Chapter V

The Road to Standardization: Roman Latin of the Third and Second Centuries BC

5.1   The Typology of Roman Inscriptions

Before tackling specific texts, it will be useful to begin with a summary of the conventional typology of inscriptions, distinguishing inscriptions proper (*tituli*), inscribed on monuments and other objects to denote their purpose or relation to named individuals, from public or private documents (*acta*, *instrumenta*, *tabulae*), inscribed on durable material in order to publish, and indirectly to preserve, the contents (see, for example, Keppie (1991) for a brief introduction). The former subclass includes epitaphs, dedications, honorary inscriptions, inscriptions on public works, and inscriptions on portable objects; the latter, treaties, laws, decrees of official bodies and organizations (e.g. the Roman Senate, *coloniae*, *municipia*, *collegia* and *sodalicia)*, decrees of magistrates and emperors, other public and religious documents, private documents, and graffiti. Needless to say, the boundaries are not always watertight, and many documents fall under more than one heading, e.g. epitaphs that include various legal provisions, or which honour the individual concerned, such as that of Scipio Barbatus (CIL I^2 6/7, see (2a) below, where the original text is supplemented by an *elogium* in Saturnians). Clearly decrees of official bodies or high-ranking magistrates will typically display the benefits of more or less competent drafting by a professional secretariat, while private documents may well reflect variation in the educational level of the individuals who commissioned and/or composed them. Both types were, in varying degrees, at the mercy of the technical and linguistic

competence of the craftsmen employed to produce them, and provincial copies of even senatorial decrees may contain errors absent from the originals.

5.2   Dated Roman Inscriptions of the Third and Second Centuries BC

In the absence of epigraphic material from Rome datable to the fourth century BC, we must begin our discussion of the development of Roman Latin with the still rather limited corpus of inscriptions available to us from the third and second centuries (Wachter (1987: ch. IV.B) provides comprehensive commentary). All but one of the 17 dated Roman inscriptions within the period down to 150 BC have an official character; the earliest is from 217 BC (CIL I² 607), and the latest from 155 BC (CIL I² 623). Most are also quite short, apart from two *senatuscon-sulta* (CIL I² 581, 586), which will be examined in detail in 5.4 below. Unsurprisingly, some of the first examples of a number of the key shifts from the 'older' to the more 'modern' orthography of Roman Latin appear in this corpus (see Wachter (1987: 285, 358): in some cases there are earlier examples from outside Rome, especially Praeneste, e.g. CIL I² 561 for final *-it*, thought to date from the fourth century):

1	[-i-] < [-e-]	217 BC	(CIL I² 607, *uouit*)
2	[-us] < [-os]	211 BC	(CIL I² 608/9, *Claudius*)
3	double C written	211 BC	(CIL I² 608, *Hinnad*)
4	[-um] < [-om]	200 BC	(CIL I² 610, *iterum*)
5	loss of [-d] in ablative singular	?192/189 BC	(CIL I² 613/614, ?[Le]ucado/turri Lascutana)
6	[-ae] < [-ai]	187 BC	(CIL I² 616/617, *Aetolia/ Aemilius*)

As noted in Chapter IV, any associated phonetic changes (recall that the writing of double consonants is a purely orthographic change) may well have occurred much earlier than the first written evidence for them, even though we *can* be sure that any later texts using the older spellings are archaizing to the extent that they fail to reflect these sound changes. Nor does the first attestation of a modern spelling necessarily imply that this was already the 'standard' orthographic practice, thus making any continuing archaism deliberate (self-conscious) rather than merely conventional. Indeed, the writing of double consonants and the omission of final *-d* were certainly not routine at the time of their first datable occurrence, at least at the highest levels of the Roman bureaucracy, since

the orthography of CIL I² 581, the famous *Senatusconsultum de Bacchanalibus* of 186 BC (text (3) below), remains 'traditional' in these two respects; the corresponding modern spellings only became acceptable in this lofty domain somewhat later in the second century, as probably shown by the equally famous *senatusconsultum* paraphrased in a letter of the praetor Lucius Cornelius to the people of Tibur, CIL I² 586, of 159 BC (see text (4) below). It is interesting, however, that CIL I² 614, a decree of Lucius Aemilius Paullus, proconsul of Further Spain in 189 BC, freeing a local community from the control of its neighbours three years before the issuing of the *Senatusconsultum de Bacchanalibus*, already lacks final -*d*'s and has four of seven double consonants so written (and two instances of the older spelling occur in just the one word, *posedisent* 'they should possess', which appears after *essent* 'they should be' and before *possidere* 'to possess'). The only other relevant evidence from Roman documents before 186 BC is *Hinnad* 'from Enna' (a town in Sicily) on a dedicatory inscription of the consul Marcus Claudius Marcellus (CIL I² 608, 211 BC), but we might be tempted to speculate that the late third and early second centuries saw a short-lived period of contrast between inconsistent attempts to modernise the orthography on the part of Roman officials acting in their own capacity and the time-honoured archaisms still felt necessary for formal decrees of the Senate.

5.3   Two Undated Inscriptions: The Scipio Epitaphs CIL I² 6/7 and I² 8/9

5.3.1   *Old Latin prosody and the Saturnian verse*

Since what are probably our earliest undated Roman inscriptions of this period, namely the two Scipio *tituli* discussed below in 5.3.2, also provide our earliest examples of the Saturnian metre, we must first say something about this ancient verse form. The most recent, and most illuminating, approach to a better understanding of its rhythms is provided by Parsons (1999), who rejects attempts to characterize it exclusively on a quantitative or syllabic basis, and exploits the insights of modern metrical phonology to develop an alternative analysis based on what we know about the rhythmical properties of Old Latin (particularly word-initial stress), linking his findings to the shift in accentual patterns towards the classical model, as already evidenced in the verse of Plautus (*c*.254–184 BC).

The comparative simplicity and overall predictive power of Parsons's stress-based account of the Saturnian as a stylization of native Latin prosody argue rather persuasively against a quantitative foundation of Greek origin, a position that is not well supported even on external grounds. Thus

the fact that the Scipio epitaphs show Greek influence in content (as well as in the novel practice of putting a poem over a tomb, not to mention the iconography of the sarcophagus itself) tells us nothing about the verse form *per se*, while the two alleged metrical 'parallels' cited by Fraenkel (1951), from Euripidean lyrics (*Troades* 529–30) and a Cretan cult hymn (Diehl *Anthologia Lyrica* vol. 2, p. 131), are far too quantitatively regular, involving a metrical unit with a first colon of three and a half iambic feet and a second of three trochaic feet (with spondaic variants and resolutions), to be compared with the quantitatively and syllabically much more variable Saturnian: indeed the unsystematic complexity of Courtney's quantitative account (1995: 28–30) serves only to emphasize the wrong-headedness of this approach. Ultimately, the only thing that these verse forms have in common is a clear dicolonic structure, which is manifestly insufficient to demonstrate borrowing from Greek practice.

Parsons's account (somewhat adapted and developed here) rests upon a prior analysis of the lexical accent of early spoken Latin in terms of a hierarchical system of units, namely *moras* (the minimal units of syllabic duration), *syllables* (of one or two moras' duration according to whether the syllable is light or heavy), *prosodic feet* (comprising one heavy syllable/two light syllables [= 'bimoraic feet'] or one light syllable [= 'monomoraic feet'], with the first or only mora serving as the dominant element or 'head'), and *prosodic words* (each comprising a number of prosodic feet). The primary word accent of Old Latin then falls on the head of the first prosodic foot, whether bimoraic or monomoraic; if the word is long enough, a secondary accent also appears on the head of the last accessible bimoraic foot (i.e. excluding the final foot, which is extraprosodic, see below), but accents cannot fall on immediately adjacent feet.

Before illustrating these rules, however, it is important to emphasize that this definition of 'foot' is quite distinct from that familiar to Classicists. The representation of the *metrical* feet of quantitative verse indicates their composition in terms of combinations of light and heavy syllables (and so only indirectly in terms of their moraic composition), while the representation of *prosodic* feet indicates their temporal duration directly in terms of moras: a 'trochaic' prosodic foot, for example, is two moras long, with the first, i.e. potentially accent-bearing, mora serving as its head, whether the foot contains one heavy or two light syllables. Parsons's point is that it was the moraic composition of prosodic feet that controlled word stress, and that the normal rhythm of connected speech was marked by sequences of such stressed syllables separated from one another by groups of unstressed syllables, and not by patternings of syllable quantities. The Saturnian is taken to be an artistic stylization of such 'natural' rhythms, as we shall see.

The rules for the analysis of prosodic words into prosodic feet are as follows:

1 The right-most syllable of a word forms an 'extraprosodic' foot, and is invisible to the rules assigning stress.
2 The residue is then 'parsed', from left to right, into prosodic feet (monomoraic or bimoraic): non-initial monomoraic feet are not, however, available for stress assignment.

The examples listed below should help to clarify the principles involved: recall that the primary accent falls on the head of the first prosodic foot (i.e. on the first syllable), and that a secondary accent is placed on the head of the last accessible bimoraic prosodic foot (i.e. on the last heavy syllable or the first of two light syllables preceding the final extraprosodic foot) provided that the two affected feet are not adjacent. In the analyses given below, the prosodic feet are enclosed in [ ], and extrametrical final feet are enclosed in ( ). It will be seen that accented feet regularly alternate with unaccented feet in longer words, except that a non-initial monomoraic foot cannot be accent-bearing, making for a long unaccented 'tail' in the affected words (recall that ˘˘ here = 'bimoraic', and does not indicate two 'shorts'):
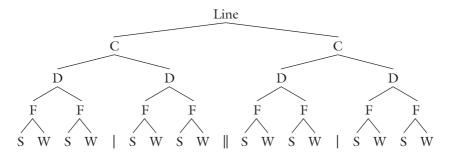
1	[cápe]-(re)	[´˘˘](˘)
2	[fǎr]-[ci:]-(re)	[´˘˘][˘˘](˘)
3	[ádo]-[ri:]-(ri:)	[´˘˘][˘˘](˘˘)
4	[fáci]-[li]-(us)	[´˘˘][˘](˘)
5	[ób]-[si]-(de:s)	[´˘˘][˘](˘˘)
6	[dé]-(dit)	[´˘](˘)
7	[tém]-[pes]-[tá:]-[ti]-(bus)	[´˘˘][˘˘][´˘˘][˘](˘)
8	[ín]-[sidi]-[á:]-(tor)	[´˘˘][˘˘][´˘˘](˘)
9	[ád]-[simi]-[li]-(ter)	[´˘˘][˘˘][˘](˘)
10	[Síci]-[li]-[é:ns]-(e:s)	[´˘˘][˘][´˘˘](˘˘)
11	[í]-[nu:]-[ti]-(lis)	[´˘][˘˘][˘](˘)

Or perhaps better with a conventional bimoraic accented foot, assuming 'iambic shortening' (i.e. the less forceful articulation of an unstressed heavy syllable when the accent fell on a preceding light syllable, as in *cítŏ, égŏ, módŏ, uólŭptátem* – a process which presumably eliminated a perceived prosodic oddity):

[ínu]-[ti]-(lis)   [´˘˘][˘](˘)

The shift from this Old Latin system to the Classical one can perhaps best be explained on the basis that the secondary accents on longer

words were at some point reanalysed as dominant, leading eventually to the generalization of the last rather than the first potentially stress-bearing foot as 'the' accent bearer in **all** words, so that those with a non-initial bimoraic foot, like *farcire*, would have the stress transferred to the second syllable, just as in Classical Latin. This change would not, of course, affect words with only one potentially stress-bearing foot, and we may note in support that cases like *facilius* remain accented on the initial (rather then the second) syllable in the iambo-trochaic verse of Plautus and Terence, always assuming that verse ictus is a broadly reliable guide to lexical stress. Similarly, though the stress on words like *adsimiliter* would now fall on the second syllable, again as attested in comedy, this too does not yet correspond to the classical position (the antepenultimate). The final stage in the transition to the classical system was possibly due to an inherent ambiguity in the analysis of a large number of words like *facilis* (*[faci]-(lis)*) or *imperator* (*[im]-[pe]-[ra:]-(tor)*), where the accentual result is the same whether the parsing is carried out left-to-right or right-to left. If we suppose that this situation led to the eventual substitution of a right-to-left analysis, the effect on *facilius* and *adsimiliter* would be to shift the accent in each case to the classical position, since these would now be analysed as *[fa]-[cili]-(us)* and *[ad]-[si]-[mili]-(ter)* respectively.

With this background, we are now in a position to consider the probable structure of the Saturnian in more detail. Parsons argues that the verse can be analysed into a set of hierarchically organized binary metrical constituents, with the left-hand member serving as the 'head' at each level. The line therefore comprises two *cola* (C), each of which consists of two *dipodes* (D) separated by the principal caesura. Each dipode in turn consists of two *metrical feet* (F, distinct from prosodic feet, see below)), each comprising a *strong position* (S, the head) and a *weak position* (W):

Each *position* in a *metrical foot* may contain one prosodic foot (bimoraic or monomoraic) or one 'extrametrical' foot (bimoraic or monomoraic), all feet being integral to the verse rhythm, though dipode-final weak

positions may be left unrealized, functioning like rests in musical notation. The alternation of strong and weak positions corresponds roughly to the alternation of feet containing accented and unaccented syllables within the prosodic phrases of ordinary discourse, though things are inevitably more complex, since the purpose of the Saturnian is to define a regular 'metre' by imposing a set of restrictions on the inherently more variable rhythms of natural speech.

Elaborating and extending the detail of Parsons' treatment, the main principles regulating the content and accentuation of the positions shown above are as follows:

1 All strong positions are regularly filled (but see 2(b)).
2 (a) Weak positions are also regularly filled, but at least one dipode-final weak position within each colon must be unrealized and both may be: if only one is unrealized, it is usually that in the second dipode of the first colon, but always that in the second dipode of the second colon: the strong position preceding an unrealized weak position must be filled by an extraprosodic (i.e. word-final) foot.
   (b) This condition obviously cannot be met if the end of a word coincides with the end of the first foot of an affected dipode: such coincidence is allowed only in the second colon, usually in its second dipode (though sometimes in the first or even in both), and the whole second foot is then unrealized, including its strong position.
3 Strong positions alone may contain word accents, subject to the following conditions:
   (a) the strong position in the first foot of each dipode must contain an accented syllable;
   (b) when a dipode-final weak position is realized, the preceding strong position must also contain an accented syllable;
   (c) when a dipode-final weak position is unrealized, the preceding strong position is unaccented (since it contains an extrametrical foot, cf. 2(a)).
4 Syllables in verb forms which would normally bear an accent may, when the verb is in clause-second position following a stressed conjunction, pronoun or focal constituent, fall in weak positions, in which case the lexical accent is suppressed. This may, however indirectly, continue the PIE rule that verbs here were regularly enclitic (cf. Watkins (1964)).

A few examples (the final three lines of the Scipio epitaph in (2a) below) should make these principles clearer.

(1)   [cón](sol) [cén](sor) | [aíd][i](lis)   ‖
    [[[s   w] [s   w]] [[s   w][s   w]]]
        [queí] [fu](it) | [á](pud) [uos]
        [[[s   w][s   w]] [[s w   ] [s   w]]]
        [Taú] [rasi](a) | [Cí][sau](na)   ‖
    [[[s   w   ][s w]] [[s   w   ][s   w]]]
        [Sám] [ni](o) | [cé](pit)
        [[[s   w][s   w]] [[s   w] [s w]]]

      [súbi][gi][t óm](ne) | [Loú][ca](nam)   ‖
    [[[s   w][s   w]] [[s   w][s   w]]]
        [óp][si][dés](que) | [áb][dou](cit)
        [[[s   w][s   w]] [[s   w   ][s   w]]]

Word accents always occur on the first (or only) syllables of metrically
strong positions, and accented positions are always followed by realized
weak positions. There must be at least one such accent per dipode, falling
on the first (or only) syllable of the strong position of its first foot, and
one dipode of each colon may also have a second accent on the first (or
only) syllable of its second foot: but there can never be more than three
accents in a colon, since the final strong position in at least one of its
dipodes (regularly the second, giving a 'falling' cadence as the default case)
must be filled by a prosodically extrametrical (word-final) foot followed
by an unrealized weak position. Thus pauses of one weak position are
routine before the caesura and obligatory at the line end, and pauses of
one weak position are also permitted before an intracolonic dipode
boundary if the second metrical foot of the first dipode is headed by an
extrametrical syllable.

   Each of the strong positions containing the four obligatory stresses in
a line is therefore followed by three metrical positions, the first weak, the
second strong, the third weak. When both strong positions within a dipode
contain accented syllables, the interval between the two stresses is one weak
position; and since there can then be no pause before the following dipode
boundary (recall that the weak position after a strong position containing
a stressed syllable must be realized), the interval between the last stress-
bearing position in the first dipode and that in the second is also one weak
position. When only the first strong position in a dipode is accented,
however, the second strong position can only be filled, as noted, by an
extrametrical (word-final) syllable followed by a pause of one weak position;
this excludes words with 'overlong' tails (in conformity with the restriction
that the interval between obligatory stresses is of three metrical positions).
The framework also excludes Cole's (1969) 5- or 6-syllable words with
various disallowed quantitative sequences, all of which necessarily violate
the restrictions on the permissible intervals between stresses.

It is important to note that, metrically speaking, all stressed positions play the same role regardless of their syllabic makeup, and that the timing of the intervals between stressed positions is based solely on the number of intervening unstressed positions, again without reference to their internal composition. In other words, all accented positions are equal in being 'loud', and all intervening unaccented positions are equal in their lack of such articulatory dynamism. The audible reduction of certain unstressed heavy syllables is reflected directly in the phenomenon of iambic shortening or *brevis brevians* (see above), which is most familiar from Roman comedy but was characteristic of the spoken language in general. Similarly, the relative freedom, *vis-à-vis* Greek practice, in the makeup of certain weak positions in the iambo-trochaic parts of Roman comedy almost certainly represents a residual effect of a preceding word accent in the period of transition to strictly quantitative verse forms: e.g. word-finally, one heavy or two light syllables are admissible as alternatives to a single light syllable at the beginning of the second or fourth foot of iambic senarii ('in thesi') if the immediately preceding strong position in the first or third foot ('in arsi') contains the word accent (see Gratwick 1982). Note too that prosodic phenomena like cliticization (e.g. of unemphatic pronouns, the copula, monosyllabic prepositions, connective *-que*, etc.) and elision, which naturally occur within the prosodic phrases of natural speech, are permissible only within, and not across, each of the four dipodes, which therefore represent metrically stylized prosodic phrases, as expected. The overall effect is to create a regular stress-timed rhythm, shaped by the permitted intervals betweens word stresses and modulated by the optional or obligatory pauses of fixed duration at the various metrical boundaries. It is important to appreciate that these optional and obligatory pauses, alongside the regular, metrically determined, patterning of stressed and unstressed syllables, were an integral part of the rhythm of the Saturnian, articulating its natural internal and external boundaries and imparting much of its variety. It should not be surprising, therefore, that when the accentual rules of Latin started to shift towards the classical model (see above) this metre, apparently now lacking any regular prosodic properties of any kind, whether stress-timed or syllable-timed, should very quickly have been abandoned as an increasingly incomprehensible anachronism.

5.3.2   *The earliest Scipio epitaphs*

With this background, we are ready to examine two of the most important undated documents illustrating the Latin of the period before 150 BC, namely the *tituli sepulcrales* (in fact epitaphs-cum-*elogia*) of Lucius Cornelius Scipio Barbatus, consul in 298 BC and censor in 290 BC, and of his son Lucius Cornelius Scipio, consul in 259 BC and censor in

258 BC. In the first case, the epitaph (CIL I^2 6) is painted on the lid of the tomb, with the *elogium* (CIL I^2 7) cut on its front, while in the second, though the epitaph (CIL I^2 8) is again painted on the tomb itself, the *elogium* (CIL I^2 9) is cut on a separate tablet. Both *elogia* are in the Saturnian metre, as already noted.

The texts run as follows (with expansions of abbreviations in ( ), likely restorations of damaged text in [ ], and, in CIL I^2 6/7 only, the ends of the actual lines of the inscription marked |, since these do not correspond with the lines of Saturnians:

(2)   (a)   CIL I^2 6/7 (Father)

[L.(oucio) Corneli]o.   Cn.(aiui)   f.(ilio)   Scipio
Lucius-NOM Cornelius-NOM Gnaeus-GEN son-NOM Scipio-NOM

[...]
[..........] Cornelius.   Lucius.   Scipio.   Barbatus.
              Cornelius-NOM Lucius-NOM Scipio-NOM Barbatus-NOM

Gnaiuod. patre | prognatus. fortis.   uir.   sapiensque
Gnaeus-ABL father-ABL child-NOM. Brave-NOM man-NOM wise-NOM-and

quoius. forma.   uirtutei.   parisuma | fuit
whose   form-NOM courage-DAT most-equal-NOM be-3sg.PF

consol.   censor.   aidilis.   quei.   fuit.   apud. uos
consul-NOM censor-NOM aedile-NOM who-NOM be-3sg.PF among you-ACC

Taurasia.   Cisauna. | Samnio.   cepit
Taurasia-ACC Cisauna-ACC Samnium-ACC take-3sg.PF

subigit.   omne. Loucanam.   opsidesque.   abdoucit
subjugate-3sg.PRES all-ACC Lucanian (land)-ACC hostages-ACC-and carry-off-3sg.PRES.

'Lucius Cornelius Scipio, son of Gnaeus.
Cornelius Lucius Scipio Barbatus ('Longbeard'), offspring of his father Gnaeus, a brave and wise man whose beauty was quite the equal of his courage. He who was consul, censor and aedile among you took Taurasia, Cisauna, indeed [all] Samnium, subjugating all of Lucanian territory and carrying off hostages.'

(b)   CIL I^2 8/9 (Son)

L.((o)ucio). Cornelio.   L.((o)uci) f.(ilio)   Scipio
Lucius-NOM   Cornelius-NOM Lucius-GEN son-NOM Scipio-NOM

aidiles.   cosol.   cesor
aedile-NOM consul-NOM censor-NOM

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honc.   oino.   ploirume. cosentiont. R[omane]
this-man-ACC alone-ACC most-NOM agree-3pl.PRES Romans-NOM

duonoro. optumo. fuise.   uiro
good-GEN best-ACC be-PF.INF man-ACC

Luciom. Scipione. filios.   Barbati
Lucius-ACC Scipio-ACC. Son-NOM Barbatus-GEN

consol.   censor.   aidilis.   hic.   fuet.   a[pud. uos]
consul-NOM censor-NOM aedile-NOM this-man-NOM be-3sg.PF among you-ACC

hec.   cepit.   Corsica.   Aleriaque.   urbe
this-man-NOM take-3sg.PF Corsica-ACC Aleria-ACC-and city-ACC;

dedet.   Tempestatebus.   aide.   mereto[d]
give-3sg.PF Weather-goddesses-DAT temple-ACC deservedly.

'Lucius Cornelius Scipio, son of Lucius, aedile, consul, censor.
This man alone most Romans agree was the best of good men, namely
Lucius Scipio. Son of Barbatus, he was consul, censor and aedile among
you. He took Corsica and the city of Aleria (its capital); he gave to the
Weather Goddesses a temple in return for benefits received.'

Both are already 'literary' in character (cf. Rosén 1999: 37f.), as
marked first and foremost by the fact that the *elogia* are in verse, as well
as by the conciseness and overall simplicity of their language (we may
compare in this regard the *Columna Rostrata*, 4.3), the freedom of order
with respect to the position of the verb, and the use of simple relative
clauses without 'resumptive' correlatives (of the type 'who does X, he will
Y'). By contrast, our first extended examples of 'official' Latin, though
also stylized and elaborated in specific ways, already display a character-
istic verbosity, while their language shows rigid verb-final order and employs
preposed relatives with anaphoric resumption as a key 'marker' of the
style, see 5.4 for details. Note too the liking for appositive structures with
asyndeton, where more official Latin typically favours linkage with *-que*
or *-ue*, and, most importantly for the development of a literary style,
the early occurrence on the father's *titulus* of the Greek-inspired *topos*
linking wisdom and beauty with courage.

The key linguistic facts can be summarized as follows (see 4.2 for more
detailed information on the language of these and the other Old Latin texts
discussed below). First, it is generally assumed that the epitaphs in each
case are earlier than their associated *elogia*: note in particular the absence
of vowel weakening and final *-s* in *Cornelio* in each case beside *Cornelius*
in the father's *elogium* and *filios* in the son's, together with the absence
of *-n-* before *-s-* in *cosol/cesor* in the son's epitaph beside *consol/censor*,
the latter showing 'later' restoration of the original nasal, in his *elogium*.

The father's *elogium*, however, unlike the son's, shows consistent vowel weakening, which has led many scholars to assume that it must be relatively 'late', and in fact later than the son's, where such weakening is noted only sporadically (thus final *-o(m)* and *-os* are retained, but we have alternation between *hec/hic* and *fuet/cepit*). We may also note here that the son's tomb itself actually looks older: the much more elaborate iconography and superior workmanship of the father's tomb have therefore been taken by many as supporting the assumption of relative lateness. Alongside its more 'modern' features, however, the father's *elogium* also shows regular graphic preservation of diphthongs (*uirtutei/quei*, *Loucanam/abdoucit*, though note the exception in *Lucius*, confirming that this monophthongization had taken place despite the use of the traditional spelling elsewhere). In this respect, therefore, the son's *elogium* might be seen as the more 'modern' in the light of *ploirume* and *Luciom* (*oino* and *ploirume* are not relevant here, since *oi* -spellings were the norm until around 170 BC, long after the monophthongization of /oi/ to /u:/). The real problem, of course, is that we have no independent evidence in Roman Latin for the chronology of the different phonetic and/or graphic changes associated with most of these key phenomena prior to the earliest datable attestations listed in (5.2) above. Since archaizing spellings often persist, at least as an option, long after the relevant sound changes, especially in documents that aim for a 'high' style, it therefore remains a possibility that the father's *elogium* is in fact earlier than the son's, and that the latter is merely more traditional in some aspects of its orthography, e.g. in not noting vowel weakening (albeit with one or two tell-tale lapses), even though, on this analysis, it would also have to be assumed that the equally traditional diphthongal spellings of [ẹ:] and [u:] resulting from the monophthongization of [ei] and [ou], still generally used in the putatively 'earlier' text (though once again with a tell-tale lapse), had subsequently fallen out of favour and had not yet been routinely restored (we can at least be sure that they persisted for a time in later official Latin, cf. 5.4). In other words, different spelling reforms might well have been introduced at different times in different text types, and fashions might have changed during the course of the third century, with periodic 'reviews' of the various trends towards a more modern orthography – note, for example, that the near-routine omission of final *-m* in these two verse *elogia* is not replicated in our earliest dated 'official' texts from Rome. All in all, therefore, given our almost total ignorance of the chronological detail of orthographic reform, it is hugely ironic that, *faute de mieux*, these two texts still provide much of the basis for the conventional dating of many of the key sound changes that took place in the transition from Old to Classical Latin. The simple fact is that the dating of the documents themselves remains, and indeed must remain, controversial, with obvious

consequences for the dating of the phenomena they exemplify (see Wachter (1987: ch. 4.B.2) for a more positive, if also controversial, view).

Other points worthy of mention here include, as already noted, the combination of traditional Latin with more 'philosophical/aesthetic' qualities in the father's *elogium*, as well as the highly marked 'neutralization' of tenses after perfect *cepit*, both perhaps showing Greek influence (cf. 4.3 once again for some discussion of the latter phenomenon, though the presents *subigit* and *abdoucit* both show signs of later tampering involving the addition of marks over the first *i* of the former and the *c* of the latter, perhaps in an effort to convert them into perfects (= *subegit*, *abdoucsit*)). In the son's epitaph/*elogium* we may also note the possibility that, alongside genuine *e/i* fluctuation in *aidiles/aidilis*, *Tempestatebus*, etc., the perfects in *-et* rather than *-it* may just reflect the first stage of the Roman monophthongization of the alternative 3rd person singular perfect ending *-eit* (cf. 4.2, 'Inflection', and see *ploirume*), though the apparent randomness of the choice probably tells against this. *Ploirume*, incidentally, looks like a false archaism in which, on the analogy of forms like *oino(m)*, an *oi*-spelling has been employed incorrectly to represent the contemporary pronunciation [u:]. The expected form is *plourume* (attested on a later Scipio epitaph), a remodelling of **pleirumei* (< **pleh$_1$-is-ṃmoi*, with zero grade of the **-yos* suffix characteristic of comparatives) on the basis of the neuter comparative *plous* 'more' (< **pleus*, itself apparently modified prehistorically, under the influence of *u*-stem *minus* 'less', from an earlier **ple(i)os* < **pleh$_1$-yos*, cf. *pleores*, as attested in the *Carmen Aruale*).

5.4   Dated Inscriptions of the Second Century: The Official Latin of *Senatusconsulta*

Since Rome was the political heart of the growing Empire, it was naturally the Latin of the Roman elite which provided the base for the standardization of the language for official purposes. As noted earlier, progressive Romanization of culture and language quickly obliterated local varieties of Latin from the written record, both from the regions of Latium outside Rome, where in earlier times non-Roman dialects had been used for writing, and from other Italian territories, where local languages had influenced the forms of spoken Latin that had begun to rival or replace them (see Chapter IV for examples). Once established, official epigraphic Latin became remarkably homogeneous throughout the Empire, with even the deviations from the standard (so-called 'vulgarisms'), observable in documents produced by the less well-educated, showing a surprisingly even distribution (cf. Chapter VII). Even after the collapse of central Roman

authority in the West in the fifth century AD there is only very limited evidence for significant local variation (see Chapter VIII).

The actual steps by which the Latin of Rome developed into an official standard in the period between the fourth and the second centuries BC is unfortunately now beyond detailed investigation because of the absence of relevant evidence. The earliest surviving documents of any length already show clear signs of an established official practice, while Roman writers of later periods, though often discussing issues relevant to standardization *en passant*, are concerned almost exclusively with rhetorical, technical and literary varieties, and in any case bring a strongly contemporary perspective to their theorizing (see Chapter VI).

Here we shall focus on the official Latin of two early *senatusconsulta* ('decrees of the senate': see Courtney 1999: 93ff. for a very helpful commentary). The first is the famous *Senatusconsultum de Bacchanalibus* (CIL I^2 581, 186 BC, henceforth *SCB*), embodying measures to control the activities of Bacchanalian houses in Italy (see Livy 39, 8–19 for a full account of the background). The actual text of the senate's decree is quoted in a letter of the consuls of the year to the people of the Ager Teuranus in Bruttium (modern Calabria), and was inscribed on a locally made bronze tablet, containing one or two careless errors of execution, found at Tiriolo. The document concludes with the consuls' own instructions to the local officials, and also contains, at the very end, an order about where the plate is to be located. Note that the introductory formula, giving the names of the consuls together with the date of their consultation of the Senate and the names of those who witnessed the record, is omitted here:

(3) CIL I^2 581, 186 BC: *Senatusconsultum de Bacchanalibus*

. . . de   Bacanalibus, quei   foideratei   esent,   ita
      about Bacchic-festivals, who-NOM bound-by-treaty-NOM be-3pl.IMPF.SUBJ, thus

exdeicendum censuere:
to-be-proclaimed decree-3pl.PF

---

     neiquis eorum   [B]acanal   habuise   uelet;   sei ques
      noone   them-GEN shrine-of-Bacchus have-PF.INF wish-3sg.IMPF.SUBJ; if   any-NOM

esent,   quei   sibei   deicerent   necesus ese
be-3pl.IMPF.SUBJ, who-NOM themselves-DAT say-3pl.IMPF.SUBJ necessary   be-INF

Bacanal   habere, eeis   utei ad pr(aitorem) urbanum Romam   5
shrine-of-Bacchus have-INF, they-NOM that   to   praetor-ACC   of-city-ACC Rome-ACC

uenirent,   deque eeis   rebus,   ubei eorum   u[e]r[b]a audita
come-3pl.IMPF.SUBJ, about-and those-ABL things-ABL, when   them-GEN words-NOM heard

esent,   utei senatus   noster decerneret,   dum   ne minus
be-3pl.PLPF.SUBJ, that   Senate-NOM our-NOM decide-3sg.IMPF.SUBJ, provided not less

senator(i)bus C   adesent   [quom e]a res   cosoleretur.
senators-ABL   100 be-present-3pl.IMPF.SUBJ when   that thing discuss-3sg.IMPF.SUBJ.PASS.

  Bacas   uir   nequis   adiese   uelet.
  Bacchic-women-ACC man-NOM none-NOM visit-PF.INF wish-3sg.IMPF.SUBJ

ceiuis   Romanus   neue nominus Latini   neue socium   quisquam, nisei 10
citizen-NOM Roman-NOM nor   name-GEN Latin-GEN nor   allies-GEN anyone-NOM, unless

pr(aitorem) urbanum adiesent   isque [d]e senatuos   sententiad,
praetor-ACC   of-city-ACC approach-3pl.PLPF.SUBJ he-and by   Senate-GEN vote-ABL,

dum   ne minus senatoribus C   adesent,   quom ea   res
provided not less   senators-ABL   100 be-present-3pl.IMPF.SUBJ, when   that-NOM thing-NOM

cosoleretur,   iousisent.   censuere.
discussed-3sg.IMPF.SUBJ.PASS, order-3pl.PLPF.SUBJ. Resolve-3pl.PF.

  sacerdos nequis uir   eset;   magister neque uir   neque
  priest-NOM no-NOM man-NOM be-3sg.IMPF.SUBJ; master-NOM neither man-NOM nor

mulier   quisquam eset.   neue pecuniam quisquam eorum comoine[m 15
woman-NOM any-NOM   be-3sg.IMPF.SUBJ. nor   money-ACC anyone-NOM them-GEN common-ACC

h]abuise ue[l]et;   neue magistratum   neue pro magistratu[d]
have-PF.INF wish-3sg.IMPF.SUBJ; neither holder-of-mastership-ACC nor   pro-holder-of-mastership-ABL

neque uirum [neque mul]ierem qui(s)quam fecise   uelet,
neither man-ACC nor   woman-ACC anyone-NOM   make-PF.INF wish-3sg.IMPF.SUBJ,

neue posthac inter   sed   conioura[se   neu]e comuouise
neither hereafter between themselves-ACC swear-together-PF.INF nor   vow-together-PF.INF

neue conspondise   neue compromesise   uelet,   neue
neither pledge-together-PF.INF nor   promise-together-PF.INF wish-3sg.IMPF.SUBJ, nor

quisquam fidem inter   sed   dedise   uelet.   20
anyone-NOM faith-ACC between themselves-ACC give-PF.INF wish-3sg.IMPF.SUBJ.

sacra   in [o]quoltod ne quisquam fecise   uelet,   neue in
Rites-ACC in   secret-ABL   not anyone-NOM make-PF.INF wish-3sg.IMPF.SUBJ, neither in

poplicod neue in preiuatod neue exstrad urbem sacra   quisquam fecise
public-ABL nor   in private-ABL nor   outside city-ACC rites-ACC anyone-NOM make-PF.INF

uelet,   nisei p[r(aitorem) urbanum   adieset,   isque
wish-3sg.IMPF.SUBJ, unless praetor-ACC   of-the-city-ACC approach-3sg.PLPF.SUBJ, he-and

de senatuos   sententiad, dum   ne minus senatoribus C   adesent,
by Senate-GEN vote-ABL,   provided not less   senators-ABL 100 be-present-3pl.IMPF.SUBJ

quom ea   res   cosoleretur,   iousisent.   censuere. 25
when   that-NOM thing-NOM discuss-3sg.IMPF.SUBJ.PASS, order-3pl.PLPF.SUBJ. Resolve-3pl.PF.

homines   plous V oinuorsei uirei   atque mulieres   sacra   ne
people-NOM   more   5 in-all-NOM men-NOM and   women-NOM ceremonies-ACC not

quisquam fecise   uelet,   neue inter ibei uirei   plous duobus
anyone-NOM do-PF.INF wish-3sg.IMPF.SUBJ, nor   among there men-NOM more   two-ABL

mulieribus plous tribus   arfuise   uelent,   nisei de pr(aitori/us)
women-ABL   more   three-ABL be-present-PF.INF wish-3pl.IMPF.SUBJ, unless by praetor-GEN

urbani   senatuosque   sententiad, utei supra scriptum est.
of-the-city-GEN Senate-GEN-and decision-ABL, as   above   written   be-3sg.PRES.

---

haice   utei in couentionid   exdeicatis   ne minus trinum   30
these-ACC that in public-meeting-ABL proclaim-2pl.PRS.SUBJ not less   three-each-GEN

noundinum;   senatuosque   sententiam utei scientes
periods-between-market-days-GEN; Senate-and-GEN vote-ACC   that cognisant-NOM

esetis   (eorum   sententia ita fuit: 'sei ques   esent
be-2pl.IMPF.SUBJ (them-GEN vote-NOM thus be-3sg.PF: 'if   any-NOM.PL be-3pl-IMPF.SUBJ

quei   aruorsum ead   fecisent   quam suprad scriptum est,
who-NOM.PL against   that-FEM.ABL do-3pl.PLPF.SUBJ than   above   written   be-3sg.PRES,

eeis   rem   caputalem faciendam.   censuere'),   atque   utei
them-DAT matter-ACC capital-ACC to-be done-ACC. Resolve-3pl.PF'), and-furthermore that

hoce   in tabolam ahenam   inceideretis,   ita senatus   35
this-ACC onto tablet-ACC bronze-ACC inscribe-2pl.IMPF.SUBJ, thus Senate-NOM

aiquom   censuit;   uteique eam figier   ioubeatis   ubei
proper-NEUT.ACC resolve.3sg-PF; that-and   it-ACC fix-PRES.PASS.INF order-2pl.PRES.SUBJ where

facilumed gnoscier   potisit,   atque utei ea Bacanalia,   sei qua
most-easily   read-PRES.PASS.INF can-3sg.SUBJ, and   that those Bacchanalian-houses, if   any

sunt,   exstrad quam sei quid   ibei sacri   est,   ita utei
be-3pl.PRES, outside   than   if   anything-NOM there consecrated-GEN.SG be-3sg.PRES, thus as

suprad scriptum est,   in diebus X quibus   uobeis tabelai   datai
above   written   be-3sg.PRES, in days-ABL 10 which-ABL you-DAT tablets-NOM given-NOM

erunt,   faciatis   utei dismota sient.   40
be-3pl.FUT, do-2pl.PRES.SUBJ that   dispersed   be-3pl.PRES.SUBJ.

---

in agro   Teurano.
In   territory-ABL of-the-Teurani-ABL

'. . . Concerning Bacchic festivals, with regard to those who were bound to Rome by treaty [i.e. the Italian *socii*], they [i.e. the senators] passed a resolution that the following proclamation should be issued:

   That none of them should (wish to) keep a shrine of Bacchus. That if there were any who said it was necessary for them to keep a shrine of

Bacchus, they should come to Rome to the praetor of the city, and that our senate should decide about these things when their words had been heard, provided that no less than 100 senators were present when the matter was debated.

That no man should (wish to) attend a meeting of Bacchic women, [neither] a Roman citizen nor someone of the Latin name nor one of the allies, unless they had approached the praetor of the city and he with the Senate's vote – provided that no less than 100 senators were present when the matter was debated – had authorized them. Resolved.

That no man should be a priest; that no man or woman should be a *magister* [i.e. head lay administrator]. That none of them should (wish to) hold money in common; that no one should (wish to) appoint either a man or a woman as either the holder of a *magistratus* [i.e. head lay adminstratorship] or as a deputy for such, or hereafter (wish to) offer reciprocal oaths or vows, undertakings or promises to one another, nor should any (wish to) pledge good faith to one another. In the matter of ceremonies, that no one should (wish to) perform these in secret, nor should anyone (wish to) perform them in either a public or a private capacity or outside the city, unless he had approached the praetor of the city, and he with the Senate's vote – provided that no less than 100 senators were present when the matter was debated – had authorized them. Resolved.

With regard to groups of people more than five in all, men and women, that no one should [wish to] hold ceremonies, and that men no more than two, [and] no more than three women, should [wish to] attend in that company, unless in accordance with the decision of the praetor of the city and the Senate, as written above.

You shall proclaim these orders at public meetings during a period of not less than three separate market days; and with regard to the vote of the Senate, the Senate decreed it proper that you should be aware of its content (their vote was as follows: 'If there were any who had acted otherwise than has been written above, proceedings for capital offence were to be taken against them. Resolved'), and furthermore that you should inscribe this order on a bronze tablet; you shall also give orders for it to be fastened up where it can most easily be read; and in addition you shall arrange for those Bacchanalian houses that may exist to be dispersed in the manner written above within ten days from the time when the dispatches are given to you, except if there is anything duly consecrated therein.

In the territory of the Teurani.'

The second example is the equally famous bronze *Epistula ad Tiburtes* ('Letter to the Tiburtines', CIL I² 586, henceforth *ET*), now lost, in which the praetor Lucius Cornelius reports to the people of Tibur the import of a *senatusconsultum* concerning them. The document probably dates to 159 BC:

(4)   CIL I² 586, ?159 BC: *Epistula ad Tiburtes*

L(ucius)   Cornelius   Cn(aei)   f(ilius)   pr(aetor)   sen(atum) cons(uluit) a(nte)
Lucius-NOM Cornelius-NOM Gnaeus-GEN son-NOM praetor-NOM senate-ACC consult-3sg.PF before

d(iem) III   Nonas   Maias   sub   aede   Kastorus.
day-ACC third-ACC Nones-ACC of-May-ACC beneath temple-ABL Castor-GEN

   scr(ibundo) adf(uerunt)   A(ulus)   Manlius   A(uli)   f(ilius),   Sex(tus)
   writing-DAT   be-present-3pl.IMPF Aulus-NOM Manlius-NOM Aulus-GEN son-NOM, Sextus-NOM

Iulius.....   L(ucius)   Postumius   S(puri)   f(ilius).
Iulius-NOM..... Lucius-NOM Postumius-NOM Spurius-GEN son-NOM

   quod Teiburtes   u(erba)   f(ecistis), quibusque   de   rebus   5
   because Tiburtines-NOM words-ACC make-2pl.PF which-ABL-and about things-ABL

uos   purgauistis,   ea   senatus   animum aduortit ita utei aequom
you-ACC exculpate-2pl.PF those-ACC senate-NOM mind-ACC turn-3sg.PF thus as   fair-NOM

fuit;   nosque   ea   ita audiueramus ut uos   deixsistis uobeis
be-3sg.PF; we-NOM-and those-things-ACC.pl thus hear-1pl.PLPF as you-NOM say-2pl.PF you-DAT

nontiata   esse.   ea   nos   animum nostrum non indoucebamus
announced-ACC.pl be-INF. those-things-ACC we-NOM mind-ACC our-ACC   not   bring-1pl.IMPF

ita facta   esse propterea   quod scibamus   ea   uos   merito
thus done-ACC.pl be-INF on-this-account that   know-1pl.IMPF those-things-ACC you-NOM desert-ABL

nostro facere non potuisse;   neque uos   dignos   esse quei   ea   10
our-ABL do-INF not   be-able-INF.pf; nor   you-ACC worthy-ACC be-INF who-NOM those-things-ACC

faceretis   neque id   uobeis neque rei poplicae uostrae oitile
do-2pl.IMPF.SUBJ nor   that-thing-ACC you-DAT nor   state-DAT   your-DAT useful-ACC

esse   facere. et postquam uostra   uerba   senatus   audiuit,   tanto   magis
be-INF do-INF. and after   your-ACC words-ACC senate-NOM hear-3sg.PF, so-much-ABL more

animum nostrum indoucimus, ita utei ante arbitrabamur, de   eieis   rebus   af
mind-ACC our-ACC   bring-1pl.PRS, thus as   before think-1pl.IMPF, about those-ABL things-ABL by

uobeis peccatum   non esse. quonque de eieis   rebus   senatuei purgati
you-ABL sinned-ACC.sg not   be-INF. since-and   about those-ABL things-ABL senate-DAT cleared-NOM.pl

estis,   credimus,   uosque   animum uostrum indoucere oportet,   15
be-2pl.PRES, believe-1pl.PRES, you-ACC-and mind-ACC your-ACC bring-INF   behove-3sg.PRES,

item uos   populo   Romano   purgatos fore.
likewise you-ACC people-DAT Roman-DAT cleared-ACC be-INF.fut.

'Lucius Cornelius, praetor, son of Gnaeus, consulted the Senate on 5th May at the Temple of Castor.

Present at the drafting were: Aulus Manlius son of Aulus, Sextus Iulius . . . , Lucius Postumius son of Spurius.

Inasmuch as you Tiburtines made a verbal report, and concerning the matters about which you justified yourselves, the Senate took note of these just as was proper; and we had heard these charges just as you said they had been reported to you. We were not inclined to take the view that these things had been done in this way because we knew that, given what we deserved from you, you could not have done them; nor was it worthy of you to do them, nor was it advantageous for you or your polity to do them. And now the Senate has heard your own words we take the view all the more, just as we thought before, that there was no fault on your part with regard to these matters. And since you have been cleared of these charges in the eyes of the Senate, we believe, and you must take the view, that you will likewise be cleared in the eyes of the Roman People.'

The rigid format of these documents is eloquent testimony to an already lengthy tradition of such official writing, and indeed to the rigorous training of the senatorial draftsmen who prepared them. Two obvious indicators of the existence of established conventions are the archaizing orthography (note especially the regular diphthongal spellings, aside from *nontiata* (l. 8) and *purgati* (l. 14) in *ET*, of what were now long vowels) and the rather tortuous syntax and phraseology so characteristic of legal-official documents in most cultures throughout the ages. Independent evidence for a protracted process of development behind the fully fledged official Latin of the second century BC is, however, provided by the Greek historian Polybius (*c*.200–118 BC), who was deported to Italy in 168 BC, and became a friend of Scipio Aemilianus. His history of Rome in the period 264–146 BC includes a tentative translation (given the difficulties already experienced with archaic Latin) of the text of a treaty made between Rome and Carthage in 508/7 BC (3.22.3).

Beginning with the orthography of these two texts, it should be no surprise that, after a period of rapid and extensive sound change (see Chapter IV for details), there should still be some uncertainties of spelling, either because no relevant convention had yet become fully established, e.g. the treatment of medial *-ns-* in *SCB*, perhaps reflecting the relative novelty of the graphic restoration of the nasal (cf. *censuere* (l. 2) vs. *cosoleretur* (l. 8)), or because of sporadic hypercorrection. Thus the conjunction *cum* continued to be written *quom* (e.g. *quon-que* (l. 14) in *ET*, with assimilation) at least until the middle of the first century BC, long after [o] > [u] before nasals or [l] + consonant (cf. *hunc* for *honc* 'this (man)', *multa*

for *molta* 'fine') and the consequential dissimilatory loss of lip rounding in [kʷ] had led to the pronunciation [kum]: but the homophony is reflected in the misspelling of the preposition *cum* 'with', which never had a labio-velar, as *quom* in a contemporary Scipio epitaph (CIL I² 11, *c.*160 BC), and we have a very similar hypercorrection in *oquoltod* (l. 21) (for *ocultod)* in *SCB.*

In general, however, the traditional rules are correctly and consistently applied in *SCB.* In *ET*, by contrast, we already see a partial tendency to modernize spelling in line with earlier changes in pronunciation. Whether such practice had already been generalized, or is merely a func-tion of a possible continuing contrast between 'senatorial' and 'personal' styles is uncertain: but recall that *ET* is an individual official's report of the Senate's decree (note, *inter alia*, that, unless this simply records the words addressed directly to Tiburtine representativies in the Senate, the 3rd-person verb forms of the official record of those words have been turned back into 2nd-person forms), and compare the more modern spellings already used in the personal decree of Aemilius Paullus of 189 BC, mentioned above, with the traditional spellings employed by the con-suls in their appendix to *SCB*, the content of which presumably carried senatorial backing.

Orthographic innovations in *ET* include the shift of *ai* to *ae* (*aequom* (l. 6), but cf. also *aedem* in the preamble to *SCB*, not reproduced above), the use of etymological *ad-* before *-fuerunt* (l. 3) for earlier *ar-* (cf. *SCB* (l. 28), reflecting a contextually conditioned pronunciation as an alveo-lar flap in the context of a labio-dental fricative or bilabial continuant, probably as a precursor to full assimilation, e.g. [affu'e:runt]), the not-ing of double consonants (*peccatum* (l. 14)), and the omission of *-d* in ablatives like *merito nostro* (ll. 9–10), all in contrast with *SCB* (the *d*-less ablative in the final instruction to the local officials (l. 41) is not part of the official document). If not already standard, such changes were quickly endorsed by the central bureaucracy and became characteristic of all subsequent official documents (always allowing for sporadic archaism, see the discussion of text (6) below).

By contrast, certain aspects of the morphology and syntax remain traditional in both documents. *Kastorus*, for example, in *ET* (l. 2) exem-plifies the variant form of the 3rd-declension consonant-stem genitive singular in *-us < -os*, still normal at this time in the names of deities and in traditional formulae such as *nominus Latini* 'of the Latin name', as employed in *SCB* (l. 10). There has been much confusion about such altern-ative forms (as also about certain traditional spellings like *ar* [aɾ]] (= *ad*) and *af* [av] (= *ab*, cf. *ET* ll. 13–14), marking loss of occlusion before fricatives/continuants), because they typically appear for longer and/or with greater frequency in regional Latin inscriptions. From the perspective of

a Roman aristocrat of the mid-first century BC, these would indeed seem
'rustic', but in reality, as these official Roman documents make clear, they
were once characteristic of Latin in general, only disappearing from elite
styles as standardization progressed (though *af* enjoyed a restricted after-
life in the technical Latin of accounting and surveying).

   Turning now to isses of syntax, a number of points in *ET* deserve specific
mention, including the preclassical use of the indicative rather than the
subjunctive in a circumstantial (causal) *cum*-clause (*quonque . . . purgati
estis* ll. 14–15), the simplicity of the forms of connection between
sentences (*-que* and *neque* are used repeatedly, though linking is also
achieved by repetition of an element from one sentence in the initial
position of the next, cf. *nosque ea ita audiueramus . . . ea nos animum
non indoucebamus ita facta esse* ll. 7–8), and the regular placing of verbs
in final position in their clauses, a key feature of official Latin seen also
in *SCB* (where the only exception is *exdeicatis* in the consuls' appendix
(l. 30)). We should also note that the accusative and infinitive construc-
tion, the classic Latin instrument for introducing a complement clause
after verbs of 'saying/thinking/believing/knowing' etc., is already well
in evidence in both texts, as might be expected in a context where the
reporting of what was said or thought is routine. The repeated use in
SCB of *ne* + subjunctive of *uelle* ('wish') + perfect infinitive to express a
prohibition is another characteristic 'marker' of administrative decrees, serv-
ing as the oblique equivalent of imperative *noli/nolite* (lit. 'be unwilling')
+ infinitive, but with the perfect infinitive conveying the perfective aspect
of prohibitions of the type *ne* + perfect subjunctive.

   But perhaps the most important issue here concerns the overall struc-
turing and presentation of information. It has been suggested that the
structure of the initial sentence of *ET* proper (beginning *quod . . .* (l. 5))
is clumsy, even contorted, from the point of view of the norms of
classical literary prose (Courtney 1999: 102). However, the context
of traditional orthography, in combination with the repetitive diction (e.g.
de eieis rebus (ll. 13, 14), *animum indoucere* (ll. 8, 13)) and the use of
self-consciously 'weighty' periphrastic phraseology (*u(erba) f(ecistis)* (l. 5),
animum aduortit (l. 6), *animum indoucere* (ll. 13, 15)), suggests that
the syntax too follows an established legal-official style designed both
to achieve clarity and to convey the seriousness of the message. This
sentence in fact first presents the key issues (the topic), then states what
was done about them (the comment). The topic component begins
with a conflation of two formulaic beginnings, the first introduced by a
'causal' conjunction (*quod* (l. 5)) motivating the Senate's deliberations,
the second by a relative clause (beginning with *quibusque de rebus* (l. 5))
outlining the issue discussed, with the two together picked up by a
'resumptive' demonstrative pronoun in the main clause (*ea* (ll. 6, 7)).

Both types of rubric are well attested in other official documents, the formula *quod uerba fecit/fecerunt . . . , de ea re ita censuerunt* ('inasmuch as X made a verbal report, [the senators] decreed as follows on that matter') being in fact the standard beginning of a *senatusconsultum* (e.g. the Latin-Greek bilingual CIL I² 588 of 78 BC, though the poorly preserved Latin has been extensively restored on the basis of the Greek text). But a clause beginning with a noun phrase headed by a relative pronoun, often followed by a counterpart phrase beginning with a correlative demonstrative in the main clause ('which X . . . , that X . . .'), is also routinely employed, sometimes following a general heading of the form *de X* ('concerning X'), as a rubric for introducing the provisions of a law regarding the specified person or thing (e.g. CIL I² 583, the *Lex Acilia* of 122 BC on extortion; CIL I² 585, an agrarian law of 111 BC; CIL I² 582, a law from Bantia of the late second century BC; CIL I² 587, the *Lex Cornelia de XX Quaestoribus* of 81 BC). The specific expression *quibus de rebus* is not employed in laws, however, and appears to be used here as an alternative to the *quod* option (though see the discussion of text (9) below for its likely official status in *senatusconsulta*). There is a clear parallel to this 'dual' topic structure in *SCB* (l. 1), though there the draftsmen have employed a version of the formulaic combination often used in laws, viz. *de X . . . , quei . . .* (though without resumption of the relative in the main clause), 'concerning X . . . , (the people) who . . .', as in CIL I² 583.

   In this connection, it is interesting to note that, from the fourth century BC onwards, decrees of the Athenian people almost always begin either with *epeidḗ* 'inasmuch as' or with a relative clause introduced by *perì hỗn* 'about what' (though the relative pronoun appears alone, in contrast with *quibus de rebus*, and there is no main-clause correlative). The decision itself is then put in the form of a 'report' by means of the accusative and infinitive construction, used to express what it was agreed should be done by the relevant parties (e.g. *Inscriptiones Graecae* II² 111, II² 107, among many examples). Though 'preposed' relative clauses, with or without explicit resumption in the main clause, are an inherited feature of all ancient IE languages, the formal parallelism of these two types of introductory formula at least invites the suspicion that Roman officialdom had partly modelled its own linguistic usage on established Greek practice in a period when exposure to Greek culture and practice was becoming increasingly routine. Similarities to archaic Greek laws in matters of expression and syntax can already be detected in the famous XII Tables, originally dating from the fifth century BC, and one may also note here a common liking for periphrases involving a neutral verb of 'making/doing', as already mentioned above (see Horrocks 1997: 29, 45 for comparable Greek examples).

Nonetheless, there are also clear differences: main-clause correlative demonstratives are regular (if not obligatory) in Latin, and, more importantly, there is an alternative, preferred, construction for main clauses: while the accusative and infinitive may be used, as in Greek, to record what should be done, this is largely confined to semantically passive gerundives with *esse* (the latter often omitted) or, more rarely, passive infinitives, both of which carry the necessary 'modal' associations (e.g. CIL I² 588, 78 BC: *ita censuerunt: Asclepiadem . . . , Polystratum . . . , Meniscum . . . , uiros bonos et ameicos appellari*, 'voted as follows: for A, P and M to be known as "good men and friends" '). The regular form of expression is a subjunctive clause introduced by *utei* (positive) or *ne(i)* (negative), corresponding to what would have been expressed directly in such a context by a 3rd-person imperative (i.e. forms in *-to(d)*, = 'let X do Y'). This is not a native Greek practice. Furthermore, such non-infinitival main clauses demonstrate from the first the application of the classical sequence-of-tense rules, and subordinate clauses may also show the conversions of tense and mood characteristic of *oratio obliqua* ('indirect speech'), as familiar from classical literary Latin. Again Greek has nothing to parallel this.

SCB illustrates these points very clearly, where, unlike in *ET*, which gives the praetor's summary of the Senate's decree as addressed directly to its recipients, the actual text of the *senatusconsultum* is quoted. Since the document reports the Senate's deliberations as past events, the relevant commands and prohibitions all contain 'past' (i.e. imperfect) subjunctives, in accordance with the grammatical principles of *consecutio temporum* ('sequence of tenses'). Subordinate clauses are also affected in Latin at this level, so that what would have been a future perfect indicative in a temporal clause in direct speech (*audita erunt*, 'when their words *will have been heard*') appears here as a pluperfect subjunctive (*audita esent* (ll. 6–7), '[they decreed that] when their words *had been heard*'). Here the subjunctive has no independent semantic force, but is used simply to mark the clause grammatically as part of what is reported, just as the pluperfect tense is required to mark its anteriority to the prospective action of the main clause, which, as noted, contains a past (imperfect) subjunctive. Very similar usage is in evidence in CIL I² 614, the decree of Aemilius Paullus already mentioned above.

None of this has any parallel in Greek, and it seems likely that the rules for converting direct into indirect discourse had a purely Roman origin, evolving with the growing need for the decrees of public bodies and magistrates to be recorded and reported. A context for such a development can perhaps be found in the social struggles of early Rome and the city's subsequent imperial expansion, when the issue of citizen rights, the negotiation of treaties, and an ever-wider range of legal

and administrative responsibilities must have led to the rapid evolution of a complex official form of the language. From the point of view of the linguistic historian, however, it is unfortunate that these rules are already fully developed in the earliest surviving documents that require the operation of such a convention.

It is interesting at this point to compare what we have seen so far of official Latin with the Greek translation of a *senatusconsultum* (*Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*[3] II, number 646) concerning the city of Thisbae in Boeotia, dating from 170 BC (see also Sherk 1969, Horrocks 1997: 86–8):

(5) *Senatusconsultum de Thisbensibus*
perì hôn   Thizbeîs lógous epoiésanto, perì tôn kath' hautoùs
about which-things Thisbians words made-3pl;   about the by   themselves

prāgmátōn, hoítines en têi philíāi têi hēmetérāi enémeinan, hópōs
affairs,   whoever in the friendship the ours   remained-3pl, that

autoîs dothôsin   hoîs   tà kath' hautoùs prágmata eksēgésōntai,
to-them be-given-3pl.SUBJ by-which the by   themselves affairs   conduct-3pl.SUBJ,

perì toútou toû prágmatos hoútōs édoksen;   hópōs Kointos Mainios
about this   the matter   thus   was-resolved-3sg; that Quintus Maenius

stratēgòs tôn   ek tês synklétou pénte apotáksēi,   hoì àn autôi
magistrate of-those from the Senate   five delegate-3sg.SUBJ, who ever to-him

ek tôn dēmosíōn-prāgmátōn kaì tês idíās písteōs phaínōntai. édokse.
from the republic   and the private faith seem-3pl.SUBJ. Resolved-3sg.

'Concerning the matters about which the citizens of Thisbae made verbal representations; concerning their private affairs; [regarding] those who remained true to our friendship, [regarding the proposal] that facilities should be given to them by means of which they might conduct their own affairs; concerning this matter the following decision was taken; that our magistrate Quintus Maenius should delegate five members of the Senate who[se selection] seemed to him consistent with the interests of the republic and his personal integrity. Resolved.

The Latinate quality is immediately apparent in the elaborate sequential refinement of the topic (compare the double topics of *ET* and *SCB*: normal official Greek would use only the first of these clauses), in the use of a relative clause with the subjunctive to express purpose ('(facilities) by means of which they might conduct their own affairs'), in the use of a subjunctive clause (with *hópōs* for *utei*) rather than an accusative and infinitive to present the Senate's decision, and in the close rendering of the formulaic *ita utei/quei ei e re publica fideque sua uideatur/uideantur*

(esse), 'just as/who seemed to him (to be) advantageous to the republic and consistent with his personal integrity' (see, for example, the ending of the *senatusconsultum* CIL I² 588 of 78 BC). Note too the use of preposed relatives followed by resumptive demonstratives, both to define the set of people concerned, and to specify what should be done in their case with regard to the specified proposal. In this overall context of 'translationese', it seems reasonable to infer that *perì hôn . . . lógous epoiḗsanto, . . . perì toútou toû prágmatos hoútōs édoksen* translates an original *quibus de rebus . . . uerba fecerunt, . . . de ea re ita censuerunt*, given that *epeidḗ* was available in principle to translate *quod*; the grammatical mismatch between plural relative and singular correlative, actual in the Greek, presumed for the Latin, is explained by the long hyperbaton and the fact that the last element of the rubric is a singular proposal, presumably expressed in the original text as an *utei* clause. This document therefore provides indirect support for the formulaic status of *quibus de rebus . . .* (+ *uerba fecit/fecerunt* or other predicate) in official Latin of the period. It also confirms that any apparent 'clumsiness' of the beginning of the *Epistula ad Tiburtes* was in fact a routine property of official Latin, in which the topic of a decree was often cumulatively specified through a series of a loosely juxtaposed, or conventionally conjoined, rubrics.

There is, however, one necessary concession to Greek over and above the indicators of familiarity with normal Greek practice of the period, such as the use of prepositional phrase possessives (like *tà kath' hautoùs prágmata*) and of the impersonal *édokse(n)* 'it seemed good' for 3rd person plural *censuere*, etc. Given that the language had no rules of the Latin type for regulating the sequence of tenses in indirect discourse and since, in its contemporary form, it had only one set of modal verb forms, namely tenseless subjunctives (the optative, which had earlier fulfilled the role of a 'past' subjunctive in certain contexts, having by now disappeared from all but the most archaizing styles), the subjunctive clause used to convey the Senate's *sententia*, unlike those in *SCB*, cannot be made 'past' to mark its reported status in a past-time context.

Returning now to *SCB*, it is important to note that, when the consuls start to improvise their own instructions (ll. 30ff.), the format changes and a distinction is drawn between reports of what the senate decreed should be done (all the relevant clauses have imperfect subjunctives) and what the consuls themselves now require (the clauses concerned have present subjunctives). The use of apparently non-dependent present subjunctives to express these orders, marked by 'jussive' *utei* without a governing main verb analogous to the senatorial *censuere/censuit* , is very characteristic of official Latin, and interesting questions arise with regard to its interpretation. These may be 'real' independent clauses (with *utei*

used as the positive equivalent of *ne* rather than as a subordinating conjunction), or, by convention, a verb of 'ordering' etc. is to be 'understood' (we may compare here the similar Greek use of *hópōs*, literally 'how', + future indicative without an overt verb of 'taking precautions'). In favour of the latter interpretation, note the many literary examples where ellipsis of such a verb is strongly implied by the preceding context: e.g. Cato, *de Agri Cultura* 1.2, *et uti eo introeas et circumspicias* ('then you should go in there and look around'), immediately preceded in 1.1 by *sic in animo habeto, uti* . . . ('keep this in mind, that . . .). It is therefore at least arguable that the 'independent' use of such clauses is simply an extension of this covertly dependent use, in which an appropriate (non-past) main verb has been omitted from all but the first of a list of injunctions. That true subordination was already well established is, after all, demonstrated by the fact that the overtly reported senatorial commands and prohibitions contain grammatically controlled past-tense subjunctives after past-tense main verbs. This therefore seems preferable to assuming that imperatival *utei*-clauses in second-century texts are residual examples of an ancient main-clause construction in which *utei* was originally, say, an indefinite manner adverb (meaning 'somehow/anyway', cf. preclassical *neutiquam* 'not in any way'), even if such a construction is indeed the ultimate origin, via parataxis, of the subordinating structure.

Whatever the truth of this particular matter, it is important to appreciate that the practice of reporting senatorial decisions as past events becomes increasingly inconsistent in the decrees of subsequent periods. Thus already in CIL I^2 591 (the *Senatusconsultum de Pago Montano*, second half of the second century BC) and probably in CIL I^2 588 (a fragmentary *senatusconsultum* of 78 BC heavily restored on the basis of its Greek translation, as noted) we find shifts between reported (past-time) clauses and direct statements of the Senate's decisions in conjoined contexts that make clear the dependent status of all the clauses involved. Consider the *Senatusconsultum de Pago Montano*:

(6)   CIL I^2 591, second half of second century BC: *Senatusconsultum de Pago Montano*

. . . curarent   tu[erenturque   ar]bitratu aedilium pleibeium
. . . care-3pl.IMPF.SUBJ keep-watch-3pl.IMPF.SUBJ discretion-ABL aediles-GEN of-plebs-GEN

[quei]comque essent;   neiue ustrinae   in eis   loceis
whoever-NOM   be-3pl.IMPF.SUBJ; nor   burning-grounds-NOM in those-ABL places-ABL

recionibusue niue foci   ustrinae<ue> caussa fierent   niue
regions-or-ABL nor fireplaces-NOM burning-GEN for   be-made-3pl.IMPF.SUBJ nor

stercus terra[m]ue intra ea   loca fecisse   coniecisseue
dung-ACC earth-or-ACC within those-ACC places-ACC make-PF.INF throw-together-or-PF.INF

ueli[t]   quei   haec   loca   ab paaco   Montano
wish-3sg.PRES.SUBJ who-NOM these-ACC places-ACC from hamlet-ABL Mountain-ABL

[redempta   habebit,   quod si stercus in eis   loceis   fecerit
repurchased-ACC have-3sg.FUT, but   if dung-ACC in those-ABL places-ABL make-3sg.FUT.PF

terramue in ea]   loca   iecerit, . . .   [ma]nus iniectio
earth-or-ACC into those-ACC places-ACC cast-3sg.FUT.PF, . . . hand-GEN laying-on-NOM

pignorisq(ue) cap[tio   siet.]
pledge-and-GEN taking-NOM be-3sg.PRES.SUBJ

'[The senators decreed as follows: that] . . . they should take care and guard [the burial ground] at the discretion of the aediles of the plebs who were in office, and that no burning-grounds should be made in those places or areas and no fireplaces for burning [the dead], and that no one shall (wish to) make a dung heap or throw down earth within those places who shall hold these places by redemption from the Mountain Hamlet, but if anyone shall have made a dung heap in those places or cast earth into those places, . . . there shall be a laying of hands [on him] and the taking of a pledge.'

As expected, the orthography is less archaizing in general than in *SCB*. Thus double consonants are written but not final *-d*, and *ei* is inconsistently noted (contrast *neiue . . . in eis loceis* with *niue foci*). In one respect, however, the orthography is actually more archaic: in *recionibusue* and *paaco* the letter *c* represents [g], even though *g* had been available from the third century (though the innovatory convention of writing vowels double to mark length, prompted in part by established Oscan practice despite the tradition that it was introduced by the poet and grammarian Accius (170–*c*.85 BC), becomes common only towards the end of the second century, continuing thereafter, at least as an option, to the end of the Republic).

But the key feature here is the seemingly unmotivated shift from imperfect to present subjunctives half way through: contrast *curarent*, etc. with *uelit*, etc. Assuming a uniformly subordinating structure throughout (cf. the conjoined sequence of *n(e)ive*-clauses: *neiue . . . fierent*, *niue . . . uelit*), the explanation lies in an ambiguity inherent in the meaning of the formulaic introductory verb *censuerunt* (assumed here for the missing rubric). On the one hand, it could be taken as a perfective past tense ('[the senators] resolved'), with the force of a verb of reporting, and with the following *ut*-clause then used by a third party to convey to readers of the document what the senate had agreed, as in *SCB*. On the other hand, it could equally naturally be taken as a present perfect ('[the senators] have resolved'), with what follows merely defining the terms of the

senators' decree directly (i.e. not involving a report of it by a third party). The sequence of tense rules for dependent clauses differ according to whether the governing main verb is past (secondary sequence) or non-past (primary sequence). In the latter case present subjunctives are naturally employed; and since the *ut*-clause now simply spells out the content of the order rather than representing a reported command in *oratio obliqua*, the other subordinate clauses are not understood as forming part of a report either, and the use of indicatives is therefore natural: thus the subordinate clauses that are part of the 'reported' part of the document contain past subjunctives, as expected in *oratio obliqua*, while those in the 'direct' part have future-referring indicatives: contrast [*quei*]*comque essent* (imperfect subjunctive) with *quei haec loca . . . habebit* (future indicative) or [*quod si stercus*] *. . . iecerit* (future perfect indicative), and with the latter pair compare examples like *censeo ut iis, qui in exercitu M. Antonii sunt, ne sit ea res fraudi, si . . .* , 'I take the view that this affair should not be damaging to those who are in Mark Antony's army, if . . .' (Cicero *Philippic* 5.12.34), where the *ut*-clause once again merely expresses the content of Cicero's view, and the relative clause is similarly understood not to be within *oratio obliqua*. It is probably worth observing that the fact that the antecedent in the indicative relative clause in the *SC de Pago Montano* is generic, while that in the Cicero example is specific, is probably not relevant to the choice of mood here, since the relative clause within the direct (non-reported) command of the consuls in the *SCB* (text (3) above) has a specific antecedent but once again contains an indicative verb (*in diebus X quibus uobeis tabelai datai erunt* (ll.39–40)).

It seems, then, that with the passage of time the interpretation of such documents vacillated in the minds of those who drafted them: texts of the later second and first centuries BC reflect some hesitation and uncertainty, while those of later periods reveal that the 'direct' type of reading had become the norm to the exclusion of the 'reported' reading. Consider, for example, the following clauses of the *Lex de Imperio Vespasiani* ('Law concerning the Imperial Powers of Vespasian') of AD 70 (CIL VI 930), which, though described as a *lex*, in fact takes the form of a *senatusconsultum*, with each clause, apart from the final *sanctio* ('penal clause'), introduced by *uti(que)* dependent on *censuerunt*:

(7)   CIL VI 930, AD 70: *Lex de Imperio Vespasiani*
. . . .

4: utique, quos   magistrum   potestatem imperium
    that-and, who-ACC.pl magistracy-ACC authority-ACC power-ACC

curationemue   cuius rei   petentes   senatui populoque
management-or-ACC any-GEN thing-GEN seeking-ACC.pl Senate-DAT People-and-DAT

Romano commendauerit, quibusque suffragationem
Roman-DAT commend-3sg.FUT.PF, who-and-DAT.pl support-ACC

suam dederit promiserit, eorum comitis quibusque
his-ACC give-3sg.FUT.PF promise-3sg.FUT.PF, they-GEN assemblies-ABL each-ABL

extra ordinem ratio habeatur;
outside norm-ACC enrolment-NOM have-3sg.PRES.SUBJ.PASS;

. . . .

7: utique, quibus legibus plebeiue scitis scriptum fuit,
   that-and, which-ABL laws-ABL plebs-or-GEN decrees-ABL written-NOM. be-3sg.PF

ne diuus Aug(ustus), Tiberiusue Iulius Caesar Aug(ustus),
lest divine-NOM Augustus, Tiberius-or-NOM Julius-NOM Caesar-NOM Augustus-NOM,

Tiberiusque Claudius Caesar Aug(ustus) Germanicus
Tiberius-and-NOM Claudius-NOM Caesar-NOM Augustus-NOM Germanicus-NOM

tenerentur, iis legibus plebisque scitis imp(erator)
hold-3sg.IMPF.SUBJ.PASS, those-ABL laws-ABL plebs-and-GEN decrees-ABL emperor-NOM

Caesar Vespasianus solutus sit, quaeque ex quaque
Caesar-NOM Vespasian-NOM free-NOM be-3sg.PRES.SUBJ, which-and-ACC by each-ABL

lege rogatione diuum Aug(ustum), Tiberiumue Iulium
law-ABL proposal-ABL divine-ACC Augustus-ACC, Tiberius-or-ACC Julius-ACC

Caesarem Aug(ustum), Tiberiumue Claudium Caesarem Aug(ustum)
Caesar-ACC Augustus-ACC, Tiberius-or-ACC Claudius-ACC Caesar-ACC Augustus-ACC

Germanicum facere oportuit, ea omnia imp(eratori) Caesari
Germanicus-ACC do-INF behove-3sg.PF, those-ACC all-ACC emperor-DAT Caesar-DAT

Vespasiano Aug(usto) facere liceat;
Vespasian-DAT Augustus-DAT do-INF allow-3sg.PRES.SUBJ;

. . . .
'. . . .
4: and that, whomever seeking magistracy, authority, power or right of management over any thing he has (lit. will have) commended to the Senate and Roman People, and to whomever he has (lit. will have) given or promised his support, of those there shall be an extraordinary enrolment in each of the assemblies (for electing magistrates);

. . . .
7: and that, by whichever laws or decrees of the plebs it was written that the divine Augustus, or Tiberius Julius Caesar Augustus, and Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus should not be bound, from those laws and decrees of the plebs the emperor Caesar Vespasian shall be exempt, and whatever by each law or proposal the divine Augustus, or Tiberius Julius Caesar Augustus, or Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus was obliged to do, all those things it shall be permitted to the emperor Caesar Vespasian Augustus to do.
. . . .'

Despite the thoroughly 'modern' orthography, the essentially traditional format is immediately apparent, most obviously in the verb-final word order, the continued use of clause-connective *-que*, asyndeton between coordinated verb forms, introductory *uti*, and preposed relative clause 'rubrics' with resumptive demonstrative phrases in the following main clauses. But this document is now drafted entirely in the form of a direct statement of the Senate's will (even though in reality it now had little or no autonomy); there are therefore no past subjunctives dependent on the assumed *censuerunt* to indicate that this is a report of the Senate's wishes, and all subordinate clauses contain indicatives as expected (the imperfect subjunctive *haberetur* in the *ne*-clause of paragraph 7 is controlled by the 'local' past-tense verb *scriptum fuit*).

We may reasonably conclude, then, that though there were significant changes in the orthography over time, and even changes in the conventional 'view' of a *senatusconsultum* (as a direct statement of the Senate's decisions rather than as a report of them), a generally archaic form of syntactic structure and a traditional framework for organizing information were largely preserved in documents written in 'high' official Latin from the time of the earliest surviving texts down into the Empire. There may have been marginal influences from the practice of Greek official-dom, but this style, overall, was of an essentially Roman character, as might be expected of material emanating from the highest Roman authorities. In the long period of Roman expansion in the East we should not under-estimate the importance of the need constantly to assert, at least at the diplomatic level, the new realities of Roman dominance: Greek might be useful for practical purposes (cf. the translation in (5)), but whenever a given body or individual represented the state in a situation requiring a demonstration of Roman authority, Latin alone had to be employed. We may recall in this connection Livy's account (45.8, 29) of the defeat of the Macedonians by Lucius Aemilius Paullus at Pydna in 168 BC: the philhellenic consul is reported first to have addressed King Perseus kindly, but privately, in Greek, and then publicly to have informed the Macedonian senate of his terms in Latin, with a bilingual praetor trans-lating. Even in Cicero's time it was still possible for the famous orator, who had addressed the Syracusan senate in Greek, to be accused of an *indignum facinus* ('unworthy deed'), doubtless with some exaggeration in an adversarial context, but the point clearly retained enough resonance to be worth making (*in Verrem* II.4.147). Only in the Empire, as social and economic stability returned and Roman self-confidence peaked, did a more relaxed, and pragmatic, attitude to language choice in such contexts emerge and finally predominate (cf. 3.3.3).

But even if, in the absence of relevant documentary evidence, we can-not trace the earlier evolution of this official form of Latin directly, there are important indirect indications of the sources from which some of its

salient properties were drawn, and these will be considered briefly in the next section. As we shall see, these sources also had an important role to play in the early development of more literary varieties of Latin.

5.5   *Carmina* and their Impact on Early Latin Prose

It seems likely, then, that official written Latin evolved as the demands imposed upon the language grew with the expansion of Roman power, and that this evolution took place very largely 'internally'. Furthermore, since the earliest surviving documents already exhibit a demonstrably mature format, it is reasonable to assume that, by the time distinctively literary forms of Latin had begun to emerge, from the late third century BC, as part of the wider cultural awakening inspired by Hellenistic models, a partly elaborated written language was already available to provide something of a native foundation, both grammatical and stylistic, on which to build, even if belletristic Latin quickly reveals the impact of an increasingly sophisticated literary sensibility and a corresponding shift away from the rigidly conventionalized topic-comment structures, verb-final word orders, and archaizing formulaic phraseology of the official 'high' style.

It is important to appreciate, however, that many of the stylistic resources available to Early Latin, both official and literary, are also strikingly in evidence in our surviving examples of archaic, or in some cases archaizing, Roman *carmina*, whose rhythmic qualities (of which the Saturnian may represent one particular formalization, to judge from the *carmen Arvale*) and balanced colonic structures were doubtless once important aids to memory in an oral society: the English translation of the Lord's Prayer perhaps gives something of the relevant flavour. The characteristic formal traits of these ancient laws (including the XII Tables), treaties, oaths, spells and prayers, many of which were later learned by heart at school, had become deeply ingrained through transmission from generation to generation, and their use in the language of official administration, in documents which fulfilled much the same range of legal and religious functions in their own era, is surely no accident; *carmina* provided the only native model of a stylized and elaborated form of diction appropriate to the recording of business at the highest levels. But given their powerful associations with the Roman past, these same markers were, from the first, just as naturally exploited in more literary compositions, as an indicator of an author's stylistic ambition and seriousness of intent: once established in this domain, they then remained available, albeit as an increasingly marked resource, in even the most sophisticated prose and verse of later times (see Williams 1982).

One particularly important structural property of our surviving *carmina* is the regular use of dicolonic or tricolonic phrases (with the third element often displaying a 'weightier' structure – 'tricolon crescendo'). The elements are often all but synonymous, leading to much apparent redundancy, but may also, in the case of dicola, express a polar complementarity. This property of exhaustiveness is traditionally, and perhaps plausibly, ascribed to a desire, in legal and religious contexts, to avoid loopholes (in Roman religion men struck a deal with their gods just as they did with other men), though the technique undeniably underlines key points in an emphatic fashion. Linkage within cola is often reinforced by rhetorical and phonetic devices such as anaphora, alliteration and assonance, which, along with the occasional use of *figura etymologica* (construction of a verb with a noun from the same lexical root), must have further enhanced memorability while distancing the language from that of everyday discourse. Interestingly, a wider Italian context is suggested by the selective use of such stylistic devices in the Umbrian Iguvine Tables (e.g. the coupling of synonyms in VIa 5 and the alliterative pairs in VIb 60, and compare also the invocation to Jupiter Grabovius in VIa 22ff. with that in text (8) below), though it is not clear whether this reflects a common prehistoric tradition or simply indicates later Roman influence.

To illustrate these points in more detail, we may now compare the text of the most extensive surviving *carmen* (from Cato's *de Agri Cultura* 141. 2–3) with elements of the *SCB* and extracts from Cato's speech *Pro Rhodiensibus*, later incorporated in his historical treatise the *Origines* (the relevant sections of Courtney 1999 provide, as always, insightful commentary):

(8)
Mars   pater,   te   precor   quaesoque,
Mars-VOC father-VOC, you-ACC pray-1sg.PRES beseech-1sg.PRES-and,

   uti sies   uolens   propitius
   that be-2sg.PRES.SUBJ willing-NOM well-disposed-NOM

   mihi   domo   familiaeque   nostrae;
   me-DAT house-DAT household-DAT-and our-DAT;

quoius   rei   ergo
which-GEN thing-GEN for-the-sake-of

   agrum   terram fundumque meum   5
   ground-ACC land-ACC farm-ACC-and my-ACC

   suouitaurilia circumagi   iussi;
   suouitaurila-ACC lead-around-PRES.INF.PASS order-1sg.PF;

uti tu   morbos   uisos   inuisosque
that you-NOM illnesses-ACC seen-ACC unseen-ACC-and

   uiduertatem uastitudinemque, calamitates intemperiasque
   barrenness-ACC destruction-ACC-and, disasters-ACC intemperate-weather-ACC-and

   prohibessis   defendas   auerruncesque;
   keep-off-2sg.SUBJ ward-off-2sg.PRES.SUBJ avert-2sg.PRES.SUBJ-and;

utique tu   fruges   frumenta uineta   uirgultaque   10
that-and you-NOM crops-ACC grain-ACC vineyards-ACC plantations-ACC-and

   grandire   beneque euenire   siris,
   grow-tall-INF well-and   come-out-INF allow-2sg.PRES.SUBJ,

   pastores   pecuaque salua   seruassis
   shepherds-ACC flocks-ACC safe-ACC keep-2sg.PRES.SUBJ

   duisque   bonam salutem ualetudinemque
   give-2sg.PRES.SUBJ good-ACC health-ACC soundness-ACC-and

   mihi   domo   familiaeque   nostrae.
   me-DAT house-DAT household-DAT-and our-DAT.

harumce rerum   ergo   15
these-GEN things-GEN for-the-sake-of

   fundi   terrae agrique   mei
   farm-GEN land-GEN ground-GEN-and my-GEN

   lustrandi   lustrique   faciendi   ergo,
   being-purified-GEN purification-GEN-and being-made-GEN for-the-sake-of,

   sicuti dixi,
   just-as say-1sg.PF,

macte   hisce   suouitaurilibus lactentibus immolandis   esto.
increased-VOC these-ABL *suouitaurilia* -ABL suckling-ABL being-sacrificed-ABL be-2sg.IMP.

Mars   pater,   eiusdem rei   ergo   20
Mars-VOC father-VOC, same-GEN thing-GEN for-the sake-of

   macte   hisce   suouitaurilibus lactentibus esto.
   increased-VOC these-ABL *suouitaurilia* -ABL suckling-ABL be-2sg.IMP.

'Father Mars, I pray and beseech you:
   that you be gracious and well-disposed
   to me, our house and our household;
for which reason
   I have ordered sacrifical victims comprising piglet, lamb and bullock
                                                to be led around
   my ground, land and farm;
[I pray and beseech you] that you keep away, ward off and avert
   diseases seen and unseen,
   barrenness, destruction, disasters and intemperate weather;

that the crops, corn, vineyards and plantations
   you permit to grow tall and come to good issue,
   that you keep the shepherds and flocks safe
   and give good health and strength
   to me, our house and household.
For these reasons,
   because of performing a purificatory rite and purifying
   my farm, land and ground,
   just as I have said,
be increased by the sacrifice of these suckling victims comprising piglet,
                                           lamb and bullock.
Father Mars, for the same reason
   be increased by these suckling victims comprising piglet, lamb and
                                           bullock.'

It is now generally agreed that this is not a genuinely ancient prayer but one composed, or at least adapted, by Cato himself. Be that as it may, there can be little doubt that it reflects the norms of 'real' ancient examples if we accept that similar material quoted by later writers (see, for example, the rites presented in Livy 1.32.6–14 and Macrobius *Saturnalia* 3.9.6–11, or the charm in Marcellus Empiricus *de Medicamentis* 15.11) more or less accurately reproduces the authentic formulations of antiquity. Note here in particular the repeated use of *uti* (best taken as marking subordination to *precor quaesoque* (l. 1), rather than serving as a jussive particle, see 5.4 above) to introduce a series of things to be done, a practice now familiar from senatorial decrees and presumably adopted on the basis of traditional models such as this: here too the relevant 'main verbs' are introduced only once at the beginning and not then repeated before subsequent injunctions (just like *censuere/-unt* in *senatusconsulta*).

The demarcation of the compositional units in (8) is effected by the means already described: in particular, the polar expression (*uisos inuisosque* (l. 7)) and the regular di- and tricolonic combinations of near-synonyms (*precor quaesoque* (l. 1), *uolens propitius* (l. 2), *mihi domo familiaeque* (l. 3), *agrum terram fundumque meum* (l. 5), the last chiastically reversed in the second half (l. 16), etc.) are immediately apparent, with the pairs regularly displaying 'linking' alliteration (*uiduertatem uastitudinemque* (l. 8), *fruges frumenta* (l. 10), *pastores pecuaque salua seruassis* (l. 12)) or assonance based on parallel or similar inflection (*uisos inuisosque* (l. 7), *grandire ... euenire* (l. 11)). Note too the chiastic structure of the whole, comprising invocation *Mars pater ...* (ll. 1ff.), + reason *quoius rei ergo ...* (ll. 4ff.), + injunction (negative in spirit, comprising three paired sets of disasters to be kept off and three synonymous verbs in a tricolon, *prohibessis defendas auerruncesque* (l. 9)) *uti tu morbos ...* (ll. 7ff.) followed by injunction (positive in spirit and triclausal

in structure, with each of the three clauses containing either one or two pairs of benefits to be granted and a verb ending in *-is* (ll. 11–13)) *utique tu fruges* . . . (ll. 10ff.), + reason *harumce rerum ergo* . . . (l. 15), + invocation *macte* . . . *Mars pater* . . . (ll. 19ff.). Finally, it should be observed that verbs are again normally placed last in their cola, with the exception of *sies* (l. 2) in the initial request dependent on *te precor quaesoque* and *duis* (l. 14) in the last. In each of these cases the verb in question is followed by a complex complement incorporating the phrase *mihi domo familiaeque nostrae,* and it seems that this chiastic structure, involving [(shared) object + paired main verbs] + *uti* + [verb + (partly shared) complement], formally marks the beginning and the end of the series of 'obligations' imposed upon the god. Marked orders therefore remained available for special purposes, as expected.

Though the orthography of the prayer, like that of the text as a whole, has been modernized in transmission (if not always systematically, e.g. *uti* (l. 2), etc. but *quoius* (l. 4), etc.), some striking morphological and lexical archaisms have been retained. Such features include the subjunctive *duis* (l. 14) and the consistent use of *-que* as a linking conjunction to the exclusion of *et* (originally enumerative) and *atque* (emphatic, 'and in addition'). But particularly notable here are those features that remained, from the time of the XII Tables onwards, key markers of legal Latin, most obviously the sigmatic subjunctives (*prohibessis* (l. 9), *seruassis* (l. 12)) and *-to* imperatives (cf. *esto* (l. 19)), though this particular verb form, along with *scito* and *memento*, remained in regular use in Classical Latin). Forms of both types are used by Cicero in the 'laws' proposed in *de Legibus*, and which, even if written in the author's own brand of 'legalese' (cf. *de Legibus* 2.18), clearly reflect what was then still thought appropriate for traditional legislation.

We should note, however, that such forms were probably not yet fully 'archaic/legal' in tone in Cato's time (234–148 BC), since they recur not only in contemporary high-style poetry but also in the more 'naturalistic' dialogue of comedy. Thus sigmatic and non-sigmatic subjunctives are still used side by side in Plautus:

(9)
(a)   at ita me   machaera et clupeus
         but thus me-ACC blade-NOM and shield-NOM

     bene iuuent . . .
     well   help-3pl.PRES.SUBJ

     'so help me well blade and shield . . .'   (*Curculio* 574–5)

     at ita me   uolsellae,   pecten,   speculum, calamistrum
     but thus me-ACC tweezers-NOM, comb-NOM, mirror-NOM, tongs-NOM

meum   bene me   amassint . . .
my-NOM well   me-ACC love-3pl.SUBJ

'so love me well my tweezers, comb, mirror, curling tongs . . .'

(*Curculio* 577–8)

(b)   ut illum   di   immortales   omnes . . . perduint!
that him-ACC gods-NOM immortal-NOM all-NOM . . .   destroy-3pl.SUBJ!

'may all the immortal gods destroy him!'   (*Aulularia* 785)

qui illum   di   omnes . . . perdant!
that him-ACC gods-NOM all-NOM . . .   destroy-3pl.PRES.SUBJ!

'may all the gods . . . destroy him!'   (*Casina* 279)

(c)   ita di   faxint!
thus gods-NOM make-3pl.SUBJ

'may the gods make it so'   (*Aulularia* 149)

ita di   faciant!
thus gods-NOM make-3pl.PRES.SUBJ

'may the gods make it so'   (*Aulularia* 789)

Clearly the second example in (9a), spoken sarcastically by a pimp, is intended as a parody of the first example, spoken by a pompous soldier, but the other examples of 'archaic' forms seem to be used interchangeably with their 'modern' equivalents; note in particular the co-occurrence of 'modern' *ut* with 'archaic' *perduint* (originally from the root of *facio*, i.e. *$d^h(e)h_1$-, rather than that of *do*, though with much subsequent confusion) and of the functionally equivalent but soon-to-be-superseded *qui* with 'modern' *perdant*. The most that can be said is that the 'archaic' type appears to be increasingly confined to formulaic or semi-formulaic expressions (many precative/imperative in character, cf. also *caue siris . . .* 'mind you don't let . . .', *Bacchides* 402, *Epidicus* 400), and that this is a sure sign of its decline in the ordinary Latin of the period, as confirmed by the obvious reduction in their use by around 160 BC compared with even 40 years before. In all probability, then, the forms in question were still used conversationally in certain clichés, particularly to convey the seriousness of an appeal to the gods (or to parody such an appeal), but in spoken Latin were largely confined to such environments, where competition from their 'modern' equivalents was already well established. Subsequently, they survived only in specialized legal/religious written contexts and in a few expressions such as *haud ausim* 'I would not be so bold (as to . . .)'.

   With this background in mind, we may return for one last time to the *SCB* (text (3) above), where certain verbal and stylistic similarities with the *carmen* in (8) are immediately apparent. In particular, the polar pairs (*neque uir neque mulier* (ll. 14–5), *neue in poplicod neue in preiuatod* (ll. 21–2)) and other dicola (*neue magistratum neue pro magistratud* (l. 16), *neue . . . coniourase neue comuouise* || *neue conspondise neue compromesise* (ll. 18–19)) stand out, the last set involving a characteristic covering of the eventualities by means of two pairs of synonyms, of which the final three seem to have been formed *ad hoc* to achieve the desired formal and phonological parallelism with the first. It is also generally assumed that a phrase such as *neue in urbid* 'neither in the city' has been omitted before *neue extrad urbem* (l. 22) in our copy (compare Livy 39, 18.8), as being irrelevant to the distant Teurani. Clearly the traditional resources for emphasizing the seriousness of an injunction remained available to Roman officialdom when the need arose.

   As already noted, however, these same markers of stylistic elevation are also exploited in early examples of rhetorically elaborated 'literary' prose. Cato the Elder (Marcus Porcius Cato, 234–148 BC) is the first Roman orator whose rhetorical writings survive in sufficient quantity (in the form of extracts quoted by later writers) to enable us to form a reasonable impression of his style and use of language. As well as being the author of the handbook *de Agri Cultura*, he was a famous patron and legal expert, and has been presented to modern audiences as the archetypal old Roman, relentlessly austere and anti-Greek in outlook, who instigated litigation against the philhellenist Scipios and any others who fell short of his exacting standards. While there can be little doubt that he represented a conservative school of thought that saw danger to the 'Roman way' in the extreme wealth, cultural innovation and enticing intellectual freedoms offered by the conquest of the Greek East, it is clear from his control of Greek rhetorical technique and his use of Greek sources and models in his technical and historical writing that his overall position was rather more balanced, revealing a pragmatic willingness to exploit what seemed to him useful (cf. Plutarch, *Cato* 2.4), while rejecting what he judged to be pretentious and decadent faddery detrimental to the dignity and future well-being of the Roman state (see, for example, Gruen 1992).

   The following extract, quoted by the second-century AD antiquarian Aulus Gellius (*Noctes Atticae* 6.3.1ff.), is taken from the speech Cato delivered in the Senate in 167 BC on behalf of the Rhodians, who had wavered in their loyalty to Rome and shown some sympathy towards the recently defeated King Perseus of Macedon. This was later incorporated into Cato's Roman history, the *Origines* (cf. Livy 45.20–5), now almost entirely lost:

(10) Malcovati 163–4

scio   solere   plerisque hominibus rebus   secundis
know-1sg.PRES be-customary-PRES.INF most-DAT men-DAT   things-ABL favourable-ABL

atque prolixis   atque prosperis   animum excellere   atque superbiam
and   expansive-ABL and   prospering-ABL spirit-ACC exult-PRES.INF and   pride-ACC

atque ferociam augescere   atque crescere.   quod   mihi   nunc
and   ferocity-ACC increase-PRES.INF and   grow-PRES.INF. what-NOM me-DAT now

magnae curae   est,   quom haec   res   tam secunde
great-GEN concern-GEN be-3sg.PRES, since   this-NOM thing-NOM so   favourably

processit,   nequid   in consulendo aduorsi   eueniat   5
advance-3sg.PF, lest-anything-NOM in deliberating-ABL adverse-GEN come-about-3sg.PRES.SUBJ

quod   nostras secundas   res   confutet,   neue
which-NOM our-ACC favourable-ACC circumstances-ACC check-3sg.PRES.SUBJ, and-lest

haec   laetitia   nimis luxuriose eueniat.   aduorsae
this-NOM happiness-NOM too   immoderately turn-out-3sg.PRES.SUBJ. Adverse-NOM

res   edomant   et docent   quid opus siet   facto,
circumstances-NOM tame-3pl.PRES and teach-3pl.PRES what   need be-3sg.PRES.SUBJ act-ABL,

secundae   res   laetitia   transuorsum trudere   solent
favourable-NOM circumstances-NOM gladness-ABL across   push-PRES.INF be-apt-3pl.PRES

a   recte   consulendo atque intellegendo.   quo   maiore-opere   10
from correctly deliberating-ABL and   understanding-ABL. Which-ABL more-strongly

dico   suadeoque   uti haec   res   aliquot dies
say-1sg.PRES urge-1sg.PRES-and that this-NOM thing-NOM some   days-ACC

proferatur,   dum ex tanto   gaudio in potestatem
postpone-3sg.PRES.SUBJ.PASS, until   from so-great-ABL joy-ABL into control-ACC

nostram   redeamus.
of-ourselves-ACC return-1pl.PRES.SUBJ.

atque ego   quidem arbitror   Rodienses   noluisse   nos
and   I-NOM indeed   think-1sg.PRES Rhodians-ACC not-want-PF.INF us-ACC

ita depugnare   uti depugnatum est,   neque regem Persen   15
thus fight-it-out-PRES.INF as   fought-out-NOM be-3sg.PRES, nor   king-ACC Perseus-ACC

uinci.   sed non Rodienses   modo id noluere,   sed multos
defeat-PRES.INF.PASS. But not Rhodians-NOM only   that not-want-3pl.PF, but many-ACC

populos atque multas   nationes idem   noluisse   arbitror.
people-ACC and   many-ACC nations-ACC same-ACC not-want-PF.INF think-1sg.PRES.

atque haud scio   an   partim eorum   fuerint   qui   non
and   not   know-1sg.PRES whether part-ACC them-GEN be-3pl.PF.SUBJ who-NOM not

nostrae contumeliae causa   id   noluerint   euenire,
our-GEN disgrace-GEN   for-sake-of that-ACC not-want-3pl.PF.SUBJ happen-PRES.INF,

sed enim id metuere, si nemo esset homo quem 20
but indeed that fear-3pl.PF, if no-NOM be-3sg.IMPF.SUBJ man-NOM whom-ACC

uereremur, quicquid luberet faceremus, ne sub
fear-1pl.IMPF.SUBJ, whatever-ACC please-3sg.IMPF.SUBJ do-1pl.IMPF.SUBJ, lest beneath

solo imperio nostro in seruitute nostra essent; libertatis
alone-ABL power-ABL our-ABL in servitude-ABL our-ABL be-3pl.IMPF.SUBJ; freedom-GEN

suae causa in ea sententia fuisse arbitror. atque
their-own-GEN for-sake-of in that-ABL opinion-ABL be-PF.INF think-1sg.PRES. And

Rodienses tamen Persen publice numquam adiuuere. cogitate
Rhodians-NOM however Perseus-ACC publicly never help-3pl.PF. Reflect-2pl.IMP

quanto nos inter nos priuatim cautius facimus. 25
how-much-ABL we-NOM among ourselves-ACC privately more-cautiously act-1pl.PRES.

nam unusquisque nostrum, siquis aduorsus rem suam
for each-one-NOM us-GEN, if-anyone-NOM against interest-ACC his-own-ACC

quid fieri arbitratur, summa ui contra nititur
anything-ACC do-PRES.INF.PASS think-3sg.PRES, utmost-ABL force-ABL against strive-3sg.PRES

ne aduorsus eam fiat; quod illi tamen perpessi.
lest against it-ACC do-3sg.PRES.SUBJ.PASS; which-ACC they-NOM however endured-NOM.

'I know that it is customary for the majority of men, when circumstances are favourable and expansive and prospering, for their spirits to rise and for pride and ferocity to increase and grow. This is of great concern to me at present – since this matter has turned out so favourably – in case anything untoward should take place in our deliberations to check our own good fortune, and this happiness culminate too immoderately. Adverse circumstances tame and teach what action is to be taken, favourable circumstances, through happiness, are apt to push us aside from right deliberation and understanding. So still more strongly do I say and urge that this matter be postponed for some days until we return from such great joy to self-control.

For my part I do not think the Rhodians wanted us to fight to the end as the battle was fought to the end, nor did they want King Perseus to be defeated. But it was not only the Rhodians who had this negative desire, but many peoples and many nations had the same negative desire, I think. Furthermore, I wonder whether there may have been some of them who wanted this negative outcome not in order to secure our disgrace, but actually were afraid that, if there were no one whom we feared, if we were to do whatever we liked, they would be under our sole rule in servitude to us; it was for the sake of their own freedom that I think they were so minded. And yet the Rhodians never helped Perseus publicly. Consider how much more cautiously we act amongst ourselves even

in a private capacity. For each one of us, if any thinks anything is being done against his interests, strives with all his might to obstruct this being done against them; yet this is what they endured.'

It is clear that Cato was no pioneer in the field of oratory, despite the fact that no significant fragments of the work of earlier orators survive, since Cicero (*Brutus* 53ff.) mentions not only the funeral orations traditionally delivered for members of noble families but, more importantly, predecessors of Cato's with a recorded reputation for eloquence, including Appius Claudius Caecus (consul in 307 and 296 BC; *Brutus* 61 implies that his speech against peace with Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, in 280 BC could still be read) and M. Cornelius Cethegus (consul in 204 BC). It therefore seems reasonable to conclude that Cato was not the first to combine traditional Latin exponents of the 'high style' with elements of Greek rhetorical technique to achieve the conscious stylization of diction on display in the passage above (cf. also the evidence provided by the 'literary' and Hellenizing qualities of the Scipionic *tituli* of the late third century BC): as with official Latin, so with the Latin of oratory, the early history is simply unavailable to us, and it is only the later stages of linguistic and stylistic development that can now be traced in any detail.

In (10) the constant accumulation of synonyms in di- and tricola, with some supporting alliteration and/or assonance, is by now too familiar to require further comment, though here, of course, the function is merely to add 'dramatic' emphasis. Other noteworthy features include the habitual use of *atque* in preference to the traditional, but banal, -*que*, both as a phrasal and a sentential connective (e.g. it introduces each new topic in the second paragraph), and the selection of the 3rd person plural perfect ending -*ere* rather than -*erunt* (*noluere* (l. 16), *metuere* (l. 20), *adiuuere* (l. 24), cf. *censuere* in the *SCB*), both evidently markers of stylistic ambition for Cato. Thus *atque* occurs only four times as a connective in *de Agri Cultura*, where, like other prose writers of the third and second centuries, he also uses -*erunt* systematically: this ending is already the normal choice not only of the poet Ennius (239–169 BC) in his 'simple' prose translation of Euhemerus's *Sacred Chronicle* (where, assuming that the extracts preserved by Lactantius are not a later paraphrase of a composition in verse, the style, given the occasional rhetorical flourishes, is again a matter of choice rather than necessity), but also of orators and historians such as Scipio Aemilianus, C. Gracchus, L. Calpurnius Piso and, somewhat later, Q. Claudius Quadrigarius (all of whose works are again preserved only fragmentarily in the form of quotations).

What mainly distinguishes the use of language in (10) from a more 'classical' style, however, is the infrequency of logical connectives to link the thought between sentences (here only *tamen* (l. 24) and *nam* (l. 26),

enim (l. 20) being used in its traditional sense of 'indeed' after *sed*), the corresponding frequency of asyndeton, the apparent lack of interest in varying key vocabulary (*eueniat/euenire* (ll. 5, 7, 19), *aduorsi/aduorsae* (ll. 5, 7), *noluisse/noluere/noluerint* (ll. 14, 16, 19), motivated in part by the role of repetition in textual cohesion, see immediately below), the minimal variation in the position of the verb (almost always clause-final), and the tendency not to build up to a weighty 'climax' at the end of phrases or clauses (cf. *augescere atque crescere* (l. 3)), all reflecting a traditional organization of material based on a non-periodic conception of sentence structure, seen also in official documents, in which previously mentioned (or implied) 'topics' and novel/contrastive 'foci' tend to be placed first in a clause (in the order topic + focus if both are present), and much inter- and intrasentential linkage is effected asyndetically by topic continuity (cf. the repetitions of *secundae/aduorsae res* (+ *secunde*, *aduorsi*), *laetitia*, *consulendo*, *noluisse/noluere/noluerint*), or by focal contrastiveness (*aduorsae res . . .* (l. 7) *secundae res . . .* (l. 9), *ego quidem* (l. 14), *non nostrae contumeliae causa* (ll. 18–19), *libertatis suae causa* (ll. 22–3)). Particularly noteworthy to later critics such as Gellius (*Noctes Atticae* 6.3.53), however, was the general absence of rhythmical smoothness, a 'fault' commented on earlier by Cicero (*Brutus* 65–9), who clearly missed the characteristic sentence-final cadences (*clausulae*) that had become the norm in his own time (see 6.5.1).

The question of the extent to which Cato made use of formalized Greek rhetorical theory, as opposed to relying on a 'natural eloquence' informed by traditional Latin practice, has been much debated. But given the pervasiveness of Greek culture in Cato's time, including the routine presence in mid-second-century Rome of Greek rhetoricians and grammarians, and in view of the fact that Cato himself wrote a treatise on rhetoric (Quintilian 3.1.19), it seems likely that part at least of the rhetorical elaboration seen in his speeches is indeed due to the influence of Greek learning. He had, after all, spent a great deal of time in Greek-speaking provinces and employed a Greek tutor for his son, while Plutarch (*Cato* 2.4) observes, apparently uncontroversially, that his writings generally were ornamented with Greek thought, with the great fourth-century Athenian orator Demosthenes cited as a major influence on his style. In (10) we may note the clear contrast between the rhetorically developed *exordium* (first paragraph) and the less elevated style of the following paragraph. In particular, the initial *sententia* ('men are inclined to get over-confident when things go well') is almost certainly of Greek inspiration (cf. the theme of many a tragedy), and the twice-used form of argument, from general principle to particular case (*haec res*), together with the antithetical structuring of the second *sententia* (*aduorsae res . . .*, *secundae res*, with asyndeton), both have a long history in Greek rhetorical practice. By

contrast, the repeated underlining of key points by means of alliteration (*scio solere . . . secundis/secundae . . . solent*, *prolixis atque prosperis*, *laetitia . . . luxuriose*, *transuorsum trudere*) and assonance, especially homoeoteleuton (*secundis atque prolixis atque prosperis*, *superbiam atque ferociam*, *augescere atque crescere*, *consulendo atque intellegendo*) probably has more traditional roots, even though both phenomena are familiar enough, albeit far less densely deployed, in Greek writing.

But leaving such questions of style to one side, there is in fact not a great deal to distinguish this passage grammatically from Classical Latin. One major difference concerns the distribution of indicative and subjunctive verb forms in subordinate clauses: e.g. the use of an indicative in a circumstantial *quom* (*cum*)-clause (ll. 4–5) (though here 'causal' *quod*, which naturally takes the indicative, is the transmitted reading, and *quom* is an editorial emendation); retention of the indicative in a subordinate clause in indirect speech (*uti depugnatum est* (l. 15)); and the use of indicatives in indirect questions (*cogitate quanto . . . cautius facimus* (ll. 24–5)) alongside subjunctives (*docent quid opus siet facto* (l. 8), *haud scio an partim eorum fuerint . . .* (l. 18)).

In the specific case of indirect questions, there is a widely held view that these resulted, prehistorically, from the optional reanalysis of paratactic direct questions as dependent clauses (e.g. *rogo te – quid agit?* = 'I'm asking you – what is s/he doing (indicative)?' > *rogo te quid agit* = 'I'm asking you what s/he is doing (indicative)'), so that indirect questions of fact should retain the original indicative, while indirect questions containing what were originally deliberative/jussive ('what is s/he to do?') or potential ('what can s/he do?') subjunctives should retain the subjunctive (see, for example, Woodcock (1959: sections 131ff. and 177ff.)). During Cato's lifetime, however, it became increasingly routine for all indirect questions to contain a subjunctive verb, a situation which duly became the rule in Classical Latin. Rosén (1999: 111) therefore argues that the residual distinction between indicative and subjunctive in Old Latin was no longer based simply on whether an embedded question was one of fact or conveyed modal notions of duty or possibility, but crucially on whether or not the main verb introduced a genuine inquiry, so that clauses dependent on verbs of asking or replying, or on the imperatives of verbs of declaring, thinking or perceiving, already have the subjunctive as a matter of routine, while those introduced by non-imperatival verbs of declaring/thinking/perceiving or by verbs of knowing/not-knowing may still optionally have the indicative. But though there are many cases to bear this out (e.g. *scire uolo quoi reddidisti*, Plautus *Curculio* 543, 'I want to know to whom you gave it back (indicative)'), there are also counterexamples. Compare, for example, the following sentences, one with the indicative, the other with the subjunctive, but both dependent

on imperatives of *cogitare* 'think': *cogitate quanto . . . cautius facimus* (Cato *Origines* (Malcovati 163–4)), 'think how much more cautiously we have acted (indicative)', and *cogitatoque hiemis quam longa siet* (Cato *de Agri Cultura* 30), 'and think about how long winter is/can be (subjunctive)'. Thus while it is clear that the use of the subjunctive in indirect questions is already spreading beyond strictly modal contexts in Old Latin (cf. the conjoined indicative and subjunctive in *cuius iussu uenio et quam ob rem uenerim dicam* (Plautus *Amphitryo* 17) 'I shall tell you on whose orders I come (indicative) and for what purpose I have come (subjunctive)'), Rosén's hypothesis, even if it is broadly correct, does not constitute an absolute rule.

Since, therefore, the situation was still fluid in Cato's time (and remained so in subliterary varieties of Latin), it is at least possible that some subjunctives in indirect questions were not yet purely conventional and were intended to be read with a modal force; this possibility is reflected, perhaps erroneously, in the translations of the relevant cases above. Thus *cogitatoque hiemis quam longa siet* ('and think about how long winter is/can be') may well be factual, but could also reasonably be taken as potential in force (though clearly not as deliberative/jussive). Similarly, *quanto peiorem ciuem existimarint feneratorem quam furem, hinc licet existimare* ('how much worse a citizen they considered the usurer than the thief one may estimate from the following', *de Agri Cultura*, Preface 1) is very naturally taken factually, but a potential reading ('they could consider'), if not a deliberative/jussive one ('they were to consider'), is again possible, if perhaps rather unlikely.

Eventually the subjunctive rule was extended by convention across the board, even to finite subordinate clauses following 1st-person verbs of 'saying' or 'asking', where the speaker/writer could not, strictly speaking, disclaim responsibility for what was stated or asked (so *rogo te quid agat* = 'I'm asking you what he is doing (subjunctive)'). This obviously created a situation in which indirect questions of fact became indistinguishable from indirect questions with 'modal' content, and so led to the growing use of various clarificatory periphrases in the latter (e.g. 'deliberative/jussive' *rogo te quid agere debeat*, lit. = 'I'm asking you what s/he ought to do'; 'potential' *rogo te quid acturus/actura sit*, lit. = 'I'm asking you what s/he is going to do'). This particular trend was, of course, part of a more general development whereby the subjunctive came to be used as a marker of all 'reported' statements or questions containing finite verbs, i.e. of those finite clauses whose 'factual' content the speaker/writer could not be held personally responsible for. Since, however, reported statements in indirect speech, unlike reported questions, were expressed by the accusative and infinitive construction, the rule in this case applied only to finite clauses subordinated to the main clause of the report.

Other grammatical differences are more minor. The linking use of a relative adjective or pronoun is, of course, familiar from Classical Latin, but in Early Latin the regular function, as in (10) (*quod* (ll. 3, 28)), *quo* (l. 10)), is to summarize the content of a preceding sentence, while in the classical language it is more common for the relative to have a specific antecedent with which it agrees (and indeed for such relatives to appear in subordinate clauses, including ablative absolutes, rather than, as here, in main clauses). This use of a connecting relative as opposed to a demonstrative (contrast the resumptive use of sentence-initial *ea* in the *Epistula ad Tiburtes*, (4) above, l.8) appears once again to have been a device for 'raising' the stylistic level; the *carmen* in (8) uses both options (*quoius rei ergo* (l. 4), *harumce rerum ergo* (l. 15), but the connecting relative is not a regular feature of the more down-to-earth style of *de Agri Cultura* (where only the preface and the 'hymn to the cabbage' (156ff.) show evidence of any conscious elaboration). In this connection note too that, in his rhetorical writing, Cato already prefers the 3rd-conjugation present passive infinitive in *-i* (*uinci* (l. 16)) over the variant in *-ier* (as used, for example, in the *SCB* text (7), (ll. 36, 37)); the choice here of the 3rd person plural perfect indicative in *-ere* has already been mentioned.

In conclusion, the close examination of just one extract has shown that even the earliest surviving examples of prose writing reveal a language that is already grammatically 'developed' to a high degree, with significant stylistic resources at its disposal. Though the surviving examples of early prose writing do not all involve the same degree of rhetorical elaboration, it is clear that nearly all the grammatical fundamentals of what would later be codified as 'classical' Latin are essentially in place by the mid-second century BC. Later developments therefore fall under three main headings. The first is stylistic, involving the progressive elaboration of a more varied range of 'high' styles under the continuing influence of Greek models, a process that also led to some grammatical extension of existing Latin usages. The second involves a further development of the lexical resources of the language to meet a range of new needs, with certain patterns of word formation then becoming the norm, others falling out of favour. The last involves the selection, from among still competing morphological and syntactic variants, of forms and constructions which, for whatever reasons, were deemed to be 'correct' by the urban elite. But the earlier use of many such rejected forms and constructions in both official and artistically elaborated compositions shows that these should not be taken as a mark of the 'colloquial' foundations of Old Latin prose writing, despite their undoubtedly substandard status in later times: the bulk of *de Agri Cultura* is 'colloquial' because of its subject matter and purpose, not because there were no other

options. These issues will be explored further in the next chapter, but we must first take a brief look at some of the earliest examples of non-epigraphic Latin verse composition.

5.6 Early Latin Poetry

With the exception of the comedies of Titus Maccius Plautus (*c*.254–184 BC, though his 'reality' as a single individual has been questioned) and Publius Terentius Afer (Terence, *c*.185–159 BC), Old Latin poetry is preserved only as series of brief quotations in later writers, which modern editors have endeavoured to collate and organize as sets of extracts from specific books and plays. Fortunately, however, at least from the point of view of the historical linguist if not from that of the literary critic, the reason for such quotation is more often than not the 'odd' grammatical or lexical usage of the writers in question from the standpoint of later 'classical' practice. The principal authors in question are Lucius Livius Andronicus (third century BC: epic, tragedy, comedy, satire, hymns), Gnaeus Naevius (*c*.270–201 BC: epic, comedy, historical drama), Quintus Ennius (239–169 BC: epic, tragedy, comedy, historical drama, satire, and other works), Gaius Caecilius (d. 168 BC: comedy), Marcus Pacuvius (220–*c*.130 BC: tragedy, historical drama, satire), Gaius Lucilius (*c*.180–102 BC: satire) and Lucius Accius (170–*c*.85 BC: tragedy, historical drama, erotic poems, and other works), all of whom were 'outsiders' of Italian origin for whom Latin may not have been a first language. Their work is therefore eloquent testimony to the progress of Romanization/Latinization in the period, and to the increasingly central role of Rome in the political and cultural affairs of Italy. See the relevant chapters (all by Gratwick) in Kenney and Clausen (1982) for a brief introduction to poets and poetry in the early Republic.

Since the generic range of surviving fragments is wide, including epic (in both Saturnians and hexameters), tragedy, several varieties of comedy, and satire, generalization is difficult, though some commonalities may be established. First and foremost, with the possible exception of satire (though there is in fact little evidence for Roman satire before Ennius, while the fragments of his minor works, including the miscellaneous *Saturae*, are strongly reminiscent of similar, low-key Alexandrian poetry), the genres involved are all of Greek origin. Similarly, with the probable exception of the Saturnian (see above), the metres used are also Greek, albeit with skilful adaptations dictated by the prosodic properties of a language with a strong stress accent. Indeed, the skill with which these typologically alien metres were appropriated and the creative confidence with which they were already deployed in a range of styles represent a

remarkable achievement. The extent to which the early poets established
the norms of rhythm and diction for Latin poetry is still greatly under-
estimated: they took great pride in their technical expertise and compe-
tence, and though their successors sometimes modified and restricted
the conventions they had refined, such changes mainly reflect shifts
in taste and fashion rather than demonstrate progress towards some
imaginary ideal.

Secondly, with the partial exception of comedy (see below) and satire,
Old Latin poetry typically displays some clear linguistic and stylistic
markers. One obvious trait is the exploitation of archaic morphology and
lexicon, sometimes metrically motivated but also, as often in epic and
tragedy, reflecting a desire to distance the language from everyday usage
and to validate the enterprise through partial imitation of the stylized
archaizing dictions of Homeric/Hellenistic epic and Athenian tragic
drama. Thus we find a number of ancient forms, often drawn from the
language of ritual and law and already obsolete or obsolescent in con-
temporary Latin, such as *indu-/endo* for *in-/in*, the genitive singular of
the 1st declension in *-as* (rare) or disyllabic *-ai* [-a:i:] (quite frequently),
the genitive plural of the 2nd declension in *-um*, and the 3rd-person
pronominal stem seen in *sum/sam* 'him/her' etc., all of which offer
useful metrical variants to the more usual forms as well as bringing with
them an air of solemnity and tradition. Such forms, are, of course, to be
carefully distinguished from the many usages which were normal in the
Latin of the period and simply look old-fashioned from the perspective
of 'classical' norms.

Further evidence of the efforts made to develop a range of 'artistic'
registers capable of emulating the distinctiveness, richness and variety of
their Greek counterparts is provided by the combination of increasingly
restrictive lexical choice with considerable experimentation in word-
formation. Thus the identification of a 'high' poetic vocabulary (e.g. *ensis*
for *gladius* 'sword', *tellus* for *terra* 'land', etc.) went hand in hand with
derivational innovations designed to dissociate the language of poetry from
normal lexical usage: the methods employed include the creation of new
compounds and/or the use of simplex forms in place of an established
compound (e.g. *conglomero* rather than *glomero* 'pile up', but *fligo*
for *affligo* 'throw down/crush'), the invention of unusual by-forms (e.g.
novel adverbs in *-im*, *-atim*, *-itus*), the use of innovative adjectival forma-
tions (most notably in *-bilis*, *-ficus*, *-osus*, *-bundus*), or the formation of
Greek-inspired compounds (of the type *altiuolans* 'high-flying', *taurigenus*
'bull-born', etc.). We may also note here the conspicuous freedom of word
order in evidence in these early fragments (with considerable artificiality
already permissible in the 'higher' genres, as, for example, in the
convention allowing wide separation of adjectives from the nouns they

modify), as well as the expected redeployment for literary ends of the traditional stylistic devices for marking out 'important' texts (e.g. alliteration, assonance, homoeoteleuton, anaphora, tricolon, congeries, figura etymologica, etc.), as discussed above in connection with ancient *carmina* and early prose writing.

By contrast, spoken comic dialogue (in iambo-trochaic metres) aims for a more 'natural' and 'colloquial' style than either epic or tragedy, but even here we should have no illusions that we are simply dealing with a variety of the contemporary vernacular, not least because the language is, first and foremost, metrical. Though the manuscripts of Plautus's surviving plays derive from a compilation made *c*.AD 100, and show a random mix of older and 'classical' spellings, the colloquial (rarely 'vulgar') basis for the language of spoken dialogue is very much in evidence in the frequent choice of 'emotive' vocabulary characteristic of street banter (e.g. 'cuddly' diminutives, exclamations, 'emphatic' superlatives), the regular use of phonetically reduced allegro forms, the heavily paratactic and often informally structured syntax (though relative and adverbial subordinate clauses are by no means uncommon, and lengthy complex sentences may appear in expository passages or for parodic purposes), the high incidence of 'clarificatory' demonstratives in both deictic and anaphoric functions, and the rather free word order (especially with regard to verb position, though any preposing or postposing of elements is almost always pragmatically motivated). Furthermore, since many of the plays were translated or adapted from Greek originals and have a Greek setting, it should be no surprise that Greek words and expressions are also admitted, though this is generally put only into the mouths of Greek slaves and in fact reflects the sort of Greek heard on the streets of Italian cities (typically of a west Greek character, reflecting the speech of many of the great cities of Magna Graecia), rather than the Attic of the orginals (familiar from the comedies of Menander).

But woven into this colloquial foundation we also find many of the 'poetic' markers typical of other forms of contemporary verse. Thus Plautus, when he wishes to add emphasis or express heightened emotion, may employ all the devices of verbal inventiveness – archaizing/tragic phraseology, figura etymologica, repetition, accumulation of synonyms, assonance and alliteration – in a manner that often undermines any impression of real-life conversation. Even in more routine exchanges we often find, alongside their modern counterparts, a number of obsolescent (though not yet archaic) forms artificially exploited, especially at line-ends, for metrical purposes, e.g. the longer forms of the singular of the present subjunctive of *esse* (*siem*, *sies*, *siet*), or the passive infinitive in *-ier*, though we should also note here the continued use in other positions of *s*-futures and subjunctives (*faxo/faxim*), forms such as *attigas* (2nd person singular

subjunctive) and *ipsus*, the conjunction *qui* (ablative) for *ut*, etc., all of which were presumably still in at least limited use, e.g. in particular phrases or contexts.

  All such forms and devices are significantly rarer in the work of Terence, who, by retreating from the unfettered verbal and stylistic exuberance of his predecessor, established a more restrained and formally consistent style that reflects, as far as we can tell, the Latin usage of the upper classes of the period, and as such still includes many forms and features that Cicero's generation would not have accepted (e.g. 4th-declension genitive singulars in *-i*, active forms of deponent verbs, 4th-conjugation futures in *-ibo*, indicatives in indirect questions, etc.). This style is characterized overall by terseness, simplicity and the absence of archaism (by the standards of the time), but still exhibits, when required in the interests of 'realism', the exclamations, false starts, emphatic preposings, paratactic structures and incoherences of ordinary dialogue, though not the variations associated with age, sex or social class that must have existed then in Rome, as in all places at all times. It was clearly intended as an imitation of the 'educated colloquial' of Menander's Attic Greek, and as such won the admiration of later generations as an early example of good Latinity (Caesar, for example, describes Terence as *puri sermonis amator*, 'lover of pure speech', at the end of Suetonius's *Life of Terence*, part of a compilation drawn by Donatus from the original work *de Poetis*), even if the plays themselves often lacked the sheer sense of fun required to command the unqualified enthusiasm of their audiences and readers.

  Thus in even the earliest surviving fragments of Latin poetry, whatever the genre, there is already clear evidence of a conscious effort to blend together and exploit both Greek and native resources, not only themat-ically but also linguistically and rhetorically, in order to develop 'literarized' varieties of Latin as vehicles for forms of poetic expression which, though novel in their Roman context, might be seen as continuations of the various Greek traditions that had in part inspired them. A few short extracts should help to illustrate these points. The first set (11a–c) is taken from Naevius's *Belli Poenici Carmen* (an epic of the first Punic War composed in Saturnians), the second example (12) from Ennius's *Annales* (an epic of Rome from its origins, written, like all epic thereafter, in hexameters), and the third (13) from Plautus's *Epidicus* (a comedy):

(11)   Naevius *Bellum Punicum*
(a)   amborum uxores
                                 both-GEN   wives-NOM

     noctu   Troiad   exibant   capitibus opertis,
     by-night-ABL Troy-ABL go-out-3pl.IMPF heads-ABL covered-ABL,

flentes   ambae abeuntes   lacrimis cum multis.
weeping-NOM both   leaving-NOM tears-ABl with   many-ABL.

<div align="right">fr. 4</div>

'The wives of both were passing out from Troy, heads veiled, both weeping, departing with many a tear.'

(b) eorum   sectam sequuntur   multi   mortales . . .
    them-GEN.PL path   follow-3pl.PRES many-NOM mortals-NOM

    multi   alii   e   Troia   strenui   uiri . . .
    many-NOM others-NOM from Troy-ABL vigorous-NOM men-NOM

    ubi foras   cum auro   illi[n]c exibant.
    when outdoors with   gold-ABL there   go-out-3pl.IMPF.

<div align="right">fr. 6</div>

'Many mortals follow their path . . . Many other strong men from Troy . . . When they were passing outdoors there with the gold.'

(c) senex   fretus   pietati   deum   adlocutus
    old-man-NOM relying-NOM piety-DAT/?ABL god-ACC calling-upon-NOM

    summi   deum   regis   fratrem   Neptunum
    highest-GEN gods-GEN king-GEN brother-ACC Neptune-ACC

    regnatorem marum . . .
    ruler-ACC   seas-GEN

<div align="right">fr. 10</div>

'The old man, trusting in his piety, addressed the god, Neptune, brother of the highest monarch of the gods, ruler of the seas . . .'

A quick comparison of these passages with more or less contemporary inscriptions reveals the orthographic modernization that has taken place in the process of textual transmission, particularly as regards vowel weakening, monophthongization and the omission of final *-d* (except where this would lead to hiatus, cf. *Troiad exibant* in (11a)). Otherwise many of the features referred to above are clearly in evidence: archaic or archaizing lexicon and morphology (*noctu*, *deum*), frequent assonance and alliteration within cola, and even an example of (pseudo-)figura etymologica (*sectam sequuntur*, in fact from different roots). There are also variant forms and/or constructions that were not acceptable in later periods: e.g. *marum* (for *marium*), and *pietati*, which is either a dative or a *d*-less ablative with *i*-stem suffix, the former representing an 'unclassical' construction after *fretus* (the later historian Livy's use of the dative

rather than the ablative perhaps reflects his supposed provincialism), the latter a variant form disallowed in Classical Latin. The now familar lack of concern for lexical variation (*deum ... deum ...*) together with the optional use of prepositions with descriptive ablatives, later generally regarded as rather unpoetic (contrast *capitibus opertis* with *lacrimis cum multis*), are also in evidence.

Similar remarks apply to the following extract from Ennius's *Annales*, where we once again find emphatic use of alliteration alongside archaic case endings (*siluai frondosai*). But particularly important here are the examples of the elision of final *-s* after short *-u-* (*securibu', fraxinu'*), a metrically very convenient option, presumably still reflecting phonetic realities, that was firmly rejected in Cicero's time as 'rather rustic' (cf. *Orator* 161), even by the newer generation of poets, who might have found it a useful archaism had it not by then sounded so irredeemably clownish and old-fashioned:

(12)   Ennius, *Annales* (6) 175–9 SK

incedunt   arbusta   per   alta,   securibu' caedunt.
pass-3pl.PRES groves-ACC through high-ACC, axes-ABL   cut-3pl.PRES

percellunt   magnas   quercus, exciditur   ilex;
strike-down-3pl.PRES mighty-ACC oaks-ACC, cut-down-3sg.PRES.PASS holm-oak-NOM

fraxinu' frangitur   atque abies   consternitur   alta;
ash-NOM break-3sg.PRES.PASS and   fir-NOM lay-low-3sg.PRES.PASS high-NOM;

pinus   proceras peruortunt.   omne   sonabat
pines-ACC lofty-ACC overturn-3pl.PRES. all-NOM sound-3sg.IMPF

arbustum fremitu siluai   frondosai.
grove-NOM noise-ABL forest-GEN leafy-GEN.

'They pass through tall groves, they fell with axes. They strike down mighty oaks; the holm-oak is slashed; the ash is broken and the tall fir laid low; they overthrow lofty pines. The whole grove resounded with the murmur of the forest rich in foliage.'

The final extract, from Plautus, illustrates a typical 'conversational' passage, in which colloquial diminutives (*muliercula*, *grauastellus*, *unguiculum*), Greek loans (*danista*), emotive vocabulary (exclamations, superlatives), allegro forms (*haecinest*, *summumst*, *sicin*), heavy use of demonstrative pronouns, emphatic displacements (e.g. *meum futurum corium pulchrum praedicas*, where a form of 'be', as often, has been attracted to the focal element in initial position), and generally simplified syntax (note in particular *sicin iussi ad me ires?* in the penultimate

line, without conjunction) sit alongside more traditional 'literary' features of the now familar kind (cf. Palmer 1954: 88, Rosén 1999: 19), most notably alliteration, assonance and the repetition of key words, the cumulation of synonyms (*aspecta et contempla*), and the use of figura etymologica (*pingent pigmentis*), though none of these 'devices' is overused here in ways that would draw special attention to the literary quality of the language:

(13)   Plautus *Epidicus* 620–8

EPIDICUS.

sed quis haec   est muliercula   et ille grauastellus   qui   uenit?
but who this-NOM is   woman-DIM.NOM and that gray-hair-DIM.NOM who-NOM come-3sg.PRES?

STRATIPPOCLES.

hic est danista,   haec illa   est autem, quam [ego] emi   de   praeda. EP.
this is   money-lender, this that-one is   however, whom   buy-1sg.PF from booty-ABL.

haeci-ne-st?
This -Q-is?

STR.

haec   est. est-ne ita ut tibi   dixi?   aspecta et contempla, Epidice:
this-NOM is.   Is-NEG.Q thus as you-DAT say-1sg.PF? Gaze-IMP and observe-IMP, Epidicus-VOC:

usque ab unguiculo   ad capillum summum-st festiuissuma.
right   from finger-nail-DIM.ABL to hair-ACC   topmost-ACC-is delightful-SUPERL.NOM.

est-ne consimilis quasi quom signum   pictum   pulchre aspexeris?
is-NEG.Q just-like-NOM as   when   picture-ACC painted-ACC beatifully look-at-2sg.PF.SUBJ?

EP.

e   tuis   uerbis   meum futurum   corium pulchrum praedicas,
from your-ABL words-ABL my-ACC about-to-be-ACC hide-ACC beautiful   predict-2sg.PRES.SUBJ,

quem   Apelles   ac Zeuxis   duo   pingent   pigmentis ulmeis.
which-ACC Apelles-NOM and Zeuxis-NOM two-NOM paint-3pl.FUT paints-ABL   of-elm-ABL.

STR.

di   immortales! sici-n iussi   ad me   ires?   pedibus plumbeis
gods VOC immortal-VOC! thus-Q order-1sg.PF to me-ACC come-2sg.IMP.SUBJ? Feet-ABL of-lead-ABL

qui   perhibetur   priu' uenisset   quam tu   aduenisti mihi.
who-NOM endow-3sg.PRES.PASS before come-3sg.PLPF.SUBJ than   you-NOM come-2sg.PF me-DAT.

'EPIDICUS (*a slave of Stratippocles' father Periphanes, an Athenian gentleman*). But who's the slave girl and the grey-haired chap coming along here? STRATIPPOCLES (*son of Periphanes*). He's the money-lender – she's the one I bought from the booty sale. EP. That's her? STR. That's her. Isn't she just like I described her to you? Gaze and admire, Epidicus. Right from the ends of her nails to the tips of her hair she is utterly delightful. Isn't she just like when you look at a beautifully painted picture? EP. From what you're saying one might hazard a guess that what's about to be beautiful is my hide, which that pair Apelles and Zeuxis (*the names of two famous Greek painters used here ironically to refer to Periphanes and his friend, who are currently scouring the town for Epidicus*) are going to paint with paints of elm wood. [*The money-lender enters*]. STR. (*to the money-lender*). Good God! Is this how I told you to come to me? A man with lead feet could've got here before you turned up.'

5.7   Conclusion

In this rather lengthy survey of 'preclassical' Roman Latin, we have seen that much of what we now regard as standard, both grammatically and stylistically, was in fact already in place by the time of our first texts of any significant length. But while official Latin, other than in matters of orthography, evolved only slowly in subsequent generations, thereby retaining all the useful validating associations of traditional practice, literary varieties continued to be developed and extended more rapidly, leading to greater differentiation by genre and much stricter conventions about what was 'acceptable' to its elite creators and readers. The two sides of this process, the rigorous selection from available options and the development of new lexical and grammatical resources, form the subject of the next chapter.

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