent, § 352: "In late Latin this collective plural in *-a* came to be taken for a feminine singular": cf. "Ne forte et mihi haec eveniat," Rönsch, "Itala und Vulgata," 1869.] The Patristic Fathers actually preferred sometimes to change the classical genders; cf. St. Jerome, who on Ezekiel 40 writes that he purposely substitutes *cubitus* for *cubitum*, to be better understood by his readers.

(75) § 94. Ott, "Jahrbücher für Philol. und Pädagog.," 1874, pp. 781 *sqq.*; Rönsch, "Itala und Vulgata," pp. 22-257; H. Ulrich, "De Vitruvii copia verborum," Frankenthal, 1883, und Schwabach, 1885; Stünkel, "De Varroniana verborum formatione," Strassburg, 1875; R. Fisch, "Die lat. *nomina personalia* auf *-o*, *-onis*, ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis des Vulgärlateins," Berlin, 1890.

(76) § 96. J. N. Ott, "Rottweiler Programm," 1874, reckons in all no less than 208 such substantives which may be omitted at will: cf., too, Dräger, "Historische Syntax der lat. Sprache," i, 47 *sqq.*, and T. C. Rolfe, "Archiv für Lex.," x, 229 *sqq.* on the Ellipse of *Ars*.

(77) § 99. More details are given in Andresen, "Über deutsche Volksetymologie," pp. 17 *sqq.*, and in Weise's essays on the "Charakteristik der Volksetymologie," in the "Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft," Bd. xii, pp. 203 *sqq.*, and in Bezzenberger's "Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen," Bd. v, pp. 68 *sqq.*: also Weise's treatise on the Greek words in Latin, Leipzig, 1882, pp. 67-75. [See, too, "English Folk etymology," by Smythe Palmer (Bell and Sons, 1882). "The violent dislike to the use of a word entirely new to us, and of which we do not understand the source, is a matter of daily experience; and the tendency to *give* a meaning to adopted words by so changing them as to



remove their seemingly arbitrary character has exercised a permanent and appreciable influence on every language" (Farrar, "Origin of Language," p. 56, quoted by Palmer, p. x.)]

(78) § 102. Cf., too, J. Grimm, *Gramm.*, iii, 726 *sqq.*; Diez, "Gramm. d. latein. Sprache," iii, 431 *sqq.* Examples taken from German poetry are found in Hildebrand, "Zeitschrift für den deutschen Unterricht," iii, 2, 149 *sqq.* [Cf. Morris's "Historical outlines of English Accidence," p. 201, § 312: "For *not, not a whit* we sometimes find *not a jot, not a bit*": cf. O.E. never a del, never a whit, etc.]

(79) § 103. Cf. E. Wölfflin, "Bemerkungen über das Vulgärlatein," *Philologus*, xxxiv, pp. 127-165, bes. 152-158; K. Sittl, "Archiv f. Lexikogr.," iv, 197-222; R. Jonas, "De verbis frequentativis et intensivis," Posen, 1871, 1879, Meseritz, 1872; Derselbe, "Die Verba frequentativa und intensitiva bei Livius," Posen, 1884; C. Paucker, "Kuhn's Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachw.," N.F. vi, 241-263 (1883). [For double comparisons in English, see Morris, "English Accidence," p. 196, § 111. Even adjectives with a superlative sense are sometimes compared as "perfectest," "chiefest" in Shakespeare.]

(80) § 103. Cf. J. N. Ott, "Über Doppelgradation des lateinischen Adjectivs," *Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik*, 1875, pp. 787-800, and Wölfflin in "Archiv für Philologie," i, 97 *sqq.*; H. Ziemer, "Vergleichende Syntax der indogerm. Komparation," Berlin, 1884; Brix, "Zu Plaut. *Trinummus* 28." It is also curious to remark the increasing pretentiousness of Roman titles. Thus the Emperors, during the first century, were usually addressed simply as *Imperator*, *Caesar*, or *Augustus*: in the second century we find adjectives appended, commonly expressive of the goodness and greatness of the rulers, such as *optimus*, *maximus*: in the third century we find more exaggerated epithets applied, such as *perpetuus victoriosissimus indulgentissimus imperator* (of Aurelian), *piissimus fortissimus felicissimus dominus noster* (of Constantine), *humanissimus invictissimus dominus* (id.), *nobilissimus ac*

*fortissimus ac felicissimus Caesar* (Constantius). More particulars are given by Chr. Schöner, "Die Titulaturen der röm. Kaiser," Act. sem. phil. Erl., ii, 449 *sqq.*

(81) § 103. Cf E. Wölfflin, "Philologus," xxxiv, pp. 158-165.

(82) § 105. Cicero writes in his letters to Atticus, i, 12, 4; 7, 10 *ad fin.*, 14, 7, 2: "Quicquid in buccam venerit"—"whatever comes into your mouth": but in his speeches and philosophical treatises he writes: "quicquid in mentem venit."

(83) § 106. It must not, however, be assumed that the people, speaking generally, adopted no Greek words: on the contrary, their contact with the numerous slaves imported from Greek-speaking communities must have familiarized them with many Greek expressions. Many of these have passed into Romance, and have actually ousted many genuine Latin words: as *nanus*, *petra*, *zelus*, *struthio*, which have taken the place of the original words *pumilio*, *saxum*, *studium*, *passer marinus* (cf. Fr. *nain*, *pierre*, *zele*, *autruche* = *avis struthio*) [for other instances see Grandgent, § 19].

(84) § 107. See J. N. Ott, "Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik," 1874, p. 575.

(85) § 108. Cf. L. Schwabe, "De Deminutivis Graecis et Latinis," 1859; G. Müller, "De latinae linguae deminutivis," Leipzig, 1865; E. Wölfflin, "Philologus," xxxiv, 153 *sqq.*; Lorenz, "Einleitung zu Plaut. Pseud.," pp. 58 *sqq.*; Stinner, "Über den Stil in Ciceros Briefen," pp. 9 *sqq.*; Paucker, "Die lat. Deminutiva auf -ulus, -ula, -ulum," Mitau, 1876. The word *bellus* (diminutive of *bonus* = *benulus*) [rather *ben(δ)los*] is employed by Cicero in his letters 38 times. [For diminutives, see Earle, "Philology of the English Tongue," § 376 *sqq.*]

(86) § 109. Euphemisms in Latin are treated by O. Keller, "Grammatische Aufsätze" (zur lat. Sprachgeschichte, ii), Leipzig, 1895, pp. 154-188; and by O. Hey in Wölfflin's "Archiv für lat. Lexik.," ix, 223 *sqq.*, xi, 515 *sqq.*: cf. too W. Bökemann, "Französischer Euphemismus," Berliner



Dissert., 1899. Numerous euphemisms for death are collected by Georges, "De Velleji Paterculii Elocutione," p. 5. Besides this particular species of euphemism, which is the product of terror, we may notice that which springs from a sense of shame, on which see O. Hey, *loc. citat.*, pp. 528 *sqq.*

(87) § 110. Cf. E. Wölfflin, "Das Wortspiel im Lateinischen, Sitzungsberichte der bayr. Akad. d. Wissensch. Philol. hist. Klasse," 1887, pp. 187-209.

(88) § 112. *Nequiquam*, according to E. Wölfflin "Archiv f. Lexikogr.," ii, 7, occurs once in the Bell. Civ. in the connection *eius auxilium* (i, 1, 4) *implorare*, which, according to Sallust, Cat. 52, 29, *nequiquam deos implores* (in Cato's oration), seems to have been a traditional phrase of ordinary use in the Council-chamber: besides this passage it is only found in Bell. Gall. ii, 27, 5: "Non nequiquam tantae virtutis homines ausos esse transire latissimum flumen," which must be regarded as a fault in style, for the Romans usually said instead of *non nequiquam, non sine causa*.

(89) § 114. See further on this subject Fröhlich, "Realistisches und Stilistisches zu Caesar," Zürich, 1887. At the same time it should be noticed that Caesar often uses the same expressions in immediate succession; *e.g.*, the word *locus* occurs five times in the Bellum Gallicum, i, 49, 1 *sqq.*, in close sequence. More will also be found in Polascheck in the "Serta Harteliana," p. 224, and in Frese's "Beiträge zur Beurtheilung der Sprache Cäsars," Programm d. Luitpold-gymn. Munich, 1900, p. 21. Besides, we cannot fail to notice a certain preference for special words and phrases exhibited in particular books: for instance, in Book I of the Bellum Gallicum, we find the expression "propterea quod" repeated no less than 14 times, while, as a rule, in the later books the simple word *quod* takes its place: in the seventh Book the phrase "e regione" is employed 6 times in the signification of "opposite to," a meaning in which it is used only once in the Bell. Civ. i, 25, 6, and then not in the same sense: the word *tardare*,

in the sense of "to retard," is found 8 times in the *Bell. Civ.*: in the seventh Book of the *Bell. Gall.* 7 times: elsewhere, only once in the second, and once in the sixth Book: the phrase "proinde ac si" occurs for the first time in the third Book of the *Bell. Civ.*, and in that Book four times: in the same way "namque etiam" is found in this Book 3 times.

(90) § 114. "Iactare solitus milites suos etiam unguentatos bene pugnare posse."

(91) § 115. Cf. Kraut, "Über das vulgäre Element in der Sprache des Sallust," Blaubeuren, 1881.

(92) § 118. Cf. B. Linderbauer, "De verborum mutuatorum et peregrinorum apud Ciceronem usu et compensatione," Programm des Gymnasiums zu Metten bei Straubing, 1892-1893.

(93) § 119. Cf. "Jahrbücher für Philologie," 1892, p. 392.

(94) § 119. Cf. Meusel in "Jahresbericht des philologischen Vereins zu Berlin" (1894), p. 240.

(95) § 120. Cf. Meusel, *loc. citat.*, p. 229; Kübler, "Ausgabe des *Bell. Gall. Praef.*," p. cxxxviii; Frese, *loc. citat.*, p. 16. We may gather Caesar's readiness in Greek from the assertion of Plutarch (*Pomp.* 60, 2), that at the critical moment when he was crossing the Rubicon, he uttered Menander's words ἑλληνιστί: ἀνερρίφθω κύβος: and Suetonius assures us (*Div. Jul.* 82) that his celebrated reproach to his murderer, Brutus, was also in Greek: καὶ σὺ τέκνον.

(96) § 120. Cf. Koffmane, "Lexicon lateinischer Wortformen," Göttingen, 1874, and Meusel in the "Jahresbericht," xx, p. 231, mentioned above.

(97) § 121. The contents of this and the three following sections are based upon the "Syntax" by Schmalz in Iwan Müller's Handbuch.

(98) § 122. But cf. *Bell. Gall.* vi, 37, 3: "cohors in statione"; *Bell. Civ.* ii, 39, 2: "castra ad Bagradam." Cf. Chr. Järnicke, "Die Verbindung der Substantiva durch Präpositionen bei Cicero," Wien, 1886-1887.

(99) § 124. Cf. Schwenk, "Über das Gerundium und Gerundiv bei Cäsar und Nepos," Frankenberg in Sachsen,



1882; Görlitz, "Das Gerundium und Supinum bei Cäsar," Rogasen, 1887.

(100) § 124. The language of Cicero and Caesar is treated of by Jules Lebreton, "Etudes sur la langue et la grammaire de Cicéron," and "Caesariana syntaxis quatenus a Ciceroniana differat," both Paris, 1901. The syntactical variations of Livy from the usages of Cicero and Caesar are collected by O. Riemann, "Etude sur la langue et la grammaire de Tite-Live," 2nd edit., Paris, 1885, pp. 255-311. Other treatises dealing with the grammatical peculiarities of Caesar are the following: Plochmann, "Die Kasuslehre bei Cäsar," Schweinfurt, 1891; Fischer, "Die Kasuslehre bei Cäsar," Programme der lat. Hauptschule in Halle, 1853-1854; K. Brinker, "Zur Cäsarianischen Kasussyntax," Jahrbücher für Philologie, 1891, ii, 491 *sqq.*, 513 *sqq.*, 586 *sqq.*; the same author, "Zur Ciceronischen Kasussyntax," *loc. citat.*, 1896, ii, 363 *sqq.*, 432 *sqq.*, 512 *sqq.*; C. Kossak, "Observationes de ablativi qui dicitur absolutus usu apud Caesarem" Gumbinnen, 1858. The sequence of tenses in Cicero is dealt with by H. Lieven, "Die consecutio temporum bei Cicero," Riga, 1872; M. Wetzels, "Consecutio temporum Ciceroniana," Dissert., 1877; for Caesar's use, see A. Hug. Jahrbücher f. Philol., 1860, 877 *sqq.*, 1882, 281 *sqq.*; A. Procksh, Bautzener Programm, 1870, and Eisenberger Programm, Leipzig, 1874; E. Hoffmann in "den Studien auf dem Gebiete der lat. Syntax," Wien, 1884. Other papers on the same subject are: M. Heynacher, "Was ergibt sich aus dem Sprachgebrauch im *Bell. Gall.* für die Behandlung der lat. Syntax in der Schule?" Berlin, 1886; G. Ihm, "Quaestiones syntacticae de elocutione Tacitea comparato Caesaris, Sallustii, Velleii usu loquendi," Giessener Diss., 1882; Ad. Lehmann, "De verborum compositorum, quae apud Sallustium, Caesarem, Livium, Tacitum leguntur, cum dativo structura," Leobschütz, 1884; D. Rhode, "Adjectivum quo ordine apud Caesarem et in Ciceronis orationibus coniunctum sit cum substantivo," Hamburg, 1884; R. Menge, "Über das Relativum in der Sprache Cäsars," Halle, 1889; W. Kriebel, "Der Periodenbau bei Cicero und

Livius," Prenzlau, 1873; Wania, "Das Praesens historicum in Cäsars *Bell. Gall.*," Wien, 1885; Kertelheim, "Über Gräzismen in Ciceros Reden," Bergedorf, 1894.

(101) § 126. Cf. K. Lorenz, "Über Chiasmus und Anaphora im *Bellum Gallicum*," Kreuzburg in Oberschlesien, 1875; P. Hellwig, "Über Pleonasmus bei Cäsar," Programm des Berliner Sophiengymnasiums, 1889. The substantive is sometimes repeated after the determinative pronoun, *e.g.*, *Bell. Gall.* iii, 7 ("bellum: eius belli"); v, 32 ("convallis: eius vallem") vi, 11, vii, 72. The substantive is, moreover, substituted for a pronoun, *Bell. Gall.* i, 48, where *castra* is repeated no less than four times; i, 49 (five times *locus*); ii, 19, 33; iv, 12, 25; v, 9; viii, 69. Caesar does not hesitate from time to time to repeat the same words at short intervals, *e.g.*, *Bell. Gall.* i, 3, 2 *sqq.*, where two consecutive sentences begin with "ad eas res conficiendas." Even rhyming genitive forms in *-orum* seem to him admissible, as, *e.g.*, *Bell. Gall.* iii, 6, 2, "potiundorum castrorum"; vii, 43, 3, "recuperandorum suorum"; *Bell. Civ.* ii, 42, 5, "quorum reficiendorum" prove. Cf., too, "Jahrbücher für Phil.," 1885, p. 242, and J. Aumüller, "Das sogenannte Hendiadoin im Lateinischen," Blätter für bayrisches Gymnasialschulwesen, 1896, 753-759. The peculiarities of the rhetoric of Caesar and Cicero are noticed by E. Norden, "Die antike Kunstprosa," Leipzig, 1898, i, 209-233.

(102) § 127. Cf. Bock, "Subiecta rei cum actionis verbis coniungendi usus quomodo in prisca quae vocatur Latinitate sit exortus et prolatus usque ad tempora Ciceroniana," Leipzig, 1889. Instances in Caesar are *Bell. Civ.* ii, 1, "maior vis oppresserat"; *Bell. Gall.* ii, 1, "necessitas temporis postulat." For the figures of speech in Cicero consult J. Straub, "De tropis et figuris, quae inveniuntur in orationibus Ciceronis," Aschaffenburg, 1883.

(103) § 127. Cf. Dräger, 1878, pp. 1 *sqq.* In the literature previous to Cicero, only about sixty such plurals are to be found; in the age of Cicero about a hundred new plural formations occur, about half of which are in *-io*.

(104) § 128. Cf. Bernhardt, "Grundriss der römischen



Literatur," p. 58, Aum. 43; J. Schmidt, "Das rhythmische Element in Ciceros Reden," Wiener Studien, xv, p. 209; E. Müller, "De numero Ciceroniano," Kieler Dissert., 1886; J. May, "Der rednerische Rhythmus mit besonderer Beziehung auf Ciceros Orator," Durlach in Baden, 1899.

(105) § 130. A long period is to be found, *Bell. Gall.* ii, 25. The main sentence and 6 subordinate sentences, with 14 infinitives and 14 participles. For more details see W. Busch, "Cäsar als Schriftsteller im *Bell. Gall.*," Steglitzer Programm, 1901.

(106) p. 212. Thus in this word *aedes* the signification is changed and enlarged from that of *hearth* to that of *chamber*. [Cf. the English expression "our hearth and home."]

(107) p. 213. The older form of the name was, according to Priscian, i, 554, *auger*.

(108) p. 215. Serv. on *Aen.* i, 179: "Quia apud maiores nostros molarum usus non erat, frumenta torrebant et ea in pilas missa pinsebant et hoc erat genus molendi, unde et pinsores dicti sunt, qui nunc pistores vocantur."

(109) p. 218. Cf. *Trivialis*, worshipped in the crossways, more commonly *Trivia*, the goddess Diana, worshipped at the crossways.

(110) p. 220. Cf. Grimm, "Gesch. d. deutsch. Sprache," 980 *sqq.*; Schrader, "Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte," 2 Aufl., pp. 369 *sqq.*; Brugmann, "Rheinisch. Mus.," Neue Folge, 43, 399.

(111) p. 222. Cf. the German expression *acht Tage*, for a week: the two Sundays being comprised in the reckoning; and the French *quinze jours* = fourteen days.

(112) p. 223. Cf. O. Schrader, "Lexicon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde," p. 286.





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