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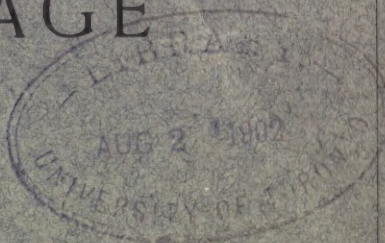
Howard, Joseph Henry  
Case usage in Petronius'  
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Petronius  
CASE USAGE



IN

PETRONIUS' SATIRES.

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HOWARD.



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CASE USAGE

IN

PETRONIUS' SATIRES

BY

JOSEPH HENRY HOWARD.

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A THESIS

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of  
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## PREFACE.

The text of Petronius' Satires used is that of F. Buecheler, third edition, Berlin, 1895. His text has been followed except in a few passages. Where a different reading is chosen, the fact is made clear in the treatment, and the reason for the change is given. For the purpose of distinguishing the language of the illiterate speakers from that of the better educated, the figures giving the chapter and line for every quotation from their speeches are made heavier. By keeping in mind the fact that about one sixth of the prose portions of the work belong to these uneducated speakers, one can readily see the relative frequency with which they use any construction of which all occurrences are cited (this is done for many categories), and the passages in which they employ it. Reference to authorities is always by page, unless otherwise specified. In citing two works of reference frequently mentioned, only the initial letters of the authors' names are given: R. and G., S. and L., for Riemann et Goelzer and Segebade et Lommatzsch. The passages referred to in the text of Petronius are regularly indicated by numbers giving chapter and line. Only in a few places are pages cited, and the fact is always noted. Certain fragments covered by the Lexicon Petronianum are not recognized by the text followed, and, for that reason, some words given by the former are not included in this treatment. Many chapters in the Satires occupy parts of two or more pages. It therefore happens that there are sometimes more than one line with a particular number in a chapter. This fact must be kept in mind in verifying references to the text.

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## INTRODUCTION.

Nothing has been discovered in recent years to throw additional light on the question respecting the authorship of the work. That the author was the Petronius referred to by Tacitus, (Ann. 16, 17 and 18), is now generally believed. For aside from the fact that, from an early date, the fragments have been current under the name of Petronius Arbiter, (the name of the Petronius mentioned by Tacitus), and that the date generally accepted for the composition of the work coincides with that at which the Petronius of Tacitus flourished, there is the strong confirmatory evidence furnished by the Satires themselves. Teuffel, who recognizes the existence of "eine unverkennbare Geistesverwandschaft, eine Gleichheit der Weltanschauung, eine Aehnlichkeit des geistigen Tones," nevertheless thinks that the Petronius of Tacitus is not the author of the Satires, else the historian would not have failed to mention the fact, (cf. Teuffel, Studien und Charakteristiken, p. 518). This conclusion others have not accepted. The author was a man of superior intelligence, well acquainted with good literature, and possessed of a vast and varied store of experience gained, apparently, from actual contact with men and the world. He had the capacity for thinking noble thoughts, and, therefore, it is reasonable to suppose, for doing praiseworthy deeds. He had a genuine contempt for ignorance and vulgar display. He hated shams. He had no love for the vanity of small men. He was attracted by what was elegant and refined, repelled by what was inelegant and gross. He was a connoisseur in art. He was a lover of beauty,—even beauty of character. For it is not reasonable to suppose that he admired, or even condoned, the moral baseness which he portrays. Although he nowhere appears as a moralist, there is abundant evidence to show that he fully realized, even if he did not deeply regret, the immensity of his people's sins: 88, 21, at nos vino scortisque demersi; 119, 19, heu pudet effari perituraque prodere fata. Into the mouth of the talented, but profligate, Encolpius he puts the words: 125, 6, dii deaque, quam male est extra legem viventibus: quicquid meruerunt, semper expectant. He possessed a fine sense of proportion, of fitness. His taste was excellent in all things. And, finally, his language is characterized by a freedom, an abandon that would naturally belong to one who does not take life seriously, who has for his motto, 'enjoy today, for there may be no tomorrow': 99, 25, ego sic semper et ubique vixi, ut ultimam quamque lucem tanquam non redituram consumerem. Much of this harmonizes well with what Tacitus tells us concerning the Petronius Arbiter of Nero's court. Nothing that he tells fails to fit well our author. The Petronius of Tacitus was governor of Bithynia and afterward consul. In both positions, Tacitus says, he was efficient, energetic, and honest. We are told that he met death, which was self-inflicted, though not self-sought, with a coolness, a composure, such as men rarely exhibit at such a time. Even while his life ebbed, he jested and chatted with his friends on trivial topics. To his credit it is told that he did not try to retain any part of the good will of the emperor and his satellites by naming them as heirs to part of his wealth. On the contrary, he

wrote out and sent to Nero a history of the latter's licentious life, with the names of all who had been his associates in wickedness. What Tacitus tells us next is not, unfortunately, to the honor of Petronius. He passed his days in sleep, his nights he gave to pleasure and to the duties of his position. And, whereas others won renown through industry, he rose by virtue of his idleness. However, he was not looked upon as a profligate who wasted his means in riotous living, but as a gentleman of culture and refinement, who exhibited excellent taste in his life of luxury: *sed erudito luxu*. Then follows, in Tacitus' narrative, a statement which is of the highest importance in helping us to identify this Petronius as the author of the Satires: *ac dicta factaque eius quanto solutiora et quandam sui neglegentiam praeferentia, tanto gratius in speciem simplicitatis accipiebantur*. For there are no more striking characteristics of the author of the Satires than these qualities of reckless abandon and frank simplicity. Just as the Petronius of Tacitus deserved censure for even pretending to be a wanton, (*seu vitiorum imitatione*), if he went no further, so our author cannot be defended for his flip-pant treatment of immorality which is not attacked, although it is brought prominently, as one of the leading features, into many episodes of the work. It would appear that the author had no higher motive in writing the work than a desire to please his readers and himself. And it is doubtless true, as some scholars have said, that 'novel,' or 'romance,' would be a more appropriate name than Satires. To the student of the Satires there comes, as a result of an intimate acquaintance with them, a feeling of admiration for the author's talents, of regret that he did not always turn them to the best account, and of sympathy for one who, fitted to play a noble part on a better stage, was doomed to pass his life in the midst of such corrupt surroundings. In short, he impresses one as having been a man of fine intellect, of naturally generous impulses, of good taste, gentle breeding, and attractive personality, living surrounded by the excesses of an age of decay and decline. As a thoughtful man, he could not escape the influence of the prevailing feeling of despair. The Roman world, many thought, was moving rapidly toward ruin, and no human power could stay its course: 122, 121, *ad Stygios manes lacertatus ducitur orbis*. His attitude seems to have been an almost indifferent *laissez faire*. The better Petronius appears in passages like these:

frag. 25:

*qui vultur iecur intimum pererrat  
et pectus trahit intimasque fibras,  
non est quem lepidi vocant poetae,  
sed cordis mala, livor atque luxus.*

chap. 5, 1 to 7:

*artis severae si quis ambit effectus  
mentemque magnis applicat, prius mores  
frugalitatis lege poliat exacta,  
nec curet alto regiam truce[m] vultu  
cliensve cenas impotentium captet,  
nec perditis addictus obruat vino  
mentis calorem.*

chap. 88, 11: *priscis enim temporibus cum adhuc nuda virtus placeret, vigeabant artes ingenuae summumque certamen inter homines erat ne quid profuturum saeculis diu lateret*. 88, 23: *accusatores antiquitatis vitia tantum docemus et discimus*. Petronius possessed fine literary taste, much fancy, and a singularly happy aptitude for phrasing. He could, when he chose, exercise great literary restraint. This is in harmony with his view expressed in, 118, 23: *curandum est ne sententiae eminent extra corpus orationis expressae, sed intexto vestibibus colore niteant*, and again in 2, 1: *grandis et ut ita dicam pudica oratio non est maculosa nec turgida, sed naturali pulchritudine exurgit*. That his language, in many passages, shows a turgidness, (*ventosa et enormis loquacitas*, he calls it 2, 3), which is out of all harmony with the subject matter, in no wise contradicts the claim just made. For, in such places, it is very evident that the extravagance is indulged in with set purpose, and with no intention of having the writing considered a model of good diction. Of necessity, since he was suiting the language to the speakers, he employs many terms not allowed in formal Latin. But he knows correct usage: 118, 20,

refugiendum est ab omni verborum, ut ita dicam, vilitate, et sumendae voces a plebe semotae. He saw and appreciated and aptly named the 'Horatii curiosa felicitas'. His literary judgment and insight saved him from making the mistake of Lucan: 118, 28, non enim res gestae versibus comprehendendae sunt, quod longe melius historici faciunt. That he appreciated the value of much and diligent study is shown by passages like these: 4, 29, si paterentur laborum gradus fieri, ut studiosi iuvenes lectione severa irrigarentur, ut sapientiae praeceptis animos componerent, ut verba atroci stilo effoderent ut quod vellent imitari diu audirent; 118, 19, neque concipere aut edere partum mens potest nisi ingenti flumine literarum inundata; and the whole of chap. 5, concluding with the words, sic flumine largo plenus Pierio defundes pectore verba.

When the events, recorded in the Satires, are to be imagined as having taken place is not certainly known. The question has been much discussed by able scholars, but no one has yet succeeded in fixing upon a single cardinal fact that serves to establish the date beyond a doubt. Respecting the place, there is now no great diversity of opinion. It seems to be pretty well agreed that some part of the country bordering on the Bay of Naples was the theatre of action for the most of the Satires preserved to us. Hayley, who has been the last writer to review the testimony and add new arguments,<sup>1</sup> makes out a strong case in favor of Puteoli. It is, perhaps, scarcely probable that this question will ever be answered more definitely through evidence furnished by the work itself. There is far greater difference of opinion regarding the other and more important half of the question. Different theories fix the time variously in the reigns of Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius, Nero, and Alexander Severus. Hayley argues in support of the view that the time falls somewhere in the early part of the reign of Augustus, and selects 13 B. C. as an approximate date. Friedlaender thinks that Hayley's arguments are not convincing, and believes that 57 A.D. is an approximate date.<sup>2</sup> To this conclusion I can give complete assent. Two statements in the work which seem to me likely to furnish a key to the problem are those which relate to the giving of what the illiterate speakers, at 45, 29 and 71, 16, call an epulum, though they mean a gift of money, and to the eating of human flesh by the people of Saguntum, when they were besieged by Hannibal, 141, 29. There seems to be no room to doubt that, in both passages where the word epulum occurs, it means a gift of money, and money only: 45, 29, subolfacio, quod nobis epulum daturus est Mammaea, binos denarios mihi et meis; 71, 16, scis enim, quod epulum dedi binos denarios. Forcellini, (*Lex. s. v.*), cites an inscription in which epulum means a gift of money. Along with this, he gives another in which sportula is used in exactly the same sense in a similar statement. If, as the authorities say, the giving of a money dole or sportula was not in vogue before the time of Nero, may we not assume, as probable, the reign of that emperor for the time of our story?<sup>3</sup> From the amount of this epulum, too, we may get additional support for our conjecture. For it appears that, from first to last, the value of the money sportula was approximately a hundred quadrantes. As late as Trajan, we find one or two denarii fixed upon as the amount to be given to guests, on occasions when large numbers were entertained.<sup>4</sup> The story of the cannibalism of the Numantini appears to date not earlier than Seneca. Only he and Petronius mention it as if it were an authenticated fact, and it may well be an invention of the schools of rhetoric.<sup>5</sup> Of some importance, perhaps, also, is the fact that the word procurator occurs at 30, 4, with a meaning it did not have till rather late.<sup>6</sup>

The speakers, with their names when given, and the chapters in which their

1. *Quaest. Petr.*, Harv. Stud. 2, 1, sq.

2. *Cena Trim.*, p. 7, note.

3. Becker's *Gallus*, p. 229.

4. *Pliny ad Trai.* 11.

5. *Friedl., Juv. Sat.*, 15, 11, 4.

6. Becker's *Gallus*, p. 204.

speeches appear, are as follows: Agamemnon, a teacher of rhetoric, 3, 4, 5, 48, 65; Ascyrtos, companion of Encolpius, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 80; Bargates, an agent in charge of a tenement house, 96; Cinnamus, Trimalchio's steward, 30; Chrysis, maid-servant of Circe, 126, 129, 131, 139; Circe, an acquaintance of Encolpius at Croton, 127, 128, 129, 131; Corax, a servant of Eumolpus, also a barber, 117; Croesus, boy favorite of Trimalchio, 64; Dama, a freedman, 41; Echion, a freedman, 45, 46; Encolpius, the young man who tells the story; Eumolpus, a poet, in many chapters, from 83 to 141, including those containing the two long poems; Fortunata, wife of Trimalchio, 67, 74; Ganymedes, a freedman, 44; Giton, boy favorite of Encolpius 91, 94, 98, 101, 102, 114, 128, 139; Habinnas, stone-cutter, maker of monuments, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 72; Hermeros, a freedman, 33, 36, 37, 38, 41, 57, 58; Hesus, passenger on the ship of Lichas, 104, 105; Lichas, a trader of Tarentum, owner of several vessels and captain, 104, 105, 106, 107, 113, 114; M. Mannicius, an inn-keeper, 95; Menelaus an assistant of Agamemnon, 27; Niceros a freedman, 60, 61, 62; Oenothea, a priestess of Priapus at Croton, 134, 136, 137; Phileros, a freedman, (Buecheler thinks perhaps a lawyer, Friedlaender, a homo negotians), 43;<sup>1</sup> Plocamus, a freedman, 64; Proselenos, a sorceress of Croton, 131, 134; Psyche, maid-servant of Quartilla, 14, 16, 20; Quartilla, priestess of Priapus in Campania, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 25; Scintilla, wife of Habinnas, 69; Seleucus, a freedman, 42; Trimalchio, a wealthy freedman, in 27 of the 41 chapters between 33 and 74; Tryphaena, a noted courtesan, 100, 104, 108; an old woman who sells vegetables, 7; servants of Trimalchio, 30, 31; a servant of Agamemnon, 26; Trimalchio's house steward, 29; a soldier, 81; a herald, 97; maid-servants of Tryphaena, 105, 113; Trimalchio's cook, 47; his keeper of accounts, 53; a sailor, 99; an overseer of an estate, 116; a cinaedus, 23. In stories told by Eumolpus, Trimalchio and Niceros, direct quotations are made from the speeches of five other persons, a youth of Pergamum, 86, a woman of Ephesus and her maid-servant, 111, 112, Serapa, an astrologer, 77, and Melissa, a friend of Niceros, 62. Those who say but a few words each are: Bargates, Cinnamus, Corax, Croesus, Fortunata, Hesus, Mannicius, Menelaus, Scintilla, the house steward, the soldier, the old woman who sells vegetables, Tryphaena's maid-servants, the cook, Agamemnon's servant, and Trimalchio's boy slaves. Slightly longer are the speeches of: Ascyrtos, Chrysis, Circe, Dama, Lichas, Oenothea, Plocamus, Proselenos, Psyche, Quartilla, Tryphaena, the herald, the sailor, the keeper of accounts, the cinaedus, and the farm overseer. The two who appear oftenest are Encolpius and Eumolpus.

A careful classification of all these, on the basis of language and education, would give several groups, into the lowest of which, in rank, would go all of the freedmen and a few others who are plainly as illiterate as they, into the highest, Encolpius, Ascyrtos, Giton, Eumolpus, Agamemnon and Menelaus. I have thought it sufficient, for my purpose, to divide them into two groups only: the illiterate, by which I mean the freedmen and the few others like them, and the educated, among whom are some, to be sure, who appear to have enjoyed but indifferent opportunities. In the first class, then, I place: Bargates, Cinnamus, Corax, Croesus, Dama, Echion, Fortunata, Ganymedes, Habinnas, Hermeros, Mannicius, Niceros, Phileros, Plocamus, Scintilla, Seleucus, Trimalchio, servants of Trimalchio and Agamemnon, Trimalchio's cook, house steward, and keeper of accounts, the tailor, the old woman, the cinaedus, and the soldier. It must be admitted, however, that even so simple a classification is arbitrary and open to criticism. For, in the case of a few of the speakers here named, it is perhaps not possible to show, from their language, that they are people of little or no education. I refer to several of those who utter only a few words, or one or two sentences, in which no vulgarisms appear, i. e., Cinnamus, Fortunata, and the account keeper. Unless, indeed, Cinnamus wrote the inscription containing *foras*, 30, 11. Fortunata was probably of low birth, (see 74, 26 and 77, 12). But it is not certain that

1. Bue. Petr. Sat. ed. '95, p. 126, Friedl., Cen., p. 250.

the two men were of the same sort as their employer and his fellow freedmen. Both held rather responsible positions. It is interesting to note that the accountant, (at 53, 8), correctly construes the dative with *maledicere*, whereas a freedman and Bargates, in two passages where they employ the verb, have the accusative. Then, on the other hand, there are some not included in this list, whose language, in part, is of plebeian stamp, but in most respects is quite correct. There comes into consideration here, besides vocabulary and syntactical usage, also sentence structure. In such speeches as those of Hesus and Lichas, there is something of an approach to the freedmen's language, not so much in what they say, as in the way they say it. The only vulgarisms, if indeed they are not a copyist's errors, are *quod for quem* in a speech of Lichas, 104, 25, and a *legato* in another, 107, 34. One expects to find a farm overseer, too, talk much after the fashion of the unlettered freedmen. But this one exhibits a surprising vocabulary for one of his station, and a glibness that reminds the reader of Encolpius and Eumolpus. There is no other character in the whole work, I believe, whose language seems so ill adapted. It is as if the author had forgotten here to fit the language to the speaker. And so I have classed Cinnamus and the accountant, perhaps without good reason, with the vulgar speakers, because they apparently belong to the freedman class, but have given higher rank to Hesus, Lichas, and the overseer, for the reason that nothing in their speeches warrants a lower rating, even though the last, almost certainly, and the other two probably, were of inferior station and education. The language of the three is, on the whole, vastly superior to that of the freedmen. Good in general, too, is the language of all the women speakers of the work: Quartilla, Oenothea, Tryphaena, Circe, Chrysis, Psyche, Proselenos, the un-named maid-servants, and even the vegetable woman, and the wives of the freedmen, Trimalchio and Habinnas. Here, again, I have arbitrarily made the speaker's station almost the sole basis of classification, in certain cases. All are ranked with the better educated except the two wives of freedmen and the vegetable woman. But these three together scarcely utter as many sentences and there is little to pass upon. The only examples of strictly incorrect usage in the speeches of this whole class are: 19, 16, in *deversorio*, *forin deversorium*, 128, 21, *ab vitio* where the context seems to require an ablative of means, and, 131, 30, *quod leporem for quem leporem*, spoken by Quartilla, Circe, and Proselenos respectively. It is possible that the author wrote neither in *deversorio* nor *quod leporem*. In fact, the rest of the language of Quartilla and Proselenos is so nearly correct that such errors seem out of place. The expression *ab vitio* appears to receive some support from the similar *a legato*, in a speech of Lichas, 107, 34, (which Bue. thinks should be *te legato*). But the remainder of Circe's language, too, is correct. Three of the women speakers even improvise verse with ease, Quartilla, Tryphaena, and Proselenos. The maid-servant, Chrysis, employs an elegant mode of speech,—far better than one looks for in a person of her station. And altogether, the language of the whole class warrants the placing of them, with the exceptions mentioned, among those who use fair or good colloquial Latin.

The most important character, both on account of the number and length of his speeches, and the fact that he is, to a large degree, the mouthpiece of the author, is Encolpius. It is not necessary to understand, though, that the author means to identify himself exclusively with this one person throughout the work. For it is quite evident that there is one other, at least, who does, at times, share the author's self with Encolpius,—namely the poet Eumolpus. Agememnon, too, who says only a few words after his declamation in chapters 3, 4, 5, is perhaps another representative. But it is with Encolpius, as narrator, that we associate the writer most closely. His language and manner vary from the high level shown in passages like those of chapters 1, 2, 14, 80 and 115, to the much lower one of the clownish, mock-heroic descriptions of the battle on the boat and the encounter with the geese, (chs. 108 and 136), and the parts where he seems, for the time being, to fall, to a certain extent, into the way of the vulgar speakers by whom he is sur-

rounded. Often, in his prose passages, he is prolix, but it is regularly in those where he is buffoon that this 'Breitschweifigkeit' appears in its most exaggerated form. He maintains a serious gravity in situations where only a person who is stupid could fail to recognize the enormity of the speaker's nonsense. As an example of 'talking big' about small things, take the statement in chapter 79, telling of the escape from Trimalchio's house, and concluding with, *quae lineamenta* (sc. marks made by chalk on the marble columns) *evicerunt spississimam noctem et notabile candore ostenderunt errantibus viam*. Similar passages are found in chapter 72, where he tells about falling into the fish-pond, in chapter 80, containing the mock-tragic encounter between himself and Ascyrtos, and in chapters 101, 102, 103, which give the discussion of plans to conceal the identity of Encolpius and Giton from Tryphaena and Lichas. That Encolpius and his companions, Ascyrtos and Giton, had enjoyed the advantages of an education, numerous bits of evidence show. Encolpius himself says, in talking to Ascyrtos, 10, 9, *et tu literas scis et ego*, they are spoken of as *scholastici*, chapters 10, and 61, Hermeros says to Ascyrtos, 58, 3, *quamvis et rhetoricam scis*, and besides there are many other evidences. Encolpius, in fact, is poet and literateur. Giton, who is only a boy of sixteen employs quite good Latin, and appears to have had training in letters, in spite of the fact that he is *deliciae* of Encolpius and son of an unprincipled mother, if the statement at 81, 17, be taken literally. The poet Eumolpus turns off *ingenti volubilitate verborum*, as Encolpius says, (124, 1), such poems as those on Troy and the Civil War, delivers the eloquent passages in chapters 88, and 118, on the decay of the fine arts, and gives other evidences of great versatility in the stories of the woman of Ephesus, (111 and 112), and of his adventures at Pergamum, (85, 86, and 87), and in his various speeches while on the boat of Lichas, (100 sq.).

In the speeches of the freedmen, we find Petronius talking with the tongues of men who considered it an accomplishment to boast of that they knew *lapidarias literas*, (58, 38), even if they couldn't read books. The level is a low one and is approximately the same for all. Trimalchio is somewhat ambitious and makes ridiculous attempts at appearing wise, and Phileros and Niceros rise a little above the crowd, in certain respects. The prize for illiteracy ought to go, perhaps, to Hermeros and Echion. In the language of all these there is little attempt at ornament. The statements are matter-of-fact, straight-forward, and simple in structure. The sentences are brief, but often a number of them are strung together by the use of co-ordinate connectives. And so there is a relatively slight use of subordinate clauses and rarely are there several of these in the same sentence. The sentences are frequently faulty in structure, sometimes to the extent that the statement begun is not finished, because the speaker turns aside, within the sentence, to another thought, (cf. 38, 32; 58, 28). Logical sequence is often lacking, (cf. 63, 3 and 4; 46, 17; 52, 16 to 18; 52, 18 to 20; 38, 34; 58, 10 to 12; 39, 11; 46, 10; 48, 3 and 4; 56, 4 to 8). There is an extravagant use of the conjunctions *sed*, *et* and *nam*, at the beginning of statements where these words are merely particles of transition. More than a fourth of the 129 occurrences of *sed* fall within their sixth of the work,—a large proportion, considering the use they make of it. Occasionally they repeat it at the beginning of a sentence immediately following, as, 45, 28, *sed sibi quisque peccat. sed subolfacio*, etc; 46, 15, *sed venit, dem literas, sed non vult laborare*. In chapter 44, six occur within twenty lines, in 38, four in nine lines, in 75, five in twelve lines. Examples of the colorless *et* used in this way are seen at 38, 33 and 34; 41, 39; 43, 31, and 38; 44, 9. No one but an illiterate person would employ *et* sixteen times in twenty-one lines, as Habinnas does in chapters 65 and 66. These facts seem to argue a scant vocabulary and an inability to sustain a line of thought or to formulate a statement that is even moderately complex. By means of the alternate employment of the introductory *sed* and *et*, varied by an occasional *at*, *nam*, or *ceterum* with the force of *sed*, the illiterate speaker joins together the parts of his wandering discourse. Sancta Silvia shows a similar use of *nam* in her *Peregrinatio*. Her sentence collocation, too, like that of

the uneducated speakers of our work, is very simple. Her thoughts and turns of expression are repeated with tiresome frequency. Page 47 has six sentences, in close succession, beginning with *nam*, 48 has six and 49 also six.<sup>1</sup> Errors of syntax are not infrequent. Some of their mistakes in case usage are seen at 46, 4; 62, 10; 58, 15; 96, 5; 42, 6; 30, 11; 51, 7; 58, 31; 49, 13; 48, 30; 44, 10; 39, 28; 46, 4. Among the mistakes in the use of tense and mode are those at 44, 8, *morlet*; 76, 10, *cenaveram*, (both of which Guericke, p. 64, says, but erroneously I think, may be in paratactically arranged clauses); 46, 12, *comedit*; 58, 5, *currit, movetur*; 39, 7, *putatis—videratis*; 45, 16, *impendat—sentiet*; 47, 6, *periisse—dum nolunt*; 45, 29, *daturus est*; 71, 16, *dedi*; 99, 5, *ignores*. Active forms of deponents are employed: 46, 1, *argutat*; 57, 9, *argutas*; 57, 29, *convivare*; 63, 18, *amplexaret*; 62, 37, *exopinissent*; 76, 6, *exhortavit*. In forms of declension, there are numerous violations of good usage.<sup>2</sup> Some of these are: 57, 9, *vasus*; 76, 9 *intestinas*; 41, 40, *balneus*; 41, 1, *vinus*; 42, 13, and three other places, *fatus*; 39, 12 and 17, *caelus*. Other peculiarities of their language are, the frequent employment of an orthography not like that of formal, or good informal Latin, an extensive use of popular proverbs, oracular utterances, asseverations, slang words and phrases, terms of abuse, syncope, apocope, asyndeton, and parataxis, (some examples of which are very harsh). Besides these are, a comparison by means of *tanquam*, for which they show a strong liking,<sup>3</sup> a marked preference for the preposition *de*, especially in expressions where source or material is given, (almost half of the eighty-four occurrences of *de* appear in such expressions), a tendency to repeat words and ideas and to employ strong terms in order to secure emphasis, an inclination to place the negative *non* at the beginning of the sentence, and, finally, a most remarkable use of the forms of the pronoun *ille* for the corresponding ones of *hic* and *is*. A careful and detailed characterization of the language of the vulgar speakers would include, of course, the treatment of other peculiarities of minor importance which cannot be given here. The use of *ille* is discussed further on. It seems fitting to speak briefly, at this point, about *non*. *Non* peculiar to the vulgar, but far oftener in their speeches, is the *non* at or near the beginning of a sentence, separated often from the word it limits. The stress thus placed upon the negative is frequently so strong as to cause the verb and, in fact, all other parts of the statement, to take lower rank. The one idea which stands out prominently, in such sentences, is that of emphatic negation. Some examples are seen at 37, 8; 38, 30; 42, 17; 44, 8; 45, 6; 45, 16; 46, 2; 58, 36 and 38; 57, 34; 76, 32 and 34; 61, 2. A bold use of parataxis is found at: 65, 7; 77, 11; 75, 9; 61, 4. As regards case-usage, it may be said here that they show a predilection for certain constructions, a slight acquaintance only with certain others, and a total lack of familiarity with some. Since their statements are regularly simple and brief, the nominative, as subject and predicate, and the accusative of the direct object constitute no small part of their discourse. The subject, whether noun or pronoun, is commonly expressed. They make a large use of certain datives, as, for example, those of the indirect object and of reference. More than a fourth of the whole number of datives in the work, (162 out of 632), belong to them. By far the most of these are pronouns, 119. The remainder are nouns. There is no example of a participle or adjective employed as a dative by a freedman. In fact, of the 123 present, 3 future, and 31 perfect participles used as substantives in the work, the vulgar speakers have to their credit only three, *stolatae*, *staminatas*, and *mortuum*. Of course, I do not take into consideration the many words which, though once perfect participles, were felt as substantives by all, and which are common to vulgar and educated alike. The lack of the participle employed as substantive, therefore, seems

1. Woelflin, *Archiv*, 4, 259 sq.

2. cf. Ludwig, *de Petr. serm.*

3. cf. Segebade, *Obs. in Petr.*, p. 3 sq.



to be a marked feature of the language of this class. In this connection, it may be said, too, that there is almost entire absence of the participle in the ablative absolute, since of the whole number, nearly 200, only four are spoken by them. Three of these, together with the three other absolutes in the language of the freedmen which, however, lack the participle, belong to Trimalchio. The *inclinatis quoque rebus* of the illiterate Hermeros, at 38, 38, strikes the reader as being far too fine for such a speaker. The genitive they do not use much outside of the possessive, partitive, the genitives of value and of quality,—the last named chiefly in the predicate. Among ablatives, we find oftenest those of time, place, cause, price, and separation. Yet the ablative is not very common with them in any construction. Besides the absolute, other categories which have scant representation are, ablatives of comparison, with adjectives, and of instrument. The vocative they employ freely, of course, (44 in a total of 138), and frequently as first word in the sentence. Adjectives are not very numerous, and the range is limited. And even in the use of the particles, there is evidence of poverty of vocabulary and of ignorance of good usage.

A prominent feature of Petronius' diction is his extraordinary prodigality in the use of superlatives. The fact is obvious that the constant employment of these once strong forms had so weakened their force that it was scarcely more, when Petronius wrote, than that of the corresponding positives. This degradation of the superlative was doubtless due, in the first place, to the desire the familiar language has at all times shown to secure the most emphatic term. But the tendency was certainly fostered by the custom, followed by the best writers and public speakers, of employing the strongest forms of attributes by way of complimenting and doing honor to those whom they needed to mention by name. And, as for Petronius, I am persuaded that there is additional ground of explanation for *his* extreme indulgence to be found in his desire for elegance of diction, to which these and other euphonious polysyllabic words contributed much. The number of these superlatives in our work is 96, the whole number of occurrences 154. If to these be added the 17 adverbs with their 18 occurrences in the superlative, the sum total of these strong forms is seen to be 172, nearly two for every page of the prose portions of the work. The appropriateness of leaving the poetry out of consideration here is evident when it is known, that, aside from two occurrences of *ultimus*, one of which has real superlative force, no strong forms of adjective or adverb appear outside of the prose. Not included in the sum total given above are the forms *imus*, *maximus*, *primus*, *extremus*, and *proximus*, which are regularly employed with true superlative meaning. Besides these there are not more than a half dozen that are true superlatives, and they are adjectives. The superlative of adverbs is in every case not genuine. It is noteworthy that the freedmen rarely employ the superlative. Altogether only twelve occurrences of ten adjectives are found, and six of these are spoken by Trimalchio. The adjectives are: *carus*, *bonus*, *difficilis*, *disertus*, *frugalis*, *inferus*, *laboriosus*, *lautus*, *nequam*, and *putidus*. It is probable that the superlatives of such familiar words were often heard in the conversation of even the uneducated. *Nequissimi* and *putidissimi* were stock epithets applied to slaves, and not even *frugalissimus* and *laboriosissimus* surprise, when one considers how well acquainted the vulgar speakers were with the dative (or genitive) *frugi*, and how often adjectives in *-osus* were on their tongue. The superlative of *disertus*, together with the genitive limiting it, in the speech of Bargates, (96, 1, *poetorum disertissime*), seem too fine for one who, four lines below, says *maledic illam*. If it were not for that one vulgarism, perhaps the superlative and its genitive, the enclitic *-que* in the next line, and the polite expression, *si me amas* in line 4, would entitle Bargates to a place among the speakers of the second rank. As illustrations of the extravagance of many of these superlatives, I cite the following: 95, 15, *palma excussissima*, meaning 'a stinging blow'; 79, 21., *spississimam noctem*, a 'dark night'; 15, 15, *tuberosissimae, frontis*, 'warty faced'; 139, 26, *iratissimum*, angry; 132, 18, *sordidissimam*, 'mean'; 140, 7, *speciosissimam*, 'beautiful'. Of the dimin-

utives of substantives, of which there are considerably more than a hundred occurrences of about eighty different words, the vulgar speakers employ a relatively small number, among which are the peculiarly plebeian *domusio*, *homuncio*, and *Graeculio*. Abstract nouns, too, they employ but little. Theirs, however, are all but one of the four forms in *-monium*: *gaudimonium*, *patrimonium*, and *tristimonium*.

The attempt of Petronius to adapt the language to the various speakers in his novel, although not entirely successful, was certainly a very creditable one for the time when he wrote. For in his day such studies were not common. It is in that part of the work which gives the *cena Trimalchionis*, doubtless, that he is most consistent. The vocabulary employed by him to represent the more than forty speakers, differing so widely in natural endowments and education, consists of over five thousand different words.

## CASE USAGE.

In making this study of case usage in Petronius, I have examined all occurrences of every case. Under the separate cases, all instances of the usage in many categories are given, the quotations being accompanied by numbers indicating the chapter and line. Those groups which, of course, I have not attempted to treat in detail are: the vocative, the nominative, the accusative of the direct object, the dative of the indirect object, the possessive genitive, and the constructions with prepositions. The ablatives are all given except those with prepositions. Under each division of the several cases it is made plain when all occurrences of a particular usage are or are not given. A comparison of the case usage of Petronius with that of writers of other periods will show, I think, that, omitting from consideration the vulgar constructions which he purposely puts into the mouths of the illiterate speakers he imitates, he does not deviate much from the best models. There is little that would warrant one in believing that the author belongs to a time later than the first century A. D., as some have supposed. There is, to be sure, an unusually large proportionate use of the ablative to express duration of time, for a writer of the middle of the first century. Also, the use made of the prepositions *de* and *ad* is rather free for that time. But, in general, the author's diction is such as one would expect to find that of a talented, well educated writer of the first century A. D., who knew the best usage but refused to be bound by the norms of the classical period to the extent demanded by slavish imitation. In some respects, there is a noticeable lack of resemblance to other Latin of the same period, but this is not such as to justify one in ranking the author with a later school. Some of the more marked Graecisms, for instance, so well represented in writers like Livy and Tacitus, are barely, or not at all, represented.

### THE VOCATIVE

The vocative appears 138 times. The speeches of the illiterate contain about one third of all, 45. It stands as first word in the sentence 27 times. The vulgar speakers employ it thus 11 times. Nearly all of these, (nine), belong to Trimalchio, who so employs the word *amici* in five places. In ten passages, *o* accompanies the vocative. There is one example of a vocative separated from its adjective modifier by an interjection: frag. 31,5, *Paeon o Delphice*. In four passages the interjection *o* is separated from the vocative by a verb, as sometimes in Greek: 90, 11; 96, 1; 116, 25; 134, 7. The speaker in every case is Encolpius. The vocative is a term of abuse twenty-four times, a term of endearment twice, exclusive of the occurrences of *amicus*. The latter are found joined to the pronoun *tu* and are mentioned by S. and L. among the memorabilia: 139, 23, *tu desiderium meum*; *tu voluptas mea*. There is a single instance of the vocative *macte*, if, indeed, it is a vocative and not an adverb, as some believe: 94, 10, *macte virtute esto*. The vocative is an adjective seven times: 96, 1; 109, 20; 115, 36; 131, 20; 133,

18; 137. 6; frag. 34, 3. In the introduction, I referred to the adjective *disertissime*, in the first of the passages cited here, as rather fine for Bargates, the only one of his class who employs an adjective as vocative. There is no occurrence of the vocative of an adjective used substantively with a verb in the second person. Once mi appears with the vocative plural: 116, 25. Lindsay, (*L. L.*, p. 427), says that only in late and vulgar Latin is *mi* found so used. The speaker is the farm overseer who exhibits such unexpected facility of speech. Perhaps, therefore, we may say that the usage here is not vulgar, but correct for late Latin. The vocative is an appositive only four times: 120, 79; 139, 23 (twice); frag. 38, 5. The nominative is not employed as vocative.

#### THE NOMINATIVE.

A case so common and so devoid of difficulties I have thought it unnecessary to treat in detail. Only the interesting facts bearing on our author's usage are given. The whole number of occurrences is 3107, of which 2941 are subjects, 166 predicates. The infinitive, with or without modifier, appears in the following 24 passages with the force of a substantive: 10, 15, *tardum est differre quod placet*; 14, 32, *pallium addicere placuit*; 28, 1, *longum erat singula excipere*; 33, 26, *suave erat venire*; 44, 13, *illud erat vivere*; 45, 22, *hoc est se traducere*; 57, 18, *ingenuum nasci facile est*; 61, 36, *satius est rideri quam derideri*; 67, 19, *hoc est caldum meiere*; 73, 14, *lavari coeperat votum esse*; 91, 12, *erit solacium tua voluntate cecidisse*; 92, 22, *magis expedit inguina fricare*; 102, 32, *quid erit aliud quam se proscribere*; 102, 36, *quid attinet innocentem imponere*; 107, 13, *quid attinet supplices radere*; 107, 14, *quid attinet veritatem quaerere*; 108, 20, *nihil facere decet nec dicere*; 115, 13, *dementia est omnia facere*; 121, 104, *si fas est impune profari*; 130, 34, *sive occidere placet*; 132, 8, *ne nominare quidem fas est*; 140, 37, *nihil est commodius quam cum sapientia loqui*; frag. 28, 4, *nec satis est vulgasse fidem*; frag. 37, 8, *una est nobilitas, timidas non habuisse manus*. We see the infinitive here alone as subject four times, fourteen times with a modifier. The three predicates, one limiting a subject *illud*, the other two *hoc*, are spoken by freedmen. The illiterate speakers, whose sentences are usually quite simple in structure, employ the predicate nominative often, 89 times in a total of 116. The verbs which appear as copulas are: *esse* in 111 passages, (four times as an infinitive); *addere*, *ambulare*, *appellare*, *crescere*, (meaning *feri*), *ire*, *jacere*, *sequi*, *tacere*, in one each; *feri* in seven; *videre* in three; *vocare* in seven. Some form of the verb *esse* is omitted in 21 passages, all but four of which are spoken by the uneducated: 37, 35; 38, 28; 38, 38; 42, 18; 43, 27; 43, 37; 44, 16; 44, 17; 45, 11; 45, 39; 56, 8; 58, 13; 58, 14; 74, 27; 75, 15; 76, 31; 81, 16; 82, 31; 119, 47; 124, 4; 131, 36.

The nominative, not a predicate, appears without verb 96 times. In the following 53 places, where it is subject, a verb is easily supplied. I indicate the passages and the verbs which the context demands: *esse*: 49, 27; 50, 25, 30 (two); 58, 13; 60, 24; 64, 7; 64, 25 (two); 66, 19 (three), 20; 89, 45, 46; 99, 5; 101, 11; 102, 38; 108, 20; 114, 30; 119, 41 (two), 47; 124, 273, 275; 131, 36 (two), 1; 135, 21, 22; *dicere*: 41, 21; 50, 34; 117, 5; 129, 9; 130, 29; *facere*: 30, 7; *fugere*: 38, 34; *imponere*: 81, 13; *notare*: 102, 39; *perdere*: 42, 13; *ponere*: 58, 1 (two); *quaerere*: 139, 16; *recitare*: 53, 17, 18, 19 (three); *valere*: 71, 28; *venire*: 88, 26; *vincere*: 70, 28.

An absolute nominative is met with 43 times, if this name may be applied also to the nominative in exclamations and in expressions which approach exclamations. Not exclamatory, but plainly absolute, are those at 37, 8; 56, 4, 7, 3, 9; 63, 4. Such a use of the nominative as that seen in chapters 37 and 56 is found in all languages. Special emphasis is thus given the subject.<sup>1</sup> At 63, 4, the nominative *asinus* is not made to agree with *rem*, but is treated as if it were the title of a book, or story, quoted directly. The speaker is doubtless using a proverbial expression.

1. cf. R. and G. Gram. Comp. p. 41.

Closely related to these given are the nine seen at 126, 2 to 7, in a speech of Encolpius. The three appearing in lines 6 and 7 of that passage are, in a sense, also exclamatory. We may consider independent those which appear as tituli: **34, 23; 56, 16 to 22** (fourteen). The following twelve are found in expressions more or less exclamatory: **38, 32**, sed liberti scelerati; **58, 28**, at isti nugae; 79, 28; **115, 2; 125, 6**, dii deaeque, **57, 7**, ecce magister; 68, 36, ecce alius ludus; 89, 29, ecce alia monstra; 119, 13, ecce aliae clades; 115, 27, en homo; 81, 20; 123, 243, pro pudor.

The requisite form of esse is to be supplied in passive compounds in four places: 119, 43; 124, 275; 135, 19, 20. The nominative is an adjective 51 times, a participle 12 times. Six of these participles are present, six perfect: 22, 20, dormientes; 28, 5, rixantes; 36, 15, tripudiantes; 105, 6, nocentes; 116, 21, 38, errantes, innocentes; 134, 6, lugentes; 40, 9, barbatus; **44, 38**, stolatae; 107, 39, laesi; 118, 15, exercitati; 122, 150, concreta. The last appears in poetry. Only once is a vulgar speaker represented. The persons to whom lugentes and laesi belong, Oenothea and Lichas, one scarcely expects to find using the participle as substantive often. We find, besides these, in the speeches of Lichas, nocentes, acc., and periclitantibus, dat., and in a speech of Oenothea, the expression me absente. The number of participles so employed in the nominative is small as compared with the number which appear as datives, accusatives and genitives. The ablative is hardly represented thus, there being only two in the work. An adjective limits the participle, used as subject, twice; 40, 9, barbatus ingens; 36, 15, quattuor tripudiantes. With the adjective as substantive, the illiterate are quite familiar. Nearly half of the nominatives belong to them. But the range is limited. The strangest example of the adjective is found at **56, 13**, ubicumque dulce est, ibi et acidum invenies. In three passages, one a question, the nominative is joined to an infinitive: 52, 25, puer demisso labro orare; **62, 16**, mihi anima in naso esse; **62, 22**, qui mori timore nisi ego. Deserving of special mention are the following nominatives and equivalent expressions, employed as subjects or predicates: 27, 25, pretium, meaning the same as pueri of the preceding line, though the copula is erat; **30, 11**, the initial C in a freedman's inscription; **43, 27**, discordia, said of a man; **46, 39**, fugae merae, meaning third-rate gladiators; **57, 19**, accede istoc; **58, 13**, bella res, applied to a person; **71, 6**, largiter and a limiting genitive as subject; 109, 14, quod, having as antecedent capilli, but attracted to the predicate decus; 118, 25, Horatii felicitas, where the logical subject appears as a limiting genitive; 122, 181, nitor Phoebi, like Horatii felicitas, as the following verse in the context shows; 124, 257, mortis imago, perhaps like the two just mentioned; 124, 286, senectus, meaning senex; 126, 7, pedum candor, for white feet. This last and the Horatii felicitas appear in prose passages.

As an appositive, the nominative is found 82 times, as follows: 5, 5, 7; 15, 10; 23, 27; 25, 31; 26, 12; 28, 9; **30, 7; 38, 12** (three); **42, 7; 45, 4, 21; 47, 4** (three); **48, 3; 50, 39** (two); **55, 26, 28** (two), **30; 57, 8; 57, 15; 63, 6; 65, 35**, (two); 67, 2; 69, 27, 33; **71, 5; 73, 35; 74, 30, 31; 76, 7** (two), **8; 79, 34; 81, 11** (two); 88, 23, 31; 89, 49; 92, 18; 94, 5; 101, 8, (two); 104, 34; 108, 27, 28, 17; 110, 1, 2; 116, 21, 27, 37; 117, 6 (two), 3; 120, 76; 121, 117; 122, 162; 123, 239 (two), 240; 124, 255, 256 (two), 257 (three); 132, 34; 133, 11, 18, 19; 138, 26; 140, 30, 31; frag. 25, 4 (two); frag. 37, 8. Partitive apposition is seen in **38, 12; 47, 4; 117, 6; 124, 255, 256, 257; frag. 25, 4**. With id est the appositive appears three times: 26, 12; 116, 37; 117, 6. Predicate apposition is found five times: 25, 31; **48, 3; 57, 13; 94, 5; 116, 21**. In the first three passages, the noun has about the force of a temporal clause, in the last two, the force of a causal clause. The only example of an appositive limiting an entire clause is seen at 123, 222, miserabile visu. Noteworthy are the following: 26, 12, expectatio, explaining dies; 108, 27, solacia, auxilia, referring to persons who gave assistance; 123, 239, tremor Ponti, limiting Pompeius; frag. 37, 8, non

habuisse, an interpretation of nobilitas. Apparently impossible is *bacam*, an accusative explaining the nominative *margarita*, 55, 30.

Once a nominative limited by *unus* is found where the partitive ablative or genitive would have to stand if the *unus* were not, in fact, weakened to an indefinite article: 26, 15, *unus servus Agamemnonis*. The context demands a genitive of the whole at 37, 7, *argentum plus iacet*. The same speaker, Trimalchio, properly employs the genitive after plus in two other places: 38, 37 and 44, 29. It is, therefore, probable that, in the first instance, the whole sentence was not yet definitely outlined when the speaker uttered the first word, *argentum*. In a treatment of the expression *omne genus*, which appears once in our author in partitive apposition in the sentence, *omne genus enim poma volo sint circa cineres meos*, 71, 5, Woelfflin makes these points:<sup>1</sup> The phrase is older than the compound *omnigenus* first employed by Lucretius and much liked by Varro. Cato shows it as an appositive of an accusative, r. r. 8, 2, and Catullus in 114, 3. But it was never at home in Latin. Only a few writers use it and almost always as nominative or accusative. Instead of it as an appositive, they chose either the genitive limiting it, as, Caesar, B. G., I, 26, *omni genere telorum*, or, *omnis generis* limiting the other substantive. (This last appears in Petronius once, 60, 12, *omnis generis poma*, in the mouth of the speaker who says *omne genus poma*, Trimalchio.) But Cicero and Caesar do not use it. And, finally, the inference that classical writers avoided it is supported by the fact that they use *cuiusque generis* which well supplies its place.

### THE ACCUSATIVE.

It was long held by writers on the Latin language, beginning with Varro, that all the oblique cases originally expressed local relations. In modern times, the most important supporters of this view have been, perhaps, Hartung and Kuehner. At present, there is a fairly general acceptance of the view that the ablative has local meaning, but that the nominative, vocative, accusative and genitive are not of the same nature. The accusative is an adverbial case. It completes the verb's meaning by serving as the object on which the verb's action falls. In our work the accusative, as the direct object of a verb used transitively, appears 3090 times. Among all these accusatives there are only a few that may be called incorrect, and these occur almost exclusively in the parts of the work assigned to the uneducated and are doubtless intentional errors. All these, and the few which are found in the speeches of other than vulgar speakers, (perhaps due in every instance to a corruption of the original text), are treated in their proper places.

### THE DIRECT OBJECT

#### I. Accusative of the Person or Thing Affected.

##### A. With transitive verbs.

It would be unprofitable to treat here all accusatives belonging in this class. Most of them are entirely regular and present no difficulties. It will suffice to give only such as offer points of special interest.

*curare*: In three passages, this verb has a meaning like 'care for', 'value', 'esteem', 58, 8, *buxeos curare*; 61, 2, *illam curavi*; 71, 8, *curari eas*. Three other passages show the verb with a force very close to this if, in fact, not the same: 5, 4, *curat regiam*; 110, 6, *tragoedias curare*; 126, 13, *caelum curare*. The change in the meaning of the word seems to have been from 'care for', 'attend to', to 'trouble one's self about', 'take an interest in', 'value', 'esteem'. I have used the expression 'care for' with two different meanings. The one which seems colloquial appears at 58, 8, where Hermeros tells Ascylos that he don't care anything about, isn't interested in, the rings the latter has stolen, and at 71, 8, *curari eas*. The transla-

1. Archiv, 5, 394 sq.

tion 'like', or 'esteem' is certainly the best one for the verb at **61, 2**.

*facere*: For this verb, which is used freely in all informal Latin, our author exhibits a great liking. The word is employed with a force essentially colloquial in such passages as: **47, 16**, in cenam fieri; **48, 27**, ad salivam facit;<sup>1</sup> **62, 14**, ad stelas facere; **66, 16**, mea re facere; **87, 3**, quare non facere; **19, 20**, comitatus faciebat. This last construction, *facere* and a verbal noun instead of a verb alone, is well represented in works which are colloquial in character. Typical examples from other authors are: Plaut. Merc., 235, convicium f., for *exprobrare*; Cic. ad fam., 14, 7, 1, medicinam f., for *mederi*; Bel. Hisp., regularly *concursum* f., for *concurrere*; Bel. Afr., 14, 1, expectationem f., for *expectare*. The most interesting examples in Petronius are: **2, 9**, exitum f; **19, 20**, comitatus f; **3, 21**, insidias f; **70, 6**, rixam f; **73, 36**, tengomenas f; **24, 10**, transitum f; **38, 1**, auctio-nem f; **105, 5**, auspiciam f; **130, 32**, prodicionem f; **132, 14**, mixturam f.

*invadere*: This verb, which, according to R. and G., (*Gram. Comp.* p. 48), is regularly construed with *in* and the acc. by Cicero, ordinarily with the acc. alone by Sallust and Livy, appears eight times in our author, and always with the acc. alone. Only Encolpius, Eumolpus and, once, Giton employ it.

*induere*: This verb shows three different constructions in four occurrences: **4, 29**, eloquentiam pueris i; **55, 1**, i nuptam ventum textilem; **113, 33**, domini supercilium i; **127, 4**, terram gramine indutam.

*persuadere*: The acc. is found with this verb twice, the dat. three times; **46, 4**, te p; **62, 10**, p hospitem. The accusative object is made nominative subject once, **81, 17**, a matre persuasus est. This passive construction, which Ludwig classes with the active as belonging to vulgar usage exclusively, Guericke thinks not vulgar, since it is found also in Propertius, Ovid and Pliny.<sup>2</sup> It should be added that other instances of the passive are found in Cornificius, 1, 9 and Cicero ad fam. 6, 7, 2. With a personal object in the accusative, the verb is found in early Latin once, in classical Latin not at all, in late Latin occasionally.<sup>3</sup>

At **107, 38**, we find an example of the Latin usage according to which words quoted from another's statement might be given in the form of an accusative, object of the verb of the sentence, instead of being repeated without change from the original utterance. If my interpretation is correct, S. and L. err in supplying eos, thus: ingenuos (eos) clamando. For I think Lichas, the speaker, gets the terms from the statement of Eumolpus just above, **107, 25**. An example of what is sometimes called the absolute accusative, (Haase contends that an absolute accusative does not exist, Reisig, Vorl., 3, 630), is seen at **134, 7**, o hunc adulescentem quem vides, malo astro natus est. It is to be treated as an accusative attracted to a following one. Such a construction is due to an artless or careless habit of beginning a sentence whose form and direction the speaker does not determine in advance. Or it might result from a change to another form after the sentence is begun. Attraction of such a kind is found in Vergil, Aen., 1, 573, urbem quem statuo vestra est. Our sentence is peculiar, though, since there is an exclamatory force in addition to the attraction.

The direct object is an adjective used substantively in the following places: **34, 19**, æquum, **34, 27**, Opimianum; **37, 33**, plurima; **38, 22**, sua octingenta, **30**, suum decies; **39, 14**, multum, **21**, multa, **33**, bona; **43, 24**, solida; **46, 13**, Latinas (sc. literas); **50, 33, 35**, Corinthæa; **56, 13**, acidum; **58, 24**, vicesimam; **65, 6**, novendiale; **65, 2**, caldam; **66, 18**, Hispanum, **20**, duo; **67, 16**, meliora, **19**, caldum, frigidum; **68, 4**, parem; **71, 35**, vicesimam; **75, 9**, bonum; **76, 4**, plus; **84, 8**, diversa; **88, 6**, prudentiorem; **92, 4**, parem; **93, 32**, plebeium; **98, 14**, verum; **99, 30**, amplius; **100, 14**, bona; **106, 7**, noxios; **107, 2**, ignotos; **108, 24**, ingenuos;

1. cf. Rebling, Vers. pp. 29 and 33.

2. Ludwig p. 33, Guer. p. 52.

3. Roensch 441, Guer. 52.

110, 27, *plura, ineptiora*, 2, *multa*; 115, 28, *ignotum*, 6, *avidum*; 117, 25, *vicies*; 120, 81, *nova*; 121, 100, *dextram*, 104, *vera*; 123, 236, *tuta*; 126, 22, *quattuordecim*; 127, 16, *blandum*, 24, *religiosum*; 128, 20, *verum*; 129, 14, *aegrum*; 131, 4, *quietum*; 132, 6, *contumacem*; 134, 8, *bona*, 23, *leviora*; 137, 34, *multa*, 6, *futura*; 138, 16, *omnia*; 140, 2, *alienum*; 141, 25, *centies*; frag. 32, 6, *paes*; frag. 33, 3, *omnia*. One sees that the construction was very familiar to vulgar speakers. The most interesting examples, perhaps, are the following: **34, 19**, where Trimalchio may be attempting a witticism, (cf. Friedl. Cen. 212); **38, 30**, *suum decies*, showing *decies* used as a neuter noun in the accusative singular; **56, 13**, *acidum*, meaning sourness, as opposed to *dulce*, in the same expression, meaning sweetness; 123, 236, *tuta*, a neuter plural limited by a genitive *sinus*, if my interpretation is correct,—the only example of this construction in the work; 126, 22, *quattuordecim*, 'the fourteen'; 127, 16, *blandum*; 93, 32, *plebeium*.

The present participle appears as direct object as follows: 16, 35; 23, 35; 26, 16; 29, 19; 34, 12; 64, 5; 67, 2; 69, 10; 70, 10; 74, 22; 80, 10; 87, 34; 90, 4; 92, 19; 94, 1; 95, 19; 98, 5; 101, 26; 102, 37, 39; 105, 3, 21, 34; 109, 24; 111, 16, 17, 36; 112, 33; 114, 17; 115, 13, 6; 132, 25; 133, 20; 135, 3; 136, 11, 30; 138, 19. To these I am inclined to add *ludentem* at 27, 22, -a word bracketed by Buecheler. To show the whole list of present participles in the accusative, I add here the five found governed by prepositions: 70, 8; 95, 8; 101, 27; 105, 19; 131, 6. A very interesting union of verbal and substantival properties is seen at 111, 16 and 17, where *afflictantem* is limited by *sic* and a direct object *se*, while at the same time serving as object of *abducere*, and *persequentem*, governed by the same verb, *abducere*, takes an object, *mortem*, and is limited by an ablative, *inedia*. The work does not show a second passage like this. I call attention again to the fact that no vulgar speaker employs the present participle as an object.

The perfect participles found as substantives in the accusative, governed by transitive verbs, are these: 14, 29; 15, 23; 24, 15; 29, 29; **41, 1**; **65, 9**; 91, 29; 95, 24; 98, 6, 19; 109, 37; 120, 81; 123, 184; frag. 28, 6; frag. 32, 2. Once only does this participle appear as object of a preposition, 83, 30. The two illiterate speakers represented here are Dama and Habinnas, and the words are *staminatas*, (sc. *potiones*), and *mortuum*. The five which show adverbial modifiers are: 15, 23, *liberatos querela iussit deponere*; 24, 15, *vocatum ad se in esculum applicuit*; 29, 29, *levatum iamento in tribunal rapiebat*; 98, 19, *iam mitigatum aggressus est*; frag. 32, 2, *quaerit eodem percussum telo*.

The direct object is an infinitive at **25, 21**, *meum intelligere*, and **47, 3**, *continerē*. Perhaps *agendum*, 13, 18, ought to be understood as representing *agendum esse*. And if *laecasin*, **42, 5**, is a corrupt form of the Greek word meaning the same as Latin *fellare*, (cf. Friedl. Cen. 233), it may be classed here.

The work contains one instance of the use of the plural of an abstract substantive in place of the singular of the same word, or as a substitute for the plural accusative of a concrete substantive, 10, 28, *servitia ecce in frontibus cernitis*. It is possible to interpret either, 'servitude', or, taking the context into consideration, 'marks of servitude', as if the Latin were *notas servitudinis*. Besides this, there appears but one accusative plural of a substantive where one expects a singular, frag. 38, 1, *silentia*. Such a usage is poetic and is found here in poetry.

In the following places, the governing verb is lacking: **37, 38**; **38, 36**; **52, 29**; **57, 17**; **58, 1**; **55, 33**; 70, 23; **76, 26**. 4; 86, 19; 119, 11. The verb is readily suggested in every passage except one by the context. In the first, however, different verbs are needed for different accusatives, such as 'dined on' and 'hired' or 'kept in his employ'. In short, the sentence is such a one as only an illiterate person would construct. Another interesting example is that at 86, 19, *nihil aliud quam puerum basiavi*, where *feci* is needed to make the statement grammatically complete. That *nihil aliud* were used often in elliptical expressions, passages like the two at 19, 22 and 114, 30 show. It is not clear what ought to



be supplied to govern *nova vellera* at 119, 11. The reading is uncertain there. The verb *accusant* appears to be the wrong word.

Noteworthy are the following: 45, 15, *habet unde*; 45, 27, *dedit suas*, 38, *adhibete acceperant*; 58, 27, *depraesentiarum reddissem*; 90, 3, *ne tecum habeam rixandum*; 104, 25, *Encolpion quod quaeris*; 114, 8, *Siciliam ventus dabat*. Heraeus (*Die Sprache d. Petron. u. d. Glossen*, p. 37) points out that one says, in Old and Modern French, 'il a de quoi.' He notes that Scheffer likens to our passage *Ter. Adel.* 122, *est unde haec fiant*, and *Plant. Capt.* 850, *scis bene esse si sit unde*. The last is strange because of the meaning, 'the breeze carried us toward Italy'. The neuter pronoun *quod* for *quem*, 104, 25, is merely an error of a copyist or is purposely employed to show the speaker's contempt, just as *istud* is at 58, 26, where a person is meant. Is it possible that *depraesentiarum*, 58, 27, which appears again at 74, 35, but with its usual meaning of 'immediately', is in the former place the object of *reddissem*? If not, the verb has no object expressed. It is conceivable that the speaker employed the word as an object with a meaning something like, 'I would have given you the at once'. Such a use of the word would be scarcely more strange than that made of *adhibete* by Echion at 45, 38. And the two who are responsible for these peculiar expressions are the characters to whom I have awarded the prize for illiteracy, Hermeros and Echion. To the latter belong also the hardly less striking *dedit suas*, 45, 27, and *habet unde*, 45, 15. In *habeam rixandum*, 90, 3, we have the one occurrence in our author of the periphrasis of *habere* and the gerundive or, as some prefer to call it, future passive participle, to take the place of *debere*, *oportere*. It appears that the construction was first employed by the elder Seneca. Following him, Seneca the Moralist, the two Plinys, Tacitus, in his *Dialogus*, Suetonius, and especially the patristic writers made use of it.<sup>1</sup> A good parallel to our passage is seen in Pliny, *Ep.*, 1, 7, 6, *certandum habent*. The speaker, in our author, is *Encolpius*, who says also *negavi agendum* at 13, 18. It is he, too, who uses once the phrase *neesse habere*, another periphrasis somewhat similar to the one just discussed, 54, 34. In another passage, *Agamemnon* is the speaker who uses it, 3, 16. Rebling (*Versuch*, p. 44) points out that the expression is found chiefly in colloquial Latin and cites examples from Cicero, (in a letter to Atticus), and Vitruvius, and an analogous *opus habere* from Columella, which he says appears also in Augustine and Hieronymus. There is no example of that other phrase, *habere* and an infinitive, so common later, and which, because it contained the idea of futurity, was used to make the future tense of the Romance languages.<sup>2</sup> Good examples of this are seen in the *Peregrinatio*, 36, *vallem transversare habebamus*, 41, *exire habebamus*, *Tert.*, *de cult. fem.* 1, 1, *etiam Filius Dei mori habuit*. There is no instance of an accusative as object of a verbal noun.

B. With verbs which are frequently or usually intransitive, or which take an object in some other case than the accusative of the direct object, or, as in the case of some of the compound verbs, which are made capable of governing an accusative by being compounded with a preposition.

#### I. Simple verbs.

*argutare*. In two passages, this verb, which is a frequentative of *arguere*, takes a direct object: 46, 1, *quid iste argutat*; 57, 9, *nec mu nec ma argutas*. A like usage is seen in Propertius, 1, 6, 7. Contempt is expressed in the three places. The active form is not found in the best Latin. The vulgar speech shows numerous instances of this employment of active for passive forms.<sup>3</sup>

*clamare*, *clamitare*. The accusative of the person called to or invoked is rare with these verbs. Petronius shows *clamare* so used twice: 58, 34, *licet Jovem*

1. cf. R. and G., p. 278, and Draeger, *Lat. Syn.*, 2, 824.

2. cf. *Archiv* 2, 51 and 60, Roensch *I. u. V.*, 447, *Koffmane Kirchen Lat.* 2, 122, Kuehner 2, 496, ed. 3.

3. *Guer.* 35 and 49.

clames; 127, 10, *Venerem clamavit in herbas*; and *clamitare* once, 92, 10, *Encolpion clamitare*. Other examples are found in *Plaut. Asin.* 2, 32; *Lucil. ap. Diomed.*, p. 372 P; *Verg. Aen.* 12, 600; *Ovid. Met.* 5, 398 and 6, 106, and then frequently in later Latin.<sup>1</sup> *Propertius* has *clamare* once in the same construction passive, 3, 12, 6, *nec tibi clamatae somnus erit*, and twice with the accusative of a thing, 1, 17, 23, *nomen*, and 5, 8, 58, *aquas*. This last, 'to call for water', has parallels in *Virgil*, *Ovid* and *Apuleius*.<sup>2</sup> *Clamare* occurs seventeen times in our work, but takes an object in one other place only, and there the dative, 46, 3, *illi clamo*. *Goelzer* (*Lat. de S. Jer.*, 308) cites two examples of *inclamare* used in the same way: *Gell.*, *Noct. At.* 17, 19, 3; *Hier.*, *Hilar*, 6.

*latrare*. In frag. 30, 15, a verse bracketed by *Buecheler*, appears the expression *vestigia latrare*. The verb's force there is that of *allatrare*. Parallels are not numerous. They are found in *Lucret.* 2, 17; *Hor. Sat.* 2, 1, 85, *Epod.* 5, 57, *Ep.* 1, 2, 66; *Stat. Theb.* 1, 551; and *Plin. N. H.*, 25, 126; 28, 100; 30, 147. A single instance is given in *Plautus* by some editors, *Poen.* 5, 4, 64. Others read *allatrare*.

*somniari*. An interesting construction is that at 74, 28, *aedes non somniatur*. The speaker is *Trimalchio*, the one who says *putes taurum*, 47, 33. The construction might easily follow the analogy of that of *imaginari*, *cogitare*, or *putare* with the accusative of the direct object. Noteworthy is the use of this and four other active verbs by *Petronius* as if they were deponents. The others are *delectare* (twice), *fastidire*, *ridere* (twice), and *puDET*, all in the speeches of the freedmen.<sup>3</sup>

*tacere*. This verb with a direct object is found occasionally in poetry of all periods and is not absent from the best prose. *Petronius* has it twice: 61, 30, *nescio quid nunc taces*; 68, 9, *nihil tacet*. Such a usage with *tacere*, and the like one with *silere*, not represented in *Petronius*, follow the analogy of constructions with verbs of similar meaning, such as *celare* and *retinere*, which regularly require an object in the accusative.

## 2. Compound.

*accedere*. In two passages, this verb takes, as its object, the accusative of a word signifying a person: 6, 32, *accedo aniculam*; 27, 22, *circulis ludentem accedere*. For I prefer to retain the reading of the manuscript. *Buecheler* brackets *ludentem*. The occurrence of *circuli* seven lines later seems somewhat harsh, whether we interpret *circulis* 'with rings', as if an ablative, or 'the circle', or 'the groups', (i. e., of persons), as if a dative. For, in the former case, we have two forms of the same word employed in two wholly different senses, in the latter, first the singular then the plural of the same word without change of meaning. The playing with rings or hoops seems not to be out of place, since the persons present were playing ball and perhaps other games by way of exercise before the bath, (cf. *longum erat singula excipere*, following a lacuna, 28, 1). Besides, in chapter 53, 23, we find a boy leaping through rings for the entertainment of the guests, *circulos arduentes transilire*. The inelegant repetition of the same form *ludentem*, two lines below is slightly against the retention of the word in our passage, but then there is the form *ludentibus*, also, a few lines further on. Much against the reading *circulis accedere*, though, it seems to me, is the fact that, among the fourteen other occurrences of the verb, with the meaning 'to move towards', there is no example of the dative with it. Six times there is no object expressed, eight times it is ad and an accusative. It is, therefore, not quite right to say, (as *Harper's Lat. Dict.* does), that *accedere* with the accusative, except with names of localities, is found only in poets and historians.

*admittere*. An unparalleled use of this verb with the accusative as a direct object is found at 51, 7, *admissus Caesarem*. *Guericke* is of the opinion that ad

1. cf. *Roensch I. u. V.* 352.

2. cf. *Hoerle, de cas. usu Prop.* 20.

3. cf. *Guer.* 50, *Roensch I. u. V.* 302 sq.

has fallen out, but Ludwig thinks the reading the original one and the usage vulgar. It is the same speaker who is guilty of saying *Africam ire*, 48, 30.

*antecedere*. This verb follows the regular Silver Latin usage and admits the accusative as object: 17, 14, *fabulas antecessura latrocinia*; 130, 3, *antecessit corporis moram*. The construction, though chiefly post-Augustan, is found also in the best Latin. Caesar employs the verb seven times and always with the accusative.<sup>1</sup>

*circumdare*. The three passages containing this verb are: 33, 7, *ficidulam vitello circumdatam*; 92, 19, *veste errantem circumdedit*; 138, 11, *quo circumdedit semine*. The other construction, of accusative of that placed around and dative of that which is encompassed, is not represented. Three examples of *praecingere*, and one each of *praeligare* and *obducere* employed in the same way, with accusative of the person or thing affected and ablative of means, seem to indicate the author's preference for this form. *Praecingere* appears twice besides but not in the active, and *obducere* twice, once in the passive, and once with the accusative of that which is drawn on, where the indirect object, if expressed, would be *mihi*, 42, 5. Such constructions as the first mentioned here are rare and poetic.

*concrepare*. Very rare and poetic is the accusative with this verb. But we find this in Petronius three times: 22, 24, *concrepans aera*; 27, 35, *digitos concrepuit*; 69, 24, *hastisque scuta concrepuit*. Ovid and Martial show it once each.

*ebullire*. A colloquial usage is seen in *animam ebullit* and *animam ebullivi*, 42, 7 and 62, 24. The verb has the meaning of 'to evaporate', 'to boil or froth away', employed with transitive force. Parallels appear in Seneca, *Apoc.* 4, 2 and Persius, 2, 3, except that, in the latter place, the accusative is not expressed.

*effluere*. Very rare is the construction which appears at 71, 20, *ne effluant vinum*, where the verb takes a direct object. *Fluere* with similar force appears a few times oftener, once in Augustine, *Ep.* 27, 2, *legi literas tuas fluentes lac et mel*.<sup>2</sup>

*ementiri, mentiri*. These are found once each with an object in the accusative, neither a single time intransitively: 82, 32, *centurionem et legionem essem ementitus*; 101, 17, *somnum mentiri*. In the latter instance, the falsehood is acted, not spoken, and the verb has the force of *simulare*.

*evenire*. Vulgar and without parallel is this verb with the accusative of the person affected: 44, 10, *aediles male eveniat*. Buecheler thinks this a borrowed construction which came into the rustic speech of Campania from the Greek. Guericke agrees with him and cites, as somewhat like it, *aliquem bene facere*, (Wilmann, *E. I.* 252). There is an approach to it in such a sentence as *vereor ne idem eveniat in meas litteras*, *Cic. ad fam.* 2, 10, 1.

*incubare*. The work shows one example of this verb with an accusative object, 33, 34. The construction is rare. It is found elsewhere in Varro, *agr.* 3, 9, 8; 3, 9, 12; Pomp. Mela, 3, 8, 10; Pliny 10, 59, 161; 29, 3, 45; Frontinus p. 207, 21. In all places except the last, the expression is *ova incubare*. In Frontinus, the accusatives are *caespitem* and *torum*.

*intertorquere*. If my interpretation of the expression *intertorto laceratam pectore vestem*, 124, 276, is correct, we have there an example of the retention of one of the two accusatives, which the verb may take when active, even when the verb has become-passive and the other object has changed to a subject nominative or an ablative, as in this place. This is possible because the accusative retained is governed by the prepositional side of the compound. Other passages similar to this are: *Lucr.* 1, 87, *infula virgineos circumdata comptus*; *Hor. Od.*, 1, 14, 19, *interfusa nitentes Vites aequora Cycladas*. I am inclined to regard the accusative in *inter odoratas pendebant texta coronas*, 135, 28, as similar. If the conjecture

1. Gudemann, *Tac. Dial.*, 259.

2. cf. *Guer.* 53, *Ludw.* 34.

is correct, the verb is *intertextere* and has been divided by tmesis. The text is uncertain and the subject of *pendebant* may not be *sorba*. But either *sorba* or *uva* would fit the sense, if the verb be regarded as the compound.

*invadere*. This verb with the meaning 'attack', 'assault', 'assail', appears eight times, and always with the accusative only. R. and G., (p. 86), after remarking that the poets, Livy, and the prose writers of the imperial period often employ the dative where the best prose had preferred to repeat the preposition of the compound, say that, perhaps, also the construction of certain verbs with the dative is peculiar to familiar Latin, and cite, by way of illustration, *invadere* and *includere* with the dative in Cicero's Correspondence. The usage in Petronius is seen to be against the assumption so far as *invadere* is concerned. And, as for *includere*, our work shows no occurrence of the verb with the meaning, 'to put an end to', and but one where the meaning is, 'to shut up in', 52, 20, *ubi Daedalus Niobam in equum Trojanum includit*. Friedlaender thinks there is one example of the simple verb so employed with the dative, 57, 31, *illi balatum duxissem*. He believes that *duxissem* is an incorrect form for the vulgar *cluxissem*. This I have discussed under the dative, where *illi* is given as a dative of separation with *duxissem*. Our author's usage with *incumbere*, *inducere*, *immittere*, and *intorquere* accords with that of prose of the best period, if the statement quoted above from R. and G. is correct. For we find the following: 54, 35, *super brachium incubissem*; 74, 24, *super quem incumbens*; 80, 11, *super quam incumbis*; 101, 5, *in navigium induxisse*; 106, 8, *in nostrum inducere navigium*; 32, 18, *circa cervices immiserat mappam*; 74, 20, *calicem in faciem immisit*; 124, 284, *in medias immittite lampadas urbes*; 131, 10, *in amplexum eius immisus*; 67, 24, *pedes super lectum immisit*; 80, 13, *intorto circa brachium pallio*. With *impingere* appears *ad* and the accusative once, the dative twice: 31, 31, *stupentibus basia impigit*; 46, 13, *Graeculis calcem impingit*; 74, 34, *ipse mihi asciam in crus impigi*. It is probable that, in the last passage, the freedman has kept a well known popular saying. There are numerous other interesting constructions with compounds in the work, such as, *infundere in*, three times, *effundere super*, *inicere super*, *inspuere in*, *affigere in*, once each, all of which I have tried to indicate briefly in the section devoted to a summary of the usage with compound verbs. Perhaps none are more peculiar, though, than those showing *imponere super* (twice), *immittere circa* and *applicare per* once each. It may be said, therefore, that the author likes the strong form of statement resulting from the repetition of the preposition of the compound or the addition of a different one. Kuehnast, (*Liv. Synt.*, 146), says that Livy has the accusative with *invadere* "an fast unzaehligen Stellen", with *accedere*, except when the name of a city is the object, not at all, and with *ingredi* very often.<sup>1</sup> Petronius shows *ingredi* but once and then with the accusative, 117, 2, *viam ingredimur*.

*invidere*. Once in Petronius appears the construction *invidere alicui aliquid*: 129, 17. This is found rarely in poetry of the best period, but not in classical prose. R. and G. (p. 84), say that this, along with *mederi* and *parcere* with an accusative, probably came from vulgar or popular Latin. Cicero, (*Tusc.* 3, 9, 20), quotes, from the Melanippus of Accius, the verse *Quisnam florem liberum invidit meum*, and says *Male Latine videtur* (sc. dictum). Heine, in a note on the passage in Cicero, cites another example in Accius, (*Atreus* 215, Ribbeck), and remarks that an accusative of the thing with *invidere* was not unusual in the time of that writer.<sup>2</sup>

*maledicere*. The construction with this verb varies in Petronius. Twice we find the accusative, four times the dative. Only vulgar Latin shows the verb

1. cf. Kuehnast, *Hauptpunkte der Liv. Syn.*, 144 sq., for a statement concerning this whole class of verbs.

2. cf. also statement by Haase, *Reis. Vorl.*, p. 602 sq.

with the accusative. The speakers in our work are Hermeros, 58, 15, cave, maiorem maledicas and Bargates, 96, 5, maledic illam. It appears elsewhere in Bel. Afr., Tert., Apul. and similar writers, and is represented in the Romance languages.<sup>1</sup> It is plain that after maledicere came to be felt as an undivided conception, it was employed with the same transitive force as is contained in such a verb as exsecrari. The adverbs bene and male are still seen as separate elements in 38, 26, non vult sibi male and 38, 29, bene se habuit. Petronius has no example of benedicere.

praecedere. Petronius employs this only once in the active, and then with the accusative. The construction belongs to poetry and to post-Augustan prose.

### 3. Verbs of emotion.

The accusative with these verbs was comparatively infrequent in pre-classical Latin and confined to a few verbs. Cicero shows an increased number, Caesar and Sallust, on the contrary, few. For Sallust, Grossman gives cavere, dolere, laborare, laetari, pavere, and queri.<sup>2</sup> Lucretius gave added impetus to the development of the usage, for he employs twelve verbs thus.<sup>3</sup> Properitius has fourteen, three of which appear in Petronius.<sup>4</sup> The usage is increased by Livy. Poets and later prose writers then go further and add many new verbs to those already so employed. Seneca, in his tragedies, employs eighteen, of which five are found in Petronius, and four additional ones are cited by Opitz, in his other writings.<sup>5</sup> It is noteworthy that the accusative in our author is a person ten times in a total of twenty-five occurrences. Draeger says that the accusative of the person is seldom so used, (Syn. I, 358). Five of the ten accusatives appear in the speeches of the freedmen.

deflere. In three passages, this verb is found and always with the accusative: III, 26, cadaver deflebat; III, 28, ignotum deflebam; frag. 32, 4, deflet tristia fata.

deridere. It is probable that this verb has an object in one place: 16, 2, me derisisse vos putabatis. It is transitive, but passive, once, 61, 36.

esurire. Once in our work, in a passage which is doubtful, 119, 32, we find esurire with an accusative as object: praemia miles esurit. Goelzer, (Lat. de St. Jer., 303), cites several instances of this use of the verb in patristic writings, and one in Ovid, Pont. I, 10, 10.

expavescere. This verb appears once with the accusative, 26, 4, expaverat nuptiarum nomen, twice without an object, 57, 10, and 95, 4. Furneaux errs, therefore, in saying, (Tac. Ann. I. Introd., 35), that the verb with an accusative is not found in prose earlier than Tacitus. Draeger, too, omits this example in our author, (Syn. I, 360).

fastidire. Three times it occurs and each time with a direct object. Once the object is a person, once a thing, once an infinitive: 48, 33, ne me putes studia fastiditum; 127, 18, si non fastidis feminam; 127, 23, ne fastidias admittere. Ebert, (de Front. Syn., p. 10), says that the verb is neuter in Cicero, active in Plaut., Hor., Ov., Lucan., Curt., Col., Quinct., Suet., and M. Aur.

horrere. Both prose and poetry of the best period have this as a transitive verb. Petronius shows one example: 123, 240, quem ter ovantem Jupiter horruerat.

pallere. This appears once: 122, 125, fraternos palluit ictus. The construction is very rare. Parallels are found in Hor., Carm., 3, 27, 26 and Pers., 5, 184.

pavere. Two passages show this: 139, 12, regnum Neptuni pavit; frag. 38, 12, paveo somnumque torumque. The construction appears once in early Latin, Plaut. Cist., 360. It is then taken up by Sall., Liv., and the poets and is employed

1. cf. Roensch I. u. V., 440 benedicere and maledicere.

2. F. Grossman, Ueb. d. Gebr. d. Kas. B. Sall.

3. J. Meissner, Quaest. ad us. cas. Lucret. pert. 54 sq.

4. A. Hoerle, de cas. us. Propert. p. 19.

5. A. Preising, de Sen. cas. usu., E. Opitz, de lat. Sen.

occasionally by post-Augustan writers. Heraeus, (*Tac. Hist.*, 3, 56, 10), cites five instances in Tacitus.

*plangere*. Both meanings of the verb are found, twice each. The derived meaning appears once in the verb passive, once when it is active: **42, 15**, *planctus est optime*; **63, 7**, *illum plangeret*. This usage belongs to poetry and to post-Augustan prose. It offers an excellent illustration, it seems to me, of the process by which a verb and its direct object unite to form a new verb which, in turn, governs a new object. From the conception, 'to beat the breast in grief for some one', developed the other seen here, 'to beat (i. e., the breast) some one'.<sup>1</sup> Originally of course, the person mourned for would be expressed by a dative, a dative of the person interested in, honored or benefitted by, the act represented in *plangere pectus*. Goelzer, (*Lat. de St. Jer.* 304), says the construction is found in Tibull., Val. Flac., Stat., and Claudian., and frequently also in Jerome. The appearance of the construction in the speeches of two freedmen and often in Jerome allows the inference that it was not infrequent in colloquial Latin.

*plorare*. The work has three examples: **42, 16**, *illum ploraret*; **54, 34**, *alienum plorare*; **75, 17**, *fatum plores*. It is interesting to note that, here again, only the vulgar speakers employ a construction belonging more especially to poetry. The word must have been often in their mouth, for they use it twice besides without object. Ebeling cites six occurrences of the transitive *plorare* in Horace, and Hoerle one in Propertius.<sup>2</sup>

*queri*. This takes an object once: 109, 27, *neque iniuriam quereris*.

*ridere*. Seven times it is transitive. Twice the object is a person: **57, 32**, *qui rideatur alios*; **61, 35**, *ne me rideant*.

*stupere*. From its original meaning of 'to stand still', 'to be stagnant', said of some thing, and 'to stand aghast, stupefied', said of a person, this verb developed the meaning of 'to gaze with amazement', or 'with mingled fear and surprise at' something. This last is, in origin, poetic and, with an accusative object, rather rare. Parallels of the one occurrence in Petronius, 29, 19, *dum omnia stupeo*, are found in Verg., Sen., Luc., Val. Flac., Mart., Plin., Juv., and August. All three meanings of the word appear in our work. The waters are frozen and so standing still, 123, 191. A person stands mute with astonishment or fear: 31, 30; **58, 6**; **57, 19**; 89, 41; 137, 14. Vergil employs the verb along with *mirari* in the order *stupere, mirari* and so pictures the benumbing shock that preceded the admiring wonder, *Aen.*, 2, 31. Martial, 5, 62, 3 and 12, 15, 4, reverses the order and thus represents increasing astonishment. At 6, 61, 3, he gives a whole series of emotions with *ecce rubet quidam, pallet, stupet, oscitat, odit*. The feeling excited is benumbing at *stupet*, and reaches its climax in renewed activity in *odit*. Martial, too, shows the three meanings mentioned above.

#### C. With impersonal verbs.

Of these, the work shows, with accusative object, four: *decet, iuvat, pudet, piget*. *Miseret* is not represented but *miseretor* and *miseror* are. There is one occurrence of *paenitet*, **72, 34**, but it takes no object.

*decet*: 78, 37, *non decere gravitatem*; 94, 8, *formam decebant* (sc. *verba*). Only Plautus, Terence, and the archaizing writers, such as Sallust, Gellius and Apuleius, employ the dative with this verb.<sup>3</sup>

*iuvat*: **47, 3**, *quod se iuвет*; **78, 37**, *me iuвет*. The accusative with this verb is regular. The only deviations from this usage in the case of the compound, *adiuvare*, and the related form, *adiutare*, are found in Terence, *Hec.* 3, 2, 24, *eis onera adiuta*, Petronius **62, 27**, *nobis adiutasses*, and Gellius 2, 29, 7, *messum nobis adiuent*, where a dative is employed to denote the person assisted.<sup>4</sup>

1. cf. Imme, *Die Bedeut. d. Cas. I.* p. 92 sq.

2. Ebeling *de cas. us. Hor.*, 12, Hoerle *cas. Prop.* 20.

3. Draeger, *Syn. I.* 356.

4. Draeger, *Syn. I.* 357.

*piget*: 127, 20, *neque me piguit inquirere*. Neither *piget* nor *puget* have the genitive of that which excites the feeling. Its place is taken, in this passage, by the infinitive.

*puget*: 47, 35, *non est quod illum pudeatur*. The five impersonals, *miseret*, *paenitet*, *piget*, *puget*, and *taedet* can take the accusative of the person, because they were once used with a subject which, by the classical period, was represented only by an infinitive or a clause. The earlier usage is seen in such passages as *Plaut. Pseud.*, 1, 3, 47, *id quod puget facilius fertur quam illud quod piget* and *Ter. Adolph.*, 4, 7, 36, *non te haec pudet?* Afterward when the subject was no longer felt at all, the verbs became impersonal and a new conception, that of the genitive, was substituted for the subject. This genitive is represented only once in the work, and then following the periphrasis *paenitentiam agere*, 132, 17.

#### D. With passive verbs.

The most complete treatment of this construction is that by Schroeter, "Der Accusativ nach passiven Verben in der lateinischen Dichtersprache." According to him, this does not appear in Cicero, Caesar, and writers before them, is especially frequent in Vergil, Horace and Ovid, is variously developed by Silius, Statius and by the historians whose diction is rhetorical and poetic, and is found sporadically in Livy, Curtius, Tacitus and others. He takes issue with those who class this with the so-called Greek accusative. In defining the field to which this construction belongs, he says that all accusatives which can follow a passive also in prose must be excluded from consideration. He contends that not only after *indui* and verbs of like meaning, but after all passives, the accusative depending on the verb must be interpreted on the basis of the assumption of the reflexive force in all these passives. The Latin passive can have, he says, all the meaning of the Greek middle, from which it differs only in having one form for the two voices, whereas the Greek middle, especially in the aorist and future, has particular forms to distinguish it. He divides all Latin examples of this construction into four classes, as follows: 1, with verbs of putting on and laying off clothing, armor and the like; 2, with verbs which represent an act which the verb's subject directs toward itself, the accusative here being the part of the body affected; 3, with verbs signifying an act which the subject "in seiner eigenen Sphaere vornimmt oder vornehmen laesst"; 4, with verbs which have taken on a new transitive meaning and which need an object to complete their meaning, the change being wrought, of course, by a change of signification. Petronius shows four examples of the construction belonging to the first, second and fourth categories, in the proportion of one, two, and one, as follows: 60, 2, *tres pueri candidas succincti tunicas*; 89, 19, *crinem solutus* and 124, 249, *niveos pulsata lacertos*; 124, 248, *turba deum hominum avertitur agmen*. Another example belonging to group one is found at 82, 25, if the reading, *cingor*, (accepted by Buecheler in his ed. *mai.*, but changed to *cingo* later), be kept. Parallels of the usage seen in *avertitur agmen* are very few. Two are seen in Vergil and Statius: *Geor.* 3, 499, *victor equus fontesque avertitur*, and *Theb.* 6, 192, *appositas impasta avertitur herbas*.<sup>1</sup> Landgraf, (in his treatment of this group of constructions, under the caption "Der Accusativ d. Beziehung nach passiven Verbis, *Archiv*, 10, 215 sq.), prefaces his discussion with the statement that, whereas in Greek, as Delbrueck had shown, this accusative of determination had received an impetus through the accusative of the whole and the part, by the change of verb in certain constructions from active to passive, whereupon the accusative of the whole dropped out, the development in Latin had been in the reverse direction. And he thinks this circumstance tends to show that the construction came from some other source than the Greek. For while such expressions as *perculsi pectora Poeni* appear as early as Ennius, and although there are examples in prose, in Sallust and in *Bel. Afr.*, no

1. cf. Draeger, *Syn.* I, 368.

one before Vergil ventured to imitate the Graecism seen in such a sentence as *egregium iuvenem transadigit costas*, *Aen.*, 12, 273. It will be noted that Landgraf does not agree with the statement that no examples are found in early Latin, since he regards the passage correct as quoted from Ennius. He gives *indecres terga caedebantur*, *Sall., hist.*, 3, 24, as one of the earliest of these accusatives with a finite form of a passive. His classification is somewhat different from that of Schroeter. He divides them into five groups, as follows: 1, with participles meaning to beat, strike, and their opposites, the first example of which appears in Ennius; 2, with *verba velandi et induendi* and opposites; 3, with *verba pingendi* and similar verbs; 4, with *verba mutandi*; 5, with *verba vertendi* and like verbs. Not earlier than the *Bel. Afr.* do we meet examples of the second class showing the participle employed in its literal sense. Landgraf thinks that neither Schroeter nor Engelhardt, who also made a study of this accusative and the Greek accusative in the epic writers, saw clearly the course which the whole construction took in Latin. He does not believe, with them, that the usage is native in Latin, nor, with some others, that it is borrowed directly from Greek, but elsewhere. He can not agree with Schroeter that one ought to assume that all these passives are virtually in the place of verbs of middle voice, but thinks that the lack of a perfect participle, active and middle, in Latin, caused writers to resort to the passive and so, without being conscious of it, they confused the accusatives after middle verbs with those of determination after passives. The construction appears to have passed into ordinary usage by the end of the first century A. D., and is employed freely by the patristic writers.<sup>1</sup>

The work contains not a single example of the accusative of determination, (the so-called synecdochical or Greek accusative), with adjectives, unless one please to regard, as an adjective, *solutus*, found in the expression *crinem solutus*, 89, 19, given above with passive verbs. But Landgraf, in his detailed treatment of this construction, (*Archiv* 10, 209, sq.), bars out the participles of such verbs as are still in existence in the language in finite forms. He agrees with Draeger and Schmalz in thinking *manus gravior*, *Plaut. Pseud.* 785, the first example of this construction in Latin literature. If, however, *manus* there be interpreted as a nominative, as some interpret it, there is no instance of the usage before Vergil.<sup>2</sup> Those writers whose works show the largest use of the construction are Vergil, Ovid, Silius and Statius. R. and G. (p. 73) call this an accusative marking a figurative extension, and say it is a logical development of the accusative expressing extension in space and time. Petronius makes free use of the ablative of description and specification in place of this accusative.

E. With verbs of memory.

The distinction made between the accusative and genitive with these verbs, found six and thirteen times respectively, seems to be this, that the accusative represents a definite thing or number of things, while the genitive gives to the statement a color of indefiniteness. This is made apparent by a comparison of the two groups of objects. The accusatives are: *Safinium*, a man's name, *quae*, *statum*, *nomen*, *illud*, *unum*, and *nihil*. The genitives are: *omnium malorum*, *vivorum* (twice), *potentiae*, *officii* (twice), *nugarum* (twice), *iuris humani*, *miseri cordiae*, *verecundiae*, *eorum* and *filiorum*. The two genitives which might be thought to indicate definite persons, *eorum* and *filiorum*, are not, in fact, definite. The word *eorum* refers to some of a body of slaves so numerous *ut possit vel Carthaginem capere*, 117, 29. Even if it can be said here that the master does recall particular slaves, there is an air of indefiniteness, since the context shows that the act was merely a dim and confused one. The word *filiorum* refers to no particular children, but is found in a general statement relating to parents abandoning their offspring.

1. cf. Hoppe, *de serm. Tert.*, 6 sq., and Goelzer, *Lat. de St. Jer.*, 311.

2. cf. *Archiv* 10, 376.



Several of the genitives are abstract nouns, and so not at all definite. Two are found in fixed expressions, *vivorum memini* and *oblitus nugarum*. The passages showing the accusative are: **44, 15**; **66, 12**; **76, 8**; 91, 25; 125, 12; 130, 35. With the accusative are found only *memini* and *oblivisci*; with the genitive, besides these, also *admonere*. The familiar language must have employed both constructions freely, since two freedmen use the genitive, and three the accusative.

## II. The Accusative of the Thing Effected.

This accusative, which is variously named verbal, inner, or attributive accusative, or accusative of content, is employed to define more closely the meaning, or give the measure of the action, of the verb. Imme shows clearly how an outer object may gradually develop into an inner object and even disappear entirely as object and take on the force of a pure adverb.<sup>1</sup> There can be no hard and fast line drawn between outer and inner object. There is rather a series of gradations between an object which is definitely outer and one which is plainly inner. The more sharply the object contrasts with, or stands over against, the subject and its activity, the more clearly do the transitive force and the outer object stand out; the less this is true, the more the object takes on the character of an inner accusative, one that is already inherent, in part, at least, in the verb. I have made, of these, four groups: accusatives, 1) cognate, 2) with adverbial force, 3) of the point reached, 4) of extent.

### A. Cognate accusative.

Some of these are of kindred etymology with the verb, others of kindred meaning only.

#### a. Accusative of kindred etymology.

This construction, commonly called *figura etymologica* is not, Landgraf insists, (Reis. Vorl., 3, 638), a mere imitation of a Greek usage, as many claim, but common to all branches of the I. E. language. He maintains, and rightly it seems reasonable to believe, that it is not a phenomenon peculiar to a highly developed language and invented as embellishment, but that its origin falls rather in the early stages of language development, and that it is indicative of "kindliche Unbeholfenheit". It is found often in familiar speech, where also repetitions of various kinds, such as of the same word, of the same idea, and of the same word in different forms, are common. Reisig is of the opinion that the accusative in this construction always contains at least some added meaning, that it is incorrect to say that the accusative is already wholly present in the verb, that, for instance, *servitutum servire* is not the same as *servire*, the latter being more general in its application, (Vorl., 3, 637). Of this construction, Petronius has only one example: 133, 13, *facinus feci*. The nearest approach to a second is seen in *melica canturire*, **64, 32**, where *melica* means *cantica*.

#### b. Accusative of kindred meaning.

The accusatives of this class are not always easily determined. Respecting some of them, there can be no doubt, but others, whose relationship to the verb is slight and not at once apparent, will be placed here or elsewhere as this kinship of verb and object appears to the one classifying strong enough or not. A different interpretation of the verb will often decide the matter in one way or the other. The passages in Petronius which seem to me to contain certain examples are the following: 5, 20, *Ciceronis verba minetur*; 34, 2, *quae (sc. verba) peto*; **44, 19**, *nec schemas loquebatur*; **52, 33**, *cordacem ducit*; **59, 37**, *versa, supina gesticulatus*; **63, 5**, *vitam gessi*; **64, 32**, *melica canturire*; **66, 25**, *aprum sapiebat*; 53, 23, *odaria saltare*; 73, 24, *gingilipho sonabant*; 91, 24, *nihil queror*; 105, 12, *patrimonii mei reliquias olent*; 117, 32, *loquatur aurum et argentum*; 123, 238, *parva queror*. The phrase *verba minetur* means nothing other, it seems to me, than 'speak with the tongue of', 'using the language of'. In *quae peto* is the thought, 'which I speak', meaning, 'the request which I request'. In *cordacem ducit* and *odaria*

1. Imme, *Die Bed. d. Cas.*, 21.

saltare is represented the idea 'to dance a dance', in *vitam gessi*, that of 'to live a life', and in *gingilpho sonabant* that of 'to sing a song', (cf. Friedl. Cen. 312). An unusually bold use of *olere* with an accusative is this given here. For the speaker transfers to *reliquias* the qualities belonging to the wine and perfumes on which the money represented by *reliquias* was squandered. He goes so far as to say that these men smell of what is left of what they have spent, the part left being the remaining effects of their carousal of the day before. I am inclined to add to this class the accusative in *Saturnalia agunt*, 44, 12.

B. Accusative with adverbial force.

Of these the work contains the following: *hoc*: 1, 6, *h proficiunt*; *multum*: 23, 36, *m moluit*; 82, 5, *m credere*; 126, 25, *m risit*; *nescioquid*: 127, 32, *n reluctante*; 128, 22, *n peccavimus*; *nihil*: 3, 15, *n peccant*; 64, 31, *n nos delectaris*; 102, 40, *n dormienti*; 111, 37, *n profuturus*; 134, 30, *n recusantem*; *plurimum*: 117, 30, *p tussiat*; 140, 32, *p crederet*; *quicquid*: 26, 9, *q illi vacabat*; 43, 23, *q crevit*; 46, 9, *q illi vacat*; *quid*: 44, 7, *q annona mordet*; 45, 22, *q servus peccavit*; 102, 36; 107, 12 and 14, *q attinet*; 111, 8, *q proderit*; 125, 14, *q deliquissent*; *tantum-quantum*: 123, 221, *q timet, t fugit*; 134, 26, *t dicta valent*; adjectives: 93, 32, *plebeium sapit*; 127, 16, *risit tam blandum*. Draeger, (*Syn. u. Stil.* 22), says that the construction with *ridere* appears in Horace, then in Petronius and later in Apuleius. He says, further, that Plautus and the classical writers, particularly the poets, construed the accusative of a neuter adjective only with verbs denoting a sound, noise, cry, as, *sonare, canere, stridere*, and poets also with *ridere, cernere, and tueri*. R. and G., (*Gram. Comp.*, 64), remark that the usage became an ordinary one in late Latin, appearing often in Ammian. Marc. and occasionally in the patristic writers. They add, too, that it was kept in Romance languages, particularly in French, in expressions like *chanter juste, parler haut et clair*.

Petronius shows no example of the neuter plural accusatives, *alia, aliqua* (cf. Landgraf, *Archiv*, 10, 213), *cetera, cuncta, omnia, or reliqua*. Neither is there any occurrence of the adverbial accusatives, *id, hoc, quod, quid, and omne genus, magnam and maximam partem, id aetatis, id temporis*, or of the originally appositionive, (like *omne genus*), *virile as muliebre secus*. *Ceterum* appears twenty-four times, but it has come to have simply the force of *sed* in transitions and is rather to be treated as a pure adverb than as the accusative of a substantive. Woelfflin treating these neuter plural adverbial accusatives, (*Archiv* 2, 90 sq.), says, in brief, this: The usage does not belong to early Latin and its growth was doubtless due to Greek influence. Cicero, in his speeches, and Caesar, in his Commentaries, make no use even of *ceterum*. Of this, the Correspondence of Cicero contains only one instance. But in Sallust it first appears often, three times in the *Catiline*, fifty times in the *Jugurtha*. *Cetera* Cicero has but twice, Sallust eighteen times. With adjectives, *cetera* was employed relatively much oftener than with another part of speech. With a substantive or an adjective used substantively, it is found first in Vergil, and then in Silver Latin remains exclusively poetic. *Alia* appears first in Sallust's *Histories*. After that it is rare. *Reliqua* is so infrequent that the grammarians have not recognized it till recently. *Cuncta, for omnia, is found first in the poets, Silius being the first to use it*. They employed it for the other for metrical reasons, Woelfflin thinks. That *aliqua* is sometimes used as an accusative of this kind is claimed by Landgraf, who cites two examples in *Pomp. Mela*, 3, 90 and 3, 96, (cf. *Archiv*, 10, 213).

Woelfflin traces the development of the usage with *id genus* and similar expressions, (*Archiv*, 5, 386, sq.). He points out these facts: They are not found in Plautus and Terence. In Lucilius, *id* and *hoc genus* appear three times, in Varro often, in the elder Pliny, once, (a doubtful case), and then not again till

1. S. and L. err, in my opinion, in classing *quid* at 46. 1, with adverbial accusatives and in failing to place the *quid* at 111, 8, there.

Suetonius. He and the African writers develop the usage greatly. *Quod* and *quid* genus are found in Cato, Lucil., Var., Cic. (de invent.), ad Heren., Lucret., Sall., Liv., and most prose writers, (but not Caes.), and poets till Gell. R. and G., (Gram. Comp. 79), remark that the fact that this usage, which is not found before Cato, is rare in Cicero, is avoided, for most part, by the better writers in general, is cultivated by the archaizing writers, and finally is scarcely known by the writers of the fourth century, proves that it was an artificial growth. They call attention, also to the fact that Greek shows no use of *τοῦτο γένος* with the force of the Latin *id* or *hoc* genus.

### C. Accusative of the point reached.

This accusative of the terminus or end is employed to represent the point reached in space, in time, and in abstract relations, (Peters, Latin Case Relations, 42 sq.). With the accusatives of the last two groups, a preposition is usually necessary, either separate from, or compounded with, the verb. But in certain expressions, *pessum dare*, *infittias ire* and the like, the preposition is not used. The accusatives of end in space, as also those of abstract relation, require, as a rule, a preposition with verbs implying motion or action. The accusative alone could mark the limit of motion in both Greek and Latin. The construction was probably I.-E., since it is found in Sanskrit, in the language of the Avesta, in certain Germanic languages, and in the Slavonic. (a trace).<sup>1</sup> The construction, rather frequent in the archaic period of the Greek, fell into disuse, particularly in classic prose. In Latin, aside from a single class of objects, it met the same fate. Archaic and familiar Latin employ the following accusatives of limit without a preposition: *exsequias ire*, *suppetias advenire*, *venire*, *proficisci*, *ire*, *infittias ire*, *venum ire*, *venum dare*, *foras*, *rus*, *domum*, *domos*, names of cities and small islands, and the supine in *-um*. No other common nouns are represented among the examples of this construction transmitted to us, but it is possible, (so R. and G. think, Gram. Comp. 67, rem. 2), that there were others, preserved or imitated by the poets in expressions like *devenere locos* and *limina tendere*, Verg. Aen. 6, 638 and 695. The use of the accusative of the names of large islands, and even of continents, in the same way, is an extension of the other construction and is probably due to the influence of popular Latin. Characteristic of vulgar Latin is the use, on the other hand, of the preposition *in* with the name of a city, when there is no special reason for the employment of the preposition. The reason for the distinction made by the Romans between cities and small islands, on the one hand, and larger bodies of land, on the other, Reisig thinks he finds in the life of the Romans, who, in their continuous military operations, necessarily employed often the names of cities towards which detachments of troops marched, and designated these by the accusative alone, employing the brief form of expression usual in the case of such writings. The usage was extended to include, first, the names of those islands which had only one city each, and then to larger ones.<sup>2</sup> Madvig, (Kl. philolog. Schriften 394), offers as an explanation the 'punctuelle Ortsvorstellung' of the Romans which was so strong, in the case of names of places toward which a movement was directed, that they employed what he calls the 'allgemeine, unbezeichnete' form of the word,—namely the accusative, "without a preposition, to express them. The omission of the preposition with names of large bodies of land was not confined to the poets, as the list of examples given by Haase, (Reis. Vorl. 653), shows.<sup>3</sup>

Aside from the vulgarism seen in *Africam ire*, 48, 30, spoken by the same man who says *admissus Caesarem*, 51, 7, *Trimalchio*, there are no accusatives of this class in Petronius which are not in strict accord with the best usage. Those found are: 2, 23, *Athenas commigravit*; 43, 34, *pessum dederunt*; 46, 17; 58, 15;

1. cf. R. and G., 66.

2. Vorl. 3, 651.

3. For a discussion of this construction, cf. Landgraf's treatment, Archiv, 10, 395 sq.

**62, 32, 34**; 92, 19; 129, 12, domum ire, venire, etc.; **48, 30**, Africam ire; **53, 19**, Baias relegatus; **62, 9**, Capuam exierat; **71, 12**, cacatum currat; **76, 30**, misi Roman; 101, 34, Tarentum ferat. It will be noted that the only example of the supine in this construction, (the only one in the work), that with *passum*, and three of the names of cities are in the speeches of the freedmen. Twice the name of a continent is found in the accusative following in: 85, 17, in Asiam cum esset eductus; 125, 1, si in Africam miserit. Twice the name of a city from which there is movement is correctly given without a preposition: 50, 34, Corintho afferri; **70, 2**, attuli Roma. Twice the name of a continent whence, once the name of a country whence, India, are correctly given, preceded by the preposition *ex*. This shows the entire usage respecting the whither and whence constructions with names of cities and countries. The expression Africam ire has almost a parallel in Lusitaniam proficiscitur, *Bel. Hisp.*, 35, 3. The six occurrences of *foras*, (three times used incorrectly for *foris*), I do not, of course, treat here, since the word had already become an adverb.

There is an unsatisfactory passage at 119, 35, which may contain an accusative of limit, *enatas*, but this is doubtful. The codices all read *vendunt*, which may have been at first *veniunt*. The two verses immediately preceding refer to the bringing of fish alive from the waters of Sicily to the table of the Roman epicure, and this coming of oysters from the Lucrine lake to their feasts seems to be a continuation of the thought. But perhaps the argument, that a skillful poet would avoid the repetition of the thought in similar terms, would be against the reading *veniunt* rather than in favor of it. In his treatment of the accusative of the supine, Draeger, (*Syn.*, 2, 858 sq.), points out that writers vary much in their usage. As verbs expressing physical activities, these supines appear chiefly in the language of practical life,—in comedy and history, especially in military expressions. Epic and lyric poets make only slight use of them. Beginning with the first century A. D., there is an increase in the number of occurrences, Seneca showing none in his letters, Petronius and the younger Pliny one each, the elder Pliny a few, and Tacitus but twelve examples of six forms. More again appear in the archaizing writers, Gellius and Appuleius, but few in the patristic writers. In the complete list of occurrences of this supine given by Draeger, (*Syn.* 859 sq.), it is noted that only two other instances of the supine found in Petronius are cited: one in Pomponius, (*Ribb. v.* 130), and *Hor. sat.*, 1, 8, 38.

#### D. Accusative of extent.

a. Extent of space. Of this Petronius shows not a single example. In two passages, the ablative is employed to express, at least approximately, the same idea: 28, 11, *toto itinere cantavit*: **62, 23**, *in tota via umbras cecidi*. The former, Peck, (*Trim. D.*, 75), translates "the whole way", and the latter is given by De Guerle, (*Oeuvres d. Petr.*, 93), "tout le long du chemin". The text is corrupt at **62, 23**. The manuscript reading is *matavita tau*. Scheffer conjectured 'in tota via'. This Buecheler and Friedlaender adopt. It seems to me more probable that the first two words, (if not indeed all that were in the original expression), concealed in that meaningless *matavita tau* are *via tota*. If *via tota* was the first reading, we have two examples of the simple ablative employed to express extent of space. S. and L. apparently think in *tota via* expresses time, for they place it under the caption, II. *de tempore*, p. 114.

#### b. Extent of time.

R. and G. think that this accusative may be related to the one seen in such an expression as *felicem vitam vivere*, which they designate as l' accusatif de qualification. The accusative, they say, simply qualifies the action marked by the verb, but the imagination of the one who employs the phrase adds to the idea expressed the conception of duration. And thus arises the usage of accusative to

represent duration.<sup>1</sup> It is noteworthy that Petronius has made so little use of this construction. There are only three examples, and, strange to say, all are in the speeches of the freedmen **42, 11**, *quinque dies aquam in os non coniecit*; **44, 9**, *annum esuritio fuit*; **75, 22**, *ad delicias annos quattuor fui*. The ablative is so employed in twenty-two places, in three of which the illiterate are the speakers. Within ten lines **75, 22**, and **76, 31**, the same person uses the two cases. This same speaker employs the ablative again at **47, 30**. It would appear therefore, that, with the illiterate, the two cases were used indifferently for this purpose. The use of the ablative in place of the accusative to express duration of time, (or, if one prefer, time within which), is rare in Cicero and Caesar, but becomes more frequent in Livy, and very common later. That accusative of time which took no account of duration, which appeared occasionally in literature from Plautus to Apuleius and later, such as *hoc noctis, id aetatis, illud horae*, is not represented in our work.<sup>2</sup>

### III. Two Accusatives.

Under this head belong two constructions. Sometimes one of the two accusatives is a predicate, sometimes the two represent respectively the outer and inner objects, as some designate them, (expressing personal and impersonal relations, Peters says), or the object on which the action is exercised, to which is joined another signifying the person who suffers the action, according to others.<sup>3</sup>

#### A. One accusative is a predicate.

Draeger, (Syn. 1, 382), points out that this predicate accusative is not equivalent to an appositive and should not be confused with it. For, although the appositive may be omitted without destroying the completeness of the statement, the predicate accusative can not be so omitted. He groups into five categories all the verbs that are followed by the predicate accusative, but says that the various verbs show merely modifications of the conception, "zu etwas machen", either actually or in thought, and may be spoken of collectively as "factitive Verba". Some of these predicate accusatives are substantives, some are adjectives.

##### 1. Predicate a substantive.

The work contains these examples: **8, 11**, *ducem se promisit*; **17, 29**, *ne religiones iocum faciatis*; **41, 33**, *habere Liberum patrem*; **59, 32**, *Iphigeniam dedit uxorem*; **64, 2**, *quem Croesum appellabat*; **67, 13**, *quam Felicionem appellabat*; **71, 36**, *Fortunatam heredem facio*; **74, 26**, *illam hominem feci*; **76, 26**, *coheredem me fecit*; **80, 27**, *fratrem Ascyton elegit*; **83, 10**, *quam μονοκνήμιον appellat*; **90, 4**, *me poetam vocaret*; **117, 8**, *pauperem me reliquit*; **117, 14**, *facite me dominum*; **131, 18**, *ducem expectare Chrysidem*; **133, 6**, *quem numen dedit*; **137, 28**, *uxorem: ducat Danaen*.

##### 2. Predicate an adjective.

These are: **25, 30**, *Junonem iratam habeam*; **34, 21**, *minorem aestum facient*; **39, 6**, *vinum suave faciatis*; **47, 2**, *me desomnem facere*; **47, 17**, *vitulos coctos facere*; **48, 26**, *(vinum) bonum faciatis*; **56, 10**, *nos gloriosos faciunt*; **57, 30**, *tutelam habeam propitiam*; **58, 37**, *te deurode fecit*; **62, 38**, *genios iratos habeam*; **74, 29**, *genium propitium habeam*; **75, 10**, *me facias ringentem*; **83, 32**, *neminem divitem fecit*; **86, 17**, *suspectam faceret humanitatem*; **94, 9**, *te talem peperit*; **102, 17**, *(nos) solidos alligaturus*; **107, 39**, *deteriorem facias causam*; **134, 15**, *illud rigidum reddidero*; **141, 16**, *carnem faciunt peiorem*. There are several occurrences of verbs of naming and like verbs in the passive, but in no instance is one of the two accusatives retained. It will be noted that the illiterate speakers make free use of these accusatives. An interesting periphrasis is *coctos facere* for *coquere*. Perhaps *solidos*, **102, 17**, may be regarded as an example of the attribute which expresses the consequence of an act, a construction which R. and G. say is rare in Latin and poetic, (Gram. Comp. 54).

1. cf. Gram. Comp. 71.

2. Draeger, Syn. 1, 397.

3. cf. Peters, Case Rel., 26; R. and G. Gram. Comp., 55.

## B. Neither accusative is a predicate.

The occurrences are few: 36, 28, eum hoc interrogare; 44, 39, Jovem aquam orabant; 46, 21, destinavi illum artificii docere, aut tonstreinum aut praeconem aut certe causicum; 58, 13, te haec docet. The freedmen are credited with all but one. The accusatives seen in the passage quoted from 46, 21, are really appositives in agreement with the word which the genitive artificii limits,—a word which must be supplied. Or else, if we consider the statement complete and allow docere to govern an accusative and a genitive, (and this Buecheler and Friedlaender think not impossible, cf. *Cena*, 249), the other accusatives are in apposition with the one implicit in the genitive. This construction of the double accusative is older than Greek and Latin. It is found in Sanskrit with the verbs 'demand' and 'despoil'. It probably belongs, therefore, to the I. E. language. In Homer, too, it is with the verbs just mentioned that the double accusative is chiefly found.<sup>1</sup> The three verbs represented in Petronius appear in literature, (so says Draeger, *Syn. I.*, 370 sq.), as follows: docere in Plautus and then in all periods of the language; interrogare not in the early period and in Cicero only once, (*Tusc.*, I, 24, 57), oftener later; orare, in Ennius, Plautus, Terence, Cicero, but in all these taking only a neuter pronoun as the object which meant a thing, then more freely, this distinction being removed.

## IV. Accusative in Exclamations.

In Petronius, exclamation is represented almost equally often by the accusative and the nominative, which appear eleven and twelve times respectively. The dative occurs once, 108, 19, ei mihi. The accusatives are: 13, 8, o lulum fortunae mirabilem; 24, 5, o hominem acutum; 34, 34, eheu nos miseros; 56, 10, facinus indignum; 58, 9, Occuponem propitium; 64, 35, quid diverbia, quid tonstreinum; 91, 19, o facinus indignum; 92, 16 o iuvenem laboriosum; 94, 9 o felicem matrem; 106, 38, o te feminam simplicem. The infinitive appears in exclamation three times: 44, 22, quam benignus resalutare, 23, reddere; 64, 35, quid saltare. Perhaps the speaker at 44, 22, 23, felt the expression as equivalent to an exclamatory sentence, with subject ille understood, and infinitives historical, for indicatives. The form benignus seems to support that interpretation. At 64, 35, the accompanying quid diverbia, quid tonstreinum, I have considered accusatives, although, in form, they are also nominatives. There is no example of the accusative associated with bene in toasts, as in Plaut., *Stich.* 5, 4, 27, Bene vos, bene nos. But the dative with the similar adverb feliciter occurs twice in toasts: 50, 29, Gaio f; 60, 18, Augusto f.

## V. Accusatives with Prepositions.

The accusative appears 875 times as the object of prepositions. The prepositions, with number of occurrences with the accusatives, are as follows: ad 269; adversus, 2; ante, 15; apud, 7; circa, 16; circum, 2; citra, 1; contra, 7; extra, 14; in, 262; infra, 6; inter, 82; intra, 8; ob, 2; penes, 2; per, 65; post, 20; prae, 3; praeter, 8; propter, 12; secundum, 11; sub, 1; subter, 1; super, 53; supra, 6. Some of the more interesting examples of the accusative with these prepositions are given here. ad. Petronius evinces a great liking for this preposition. He selects it and the accusative at times when a choice lies between that construction and the dative, as, *intentare ad*, *accidere ad*. Ad and the accusative take the place of the locative ablative: 29, 20, ad sinistram; 71, 18, ad dextram; 61, 7, ad villam; 70, 6, ad lacum, (cf. Peck, "at the town pump"). Ad and the accusative serve to give the point of time from which something that follows immediately is reckoned: 22, 16, ad quem ictum; 27, 35, ad quod signum; 41, 31, ad quem sonum, (a similar idea is expressed five lines below by *ab hoc ferculo*); 94, 5, ad raptum ferramentum; 86, 3, ad hoc votum; 98, 11, ad quem motum. It

1. cf. R. and G. 55.

is interesting to note that Encolpius scarcely employs expressions like *quo facto* and *hoc facto*, (the latter not once, the former only once), and equivalent ones, like *hoc opere elaborato*, 131, 18, *hoc peracto carmine*, 131, 25, and *hac declamatione finita*, 133, 38, but prefers such cumbersome phrases as those given just above and similar ones consisting of *ab* and an ablative, *post* and *secundum* with the accusative. Twice *ad* and an accusative mark the time at which, not given as a time reckoned from: 103, 18 and 104, 35, *ad lunam*. In thirteen passages, *ad* and an accusative indicate that for which something is done or is intended: 2, 23; 5, 8; 27, 25; 46, 19; 48, 27; 55, 35; 75, 21; 88, 18; 89, 13, 60; 107, 16; 119, 16; 135, 6. In nine places, that in accordance with which something is done is expressed by the preposition and its object: 32, 15; 36, 15, 24; 40, 16; 45, 37; 47-10; 75, 20; 83, 12; 97, 20. The phrase *ad summam* appears fifteen times. It is peculiar to colloquial Latin, and is employed ten times by the freedmen.<sup>1</sup> *Ad* and the gerund occurs three times, with the gerundive, eight times. Only one of these eleven belong to an illiterate speaker, 62, 9, *ad scruta scita expedienda*. There is one example of the phrase *promittere ad*, meaning 'to promise to come to', 10, 12.

*adversus*. This word, which appears only twice, denotes once, 46, 26, professional rivalry with, once, 94, 15, personal hostility towards.

*apud*. *Apud* shows a variety of meanings in the seven occurrences: with, at the house of, in the works of, among, and once, on, in the phrase 'to squander on', 105, 10, *apud amicam consumpserunt pecuniam*.

*contra*. One strange use of *contra*, for which I find no exact parallel, is that at 76, 30, *contra aurum*. The meaning of the phrase is, 'equal to gold in value'. *Contra* with an ablative of price has essentially the same force, and this is found in colloquial language occasionally, as *Plaut. Truc. 2, 6, 57, contra auro*, *Curc. 1, 3, 47, aurichalco contra*. But in this latter expression, *contra*, it appears, is regularly an adverb, while the *contra* of *Petronius* is a preposition.<sup>2</sup>

*extra*. *Extra* is found nine times with a verb of motion, to express the idea of out from within. One would expect the ablative following a preposition. Seven times it is a building from which some one flees, is led or is driven.

*in*. This preposition is found in a number of places with peculiar uses which are worthy of mention. At 9, 7, the phrase in *scenam* limits the verbal noun *plausor*, which here retains, to a certain extent, the governing power of the verb. *Georges* cites *plaudere in* with the accusative, in *Min. Fel., 14, 2*. The expression *intendere in oculos* (*sc. manus*), 10, 28 and 74, 29, has few parallels in good prose. The preference of the uneducated speakers for a phrase consisting of *in* and the accusative, as a substitute for the logically correct *in* and ablative, is seen in expressions like *fui in funus*, 42, 6, *videbo te in publicum*, 58, 31, and in *controversiam esse*, 15, 13.<sup>3</sup> The last, although in the mouth of Encolpius, appears to be an intentional reproduction, in an indirect quotation, of the words of an illiterate speaker. The reverse of the construction just given is seen in the following: 19, 16, in *deversorio admitti*; 49, 13, *voca in medio*; 71, 15, in *publico effluentem*. *Suchier*, (*Archiv* 3, 165), says that the people's speech strove to make a single case of accusative and ablative.<sup>4</sup> With adjectives, *in* and the accusative appear three times: 46, 11, in *aves morbosus*; 77, 13, *felix in amicos*; 89, 4, in *damnum potens*. The phrase in *aves morbosus* reminds one of *in argento studiosus*, 52, 16. *In* has final force in five passages and the accusative denotes that for which something is done or serves: 9, 20; 24, 15; 48, 32; 94, 4; 117, 11. The terminal accusative appears with in 248 times.

*inter*. Eleven times the accusative singular follows *inter* where the plural would be more logical: 22, 14, *i argentum*; 33, 32, *i lusum*; 34, 11, *i tumultum*;

1. cf. *Segeb.* 11.

2. cf. *Wagner, Ter.* p, 452, *Brix, Plaut. Mil.* p, 173,

3. cf. *Wilm. Insc.*, 2083, 18, in *curiam esse* and *Sen. Ep.* 108, 4.

4. cf. *Guer.* 57, *Ludw.* 35.

**39, 9**, *i cenandum*; **59, 34**, *i familiam*; **64, 20**, *i risum*; **80, 14**, *i dementiam*; **98, 7**, *i turbam*; **132, 22**, *i se (familiam)*; **134, 12**, *i utrumque*; **138, 20**, *i decursum*. Encolpius is the speaker in every place except one, **39, 9**. The usage is paralleled in good writers but is rare. Livy shows it oftenest. Another interesting use of the preposition is seen in *inter initia*, **43, 28**, for *in primis*. Celsus has it at **3, 25**. It is colloquial. Four times Petronius employs *inter haec* for the more usual *interea*: **24, 12**; **60, 22**; **65, 30**; **137, 10**. Once *inter* and an accusative take the place of a secondary object, **126, 31**, *inter monstra numerare*. The positive *honesta*, construed with *inter primas*, represents the superlative. The phrase *inter reliqua*, **34, 15**, takes the place of *una cum reliquis*.

*ob, propter*. There is no discoverable difference made in the force of the two, unless it be that *propter* lacks the conception of sharp opposition expressed by *ob*. In its twelve occurrences, *propter* is either colorless, or else there is rather a leaning away from opposition. *Ob* suggests retaliation for misfortune due to something suffered by the actor at the hands of another: **59, 32**; **87, 22**. Woelfflin's treatment of *ob*, (*Archiv* I, 165 sq.), shows that no distinction can be maintained for the entire literature, but that particular writers have merely evinced a preference for one or the other. Of the two stereotyped expressions, *quam ob rem* and *ob eam rem*, only the latter appears, and but once.

*post*. In three of the twenty places where *post* is found with the accusative, it and its object express what would usually be put into an ablative absolute or a *cum*-temporal clause with verb in the pluperfect: **58, 20**; **63, 24**; **117, 20**. These phrases are to be classed with those referred to above under *ad*. The speaker in all cases but one, **63, 24**, is Encolpius.

*prae*. Guericke, (p. 56), cites the two examples of *prae* and an accusative, **39, 28**, *prae mala sua*, and **46, 4**, *prae literas*, as evidence that the common people were losing, at this date, the ability to discriminate in the use of prepositions and cases. The *Peregrinatio* shows that a great advance toward the breaking down of distinctions had been made between the time of Petronius and the date of its composition. One finds with the ablative there the prepositions, *ad, ante, intra, iuxta, per, post, prope, propter, subter, super*, **61, 4, 5, 2, 16, 13, 2, 1, 6**, and **3** times respectively. On the other hand, *cum* and *de* take the accusative **1** and **2** times respectively. We saw above, in the treatment of *in* and the accusative, and shall see again in the discussion of the ablative, other proofs of the confusion of accusative and ablative in connection with the expression of place at which and place whither. Schneider, (*Die Cas. Temp. u. Mod. b. Commod.*, p. 8), quotes the statement of Diez, (*Rom. Gr.* 3, 153), namely, that the accusative was the only oblique case which survived after the breaking down of declensions, and says that he is surprised to find more ablatives than accusatives without prepositions in *Commodian*. But he finds in his author proof of the fact that the ablative was the first case to succumb to the accusative. In *Commodian*, the struggle for mastery is seen in progress. In sixteen places the accusative takes the place of the ablative, in forty-seven, the ablative displaces the accusative. This confusion of cases, as it exists in the writings of Gregory of Tours, is described by Bonnet, (*Le Lat. de Greg. de Tours*, 522 sq.).

*secundum*. This word shows four different meanings: following in time; beside, in space; after, in rank; according to, manner. More than half of the eleven denote rest in a place. Krebs says that Latin of the classical period has only one such, *Cic. ad Fam.*, 4, 12.<sup>1</sup>

*super*. This preposition appears fifty-three times, always with the accusative. The conception is that of rest in **38** places, of motion in **15**. The usage is correct in all places, unless an exception be made of *super hoc officium positus*, **30, 15** and **56, 15**. Only *Curtius*, **6, 7, 21**, shows a parallel, (*Krebs, Antib. II*, 294). Once *praeponere super* occurs, **71, 11**.

1. S. and L. are mistaken when they say that *secundum*, at **112, 5**, signifies manner.



pridie. This appears with prepositional force in pridie Kalendas Ianuarias, 30, 10. Once it is merely implied, VII Kalendas sextiles, 53, 4.

VI. The entire usage of the accusative as the subject and predicate with an infinitive is here given.

1. The subject accusative is limited by a predicate adjective: 3, 20; 4, 28, 33; 13, 11; 15, 7; 20, 2; 30, 20; 39, 7; 46, 3; 47, 38, 11; 50, 37; 53, 25; 54, 37, 7; 55, 20; 56, 3, 4; 60, 7; 61, 33; 62, 36; 64, 38; 71, 7; 73, 19; 78, 4; 91, 32; 94, 22; 99, 35; 110, 35; 111, 1; 113, 27; 115, 12; 116, 32; 117, 28; 126, 17; 134, 10; 139, 25; 140, 29; frag. 23, 3. The subject is not expressed, but easily supplied from the relative clause, at 99, 35; 116, 32; 134, 10. The predicate adjective is lacking once, 56, 4, and the copula seven times: 54, 37; 56, 4; 61, 33; 91, 32; 113, 27; 115, 12; frag. 33, 3.

2. The subject accusative is limited by a predicate noun: 7, 35; 8, 11; 14, 33; 17, 29; 24, 14; 25, 30; 28, 6; 31, 34; 39, 10; 40, 36; 44, 36; 45, 34; 47, 33; 53, 27; 56, 11; 76, 34; 81, 16; 83, 13; 92, 16; 100, 32; 104, 29; 116, 21; 117, 6; 126, 17; 129, 4. Here, too, the subject must be supplied in seven passages: 7, 35; 24, 14; 31, 3, 4; 47, 33; 81, 16; 83, 13; 116, 21. The governing verb, in five cases, is one meaning 'to think', three times *putare*, twice *credere*. It is interesting to note that, in five other places, the subject is wanting after these same verbs: *putare*: 7, 5; 52, 18; 122, 129; 123, 190; *scire*: 91, 7. Martial, (*Liber Spect.* 26, 4), shows a good parallel in *credidimus remum*. One of the strangest of these cited is that at 47, 33, *putes taurum*, meaning, 'you would think bull', that is, 'you would think you heard a bull' (cf. Friedl. Cen., p. 119, "man moechte denken es sei ein Ochs"). The passage at 31, 3, follows a lacuna and the subject may have fallen out. But the other examples lead me to believe that it was never there. The copula is lacking occasionally: 8, 11; 45, 34; 76, 34; 92, 16; 81, 16. The last, like 56, 4, of the group above, lacks both copula and subject, *etiam qui putat virum*. There is just one example of a subject accusative, limited by a predicate noun, found with a copula that is not a form of *esse*: 111, 23, *solum illud etivississe verum pudicitiae exemplum*.

3. The subject accusative with *esse*, without an adjective modifier in the predicate: 15, 12; 25, 27; 37, 1; 47, 20; 67, 6; 73, 20; 83, 27; 95, 14; 98, 4; 92, 29; 101, 20; 110, 4; 112, 35; 135, 35, 36; 140, 11. The copula is lacking a few times: 47, 20; 112, 35; 113, 35, 36. In the majority of these passages, the subject has some kind of predicate modifier, in several instances, a genitive. The verb expresses mere existence in only three places: 37, 1; 73, 20; 110, 4.

4. The subject accusative with an intransitive verb active: 2, 24; 3, 12; 4, 25; 9, 30; 10, 7; 13, 13; 21, 24; 22, 20; 24, 2; 25, 20; 30, 25, 27; 38, 39; 39, 6; 47, 6, 9, 13; 49, 9; 52, 18, 38; 55, 12, 19; 57, 33; 67, 32; 74, 32; 76, 32; 77, 15; 78, 8; 80, 10, 22; 83, 20; 85, 30; 87, 25; 89, 36; 91, 7, 31; 94, 5; 97, 27; 98, 11; 99, 6; 100, 31; 101, 23, 25, 28; 102, 4, 9, 20, 35, 30; 105, 36, 100, 13; 107, 18, 21, 30, 4; 109, 25, 26; 111, 35; 112, 29; 115, 10; 117, 4, 5, 22, 25; 118, 14; 122, 148; 123, 213, 214; 125, 13; 127, 25, 31; 129, 13; 130, 1; 131, 25; 132, 27, 33; 134, 13; 136, 19; 137, 4; 140, 8; frag. 29, 7; frag. 32, 8; frag. 38, 4. There is no subject expressed at 52, 18; 94, 5; 106, 13. The omissions in the first two are bold: *pueri mortui iacent sic ut vivere putes, negavit recte iacere*. The speaker at 52, 18 is the same as at 47, 33, where occurs *putes taurum*, namely, Trimalchio. The reading at 94, 5, along with that at 2, 16, *pace vestra liceat dixisse*, lead me to think that Petronius probably did not write me at 134, 13, as Buecheler thinks he did, thus, *ne me putetis perplexe agere*. I have already referred to the somewhat inferior tone of the language of the speaker there, *Oenothra*.

5. The subject accusative with a transitive verb active: 2, 16; 3, 23; 4, 37; 7, 38; 15, 17, 23; 16, 2; 18, 34, 35, 37; 25, 34; 38, 11, 30; 41, 33; 42, 18; 43, 39, 24, 3; 44, 21; 45, 4, 9, 25, 31; 46, 19, 21; 47, 2, 13; 48, 33; 49, 14, 16; 51, 8, 12; 53, 22; 53, 28, 29; 58, 2, 8, 10; 60, 21; 62, 18; 63, 3, 9; 64, 13;

**72, 33, 11; 74, 31; 76, 30; 77, 11; 78, 32; 82, 35; 92, 17; 94, 11, 36; 97, 31; 99, 29; 101, 3, 15, 16, 28; 102, 10, 14, 35; 106, 6, 12; 108, 24, 29, 38, 4, 9; 110, 6, 7; 111, 13; 112, 36; 115, 14; 117, 1, 27, 36, 4; 122, 129, 159; 125, 14, 17; 126, 6; 129, 23; 130, 5, 7; 132, 35; 135, 9; 136, 35, 3; 137, 8, 29; 139, 18, 27; 140, 1, 2, 4; 141, 24; frag. 27, 8.** The subject is lacking occasionally: 2, 16; 15, 17; 25, 34; 64, 18; 99, 29; 117, 27; 122, 129; 140, 1, 2. Several of these last are in indirect discourse. The text is not complete at 140, 1, 2. The illiterate speakers employ this, it will be noticed, about three times as often as the others do, since nearly a third of all occurrences appear in their sixth of the work. The reading is not satisfactory at 16, 2, but like expressions at 2, 16 and 94, 5 tend to support it.

6. The subject accusative with a transitive verb passive: 1, 7; 4, 30; 7, 1, 5; 11, 26; 13, 10; 15, 13, 18, 22; 19, 16; 22, 19; 24, 4; 25, 33; 29, 35; 30, 21; **33, 28, 38**; 34, 13, **20**; 38, 15; 40, 6, 13; **44, 35; 47, 15**, 18, 19, **23**; 50, 34; **51, 14; 53, 15**; 54, 8; **56, 7; 58, 7**; 64, 6, 21, 23; 65, 30; 67, 8, 11, 12; 68, 27; 69, 36; 70, 3; 71, 39, **8**; 74, 38 (two), 5; **77, 28, 29**; 78, 38, 2; 84, 9; 85, 23; 87, 32; 89, 11, 12; 91, 22; 96, 32; 104, 24; 105, 7; 14, 32; 106, 13; 109, 37; 110, 33, 34; 111, 16; 112, 33, 5; 115, 21; 117, 21, 25; 120, 82; 122, 145; 123, 190; 127, 24; 132, 16, 18; 133, 3; 137, 5; 141, 14, 29. The subject is to be supplied in three places: 7, 5; **53, 25**; 123, 190. The first and last are two of those referred to above where the usage with *putare* is given: *putares esse deductum*, and *iussa putares*. The gerundive construction appears once, 96, 32.

7. The subject accusative, and predicate accusative with *vocare* in the passive: 24, 6; 60, 25; 127, 33. The subject accusative is a participle in three places: 15, 23, *liberatos*; 80, 10, *discedentem*; 102, 20, *vinctos*; an adjective in two only: 107, 36, *noxios*; frag. 38, 4, *lacerum*; a clause once, 138, 3, *quod eictus sum lusum puto*; and an infinitive phrase twice: 10, 7, *intellego nobis convenire non posse*; 20, 2, *periculosum esse, alienis intervenire secretis*. The predicate accusative is an infinitive at 28, 6, *hoc suum propinasse dicebat*.

Relatively little use is made of the accusative as an appositive: 10, 2 (two); 25, 26; **45, 29; 46, 6, 24; 59, 32; 61, 2; 70, 3; 71, 16**; 78, 2; 105, 29; 107, 16; 116, 22; 117, 21, 23; 126, 37; 131, 17, 19; 137, 7. The appositive follows *id est* once: 10, 2.

From a treatment of the infinitive as substantive by Woelfflin, (*Archiv*, 3, 70 sq., *Der substantivierete Infinitiv*), I take the following, applicable, in particular, to the construction seen in *suum propinasse* quoted just above: Priscian, speaking of the use of the infinitive *loco nominum*, says that the Greeks used it *pro omni casu*, the Latins, however, *pro nominativo vel accusativo*, and that, for the genitive, dative or ablative, and for the accusative with a preposition, the latter employed the gerund or supine. Donatus calls the verb *pars orationis sine casu*, and his commentator, Servius, accepts the definition. The latter declares that where the infinitive appears to be an accusative, we are to see one of the many "elocutiones, quae sic formantur, quasi casum habeant". Sergius holds the same view. Commenting on *iussi ei dare bibere*, Ter. Andr., 485, he says that such a use of the infinitive is a solecism and adds, "sed ista consuetudo ex Graeco usu descendit". These grammarians were mistaken, in part. They were right in assuming the influence of the Greek. The first example of the infinitive as the object of a preposition, *inter optime valere et gravissime aegrotare*, Cic., *de fin.* 2, 13, imitates a construction of the Greek philosopher quoted by Cicero. Only Seneca, of the writers of the silver period, uses the infinitive thus, following Cicero. The patristic writers then take it up, Tertullian setting the example. In Augustine the construction is not infrequent. The first occurrence, in Latin literature, of the infinitive construed with *praeter* is found in Hor. Sat. 2, 5, 69. Ovid imitates this in three passages, one of which contains a perfect active infinitive, Heroid., 7, 164, *quod crimen dicis praeter amasse meum*. The Greeks made a substantive of their infinitive through the help of their article. The Latin, having no article, had to represent it by *hoc*, *illud*, *ipsum*, and the closely related

possessive pronouns, *meum, tuum*, etc. The scholiast, commenting on Pers. 1, 9, *nostrum istud vivere triste aspexi*, refers to the Greek origin of the construction in these words: *figura graeca est pro nostram vitam tristem*. So this was once a construction strange to the Latin. But it came into the Latin early. For Plautus shows it: Curc. 28, *Ita tuom conerto amare semper, si sapias*. It is again in his philosophical works, not in his speeches, that Cicero takes up this usage, as, *de fin.* 2, 18, and then occasionally thereafter, including several times in his Correspondence. Cicero had good reason to avoid using this in the senate house or the forum, since it was not genuine Latin. It was, therefore, shunned by Caesar, Sallust and Livy. Seneca, however, went further and even employed the perfect infinitive so. Persius shows five examples of the present infinitive. During the half century following Cicero, the construction, originally belonging to the learned language exclusively, became known in the circles of the uneducated, as is shown by the expression used by Trimalchio, 52, 21, *meum intellegere*. The infinitives which first became common were *scire, sapere, intelligere*. Later *velle* and *posse* and several others were added. We can see how very slow Latin was to take up the infinitive limited by a pronoun from the fact that prose of the first century A. D. shows only a few examples besides those referred to in Cicero and Petronius. The elder Pliny has one, Quintilian one. The first half of the second century adds only one example, Plin. ep. 8, 9, 1. *Ipsum* was the natural representative of the Greek article with these infinitives, but colloquial Latin (Plautus, Persius, Petronius) preferred the possessive pronoun. So by the middle of the second century A. D., Latin had construed the infinitive with the prepositions *inter* and *praeter*, the pronouns, and the genitive.<sup>1</sup> The perfect active infinitive had come to be preferred to the present active infinitive. That the infinitive, joined to an article or a pronoun, holds in fact the rank of a substantive, while being at the same time no substantive, is shown by the fact that, in Greek as in Latin, the adjective with it appeared late and timidly. In the expression, *hoc beate vivere*, the infinitive is only half substantive. In *hoc beatum vivere*, equivalent to *haec beata vita*, it is a complete substantive. Pliny was guilty of a bold innovation when he extended Cicero's *nihil agere* to *iucundum nihil agere* (Ital. 'dolce far niente'). Hieronymus makes a beginning with *immaculatum cum Christo vivere*, adv. Pelag. 3, 12. The first use of the construction is shown by Marius Victor. Late Latin poetry employs the infinitive with pronouns but little. In late prose, writers of history, following their illustrious predecessors, generally avoid the usage. It is almost absent from late writers on oratory. By patristic writers, on the contrary, it is much cultivated. In Augustine, the 'brook becomes a stream'. The first infinitive employed as a substantive was doubtless *instar*. The substantive use of the infinitive concerns chiefly the present active, that of deponents included. Very rare is the present passive. The perfect active in Ovid, Seneca (Trag.) and Juvenius was long confined to poetry. The infinitives oitenest employed substantively are: *amare, credere, dolere, esse, intellegere, mori, nolle, posse, ridere, sapere, scire, velle, vivere*.

1. The first and last are not represented in Petronius.

## THE GENITIVE.

The genitive is the case employed to define the nominal conception, whether this be expressed in a substantive, or in an adjective, verb, participle, or adverb. Even when it appears to be adverbial, like dative and accusative, the substantival notion is the predominant one in the verb limited. Schmalz says that the genitive was originally an adjective formation, and cites the old adjective *cuius*, -a, -um, which, in the masculine, is the same as the genitive of the pronoun. He thinks the fundamental idea of the genitive is seen best, in its purest form, in the *genitivus definitivus*. Delbrueck (*Syn.* 186) says that the theory that the genitive singular of o-stems is an adjective which has become indeclinable rests on weak support. For the genitive singular of other than o-stems and the genitive plural do not find their explanation thus. He admits that the view is "ansprechend", but nothing more. For the adverbial use of the genitive, he commends the definition of Gaedicke: "Der Akkusativ zeigt die vollste, entschiedenste Bewaeltigung eines Gegenstandes durch den in Verbo des Satzsubjekts enthaltenen Begriff; geringere Objektvisierung liegt in dem Genitiv, die thaetige Kraft wird dabei gleichsam nur versucht und angehoben, nicht erschoept".

The illiterate, it will be noted, make no great use of the genitive. Those categories of which they make relatively the freest use, are the three termed possessive genitive, genitive of the whole, and genitive of quality. The appositive in general, aside from the nominative, is little used. In the genitive it is represented by only two examples: 61, 1, *amare coepi uxorem Terentii coponis*; 89, 3, *et vatis fides Calchantis pendebat metu*. There is only slight indulgence in the practice of multiplying genitives within a single expression. The whole number of instances is here given: 31, 4, *patris familiae*; 37, 7, *ostiarii illius*; 53, 6, *tritici milia modium*; 69, 36, *eiusmodi cenarum imaginem*; frag. 26, 1, *rerum naturae munera*.

The genitive is a perfect participle in the following places: 108, 39, *libidine perditorum*; 111, 35, *desiderium extincti*. It is a present active participle as follows: 13, 11, *personam vendentis*; 15, 27, *acumen calumniantium*; 22, 7, *non sentientis labra*, 10, *pedes discumbentium*; 23, 26, *hilaritatem commissantis*, 1, *frontem sudantis*; 26, 8, *considerantium vultus*, 39, *iocantium libidine*; 52, 30, *urbanitatem iocantis*; 70, 9, *sententiam discernentis*, 16, *pedes recumbentium*; 79, 14, *occurrentium lumen*; 82, 27, *furentis more*; 86, 8, *aurem dormientis*; 95, 10, *volutionem iacentium*, 17, *clamantis frontem*, 26, *statum proliantis*; 96, 34, *caput miserantis*; 97, 16, *scrutantium manus*; 98, 5, *genua perseverantis*; 99, 28, *amantium potestate*; 100, 28, *labentis laciniam*; 101, 38, *miserere morientium*; 103, 11, *suspicionem quaerentium*, 21, *nauseantis devotione*; 105, 9, *oculos legentium*; 107, 12, *legem navigantium*; 108, 21, *facies plorantis*, 25, *saevientium minas*, 40, *dimicantium furor*; 110, 1, *periclitantium advocatus*; 111, 29, *gemitum lugentis*, 33, *corpus iacentis*, 4, *corpus iacentis*, 7, *humanitatem invitentis*, 13, *iacentis corpus*; 114, 24, *amplexus amantium*; 126, 18, *desiderium aestuantis*;

127, 29, vocem loquentis; 131, 24, frontem repugnantis; 134, 33, impetum verberantis; 139, 28, rabies irascentis. Not once is a freedman represented here, it will be noted. Notice the absence of this construction from the chapters between 114 and 126, where the long poem is given.

#### I. Possessive Genitive.

This genitive is of such common occurrence, (there are nearly 700 in the work), that an attempt to give here a detailed treatment of it would be unprofitable. I have selected, for special mention, certain examples which are of particular interest. This genitive has a varied use and it is often a difficult matter to decide whether the idea of possession is sufficiently strong to warrant one in placing it in the special category of possessive genitive, or in another to which it may, with apparently as good or better reason, be referred. For, to quote a pertinent statement by Blomquist, (*De Gen. ap. Plaut. usu*, p. 119), "in omni usu genetivi adnominali persaepe accidit, ut ipsa notio admodum vaga et ambigua evadat, ut fines certos eius usus constituere difficillime sit". It is not always easy to distinguish, for instance, possessive from objective genitive. It is not possible, either, to establish fixed dividing lines between this genitive and those of definition, apposition, quality, of the whole, and of material. The names of the different genitives, moreover, are employed with such varying scope of application by different grammarians that it is necessary to have the separate territories defined with each new classification.

In the phrase *exul hiemis*, 55, 28, is a genitive which approaches closely the one employed to express a period of time. Such a construction is not recognized for Latin, but is certainly established, according to Deibrueck, (*Syn. I.*, 356, 358), for the Greek, Germanic, and Slavonic languages, and, probably, for I. -E. Our passage refers to a bird which migrates to a warmer climate when winter comes and remains away until spring. It returns as *titulus tepidi temporis* (55, 28), 'harbinger of spring'. The genitives in the phrases following, although perhaps more properly genitives of quality, are related to the other: 17, 30, *tot annorum secreta*; 81, 21, *unius noctis iactu*; 141, 23, *unius horae fastidio*. The expression *tela Gigantium*, 123, 208, may be so interpreted as to make the *Gigantes* appear as possessors of the weapons employed by Jupiter in their destruction.

There is one occurrence of the rare *lucri facere*, 15, 10, which different scholars class with different groups. K. and G. think it may be considered a partitive genitive, (*Gram. Comp.* 127); Roby gives it under genitives of sort, material, (*Lat. Gram.* p. 127, 6); Allen and Greenough call it a possessive genitive, (*Lat. Gram.* p. 207, c). Blomquist places it, along with *compendi*, *damm*, *sumpti*, and *operae*, in an appendix to his treatment of the attributive (appositive) genitive, because, as he says, he is not sure how he ought to explain it. It does seem that it comes about as near being the equivalent of a predicate noun or adjective after a factitive verb as it does being a possessive genitive. In our sentence, the translation, 'who wished to make the cloak profit, or, 'profitable', would be entirely consistent. Some believe that the expression is elliptical, (Roby 127, 6, Lorenz ad *Plaut. Most.* 60).

The possessive genitive appears a few times as an attribute: 76, 2, *qui patroni fuerant*; 95, 14, *taxo sciatis non viduae hanc insulam esse sed M. Mannici*; 111, 37, *omnium eundem esse exitum*, and, possibly, the genitive in *lucri facere*, 15, 10.

The work shows just one example of a proper noun as possessive genitive limiting another proper noun, 64, 14, *Margaritam Croesi*. *Margarita* is the pet dog of the slave boy, *Croesus*. Once it was thought that such expressions were elliptical, but that view is not now held. Haase remarks, (*Reis. Vorl.* 3, 563), that this construction is more common when foreign names are concerned, as *Ajax Oilei*, but that it is common enough, too, with Roman names, especially when names of dependents are given.

Some of the more interesting examples of the adjective used in place of this

genitive are these: 33, 36, pavonina ova; **43, 26**, linguam caninam; **58, 39**, iapidarias literas; 65, 28, ova anserina; 80, 10, paricidali manu; 108, 6, cultrum tonsorium, 13, more patrio, 18, fraterno sanguine; 109, 5, pelagae volucres; 115, 18, casam piscatoriam; 120, 78, Sullanus ensis; 122, 146, Herculis aris; **136, 17**, Herculea arte, 156, Saturnia tellus, 177, Delphicus ales; 124, 267, Cyllenia proles, 294, Thessalicos sinus.

## II. The appositive genitive.

There are two fairly well defined sub-classes of this genitive which it is worth while to distinguish. The first will include such as are nearest to pure appositives, the second those which are merely explanatory of the idea contained in the substantive limited. For this second class, sometimes for the two groups even, the name expegetical is used. One ventures on slippery ground, it must be confessed, when he attempts to separate the second class given here from the genitives denoting possession, material, and quality. For, in many cases, the territories of the several overlap. I have given in the following quotations all the examples the work shows of this construction,—at least, in so far as I have been able to recognize them.

A. Here belong: 26, 4, nuptiarum nomen; 80, 33, nomen amicitiae, 38, nomen divitis; 81, 20, amicitiae nomen; 94, 2, nomen poetae; 122, 138, umbrarum facies; 123, 243, imperii nomine; 124, 257, Mortis imago; 134, 23, lunae imago; 136, 26, abeundi consilium; 139, 9, onus coeli; frag. 33, 2, munera castaneae. A different interpretation, which is possible in the case of several of these, would remove them from the category. The genitive in the expression muscarum imagines, 135, 12, may appear to some as much entitled to a place here as the others given with imago. To me there seemed to be the difference that, while the imago at 135, 12, meant actually mere shadow, picture, of an object not present in substance, it was the real object, in the other passages. One cannot be sure about such a genitive as that in nomen Trimalchionis, 31, 10. The context shows that the name was inscribed, and, of course, the name might appear as a nominative or a genitive standing alone. But no person, except the writer, can know whether we are to understand, 'the name Trimalchio', or, 'Trimalchio's name'. How shall the genitive in notae literarum, 105, 8, be interpreted? We can see that the letters are the notae, but one can also say that the notae result from the literae. It will be noted that no illiterate speaker employs this construction.

B. In this class appear: 1, 13, verborum globulos; 6, 24, dictorum aestu, and scholasticorum turba; 17, 25, necessitatem mortis; 29, 32, gregem cursorum; 30, 11, stellarum imagines; 31, 10, argenti pondus; **42, 5**, mulsi pultarium; 56, 23, fascem betae; 60, 8, alabastris unguenti, 24, pateram vini; **77, 15**, vitae annos triginta; 78, 35, ampullam nardi; 79, 17, gastrarum fragmenta; 85, 33, and 35, par columbarum; 88, 35, massa auri; 92, 15, inguinum pondus; 97, 30, praetextu quaestionis; 98, 9, collectione spiritus; 101, 1, consortio studiorum; 105, 8, notae literarum; 108, 13, ramum oleae; 109, 26, tabulas foederis; 118, 20, flumine literarum, 27, belli civilis opus; 119, 28, greges servorum, 52, faenoris illuvies; 120, 62, armorum strue, 86, luxuriam spoliolum; 122, 138, facies umbrarum; 123, 188, undarum vincula; 124, 247, turba deum, 248, hominum agmen, 1 and 6, volubilitate verborum; 137, 36, camellam vini; 138, 16, urticae fascem; 141, 24, bonorum pensionem; frag. 18, alabastrum Cosmiani; frag. 28, 5, proditionis opus; frag. 38, 12, turba canum; and the following genitives with genus: 1, 1, furiarum; 2, 24, exercitationis; 69, 32, avium; 83, 7, tabularum; 102, 19, furti; 116, 24, negotiationis; 117, 4, divinationis; 124, 4, hominum; 132, 13, amoris; and the similar one with nota in nota literarum, 83, 27. Some would prefer, doubtless, to class certain of these, such as, for instance, those at **42, 5**; 56, 23; 60, 8, 24; 78, 35; 88, 35, with the genitives of material. I am inclined to place here also the four genitives found with the prepositional causa: 17, 18, ultionis; **71, 11**, custodiae; 101, 12 and 26, voluptatis, officii. (Others of the list some might prefer

to give to the category of genitives of the whole. In my opinion, it is inevitable that some ambiguity exist regarding many such genitives. After all, the separation into classes will be to a certain extent arbitrary. In the case of the genitives of this list just given which approach the genitives of material and of the whole, it has appeared to me that neither of those sides was so much emphasized by the author as the other one of exegesis. Some go so far as to try to dispense with the category of 'genitive of material' altogether. This seems unnecessary. But I do not think that we need to recognize, as genitives of that class, any except those in which the chief emphasis is laid on the material. The same statement will apply to the genitives here which resemble those which give the whole of which some part is mentioned. When Petronius wrote *pateram vini*, 60, 24, *vitae annos triginta*, 77, 15, and *par columbarum*, 85, 33, I do not think he felt *vini*, *vitae*, and *columbarum* as genitives of the whole. Two, at least, of these given may appear to some to be objective genitives: 98, 9, *collectione spiritus*; 101, 1, *consortio studiorum*. Standing apart from the context, they might be so interpreted. But in the text, neither *collectione* nor *consortio* has active force. Of the whole number, few of these genitives are superfluous in the expressions containing them. If allowance be made for embellishment and for added weight given a conception by a slight extension in the expression of it, perhaps not one should be called superfluous. Krohn, (*Quaestiones*, p. 35), discussing the phrase *proditionis opus*, frag. 28, 5, says that Petronius adds the word *opus* to *proditionis* which is sufficient of itself. But in that place, as well as in the expressions *faenoris illuvies*, and *belli civilis opus*, something is gained by the use of the words without which the thought would nevertheless be complete.

### III. Genitive of Material.

A separate category for the genitives of material is not recognized by many. R. and G., (*Gram. Comp.* 121), say that such a genitive does not exist in Latin, "pour ainsi dire". They state that it is a case which is found in the primitive language, in Greek, and in Lithuanian, (so Delbrueck, *Grundl.* p. 39). Delbrueck, (*Syn.* 1, 340), calls this genitive, "Eine Abart des partitiven Genitivs". Lane, (*Lat. Gram.* 202), makes of genitives of material and appositive genitives correlated sub-classes under the genitive of definition. Zernial, (*Gen. usu Tac.* 47), gives the appositive genitive as a sub-class of the genitive of material. And thus it appears that the lack of uniformity in the treatment of this case by different scholars renders it very difficult to define and classify it, if, indeed, we make bold to claim the existence of such a case at all. To be consistent and avoid going counter to the statement made in the discussion of the appositive genitives, among which, as there admitted, are some which others would call genitives of material, of definition, of the whole, I must restrict the name to such as lay special stress upon the material of which something consists. I find only a few that seem to me to meet the requirements: 23, 1, *acaciae rivi*; 126, 7, *auri vinculum*; 135, 19, *terrae pocula*. Antoine, (*de cas. syn. Verg.* 80), distinguishes this genitive from the ablative of material thus: "ablativus materiae adhibetur ad materiam indicandum ex qua res effingitur, genitivus genus rei exprimit". Allen and Greenough, (*Lat. Gram.* 208), give as examples of the genitive of material, *talentum auri* and *flumina lactis*, and then say, "this is strictly a genitive of source (cf. *ex auro factum*, made out of gold)". The two views are not necessarily divergent, but the former allows the name to be applied to many genitives, which the latter would not recognize as such. It is splitting hairs, doubtless, to attempt to make a distinction between genitives which give the material out of which something is made and those which give the material of which something consists after it is made. But the latter definition would bar out all genitives which do not contain the conception of 'being made from or out of something'. Measured by this standard, the three genitives given above appear to me to belong here, and besides these, I can find no others in the work. The nearest to these are, perhaps, *mulsi*

pultarium, 42, 5, and undarum vincula, 123, 188. But the stress is not placed on the material of which the bonds and the poultice were made. If the three were to be placed among the genitives of any other category, that of 'definition' or 'apposition' would be preferable to that of 'the whole'.

#### IV. Genitive of Quality.

This genitive, sometimes called also descriptive, is often described as the case which is employed to mark such qualities or characteristics as are inherent, enduring, essential, in contrast to the ablative of quality or description, which is used to indicate qualities which are merely external, temporary. It has sometimes been claimed, too, that these cases might be employed indifferently, the one for the other. It is probable that both of these views are incorrect. In his discussion of the two cases, (Archiv II, 197 sq.), Woelfflin remarks, by way of preface, that, to the adherents of the new school of linguistics, this interchange of cases, and that too without change in meaning, is a mere impossibility. He cites, as a similar erroneous theory respecting case usage, that one which holds that the same conception may be expressed indifferently by the genitive of price and the ablative of price, which he thinks ought to be called respectively genitive of value, (Wertes), and ablative of price. He then takes up the theory, originated by Delbrueck, and accepted as a practical, working hypothesis by others since, that the ablative expresses the attendant circumstances, the passing, changing quality, the genitive, the stable, enduring possession, in the form of a quality, and proceeds to adduce proof of its inaccuracy. He believes that we are still far from the truth because no one has collected the facts. The first confusion lies, he thinks, in the fact that silver Latin has, in many cases, altered the point of view held by Latin of the archaic and classical periods. Early Latin shows a far greater use of the ablative, silver Latin of the genitive. What brought about this change? The influence of form and the change in meaning were leading factors, Woelfflin believes. He gives proof of the strong influence exerted by form as it appears in the history of particular words: vis, facies, forma, species, par, singularis, insignis, incredibilis, tenuis, similis, pondus, mediocris, immanis, liberalis. Singularis, which appears in Cicero with a noun expressing a quality almost fifty times, is genitive only once, and then apparently for the sake of symmetry, Sulla, 34, maximi animi, summi consilii singularis constantiae. So with the other words given,—the form largely decides the case. Of the words treated by Woelfflin, only two, forma and singularis are found in Petronius in this construction. Each of these appears as a genitive: 64, 7, ingentis formae canis; III, 19, singularis exempli femina. Woelfflin shows that forma appears as ablative of quality eighteen times in Plautus, eight times in Terence, at least six times in Cicero; the genitive of quality first in Horace, and then from that time more and more often, until it becomes more frequent, in silver Latin, than the ablative. The genitive of singularis, Cicero employs once, Caesar not at all, Hirtius twice. The conclusion is, that the best writers avoided it. Petronius' usage is no exception to the general rule that the ablative of quality is less frequent in the silver period literature than the genitive. For the latter are several times more numerous than the former. I have distributed the genitives of the work into three groups, under the headings, distinctive quality, class or category, and valuation, and, in each class, have presented separately those which do and those which do not appear in the predicate, marked I and 2 respectively.

##### A. Distinctive quality.

I: 3, 14, sermonem publici saporis; 9, 29, muliebris patientiae scortum; 15, 16, nescioquis tuberosissimae frontis; 40, 3, primae magnitudinis aper; 49, 20, ego, crudelissimae severitatis; 57, 25, Ascylos, intemperantis licentiae; 64, 7, ingentis formae canis; 83, 25, senex exercitati vultus; 87, 37, ephebus plenae maturitatis; 94, 7, moderationis verecundiaeque verba; 95, 28, canem ingentis magnitudinis; 102, 4, nautam stationis perpetuae; III, 19, singularis exempli



femina; 116, 27, urbanioris notae homines; 117, 21, iuvenem ingentis eloquentiae; 124, 3, amplioris fortunae domum; 131, 22, varii coloris filis; 132, 19, severioris notae homines, 29, novae simplicitatis opus; 140, 31, anus floris extincti.

2: 2, 8, carmen sani coloris; 25, 27, puellam eius aetatis; 37, 4, bonorum consiliorum and malae linguae, (sc. mulier); 43, 26, durae buccae, (sc. homo); 45, 36, unus alicuius flaturae; 46, 3, nostrae fasciae; 49, 25, malae memoriae; 63, 24, sui coloris; 66, 12, bonae memoriae; 83, 29, non humillimi spiritus; 111, 10, notae pudicitiae; 117, 31, solutioris stomachi; 140, 11, lumborum solutorum.

#### B. Class or Category.

1: with eiusmodi; 23, 28, carmina; 36, 23, methodio, 29, ludos; 47, 28, fabulae, 16, nenas; 69, 36, cenarum; 94, 20, vota; 100, 20, vox; 104, 29, ludibria; 130, 9, pollicitatione; with huiusmodi, 56, 24, sexcenta; 60, 12, omnis generis poma; 73, 14, novi generis labyrintho; 111, 24, omnis ordinis homines.

2. None belong here.

#### C. Valuation.

1: 17, 30, tot annorum secreta; 34, 24, Falernum annorum centum; 44, 27, aedilem trium cauniarum; 58, 16, nemo dupondii; 63, 7, omnium numerum; 81, 20, unius noctis tactu; 97, 9, puer annorum circa XVI; 111, 15, aliquot dierum abstinentia.

2: 27, 25, operae; 30, 22, decem sestertiorum; 42, 9, minoris; 42, 10, and 57, 15, pluris; 68, 8, omnium numerum; 76, 33, gusti, nihil facti.

It will be noted that the common noun limited by the genitive is omitted in three places: 49, 20; 57, 25; 63, 7. The word understood in every passage is homo. The freedmen are not once represented in class one of category A, only twice in the first division of B, but freely in the others, being responsible for every example under C, 2. Such genitives as those under A, 1, are too fine for them. The phrase urbanioris notae homines, 116, 27, therefore, strikes the reader as being inappropriate to the speech of a farm overseer. But this is not the only inapt expression in the speech of this overseer, as we have remarked elsewhere. Nearly all the expressions quoted here from the illiterate are such as would occur frequently in every day conversation,—durae buccae, malae memoriae, malae linguae and those containing genitives of value, for which they show special liking. Even the few that are a little more ambitious, bonorum consiliorum, alicuius flaturae, trium cauniarum, are evidently often recurring, popular phrases.

The occurrence of two genitives of quality without a limiting adjective contradicts the statement made by various authorities that no example of the omission of the adjective is found before Apuleius: 94, 7, moderationis verecundiaeque verba.

I am inclined to add one other, which has not been given in the above list, 102, 25, iter salutis. The usage is very rare. Draeger says, (Syn., I 462), that only three examples are cited by commentators, one each in Lucan, Apuleius, and Symmachus. The genitive salutis can not be interpreted as a possessive genitive, it is not appositional; it is, however, in a sense, a genitive of definition. The context shows, I think, that the meaning of the phrase is 'a road to safety', as if iter ad salutem. But, at the same time, it may be regarded as equivalent to 'a safe journey', away from the the dangers that threatened.

This genitive with a proper name, infrequent in classical Latin, and at no time common, is seen at 57, 25. Antoine finds no occurrence of it in Vergil, (de cas. syn. Verg. 75). Ebeling cites a single example in Horace, (de cas. usu Hor. 18). Preising says Seneca shows it rarely in his Tragedies. (Sen. cas. usu 45).

Woelfflin, discussing the phrase omnis generis, (Archiv 5, 396), says that he thinks the writers of the classical period avoided it rather because the rhyme was not pleasing than because it was not sufficiently definite. He cites it from Columella and then in several places in Livy and later writers.

The compound eiusmodi, with the force of talis, is found in classical Latin

with relatively far less frequency. With the decline of the language, the usage developed until, in the African writers, the two forms *eiusmodi* and *huiusmodi* (latter in Petronius once), came to be employed as substantives governed by prepositions.<sup>1</sup>

The genitive of quality is occasionally replaced by a phrase as, *ex hac nota*, 83, 27 and 126, 21.

I note one example of the not very frequent occurrence of genitive and ablative of quality in parallel portions of the same sentence: 87, 37, *ephebus plenae maturitatis et annis ad patiendum gestientibus*. Draeger, (*Syn.* I 464), gives as a complete list, seven: one in Cicero's Correspondence, one each in Nepos, Sallust and the elder Pliny, and three in Tacitus. Only Sallust marks a difference of meaning, he thinks. Lupus, (*Spr. Gebr. d. Nep.*, 24), says that Nepos evidently intended to make *hominem maximi corporis terribilique facie*, 14, 3, 1, humorous. R. and G. remark that Cicero apparently had no other reason for changing the construction in the two passages quoted from him than a desire to avoid monotony. (*Gram. Comp.* 131). Tacitus may well have been controlled by the same motive, for he seeks ever for variety of expression. The distinction, if one exists in our passage, is not an appreciable one. Woelfflin says, (*Archiv* II, 211), that 70 or 80 of these strange constructions can easily be collected from the literature and that a study of the whole number will be necessary to establish the truth respecting them. Petronius possessed an exceptional ear for the music, the rhythm, of language, and exhibits great skill in avoiding harsh and unpleasing combinations of sounds and in securing euphony in all places. It is not unlikely, therefore, that he selected the ablative *annis gestientibus* in preference to the genitive merely to avoid the unmusical, or at last inartistic, repetition of the ending *-orum*, a rhyme often thus avoided.<sup>2</sup>

To the genitives of value given above should be added, of course, those about half a dozen in number, which are found with verbs other than *esse* and are treated under the head of genitives with verbs. In a treatment of this construction. (*Archiv* 9, 104 sq.), Woelfflin make these points, some of which Landgraf had previously brought out: The genitive of value, seen in such expressions as *servos quantivis pretii*, *ager pretii maioris*, is older than the one found in sentences like, *nullus est tam parvi preti, quam preti sit parvi*, which was originally attributive, later predicate, genitive. But whether *magni*, *parvi*, *minimi*, etc. are to be explained on the assumption of the ellipsis of *preti*, is still an open question. From the adjectives and pronouns, the bridge to the substantives was made by *nihili*, a word related in meaning to the adjectives. Then followed easily *flocchi*, *pensi nauci*, *pili*. The verb first used with these genitives was *esse*, which was followed then by *facere*, *pendere*, *ducere*, *putare*, *deputare*, *habere*, *censere*, and similar verbs. Although the ablative of price rests on a wholly different conception from that at the basis of the genitive of value, the two stand so near in meaning that, in the course of their historical development, they easily touch each other. When one says, 'I wouldn't give a penny for your wisdom', the statement seems to imply a purchase, a buying at a price, whereas only an estimate of the worth of something is meant. So the genitive of value may be put for the ablative of price when the mental estimate of the worth of a thing is understood as the giving of a price for it. When once this interchange has been made, the reverse process of real price being given in the form of a genitive, which at first gave only a valuation, becomes customary. Cicero shows by his expression an *emat denario, quod sit mille denarium, de off.*, 3, 23, 92 that the distinction between genitive and ablative does not consist of the difference between indefinite and definite price. The genitive is from the first a variety of the genitive of quality, the ablative an instrumental. It is an historical fact that, in early Latin, the verbs of value were shut

1. cf. Sittl *Loc. Versch.* 131.

2. cf. Woelfflin *Archiv*, II, 206.

out from the ablative construction. The better writers of the classical period preserved this usage. Since price is not always definitely expressed, *magno*, *parvo*, *minimo*, etc. must be used. And so these are found from the earliest period. In this connection it is interesting to note that of the ten ablatives of price found in Petronius, only three give a definite sum. One good example of the fusion of the conception of value with that of definite price is seen in *quae vix fuissent decem sestertiorum*, 30, 22, where the speaker evidently meant to give his estimate of the value of some clothes that had been stolen from him. The whole number of genitives of value, with verbs and without, is 24, and of these the freedmen employ all but seven.

#### V. The Subjective Genitive.

The treatment of the subjective genitive by scholars is so varied and fluctuating that one hesitates to venture on an attempt to define it. If we say with Allen and Greenough, (*Lat. Gram.* 206, 207), that all genitives are subjective except those toward which an action or feeling is directed, (such being objective), we give to it a far wider scope than those do who believe with Bennett, (*Lat. Gram.* 135), that this genitive "denotes the person who makes or produces something or who has a feeling". Delbrueck, (*Syn.* I, 349), says that this genitive seems to be, in origin, a construction which followed the analogy of the possessive. R. and G., after remarking that the double employment of the genitive, as subject and object, is found in Sanskrit and belongs to the primitive language, say that the subjective genitive is often confused with the possessive genitive. Gildersleeve and Lodge, (*Lat. Gram.* 232), point out the close relationship of agent and possessor as shown by the fact that, in the first and second persons, the possessive pronouns give the same idea. They apply to this genitive also the name 'active', (cf. Antoine, *Verg.* 85, note). It is in this limited sense of active genitive that I have chosen to use the name 'subjective genitive'. Of these, there are only a few, as follows: 83, 8, *vetustatis iniuria*; 55, 28, *exul hiemis* (cf. *Mart. ep.*, 7, 45, 9 and 11); 102, 2, *tormentorum iniuria*; 115, 5, *penatum ruina*; 124, 246, *caeli timor*; 106, 9, *somniorum consensu*.

#### VI. The Objective Genitive.

This genitive which is common to all Latin but employed by poets and some prose writers with great boldness, I have thought it worth while to give in full for Petronius. Although, properly speaking, genitives construed with adjectives, participles, and certain verbs belong to this class, it has seemed to me better to speak of those under separate headings, especially since the genitives with some verbs would have to be treated apart from the objective genitives. Only those depending upon substantives, therefore, are given here, and they are divided into two groups, following the classification of Roby, (*Lat. Gram.* 2, 128 sq.).

##### A. Direct object.

These are: 3, 22, *eloquentiae magister*; 4, 24, *spe praedae*; 10, 2, *somniorum interpretamenta*; 15, 14, *latrocinii suspicio*, 19, *metu criminis*; 17, 11, *ostentationem doloris*; 19, 14, *mutatio animorum*; 26, 12, *expectatio cenae*; 38, 2, *auctionem rerum*; 42, 14, *animi consolatio*; 51, 14, *condituram vitreorum*; 55, 28, *titulus temporis*; 60, 13, *ludorum missio*; 65, 26, *quarum recordatio*; 76, 8, *consiliator deorum*; 79, 34, *iniuriae inventor*; 83, 13, *animorum picturam*, 32, *amor ingenii*; 84, 11, *litterarum amatores*; 85, 26, *praedator corporis*; 88, 31, *recti bonique praeceptor*, 10, *pecuniae cupiditas*, 23, *accusatores antiquitatis*; 90, 5, *teli coniectum*, *aedicularum custodi* (different pages); 91, 8, *experimentum oculorum*, 24, *amoris arbitrium*; 94, 2, *suspicione vulneris*; 96, 36, *iniuria Eumolpi*; 97, 26, *societatem miserarum*; 98, 15, *rerum arbiter*; 99, 31, *artium magister*; 102, 3, *scaphae custodiam*, 9, *salutis spem*, 35, *aquae asperginem*; 105, 29, *originis indicem*, 31, *fugitivi argumentum*; 106, 6, *rerum curam*, 40, *inscriptione frontis*; 107, 30, *deprecationem supplicii*; 108, 17, *supplicii metu*, 28, *solacia litis*, *virium auxilia*; 110, 2, *concordiae auctor*; 111, 11, *spectaculum sui*, 35, *desiderium*

extincti; 114, 9, litoris possessor; 116, 28, literarum studia; 117, 3, detrectator ministerii; 119, 40, strepitum lucri; 120, 79, rerum humanarum potestas; 122, 142, vindictae amore; 123, 239, repertor Hydaspis; 125, 17, custodia mei; 129, 25, rei cura; 130, 4, placandi cura; 131, 15, offensa corporis; 132, 14, animarum mixturam; 136, 1, iacturae pensationem; and the genitive limiting causa, as follows: 88, 8, desidia; 94, 23, iracundiae; 98, 23, scelorum; 101, 14, odiorum; 108, 4, miseriarum; 117, 23, lacrimarum; 132, 28, malorum; 137, 16, tristitiae.

#### B. Remoter object.

These are not so numerous. The construction dates from the earliest period and gradually increases in frequency. Petronius has these: 10, 6, memoriam iniuriae; 19, 17, remedium tertianae; 55, 17, poetarum mentio; 79, 15, imprudentia locorum; 85, 22, formosorum mentio, 89, 2, fides vatis; 90, 2, plausum ingenii; 92, 33, cenae mandata; 97, 25, memoriam amicitiae; 105, 31, fugitivi argumentum; 119, 52, usus aeris; 132, 7, omnium hominum deorumque pudor, 17, paenitentiam sermonis, 36, hominum persuasione; 137, 23, amoris argumentum; 138, 26, litigantium iudex; 141, 19, pecuniae fama; frag. 37, 7, argumentum coloris.

Tremor Ponti (for which Buecheler prefers tremor Parthi), is strangely daring for, 'he who caused Pontus to tremble'. The genitive in titulus tepidi temporis, 55, 28, belongs here because titulus means nuntius, which represents the verb nuntiare. The stork's return announces the approach of spring. The expression litigantium iudex, 138, 26, does not mean 'judge of the goddesses', so interpreted as to imply that the goddesses were judged. It has the force rather of 'iudex inter deas tres'. And, for that reason, too, it is placed in the second class of this category. In the words 'potestas' and 'magister', 120, 79; 3, 22; 99, 31, I understand 'ruler' and 'teacher', and so place the genitives limiting them in the first group. If potestas be interpreted to mean 'possessor', and so be connected with potiri, the genitive will belong in the other class. The word magister with the other meaning of 'master' appears at 57, 7, and the genitive is possessive. It is possible that fides at 89, 2, has the meaning 'trustworthiness', and, in that case, the genitive vatis would be a possessive genitive. If it is, as I think, an objective genitive, it contrasts with that at 91, 27, where memoriae, depending on the same word, fides, is a possessive-subjective genitive. For in the latter place fides has the meaning 'trustworthy testimony'. I have no better reason for placing the genitive with recordatio, 65, 26, in the first group, than this, that recordari often takes the accusative, particularly when the act refers to so definite and recent an occurrence as the one here mentioned, while meminisse is usually construed with the genitive. In the phrase amoris arbitrium, 91, 24, we have a conception different from that just referred to in litigantium iudex. This time judgment is to be passed upon an object represented in the genitive. It is possible to interpret inscriptione frontis, 106, 40, 'forehead-inscription', and so take from inscriptione its active force. A very interesting objective genitive is seen in strepitum lucri, 119, 40, if my view of it is correct. Ebert (de Frontonis Syn. 8) says that Fronto is the only writer who employs strepere with an accusative, in, Capitolium montem strepit, i. e., strepitu implet. Petronius has used the word, it seems to me, in the sense of clamare, meaning 'to clamor noisily for', except that the expression is figurative for 'to go in noisy pursuit of'.

The work shows only two examples of a personal pronoun employed as an objective genitive, those at 111, 11 and 125, 17. Prepositional phrases used in place of this genitive are found at 5, 7, plausor in scaenam and 85, 21, de usu mentio. Such phrases are sometimes employed for the sake of emphasis, but it is not probable that emphasis was aimed at in these two passages. From Cicero, Draeger (Syn. 1, 49) cites, as examples of such phrases, erga me memoriam, in te amor, reverentia adversus homines and others similar. Lupas (Sprachgebr. d. Nepos 30) gives five from Nepos. Preising (de Sen. cas. 46) speaks of a

single occurrence of ad and an accusative in Seneca, and says that Ovid and Lucan often employ prepositional phrases thus. In one place our author makes use of ad and an accusative to represent the genitive of remoter object, 18, 36, *remedium ad tertianum* (cf. *remedium tertianae*, 19, 17).

It will be noted that this genitive is an adjective once, 88, 31, and a gerund once, 130, 14. A good example of an adjective used in place of this genitive is found at 132, 17, *iniuria mea*. There is no occurrence of an objective and a subjective genitive limiting the same word.

#### VII. Genitives with Adjectives and Participles.

The number of adjectives, (*adiectiva relativa*), which are construed with a genitive of reference, or specification, (*genitivus relationis, determinationis*), has been large from an early period in Latin. The entire number for the whole of the literature is given by Haustein, (*de Gen. Adjectivis accom. in ling. Lat. usu*), as 443. The pre-Ciceronian period shows 73. The Latin of the classical period employed 175 new ones. The period of the decline increased the number by 195. This last period makes the largest increase in the categories 'quality of mind' and 'quality of body'. A comparison of Petronius' usage with this reveals the following facts: the genitive appears with ten, the ablative with twenty-one, the accusative with one and the dative with three adjectives and participles given by Haustein as found elsewhere, regularly or occasionally, with the genitive. With the ablative, in our author, are found: *aeger, attonitus, confusus, contentus, deformis, desolatus, dignus, dives, fatigatus, gravis, lassus, liber, mactus, ornatus, plenus, recreatus, refectus, satiat, satur, solutus, turbatus*. With the dative appear *confinis, sacer, similis*; with the accusative, *exosus*. These adjectives are not all that are found in the work with the different cases, (particularly with the dative are found quite a number besides), but it is with these that Haustein has found the genitive, although, as before said, not always. The whole number with the genitive in Petronius is eleven, one of which, *coequalis*, Haustein does not give at all. If to these be added *reus, in voti reus, frag. 27, 12, and exul, in exul hiemis, 55, 28*, two words treated by Haustein as adjectives, the number for Petronius is thirteen. In his discussion of this genitive, wherein he reviews briefly the several theories that have been advanced to explain the origin of the construction, and then proceeds to investigate the primary or principal signification of the genitive of reference, Haustein presents the following points: Four general theories have been proposed to explain the presence in Latin of this genitive. Briefly described, these theories hold respectively that the construction is borrowed from the Greek, that it is native, the genitive being not really a modifier of the adjective, but of a noun which has been dropped out by ellipsis, that it is a poetic construction due to poetic license, finally, that it is a growth traceable to the influence of analogy. He discards the first three as unsatisfactory and accepts the last. He divides all adjectives into two classes,—relative adjectives, which need a supplementary word or expression to complete their meaning, such as *plenus, cupidus*, and absolute adjectives, those which need no case or other kind of complement, although they are capable of taking such complements, such as *aeger, celer, sanus*. Among the several kinds of complementary expressions used to supplement the meanings of the relative adjectives are cases, rarely, the dative and accusative, often the genitive and ablative. To these genitive and ablative cases thus used have been given the names genitive and ablative of relation, genitive of determination, ablative of limitation. But from the earliest times till the latest great uncertainty and apparent caprice have prevailed in the use of genitive and ablative with these adjectives. Although from the first the two cases were disparate and discrete, the genitive had in it something which fitted it to perform some functions of the ablative. This is seen to be true of this case in Sanskrit and Greek. From the nature of the two cases, it follows that the genitive expresses simply the species or genus, the ablative the cause and instrument determining the adjective. This distinction was so

fluctuating in the early writers that sometimes it is not possible to see whether simple relation or cause is meant. Although the two cases are employed with apparent indifference to express the same idea, yet the genitive, Haustein thinks, represents a closer association. Prose writers often use a brief form of speech and add to the adjective no limiting term, as *poculum plenum*. Poets, who seek embellishment, add to the adjective a complement, as *plenum Bacchi*, or, *Liberi iocosi*. Since the genitive may serve to express anything in which the force of the adjective consists, it is not strange that poets, by means of a more lax use of relation, represent by the genitive the cause which determines the adjective, and add to adjectives, signifying no matter what mental quality, a genitive to express that which affects the mind, or controls the motives, or in which, in any way, its attributive signification is seen.

The adjectives in our work which are found with the genitive are given under four heads: adjectives of fullness and want, of knowledge and ignorance, of likeness and unlikeness, of zeal and desire and their opposites.

A: 102, 23, *laboris expertes*; 136, 29, *ignis pleno*.

B: 106, 4, *memor contumeliarum*; 115, 25, *ignarus tempestatum*; 123, 230, *oneris ignarus*; 128, 33, *secreti conscius*; 131, 5, *iniuriæ memor*.

C: 87, 34, *tui similis*; 92, 4, *Ascylti parem*; 101, 25, *veri simile*; 136, 34, *coaequale natalium*.

D: 102, 26, *literarum studiosus*.

E: 84, 6, *vitiorum inimicus*.

Participles with this genitive appear in four passages: 95, 18, *contumeliae impatiens*; 101, 15, *consilii egens*, 20, *impatientem maris*; 113, 10, *impatiens foederis*.

No adjectives denoting participation and non-participation are found with this genitive in the work. Once *potens* is found with *in* and an accusative, 89, 14, in *damnum potens*. *Liber* appears five times with the ablative, not once with the genitive. *Plenus* takes the ablative eleven times, the genitive once. R. and G. (Gram. Comp. 165), say that the genitive with *plenus* is found in Sanskrit, and is probably proethnic. The ablative with *plenus* begins to be more common from Livy on. The confusion of contrary constructions led the poets to employ, with genitives, adjectives expressing lack, and some such, as *expers*, *exheredes*, are found in Plautus. The adjectives *studiosus* and *morbosus* appear once each with *in* and an ablative and *in* and an accusative respectively: 52, 16, in *argento studiosus*; 46, 11, *morbosus in aves*. Both of these expressions may be classed with the phrases mentioned above as employed to represent the objective genitive. Examples of other prepositional phrases employed to represent the genitive of reference, (occasionally met in other writers, as Draeger shows, Syn. I, 482) are: 18, 34, *de utroque securam*; 119, 16, *ad mortes pretiosa*. The word *reus*, in such expressions as *reus voti*, *reus capitis*. Haustein, (p. 35), treats as an adjective, and cites from early Latin numerous, from later Latin a few, instances of its use. Of this, Petronius has one example, frag. 27, 12. I have spoken of it under the judicial genitive. Another word classed by Haustein with adjectives is *exul*, which appears once limited by a genitive in the quotation from Publilius, 55, 28. This genitive with *exul* is first seen in Publilius, then in Horace, Ovid, Curtius, Martial, and at rare intervals, later.<sup>1</sup> I have spoken of this genitive with *exul* under the possessive genitive. A noteworthy fact is that of the 120 adjectives denoting qualities of mind and body, employed in Latin of various periods, (in the period of decline 74 new ones were added), with the genitive, Petronius shows not one. The genitive with adjectives denoting guilt and guiltlessness is not represented, (unless in *reus voti*), and there is no occurrence of it with verbals in *-ax*, a construction never very common in Latin, (cf. Draeger I, 482). The word *coaequalis* is omitted by Haustein. But it is recognized by the lexica as an adjective. It is very rare and apparently colloquial, since it is cited only in Columella, Hieronymus, Justinian and in inscriptions. Ruhnken, (ad Ter., Andr., 2, 6, 22), calls it a

1. cf. Haustein, 58.

barbarism. Not a single genitive of this whole class is found in the speeches of the freedmen.

#### VIII. Genitives with Verbs.

Of these genitives, which Delbrueck, (*Syn. I*, 308), says differ from the accusative in that they do not represent the full compass of the substantival conception, as the latter do, Petronius shows not many examples. Reisig, who holds about the same view, tries to explain, as partitive, the genitives limiting such verbs as *adipisci*, *potiri*, *recordari*, *reminisci*, *meminisse*, *oblivisci* and the one found in the phrase *alicuius venit in mentem*. Haase thinks this partitive sense can not be proven to be present in them. All the verbs mentioned were once transitive, as the use as deponents shows. But that the genitive can be the object of really transitive verbs is not conceivable. With *potiri*, *adipisci*, and *regnare*, the idea of a state or condition lies at the basis of the construction: *potentem esse* or *feri*. The other verbs express mental states and are referable, so far as the construction is concerned, to the constructions seen in *memorem*, *immemorem esse*. The usage was then extended to active verbs which represent the bringing about of this mental condition. For *monere*, *admonere*, *commonere* mean *memorem facere* or *iubere memorem esse*.<sup>1</sup> With verbs of filling none appear. The same is true of the genitive with verbs of accusing, condemning and acquitting and with impersonal verbs. The judicial genitive is represented, however, by *voti*, in the phrase *voti reus*, frag. 27, 12, the second word of which implies a verb of condemning. The genitives found with verbs are given in three groups under the headings, with verbs of memory, with verbs of emotion, with verbs of rating and selling.

A. With verbs of memory: different forms of *oblivisci*: 26, 19, *malorum*; 71, 39, *nugarum*; 79, 37, *iuris humani*; 94, 6, *officii*; 96, 32, *filiorum*; 110, 4, *filiorum*; 132, 18, *verecundiae*; 136, 14, *nugarum*; forms of *memini*: 43, 20, and 75, 12, *vivorum*; 117, 36, *eorum*; forms of *admonere*: 64, 6, *officii*; 48, 24, *potentiae*.

The theory, accepted by some, that the accusative is employed especially when things are meant, does not hold good for Petronius. For, of the thirteen genitives found, nine refer to things. A reference to the treatment of these verbs with the accusative will show that one of the six occurrences of that case gives a man's name. Petronius does not use *de* and an ablative, in place of the genitive, with any of these verbs. That construction is rare, (Draeger l. 490). The genitive with the noun *memoria* is found twice, 10, 6 and 97, 25.

B. With verbs of emotion; different forms of *misereri*: 17, 15, *vestri*; 44, 34, *coloniae*; 137, 5, *anseris quam mei*, 17, *mei*; 101, 38, *morientium*. In the Latin of the decadence, and particularly in patristic Latin, this verb is construed with the dative. R. and G. say that the change in the case was due to the fact that the verb came to have the force of 'to give alms'. Bonnet, (*le Lat. de Greg.*, 546), thinks it followed the analogy of *favere*, *bene velle*, *cupere*, etc.<sup>2</sup> *Miseror*, which is confused with *miseror* and construed with the genitive by the writers of the archaic and silver periods, appears once, but without object, 96, 34. R. and G. call this genitive with verbs of emotion, together with that called sometimes the judicial genitive, genitives of cause. They say that Sanskrit shows the genitive in a similar construction, and quote, with their approval, the conclusion of Holzweissig that it would be a mistake to consider this genitive as an equivalent of an ablative marking the point of departure, (*Gram. Comp.* 147).

C. With verbs of rating and selling.

In the treatment of genitives of value under the general heading of genitives of quality, the process by which the genitive came to be employed occasionally to give the price for which a thing is bought or sold is briefly outlined. Petronius has two examples of this, 14, 32; 43, 30. The price is not definite, *minoris*; *quanti*

1. cf. Reisig, *Vorl.*, 3, 570, 571.

2. cf. R. and G. *Gram. Comp.* 148, and Goelzer, *Lat. de St. Jer.* 313.

voluit. But, as Woelfflin points out, the theory that the genitive might be used for indefinite price but not for definite price, and that therein lay the basis of discrimination, between it and the ablative of price, cannot be upheld. It is natural, of course, that the ablative of instrument should be used to express the definite price, and so it is regularly.

The passage showing this genitive with verbs, other than *esse*, in Petronius are: 14, 32, *minoris addicere*; 43, 30, *vendidit quanti voluit*; 44, 37, *pili facit*; 58, 30 *dupundii facio*; 62, 19, *tanti facio*; 113, 35, *non pluris facies*. *Aestimare* appears once, 65, 8, and with the ablative. R. and G. say it is perhaps found with the genitive more often, (*Gram. Comp.* 154). Woelfflin points out, (*Archiv* 9, 107), that, beginning with Cicero, *aestimare* was used with the ablative at times, at first, naturally, where sums of money were given. The verbs of valuing and the way in which they were taken into this construction, following the analogy of *esse*, I noted in that part of the treatment of the genitive of quality which has to do with genitives of value. In the same place attention was called to the great use which the illiterate make of all these genitives of value. There is no example, in our work, of an adverb employed to give a valuation, a usage dating from archaic prose, but scarcely represented in classical writers.<sup>1</sup>

The five impersonals expressing a mental state, *taedet*, *puget*, *miseret*, and *poenitet* are absent except that *puget* is found once, but without the genitive, 47, 35, *illum pudeatur*. The phrase *paenitentiam sermonis*, 132, 17, shows the same genitive that would follow *poenitet*. In one place, frag. 38, 10, that which causes shame is represented by an infinitive, *puer pudor est stare via media*.

The so-called judicial genitive is found only once, *voti reus*, frag. 27, 12. It is interesting to note that, according to Preising, (*de Sen. cas. usu*, 50), Seneca, in his tragedies, shows just this judicial genitive with *reus* and no other.

*Interest* and *refert* do not appear, but, in three passages, the same idea is given by *attinere ad*, 44, 32; 102, 8; 106, 10.

It will be noted that there is an entire absence of several rare uses of the genitive with verbs, such as those with *saturare*, *fastidire*, *vereri*, *revereri*, met in archaic and familiar Latin, and with *invidere*, *regnare*, *gratulari*, in imitation of Greek.

In his treatment of 'the final genitive of the gerund', (*Der finale genetivus gerundii*, Koeln, 1890) Weisweiler touches upon the construction with these verbs and others which take a genitive as object. From his discussion, p. 17 sq., I take the following: The problem of the adverbial genitive, the genitive in its dependence on verbs, is one of the most difficult of case-syntax. How can the genitive, as adnominal case, depend on verbs? But, on the other hand, it may be asked, how can it depend on adjectives? Regard the genitive as *casus generalis*, giving the class or kind, as the case denoting relation, or as the attribute case,—there comes up always the question, how can it limit adjectives, particularly since, as is now generally believed, it was itself originally an adjectival formation without gender and case distinction? Latin does not employ the genitive with *adjectiva relativa* until late, but then all the oftener. And what are *adjectiva relativa*? They are adjectives in which the substantival conception, together with the relation therein contained, are felt the more strongly active. In the adjectives *cupidus*, *peritus*, *memor*, etc., the relativity of the conceptions *cupiditas*, *peritia*, *memoria*, stand out most clearly and the genitive which depends on one of them is precisely the same, so far as concerns its relation to the governing word, as that limiting one of the corresponding nouns. We make the genitive dependent upon the substantival conception inherent in the adjective (even if not consciously felt). So, in the case of *cupidus*, for example, we do not ask *cuius rei*, but *quam cupiditatem*. The answer is the same as when the noun is concerned. Now the genitive with verbs in Latin can not, in general, be explained in any other way. The genitive is made

1. Woelfflin, *Archiv* 9, 104.



dependent on the nominal element in the verb. So *pudet me rei* stands for *capit me pudor rei*. But if this interpretation is the correct one, it must be carried through to its logical consequence. So *memini alicuius, obliviscor huius rei*, must stand for *memoriam habeo alicuius, oblivionem capio rei*. Even the rare genitives with *cupere, studere, vereri, fastidire* in sentences like *cupiunt tui*, Plaut. Mil., 963, *qui te nec amet nec studeat tui* quoted from Accius by Cicero, de nat. deor., 3, 29, 72, *neque huius sis veritus feminae*, Ter. Phorm., 971, *fastidit mei*, Plaut. Aul. 2, 2, 67, may be explained on the analogy of *cupidi sunt, studiosus, fastidiosus est*. But the real ground of kinship of these analogy forms must lie deeper than in mere formal, superficial likeness. It is the nominal element (der Verbalbegriff) in these verbs, as well as in the corresponding adjectives, which does the governing. And just as Diomedes understands *ludum* with *ludo* and *Priscian sessionem* with *sedeo*, (cf. p. 15, Weisweiler), so should one understand *cupiditatem* with *cupiunt tui*, *studium* with *studeat tui*, *fastidium* with *fastidit mei*. In other words, the genitive with *memoria, memor, and memini* is exactly the same, as regards the nature of the dependence and the relationship. It follows, of course, that the genitive *amici, in admono te amici* is to be understood as depending, in the same way, on the verbal conception, and is not to be explained on the basis of the similar *memorem te reddo*. Not different is the genitive with verbs of accusing and like verbs. The assumption of an ellipsis is not warranted. It is the same genitive again which appears in *reus criminis*. In *reus* is to be understood a relative noun *reatus*. The author sums up this part of his discussion then with the words: "er (sc. der Genitiv) ist auch beim Verbum, wie beim Adjektiv und Substantiv als Artkasus zu erklæren, als Bestimmung des in ihm wie des in dem Adjektiv liegenden Substantiv begriffes."

#### IX. Genitive of the Whole.

This genitive, which is found in Latin with substantives, pronouns, neuter adjectives used substantively, and adverbs, appears in Petronius as follows:

A. With substantives denoting quantity, number and weight: with pars: 22, 17, *ebriorum*; 27, 29, *circuli*; 30, 3, *cuius*, 5, *quorum*; 35, 6, *cuius*; 36, 16, *repositorii*; 42, 3, *fabulae*; 80, 27, *verbi*; 95, 9, *cenulae*; 102, 1, *navis*; 109, 10, *potionis*; 26, *capitis*; 110, 28, *navis*; 112, 24, *corporis*; 113, 33, *voluptatis*; 114, 20, *sarcinarum*; 115, 24, *terrarum*; 122, 179, *nemoris*; 129, 5, *corporis*, 7, *aedium*; 132, 18, *familiae, corporis*; 134, 3, *lectuli*; 135, 8, *leguminis*; with other words: *nemo*: 47, 35; 49, 19; 75, 40, *nostrum*; 52, 32, *vestrum*; 72, 12, *convivarum*; *momento*: 28, 2; 97, 17; 116, 19, *temporis*; *frustum*: 35, 4, *bubulae*; 66, 23, and 28, *ursinae, cordae*; *vestigium*: 88, 9, *sui*; 137, 7, *sceleris*; 12, 31, *frequentiam venalium*; 22, 9, *gustum somni*; 37, 6, *nummorum nummos*; 42, 12, *micam panis*; 44, 8, *buccam panis*; 47, 9, *medio lautitiarum*; 60, 24, *pateram vini*; 78, 35, *ampullam nardi*; 88, 31, *pondo auri*; 134, 6, *die feriarum*; 135, 6, *sincipitis particula*; 137, 36, *camellam vini*.

B. With neuter adjectives and pronouns: *aliquid*: 39, 30, *mali*; 66, 21, *muneris*; 78, 5, *belli*; 128, 17, *virium*; 140, 6, *spei*; *hoc*: 119, 47, *dedecoris*; *nescioquid*: 33, 5, *boni*; 44, 22, *Asiadis*; *nihil*: 39, 11, *novi*; 42, 18, *boni*; 63, 3, *nugarum*; 76, 33, *facti*; *paululum*: 136, 33, *carnis*; plus: 38, 37, *vini*; 44, 29, *nummorum*; *quic quid*: 20, 9, *saturei*; 112, 30, *boni*; 132, 27, *doloris*; *quid*: 8, 8, *novi*; 45, 32, *boni*; 60, 5, *novi*; 68, 32, *belli*; 113, 35, *sanguinis*; 128, 17, *virium*; 132, 21, *mali*; *tantum*: 24, 2, *cretæ*; minus: 79, 22, *sudoris*; *multum*: 39, 14, *lanæ*. The one genitive following *hoc*, 119, 47, may be an error for *dedecori*, a reading adopted by deGuerle. A final dative seems to me better there.

C. With pronouns not neuter: *aliquis*: 30, 17 and 117, 35, *nostrum*; *alter*: 30, 9 and 27, 29, *quarum*; *quis*: 34, 9, *nostrum*; 47, 34, *vestrum*; *quisquam*: 19, 26, *mortalium*; 140, 30, *antiquorum*; *quisque*: 104, 7, *mortalium*; *uterque*: 21, 23, and 100, 25, *nostrum*.

D. With numerals: with *milia*: 38, 29; 45, 15; 53, 6, and 9; 71, 27; 74,

30; 76, 1 and 32; 88, 30; 117, 25 and 27; 141, 25. Besides these with *milia*, there are only two, seen in the expressions *nummorum nummos*, 37, 6, and *sexcenta huiusmodi*, 56, 24. The latter I gave with the genitives of quality. The word *milia* is represented in all of the passages cited, except one, 53, 6, by the numeral adverb. The singular, *mille*, appears sixteen times, but in no place with a genitive. The only other passage containing the plural is *quinquaginta milibus*, 65, 8, where a guess is made as to the amount of property a certain man owns. The expression *nummorum nummos* Friedlaender, (*Cena* 220), says is an imitation of a Hebrew usage, found very rarely in Latin. Haupt cites only two examples, from Florus. It is an attempt to give a very high degree of that referred to. An effort is made to do the same thing with the adverb, apparently, in *olim oliorum*, 43, 2.

E. With superlatives: 2, 17, *primi omnium*; 23, 27, *omnium insulsissimus*; 33, 29, *omnium delicatissimum*; 96, 1, *poetarum disertissime*; 101, 12, *omnium formosissima*; 107, 32, *primum omnium*; 116, 22, *Italiae primam*. In three places, prepositional phrases limiting superlatives are found: 78, 6, *inter hos honestissimos*; 124, 249, *prima ante alias*; 140, 30, *inter primas honesta*. The force of these is about the same as that of the genitives. The *primum*, at 107, 32, is an adverb and I give it again with the following group.

F. With adverbs.

Aside from the two seen in *vinearum largiter*, 71, 6, and *primum omnium*, 140, 30, there is nothing belonging to this class, unless it be the doubtful *olim oliorum*, 43, 2, if that can properly find a place here. Loch, (*de gen. ap. prisc. script. usu* p. 19), cites *largiter* with a genitive twice in Plautus and once in Laberius. The word belongs to colloquial Latin, (*Guer.* 33).

The partitive idea is given often in the work by the ablative and a preposition, by *ex* and the ablative nineteen times, by *de* and the ablative twelve times. The same idea is found also in the following prepositional phrases, not limiting a superlative, as those given above: 53, 25, *duo in rebus humanis*; 64, 10, *nemo in domo*; 74, 3, *aliquis in vicinia*.

It will be noted that *omnes* and *cuncti* are not construed with the genitive, in our work, as in the poets and in some late prose writers.

The genitive of the whole with a neuter plural adjective is not represented, unless in the expression *tuta sinus*, 123, 236. The codices read *tuta sinu*. De Guerle adopts this. Buecheler has substituted for *sinu* the form *sinus*. If the adjective is not taken as a modifier of *litora*, in the same verse, *sinus limits tuta* and the latter is used as a substantive. This usage of which Caesar shows only one example, Cicero but a few, Livy developed further. And Tacitus shows it with great frequency, (cf. Draeger, *S. u S.* 30). Classical prose did not know, in general, the construction of a partitive genitive with a masculine or feminine adjective or participle in the positive. Livy appears to be the first to use such expressions as *expediti militum*, *reliqui peditum*. It is thought that an explanation of the construction is to be sought in phrases like *delecti militum*, in which *delecti* is considered, in effect, a superlative. Evenso, the influence of Greek is always to be assumed, too. The influence of Greek is to be assumed, likewise, in an attempt to account for the use of the partitive genitive with neuter adjectives and participles. Before Sallust, the construction is very rare, after him more and more common. It is not probable that such expressions as *medio diei*, *incerto noctis*, etc., would have been tolerated in Latin, if the germs of them had not already existed in the language.<sup>1</sup>

There is, in our author, no example of the partitive genitive like that seen in *fies nobilium fontium*, unless it be *lucri* in the phrase *lucri facere*, 15, 10. I treated it as a possessive genitive, although it is plainly related also to this genitive of the whole.

1. R. and G., 122, 123.

## THE DATIVE.

Whether or not this case was localistic in its origin is in dispute among scholars. Brugmann says he thinks the case was employed to express direction as early as the time of the parent speech. Delbrueck (*Syn.* 185) does not believe such a conception fundamental with the dative. He observes that persons are represented by the dative far oftener than things are, and claims that this would not be true if the dative were a goal case.

I have called attention, in several places, to the extensive use made of the dative by the illiterate speakers. In the introductory statement, I referred, in passing, to the frequency with which they employed the dative of certain pronouns, in particular. It has seemed best to me to speak further here about this peculiar use they make of the pronoun *ille*, because a great number of occurrences appear in the form of a dative. After collecting all examples of the various forms of the different demonstrative pronouns, I found that the uneducated speakers had to their credit more than their proportionate share in the case of each pronoun. But the greatest disproportion was seen to exist in the case of the pronouns *iste* and *ille*. The work shows the following number of occurrences of the four demonstratives in the different forms: *is*, 74; *hic*, 329; *iste*, 23; *ille*, 254. Of these, the uneducated, to whom belong approximately one sixth of the work, employ 20, 99, 15, and 118, respectively. Perhaps the thing which first strikes one with surprise is the large use made of the pronoun *ille*. But not less is it a matter for surprise that so many occurrences of this pronoun should fall in the speeches of the illiterate. Strangest of all, however, is the use made of different forms of *ille*, more particularly the accusative and dative, for the corresponding forms of *hic* and *is*. This, to be sure, is not confined to the freedmen, but is more noticeable in their speeches, on account of the peculiar force they often give it. It is for this reason, too, that I have thought it fitting to speak of this interesting usage here rather than under the accusative, although there are more occurrences as accusative than as dative, 61 of the accusative singular as against 38 of the dative singular. It is usual for the illiterate speakers of the work to express the subject of the sentence, as I have made clear in the discussion of the nominatives. And so it is not surprising to find accredited to them more than their share of the nominatives of the different demonstratives. The entire number of nominatives I find to be as follows: *is*, *ea*, *id*, 17; *hic*, *haec*, *hoc*, 66; *iste*, *ista*, *istud*, 23; *ille*, *illa*, *illud*, 104. The illiterate employ of these 2, 27, 4, and 17, respectively, or 50 out of a total of 192. But the excess is not great for them here, and is confined to the nominatives of *hic* and *iste*, the latter of which, as the pronoun employed in strong or contemptuous statements, one expects to find well represented in their language. *Ille* even is not much used by them. In the ablative and genitive, they show no very unusual excess, except that they have far more than their proportion of the forms of their favorite *ille*. I refer to the cases of the singular here, for the plural is not well represented in the particular usage I mean to point out. The examples of the genitive number as follows: *is*, 23; *hic*, 8; *iste*, 0; *ille*, 12, of which the freedmen

claim 7, 5, and 11, respectively. The ablative appears thus: is, 5; hic, 70; iste, 1; ille, 15, and of these the illiterate have, 1, 26, 0, and 8, respectively. When we come to the dative and accusative, the difference is greater as between ille and the other pronouns. In the dative, are found: is, 1; hic, 9; iste, 1; ille, 38, and the illiterate employ 0, 1, 1, and 21, respectively. Observe that the illiterate employ *ei* not at all (the work, in fact, shows only one occurrence), *huic* and *isti* but once each. The accusative appears as follows: is, 25; hic, 63; iste, 5; ille, 61, and the uneducated show of these, 7, 22, 3, and 46 respectively. Now the peculiar color which the illiterate speakers give to the different forms of the pronoun *ille* is due, it seems to me, to their employment of a strong demonstrative word habitually where a less strong one is sufficient and is expected. I will cite some examples by way of illustration, and first, of the accusative: 36, 30, *vides illum*; 38, 11, *putes illum emere*; 38, 21, *vides illum*; 38, 30, *non puto illum habere*; 38, 35, *quod illum sic vides*; 38, 39, *illum conturbare existimarent*. These, it will be observed, are taken from a part of one speech by Hermeros. It matters not whether the person referred to is present and close at hand, and already mentioned in the conversation. Several of these here given refer to persons present in the room, and there are numerous other examples of the same kind. In the following chapter, 39, 22, Trimalchio says *nilil super illum posui*, referring to something on the table before the guests. The better educated also employ this accusative in a way sometimes quite like this, but, in general, their use of it lacks the inappropriate stress which nearly always accompanies the word in the speeches of the illiterate. It seems that a person of this class can scarcely utter a sentence without bringing in the pronoun in some form. The deversitor, who appears in chapter 95, says only a few words, and yet he has this use of the accusative of *illi* once, *quis autem illum grabatum erexit?* And this is the more noticeable, too, because between chapter 77, 11, where we find the last example of this accusative in the speech of a freedman, (for the story of Trimalchio's supper ends there), and chapter 95, 11, where the deversitor appears, only two occurrences of this form *illum* are found, 92, 14, and 17. These two, in the mouth of Eumolpus whose language often has a plebeian stamp, are, it must be admitted, very much like those already cited. In the next chapter following the one containing the deversitor's speech, Bargates, in charge of a tenement house, uneducated as is shown by his use of *maledicere* with the accusative, says, in the short quotation from him, *maledic illum*, meaning his *contubernalis*, mentioned in the preceding sentence. Some examples of the dative *illi* are these: 37, 1, *si dixerit illi tenebras esse*; 38, 13, *parum illi bona lana nascebatur*; 38, 17, *ut illi ex India mitteretur* (where *sibi* would be expected in good Latin); 38, 29, *non impropero illi*; 45, 13, *nam illi domesticus sum*; 46, 11, *ego illi iam tres cardeles occidi*; 46, 22, *quod illi auferre non possit nisi Orcus*; 46, 23, *illi cotidie clamo*; 48, 2, *quemadmodum illi pollicem extorsit*. The frequency with which these appear in the context can be seen by noting the small compass within which those cited are found. For unusual numbers of these forms within brief space, see pages 25, 28, 30, 31, 41, of the text. I have noted, as an interesting fact in this connection, that Seneca's satire on the emperor Claudius contains, in its few pages, no fewer than 28 of the forms of *ille* singular, of which 7 are datives of a kind resembling these, and 14, accusatives. The *Peregrinatio* of Sancta Silvia shows that this encroachment of *ille* on the domains of the other demonstratives, and the weakening due to their frequent employment, as a direct result of this encroachment, have gone so far by that date that *ille* is already no more than an article occasionally, and in need of being re-enforced by *ipse* instead of having in itself a strong demonstrative force. The expression '*sancti illi*', which appears so often, means simply, 'the monks'.

I am inclined to believe that the dative case as a whole is a favorite one with these uneducated people because it is to them the case of strong personal interest. They are well represented in the categories of, dative for the genitive (*dativus energicus*), dative of advantage and disadvantage, ethical dative, (relatively, I

mean, for only a small number of these are found), and dative of separation. Trimalchio, for instance, prefers to say, *sanguen illi fervet*, 59, 21, and *caput illi perfunde*, 64, 24, rather than, 'his blood', and 'his head'. And if there is a forcible removal of something from some place or some person, particularly the latter, they like the dative best: 45, 30, *eripiat Norbano favorem*; 48, 2, *illi pollicem extersit*; 46, 22, *illi auferre*. The whole number of datives in the work is 631, of which the uneducated use 162. I find that 119 of these are pronouns, 43 nouns. The personal pronouns, in their speeches, number 79, the demonstrative 23,—making, together, nearly two thirds of all the datives they use.

There are not many examples of the dative as an appositive: 30, 7, Trimalchio: *seviro*; 57, 15, *domino, homini maiestoso*; 60, 18, *Augusto, patri patriae*; 70, 23, *Menophilae, contubernali*.

The dative is an adjective as follows: 21, 22, *infelicibus*; 52, 32, *ebrio*, (proximus, i. e., near to being drunk, near to a drunken person); 81, 10, *innocentibus*; 91, 12, *misero*; 107, 18, *amicissimis*; 111, 20, *aegrae*; 112, 21, *castae*; 119, 24, *omnibus*, 56, *miseris*; 132, 31, *trepido*.

The dative is a perfect participle in these places: 5, 6, *perditis*; 19, 26, *attonitis*; 26, 13, *confossis*; 86, 5, *sollicito*; 105, 7, *damnatis*; 115, 8, *obruto*. It appears oftener as a present participle: 14, 21, *dicentibus*; 27, 28, *ludentibus*, 36, *ludenti*; 29, 20, *inrantibus*; 31, 30, *stupentibus*; 32, 16, *imprudentibus*; 41, 17, *cenantibus*; 59, 38, *mirantibus*; 72, 4, *natanti*, 8, *latranti*; 79, 13, *errantibus*, 21, *errantibus*, 2, *amantibus*; 86, 3, *patienti*, 6, *gaudenti*, 9, *dormienti*, 36, *expectanti*; 87, 30, *repugnanti*; 92, 8, *sedentibus*; 94, 35, *quaerentibus*; 96, 31, *vapulanti*, 33, *periclitanti*; 98, 9, *credenti*; 101, 31, *languentibus*; 102, 4, *amenti*, 40, *dormienti*; 108, 26, *interpellanti*; 111, 21, *lugenti*; 114, 14, *periclitantibus*; 117, 10, *grassantibus*, 4, *properantibus*; 124, 7, *credentibus*, 125, 7, *viventibus*; 128, 23, *tacenti*; frag. 33, 6, *mandenti*.

The dative is a future active participle in three passages: 1, 5, *ituris*; 112, 37, *perituro*; 137, 9, *perituro*.

Of course, it is to be understood that I refer here to the use of adjectives and participles as substantives. I call attention again to the fact that not a single instance of these usages here referred to falls in the speeches of the uneducated. It is to be noted, also, that not one present or future active participle, in this construction, appears in the two long poems, and the perfect participle only three times, in other cases than the dative (or twice, if *insolito* be read for *insolitos*, 123, 184). The dative is a possessive pronoun once, 45, 30, *meis*. The dative of the indirect object appears without its governing verb in four passages: 30, 7; 57, 17; 129, 9; 130, 29. The last two are in superscriptions of letters, the first is in an inscription and the second, in the expression, *genio illius gratias*.

#### I. Indirect Object.

The whole number of datives found as indirect objects is 455. Of these, 196 appear with compound verbs. The remaining 259 are divided, in the proportion of 191 to 68, between those with verbs used transitively and those with verbs used intransitively. The dative, as stated above, is a case much liked by the illiterate speakers of the work. This fact I shall have occasion to say more about in treating of certain special classes of datives. To them belong more than a third of the 191 datives with verbs, (not compounds) used transitively. I single out, for special mention, a few of these datives.

##### A. With verbs used transitively.

*credere*: This verb with the meaning 'to entrust to', taking the accusative of the thing entrusted and the dative of the person to whom entrusted, appears in five passages: 107, 20; 115, 21; 123, 237; 140, 2 and 36. The usage originated in the language of trade. The most interesting example is seen in *concilio oculos crediderat*, 140, 36.

*facere*: I have thought it worth while to give here under *facere*, a verb of

which familiar Latin makes such extensive use, a number of passages showing the different ways in which the dative is construed with it. It will be noted that, in nearly all of these passages, there is present either the idea of doing something to somebody's harm or in some one's interest. Perhaps the most interesting example is that at **74, 35**, which tells how the act was harmful to the actor herself. I have selected, as representative passages, the following: **3, 2**, *insidias auribus fecerint*; **34, 31**, *minorem nobis facient*; **45, 32**, *nobis boni fecit*; **65, 6**, *novendiale servo faciebat*; **70, 4**, *nobis potestatem fecit*; **71, 17**, *sibi suaviter facientem*; **73, 27**, *sibi ludos faciunt*; **74, 35**, *quid tibi feceris*; **75, 7**, *thraecium sibi fecit*; **76, 27**, *coheredem Caesari fecit*; **96, 4**, *mihi fastum facit*; **107, 37**, *invidiam nobis facis*.

*iactare*: It is not often that this verb, with the meaning, 'to brag about', is construed with an accusative, and a dative of the person to whom the boast is made. In such expressions, the force of the verb is about that of *laudare*.

*legare*: This appears once, **71, 34**, *Philargyro fundum lego*. It belongs to legal Latin. In this sense it is rare.

*miscere*: A different construction is met in each one of the four sentences showing this verb: **9, 23**, *precibus iracundiam miscui*; **64, 21**, *camellam iussit misceri*; **68, 1**, *miscibat versus*; **138, 15**, *sucum cum habrotono miscet*. Ovid, (*Met.* 10, 160), shows *pocula* with *miscere* just as *camellam* is used in our passage.

*spargere*: This verb, meaning *iacere*, i. e., throw to or cast before, is found with the dative of the indirect object, **72, 8**, *latranti sparserat*, a rather bold use of the construction for prose.

#### B. With intransitive verbs.

*conviciari*: *Conviciari alicui*, found once in Petronius, **94, 5**, *seniori conviciarer*, is not classical. The construction is found oftenest, perhaps, in Quintilian. Along with *conviciari*, which is one of the general class of verbs signifying 'to struggle with, quarrel with, resist', may be given the single occurrence each of *certare* and *resistere*, the former in poetry, the latter in prose: **119, 10**, *certaverat ostro*; **125, 13**, *gratiae resistere*. The ablative with *cum* appears five times with such verbs as follows: with *certare*: **83, 10**; *litigare*: **83, 24** and **132, 24**; *pugnare*: **105, 1**; *verba conferre*: **132, 18**. These with the ablative are all found in prose passages. Draeger, (*Syn.* 1, 406), says this use of the dative is borrowed from Greek, that Catullus shows the first example, and that he is then followed by the Augustan poets. Landgraf, (*Reis. Vorl.* 3, 598) says that this dative is found before Catullus and cites examples from *Plaut. Bacch.* 4, 9, 43 and *Lucret.* 3, 7. *Altercari* is cited only in Horace, *Sat.* 2, 7, 57. R. and G., (*Gram. Comp.* 87), call verbs like *pugnare* 'verbes de contact', and say that the dative of contact is a mixture of the dative proper and the instrumental or comitative. But, in Latin, the regular construction with verbs like *loqui* and *pugnare* is *cum* and an ablative. When Latin shows a dative with such verbs, the probability is that the construction has been borrowed from Greek. It would be difficult, I think, to tell why Petronius employed the dative in several places and the ablative in others.

*haerere*: This verb occurs with the dative five times, with *in* and an ablative once, without an object three times. In four of the five passages showing the dative, the force of the verb is 'to cling to': **99, 32**; **123, 202**; **124, 261**; **frag. 35, 3**. In the fifth, **126, 35** it means 'to border on', 'to lie adjacent to', said of a garden which skirts a promenade. *Haerere in*, **89, 36**, refers to the act of gazing long and intently at a painting. The dative appears to mark an attachment less strong, external, easily severed; *in* and the ablative, an infixedness, a firmly imbedded, rooted attachment. The latter passage contains also the strong word *totum*, *video te totum haerere in*.

*plodere*: *Plodere* with the dative is seen in *tibi plodo*, **45, 40**. The form, which is vulgar Latin for *plaudo*, appears elsewhere in Varro, *Sat. Men.* 166 and in Quintilian, **6, 1, 52**. The construction with the dative represents only a part of the original one, which included also the accusative of the thing beaten. To clap

the hands for' became 'to clap for'. It was an expression much in use, familiar to the common people from the time of Plautus. It is interesting to note that, for some reason, *plaudere* did not take the accusative of the person, attracted to the case of that which was beaten, as *plangere*, a verb of very similar nature, did.

verbal nouns: The verbs *fidere* and *confidere* are not represented in the work, but the noun *fides* occurs three times in the phrases, *habere fidem*, *esse fides*, and *constare fides*: 14, 21; 79, 2; 140, 13. In all three passages, the dative, it seems to me, is to be regarded as the indirect object of the verbal force of the noun, and not, in any case, as the dative of possession.

### C. With compound verbs.

*acclinare*: *Acclinare*, which appears only once, 103, 17, *acclinatus lateri*, is very rare except in the form of the perfect participle, and is not frequent in that form. The verb appears first in Ovid and most occurrences are found in poets. Livy employs it twice, once with the dative, once with the accusative. Statius shows it five times, always with the dative. It is lacking in Tacitus. In the *Met.*, Ovid has three examples, one each with the dative and accusative, and one without object.

*adiutare*: This verb is found in the work once, and for the first time in Latin literature with the dative alone, 62, 27, *nobis adiutasses*. The only parallel known is on a coin in the inscription, *Deus adiuta Romanis*. Once in Terence, *Hec.* 359, dative and accusative both are used, *eis onera adiuta*. The best writers employ *adiutare* and *adiuvare* with the accusative. A gloss of Placidus says that both dative and accusative are correct, but the latter the better. The Romance languages use the dative with verbs of assisting.<sup>1</sup>

*arridere*: *Arridere*, meaning 'to be favorable', appears at 133, 16, *mihi arri-serit hora*. With this force, it is cited elsewhere only in Lucretius, 2, 32.

*consentire*: The three passages containing this verb present difficulties. Twice there is no object expressed or implied: 89, 39, *consentiunt luminibus*; 102, 34, *multa oporteat consentiant*. The dative is found once, 124, 246, *consensit fugae caeli timor*. The difficulty in this last place is one of interpretation. The context seems to show that the translation ought to be, 'the fear of the sky', that is, 'fear on the part of the dwellers in the sky, consented to flight'. If this is correct, *consentire* has the unusual force of 'to favor', 'to urge, persuade to'. That is, fear on the part of the sky, (if indeed, it is not fear inspired by the sky), furnished men an additional reason for desiring to flee. In the other two passages showing this verb, the text is disputed. At 102, 34, Buecheler reads *et non multa una oporteat consentiant ratione, ut mendacium constet*. The manuscript reading is *et non multa una oporteat consentiant et non natione mendacium constet*. Crusius conjectures, *ut omni ratione mendacium constet*. A more probable reading for this latter part, in my opinion, is *ut cum ratione constet*, unless in fact, that of the manuscripts is correct, with the change of *natione* to *ratione*. Such repetitions as that seen in *et non—et non* are frequent in familiar speech. Moreover the speaker, Giton, a youth of sixteen, is angry and excited and repeats himself several times in the speech reported. Note, for instance, the recurrence of *numquid*. *Ratione* makes poor sense construed with *una*. And it combines far better with *constet* than with *consentiant*. Crusius' reading seems preferable to Buecheler's, but the *omni* is objectionable because not needed. There is no good reason to think the construction *una consentiant* improbable, for, as said above, such repetitions of a conception are very common in this kind of language, and this particular speaker shows repetitions. The verb, to be sure, is construed with an ablative at 89, 39, *liberae ponto iubae consentiunt luminibus*, (unless *consentiunt* is to be displaced by *convestiunt*, as Haupt thinks). But 'to agree with their eyes' is a more likely translation than 'to agree in reason', is for the first expression. The point that Giton wants to make, in chap. 102, is that many things must agree

1. cf. Guer. 53 and Ludw. 34.

to make a piece of deception appear reasonable, plausible, *cum ratione constare*. With *liberae ponto consentiunt luminibus*, 89, 39, Petronius has painted a striking picture, one of many that are to be seen in his longer poems. One sees the seipents' crested heads side by side at an equal height above the waves, the two pairs of eyes flashing fire.

*imminere*: This verb, which appears twice, (once in poetry, 122, 173, *tropaeis imminet*), is put to strange use at 40, 6, *quasi uberibus imminerent*, where it has the force of the verb *inhere*, the usual one employed in such expressions.

*imperare*: An interesting use of this verb is that in two passages where it has the meaning of 'to make behave': 58, 26, *tibi non imperat*, 28, *tibi non imperant*.

*imprecari*: In our author, this verb is found, for the first time, with the meaning 'to invoke a blessing upon', seen once in Apuleius, *Met.* 9, 25, and then frequently in patristic Latin: 78, 35, *ut mihi populus bene imprecentur*.

*improperare*: This appears first in Petronius, 38, 29, *non impropero illi*, and then frequently in patristic Latin, (cf. Thielmann, *Archiv*, 8, 244).

*succurrere*: Two of the six occurrences of this verb show the meaning of 'to come to mind', 'to occur to one': 102, 4, twice. The more usual *occurrere* does not appear with this force. The phrase, *redire in animum*, 81, 6 and 113, 14, gives the same idea.

*coniungere*: Three times this verb takes the dative, not once the ablative and *cum*. *Iungere* appears four times and shows the same usage.

*imponere*: *Imponere* is a favorite word with Petronius. It appears twenty-eight times. In all but three passages it is transitive. In those three, the meaning is 'to deceive', 'to trick'. This force of the verb is rare. It is so employed twice by Cicero (*Correspondence*), once by Nepos, twice by Seneca, once each by Martial, Quintilian, the younger Pliny, Tacitus and Juvenal. Once in Petronius it is impersonal, 102, 40. In four places, other cases than the dative give the indirect object, unless *crata* and *arce*, in chapters 135 and 116, are incorrectly written for *crati* and *arci*. There is a parallel to *imponere* and the ablative in Suetonius, *Jul. Caes.* 66, *vetustissima nave impositos*. For *impositum arce*, 116, 20, Buecheler proposes *suppositum arci*. Two of the four examples referred to are construed with *super* and an accusative: 35, 2 and 111, 4. In one place, 85, 29, the indirect object is omitted. Two interesting uses are seen in *innocentem alieno periculo imponere*, 102, 36, where one expects rather *obicere*, and in *soleis ligneis imparibus imposita*, 95, 27, which says, in a striking way, 'wearing (propped up on) wooden shoes too large for her'.

*imputare*: This verb, which is found once, with the force of *ascribere*, 'to credit with', 127, 35, does not, according to Krebs, appear in Latin of the classical period, except in Ovid, *Heroid.* 6, 102 and *Met.* 2, 400. To these should be added *Met.* 15, 450. The usage originated in the language of trade, keeping of accounts, and meant, at first, 'to enter into an account'. Later developed the meanings 'to charge against' and 'to credit with'. To the list of names of authors showing this later meaning of the verb, should be added that of Petronius. The others are Velleius, Seneca, Columella, Curtius, Quintilian, Pliny, Tacitus, Suetonius.

*invidere*: *Invidere* is found four times, twice with the dative of that which caused the envy, 80, 29 and 110, 14, and twice with the dative of the person envied and the accusative of the cause, 38, 25, and 129, 17. Krebs claims that the verb originally governed the accusative, (as shown by *Cic. Tusc.* 3, 20), but that, because of its meaning, it came to take the dative after the analogy of *verba nocendi*. Then, along with this dative, which had come to denote the person envied, another accusative, the original accusative of that which aroused the envy was employed. This change was wrought by the poets Vergil, Horace and Ovid. The construction does not appear in classical prose. Later it is found in Livy (once), in Valerius Maximus, Curtius and the elder Pliny. The accusative alone is used once each by Accius, Nepos, Livy and Spartianus.<sup>1</sup>

1. cf. also Haase, *Reis. Vorl.*, p. 602 sq



subicere: One of the three examples of subicere with the accusative and dative is especially interesting, because it contains, in addition to the usual meaning of 'to place under', also that of 'to substitute for', 59, 29, Dianae cervam subiecit. That for which the object is substituted is not given.

submittere: Two of the three occurrences of this verb show the post-classical force of 'to bow down before', 'to be in submission to', 134, 19 and 123, 242. The dative appears with the former.

## II. Dative of Interest or Reference.

The terms I have used here to designate this whole class of datives to be treated next are of such uncertain value, because of the different interpretation given them by different scholars, that it is necessary for one to re-define them as often as he employs them. Some appear to use them as equivalent terms, others make now one now the other subordinate. I have chosen to regard them as having about the same value, the case being thought of as one of reference from the standpoint of the act, one of interest from the side of the person or thing represented in the dative. It is perhaps not possible, though, to show that this interest ought to be assumed in the case of things inanimate. The six sub-classes of this important division of the dative are these: the dative for the genitive, dative of advantage and disadvantage, dative of the person judging, ethical dative, dative of agency, dative of separation.

### A. The so-called Dative for the Genitive.

A dative, which is sometimes called *Dativus Energicus*, *Dativus Dynamicus*, is found employed in Latin of certain periods with almost the force of a genitive, to denote the person who is interested. The construction is not present in early Latin, but is well represented in classical poetry and is common from Livy on. Antoine, (*de cas. syn. Verg.* 106), says it is very frequent in Vergil. He thinks it is particularly a poetic usage and finds that Vergil rarely employs a genitive where the dative can be used. In his discussion of the construction, (*Archiv* 8, 40 sq.), Landgraf gives, among other facts, these: The difference between the dative in a sentence like *militibus animos accendunt* and the genitive in one like *militum animos accendunt* lies in this, that the former opposes the interested person to the act represented in *animos accendunt*, whereas the genitive merely depends on the object and stands in no direct connection with the verb. This interest must be real, active to be properly given by the dative. In their use of the demonstrative pronouns, the poets of the classical period show a decided preference for the dative. Vergil, as before mentioned, uses the dative freely. It is noteworthy that Tibullus does not employ the forms *cuius* and *huius* at all. Parallel with the growth of the usage with the demonstratives goes the other by which the dative of the corresponding personal pronoun is put in the place of the possessive. Already Lucretius wrote, 1, 924, *simul incussit suavem mi in pectus amorem* and similar sentences. The Augustan poets developed this then further.

Petronius shows the following examples of this construction, many of them appearing, it will be noted, in the speeches of the illiterate. The question arises, therefore, why this construction, which was not very much used even so late as the prose of the classical period, is already so well known to the vulgar Latin of the middle of the first century. It seems scarcely probable that an entirely new usage would be taken up and employed so freely by the uneducated within so short a time, and we can not believe that Petronius would make the mistake of putting into their mouths language which they did not habitually use. This construction, or others quite similar, must have been familiar to them long before this time. A construction which may have furnished the model for it is not far to seek. The dative which has existed in Latin from the first, known as the dative of advantage or disadvantage, or, if these are not properly recognized as a separate category of the dative, the case which denotes the person who is interested in the act speci-

fied, might very well have served as the fore-runner of the new one. The related datives, too, so closely akin to these just mentioned that it is often difficult to decide whether they shall be placed in separate groups under the general heading of Dative of Reference, namely, ethical dative and dative of separation, these unlettered men show great familiarity with.

The complete list includes: 21, 4, vobis in mente est, 15, mihi malas pungebatur; 30, 18, nobis procubuit ad pedes; 39, 9, patrono ossa quiescant; 41, 1, mihi in cerebrum abiit; 45, 13, illi domesticus sum; 47, 33, stomachum mihi sonat; 59, 21, sanguen illi fervet; 62, 16, mihi anima in naso esse, 25, mihi per bifurcum volabat; 63, 2, mihi pili inhorruerunt; 64, 24, caput illi perfunde; 66, 15, autopyrum de suo sibi; 67, 7, auriculas illi praeciderem; 74, 34, mihi asciam in crus impegi; 7628, coheredem Caesari fecit, 38, mjaureos in manu possuit; 90, 10, sanguinem tibi a capite mittam; 105, 36, quibus in odium venisset; 108, 19, sibi cervicem praeciderat; 124, 252, huic comes it. To these I might add several others which are given with the datives of separation because the idea of taking from seems to be the predominant one, although the conception of possession is also strong: 30, 22, subducta sibi vestimenta; 48, 2, illi pollicem extorsit; 62, 29, sanguinem illis misit. There is really no good reason, though, for making a distinction between expressions like the last and such as milvo ungues rescare, 45, 26, and mercenario novaculum rapit, 94, 37. The uppermost conception in all of them is that of taking from, and it does not matter that the dative in the former is a pronoun and in the latter a noun.

The dative in the expression suo sibi, 66, 15, deserves special mention. Landgraf who treats it says, in brief, this: The practice, much liked by the sermo plebeius, of employing different forms of the same pronoun in pairs, as, meus mihi, tuus tibi, resulted in the expression being regarded as a strengthened meus, tuus etc. Following the analogy of these, suus not only drew its ei to a position near itself, but even changed it to sibi. So it came to pass that suus sibi was felt as merely a strengthened suus. The construction is found seven times in Plautus, once each in Caecilius, Terence, Accius, Turpilius, twice in Cicero, (Verr. 3, 69 and Phil. 2, 96), once in Vitruvius, three times in Columella, once in Petronius, and often in writers from the end of the second century A. D.<sup>1</sup>

#### B. The Dative of Advantage and Disadvantage.

The confusion and lack of clearness that still prevail over the field covered by the dative of reference is shown, in part, by the attempts that are made to dispense with the names dativus commodi et incommodi as designations of a separate category of these datives, and the retention of them nevertheless in lieu of some better term to cover such datives of reference as can not be brought under any one of the other conventional group names. When Landgraf wishes to speak of these datives, (Archiv 8, 46, sq.), he does so under the caption "Der Dativus commodi und incommodi", but proceeds at once to say that Rumpel, and after him, Huebschmann, are right in rejecting these names as designations of categories, since such datives merely show that some person is interested in a certain act. But unless one wishes to put into a single class all the datives which I have given herein three groups and called datives for the genitive, datives of advantage and disadvantage, and datives of separation, it will be necessary for him to find some appropriate name to give to those datives which are not indirect objects, are not, in any sense, the equivalents of genitives, are far too closely joined, logically and grammatically, to the remainder of the sentence to be called ethical datives, do not represent the person judging or the agent, and are, nevertheless, datives denoting the person who is especially interested in the act specified. It is evident, of course, that many of the datives given later as datives of separation are closely related to these, for it can be truly said that, in every case where the dative denotes a person,

1. cf. Archiv. 8, 39.

the idea of affecting favorably or unfavorably is present. And so too the datives just mentioned as being near to the genitive in force are, in large measure, near to these, for the result of the act is regularly to the advantage or disadvantage of the person concerned. If, therefore, there is no other reason to be assigned for the separation of the datives in this group from the others, it can at least be said that they are excluded from every one of the others on one account or another, even though a very close kinship and a partial complete likeness binds them to two, at least, of the related groups.

I place here the following: 10, 14, *habitationem mihi prospiciam*; 33, 27, *ne morae vobis essem*; 38, 13, *parum illi bona lana nascebatur*; 39, 27, *quibus cornua nascuntur*; 45, 28, *sibi peccat*; 46, 10, *illi vacat*, 11, *illi tres cardeles occidi*, 24, *tibi discis*; 61, 31, *tibi usu venit*; 71, 10, *erit mihi curae*; 73, 27, *sibi ludos faciunt*; 74, 35, *tibi feceris*; 75, 7, *sibi fecit*; 77, 15, *mi restare*; 89, 45, *neuter auxilio sibi*; 90, 10, *tibi a capite mittam*; 91, 12, *erit misero solacium*; 100, 10, *sol omnibus lucet*; 105, 5, *auspiciam mihi feci*; 108, 9, *sibi cervicem praeciderat*; 121, 104, *mihi fas est*, 109, *mihi cordi (est)*; 132, 28, *mihi causa fuerat*. The one at 38, 13, is almost a dative of the person judging. The speaker seems to say that the wool was not good enough in the estimation of him, that is, the master.

### C. Dative of the Person Judging.

This dative is employed to denote the person from whose point of view, according to whose judgment, the statement made is true. It is found in Cicero and other prose writers, but is more at home in the Augustan poets and those of the preceding period.<sup>1</sup> An especially interesting variety of this is the dative in the form of a participle, which gives sometimes the mental, sometimes the local, point of view. The usage with participles is not found in Cicero or in writers before him. The first examples appear in Caesar and Livy. Scholars are not agreed as to whether the usage with participles is borrowed from Greek or not. The participle showing the local point of view is found in only two poets, Vergil and Ovid. From Livy on, the participle giving the mental point of view is used occasionally, until the period following Tacitus, when it is not in favor.<sup>2</sup> Some have called this dative, giving the local point of view, the 'absolute dative', but the name and the theory which it represents have not been accepted.<sup>3</sup> Landgraf, (*Archiv* 8, 50, sq.), treats this construction, and from him I quote the following: If the dative of advantage expresses the material interest, the ethical dative the emotional interest, the so-called dative of the one judging will represent the mental, intellectual interest of the observer or the judge. The latter two may be called, in fact, weakened datives of advantage. Oftenest this dative appears in the form of a participle which denotes an indefinite person.

There is no sure ground for calling the construction with the participle a Graecism, even though writers, like Vitruvius, may be led by their Graecising tendencies to make a freer use of it. For the construction is closely related to that seen in such sentences as *mihi est aliquid*, with a participle limiting the dative. Greek and Latin differ in their manner of expressing the local standpoint, the former preferring the singular, the latter the plural of the participle. At first, when the participle of a deponent verb was used, the present was taken; beginning with Vergil, however, the perfect is occasionally employed. From Livy on, the dative of local standpoint expressed by participles becomes more frequent, particularly in the historians and chorographers. In poets, following the Augustan period, however, it is not found at all. That the singular of the participle giving the mental standpoint appears oftener than the plural may be due to the fact that the participles of verbs expressing the idea of weighing, considering, investigating, were often employed in classical Latin in the dative singular referring to the author of the work, especially in introductions to dialogues, letters and speeches,

1. cf. Schmalz, *Muell. Handb.* 2., 426.

2. cf. *Draeger S. und S.*, 24.

3. cf. *Antoine, Syn. Verg.* 105, *Schmalz Handb.*, 2. 426.

as, cogitanti, inquirenti, quaerenti. And when Vergil, *Aen.* 8, 212, *quaerenti nulla ad speluncam signa ferebant*, and Horace, *Sat.* 1, 1, 50, *intra naturae fines viventi*, use these datives with general application, the form of the dative may have had influence on the form of the dative employed to express the mental point of view.

Petronius shows, according to my interpretation, seven of these datives of the person judging, three of which have not the participle, while four have it. It is interesting to find the datives, of the type which is represented already in Ennius, in the speeches of two of the freedmen, Hermeros (two) and Trimalchio: 38, 13, *parum illi bona lana nascebatur*; 57, 39, *ut nemini iocus sum*; 76, 33, *non mi gusti fuit*. The passages containing the participles are: 29, 20, *ad sinistram in trantibus*; 94, 35, *ut scias non longe esse quaerentibus mortem*; 125, 7, *quam male est extra legem viventibus*; frag. 33, 6, *tristia mandenti est melleus ore sapor*. Of these four, the first two are datives giving the local standpoint, even though *quaerentibus* is used in a transferred sense, and the last two give the mental standpoint. It is possible to interpret two other datives, given as datives with adjectives, so as to class them with these: 76, 27, *nemini satis*; 108, 21, *cui non est satis*.

#### D. The Ethical Dative.

This dative, which gets its name from the fact that the person denoted is interested at heart, as we say, is concerned to the extent that he feels related to the actor and the act through sympathy, at least, is common to Latin of all periods, and is found, as well, in all other languages. It is a great favorite in comedy, dialogue, satire, familiar correspondence,—in all writings which approach colloquial language. It is the dative which, as compared with all others, not excepting even that giving the mental point of view, (by some called absolute), is bound to the rest of the sentence by the slenderest tie. The first trace of the construction in Latin is found in the phrase *em tibi*, so frequent in comedy, where a blow or some thing similar, unpleasant to the recipient, is referred to. The real meaning of the phrase, 'there take that', as if the verb *habeto* were understood always, shows the element of interest in the dative. Then following *em (en) tibi*, came *ecce tibi*, *at tibi*, *hic tibi*, and the dative in expressions without a participle. In general, the construction is confined to the first and second persons of the personal pronouns. The poets, however, go further and employ, in the same way, the demonstratives and even participles. The following appear to me to be datives of this class: 6, 23, *notavi mihi*; 44, 28, *qui sibi mavult*; 46, 8, *tibi discipulus crescit*; 50, 4, *malo mihi*, 5, *malleum mihi*; 90, 6, *quid tibi vis*; 95, 11, *quid sibi vult*; 103, 18, *notavit sibi*; 111, 28, *notasset sibi*. If *sibi* be read for *nisi* frag. 37, 5 (*Bue. thinks it should be*) it belongs here. The close connection between this dative and the dative of the person judging is not shown well by any of these examples from Petronius, but is easily seen in such a sentence as this from Ovid, *Met.* 7, 320, *mirantibus (balatum) exilit agnus*. Its kinship with the dative of advantage is evident in most of the quotations. There is not much difference between a statement like *habitationem mihi prospiciam*, 10, 14, and *non notavi mihi Ascylyti fugam*, 6, 23. There is enough, however, it seems to me, to warrant one in putting the former in a class with those which hint, if ever so slightly, at some advantage or disadvantage to the person concerned. The one example in our work of a dative that may be interpreted as belonging to any one of the three categories, (if not, in fact, to two or three of them at the same time), is that one already referred to under the datives of judging and advantage, found in the sentence, *parum illi bona lana nascebatur*, 38, 13.

Since the interest expressed by this ethical dative may be left unmentioned without any essential loss to the statement as a whole, some grammarians have spoken of the dative as superfluous. While it is true that its omission does not injure the logical and grammatical completeness of the sentence, there is nevertheless a loss. For the emphasis laid upon the personal interest is thus removed. It is, therefore, incorrect to say that the dative is superfluous, if by that is meant that it adds nothing.<sup>1</sup>

1. cf. Landgraf, *Archiv*, 8, 48 sq.

### E. The Dative of Agency.

This is one of the datives which some have thought due, in origin, to Greek influence. In fact, it has been named *dativus Graecus* by certain scholars, as if it were pre-eminently a borrowing from the Greek. But this view is not now accepted, although it is admitted that the extended use of the construction was referable, in part, to the influence of Greek. Metre, too, had something to do with its wide use in the poets.<sup>1</sup> The most complete treatment of this interesting construction is that by Tillmann.<sup>2</sup> In his prefatory statement concerning the nature of this dative, he has the following: Sanctius, in a discussion published in 1809, thought this not a dative of action but of acquisition and to be referred to the related *est mihi aliquid*. Following him, all more recent writers rightly teach that this dative is to be regarded as a dative of advantage or disadvantage. For while the ablative construed with *ab* following a passive verb signifies only the author of an action, this dative denotes both the author of the action and the one benefitted or injured by the action. This fact is most readily apparent in expressions like *cum quaereretur gener Tarquinio*, Livy, 1, 39, 4, where it is difficult to tell whether the idea of agency is more prominent or the other, 'by Tarquinius for himself', or, 'for Tarquinius'. The construction is as natural in Latin as in Greek, and as original. A proof of this is the fact that, from the earliest date, the gerundive is employed with the dative. Besides it did not escape the Romans themselves that the two constructions, the dative and the ablative, are closely related. This is shown by the fact that they avoided having two such datives come close together by changing to the ablative with *ab*, as an equivalent. Following the use of this dative with the gerundive came that with the perfect participle, which is that form of the verb nearest to the gerundive. For it serves as an adjective readily, and even admits of comparison. Some participles, as *suspectus*, so thoroughly assume adjectival force that they are always found with the dative. Sometimes even the adjective, construed with a dative, takes the place of a participle of the same stem, as in *celebres Homeri vituli*, Pliny, N. H., 32, 11, 144. Later orators and poets, especially the latter, not rarely employed adjectives in *-bilis* with the dative. Of course, it is not denied that many participial adjectives became so completely adjectives that the idea of agency is no longer present in the dative. This dative shows its force readily also when the verb is intransitive but used reflexively, as in, *acta est per lacrimas nox mihi*, Ovid, *Heroid.*, 12, 58, which means, 'nox mihi effluxit'. So it is not strange if an intransitive verb takes this dative, as in, *cadit ingens nominis expers uni turba viro*, Sil. It., 10, 28, 29. Following a survey, then, of the usage for the whole literature, Tillmann sums up the results of his investigation thus: The construction was not frequent in the early poets and in Cicero, and was confined, moreover, to narrow limits, that is, almost entirely to use with the perfect participle. Then in the lyric and epic poets it became more common. Especially frequent is it in Ovid, who shows scarcely so many ablatives of agency as datives. Silius was so fond of it that he employed it 153 times as against barely twenty times the ablative. The historians make almost as much use of it as the poets do. Apuleius does not show it often, but the other African writers and the patristic writers have it again more often. An interesting table given by Tillmann (p. 41) shows, at a glance, the usage of twenty-five prominent writers, from Plautus to Ammianus. Of 1222 instances, 395 are employed with the perfect forms of the verb, 52 with the pluperfect, 12 with the future perfect, 169 with the present, 37 with the imperfect, 56 with the future, and with the perfect infinitive, present infinitive, and perfect participle, 100, 56, and 375 respectively. Another table tells, for the same authors (p. 43), the nature of the datives, and from this it is learned that a pronoun appears 655 times, a noun 551 times as such a dative.

1. cf. Landgraf, *Reis. Vorl.* 3, 627, Schmalz, *Muell. Handb.*, 2, 426.

2. *De Dativo uerbis pass. ling. Lat. subject.*

Petronius' usage is shown by the following: 5, 10, *tellus habitata colono*; 71, 8, *nobis habitandum est*; 123, 218, *huic fuga per terras, illi magis unda probatur*; frag. 39, 1, *sit nox illa nobis dilecta*. There is one occurrence of the dative with *suspectus* also, but perhaps that is not to be regarded any longer as agent: 85, 20, *patri familiae suspectus*. *Populo*, frag. 37, 5, may be this dative or one of separation or an ablative. The dative *vivo* (if it is not an ablative absolute) seen in *falsum*, (or, with Heinsius, *insulsum*), *est vivo domos cultas esse*, may be one of those which represent, at once, the author of the action and the person benefitted. Friedlaender translates, "Es ist ganz verkehrt, wenn man zwar fuer die Ausschmueckung der Wohnung sorgt, so lange man lebt". The words following immediately in the same sentence, *non curari eas*, only strengthen the view that *vivo* has, in some measure, the force of an agent. For the rest of the sentence appears to mean, 'for those (sc. *domos*, homes) not to be provided for, put in good order, (sc. by one while he is still living, *vivo*), where he is to dwell for a longer time. Tillmann says (p. 30) that Petronius shows no example of this dative in prose and only one in poetry. But it is to be explained that he does not take into account the instances with the gerundive which are so common for all literature, those with *verba probandi* and *cognoscendi* (p. 40), of which there are many, and does not recognize the fragment containing *nobis dilecta* (frag. 39, 1) as belonging to Petronius but as one of the *carmina Priapea* (p. 30). He makes the statement, in harmony with the one quoted from Landgraf above, that the metre sometimes persuades to the use of this dative. As examples of this, he cites the following phrases found at the end of hexameters in the works of the poets named: *habitata colono*, Seneca and Petronius; *obsessa colono*, Tibullus; *regnata parenti*, Ovid; *dilecta sorori*, Vergilius. From the third century A. D. on, Tillmann says, this dative was used less and less often, (p. 36).

#### F. The Dative of Separation.

Under this heading I have treated a number of datives which can not be brought, as a group, under any one of the different kinds of dative of reference thus far discussed, and which can not be dispersed among the various classes of this dative. A goodly number of them are closely related to those datives I have given as datives of advantage and disadvantage. But there are some others, datives denoting inanimate things, which can not properly be so interpreted, for it is not conceivable that a wall, for instance, from which something that had hung there has been removed, can take any active interest in the act or be thought of as benefitted or injured thereby. There are a few that might be classed with datives which are, in force, akin to genitives. But the dominant idea in all of them is so plainly that of separation that it has seemed best to place together in one group all the examples of this construction found in the work. The construction is confined chiefly to poetry and later prose. If the dative really denotes that for which something is, to or for which something is done, the translation 'from' is only approximate for this dative. Gildersleeve and Lodge, (*Lat. Gram.* 219, rem. 1) say that 'for' is nearer than 'from' to the true interpretation. But it is not possible for us to give precisely the conception as it was felt by the Roman mind, without employing a clumsy locution which involves more than the mere idea of taking from. For the idea was to the speaker a complex one, and the element of personal interest, ownership, was prominent in it. This ownership is sometimes no more than temporary possession of what belongs to another, but it is, nevertheless, to a degree, ownership. An example of a dative which lies between a dative of possession, dative of advantage, and the dative under discussion is that in *illi iam tres cardeles occidi*, 46, 11. Peck translates (p. 112), "I've already killed three goldfinches of his", and de Guerle (p. 69) "Je lui ai deja tue trois chardonnerets". Friedlaender, strange to say, does not give the *illi* in his translation, "Ich habe schon drei Stieglitzen den Hals umgedreht". One expects ihm to complete the thought. The lui of the French is nearer the Latin, it seems to me, than the En-

glish 'of his'. For, besides the idea of possession in illi, there is also a clear implication of an injury done the person referred to who has lost, been deprived of, something he wanted to retain. This might be brought out in English better, though not completely, by 'I have already killed three goldfinches for him', the context, or, in the case of speech, the speaker's expression showing that the words 'for him' did not mean 'for his benefit' but 'to his sorrow'.

Petronius shows the following examples of this dative of separation, a rather large number, it will be noted: 5, 17, subducta foro; 9, 25, mihi pudorem extorquere; 12, 7, detraxit umeris laciniam (or ablative); 19, 26, excidit constantia attonitis; 30, 19, se poenae eriperemus, 21, subducta sibi vestimenta; 32, 16, expressit imprudentibus risum; 38, 24, Incuboni pilleum rapuisset; 41, 31, detraxit pilleum apro; 45, 26, milvo ungues rescare, 30, eripiat Norbano favorem; 46, 22, illi auferre; 48, 7, illi pollicem extorsit; 56, 24, exciderant memoriae meae; 57, 31, illi balatum duxissem; 58, 9, quos amicae involasti; 61, 35, qui mihi auferret; 62, 29, sangumem illis misit; 67, 5, armillas detraheret lacertis; 69, 13, nihil sibi defraudit; 79, 34, subduxit mihi puerum; 86, 9, dormienti abstulero coitum; 87, 30, repugnanti gaudium extorsi; 91, 10, eripe me latroni; 94, 14, mihi abstulit gaudium, 37, mercenario novaculum rapit; 98, 15, puero excussisset iudicium, 34, raptam cauponi harundinem; 105, 7, squalorem damnatis auferri; 113, 23, amicam mihi auferret; 114, 6, vela tempestati subducunt; 119, 42, senibus virtus exciderat, 46, fasces rapuisse Catoni; 122, 131, lucem sceleri subduxit; 128, 23, rapuit tacenti speculum; 130, 6, abstulit mihi; 133, 39, te mihi subduxit; 136, 15, pedem mensulae extorsi. Populo, frag. 37, 5, may be this dative. It can not be proven, perhaps, that mensulae, in the last passage quoted, is a dative. It may be genitive. The author's general usage, however, supports the former interpretation. That which is taken away is material in twenty-one places, not material in seventeen. Squalor, 105, 7, is counted as material, since it is used for comae longae. In eleven of the thirty-eight passages quoted, the dative is not used of a person, and only two of these eleven denote living beings: apro, 41, 31; milvo, 45, 26. It is difficult to show that, in the case of the nine datives, the idea of personal interest is involved. Yet some claim that the ablative is necessary when this conception is not present. In all four places where extorquere is found with a direct object and that from which something has been taken, the dative is used. The verb excidere is found twice used absolutely (though at 54, 2, memoriae is plainly felt as present) and three times with the dative of the person from whom something has escaped. As early as Ovid this verb alone could be employed to mean 'to drop from memory'. Excidit attonitis, 19, 26, has a parallel in excidit attonito poetae, Mart. 8, 56, 17. Detrahere takes de and an ablative once, the dative three times. The distinction is not obvious. In no instance is it a person from whom something is taken. Tacitus, too, shows this verb far oftener with the dative, nineteen times as against once with the ablative and de, Hist. 2, 62. Quintilian has twelve instances of the dative, only four with ex and the ablative with detrahere. Eripere takes a dative every time, i. e., in three passages. Subducere is construed with the dative six times (persons are meant three times), with a and the ablative once. It may be true that the preposition is used where the author wishes to emphasize the idea of motion, as in, subduxisti te a colloquio, 10, 36, and subducebat ab ictu corpus, 98, 36. Exprimere with the dative appears in one interesting phrase meaning 'to force a laugh from', 32, 16, expressit imprudentibus risum. The expression reminds one of Horace's risum excutiat sibi, Sat. 1, 4, 35. The two passages would be quite alike if tibi, Rutger's conjecture, be read for sibi. Schutz thinks tibi preferable there. This use of excutere Petronius shows in puero excussisset iudicium, 98, 15. Auferre takes three times the dative only, seven times accusative and dative. R. and G. (173, foot-note) say that auferre is taken as the type of verbs which denote separation and take the ablative. But our author does not once have the ablative with it. Ducere

appears with the dative in a single passage, **57, 31**, *illi balatum duxissem*. For this reading of the codices (followed by Buecheler) Heinsius conjectures *illi balatu interdixissem*, Friedlaender, *illi balatum cluxissem*. Friedlaender argues that *claudere* is the appropriate word to denote putting an end to a speech, and quotes Livy, 44, 45, *Horum ferocia vocem Evandri clausit*. He thinks that *duxissem* may very well be a corrupt reading for an original *cluxissem*, a vulgar form of *cluissem*. He, therefore, translates "wuerde ich seinem Gebloeke schon ein Ende gemacht haben". Peck renders the passage, "I'd have stopped his blating", apparently accepting Friedlaender's view. If these interpretations are correct, *illi* should be classed with datives of advantage. It can not be denied that the conception of putting an end to the boy's laughing, spoken of contemptuously as bleating, fits the context well enough. For it was the laughing that had given offense, and four lines above the speaker had called the offender *vervex*. Yet I am inclined to believe that the thought here is not so much that of stopping an interruption (which was not a speech, as in the passage cited by Friedlaender from Livy) as it is that of drawing from the laughing *Ascylos* bleatings by beating him, (carrying out the conception suggested by *vervex*). Thus translated, *ducere* would be like *exprimere*, 32, 16, and *excutere*, 98, 15. It appears to me better to think of *balatum* as contrasted with laughter and interpret thus: 'What are you laughing at, you blockhead (*vervex*)? If I were where I could get my hands on you, I would have made you change your tune', that is, 'I would have forced from you another kind of laughter'.

For the expression *sanguinem alicui mittere*, 62, 29, Krebs says *a* and *ex* with the ablative are good equivalents. Celsus employs *ex vena*, *bracchio*, *crure*, a *bracchio*, and also the dative at the same time. In one passage, 90, 10, Petronius has *sanguinem tibi a capite mittam*. *Defraudare* with the dative is found once, **69, 13**. This construction appears in early Latin, then twice in Cicero, and afterwards, excepting here in Petronius, not till Apuleius. A few examples of two accusatives with it are found, one each in Plautus, Varro, and the Vulgate. Only Petronius shows a dative of the person. Doubtless the construction follows that with *indulgere*, as the similar one with *negare* (employed by the same speaker, **33, 27**,) follows that with *adnuere*. *Fraudare* takes once an accusative and an ablative, 3, 15, *non fraudabo te arte secreta*. The verb *involare*, quoted here once with the dative, **58, 9**, is construed in one passage with the ablative and *ex*, **43, 31**.

### III. The Dative of Possession.

Petronius makes little use of this construction. The theory that this dative denotes the temporary possession of something is not followed in every instance in Petronius. R. and G. (Gram. Comp. 95) say that the dative of possession is employed only to denote a real possession or a state of affairs which exists for this or that person to his advantage; that the prose writers of the best period avoided such a construction as *Ciceroni magna fuit eloquentia*, because a quality was concerned, as also one like *huic provinciae urbes sunt tres*, in both of which correct usage demanded in and the ablative; but that as early as Sallust the rule began to be disregarded and later fell into disuse. The practice of using this dative to refer to mental states, introduced by Sallust and adopted by Vergil, Curtius, Lucan, and Tacitus, is not represented in Petronius.<sup>1</sup> The statement made by Antoine (Syn. Verg. 109) that *habere* is almost never employed to denote possession does not hold good for our work. For many instances of such a use of this verb appear, especially in the speeches of the illiterate. The following quotations show the entire usage for this dative: 19, 22, *quibus virilis sexus erat*; 63, 14, *quibus lavari coeperat votum esse*; 80, 22, *ut sit illi in eligendo fratre libertas*; 109, 26, *quis haec formula erat* (Buecheler thinks this an error for *cuius*); 114, 33, *ultimum est fluctibus*.

1. cf. Schmalz, Muell. Handb. 2, 425.



#### IV. The Final Dative.

In a treatment of this dative, (Archiv 8, 55, sq.) Landgraf makes, among other points, the following: The Latin dative did not from the first, as some scholars think, contain the idea of end, Zweck. But from the use of the dative to denote the person for whom an act is of interest, whom it reaches, developed that employed to denote the thing which, in the same way, is reached, is concerned. From praesidio proficisci, to go forward, the act having reference to aid giving, came praesidio proficisci, to go forward for aid giving, toward that end. As a matter of course, it is not always possible to distinguish the final dative from the predicate dative (faktitiver Dativ). But for the sake of a clearer view of these datives, they are considered as two separate classes. A survey of their historical development reveals, in brief, the following facts: This dative, dependent upon verbs, is frequent in the speech of peasants and soldiers, especially the dative of verbal substantives in -us. Caesar best exhibits the classical usage, for in his writings appear, besides those commonly used, also such as were peculiar to military language. The Augustan poets extend the use of the construction considerably. Vergil shows many more examples of it than Horace, but not so many as Propertius and Ovid. That the two latter employ it so often is strange, since, in the use of the closely related predicate dative, they go scarcely beyond contemporary prose writers. Livy employs it freely, Vitruvius but little (two examples are cited), Seneca, the rhetorician, a few times, Lucan often, Tacitus quite often. The verbals in -us, of which Tacitus shows such an extensive use, Apuleius employs even more boldly. The dative dependent upon substantives is especially frequent in the language of peasants, and in that of writers on agriculture and medicine. Instead of this dative, poets often choose the nominative or accusative. This dative is much liked as an appositive to a whole clause. It is frequent in early Latin in general, quite frequent in comedy, found often in Cicero, especially in his correspondence, often in Sallust, and in Horace, particularly in his satires. Livy follows the classical usage which allows it rather often, and Nepos, Tacitus and Apuleius employ it freely. The comprehensive treatment of this dative by Nielaender, (Der factitive Dativus bei roemischen Dichtern u. Prosaikern), gives the complete usage for a number of the most important writers. Eight divisions are made and all occurrences are grouped under the headings, gaudium, dolor, honos, dedecus, usus, fraus, adiumentum, impedimentum. Petronius has the following examples of this final dative, which I have arranged in two groups, following the classification made by Landgraf:

A: **61, 31**, tibi usu venit; 114, 21, abduxere morti; 132, 3, supplicio caput aperire.

B: **33, 27**, ne morae vobis essem; **71, 10**, erit mihi curae; **73, 35**, homo frugi; **75, 6**, frugi est; 89, 45, neuter auxilio sibi; 119, 47, hoc dedecori populo; 121, 109, mihi cordi; 140, 9, tam frugi est.

The dative in the expression abduxere morti, 114, 21, deGuerle thinks one of separation (Oeuvres de Petr. 186); Landgraf gives it as a final dative (Archiv, 8, 60). The context does not seem to me to make either interpretation certain. Respecting frugi some doubt still exists in the minds of scholars. While many continue to speak of it as a final dative, others hesitate between the dative and genitive (cf. Woelfflin, Archiv 9, 105), and some consider it a genitive of quality. (R. and G., Gram. Comp. 129, foot-note). Cordi is usually treated as a dative. Both had come to be felt as adjectives, it is quite evident. I have not followed Buecheler at 119, 47, where he has hoc dedecoris populo. Brouckhusius rejects the whole verse. DeGuerle shows dedecori in the text he translates, and this, in my opinion, is more satisfactory than the other. Examples of the nominative used instead of this dative are seen in the following passages: **71, 10**; 91, 12; 124, 252; 132, 28.

It is noteworthy that Petronius shows not a single example of the dative of the

gerund or gerundive, although the usage had become so developed in silver Latin that these could take the place of a pure final clause.<sup>1</sup> The wider use of this construction begins with Livy. It may be well to say also, in this connection, that the work has no example of the so-called 'final genitive of the gerund' (cf. *Der finale genitivus gerundii*, by Weisweiler) which is employed with similar force, unless it be in the expression *abeundi consilium*, 136, 26, given under the genitive of apposition. It is in such genitives of the gerund as this one just quoted, Weisweiler says, (p. 4) that the final force is weakest.

#### V. The Local Dative.

The dative is sometimes employed with verbs to indicate the direction or goal of motion. The first traces of this construction in Latin literature are to be found, according to Landgraf, (*Archiv* 8, 70 sq.) in Ennius. An example is seen in *praepetibus sese pulcrisque locis*, *Ann.* 91, M. (i. e., in *loca dant aves*). An explanation of the origin of such a dative is given by Landgraf thus: A close relationship exists between the internal and external determination of the goal of an act. As the Romans said *aliquem praesidio mittere*, meaning *praesidii causa*, so in an expression like *exitio* or *morti aliquem mittere*, the two conceptions, outer and inner determination, appeared together. Already Plautus varied *morti dare* with *ad mortem dare*, (as, *Merc.* 2, 4, 4 and *Amph.* 2, 2, 177).<sup>2</sup> From this local-final dative developed, before long, a freer use by which the place toward which the movement tended could be given by the dative. Later poets, and also prose writers whose diction is poetic, copied and developed this usage. Some scholars as Schroeter and Haase, regarded this dative as the remnant of an old locative.<sup>3</sup> Others have held that it was a borrowing from the Greek. Draeger expresses himself as inclined to accept Schroeter's views, and Schmalz appears to do the same, for he calls this dative "lokativus finalis".<sup>4</sup> Delbrueck (*Syn.* 290) says that he agrees with Landgraf. The same is true also of H. Iber, who opposes Schroeter's conclusions in his dissertation, *De Dativi usu Tibulliano*. After Ennius, this dative appears occasionally until the Augustan period, when the poets, especially Vergil, make a larger use of it. It is then taken up by prose writers. One of the earliest uses is seen in the old formula, preserved by Festus, *Ollus quiris leto datus*. Then *morti dare* appears in Plautus, Lucretius, and Horace. *Exitio dare* is contributed by Lucretius and taken up by Ovid and Seneca. The transition to the local signification is made in expressions like *demittere Orco*, where the realm of death, instead of death itself, is designated. The dative most often used is *caelo*, very frequently also *terrae*. At all times the construction is more often employed in poetry than in prose.

Petronius has the following examples: 83, 13, *aquila ferebat caelo Idaeum*; 122, 135, *tuba sideribus tremefacta*; 124, 263, *terris incendia portat*; frag. 34, 2, *ut fratri verba feras*. The second statement quoted is striking in that it pictures with words which may be interpreted 'the trumpet made to tremble (or quaver) to the stars' the terrible din of the trumpet blasts which rises even to the skies. At 124, 263, it is possible to construe *terris* with the adjective *minax*. The other view seemed to me better. In frag. 34, *fratri feras* mean, as the context shows, 'say to your brother'. But, as the text stands, this is clearly a dative of limit after a verb of motion.

1. cf. Draeger 2, 835.

2. This also contradicts Dietz's statement, *Gram. d. Rom. Spr.* 3, 125, that the first examples of the use of a prepositional periphrasis for the dative come from the fifth century. Schneider, in his treatment of the 'Cases, Tenses and Modes of Comedian', p. 20, cites one instance of this periphrasis in that writer, to refute Dietz's statement, but Landgraf says the tendency is noticeable in colloquial Latin of all periods.

3. cf. Schroeter, *der Dativ zur Bezeichnung der Richtung in der lateinischen Dichtersprache* and Haase, *Reis. Vorl.* 2, 127.

4. cf. Draeger *Syn.* 1, 427 and Schmalz, *Muel. Handb.* 2, 428.

## VI. The Dative with Adjectives and with Participles used as adjectives.

This use of the dative to denote that toward which a quality tends, or for which it exists has been common to Latin of all periods. Petronius does not employ this dative often. The entire number of occurrences is here given: *acceptus*: 137, 8, *matronis acceptissimum*; *acidus*: 92, 6, *sibi acidius*; *amicus*: 43, 27, *amicus amico*; frag. 36, 2, *Marti amica*; *carus*: 15, 7, *cuique carissimam*; 48, 1, *mihi carissime*; 55, 30, *cara tibi*; 80, 31, *carissimum sibi*; frag. 33, 7, *mihi cara*; *confinis*: 48, 29, *confine Tarraconensibus*; *conveniens*: 35, 2, *convenientem materiae*; *cordi*: 121, 109, *mihi cordi*; *familiaris*: 12, 37, *familiaris oculis*; 100, 21, *auribus familiaris*; *gratus*: 3, 21, *gratissimum auditoribus*; 113, 27, *gratum sibi*; *inimicus*: 113, 25, *inimicissima oculis*; *iratus*: 58, 25, *tibi iratus et isti*, 37, *tibi irata*; 81, 10, *iratum innocentibus*; 139, 25, *mihi iratissimum*; *molestus*: 52, 26, *tibi molestus*; *notus*: 110, 6, *saeculis nota*; *obscurus*: 88, 7, *mihi obscura*; *placens*: 46, 14, *placens sibi*; *proximus*: 52, 32, *ebrio proximus*; 81, 6, *proximum littori*; *sacer*: 89, 18, *Neptuno sacer*; 122, 146, *aris sacer*; *satis*: 76, 27, *nemini satis*; 108, 21, *cui non est satis*; *similis*: 73, 17, *cisternae simile*; 138, 24, *formae simile*; *suavis*: 33, 26, *mihi suave*.

In three passages, in and the accusative are construed with an adjective to express that towards which: 46, 11, in *aves morbosus*; 77, 12, *parum felix in amicos*; 89, 14, in *damna potens*, (the last in poetry). Petronius does not employ *adversus* and *erga* with the accusative in the same way. The word *confinis*, meaning 'neighboring to', is rare in classical Latin. When it does occur, it is construed with the dative or is used absolutely. Later it takes the genitive, as a rule. *Proximus* is found in our work only with the dative. *Similis* takes the dative twice, the genitive once. The difference intended to be made is not apparent. R. and G. (Gram. Comp. 159) say that *sacer* is not construed with the dative except in poets and in prose writers whose diction is poetic. The two passages in our work are in poetry. I have omitted *dilectus* from this list (frag. 39, 1) because it seemed best to regard it as a participle with its verbal force still felt.

## VII. The Dative with Adverbs.

With adverbs Petronius construes the following datives: 58, 34, *longe tibi sit comula*; 50, 29, *Gaio feliciter*; 54, 38, *pessime mihi*; 60, 18, *Augusto feliciter*; 71, 17, *sibi suaviter*; 75, 13, *vobis suaviter*; 102, 28, *praesto tibi*.

The adverb, employed as a predicate adjective, is very common from the earliest till the latest period, in colloquial Latin, and is admitted occasionally in formal writing. Caesar has *praesto* twice. *Palam* is not avoided by Cicero or Livy, and is frequent in Plautus and Terence. Others appear in Catullus and Horace (*Satires*), and elsewhere in the better writers. In our author, besides these with the dative, are found: *aeque, bene, belle, suaviter, suavius, and tam* once each, all in the speeches of the freedmen. The use made of the dative with *feliciter* in toasts, seen twice above, is referred to in the treatment of the accusative, where it is noted that the accusative is more common when *bene* is used. Friedlaender (*Cena* 273) cites instances of the use of *longe* and the dative with some form of *abesse* in Caesar, Vergil, Ovid (twice), Silius, and Florus.

## VIII. The Dative with Interjections.

Of this construction, there is only one example: 108, 19, *ei mihi*.

## THE ABLATIVE.

The Latin ablative is now believed, by most scholars, to be a mixed case (syncretistic), although there long existed the theory, (perhaps favored even yet by a few), that an original ablative developed locative and instrumental force. It is called an adverbial case by many, on the ground that it belongs more especially to the verb of the sentence.<sup>1</sup> To this, Kuehner objects, (Gram. 2, 257), saying that an adverb serves only to limit a verb, whereas the ablative, like the dative, is a sentence modifier. The ablative is sometimes adnominal, (as an ablative of quality or description), and if it is not shown that this function is a development from the adverbial one, it is not quite correct to say, as Draeger does, that the case is an "ausschliesslich adverbialer Casus".<sup>2</sup> Zieler, in the introduction to his treatment of the Latin ablative, (Beitraege z. Gesch. d. Lat. Abl.), gives very briefly the theories that have been held respecting it: The name *ablativus* is first employed by Quintilian, (so Huebschmann, z. Kasuslehre p. 29, but Christ, "De Abl. Sall." p. 4, says Caesar used the name), though the originator of the term is not known. Varro called it '*casus sextus, qui est proprius Latinus*'. All later grammarians, with few exceptions, regarded it as a case peculiarly Latin, originating with the Romans. Quite early it was noticed that the name was being used to designate the most varied relations and this discovery caused the more careful scholars to invent a *casus septimus*. But this seventh case was later discarded by some as unnecessary, since between it and the *casus sextus* the only difference was the use of the preposition by the former. And because there were certain constructions which were not covered by either the sixth or seventh case, such as, '*it clamor caelo*', '*subeunt muro*', etc., a *casus octavus* was devised. This last, however, found little recognition, many regarding it as a mere '*genus elocutionis*'. The seventh, on the contrary, the majority, for a long time, considered necessary. Priscian rejected it, because, as he said, the absence of a preposition in no wise changed the meaning of a case. Thereafter, till the nineteenth century, nothing important toward an explanation of the ablative was done. In the last century, investigation in the field of grammar was carried on along two lines, the philological and the comparative-historical. Only through the latter could the real truth respecting the Latin ablative be discovered. Those who worked from the other point of view made the fatal mistake of looking at language as something delivered to man ready for use, in a finished condition, rather than as a growth. They therefore regarded the ablative as a simple case. Bopp's investigations first gave the right point of view, when he brought to light the fact that the Indo-European had eight cases. The erroneous theory promulgated following this discovery of Bopp's, however,—that therefore an instrumental and a locative must be assumed for Latin also, was made untenable by the view of Weissenborn, (published in 1845), which held that, in Latin, the seventh and eighth cases had united with the sixth. From that time forward, his explanation has been the one generally ac-

1. cf. Schmalz, Muel. Handb. 2, 429, and Draeger. Syn. 1, 494.

2. cf. Golling, zur Lehre vom Ablativ und Genitiv der Eigenschaft, p. 1.

cepted. The name Synchronistic dates from 1859 and was coined by Pott. From the standpoint of the student of comparative language, the task left to be accomplished was that of tracing the different kinds of Latin ablatives back to their original ablative, instrumental, and locative. This was done first by Delbrueck. At the end of his treatise, Zieler gives, as the conclusion at which he arrives, this: Latin got its synchronistic case, for most part, from the early period when the Italic peoples were yet in close union. Only the locative singular, of the lost cases, was at that time still living and independent. In some dialects it was, in historic times, still living and construed with prepositions. But a part also of its territory it had been compelled to yield to the ablative by that early time. This process continued then in Latin, until, at the beginning of the literary period, the locative had already been reduced to the limited field it occupied during the classical period. The causes of the fusion are said to have been likeness in meaning, (although in many respects they were widely separated), and outward resemblance in form.

The ablative in Petronius, I have treated under the three heads, (corresponding to the three general functions), Ablative Proper, Instrumental Ablative, and Locative Ablative.

The ablative appears as an appositive in our work only a few times, as follows: 12, 37, cum muliercula comite; 28, 9, domino Trimalchione deformior; 130, 11, cibus validioribus, id est, bulbis. The ablative is an adjective two or three times (one passage disputed): 25, 25, plaudentibus; 89, 31, tranquillo minor (Tollius reads tranquillo mari); 131, 6, remotis omnibus. The ablative is a perfect participle once, ineptiora praeteritis, 110, 27. It is a present participle once, 3, 17, cum insanientibus furere. Twice the gerund is an ablative: 64, 35, cantando pithisicus factus sum; 122, 162, vincendo certior exul; 75, 2, appellando.

#### I. The Ablative Proper.

This ablative of the whence relation is subdivided, for treatment, into five classes, as follows: ablatives with verbs denoting separation, ablatives of material, of origin by birth, of comparison, and with adjectives.

A. In order to bring together those ablatives which are found with verbs closely related in meaning, I have arranged the ablatives with verbs denoting separation in nine groups.

1. With verbs of moving, going from, falling from, intransitive: Of these there are but few without a preposition: 61, 32, omne me lucrum transeat; 73, 34, sacco defluens; 115, 5, vehiculo lapsus; 123, 189, montibus undabant (or ablative of route), 205, decurrens arce; 101, 30, possumus egredi nave; 123, 207, se verticibus demisit Olympi (i. e., venit); frag. 27, 1, caelo caderent, 4, devecus humo; frag. 35, 5, effugit euro. The first three and the sixth are in prose. The expression me transeat is striking, but it is not very different from the corresponding transire with the accusative of limit, as in transire Africam, Bel. Afr., 77, 3, or ire and the accusative, as in Africam ire, 48, 30. Only in popular Latin are such constructions at home. With prepositions are found a larger number: ab: 6, 25, venire; 18, 1, descendere; 43, 29, crescere; 64, 27, redire; 90, 10, exire; 118, 21, refugere; frag. 37, 5, migrare; de: 33, 34, ire; 41, 39, ire; 58, 5, movere; 117, 22, exire; 134, 11, surrigere; ex: 2, 3, commigrare; 36, 19, currere; 40, 11, evolare; 44, 13, venire (ex Asia); 53, 10, ortum ex aedibus; 70, 11, labi; 71, 27, crescere; 141, 7, venire (ex Africa); 78, 12, fugere. It will be noted that the usage with the names of 'countries from which' is correct.

2. With verbs of setting free, releasing: 5, 16, exonerata sono; 15, 24, liberatos querella; 17, 12, retexit pallio; 86, 36, voto exsolvi; 89, 59, nodo remissus; 101, 18, periculo liberamus; 107, 9, exonerare pondere; 124, 291, muris solvis; frag. 26, 5, vinclo resoluta. With a preposition there is only one: lorum de pera solvit, 11, 27. It is noteworthy that the illiterate speakers make practically no use of the constructions given in this and the next groups, and that, in general, they prefer the dative when the violent wresting of something from an

unwilling giver is to be expressed. This seems to be in harmony with the observed fact that the uneducated make much use of the dative in general, as being the case of strong personal interest.

3. With verbs of depriving, despoiling: 3, 15, *fraudabo te arte*; 79, 1, *gaudio despoliatum*; 107, 32, *nudavere crinibus*; 109, 16, *umbra nudata*; 113, 19, *spoliatum crinibus*; 117, 26, *destitutum ministerio*; 119, 37, *orbata avibus*; 124, 286, *acvo desolata*; 128, 27, *voluptate fraudatus*; 131, 32, *bacis redimita*, 33, *tonsae vertice*; 136, 23, *orbati duce*. The ablative alone is regular for these constructions, and so, too, in our author there is no example with a preposition.

4. With verbs of sending or driving from or out of: 5, 22, *defundes pectore*; 32, 17, *pallio excluserat*; 42, 15, *manu misit*; 65, 7, *manu miserat*; 71, 33, *manu mitto*; 101, 28, *curso deflecti*; 120, 77, *extulit flammis*; 121, 102, *defudit pectore*; 124, 282, *erumpit pectore*; 137, 11, *sacerdotio pellat*; 139, 8, *ora exagitatus*; frag. 37, 5, *exemptus populo*. With prepositions: *ab*: 13, 17, and 18, 3, *dimittere*; 90, 10, *mittere*; 101, 28, *deflectere*; 122, 160, *pellere*; 126, 12, *submittere*; *de*: 9, 32, *dimittere*; 56, 14, *deicere*; 59, 19, *agere*; 60, 5, *nuntiare*, 6, *excudere*; 70, 23, *deicere*; 71, 15, *effundere*; 92, 9, *deicere*; 122, 177, *dare*; 127, 5, *fundere*; *ex*: 10, 4, *diffundere*; 18, 1, *movere*; 38, 17, *mittere*; 49, 28, *effundere*.

5. With verbs of warding off, prohibiting: 116, 35, *prohibetur commodis*; 122, 162, *Alpibus excludo*. With prepositions: *ab*: 46, 25, *abigere*; 90, 3, *abstinere*; 96, 3, *continere*; 108, 30, *abstinere*; 140, 24, *reicere*. R. and G., (*Gram. Comp.* 177), say that *abstinere* may be employed with or without the preposition, except with names of persons, when the preposition should be used. Petronius follows this rule.

6. With verbs of getting, bringing, calling, arousing from: 50, 34, *Corintho afferri*; 70, 2, *attuli Roma*; 93, 28, *petita Colchis*; 119, 10, *quaesitus tellure*, 28, *eruta terris*, 35, *eruta litoribus*; 123, 223, *ducitur urbe*, (if not ablative absolute); frag. 26, 7, *excita ceris*. The last five occur in poetry. With names of cities the best usage is followed. The word *Colchis* is not in prose. With prepositions: *ab*: 19, 17, *accipere*; 38, 13, *emere*, 15, *afferre*; 50, 36, *emere*; 52, 26, *impetrare*; 56, 12, *afferre*; 61, 4, *petere*; 65, 29, *petere*; 72, 8, *accipere*; 10, *petere*; 89, 64, *accendere*; 92, 21, *recipere*; 93, 23, *attrahere*; 96, 38, *excitare*; 114, 22, *merere*; 116, 21, *cognoscere*; 136, 10, *exigere*; 139, 15, *quaerere*; *de*: 20, 3; 51, 11; 69, 19; 110, 30; 131, 22, *proferre*; 37, 37; 45, 38, *accipere*; 74, 5, *afferre*; 135, 6, *deferre*; *ex*: 77, 29, *proferre and lavare*; 94, 31, *efferrare*; 103, 8, *comperire*; 108, 2, *referre*; 126, 14, *colligere*, 36, *producere*; 137, 3, *ducere*. Two of the ablatives with *ab* are names of cities, and are found in a freedman's speech: 38, 13, *Tarento*, 15, *Athenis*. The expression *ex qua lavari*, 77, 29, reminds one of the similar *de lucerna ungebam*, 75, 21, in the speech of this same man, Trimalchio, at another place, and of *ab aris accendit*, in the poem on *Troy*, 89, 64.

7. With verbs of rescuing, removing from: 12, 7, *detrahit umeris* (or dative); 67, 5, *detraheret lacertis* (or dative); 114, 18, *repetitum* (*Bue. conjectures abreptum*) *gurgite*. With prepositions: *ab*: 10, 36, *subducere*; 13, 12, *seducere*; 72, 7, *redimere*; 94, 30, *revocare*; 95, 29, *vindicare*; 98, 36, *subducere*; 105, 10, *extrahere*; 108, 13, *rapere*; 118, 22, *semovere*; 125, 17, *remove*; 134, 26, *vindicare*, 31, *rapere*; *de*: 43, 23; 51, 10; 46, 10; 73, 25; 74, 25; 76, 5, (twice), *tollere*; 67, 13, *detrahere*; 95, 18, *propipere*, 21, *rapere*; *ex*: 53, 6, and 112, 5, *tollere*. Of the thirteen instances of the ablative with *ab*, only three denote persons.

8. With verbs denoting to hang from: 135, 25, *unco pendeat*, 26, *suspensa tigillo*. With prepositions: *de*: 30, 8, *pendere*; *ex*: 40, 3, *dependere*, 16, *pendere*; 127, 27, *pendere*. It is possible to make the distinction that, in expressions containing the preposition, the ablative is not thought of as an instrument,

whereas, in the others, it is so regarded. In the former case, it is only incidentally an instrument.

9. With verbs of lacking and avoiding: 22, 12, *umore defectae*; 82, 36, *malo cavere*; 89, 15, *bello carens*; 117, 26, *destitutum ministerio*; 122, 137, *caentia bustis*; 124, 286, *aevo desolata*; frag. 35, 10, *fine caret*. With *ab* there is a single occurrence, 26, 9, *quicquid a spectaculo vacabat (illi)*. Several of the forces of *vacare* are shown in the four passages where it appears. The original meaning, 'to be empty, vacant', is seen in *illi quae vacabat cruci*, 112, 6. This conception, transferred to time, appears in the two expressions, *quicquid illi vacat*, 46, 10, and *a spectaculo vacabat*, 26, 9. In each of these, it will be noted, one readily supplies the missing case, in one place the dative, in the other the ablative. The remaining example is found at 115, 12, *quod illi vacaret facere*, where the verb is impersonal. Not represented are two uses of the verb, with a person as subject and with a dative of that for which one has leisure. R. and G., (Gram. Comp. 181), say that the construction with *ab* and the ablative is relatively rare. They quote from Cicero, *Brut.* 78, 272, a parallel to this one at 26, 9 and from Caesar, *B. G.* 3, 25, 4, one quite similar, except that it has local rather than temporal signification.

The several possible constructions with the verb *cavere* are represented in our work. Three times the accusative appears, once each the ablative and dative: 29, 22, *cave canem*; 129, 14, *paralysin cave*; 130, 4, *paralysin cavere*; 82, 36, *malo cavere*; 133, 22, *deposito caveo*. A distinction that may be made between the ablative with *carens* and the genitive with *egens*, 101, 15, is that the ablative emphasizes the idea of freedom from, whereas the genitive brings into prominence the idea of possession, by mentioning the lack of it. The genitive with *expers*, in *laboris expertis*, 102, 23, is similar to that with *egens*.

Landgraf says (*Reis. Vorl.* 3, 675) that the ablative alone becomes more common after Livy, and that the poets, especially Vergil, employ the ablative with or without preposition as euphony or the metre requires.

Some interesting examples of the separative ablative not given in the groups above are: 45, 34, *occidit de lucerna equites* (cf. Friedl., p. 246, *Maennerchen*, wie man sie auf Lampendeckeln sieht); 75, 21, *labra de lucerna ungebam*; 89, 64, *ab aris accendit faces*; 82, 31, *ex qua legione es*.

#### B. Ablative of material.

Classical Latin has regularly *ex* with this ablative. But in poets, occasionally, and in the prose of the empire, the ablative alone is found. R. and G. (*Gram. Comp.* 188), following Delbrueck, think that the only really good reason for considering such ablatives those of material rather than of instrument is the fact that, in the best Latin, the use of *ex* shows that their function is to denote origin.

The work has only one example of an ablative of material without a preposition in an expression which lacks a verb form of some kind, 70, 3, *cultros Norico ferro*. In such expressions, it is usual for the ablative to follow the preposition *ex*. This seems to me to be as genuine an example of the ablative of material as *terrae in terrae pocula*, 135, 19, is a genitive of material. Other examples of the ablative without the preposition which might be given here are to be interpreted also as ablatives of means or instrument: 40, 4, *palmulis textae*; 78, 32, *lanis confecta*; 120, 87, *aedificant auro*; 131, 22, *filis intortum*; frag. 34, 3, *marmore struxi*.

With prepositions: *de*: 63, 19; 66, 15; 69, 33; 35; 70, 25, 38, 39, 40 (three); 72, 35; 74, 7; 75, 7 (two); 105, 7; 135, 21, all with *facere*; *ex*: 28, 4; 40, 5; 47, 32; 66, 27; 68, 30; 67, 10, all with *facere*; 67, 7, *esse*; 33, 2, *figurare*. Examples of prepositional phrases here which are about equivalent to adjectives are *ex lapide*, 68, 30, and *ex obrussa*, 67, 7, and (this not so probable), *de caudice*, 135, 21. To these should be added another phrase, not given with these ablatives, *de lucerna*, 45, 34. The one of these four which surprises most is perhaps that at 135, 21, in poetry. One scarcely expects such a use of *de* in formal writing of

this character. The extensive use made of the preposition *de* in this category is noteworthy. It has encroached much already on the territory of *ex*.

### C. The Ablative of Origin by birth.

The work shows two examples, one of which refers not to a person but to a domestic animal: **38, 18**, *ex onagro nata*; **89, 43**, *nati Lauconte*.

### D. The Ablative of Comparison.

A brief summary of the various theories that have been held concerning the nature of this ablative is given by Landgraf, (*Reis. Vorl.*, 3, 664). Earlier scholars believed that the expression was elliptical and needed *prae*, *pro*, or *cum* to make it complete. It was said by others to be limitative, locative, causal, instrumental, ablative of price, and of measure. At present it is generally regarded as separative. But it must not be supposed that, at the time when the best Latin was written, the consciousness of this separative force was still present. Vogrinz (*Leitmeritzer Progr.* p. 24, note) makes the point that the preposition *a* found with this ablative in late Latin is not necessarily a continuation of a tradition that had been kept alive from an earlier period.

Woelfflin, who treats this (*Archiv*, 6, 447 sq.) says, among other things, this: The method of expressing comparison by means of the ablative, (which is now generally recognized as an ablative of separation) is older than that with *quam*. Even the Latin grammarians recognized this fact. The oldest prepositional phrase is that with *ab*. This was at home in late Latin, but it was old, too, for the grammarians warn against its use. That this construction with *ab* is an imitation of a Hebrew or Semitic usage is now beyond doubt. Later other prepositions were employed in this way, *prae*, *praeter*, *super*, *ultra*, *de*. The oldest form of the ablative of comparison is probably that seen united with *figura etymologica*, as in, *certo certius, vero verius, recto rectius*. Already in Plautus the form is found extended to the masculine, as, *stultior stulto*. This is avoided, in general, by good Latin, but taken up again by late Latin. A union of the personal and impersonal is seen in Plautus, as, *nihil hac docta doctius*, and then frequently the reverse. Since the adjective employed in the ablative of comparison represents a substantival conception, a substantive may take its place. So in Plautus we meet already such as *salute salubrior*. Then, too, without *figura etymologica*, this ablative is found from Plautus on, in expressions like, *melle dulcior*. But, instead of naming a second object for the purpose of comparison, one may say more, less, greater, smaller than hoped, feared, believed, etc., and express this with a noun or participle. The earliest example is the *opinio melius* of Plautus, which was also given by *expectato melius*. Many were then made after the analogy of this.

With comparatives the ablative is employed twenty-nine times in Petronius, the nominative with *quam* eight times, the accusative once. The ablatives are: 4, 28, *qua maius*; 10, 3, *me turpior*; 19, 19, *frigidior hieme*; 28, 9, *domino deformior*; **38, 31**, *ipso melior*; **55, 21**, *his melius*; 74, 5, *dicto citius*; 83, 23, *Lycurgo crudeliorem*; 84, 15, *lenonibus doctior*; 88, 34, *diis hominibusque formosior*; 89, 31, *tranquillo minor*; 100, 12, *aquis formosius*; 107, 25, *utroque potentius*; 109, 21, *Phoebo pulchrior et sorore*, 23, *levior aere vel tubere*; 110, 27, *ineptiora praeteritis*; 114, 10, *procellis periculosius*; 122, 181, *laetior orbe*; 123, 219, *patria tutior*; 126, 5, *clariores stellis*, 37, *simulacris emendatiorem*; 127, 4, *mollioribus pluma*; 131, 27, *dicto citius*; 132, 1, *frigidior bruma*, 30, *languidior thyrso*, 36, *persuasione falsius*, 37, *severitate ineptius*; 137, 31, *Catone prior*; frag. 29, 7, *illo magis*.

Petronius shows no example of the genitive of comparison, which is found occasionally throughout nearly the whole of Latin literature, and no use of the dative of comparison which Woelfflin (and earlier, Ruddimann) says was known to Sallust, and appears at rare intervals afterwards until Fortunatus, at the end of the sixth century, employed it extensively.<sup>1</sup> Only two of the illiterate speakers

1. cf. *Archiv* 7, 115 sq., *der Genitivus comparationis*.



employ this ablative, once each, Hermeros and Trimalchio. The expressions *ipso melior* and *his melius*, are just about as difficult as one would expect to find them using. The kind of comparison they like most is that seen in those phrases in which they say that some person or something is this or that, not like it, and the other, in which they use *tanquam*, as, *discordia non homo*, *pipei non homo*, *niger tanquam corvus*, *fortis tanquam Orcus*, etc.<sup>1</sup> The strangest use is seen in *tranquillo minor*, 89, 31, where the meaning is, apparently, 'smaller than the wave of the sea when it is tranquil', unless, indeed, *tranquillo* is an ablative after *resultat* or *scissa*. *Minor*, it must be admitted, does not harmonize with the preceding verse. *Maior* would be better.

#### E. The Ablative with Adjectives.

Only the five passages containing the ablative with *liber* are to be given here: 89, 12, *bello*, 15, *portis*, 38, *ponto*; 95, 16, *potionibus*; 124, 258, *habenis*. All of these except the fourth occur in poetry. The first three, it will be noted, appear near together in the poem on Troy. The strangest is, perhaps, the third, which expresses with *liberae ponto* the conception, 'above the waves', the reference being to the heads of the two serpents there described. With this adjective, Petronius does not construe the genitive, as many other writers do at times.<sup>2</sup> R. and G. say that this adjective regularly takes the preposition *ab* with the names of persons, but only the ablative when a thing is concerned. They cite, however, *liber ab aqua*, *Caes.* B. G., 7, 56, 4, and explain that the meaning there, 'freed from', in a sense justifies the use of the *ab*. A number of adjectives construed with the ablative are treated, at the proper place, under the instrumental ablative.

#### II. Instrumental Ablative.

I have subdivided this case, for treatment, into ablative of instrument or means, of cause, agent, accompaniment, description, specification, manner, price, and degree of difference. I have not ventured to separate the group which I have denominated, as a whole, instrument or means into its several slightly different but closely related classes, to which might be given the names, instrument proper, means, agency, agent. And yet, at the end of the part of the treatment containing every example of this ablative found in the work, I have cited representative ablatives of instrument proper, agency, and even agent, which are given along with the others, in the first instance. Petronius has made large use of this ablative, as, in fact, of the ablative in general. But it is noteworthy that the illiterate speakers employ it only occasionally. The categories of time, place, price, and cause contain the majority of their examples. I realize that, in attempting to pass upon every ablative in a work of this kind, I take upon myself a difficult task, particularly since so much uncertainty still exists respecting the case as a whole. I have not hesitated, however, to quote every passage and indicate my interpretation, although it is not to be expected that others will, in all instances, accept my point of view, (cf., for example, Brieger's review of a similar attempt by Hiden in the ablative of Lucretius, *Berl. Phil. Wochenschr.*, 14, Apr., 1900). For convenience, I have divided the ablatives of instrument or means into six groups, following the conventional plan of keeping to themselves the ablatives found with verbs of filling, adjectives of plenty, etc.

I: 1, 1, *genere furiarum inquietantur*, 6, *rerum tumore et sententiarum strepitu proficiunt*, 11, *quibus imperent*, 14, *papavere et sesamo sparsa*; 2, 5, *pestilenti sidere afflavit*, 8, *cibo pasta*, 18, *sonis ludibria excitando effecistis* (one limits the other), 19, *declamationibus continebantur*, 21, *quibus deberent loqui*, 22, *versibus canere*; 4, 25, *lege proficere*, 30, *lectione irrigarentur*, 31, *praeceptis componerent*, 32, *stilo effoderent*, 38, *carmine effingam*; 5, 3, *lege polliat*, 6, *obruat vino*, 12, *bibat pectore*, 21, *sucinge bonis*; 8, 7, *manibus detersit*; 9, 21, *pollice extersit*; 10, 1, *fame morerer*, 8, *paupertatem quaestibus expellere*, 11, *rumoribus different*; 11,

1. cf. Segebade, 4 and 5.

2. cf. Haustein, work cited, p. 23.

19, lustravi oculis, 25, opertum amiculo; 12, 33, raptum latrocinio; 13, 14, quo iure vindicamus, 18, iure civili dimicandum; 14, 26, traducunt pera, 30, quo mercari; 16, 31, beneficio Gitonis praeparata (equivalent, in fact, to a benefico Gitone); 17, 22, somnio petii, 23, subtilitate lenire (if not absolute); 18, 7, qua libet ire via, 32, gemitibus concussa facie et pectore torum pressit; 20, 1, operuerat pallio, 6, risu prodita, 10, risu commovit; 21, 1, gustatione initiati, 2, excepti ferculis, 15, acu pungebat, 16, penicillo (pungebat), 17, saturo tinxerat, 18, myrtea subornatus gausapa cinguloque succinctus, 20, clunibus cecidit, basiis inquinavit; 22, 6, fuligine perfricuit, 7, sopitionibus pinxit; **23, 31**, pede tendite, convolate planta, **33**, manu recisi, 34, basio conspuit; 24, 11, clunibus basiis distrivit, 12, risu dissolvebat ilia; 26, 10, osculis verberabat, 13, vulneribus confossis, **37**, involverat flammeo, 39, exornaverant veste; 27, 22, circulis ludentem (I prefer this reading), 23, tunica vestitum, 24, ludentem pila, 26, pila exercebatur; 28, 2, sudore calfacti (Friedl. omits the abl. in translating), 3, unguento perfusus tergebatur, non linteis, sed palleis (three), 7, involutus gausapa, 17, succinctus cingulo; 29, 21, catena vinctus, 22, quadrata litera scriptum, 29, levatum mento; 30, 13, distinguente bulla notabantur (or absolute); 31, 2, canticum excepit, 11, melle ac papavere sparsos, 29, obligati beneficio; 32, 18, oneratas veste, 22, stellis ferruminatum, 24, armilla aurea cultum et circulo laminae conexo (three); 33, 6, persecutus manu, 7, vitello circumdatam, 25, pinna perfodit; 34, 10, signum symphonia datur, 13, colaphis obiurgari, 15, scopis everrere, **21**, frequentia facient; 35, 11, circumferebat clibano; 36, 18, pinnis subornatum, **31**, verbo vocat; **37, 36**, modio metitur; **38, 1**, titulo proscrispsit, **23**, collo portare, **27**, titulo proscrispsit; **39, 20**, multis pedibus sto; 40, 9, fasciis alligatus et subornatus polymita (two); 41, 27, vitibus hederisque redimitus, 29, calathisco circumtulit; **46, 25**, collo circumferebat; 47, 8, castigamus potiunculis, 11, capistris et tintinabulis culti, **21**, testamento relictus sum, 29, unguento lavit; 48, **3**, porcino extorsit, **4**, oculis vidi, 40, prosequeremur laudationibus; 50, 30, potionem honoratus et corona; 53, 23, dentibus amphoram sustinere; 54, 6, involverat lana, 7, quo iussit, 39, precibus quaereretur (note the accusative of means in the same sentence, per ridiculum, unless it be taken as one word, perridiculum); 55, 11, sermone garrimus, **24**, amictus Babylonicus, **31**, ornata phaleris; 59, 24, hastis concrepuit, 26, versibus colloquerentur, 37, mucrone collegit; 60, 17, apparatu perfusum; **62, 30**, lancea traiecit; **63, 16**, flagellis caesus; 64, 4, involvebat fascia, 5, quo admonitus, 8, catena vinctus, admonitusque calce (two), 16, oleo respersit, 19, manu verberabit, **35**, cantando phthisicus factus; 65, 1, oneratus coronis, 31, amictus veste, 37, recreatus sermone; 66, **13**, poculo coronatum; 67, 26, sudario abscondit, 38, succincta cingillo, 39, sudario tergens; 68, **4**, mittendo erudibam, 29, croco et minio tinctam; 69, 21, manu deprimente, 22, harundinibus imitatus est, 27, uvis nucibusque farsi, 28, spinis confixa, 30, fama perire; 70, **1**, ingenio meo impositum est, 17, corollis vinxissent, 28, sponione provocare, 9, fuste percussit, 12, lance circumtulit; 71, **10**, testamento caveam, **19**, cingulo alligatam, 30, diffusus contentione; 72, 5, interventu placavit, 9, avocatus cibo, **11**, exire hac qua venisti, **12**, alia intrant; 73, **13**, alia exeunt, 21, invitatus sono; 74, 9, mola trivit, 22, sinu textit, **34**, unguibus quaeras; 75, 2, appellando rogare coepit, **11**, clavo fixum est, **14**, virtute perveni; 76, 1, uno cursu corrotundavi (Friedl., "mit einer Fahrt"), **28**, multis (verbis) morer; 78, 3, fultus cervicalibus; 79, 3, traicerem gladio, 4, verberibus excitavi, 18, expliciti acumine, 20, notaverat creta, 21, candore ostenderunt, 30, transfudimus labellis, 33, solutus mero; 80, 10, manu strinxit, 12, gladio abscondam, 17, sanguine pollueremus, 28, fulminatus pronuntiatione; 81, 9, ruina haurire, 22, libidinibus attriti, 24, sanguine parentabo; 82, 4, concoquit ore, 25, gladio cingo (Bue. thinks cingor), 26, cibus excito, 34, vultu atque trepidatione prodidisse; 83, 1, praecingitur auro, 5, lingua invocat, 8, vetustatis iniuria victas (i. e., vetustate victas, a good example of ablative of agency), 16, flore honorabat, 34, faenore tollit; 85, 17, stipendio eductus, 23, violari sermone, 34, basiolis

invasi; 86, 13, basio inhaesi, 20, vinxit amplexu; 87, 3, pungere manu; 88, 18, elleboro detersit, 21, aere comprehenderat, 33, peculio exornat; 89, 16, fletibus manant, 24, bipenni pertemptat, 28, fraude ducebat, 37, lateribus spumas agunt, 39, consentiunt luminibus, 43, tergoribus ligant, 47, perdit metu, 55, ducens face, 56, sepultos nocte et mero; 90, 8, lapidibus persequitur; 91, 11, saevitia puni, 16, invado amplexibus, 17, perfusum os lacrimis vultu contero (two), 26, detersit pallio; 92, 19, veste circumdedit; 93, 31, renovata pennis; 94, 1, ferramento quaero, 2, suspicio vulneris laesus, 6, contumelia tollerem (note ablative of cause in the same line, humanitate, the motive), 18, absentia extinxit, 19, carminibus loquaris (how near this is to manner may be seen by comparing it with saepius poetice quam humane locutus es. 90, 7.), 27, suspendio vitam finire, 29, nodo condebam, 31, manu impulsum; 95, 15, palma pulsat, 20, ictibus vindicat, 27, praecincta linteo, 28, catena trahit, 29, candelabro vindicabat; 96, 5, maledic versibus, 34, articulo percussi; 97, 12, amictus veste, 14, quibus ferebat, 18, astu vicit; 98, 4, proditione monstrabo, 17, araneis oleo madentibus coartavit (two), 19, palliolo mutavit (not price here, but virtually the same), 20, oculis aggressus est, 37, ore tangebatur; 99, 1, osculo finio, 30, quo possit offendi, 32, aratro domefacta (as if agent); 100, 16, anhelitu prodet, 17, obruto tunicula (means limits ablative absolute), 22, indignatione lacerata, (as if agent), 25, ictus sono, 26, somnio circumactus, 27, manibus duxi; 101, 3, inundatus invidia, 22, confusione et lacrimis obumbrare; 102, 1, cicatricibus scindere, 6, caede expelli aut praecipitari viribus, 12, vinctos loris, 13, quibus recipere, 27, remedio mutemus, 29, colore imponemus (or absolute), 35, infectam medicamine, 37, ferrumine infigitur, 39, calamistro convertere; 103, 5, praeligemus vestibus, 10, notans inscriptione stigmatate puniti (two), 12, umbra tegent; 104, 36, radebantur exemplo; 105, 9, adumbrata praesidio, 11, mero unguentisque perfusos, 15, sanguine placare, 20, forma exarmaverat, 32, decepta supplicio; 106, 1, artibus petiti, 2, inscriptione derisi, 9, admonuerunt somniorum consensu, 14, vexatam iniuria, 38, concitatus iracundia, facis clamando, 39, ferro praeparata, 40, inscriptione maculassent; 107, 5, hoc argumento, 20, satisfactione lenitas, 26, familiaritate coniuncti, 27, proditione laeissent, 28, satiari poena, 30, lege proscriptos, 34, a legato (sic), 38, invidiam facis clamando, 39, deteriorem facias confidentia causam; 108, 9, qua praeciderat, 21, spongia deterasa est, 23, nube confudit, 26, interpellat voce manibus; 109, 1, conciliant hilaritate, 4, quaerebat fuscina, hamis convellebat (two), 6, harundinibus tetigit, 7, illigatae viminibus, 10, parte spargebat, 11, vino solutus, 20, crinibus nitebas, 33, verbo insequeris, 34, vultu (insequeris), 38, aboleri oculis; 110, 5, libidine averteretur, 28, corymbio adornat, 35, deformitate insignitum, 37, exornavit capillamento; 111, 5, exhortatione temptavit, 6, ab eo odore corrupta (like a legato, 107, 34, in form, text may be corrupt in both places), 7, refecta potione, 8, cibo (refecta), 9, soluta inedia, 17, inedia persequentem, 32, monstro, imaginibus turbatus, 34, unguibus sectam, 37, gemitu diduceret; 112, 18, blanditiis impetravit, 19, iisdem aggressus est, 37, gladio ius dicturum; 113, 2, carminibus vindicaret, 15, expilatum migratione navigium, 29, sermone vocabat, 31, dolore paratae, suspirio tectus (two); 114, 5, obruere tenebris, 6, procurrere navigiis, 27, tunica contactus, 29, zona praecinxit; 115, 8, fluctibus obruto, 15, collatus manibus, 19, naufragio corruptis, 22, circumactum vertice, 23, oculis inspicere, 32, percussi manibus; 116, 25, attritas bellis, 30, laudibus perveniunt; 117, 5, iocari levitate, 11, clamore prosequeretur, 17, ferro necari; 118, 13, pedibus instruxit, 15, ministeriis exercitati, 17, sententiolis pictam, 20, flumine inundata, 24, colore niteant, 26, qua iretur, 29, versibus comprehendendae sunt; 119, 3, pulsa carinis, 8, usu trita, 21, exsecta ferro, 23, circumscripta mora, 29, maculis imitatur, 43, opibus conversa, 44, auro corrupta, 51, deprensam gurgite, 55, curis errat, 56, detrita luxu, 57, vulneribus reparantur, 60, excita ferro; 120, 62, obruit strue, 64, perfudit sanguine, 69, perfusus aqua, 70, spargitur aestu, 72, persona cantu, 73,

strepitu locuntur, 77, sparsa favilla, 78, voce lacescit, 82, pondere victam, 87, aedificant auro, 88, expelluntur saxis, 91, dehiscit molibus (this very strange, if ablative of means or instrument, for it represents the earth as yawning by virtue of the masses of material removed from it), 96, perfundimus cruore, 99, nutritas sanguine; 121, 101, solvit hiatu (this also very remarkable, since the result of the act is given as the means of accomplishing it), 110, sanguine pascere, 111, stratos morte, 118, traducere cumba, 119, satiare ruina; 122, 122, fulgure rupta, 127, auspiciis patuere, 128, caligine textit, 136, voratur ignibus (an agency), 138, stridore minatur, 140, descendit imbre, 144, numine pulsae, 146, nive claudit, 147, vertice tollit, 149, mansuescit radiis, aura (or cause, two), 151, ferre umeris, 152, calcavit milite (persons as means), 157, onerata triumphis, 159, vulnere cogor, 160, sanguine tinguo, 165, mercedibus emptae, 169, dicite ferro, 178, pepulit meatibus, 182, praecinxit fulgure; 123, 184, gressu occupat, 185, vincta pruina, 196, concussae flamme, 197, rupti turbine, 198, confractum grandine, 201, victa nive, 204, frangebatur gressibus, 210, pennis volat (or absolute), 212, tonitru ferit, 214, perfusas sanguine, 216, pulsata tumultu (may be interpreted also as cause), 226, manu tenet, 228, votis interficit, 241, and 242, quem (i. e. Pompeium) fracto gurgite Pontus et veneratus erat submissa Bosphorus unda (both of these may be ablative absolutes or ablatives of quality or description); 124, 256, facibus armata, 260, vulneribus confossa casside velat, (two, the latter also place), 263, stipite portat (or may be cause and limit minax), 275, obsessa draconibus, tabo fluens, 277, quatiebat lampada dextra, 294, sanguine tinguo, 9, muneribus sollicitant; 125, 4, prodicione detexerit, 6, mendicitate revocanda, 14, beneficio laturus; 126, 9, flexae pectine, 10, medicamine attrita, 13, pluma dissimulare, 21, perfusus pulvere, ostentatione tractus; 127, 3, implicitum brachii, 4, gramine indutam, 12, oculis lusimus, 36, cogitationibus agit (may be place); 128, 17, perfusus rubore, 19, veneficio contactus sum, 21, ab vitio (sic), 25, vexatam solo; 129, 5, qua Achilles eram (may be place), 12, pedibus perveneris, 26, humanitate restitue; 130, 4, tempore consumpsi, 11, cibis pastus, 13, ambulatione compositus; 131, 2, cantu colebant, 3, premebat cervicibus, 4, myrto verberabat, 9, toto corpore immissus, 23, turbatum sputo, 24, digito signavit, 26, purpura involverat, 30, aliis excitavi, 32, bacis redimita, 34, ludebat aquis (or quality), 35, vexabat rore; 132, 2, operta rugis, 4, timore lusus, 6, oratione vexavi, 12, oculis crepitabant, 15, contumeliosis verberata, 17, rubore perfundi, 20, verberibus sputisque obrutus, 21, convicio exoneravi, 29, coramui manu; 133, 4, deprecatus sum versu, 10, sanguine perfusus, 12, rebus attritus, 13, corpore feci; 134, 1, obscuratum dextra, 24, carminibus deducta, 27, extincta sacris, 28, carminibus mutavit; 135, 2, vetustate ruptam (agency), 3, pice refecit, 5, incincta pallio, 6, detulit furca, 7, plagis dolata, 10, putaminibus vestita, 11, dentibus spoliat, 18, muneribus delusa, 20, finxerat actu, 22, maculata Lyaeo, 24, luto numerabat; 136, 1, pondere deiectam, 3, vexat stipite, 4, cinere perfundit, 14, vexare morsu, 16, elidere manu, satiatus ictu, morte vindicavi (three), 17, arte coactas, 18, pene fluentes, 19, maduere veneno, 26, aceto diluo, 31, harundinibus collectum (or place), 34, furca reponit (a good example of instrument proper, implement, tool); 137, 1, porris apioque lustrasset, 8, verubus confixit, 9, polluisti sanguine, 18, taedio fatigatus, 19, expiare pretio, 27, temperat arbitrio, 34, nummis opta (almost price, pay); 138, 12, circumdedit semine, 14, s'argit umore, 18, solutae mero ac libidine; 139, 5, tractatione vexavi, 18, sermone lassasset, 21, amplexu invasit, 24, sanguine extinxeris; 140, 3, praecipit instruere, 5, cibo inescantur, 16, lumbis commoveret, 17, motu remunerabat, 20, oscillatione ludebat (or manner), 28, beneficiis reddidit, 33, manu tractat; 141, 12, condicione percipient, 16, his admoneo, 26, quibus mutemus, 27, arte corrumpitur, 28, exemplis probari; frag. 5, amplexam pectore; frag. 19, tinctus colore; frag. 20, axe pererret; frag. 21, recocta vino; frag. 26, 3, format lingua, 4, iunctus amore; frag. 27, 2, discussa flammis, 6, permutatus mensibus, 9, palmitibus vincire; frag. 28, 1, ore tenebunt (or place), 3, rumoribus pulsat; frag. 30,

1, ludunt umbris (may be absolute or time, cf. v. 5), 3, prostrata sopore, 5, bello quatit, 6, flammis eruit, 8, exundantes sanguine, 10, inclusum chorte, 12, canibus quatit (living beings); frag. 31, 4, mutavi sono (like 98, 19, verb of exchanging); frag. 32, 2, percussum telo, 3, grandine perdidit, 7, feriemus verbis; frag. 34, 4, calamis dedi; frag. 35, 6, consonat igne (or this and that at 120, 72, with persona may be cause); frag. 37, 3, ferro succiderit, 6, premet lege; frag. 38, 3, premsum vulsumque capillis (cf. R. and G., 136, foot-note 1); frag. 39, 4, quis (quibus) veneris.

Three passages showing cum and an ablative, which is strangely like an ablative of instrument, are :29, 28, cum inscriptione reddiderat; 69, 23, cum flagello egit; 90, 6, quid vis cum isto morbo. Bonnet (Lat. de Greg., 603) speaks of this use of cum and an ablative and gives a number of examples from Gregory. He speaks also (p.600) of the use of ab and the ablative with about the same force, represented in our work, as already noted, in three passages: 107, 34, a legato, 111, 6, ab odore, and 128, 21, ab vitio. Buecheler's conjecture for the first is te legato. The second, ab eo, is omitted in codex L. All three, however, will have to stand as instrumental ablatives, unless the text is altered. Schneider (work cited, Commodian, p. 17) gives six examples of this construction with ab from Commodian and Meissner (Quaest. ad us. cas. obl. Lucr., p. 21) quotes a number from Lucretius.<sup>1</sup>

Some ablatives which, in my opinion, may be regarded as ablatives of instrument proper (if, by that name, one is allowed to designate the tool or implement which a person employs, with conscious aim, to obtain a definite result), are these following, already given among the ablatives of instrument or means: 4, 32, stilo; 21, 15, acu, 16, penicillo; 33, 25, pinna; 34, 15, scopis; 48, 3, porcino; 59, 37, mucrone; 70, 9, fuste; 79, 3, gladio; 89, 24, bipenni; 102, 39, calamistro; 108, 9, qua (novacula); 109, 4, fuscina, hamis; 112, 37, gladio; 135, 6, furca, and others. Some that may be called ablatives of agent or agency are: 1, 1, genere furiarum; 83, 8, vetustatis iniuria; 99, 32, aratro (as if personified); 100, 26, somnio; 102, 37, ferrumine; 111, 32, monstro, imaginibus; 115, 19, naufragio (sea water); 15, manibus; 122, 122, fulgure, 135, ignibus, 144, numine; 123, 196, flamine, 197, turbine, 198, grandine, 201, nive; 124, 275, draconibus; 128, 19, veneficio; 135, 2, vetustate, 22, Lyaeo (i. e. vino), and others.

There remain certain ablatives which seem to belong to the general category of the instrumental ablative, but which are better described as sociative, comitative ablatives, or ablatives of attendant circumstance than as ablatives of means, agency or agent. I give them together: 2, 16, pace vestra; 17, 8, comitata virgine; 29, 30, cornu (may be quality); 42, 15, vitali lecto, stragulis bonis (reminds one of 43, 28, but there we almost certainly have an adjectival modifier, making the two ablatives ablatives of quality); 44, 38, 39, passis capillis, mentibus puris (one may be descriptive, the other quality; neither, it seems, ought to be called ablative of manner, as nudis pedibus, in the same sentence, and opertis oculis, line 37, may be); 63, 1, salvo sermone (perhaps this and pace vestra, 2, 16, ought to be considered ablatives absolute, since they appear to be like me salvo, 71, 32, and salvo pudore, 132, 26,); 100, 11, comitata sideribus; 122, 139, stellis comitata; 130, 34, ferro venio (Bue. thinks cum ferro); 140, 21, hoc ingenti risu fecerat; 136, 11, stridore circum sistunt; 141, 17, 18, quibus, eisdem.

I call attention to the freedom with which the illiterate speakers use the ablative in some of these passages just cited. It seems a little difficult to make such ablatives as hac condicione, hoc argumento, pessimo exemplo, ea lege, etc., which appear to be more appropriately named ablatives of the point of view, square with

1. S. and L., in their treatment of ab, range the first and third of our passages under the caption, I. de loco, the second under, III. cum verbis passivis. The latter is as much an ablative de loco as the others.

our interpretation of ablative of instrument or means. Our translation for such an ablative is often, 'according to', 'in accordance with'.

One of the strangest uses made of the ablative of instrument, it seems to me, is that seen in the passages where a certain thing is represented as subject and then again as ablative, telling the form in which it exerts itself in the act described. Such are: 119, 55, *veluti tabes intra membra curis latrantibus errat*; 122, 140, *descendit Iupiter imbre*; 131, 34, *has inter ludebat aquis errantibus amnis*; frag. 28, 3, *effluit (sc. secretum) et subitis rumoribus oppida pulsat*.

Another interesting use is that in which the ablative is some part of the person who is the actor. Some of these are almost, in effect, ablatives of specification with the force of the accusative of the part affected, a construction not once used by Petronius, unless in *crinem solutus*, 89, 19. Examples of this ablative are 5, 12, *libat felice pectore*; 18, 32, *facie et pectore pressit*; 98, 37, *ore tangebatur*; 109, 20, *crinibus nitebas*; 131, 9, *toto corpore immissus* (this time the whole body); 133, 13, *toto corpore feci* (same as preceding). Noteworthy, too, is that usage by which the writer gives, in the form of an ablative of means, the logical subject of the verb of the sentence: 89, 16, *fletibus manant genae*; 124, 275, *tabo lingua fluens*; 136, 18, *pene fluentes Harpyias*. These all occur in poetry.

Among the ablatives given above as instrumental, there are a number which may be interpreted as belonging to other groups. Some of these I noted in passing. I give here again, in a body, such as seem to me to admit of a different classification: cause: 10, 1, fame; 71, 30, *contentione*; 75, 14, *virtute*; manner: 89, 55, *radiante face*; 91, 11, *qualibet saevitia*; place: 35, 11, *clibano*; 38, 23, *collo*; 46, 25, *collo*; 70, 12, *lance*; 74, 22, *sinu*; 82, 4, *ore*; 94, 29, *nodo*.

The ablative giving the route along which there is movement is seen in the following passages: 18, 7, *ire via*; 41, 39, *recta ire*; 58, 15, *recta* (sc. i); 72, 11 (two), 12, *exire hac, qua venisti*; *alia intrant*; 73, 13, *alia exeunt*; 79, 30, *transfundimus labellis*; 116, 28, *recta curritis*; 118, 26, *qua iretur*; 123, 189, *montibus undabant* (or source). Another resembling these is that in *quibus recipere*, 102, 13.

2. With *utor* and *fruo*. The ablative with *utor* appears in the following places: 12, 34; 64, 13, 19; 87, 35; 92, 20; 95, 23; 101, 5; 108, 29; 109, 25; 112, 7; 123, 220; 130, 11; frag. 39, 6. With *fruo*: 11, 21; 80, 11; 111, 13; 131, 10. *Fungor*, *potior*, and *vescor* are not represented. *Utor* and *fruo* take only the ablative.

3. With *opus* est there are two ablatives: 80, 18; 121, 119. There is no occurrence of *usus est*. *Opus* does not appear in any other construction, in the work, than the one given here.

4. With *contentus*. This is construed with the ablative as follows: 39, 7; 68, 31; 85, 35; 87, 37; 117, 8; 130, 35; 132, 17; 133, 1; frag. 26, 9. *Nisus* and *fretus* with the ablative are not represented. *Satiatus* at 136, 16, has about the force of *contentus*.

5. With verbs of filling. The examples are: 11, 24; 16, 32; 21, 1; 30, 14; 40, 4, 5; 64, 13; 72, 31; 86, 13; 89, 20, 30; 90, 9; 94, 12; 96, 36, 37; 97, 19; 102, 38; 103, 15; 105, 18; 111, 16; 113, 18; 115, 36; 117, 9; 125, 16; 135, 2; frag. 26, 8 (*milite*, i. e. bees). The verbs are *implere*, *replere*, and, once each, *onerare* and *inundare*.

6. With adjectives of plenty. These are: 5, 13, 21; 13, 14; 17, 17; 28, 13; 30, 14; 40, 4; 46, 20; 58, 26; 79, 26; 91, 31; 95, 25; 118, 28; 125, 12; 126, 24; 124, 262; 98, 9; 135, 23; 137, 5. The adjective is *plenus* except in six places: 28, 13, *satur*; 46, 20, *inquinatus*; 58, 26, *satur*; 79, 26, *dives*; 135, 23, *satiatus*; 124, 262, *gravis*. I have treated *satiatus* and *inquinatus* as adjectives, but not *repletus*. All three might have been given with verbs of filling. R. and G. (Gram. Comp. 165) give a list of adjectives which they say followed the anal-

ogy of *plenus* in taking the ablative. *Dives*, represented once in our work, is in this list, and is marked poetic. The only instance of the use of the genitive with an adjective of fulness in the work is seen at 136, 29, *ignis pleno*.

B. Ablative of Cause.

Grammarians differ as to the origin of the ablative of cause, some saying that it must be regarded as an ablative of the whence relation, others that it is an instrumental. The latter view has appeared to me the more reasonable, although it is not to be denied that the other also has much to recommend it. Grammarians distinguish between the ablative of the outer and the ablative of the inner cause.<sup>1</sup>

The latter is found in all Latin, and is especially frequent in Livy, Tacitus and the archaizing writers. In early Latin, the former is not rare, is less frequent in classical Latin, (except often in Sallust), is much employed by Livy, and is very frequent in Tacitus. It is, in fact, rare in Cicero, aside from *gratia* and *causa*. The ablative of inner cause is infrequent, as a rule, in late Latin, later than Tacitus.

The usage for Petronius is shown by the following examples, all that the work contains: 6, 31, *sudore madens, cursu fatigatus*; 7, 34, *delectata urbanitate*; 9, 22, *perturbatus habitu*; 16, 34, *sponte cecidit*; 17, 18, *ultionis causa venisse, aetate commoveor*, 19, *iniuria (commoveor)*, 21, *inhorrui frigore*, 26, *impulsi licentia*; 18, 33, *misericordia turbatus et metu*; 19, 13, *risu exsonuerant*; 20, 33, *mortibus frigida*; 22, 5, *gravatus malis*, 8, *malis fatigatus*; 24, 2, *nimbo laborare*; 36, 23, *methodio laetus*; 38, 31, *sua culpa*; 48, 26, *deorum beneficio non emo*; 49, 27, *inclinazione crescentibus*; 52, 31, *meritis revocaretur*; 56, 9, *quorum beneficio manducemus*; 57, 4, *sevir gratis factus sum*; 59, 19, *delectatus eloquentia*; 61, 32, *delectatus hilaritate*, 33, *gaudimonio dissilio*; 66, 22, *mori timore*; 63, 1, *attonitis admiratione*; 64, 5, *nausea recusantem*; 65, 3, *delectatus hilaritate*, 32, *maiestate conterritus*; 64, 17, *iactura motus*; 67, 25, *incensissimam rubore*, 15, *mei beneficio nemo habet*; 70, 10, *consternati insolentia*, 26, *muria condimentisque fetentem*; 71, 4, *contingat tuo beneficio*; 74, 19, *offensus convicio*, 37, *qua voce confusus*; 75, 16, *felicitate dissilio*; 78, 1, *ebrietas gravis*; 81, 7, *aegrum plancibus*, 13, *libidine impurus*, 14, *stupro liber, stupro ingenuus (also specification)*; 83, 7, *vario genere mirabilem*; 87, 2, *gaudio lassus*, 31, *non indelectatus nequitia*; 88, 6, *erectus sermonibus*; 89, 3, *pendebat metu*, 26, *spirat metu (or means)*, 41, *infulis sacri Phrygioque cultu (two)*, 62, *graves mero*; 91, 9, *solutum gaudio*, 12, *tua voluntate cecidisse*; 92, 24, *iniuriis hilaris*; 93, 27, *errore lentus*; 94, 6, *humanitate posuissem (note contumelia, another abstract noun in the same sentence, which is to be interpreted as means, I think)*, 10, *macte virtute*, 23, *confusus hac denuntiatione*; 101, 12, *voluptatis causa*, 22, *misericordia permotus*, 26, *officii causa*, 4, *consilio adhibuisse*; 103, 18, *nausea gravem*; 105, 4, *quorum capitibus debeat lustrari*, 24, *sua sponte credentes*, 1, *excanduit hoc sermone*, 19, *sono inductae*; 106, 12, *oratione mutata (or means)*; 108, 2, *cruenti vulneribus*, 17, *metu pavidus*, 18, *furens sanguine*, 32, *audacia iratior*, 33, *mea causa clamo*, 39, *libidine collecta (or means)*; 109, 2, *exsona cantibus*; 110, 31, *lacrimis turbata*; 111, 2, *consolatione percussa (Petronius employs several words frequently in place of motus, permotus, and thus, to a certain extent, disguises the real, fundamental conception, which is that of cause)*, 15, *abstinentia sicca*, 29, *vitio concupuit*; 112, 30, *delectatus forma et secreto*; 113, 25, *captivitate tristiora*; 114, 32, *humanitate lapidabit (like humanitate, 94, 6)*; 117, 25, *iactura moveri*; 119, 15, *dente pretiosa (somewhat like an ablative of specification, or an accusative of the part affected, although the meaning would be some different in each case)*; 120, 72, *caespite laetus*, 75, *gaudet cupressu*; 122, 134, *strepitu furit*, 142, *actus amore*, 150, *glacie rigent hiemisque pruinis*, 157, *armis laeta*, 162, *vincendo exul*, 163, *sanguine, triumphis nocens (two)*; 123, 183, *fortior ominibus*, 191, *stupuere ruina*, 200, *concreta gelu*, 224, *gaudet fuga*, 225, *sonitu relinquunt*; 124, 274.

1. Draeger, 1, 545, Kuehner, 2, 290, Schmalz, Muell, Handb., 2, 429.

scabra rubigine; 125, 3, felicitate lassus; 126, 1, ingenio flexi (like sua sponte), 15, calore fluent, 19, sordibus calent; 127, 25, gratis accedere (like 57, 4); 128, 15, ieiunio marcens, 1, hoc nomine gratias ago, 26, visu perductus; 131, 29, gaudio exultans; 132, 1, metu frigidior, 25, contumelia hilarior, 24, vicibus animosior; 133, 14, prece exonera; 134, 2, fletu confusa; 135, 17, calcato radiabat marmore (or means, -not though, perhaps, if the stress is laid upon iam calcato, 'already polished from much use'), 32, pollicitatione conterritus; 136, 4, novitate attonitus, 21, perterritus planctibus, 24, praeda atque vindicta gaudens; 137, 23, sollicitus sum tua causa; 138, 2, veneficio sopitae; 140, 22, desidia perderem; frag. 27, 10, gaudere manu. I have not attempted to distinguish outer and inner cause. Two ablatives which may belong here, though the force of them is not very clear, are those at 47, 34, and 66, 16, mea re.

C. Ablative of the Agent.

This ablative I have chosen to treat as one of instrument rather than of separation. Scholars are not agreed as to its exact nature and there are good reasons for considering it the one or the other. Our work shows twenty-six occurrences of this ablative, all referring to persons, none to personified inanimate things.

D. Ablative of Accompaniment.

This ablative appears with cum ninety-nine times. A variety of this ablative is that of attendant circumstance, which is employed by Petronius with considerable freedom and frequency. The last are given under the ablative absolute, since it is not possible to distinguish between such of them as are not of the so-called absolute type (if there are any which are not) and those which are. This close relation between the ablative of accompaniment and the absolute ablative shows that the latter name is misleading, if it influences one to think of the ablatives so named as separated from the rest of the sentence in thought.

E. The Descriptive Ablative and Ablative of Quality.

In Petronius, the ablative of quality proper has only slight representation. There are more of the other ablative which describes the appearance. All occurrences of both are here given: 5, 4, alto regiam trucem vultu; 14, 34, and 16, 1, mulier operto capite; 23, 32, femore facili, clune agili; 29, 30, Fortuna cornu abundanti copiosa; 43, 28, manu plena, uncta mensa (note how these follow two adjectives, fortis and amicus); 44, 37, 38, 39, opertis oculis; passis capillis, mentibus puris; 46, 10, est bono filo; 54, 36, crinibus passis; 64, 3, sordidissimis dentibus; 68, 9, oculo mortuo, (cf. oculi mortui, 62, 25, which may be a nominative, a kind of absolute nominative, or a genitive of quality); 72, 36, nudis consurrexit pedibus; 82, 28, attonito vultu efferatoque cogito; 85, 23, severa tristitia aures; 87, 37, ephebus plenae maturitatis et annis ad patiendum gestientibus (the only instance of genitive and ablative in the same sentence, in the work); 89, 35, angues orbibus geminis; 99, 4, barbis horrentibus nauta; 101, 30, 31, and 102, 32, opertis capitibus, nudis, opertis, nudis; 106, 6, turbato vultu proclamat (almost equivalent to 'angrily', and so near to manner) 111, 13, non contenta vulgari more funus passis prosequi crinibus (again almost, if not quite, manner, for passis crinibus virtually explains vulgari more, an ablative of manner); 119, 20, pubescentibus annis viros; 120, 74, nigro squalentia pumice saxa; 122, 127, ore cruento deformis Titan; 123, 206, torvo Iupiter ore; 131, 33, trepidante vertice pinus; 135, 29, passis uva racemis; 133, 23, anus laceratis crinibus nigraque veste deformis; 138, 27, hanc tam petulantibus oculis; frag. 19, manu puer loquaci; frag. 20, triplici vides ut ortu Triviae rotetur ignis; frag. 21, anus trementibus labellis; frag. 20, 9, dubio tenore sensus; frag. 31, 2, accenso redit orbe dies; frag. 38, 7, pedibus nudis tunicaque soluta iter impedio; 124, 252, crine soluto Iustitia, 253, lacera Concordia palla, 271, scisso Discordia crine. In five of the passages quoted, the substantive is limited also by an adjective, so that it is difficult to tell whether, in every instance, the ablative limits the



substantive or the adjective: 5, 4; 29, 30; 120, 74; 122, 127; 133, 23. My feeling is, however, that, with the possible exception of the last two, *ore cruento deformis* and *nigra veste deformis*, both ablative and adjective limit the substantive. Certain of these ablatives may be regarded by some as ablative absolute: 14, 34; 16, 1; **44, 38, 39**; 54, 36; 124, 252, 253, 271; frag. 31, 2; less probably: **44, 37**; 82, 28. Against the assumption of ablative absolute in these places, however, are other passages in which an adjective or participle is correlated with the ablative as a modifier of the same substantive: 133, 23, *anus laceratis crinibus nigraque veste deformis*; frag. 21, *anus recocta vino tremantibus labellis*. Some may prefer to call the ablatives in the following passages, quoted above, ablatives of manner: **44, 37**; 106, 6; 111, 13. In only one place, if I have noted correctly, is the construction changed, within the same statement, from an ablative of quality to one of specification: **23, 32**, *femoreque facili, clune agili et manu procaces*.

The text has been variously read at 29, 30, *Goesius* omitting *copiosa*, *Wehle* rejecting *abundanti*. *Buecheler* says that if *copiosa* is dropped, *cum cornu* should be written. For *copiosa*, he suggests, doubtfully, *conspicua*, thus, 'an *conspicua*'? The other four passages showing two modifiers, one an adjective, limiting the same substantive, persuade me that the text is probably correct as it stands. The word *copiosa* is not more superfluous than *deformis* is at 122, 127 and 133, 23. And I do not see why *cornu abundanti* may not be an ablative of quality as well as those which describe the dress, as *nigra veste, lacera palla*. For the full-horn is inseparable from the goddess *Fortuna*, even if it is something carried by her and separate from her person.

Four ablatives which I have given as ablatives of manner may, in the opinion of others, deserve a place here: 48, 25, *miti vultu respexit*; 52, 25, *demisso labro orare*; **57, 39**, *capite aperto ambulo*; 79, 5, *truci intuens vultu*. The first and last are much like that at 106, 6, classed with ablatives of quality and description. But in every instance the stress appears to be laid on the manner of the act. An ablative which I have chosen to call a locative ablative, although it is close to these of description, is *picto ostro*, 83, 2. Some ablatives which are apparently felt as absolute also describe in such a way that they approach this ablative of description, as, for example, 22, 11, *coniunctis manebant manibus*; 73, 24, *manibus nexis currebant*; 102, 13, *apertis labris*.

#### F. Ablative of Specification.

To this have been given the names, *ablativus relationis, limitationis, ablativus du point de vue*. The territories of this and some other instrumental ablatives so overlap that it is difficult to say, in many cases, whether we should assign particular examples to the one or the other group. Our work does not show many of these: 14, 2, *nullo genere par*; **23, 32**, *manu procaces*; 47, 19, *maximam natu* (said of a pig); **58, 30**, *caldicerebrius natu*; **70, 38**, *crescam patrimonio, non corpore*; **76, 8**, *Serapa nomine*; 80, 31, *similitudine parem* (or cause); 83, 26, *cultu speciosus*; 96, 39, *pedibus aeger*; 97, 10, *nomine Giton*; 104, 34, *Hesus nomine*; 123, 222, *miserabile visu*; 124, 270, *totis similis actis*; 132, 10, *florentes vigore* (or cause); 140, 30, *Philomela nomine*. If the ablatives with *dignus* belong here, there should be added these: 4, 25; 14, 6; 23, 28; **45, 23**; 81, 14; 91, 22; 110, 35; 113, 28; 131, 36; 135, 31; 136, 35. Some prefer to place the ablative with *dignus* under cause. *R.* and *G.* (*Gram. Comp.*, 217) give it as one of price, saying that the construction has followed the analogy of that with verbs of valuing, costing. It seems to me difficult to explain the ablative as one of price or value. One ablative, which at first sight is taken to be one of manner, *nescio quo modo*, 84, 13, is probably an example of this ablative under consideration. For *nescio quo modo* sounds to me like 'somehow or other' with the force of 'in some respect or other', just as *nullo genere*, 14, 2, means there 'in no respect', although *quoniam genere*, 26, 14, has the other meaning of *qua ratione* and is manner. (cf. *Friedl.*

Cena, 199,). One other ablative, classed with ablatives of cause, 81, 14, stupro liber, stupro ingenuus, may be one of this group. The entire usage of our author with the supine in -u is seen here in the three passages quoted, and the only example of that in -um appears at **71, 12**. Draeger, in his treatment of the supine in -u, (Syn. 2, 866, sq.) says, p. 868, that the form is still rare in the pre-classical period, and is entirely lacking in Cato. Then Cicero has 86 occurrences of 24 different supines, Livy 53 occurrences of 18, Caesar only factu and natu, Sallust 8 occurrences of 2 forms, and so on occasionally in the writers of the silver period and later, except that five, Seneca, the elder Pliny, Tacitus, Gellius, and Apuleius employ it rather often. Draeger is mistaken, however, in assigning only one to Petronius.

#### G. Ablative of Manner.

It is not possible to say, in many instances, whether an ablative of manner is not also felt as an absolute. And it is even more difficult to determine whether manner or instrument is the more prominent to the speaker. The whole number of occurrences is here given: 2, 2, naturali pulchritudine exsurgit; 5, 18, sonet celeri meatu, 19, truci memorata canore; 9, 31, maiore nisu clamavit, **34**, eadem ratione fui; 11, 20, bona fide exactis alligo artissimis complexibus; 13, 18, circuitu agendum; 14, 1, eadem invidia proclamare, 36, magna vociferatione clamavit; 15, 28, ingenti calliditate reddiissent; 16, 32, audaci strepitu exsonuit; 18, 2, lenta manu duxit; 21, 23, religiosissimis iuravit verbis; 22, 6, iniuria depulsa; 23, 35, omni vi detexit; 24, 13, diligentissima sciscitatione quaesivit; 26, 7, libidinosa speculabatur diligentia, 8, lenta manu traxit, 14, quonam genere evitarem (cf. Friedl. Cena 199); **30, 16**, dextro pede (sc. intrate); 31, 6, novo more servabatur (in accordance with); 34, 9, fecerat clara voce; 35, 12, taeterrima voce extorsit (recited, sang); 36, 26, ingerebat lentissima voce; **41, 30**, acutissima voce traduxit, **39**, recta (sc. via) ire; **45, 31**, plenis velis vinciturum; 47, 10, clara voce (sc. dixit); 48, 25, miti vultu respexit; 49, 27, timida manu secuit; **51, 12**, otio correxit (leisurely); 52, 25, demisso labro orare; **57, 39**, capite aperto ambulo; **58, 12**, toga perversa fuero persecutus (mercilessly, unremittingly, -Friedl. says usque ad internecionem, p. 279), **15**, recta domum (ite); 59, 26, canore voce legebat; 60, 12, sustinebat more vulgato, 15, minima vexatione contacta (ever so slightly); 68, 37, proclamavit canora voce; 70, 14, taeterrima voce cantavit, 15, inaudito more unxerunt; 72, 7, ratione acutissima redemerat; 73, 24, ingenti clamore sonabant; 83, 11, tanta subtilitate praecisae; 84, 10, quacunque ratione possunt; 85, 31, timidissima murmure feci; **71, 14**, plenis velis euntes; 72, 2, tanto tumultu excepit; 78, 5, consonuere funebri strepitu, 10, tumultuari suo iure; 79, 5, truci intuens vultu, 8, optima fide partiti; 80, 25, praecipiti festinatione rapui (very hurriedly), 36, turpi vertitis ora fuga (or means); 82, 27, furantis more circumeo; 86, 2, tractavero improba manu, 12, altiore somno obdormivit (more soundly); 91, 25, bona fide emendas, 31, optima fide reviviscen- tur, 32, toto pectore adstrinxi (most affectionately, not the same as toto corpore, 131, 9 and 133, 13, classed with ablatives of instrument); 92, 10, clara voce clamitare, 13, imitatione petulantissima deriserunt, 12, minore indignatione flagitabat; 96, 40, rabiosa barbara voce peroravit; 101, 5, mente simplicissima et vera fide induxisse; 102, 3, peregrina ratione figurare, 24, statuarum ritu patiemur; 103, 7, turpi exitu finiat (wretchedly, or, it may be means), 16, liberali manu duxit; 104, 30, facetissima ratione condemnat; 105, 16, Spartana nobilitate concoxi (most bravely); 107, 18 and 36, casu incidisse (or cause); 108, 12, caduceatoris more, 30, clara liberaque voce clamavi; 109, 23, turbato clamore effudit, 29, alio genere persequendum; 110, 32, bona fide dedit; 111, 12, vulgari more prosequi, 15, Graeco more custodire; 112, 8, qua ratione isse; 113, 3, iurat verbis conceptissimis (most solemnly), 9, risu excepere, 20, obliquis trucibusque oculis spectabam; 116, 28, recta curritis; 119, 20, Persarum ritu surripuere, 59, sana ratione movere;

123, 186, *miti horrore quievit* (some think this cause, but the other interpretation seems to me better,—the picture is a striking one); 124, 1, *ingenti volubilitate effudisset*, 6, *exaggerata volubilitate indicavimus*, 283, *sumite accensis mentibus arma* (angrily, for I do not think it cause,—their wrath was due to insults); 126, 11, *arte compositus*; 128, 1, *Socratica fide diligitis*; 131, 28, *ingenti motu repleverunt*; 132, 13, *alligata mutuo ambitu*, 24, *arte contexi*, 28, *constricta spectatis fronte* (sourly, frowningly); 133, 2, *conceptissimis iuravit verbis*, 22, *cura sollerti caveo*, 39, *narra tua fide*; 134, 3, *tremulis vocibus accusare*; 135, 10, *curiosa manu segrego*; 136, 35, *ordine exposui*; 137, 26, *secura navigat aura* (stress placed on manner, safely,—although also means); 138, 17, *lenta manu caedere*; 140, 19, *clara voce exhortabatur*; frag. 27, 13, *avidio certamine fingit*; frag. 37, 4, *solverit arte*. Certain ablatives which I place here doubtfully are: 57, 26, *sublatis manibus eluderet*; 123, 195, *virique armaque congesta strue iacebant*; 136, 11, *rabioso stridore circumstant*; 140, 21, *ingenti risu fecerat*. The several examples of *recta* for *recta via*, given above may be regarded also as ablatives of means, or route along which there is movement. It will be noted that the substantive has no modifier in the following passages above quoted: 13, 18; 22, 6; **51, 12**; 107, 18, 36; 113, 9; 126, 11; 132, 24; 136, 35; frag. 37, 4. Perhaps *circuitu*, 13, 18, is without a parallel. All the others except *risu* and *otio*, are classical in this use, (cf. R. and G., 211). It may be that the preposition *cum* has dropped out before *risu*, 113, 9, for there is a lacuna there. And *otio* is about as unusual as *circuitu*. A single example is cited, in Phaedrus. The substantive has a modifier in the form of a genitive in a few places: 82, 27; 102, 24; 108, 12. The only example the work has of *per* and an accusative to express manner (if, in fact, the force is not rather that of means, or, if the two words do not belong together as one *perridiculum*) is seen at 54, 1. With *cum*, this ablative appears eleven times, 1. *cum sapientia*, 140, 37, means wisely. This may, however, mean 'with wise men'. An argument against the latter assumption is contained in the fact that Petronius makes scarcely any use of abstract singulars for concrete plurals. Seven times the ablative with *cum* has no modifier, four times it has a modifier. The freedmen do not use *cum* thus. With *de*, this ablative appears once: 14, 4, *de more*. With *ex*, there are two examples: **55, 14**, *ex transverso*; 108, 12, *ex more*.

#### H. Ablative of Price.

This ablative is found in Latin of all periods. It is the case regularly used to express a definite price. Its relation to the genitive of value is discussed in this work under that heading. The number of occurrences is small: 14, 22, *parvo aere recuperare*, 27, *nummis vendere*; 18, 37, *adiuvaturos periculo*; **44, 24**, *asse emisses*; **52, 22**, *nulla pecunia vendo*; **57, 36**, *emit lamna*; **65, 8**, *quinquaginta milibus aestimant*; **69, 10**, *emi trecentis denariis*; **72, 34**, *coniciamus meo periculo*; 81, 21, *unius noctis tactu vendidit*. The two instances of *mutare* and an ablative, given under instrument and means, may be put here also. Woelfflin, in his treatment of this construction (*Archiv*, 9, 101 sq.) points out that it was necessary for Latin to express price often in general terms, and then, on the other hand, that, after the genitive came to be used for price as well as for valuation, the ablative was sometimes employed to express a mere estimate of the value of something when there was no question of buying or selling. Our quotations furnish illustrations of both constructions, in: *parvo aere, nummis, nulla pecunia* and *quinquaginta milibus*, in the last of which only an estimate of a man's property is given.

#### I. Ablative of Degree of Difference.

Besides the eleven occurrences of *paulo ante*, there are: 10, 2, *multo*; 49, 10, *tanto*; **66, 26**, *quanto*; **67, 9**, *nihilo*; **69, 24**, *tanto*; 86, 15, *quanto*; 92, 22, *tanto*; 107, 1, *eo*, 3, *paulo*; 108, 39, *nihilo*.

#### III. The Locative Ablative.

This ablative, as one would expect, is employed rather freely by the illiterate speakers to express both time and place, and as well without, as with, prepositions. In

the poems also, the ablative without a preposition is frequent. I have spoken of the ablative of place under the two headings, with and without prepositions, and that of time under 'time at which' and 'within which'.

#### A. Place.

1: 8, 10, quo loco reliquissem; 14, 20, hoc loco novit; 28, 11, toto itinere cantavit (spoken of under accusative of extent of space as an equivalent); 32, 21, extremo digito (but, just the line before, appears in minimo digito) habebat; 38, 29, libertino loco iacet; 39, 14, nascitur illo signo, 16, hoc signo nascuntur; 46, 15, uno loco consistit; 47, 17, aeno facere (i. e., cook, prepare for the table); 55, 22, rictu luxuriae Martis marcent moenia: 60, 11, gremio sustinebat; 63, 13, hoc loco traiecit; 64, 27, sedibus se teneant; 65, 2, praetorio loco se posuit; 73, 14, labyrintho inclusi, 20, eo loco pistrinum fuisse; 74, 6, aeno coctus; 76, 37, hoc loco rem piam fecit. (also time, perhaps more especially); 79, 37, indormivit alienis amplexibus; 83, 2, picto iacet ostro (either 'on', or, 'clad in', for the person is vilis adulator curius); 83, 4, pruinosis horret pannis (this time surely 'clad in', from the same poem as the preceding); 86, 5, toto corpore ingurgitavi; 88, 22, vino scortisque demersi; 103, 22, compositi silentio (as if silentium were something, a substance having dimensions); 114, 23, morte coniungerent (or means, or both); 115, 2, animo fixit; 116, 20, arce impositum (Bue. conjectures suppositum arci); 117, 27, fundis nominibus depositum; 119, 31, turba sepulta mero, 33, aequore mersus, 54, tacitis concepta medullis, 58, caeno iacentem; 120, 63, Libyco iacet aequore, 67 exciso demersus hiatu, 88, nascitur arvis; 122, 124, gremio reducto telluris, 130, parte alia extinxit (very like an accusative of the part affected), 144, Alpibus aeriis est locus; 123, 213, fluitare mari, 227, occultat gremio; 124, 2, parvo deversorio refecti (Bue. thinks mutilated, believes "in" was here), 250, abscondit galea, 260, casside velat, 281, toto fluitante orbe; 125, 11, Crotone aguntur; 127, 7, toto concept pectore, 21, eodem gradu venio; 129, 15, aegrum magno periculo (in great danger); 132, 27, conditus lectulo; 133, 20, spumabit pateris (might be separative); 134, 3, altera parte sedet, 8, malo astro natus (cf. 39, 14 and 39, 20); 135, 18, crate impositum; frag. 26, 2, frugibus ova refert, 6, naribus ova fovet; frag. 27, 11, demersus aqua; frag. 30, 5, quicquid luce fuit, tenebris agit (better, perhaps, as time); frag. 31, 1, genuit litore; frag. 33, 6, est ore (c. Krohn, Quaest., p. 37: Vehementer autem deformatum depravatumque est hoc hemistichium Vergilii, georg. 4, 277, "asper in ore sapor" in "melleus ore sapor" ubi, quod praepositio "in" neglecta est, maximopere offendit); frag. 35, 8, fusa toro; frag. 38, 1, lecto compositus, 10, stare via; frag. 39, 2, pectore composuit. This ablative is found with verbs of placing, it will be noted, in three passages: 65, 2; 116, 20; 135, 18. The work shows only one example of the name of a city in which without a preposition, 125, 11, Crotone. This construction is found in all periods, but chiefly with plurals or with nouns of the third declension.

2. With the preposition in, the ablative is found very often. Some of the more interesting uses are the following: That on or in which something is carried is given eight times with the preposition, three times without. The phrases are: in lance (four times), in craticula, in pelve, in scypho, in alveo, once each. Without the preposition: 35, 11, clibano; 41, 29, calathisco; 70, 12, lance. The same speaker, Encolpius, uses three of these, twice with in, once without it, within five lines, 70, 12 to 16. In three passages, we see in and the ablative of that to which something is affixed: 30, 5, in postibus fixi, 9, in poste defixae; 34, 23, in cervicibus affixa. In and the ablative are equivalent to per and the accusative, in four places: 47, 5, in toto corpore; 62, 23, in tota via; 108, 31, in toto navigio; 111, 22, in tota civitate. Haase (Reis. Vorl., 3, 678) says that Reisig had formerly made the following statement which he had later omitted, not without good reason: "When one wishes to say that something is in all parts of a certain place or space, the preposition in is never used. For, by employing the preposition, one indicates that only a particular part of the space is thought of. Toto in orbe, Ovid, Met., 1, 6, is, therefore, an error." In place of domi, in domo is found five

times: **43, 3; 57, 16; 64, 10; 76, 25; 140, 5.** The locative form appears five times, and, by chance, in the speeches of the freedmen always. In ten passages in and the ablative of the name of a constellation appear in the freedmen's speeches. Three times, however, the preposition is omitted in similar expressions: **39, 14, 15; 134, 8.** For the rather common *terra marique*, is found once *et in mari et in terra*, **39, 21.** Other interesting uses of *in* and the ablative are seen in: **47, 14,** in *circulis mos est*; **80, 23,** in *eligendo fratre libertas* (where the phrase limits a noun); **52 16,** in *argento studiosus* (instead of *argenti*); **44, 29,** plus in *die accepit* (the phrase has the force of an accusative of duration); **43, 25,** *omnia in nummis habuit* (i. e., 'in cash', 'in the form of cash'); **66, 20,** in *mappa alligata*; **62, 33,** *locum in quo* and **129, 24,** in *hac civitate in qua* (where one expects rather *ubi*); **75, 8,** in *oculis feram* (for *memoria teneam*); **67, 25** and **113, 17,** in *gremio*, but in three other places, two of them in poetry, *gremio* alone gives approximately the same idea. With *sub*, the ablative of place appears nine times. The freedmen use it twice: **38, 26** and **77, 14.**

The old ablative *foris* occurs twice properly used, as an adverb. It will be noted that the ablative has no modifier in the following places, chiefly in poetry: **47, 17; 74, 6; 103, 22; 114, 23; 116, 20; 119, 31, 33; 120, 88; 123, 213, 227; 124, 250, 260; 132, 27; 133, 20; 135, 18; frag. 27, 11; frag. 30, 5 (two); frag. 31, 1; frag. 33, 6; frag. 35, 8; frag. 38, 1 (two); frag. 39, 2.** Schneider (*Quaest. de abl. usu Tac.*, 15) says that, in the use of this construction, Tacitus surpassed all previous writers. Perhaps the only places where one is in doubt as to whether he ought to call the ablative one of time or place are **76, 37** and *frag. 30, 5.* Certain ablatives appear to have the idea of place combined with that of means so that it is difficult, at times, to determine which, if either, is predominant. From the passages quoted above, I give some of this kind: **60, 11; 47, 17; 64, 27; 73, 14; 74, 6; 114, 23; 119, 31, 33, 54; 123, 227; 124, 250, 260; frag. 26, 6; frag. 27, 11.**

#### B. Time.

1. At which: **15, 11,** *postero die*, **17,** *crastino die*; **17, 20,** *illa nocte*; **18, 33,** *eodem tempore*; **30, 10, III,** *et pridie kalendas*, **26,** *natali meo*; **37, 1,** *mero meridie*; **44, 23,** *illo tempore*; **45, 7,** *hoc tempore*; **46, 4,** *aliqua die*, **7,** *hoc anno*, **17,** *feriatis diebus*; **47, 2,** *nocte*; **53, 4, VII,** *kalendas*, **7,** *eodem die*, **8,** *eodem die*, **10,** *eodem die*, **12,** *anno priore*; **62, 13,** *meridie*, **31,** *luce clara*; **69, 36,** *vidi Saturnalibus*; **70, 29,** *proximis circensibus*; **76, 37,** *hoc loco*; **79, 19,** *luce clara*, **35,** *nocte*; **81, 17,** *die togae virilis*; **86, 36,** *proxima nocte*; **88, 11,** *priscis temporibus*; **89, 22,** *silenti nocte*; **92, 17,** *pridie*; **95, 13,** *nocte*; **102, 14** and **39,** *nocte*; **104, 34,** *nocte*; **105, 3,** *nocte*, **11,** *proxima nocte*; **107, 5,** *nocte*; **109, 34,** *nocte*; **110, 7,** *sua memoria*; **111, 27,** *proxima nocte*; **112, 26,** *illa nocte*, **27,** *postero ac tertio die*, **31,** *prima nocte*, **33,** *nocte*, **34,** *postero die*, **3,** *eodem tempore*, **7,** *postero die*; **115, 20,** *postero die*, **37,** *proxima luce*; **117, 34,** *omnibus mensibus* (Bue. inserted *mensibus*; Wehle thinks *nominibus* better, cf. *Observationes*, p. 47.); **120, 71,** *autumno*; **124, 3,** *postero die*; **127, 18,** *hoc anno*; **128, 28,** *nocte soporifera*; **131, 15;** *postero die*, **19,** *hesterno die*; **134, 6,** *die feriarum* (contrast with *feriatis diebus*, **46, 17**), **14,** *nocte*, **26,** *nocte*; **136, 9,** *medio die*; **139, 16,** *hodie*; *frag. 30, 5,* *quicquid luce fuit, tenebris agit* (given also under "place"). Time when is expressed by means of prepositional phrases occasionally. With *in*, the ablative is found as follows: **4, 36,** in *senectute*; **44, 29,** in *die* (for *during*); **61, 8,** in *angustis*; **85, 21,** in *convivio*; **116, 1,** in *pestilentia*; **141, 31,** in *ultima fame*.

2. Within which: **47, 30,** *multis diebus*; **57, 12,** *annis quadraginta*; **69, 19,** *amplius semihora*; **76, 31,** *uno die*; **79, 16,** *hora tota*; **81, 6,** *triduo*; **81, 22,** *noctibus totis*; **86, 18,** *aliquot horis*; **89, 8,** *decenni proelio*; **90, 6,** *minus duobus horis*, **3,** *toto die*; **102, 20,** *una die*; **111, 16,** *totis noctis diebusque*; **122, 141,** *brevi*; **125, 11,** *magno tempore* (Wehle, *Observ.*, p. 51, thinks the passage mutilated or else not Petronian); **129, 19,** *triduo*; **139, 26,** *biduo*; and *momento* five times: **28, 2; 40, 12; 92, 36; 97, 17; 116, 18.** The accusative punctum is not in the work. The phrase in

triduo, 45, 10, should be mentioned here also. This use of the ablative, apparently as a substitute for the accusative of duration of time, is rare in early and classical Latin. Hoerle (de cas. usu Propert. 75) cites four examples from Propertius. Christ (de abl. Sall. 24) gives three from Sallust. Draeger (Syn. 1, 534) points out that, by the fourth century, the ablative was the more common. Hartel, (Archiv 3, 43), says that, in the works of Lucifer Cagliari, the ablative is the regular construction. It may be truly said that in Petronius the ablative has almost usurped the place of the accusative to express this conception. For while the ablative appears in the 22 (or, counting the phrase, in triduo, 45, 10),<sup>23</sup> places, the accusative is represented only three times. These latter, strange to say, are all used by the freedmen. They knew the other construction also, for four such ablatives are found in their speeches. Delbrueck regards this ablative as an instrumental.

#### IV. The Ablative Absolute.

Various theories have been propounded by scholars to explain the Latin ablative absolute. Among the many published discussions of the subject, perhaps the two by Bombe and Weihenmajer are about the most interesting. For, in addition to presenting a survey of the work done by others in the same field, they give much valuable material of their own that helps toward a better understanding, even if not to a complete solution, of the problem. From them I take the following facts, and first from Bombe (de Abl. Abs. ap. antiq. Rom. Script. usu): Delbrueck saw that, in Sanskrit, the locative did duty as an absolute case and concluded that this locative had been taken up by the genitive, in Greek, and by the locative, which afterward passed into the ablative, in Latin. For he says: "A comparison with the Vedas shows that, also in Latin, the so-called ablative absolute was, at first, a locative absolute, to which later, when the locative and the instrumental had become parts of one case, something of the instrumental was added." But this view is open to much doubt. First, because, as Delbrueck himself admits, this locative absolute does not occur very often in the Rig-Veda, and then is often capable of another explanation, but appears chiefly in certain formulae. Then, too, the Greek genitive absolute does not so much represent a locative as it does a pure ablative, from which one may infer that the Latin ablative absolute, also, is a pure ablative. If Delbrueck's view were correct, the ablative absolute in the works of the earliest Latin writers ought to be chiefly of a locative nature. But an examination of the usage in those writers shows that many of the absolutes, which consist for the most part of a perfect passive participle and a substantive, are pure temporal ablatives, since statements like, bello confecto, id factum est, mean the same as, postquam bellum confectum est, id factum est. Plautus shows 31 examples of this kind, and six others where there is a mixture of time and manner. Terence has 13, Ennius 4, Pacuvius 3, Cato 5, Accius, Naevius, Caecilius and Turpilius one each.<sup>1</sup> But another kind of ablative absolute appears to support the view of Delbrueck better, namely, that consisting of the present participle of the verbs *praeesse* and *abesse* and a substantive or pronoun. For, in this, that temporal ablative which developed from a locative appears to have a place. But the time idea is not in the ablative absolute construction by which rather, as in other ablatives absolute containing a present participle, a secondary action is indicated which more accurately defines, without temporal signification, the primary idea. The idea of time is in the verbs themselves. Plautus shows 36 of these, Terence 10, Afranius 1. With the present participles of other verbs than *praeesse* and *abesse*, which have no temporal signification whatever, the absolute appears in Plautus 12 times, in Terence 5 times, in Cato and Ennius twice each, and in Pacuvius and Accius once each. No better is Delbrueck's view supported by that ablative absolute which consists of an adjective and a substantive. For, in it, the conception of time, which has developed from an idea of place, is not present, unless one makes an

1. He thinks that, perhaps, the Laws of the Twelve Tables have one genuine example, *rebusque iure iudicatis*.

exception of *me vivo* and like ablatives, and even there, the idea of time is in the words *vivus*, etc., and it is not at all gotten from the ablative. All the other absolutes of this kind simply give accompanying, explanatory facts bearing on a primary act. Plautus employs this 23 times, Terence 12, Cato 3, Naevius, Caecilius, and Accius one time each. Finally there is the absolute which consists of pronoun and substantive, usually verbal, of which all, if one except the formula *L. Caecilio Q. Mucio consulibus*, found first in the *sententia Minuciorum* (C. I. L. 199), are instrumental ablatives, or denote a secondary act which more accurately defines the primary act. Of this ablative, the early writers show the following number of occurrences: Plautus 7, Terence 5, Cato 1, Afranius 1, Aquilius 1. All this shows on what a slight foundation the conjecture of Delbrueck rests. When and how the ablative came to be used in this absolute relation can not be determined. It may be merely guessed that, because the genitive, dative and accusative had become circumscribed in use, the ablative was taken as absolute. If a sentence consisting of subject and predicate is changed to an absolute expression, the subject ought to take the form of a case and the predicate is due to assume nominal nature and become a participle. So the oldest and most legitimate absolutes appear to be those which are made up of substantive and perfect passive participle. Although not at once was a pure ablative thus employed, gradually and even before Plautus, the usage so far developed that the genuine ablative seemed to perform the duty of secondary statement in sentences like *sed metuo ne sero veniam depugnato proelio*.

So much from the treatment by Bombe. Weihenmajer argues thus: At first, scholars saw in the Latin ablative absolute a continuation of the Old-Indian locative absolute. So Delbrueck ('67), Ebrard ('78). After Classen ('67) established the origin of the Greek genitive absolute as a development, in the Homeric language, from an originally dependent relation, scholars came more to assume for other languages, too, processes which resulted in the development of a participle absolute for each. This view is now held by Delbrueck ('86) essentially by Brugmann (in Mueller's *Handb.*), by Bombe ('77), by Tammelin ('89), and by Schmalz. When one seeks to make clear to himself the absolute participle construction, he must try to solve a double problem. First he must determine the nature of the participle construction itself, its relation to the sentence, and then learn what case is employed to express it. One must find out whether the process of development, which lies at the basis of the formation of the absolute participle, is due to the essential nature of the participle or is traceable to the case. One speaks of a participle construction when a participle or a word representing it is so joined to a noun or pronoun that they represent for our language sense, the subject and predicate of a subordinate sentence. Huebschmann thinks the Latin ablative absolute a three-fold case, ablative, locative, instrumental. Tammelin agrees with him, except that he would emphasize the instrumental and sociative side of the combination. Bombe and O. Keller think it a pure ablative. Ebrard assents to the earlier view of Delbrueck, that it originated in the locative. The true instrumental of things inanimate would be out of the question, because it lacks adverbial character, not, however, that of persons because there, in the living language usage, the analytical paraphrase with a preposition has entrenched itself. Not very different is it with the sociative. Here, too, the usage with prepositions, especially with *cum*, is established for persons. As for the true ablative, only the causal and modal sides can come into consideration. And, finally, as regards the locative, that of time chiefly is concerned, the locative which, in answer to the question when, often appears with prepositions, and so inclines towards an adverbial character where it is found without preposition. Still more is the latter the case when, instead of some expression of time, a contemporaneous circumstance is employed to mark the time, as when *absente*, *praesente*, etc. are used. Moreover the locative and the sociative of attendant circumstance mingle here, and since the two have fallen together in Latin, no complete distinction is any longer possible. To the locative appear to belong especially most of the ab-

latives absolute containing the perfect passive participle, wherein the act of the participle appears as a finished one. It is, perhaps, not too bold to claim this ablative as the representative of the old locative,—of the locative, in fact, which, according to Delbrueck, is employed 'to designate the point of time after which something occurs'. How far the locative extends, particularly in those constructions in which the relationship of contemporaneousness is represented, is scarcely to be determined.

Weihenmajer follows this general discussion with a statement about the usage in Cato. His conclusion there is that no absolute appears in Cato which was not current in the *sermo cotidianus*, and, especially, in the *sermo rusticus*, long before, but that no example, unless it be *insciente domino*, has hypothetical or concessive force.

It is seen, therefore, that, of the two authorities here cited at length, Bombe lays stress on the true ablative while repudiating the locative, for most part, as the ablative employed absolutely, whereas Weihenmajer thinks the true ablative and true instrumental were not so much concerned as were the locative and sociative. Both admit that the problem is still far from solution in many of its details, at least.

The ablatives absolute in Petronius are all given in the five groups following. Those under C, D, and E might have been given under A. They are mentioned separately only because their use in the text seems to lend them a force that distinguishes them from the others. The work contains 199 in all, of which 143 refer to an act completed before another takes place, 56 represent attendant circumstance. Of these, 13 express cause, 1 each condition and opposition. The majority consist of noun and perfect participle and the force of these is regularly that of a *postquam* clause.

A. This absolute is found in the following places: 2, 5; 8, 13, 17; 9, 28, 31; 11, 20, 23, 28; 14, 35; 15, 7, 25, 26; 17, 12; 18, 10; 21, 26; 22, 23; 23, 28, 34; 24, 10, 16; 27, 36; 29, 34; 34, 8; 36, 16; **38, 38**; 40, 35, 10; 47, 29 (two), 14, 18; 49, 24, 26; **51, 12**; 52, 35; 55, 13; 59, 27, 36; 60, 6; 63, 1, **12** (two), **17**; 64, 37, 24; 67, 36; 68, 27; 73, 16, 24, 25, 26, 30; 74, 10; 80, 13; 82, 36, 37; 85, 33; 87, 2, 24, 35; 89, 20, 34, 52; 91, 14, 16; 92, 6; 94, 29, 38; 95, 23, 25; 98, 12, 36; 99, 8, 27; 100, 18; 101, 35; 102, 13, 29, 34; 103, 21; 105, 27, 30; 108, 6, 13, 20, 33; 109, 12, 26, 36; 110, 8; 111, 12, 31; 112, 27; 115, 18; 116, 18; 117, 1, 4; 119, 6, 25, 32; 122, 132; 123, 223, 243, 191; 124, 251, 258, 276; 126, 10; 128, 18; 130, 9, 10; 131, 25, 27, 6; 132, 19, 16, 20; 133, 38, 4, 24; 134, 11, 12; 135, 35; 136, 27, 30, 32, 33; 137, 6 (two, on separate pages), 16; 138, 15, 20; 140, 16; frag. 3; frag. 10; frag. 29, 8.

Bombe (work cited, p. 31 sq.) says that his contention that, in early Latin, the pure ablative had this absolute function, is supported by the fact that the parts of the absolute could be separated by no word or words which did not depend upon the participle or bear close relationship to the construction. He says that Lucilius was the first, apparently, to break this rule. Following him, the infringement was more frequent. Lucretius shows 13 examples. In Caesar's Commentaries, the subject of the main sentence is very often interposed, perhaps for the purpose of showing that the statement contained in the absolute expression pertained to the primary one. The poets of the Augustan age sometimes separate the parts of the ablative absolute by words quite unrelated to them. The ad Herennium, it is interesting to note, carefully observes the old rule. The law, first neglected by poets, therefore, doubtless because of the demands of metre, especially of dactylic hexameter, was disregarded later also by writers of *sermo pedestris*.

In our work, I have noted 54 examples of this usage. Most often the parts are separated by a single word, usually an adverb, as 9, 31, *sublati fortius manibus*; 11, 23, *discussisque fortissime claustris*; 14, 35, *inspectis diligentius signis*. There are 15 such passages. Six times a conjunction alone is inserted (for I do not count the nine occurrences of the enclitic -que), as, 68, 27, *interposito deinde*



spatio; 74, 10, *sumptis igitur matteis*. Five times a genitive modifier of the substantive intervenes, as, 85, 33, *audito voluptatis pretio*; 103, 21, *dissimulata nauseantis devotione*. With the genitive, there are other words in a few places, as, 110, 8, *conversis igitur omnium in se vultibus*; 112, 27, *praeclusis videlicet conditorii foribus*. In 12 passages, a prepositional phrase limiting the participle is found inserted, as, 49, 24, *relaxato in hilaritatem vultu*; 64, 37, *apposita ad os manu*; 80, 13, *intorto circa brachium pallio*; 95, 25, *furca de carnario rapta*; 138, 20, *omnibus digitis inter praecipitem decursum cruentatis*; 140, 16, *positisque in pavimento manibus*. Twice a verb separates the two parts, as, 108, 20, *quis raptis evocat armis*; 123, 223, *deserta ducitur urbe*. Both of these appear in poetry. Twice a clause intervenes: 15, 25, *recuperato, ut putabamus, thesauro*; 123, 191, *vincta fluctus stupuere ruina* (unless this latter ablative be interpreted as cause). Once the inserted word is a dative of the indirect object, 95, 23, once an ablative of means, 100, 18, once a vocative, 126, 10 (in poetry), four times a subject of the main sentence: 9, 28; 27, 36; 49, 26; 99, 27. The two parts are farthest separated at 17, 12, *manibus inter se usque ad articulorum strepitum constrictis*. These statements all apply, of course, to the absolutes of the group given above and not to those to be given later,—I mean especially those containing the present participle. Among all the examples given above, I believe there is only one in which the absolute is not equivalent, in sense, to a postquam clause, that at 64, 24, *iussit potiones dividi omnibus servis, adiecta exceptione*. For it is not conceivable that the exception, the alternative act, could have been mentioned before the other. There is one example of this absolute preceded by *nisi*, 136, 33. Christ remarks (de abl. Sall. 63) that Sallust has no example of this. He cites two from Caesar, B. G., 2, 20, 3 and 32. It will be noted that Petronius employs no participle alone in the absolute. It is possible that some will prefer to regard three of the ablatives given above as ablatives of means or instrument: 102, 29; 108, 20; 119, 6. One is almost a sociative, comitative ablative, 105, 27. Once the ablative represents an act which may have preceded the principal act, but its result is continued as a state contemporaneous with the act of the principal verb, 63, 1. Perhaps the preceding one is really similar. The freedmen make almost no use of this construction. The four examples at 51, 12; 63, 12 (two), 17, appear in the speeches of Trimalchio. They are such as would be likely to be employed often in the language of even the moderately educated. They follow the old law, it will be noticed, for no words are found inserted. The expression *inclinatis quoque rebus*, 38, 38, the only remaining absolute of this kind found in the mouth of a freedman, sounds too elegant for the ignorant Hermeros. It is as if, as elsewhere remarked, Petronius had forgotten himself there. It is singular that Petronius, in the person of Encolpius the narrator, avoids the usual *hoc facto* (found only once in the work and then in the speech of Trimalchio, as indicated above, 51, 12) and chooses, in its stead, the cumbersome phrases, *post hoc factum* and the various other similar ones spoken of under the treatment of the accusative and the ablative with prepositions, such as, *ab hoc ferculo*, 41, 35; *secundum hanc orationem*, 112, 15; *post peractum sacramentum*, 117, 19; *ab hoc epigrammate*, 55, 17; *ad quem sonum*, 41, 31. It is possible that certain ablatives given with those of means or instrument should be placed in this group above: 17, 23; 122, 122; 123, 210.

B. The following absolutes are about equivalent to *dum*-clauses. An examination of the various passages cited will show how much the author has gained by dispensing with the many words he might otherwise have employed, which are mere dross often if the thought can be made clear without them. For it can be safely asserted that Petronius has not made his language ambiguous by using these absolutes, as certain other writers have. Hartnick (de abl. abs. qui enorm. usurp. vocantur, 30) says that later writers often make their statements obscure thus, "*posteriores ne ab arcessita obscurave quidem oratione refugisse*". The

passages showing this ablative are: 12, 30; 17, 7; 20, 5; 25, 25, 32; 27, 31; 28, 8; 29, 26; 31, 34, 35; 32, 19; 33, 32, 35; 34, 28; 36, 25; **44, 16**; 52, 36; 54, 30; **63, 1**; 65, 1; 67, 24; 68, 35; 69, 20; 71, **32**, 40; 72, 1; 74, 37; 81, 7; 92, 23; 94, 19; 100, 19; 108, 37, 40, 10; 109, 38; 112, 21; 113, 10; 114, 26 (if not separation); 119, 18; 122, 174, 180; 126, 33; 127, 17, 31; 132, 11, 26; 134, 1; 136, 34; 137, 14; 141, 13; frag. 30, 1.

The illiterate speakers make no use of the participle here. In fact, as stated in the introduction, the present participle is not once found in the speeches of the illiterate. They have to their credit, in this list, only the three absolutes appearing at the following places: **44, 16**, *me puero*; **63, 1**, *salvo tuo sermone*; **71, 32**, *me salvo*. Without a participle, the absolute is found in two other places besides these just given: 122, 174, *iudice Fortuna*; 132, 26, *salvo pudore*. Two others may be those at 2, 16, *pace vestra* and **71, 7**, *vivo*, if the name ablative absolute can be properly applied to them. The former resembles *salvo tuo sermone*, **63, 1**; the latter Friedlaender translates, "so lange man lebt". I have considered this *vivo* in my discussion of the dative after passive verbs, where I say that it may be an absolute or a dative. In more than twenty places, the two parts of the absolute are separated by one or more words. Seven times the dividing word is an adverb, as, 12, 30, *deficiente iam die*; 17, 7, *tacentibus adhuc nobis*; 134, 1, *lacrimisque ubertim manantibus*. Several times it is a prepositional phrase which intervenes, as, 72, 1, *ducente per porticum Gitone*; 81, 7, *redeunte in animum solitudine*; 108, 40, *nobis pro vita pugnantis*. Some of the longer separating expressions are seen in the following: 127, 31, *caelo clarius nescioquid relucente*; 31, 34, *pueris aquam in manus nivatam infundentibus*; 65, 1, *unguento per frontem in oculos fluente*; 108, 37, *gubernatore relicturum se navis ministerium denuntiante*; 113, 10, *Tryphaena vultumque suum super cervicem Gitonis amabiliter ponente*. Only once, I believe, does a modifier of the substantive intervene, 20, 5, *deficiente fabularum contextu*. The only instance of an interposed verb is that in *flamma sonuere sequenti*, 122, 180 (in poetry). In one place, the modifier of the absolute is equivalent to an apodosis, 108, 37. Only once is the verb of absence, *abesse*, represented, 136, 34; its opposite, *praesesse*, does not appear. Once the adverb *cum* appears to introduce an absolute expression, 54, 30, *cum maxime haec dicente Gaio*. S. and L. class this with *dubia et memorabilia*. The absolute is strangely placed in the sentence sometimes. See in the two examples following how it abruptly separates words which are usually kept together: 36, 25, *putares essedarium hydraule cantante pugnare*; 119, 18, *ut bibat humanum populo plaudente cruorem* (the latter in poetry). One other ablative which may be an absolute, if it is not rather one of means, is that in *distinguente bulla*, 30, 13.

C. Cause is the predominant conception in the following absolutes, in my opinion,—that is, the absolute expressions appear to me to take the place of a causal clause which is clearly felt: 60, 18; 89, 4; 96, 33; 109, 17; 120, 89; 131, 7; 134, 17, 25; frag. 29, 2, 4; frag. 32, 1. Two other ablatives, given under A. and B. respectively, need to be mentioned here also, since, in addition to the other meaning, they have also this one: 120, 91; 109, 38.

D. Condition is plainly expressed in *flumine vicino stultus sitit*, frag. 35, 5.

E. Opposition is found in one ablative, already given under A., 105, 30, *confusus omnibus lineamentis*.

Weihenmajer says (work cited, p. 38) that the employment of absolutes with concessive force probably originated with the ablatives of *invitus*, *absens*, *insciens* and the like.

V. The Ablative with Prepositions.

It seems advisable to speak here, in a general way, of the ablative with prepositions, and mention especially such interesting constructions as have not already been touched upon under the several kinds of ablatives.

ab. The ablative with *ab* appears 93 times. The noteworthy uses are those

at 107, 34; III, 6; 128, 21, referred to under ablative of instrument, the seen in chapters 24, 41, 55, 59, 63, 76, and 80, marking a point in time from which one reckons, the one at 75, 6, *ab oculo legit*, 'he reads at sight', that is, 'from the moment he sees', (Heraeus, *Die Sprache d. Petr. u. d. Glossen*, p. 34, says, "ein Buch vom Blatt, ital. *prima vista, lesen koennen*"), and the one at 89, 64, *ab aris accendite faces*.

*cum*. The ablative is found with *cum* 112 times. *Cum* and the ablative appear six times with verbs meaning 'to struggle with', 'to quarrel with'. The dative with similar verbs is represented several times also. Petronius employs *cum* and an ablative in brief forms of expression to take the place of clauses. Sometimes they serve as the equivalents of correlative clauses or phrases. By means of *cum* he associates persons and the clothes they wear or the burdens they bear, the table and its contents, a tablet and its inscription.

*de*. With *de* the ablative is found 85 times. Two very interesting ablatives of source with *de* are those in *de mimo canticum*, 35, 12 and *de lucerna equites* 45, 34, where the prepositional phrases are adjectival. There is a rather bold use of *de* and *ex* with ablatives of source, with verbs like *bathe*, *anoint*, which are not themselves verbs of taking from, as, *de lucerna*, 75, 21, *ex qua*, 77, 29.

*ex*. The ablative with *ex* appears 77 times. *Ex* and an ablative make an adjectival modifier once, 68, 30, *ex lapide speculari pulverem tritum*. With the names of continents *ex* is used four times, with the name of a country once.

*in*. This is construed with the ablative 300 times. This preposition and its object have the force of an adjective once in the expression *in eligendo fratre libertas*, 80, 23.

*pro*. The occurrences with the ablative number 32. The meaning is 'on behalf of' 9 times, 'in place of' 10 times, 'in return for' 7 times, and 'according to' 4 times.

*sine*. This is found in 47 places.

*sub*. The whole number of occurrences is 11.

## THE LOCATIVE.

Petronius makes but little use of the locative proper. The following passages include all occurrences: 38, 11, 14; 44, 28, 32; 47, 21, *domi*; 48, 4, *Cumis*; 69, 36, *Romae*; 85, 18, *Pergami*; 104, 27, *Baiis*; III, 10, *Ephesi*. There is one instance of the use of an ablative locative of the name of a city, *Crotona*, 125, 11. There is no example of the locative of the name of a country. The only other common noun besides *domus* which is in the form of a locative is *mare*, if, in fact, the form *mari*, 123, 213, is to be regarded as a locative and not as an ablative. Some may prefer to call *Ephesi*, III, 10, a genitive.

Bell (*De loc. in prisca. Lat. vi et usu*, p. 16) says that the locative was not recognized as a separate case by the Latin grammarians themselves and that Rossenus was the first to distinguish it, in a dissertation published in 1826. It was there stated that the forms *domi*, *humi*, *ruri*, *vicinia*, *terrae*, *belli*, *militiae* made it probable that the case (supposed to be genitive) of names of towns where something took place was really locative. Bell's conclusion (p. 43) respecting the usage in early Latin is thus stated: *demonstrari videtur nomen proprium locativos apud priscos Romanos reliquias casus locativi, appellativorum locativos, qui dicuntur, iam in prisca Latinitate aut genitivos aut ablativos habitos esse*. He notes (p. 18) that *Ephesi*, which our text shows once, occurs in Plautus three times and its equivalent, in *Epheso*, three times.

## APPENDIX.

I have thought it worth while to give here a brief summary of the more interesting constructions with compound verbs. Many of these have been given already, but the author's usage can be appreciated better from seeing these together. A comparison with the usage of other writers also is thus made easier. I do not mean to have the list complete, and do not give all the constructions with every compound cited. The aim is to include, in the survey, only such verbs as are differently employed by different writers and to indicate, for each of such verbs, the author's usage: *abstinere*, accusative and ablative twice, accusative once; *accedere*, (to move toward), accusative twice, ad and accusative eight times; *accidere*, dative once, ad and accusative twice (codices have *accedere* in both places); *acclinare*, dative once; *accumbere*, supra and accusative once; *accurrere*, in and accusative once; *adiutare*, dative once; *admittere*, accusative once, ad and accusative twice, in and accusative twice, inter and accusative once, in and ablative once (vulgar, or corrupt text); *admove*, ad and accusative three times, accusative and dative twice; *annectere*, accusative and dative once; *antecedere*, accusative twice; *applicare*, accusative and dative four times, in and accusative once, per and accusative once; *apponere*, accusative and dative once, accusative ad and a second accusative once; *auferre*, dative six times; *circumdare*, accusative and ablative three times; *componere*, ad and accusative once; *concrepare*, accusative three times; *confugere*, ad and accusative three times, in and accusative once; *congerere*, accusative and ad and a second accusative twice; *coniungere*, accusative and dative twice, in and accusative once; *contingere*, accusative once, dative twice; *defigere*, in and ablative once; *defraudare*, accusative and dative once; *defundere*, accusative and ablative once; *deicere*, accusative and de and ablative twice; *demandare*, in and accusative once; *dependere*, e and ablative once; *deponere*, accusative in and ablative once; *ebullire*, accusative twice; *efflare*, accusative once; *effugere*, accusative twice, ablative once; *egredi*, accusative once, ablative once; *elegare*, accusative and dative once; *eripere*, accusative and dative four times; *erumpere*, accusative and ablative once; *esurire*, accusative once; *evenire*, accusative once; *evolare*, ex and ablative once; *excludere*, accusative and ablative twice; *excudere*, accusative and dative once; *exonerare*, accusative and ablative twice; *expavescere*, accusative once; *expellere*, ad and accusative once; *extendere*, adversus and accusative once; *inmittere*, in and accusative three times, circa and accusative once, super and accusative once; *impingere*, accusative and dative twice, accusative in and a second accusative once; *imponere*, accusative and dative sixteen times, accusative super and a second accusative twice, dative alone three times (meaning fallere); *improperare*, dative once; *incidere*, in and accusative five times; *includere*, accusative alone twice, in and accusative once; *incubare*, accusative once; *incumbere*, super and accusative three times; *indormire*, ablative or dative once; *inducere*, in and accusative once; *induere*, accusative twice, accusative and dative once; *infundere*, accusative and dative once, accusa-

tive in and a second accusative four times; inhaerere, dative three times; inicere, accusative and dative four times, accusative super and a second accusative once; inserere, accusative and dative twice; insertare, accusative and dative once; insinuare, accusative and dative once; inspuere, in and accusative once; intentare, in and accusative three times, ad and accusative once; intertorquere, accusative once; intexere, dative and accusative once; intorquere, circa and accusative once; invadere, accusative eight times; maledicere, accusative twice, dative five times; obducere, accusative twice; occurrere, accusative twice; persuadere, accusative twice, dative three times; praecedere, accusative once; praeligare, accusative and ablative once; procumbere, ad and accusative twice; refugere, accusative once, ab and ablative once; reponere, accusative in and a second accusative twice; resecare, accusative and dative once; subducere, accusative and dative seven times, accusative a and ablative twice; sufficere, dative twice, ad and accusative once.

I have not said anything of the absolute use of the same verbs and have taken no account of the constructions with the passive forms of any of them.









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